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Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Books of Hours

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BEFORE THE BOOKS OF HOURS

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To my parents

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[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.[1]

Private prayer has been part of the Christian tradition from the very beginning. As the quotation from Matthew's gospel above shows, prayer could take place not only in public congregations, but also in one's own home, using words specially composed for such a purpose. 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's *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."[2] As Christian worship developed, however, the hours which had been part of lay observance became the basis of communal prayer in the monasteries.[3] St. Benedict of Monte Cassino

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1 Matt. 6:5–13. All biblical texts are taken from the Vulgate, and translations from the Douay-Rheims version. "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."
2 Gregory Dix, ed., *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus, Bishop Martyr* (London: SPCK, 1937; London: SPCK, 1968), pp. 62–63.
3 Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1959), p. 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*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1993).

(ca. 480–ca. 550) used these set times of prayer as the basis of his monastic rule, which established a schedule of psalms to be sung at each of the canonical hours.[4] With the spread of Benedictine monasticism and other forms of the ascetic life across Europe, 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 reader used them to link each part of the day to Christ's crucifixion, just as the early Christians had done.[5] 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.

Before the Books of Hours

York, Minster Library Additional MS 2 is a small manuscript written for use in the Diocese of York in the early fifteenth century, notable for its fine decoration in many colors, with illuminated borders, historiated initials, and full-page miniatures.[6] Some of these are used to open the different sections of a long grouping of prayers on folios 41r–75v. For example, folio 66v features a five-line initial D inside which is depicted Christ carrying his cross, opening the words "Deus in adiutorium meum intende." The following prayers can be summarized in this plan:

> Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adiuuandum me festina. [Ps. 69:2]
> Gloria patri et filio. Alleluia.
> Ueni creator spiritus.
> Memento [salutis auctor]. Ecce Maria.
> In conuertendo dominus captiuitatem syon [Ps. 125]. Gloria.
> Nisi dominus edificauerit domum [Ps. 126]. Gloria patri.
> Beati omnes qui timent dominum [Ps. 127]. Gloria patri. Ecce Maria.
> Et radicaui in populo honorificato [Ecclesiasticus 24:16]. Deo gratias.
> R. Speciosa facta es.
> V. In delicijs tuis
> V. Gloria patri et filio

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4 Timothy Fry, Imogene Baker, Timothy Horner, Augusta Raabe and Mark Sheridan, eds. and trans., *The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1981), chaps. 8–13, 16–19.

5 Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, p. 104.

6 N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 4, *Paisley-York* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 786–91.

V. Elegit ea*m* d*eu*s
Or. Concede nos
Hora nona d*ominu*s
Or. D*omi*ne i*e*su *christ*e.[7]

This can be identified as the Office of None from the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as found in a late medieval Book of Hours; folios 41r–75v as a whole give a full *cursus* of daily offices.[8] The Book of Hours is a recognized genre of prayer manuscript in the later Middle Ages, following a specific pattern and including certain key elements, such as the opening verse "Deus in adiutorium." However, less work has been done to describe and define how prayers were grouped together in the early Middle Ages. In this book, I will examine some prayer collections which were assembled before the Books of Hours, in search of a deeper understanding of how early medieval people sought to communicate with God through ever more complex programs of prayers, psalms, and other devotions.

As the practice of liturgy is an increasingly important subject in Anglo-Saxon studies, it is now possible to study the religious life of monks and nuns in close detail.[9] However, rather than offering a broad overview of prayer at

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7 York, Minster Library Additional MS 2, fols. 66v–69r; Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Horae Eboracenses The Prymer of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary According to the Illustrious Church of York, with Other Devotions as they were used by the Lay-Folk in the Northern Province in the XVth and XVIth Centuries*, Surtees Society 132 (London: Andrews & Co., 1920), pp. 54–56.

8 Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, p. 787. For a description of the typical contents of a late medieval Book of Hours, see Roger Wieck, "The Book of Hours," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), pp. 480–510.

9 See, for example, Francesca Tinti, *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005); on confession, Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900–1050* (Boydell Press: Royal Historical Society, 2001); Hamilton, "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions': Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, 83–105; Hamilton, "Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), 65–103; Bedingfield, "Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002): 223–55; and on cross devotion, the three volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project: Karen Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, eds., *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2008); Jolly, Karkov, and Keefer, eds., *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England,* Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); Jolly, Karkov, Keefer, eds., *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010).

this time, I aim to illuminate the specific practice of extra-liturgical prayer in late Anglo-Saxon England, mostly in monastic contexts, encompassing prayer in pairs, or in other small gatherings, or simply alone, outside of what was required by the monastic liturgy. I intend to develop a deeper understanding not just of the texts that were used in prayer, but also of their temporal and spatial contexts, using manuscript sources from the eleventh century, and occasionally the tenth and twelfth. In particular, I will seek to answer a specific question: how it was that monks and nuns took the prayers which they had inherited from their forebears and combined them together in new contexts, creating sequences and programs for private devotion. Although this is not a study of liturgical prayer in its original context, the choices made by these monks and nuns illuminate the study of liturgy, because they indicate to us which aspects of liturgical worship were considered so essential to the spiritual life that they were selected for use in other forms of prayer.

A particularly interesting introduction to this subject can be found in London, British Library Cotton MS Caligula A XV. Folios 120–53 of this manuscript were written at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the eleventh century, and these include annals, scientific knowledge, computus, and charms.[10] On folio 140r is a *gewrit* (writing) said to have been brought down from heaven and laid on the altar of St. Peter's in Rome, written in sometimes incomprehensible Latin, addressing the four evangelists. The preamble to the *gewrit* makes great claims. It cures all kinds of maladies, both internal and external, if one sings it onto the water which the patient drinks, or onto butter with which one smears him.[11] A context for its use is given: the reader is told to sing it "on niht ær þu to þinum reste ga," in order to prevent bad dreams.[12] Most significantly, the writer of this text claims: "[s]e þe þis gebed singð on cyrcean, þonne forstent hit him sealtera sealma. And se þe hit singð æt his endedæge, þonne forstent hit him huselgang."[13] This text, despite not always being comprehensible, is regarded as a *gebed* (prayer) to be sung in church, which is worth "psalters of

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10 An online catalogue record for this manuscript is available from the British Library at http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS040-001102356. Gneuss and Lapidge note that this portion of the manuscript was originally part of London, British Library Egerton MS 3314, fols. 9–72. Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographic Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Toronto Anglo-Saxon Series 15 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), no. 411.
11 Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1948), p. 272.
12 Storms, p. 272. "At night, before you go to your rest."
13 Storms, p. 272. "He who sings this prayer in church, for him it will stand in place of psalters of psalms. And he who sings it on his final day, for him it will stand in place of receiving the Eucharist."

psalms," and which is as valuable to the dying as the Holy Eucharist. Even before the formalization of the sacraments in the twelfth century, this is a very significant claim. Yet the *gebed* is not a liturgical prayer, a fact evident from the manuscript context, the times and places in which it can be said, and from the sometimes incomprehensible nature of the Latin. Indeed, the writer of the accompanying text lays special emphasis on its not being of liturgical origin, but brought directly from heaven in written form. It is nevertheless bound up with both the physical space of the church and also with its scriptures: the letter is said to have been laid upon the altar of St. Peter's, and ends with the singing of Psalm 150.[14]

The Challenges of Studying Prayer Outside of Communal Liturgies

A few fundamental assumptions underlie the inquiry undertaken in this book. Although the main codices examined fulfilled the function of a private prayer-book, manuscripts often had many different simultaneous uses. Furthermore, although I aim to discuss prayer which took place without the authority of a priest or bishop presiding over a liturgical ceremony, a binary divide between private and public cannot always be assumed. As will be discussed, in some instances, the speaker of a prayer is instructed to be alone, but monks were also expected to pray for themselves when in chapel together, physicians were told to pray over their patients, and confessions were made to priests, and perhaps also between pairs of monks or nuns. Some prayer texts give few or no clues to their intended context and use, and may in any case have been used in situations not intended by their composers and scribes. Therefore, while "private prayer" is the chief subject of this book, this includes not merely prayer undertaken in strict solitude, but all kinds of "extra-curricular" prayer outside of the liturgies of the hours and mass.

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 it is used that makes it private. Furthermore, not only is the study of liturgy necessary for the understanding of private prayer, the reverse is also true: private

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14 "Laudate deum in sanctis eius. oð ende." Storms, p. 34. This is Ps. 150:1, "Praise ye the Lord in his holy places."

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 other uses reveal which parts of it were considered to be most important, most helpful, and most appropriate for extra-liturgical prayer.[15] The studies 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. 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.

Major Manuscript Sources

A large number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts include private prayers.[16] These can be found filling spaces between other texts, in the margins, as parts of miscellanies, appended to psalters, or in the form of a manuscript primarily dedicated to prayer of some kind. There are no manuscripts extant from the later end of the Anglo-Saxon period which were specifically intended for the purpose of private prayer alone. There are, however, some which appear to have been personal compendia, parts of which include groupings of prayers suitable for private use.

My main sources are three eleventh-century English codices with substantial collections of prayers for use in non-liturgical contexts: *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton MSS Titus D XXVII + XXVI), the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391), and the *Galba Prayerbook* (London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, perhaps also including some leaves from Cotton MS Nero A II). The monastic origins and usership of these three manuscripts are well attested. It is therefore possible to analyze their

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15 Roger Wieck makes a similar point in relation to the lay use of the Book of Hours in the later Middle Ages. Wieck, "Book of Hours," p. 482.

16 For a full list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing liturgical and private prayers, see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 927. Old English prayers are listed under no. 12.4 in Angus Cameron and Roberta Frank, *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

contents with a degree of certainty about their use and context. They have all been digitized in full: internet addresses for digitizations of which I have made use can be found in the bibliography.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook: London, British Library Cotton MSS Titus D XXVII + XXVI

London, British Library Cotton MSS Titus D XXVII + XXVI, now separate codices, are universally regarded to have originally been a single book, and together are known as *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.[17] It is a particularly small manuscript, measuring only ca. 130 mm. x 95 mm.,[18] of which about a sixth is taken up by an incomplete collectar,[19] while the rest comprises numerous short texts, including computus, scientific knowledge, prognostics, Special Offices, three miniatures,[20] and several other devotional writings. Neil 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;[21] Günzel deduces that the calendar was completed no later than 1029.[22] Ælfsige, one of the several scribes of the manuscript (Günzel's Scribe A), later collaborated with Ælfwine on the New Minster's *Liber Vitae*, which the latter commissioned after becoming

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17 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 380; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 202; Elżbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), no. 77. 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 Ælfwine, (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. Beate Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 108 (London: Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 4–5.

18 Günzel, p. 4.

19 Günzel, p. 59.

20 For more details of these, see Temple, *Survey*, no. 77; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The Quinity of Winchester," *The Art Bulletin* 29, no. 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*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Jonathan Wilcox, Medieval European Studies 8 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2006), 95–114.

21 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 265; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 70, 109. Günzel has corrected Ker's misstatement that Ælfwine was a deacon: he was, in fact, the dean (*decanus*). Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 2–3.

22 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 2.

abbot of the monastery.[23] Although most of the entries are by Scribes A and B, this manuscript includes work by eleven scribes from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[24]

The prayers in the manuscript are personalized by the naming of Ælfwine himself in the heading to a miniature of the crucifixion,[25] and in the prayer "Qui es iustorum gloria."[26] Due to some glossing with feminine grammatical forms, and the addition of a prayer using only feminine forms, Ker proposes that the manuscript was owned by a woman in the twelfth century.[27] As D. H. Turner notes, the role of dean could involve managing estates away from the monastery's principal site;[28] Corrêa suggests that a portable service book may have been of use if Ælfwine had conducted services in chapels on these other estates.[29] Given the manuscript's small size and incomplete collectar, Günzel argues that *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* was not created for the purposes of public liturgy, but would instead have been useful to a travelling cleric both in his own prayers and in his supervisory role in choir.[30]

The *Portiforium of St. Wulstan:* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, a manuscript measuring 225 mm x 135 mm, was written in Worcester in 1065–1066,[31] and, as it is believed to have

23 Simon Keynes, "The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester," in *The Durham* Liber Vitae *and its Context*, ed. David Rollason, A. J. Piper, Margaret Harvey, and Lynda Rollason, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 153–55. For Ælfsige's part in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, see Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 8, 10–11.

24 A table of folios, items, and the scribes who wrote them can be found in Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10–11. Simon Keynes has argued that Scribe B was in fact Ælfwine himself, to whom he also attributes the three miniatures in the manuscript. However, this idea has been rejected by Catherine Karkov. Keynes, "The *Liber Vitae*," p. 155; Karkov, "Text as Image," pp. 97–98. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 266.

25 London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fol. 65v.

26 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 187.

27 Günzel, pp. 3–4; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 266.

28 D. H. Turner, "Prayer Book of Ælfwine," in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, ed. Janet Backhouse, D. H. Turner, and Leslie Webster (London: British Museum Publications, 1984), p. 75.

29 Alicia Corrêa, ed., *The Durham Collectar*, Henry Bradshaw Society 107 (London: Boydell Press, 1992), p. 113, n. 2.

30 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 59; see also Barbara C. Raw, *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 175, n. 36.

31 Anselm Hughes, ed., *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 391)*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society 90 (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1960), pp. v–vi.

belonged to St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester,[32] is now known as the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*. Sarah Larratt Keefer has written that the *Portiforium* "can only be correctly described as a compendium or 'commonplace book.'"[33] R. W. Pfaff has concluded that "[t]he variety of contents in this fascinating and as yet not satisfactorily explained book makes sense best on the supposition that Bishop Wulstan carried it around with him when he visited churches, and especially religious establishments, in his diocese."[34] Its chief contents are a Gallican Psalter, a collectar, and the *commune sanctorum*, alongside a kalendar, hymns, blessings and prognostics, and, on pages 581–618, a collection of short and long prayers, but not distinguished by any special heading.[35]

The *Portiforium* was edited in two volumes in 1958 and 1960 by Anselm Hughes. However, this edition contains a number of errors in transcription: to take three examples from as many pages, "Confitebor tibi domine" appears as "Confitibor tibi domine"; "qui es trinitas una" as "qui es trinitas unus"; and "or*atio* ad d*eu*m deuote cotidie dicenda" as "oratio ad deum deuote corde dicenda."[36] Accordingly, I have quoted directly from the digitized manuscript on the Parker Library online, while also citing Hughes's edition.

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32 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 104; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 67. Elaine Treharne cites the presence of prayers and hymns to Ss. Oswald and Egwin as evidence for its Worcester origins. Treharne, "Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391," in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, ed. Orietta Da Rold, Takako Kato, Mary Swan, and Elaine Treharne (Leicester: University of Leicester, 2010).

33 Sarah Larratt Keefer, "*Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus*: The *Corsnæd* Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe: Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 4–7 July 1994, 10–13 July 1995*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan, 237–64 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 245.

34 Richard 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: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 82.

35 Hughes, *Portiforium*, p. vi; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 581–618. The liturgical and musical content of this manuscript have been examined in Pfaff, "The 'Sample Week'," and Susan Rankin, "Music at Wulfstan's Cathedral," in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N. P. Brooks, Studies in Early Medieval Britain 4 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 219–29.

36 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 604, 608; Hughes, *Portiforium*, pp. 15, 17.

The *Galba Prayerbook:* London, British Library Cotton MSS Nero A II + Galba A XIV

Another manuscript which appears to have been used for personal devotion is London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, referred to by Barbara Raw as the *Galba Prayerbook.*[37] At only 138 mm. x 103 mm.,[38] this is another tiny book, and one not easily classifiable by genre. Its contents, which appear in an apparently random order, include: computational tables and other astronomical information; prayers; collects from specific masses, removed from their liturgical contexts; and hymns. A number of items in the manuscript are written in Old English, such as the bilingual prayers for the Veneration of the Cross:[39] since part of the vernacular version also appears in the *Portiforium,*[40] it is unlikely that the translations were specifically written for the *Galba Prayerbook.*

Its lack of an obvious structure and genre suggests that *Galba* was not a formal liturgical work, and it is therefore an excellent example of what late Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns chose to produce when they apparently had few or no guidelines for creating a devotional manuscript. Bernard Muir, its editor, argues that the way in which texts cross over quire boundaries implies that the manuscript was originally a group of blank gatherings which were bound together into a book, because "[s]omeone 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."[41] He also argues that *Galba* may have been used as an exercise book for those who were being taught in the monastery or convent: it was created during the early eleventh-century reform period, and sometimes, although by no means always, displays low-quality script and poor Latin grammar.[42]

Ker believed folios 3–13 of London, British Library Cotton MS Nero A II to have been originally part of *Galba*, due to their having the same unusually small folio size and their sharing of two scribal hands.[43] Michael Lapidge, taking Galba A XIV to originate from Winchester, disagrees, questioning why

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37 See for example Barbara C. Raw, "The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296)," *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999), p. 187.
38 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), p. xi.
39 Muir, pp. 143–46.
40 Hughes, *Portiforium*, pp. 18–22.
41 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. xvi.
42 Muir, pp. xiii, xvii.
43 Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 200–1.

the litany in Nero A II does not name any prominent Winchester saints, and arguing that, since it names British saints, it is instead from Cornwall.[44] Bernard Muir, however, accepts Ker's theory, observing the presence of British saints in the litanies of both manuscripts.[45] Joe Hillaby and William Smith similarly regard the Nero folios to be part of Galba A XIV.[46] Although Ker argues for probable ownership at Winchester,[47] Hillaby has proposed Leominster as a place of origin for the composite manuscript.[48] As for dating, Muir notes that the computational table in Nero A II corresponds to the lunar cycle for 1029 to 1047, and the table in Galba A XIV to the cycles for 1034–1035, 1029, and 1040.[49]

Galba A XIV was seriously damaged by the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, leaving all the leaves burned or water-damaged to a greater or lesser degree.[50] Consequently, some have been bound out of order and back to front.[51] Muir's edition places the texts in what was, as far as can be told, their original order, but using the foliation which was given to it upon its rebinding in 1863.[52] I am therefore highly reliant upon Muir's impressive edition, which often supplies text for lacunae, variant readings, and liturgical context.

Other Significant Sources

London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III will be discussed at various points throughout this book. At best, it can be categorized as an early eleventh-century miscellany from Christ Church, Canterbury, a product of the Benedictine

44 Michael Lapidge, "Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan," *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981), pp. 84–86.

45 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. xi-xii.

46 Joe Hillaby, "Leominster and Hereford, the Origins of the Diocese," in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. D. Whitehead. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 15 (1995), p. 6; William Smith, *The Use of Hereford*: *The Sources of a Medieval English Diocesan Rite* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 51.

47 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 201.

48 Hillaby, "Leominster and Hereford," pp. 6–8; see also Smith, *The Use of Hereford*, pp. 51–52.

49 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 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.

50 Muir, p. ix.

51 For a list of these, see Muir, p. xii.

52 Muir, p. xi, n. 11; pp. 217–18. References here to folio numbers in Galba A XIV use this numbering.

Reform, mainly consisting of the *Regula Benedicti* and the glossed version of the *Regularis concordia*;[53] in addition, it contains a large number of shorter religious and scientific texts, and a number of prayers and devotional materials,[54] some of which may have been used with the laity.[55] Tracey-Anne Cooper refers to it as a "personal collection" that is ultimately "not an easy manuscript to understand," and which shares material with no less than a fifth of the extant manuscripts written in England in the era of its creation.[56] In my discussions of the *Regularis concordia*, I have quoted the version in Tiberius A III over that in London, British Library Cotton MS Faustina B III. This is partly because I wish to discuss the *Concordia* text which would have been read by the same people who used the prayers which I examine elsewhere in this book, but also because this manuscript contains a complete Latin version with an Old English gloss, which I occasionally discuss. As this is not included in Thomas Symons's edition, I cite Lucia Kornexl's edition of the *Concordia* as found in Tiberius A III.[57] This text has generally been dated to around 973, the date of the Synod of Winchester, but Julia Barrow has argued that it "may well belong in the big surge in monasticising activity in the middle of the 960s."[58]

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53 Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 363; Temple, *Survey*, no. 100. The dating of the manuscript has previously been stated to be the mid-eleventh century, but this has been challenged by Tracey-Anne Cooper, who argues instead for 1020–23. Cooper, *Monk-Bishops and the English Benedictine Reform Movement: Reading London, BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii in Its Manuscript Context*, Studies and Texts 193 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), pp. 34–46.

54 Tracey-Anne Cooper has written an extensive study of this manuscript, its many texts, and its overall use. For a full table of contents, see Cooper, pp. 2–3, with an expanded text list and bibliography at pp. 272–301.

55 Cooper, pp. 163–223.

56 Cooper, pp. 266–68.

57 Lucia Kornexl, ed., *Die* Regularis concordia *und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 17 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993); Thomas Symons, ed. and trans., *Regularis concordia: Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque. The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953). Fragments of Old English versions of the *Regularis concordia* also survive: folios 174–77 of Tiberius A III, once part of Faustina B III, comprise chaps. 14–19; a fragment of another Old English copy is in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201. Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 65, 332; see also British Library catalogue, Cotton MS Tiberius A III.

58 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, p. xvi; Julia Barrow, "The Chronology of the Benedictine 'Reform'," in *Edgar, King of the English 959–975*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 222. For more details on the origins of the text, see Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, pp. xvi-xxx.

I will also discuss a number of late Anglo-Saxon psalters, such as the *Tiberius Psalter* (London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI),[59] and in particular the *Eadui Psalter* (London, British Library Arundel MS 155). Copied by the master scribe Eadwig Basan at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the mid-eleventh century,[60] the main part of the latter manuscript is a high-status work,[61] but it ends with twenty-one leaves of Latin prayers glossed in Old English (fols. 171r–192v), followed by the unglossed Gloria, Paternoster, and Creeds.[62] The glossed prayers have been edited by H. Logeman, Ferdinand Holthausen, and Jackson J. Campbell.[63]

Although the focus of this book is on the late Anglo-Saxon period, a notable number of the prayers from this era can be found in earlier collections from Francia. As will be discussed in chapter 2, Alcuin of York wrote a letter to Charlemagne, opening with the words "Beatus igitur David," which gives instructions on how to pray when first arising from bed. Stephan Waldhoff has argued that this letter originally prefaced a personal prayerbook which Alcuin compiled for Charlemagne, and he has attempted to reconstruct this prayerbook from two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 2731A, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS d'Orville 45.[64] Jonathan Black, by contrast, has

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59 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 378; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 199; Temple, *Survey*, no. 98.

60 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 306; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 135; Temple, *Survey*, no. 66; Richard W. Pfaff, "Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?," in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 273–77.

61 For its decoration, see Temple, *Survey*, no. 66; London, British Library Arundel MS 155, fols. 12r, 53r, and 93r.

62 British Library catalogue, Arundel MS 155. For further discussion of the public and private uses of this manuscript, see M. J. Toswell, *The Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, Medieval Church Studies 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 379–80.

63 Ferdinand Holthausen, ed., "Altenglische Interlinearversionen Lateinischer Gebete und Beichten," *Anglia* 65 (1941), 230–54. "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" is in H. Logeman, ed., "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia* 11 (1889), 115–120; the remaining glossed prayers are in Jackson J. Campbell, ed., "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," *Anglia* 81 (1963), 82–117.

64 Waldhoff bases this argument on chap. 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 (fols. 26r–50r) and Paris 2731A (fols. 40r–64r). He accepts the datings of d'Orville 45 to 1067/8 and Paris 2731A to the tenth century. 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), pp. 113–26.

doubted that Alcuin compiled such a prayerbook at all, as well as the viability of Waldhoff's attempt to reconstruct it.[65]

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 found in these two manuscripts circulated widely from the ninth century onwards, and were associated with Alcuin's name in other Carolingian prayer collections. Known as the *libelli precum*, these manuscripts were created in places influenced by England and in particular by Alcuin himself.[66] Jonathan Black has proposed that, as the Carolingian reforms led to the dominance of the Benedictine Office over other forms, "prayerbooks for private usage served as a possible outlet for material from the suppressed traditions."[67] Four such prayerbooks were edited by Wilmart under the title *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, and I will make reference to three of these:[68] the early ninth-century *Libellus Trecensis* (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1742)[69] and *Libellus Parisinus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 5596),[70] and the mid-ninth-century *Libellus Turonensis* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 13388).[71] 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.[72]

Having introduced these major manuscript sources, the remainder of this introduction will explore the methodology and scope of this work, demonstrating the core concept of the different levels of complexity in prayer collections:

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65 Jonathan Black, "Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen* by Stephan Waldhoff," *Speculum* 83 (2008), pp. 773–74.

66 Patrick Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600–800*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 276.

67 Jonathan Black, "The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), p. 64.

68 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. Maurice Frost, ed., "A Prayer Book from St Emmeran, Ratisbon," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928), pp. 32–45; Frost, ed., "Te Deum Laudamus," *Journal of Theological Studies* 28 (1927), pp. 403–7.

69 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 5.

70 Wilmart, p. 5.

71 Wilmart, p. 6.

72 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 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 257.

simple series of prayers, more organized sequences, elaborate programs, and the early Special Offices.

What was "Private Prayer" in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church?

In my discussion of Christian prayer, I take the word "prayer" to mean communication with God – any or all members of the Holy Trinity – or with the Virgin Mary, saints, or angels, addressing the Divine either directly or via those closest to him in heaven. Prayer to Christ through his Holy Cross is also included, as are intercessions or blessings said for or upon another person. This communication is likely to be verbal, whether spoken out loud or silently in the heart, but also includes gestures such as making the sign of the cross. The words used can be purpose-written prayers, or verses from the Bible, particularly from the book of Psalms, when used as a form of devotion.

Next, the prayer *of the late Anglo-Saxon church* must be defined. By this, I do not necessarily refer to prayers which were actually composed either in England or in the tenth and eleventh centuries: an "Anglo-Saxon prayer" may have been written in ninth-century Francia, or be part of an early Christian liturgy or of a Hebrew psalm. This book is primarily concerned with usage over origins: a text that was copied by an English scribe for the purpose of prayer in the tenth or eleventh century, or which can be found in a book that was used in England during that period, is relevant. An invaluable introduction to prayer in English manuscripts in this period was given in 1986 by Thomas Bestul, who notes the influence of the Irish church and Alcuin of York upon the early collections, and of the Benedictine Reform upon the later ones,[73] ending with a checklist of thirty-nine English manuscripts dated before 1100 which include private prayers or devotional works in Latin or Old English.[74]

There is also the difficult issue of defining *private* prayer. Various forms of evidence suggest that "extra-curricular" prayer took place outside of communal

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[73] Thomas H. Bestul, "Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Virginia Darrow Oggins, Studies in Medieval Culture 20 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 103–16.

[74] Bestul, pp. 124–26. 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), pp. 18–23; Bestul, "St. Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions," *Annuale Mediaevale* 18 (1977), pp. 20–41.

situations, the offices of the canonical hours and masses, and without the direction of the church hierarchy. 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 4 includes the command, "orationi frequenter incumbere, mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo confiteri."[75] Prayer should normally be brief, although one might pray at length when inspired to do so; monks were also permitted to pray alone in the oratory at any time, and, during Lent, were expected to undertake extra prayer and spiritual reading.[76] 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 document which is of great importance to this study, as it demonstrates 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*. 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.[77] Indeed, the *Regularis concordia* also incorporates time for private prayer, psalms, and spiritual reading during the day.[78] Yet other forms of prayer were intended for use during the times and places prescribed for communal worship, but without set prescriptions or reference to the other people around the speaker. For example, the *Regularis concordia* encourages monks to pray alone in their place before and after communal worship: "[c]eterum unusquisque secretis oratorii locis, in quantum Sancti Spiritus gratia clementer instigauerit, peculiaribus teste Deo cum bonorum operum uigilantia consulte utatur orationibus."[79] Therefore, although the speaker was not alone, he was not praying together in unison with his fellow monks. The *Regula Benedicti* and *Regularis concordia* both insist upon prayer outside of the liturgy, 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.

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75 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 4.56–57. All translations from the *Regula Benedicti* are from this edition. "[D]evote yourself often to prayer. Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer."

76 Fry et al., chaps. 20.4, 52.2–4, 49.4–5.

77 Kornexl, *Regularis Concordia*, ll. 257–96.

78 Kornexl, ll. 366–73, 530.

79 Kornexl, ll. 87–91. "Each of the rest of them may occupy himself prudently, in the secret places of prayer, in private prayers with God as a witness, with the awareness of good works, as the grace of the Holy Spirit has mercifully inspired him." See also ll. 474–77, 600–4.

Nevertheless, such prayers cannot always be easily distinguished from liturgical prayers, partly because the liturgy is very often a source for other forms of prayer, but also because manuscripts do not usually differentiate between them, or regard the two as separate categories. Susan Boynton defines "liturgy" as forms of worship which are structured, communal, and led by members of the clergy, such as the mass or office, whereas "devotion" in her work refers to "more flexible practices" which can be undertaken by an individual.[80] However, she notes that these categories are not absolute: for example, prayers for use by individuals could be structured and based on liturgical sources.[81] Similarly, in a doctoral thesis focusing predominantly on the early prayerbooks of Anglo-Saxon England, Kirsty March has discussed how we might define private prayer, as opposed to public, in the early Middle Ages. She proposes a distinction based on the spatial location and church authorities involved in the performance of the prayer: "[p]ublic devotion is often a formal communal act, perhaps a prescribed part of the liturgy, presided over by a member of the clergy in a 'public' setting with multiple witnesses, such as a mass. . . .Personal devotion can be performed in a private setting such as in a cell or at home, it is not necessarily based on a formal ritual and does not need to be directed by the clergy."[82] Acknowledging the difficulties of defining private prayer in this period, and noting where scholars could have benefited from doing so, she also stresses the importance of manuscript context and use when identifying a prayer as private.[83] Noting the lack of a clear distinction between private and communal prayer in the eleventh century, Tracey-Anne Cooper likewise reminds us that "[p]rivate devotions were not necessarily solitary devotions": for example, the Office of All Saints in Tiberius A III was "intended to be sung, and singing was certainly a communal activity."[84]

Both March and Cooper ultimately define "private" or "personal" prayer with reference to the absence of ecclesiastical authority: it was undertaken

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80 Susan Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters," *Speculum* 82:4 (2007), p. 896.

81 Boynton, p. 897.

82 Kirsty Teresa March, "Performance, Transmission and Devotion: Understanding the Anglo-Saxon Prayer Books, c.800–1050" (PhD diss., University College Cork, 2012), pp. 26–27.

83 March, pp. 27–28.

84 Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 130. Cooper's discussion of prayer for use with the laity draws upon the thesis on which this monograph is based, but she is more cautious about the sharp distinction expressed there between communal and solitary prayer. This monograph will take a more nuanced approach to this issue. See also Cooper pp. 189–90, 210–11; Kate Thomas, "The Meaning, Practice and Context of Private Prayer in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (PhD diss., University of York, 2011).

without the supervision of bishops, or without an "authoritative model" to fol-low.[85] Cooper draws on Liuzza's article "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," which asks important questions about how we differentiate one "text" from another when a manuscript might contain a continuous run of pray-ers without obvious beginnings and ends. This article ends with Liuzza agree-ing with those such as Karen Jolly and Eamon Duffy, that the dichotomy between "magic" and "religion," or orthodoxy and heterodoxy, should be ques-tioned, proposing instead a sliding scale of devotional practices, from the most official ecclesiastical rites, via private prayer,[86] to "practical prayers for particu-lar purposes."[87] The important questions to ask are "who controls the practice? Who performs it? When is it performed, and for what purpose? Did a given practice draw on the reservoir of spiritual power represented by the Latin mass, the Daily Office, or the ecclesiastical hierarchy?"[88] These questions are relevant to the argument of this book, but particularly to my discussion of medical and other practical prayers in chapter 4, since to a large extent they took place with-out the authority of a bishop and outside of any liturgical context; they also often required the presence of both the medical practitioner and the patient. Another invaluable approach is that of Stephan Waldhoff, who takes *privatus* simply to be the opposite of *publicus*, without any of the deep personal conno-tations of the word "private" in a modern context.[89] Waldhoff advocates exam-ining how prayerbooks were used, concluding that "[d]ie Privatgebetbücher unterscheiden sich von den liturgischen Büchern dadurch, daß ihr 'Sitz im Leben' außerhalb der liturgischen Vollzüge liegt."[90] This codicological

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85 March, "Performance, Transmission and Devotion," p. 143; Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 138.

86 R. M. Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2008), pp. 317–19. Duffy, for exam-ple, concludes that even the ideas behind "magical" prayer "were built into the very struc-ture of the liturgy, and formed the focus for some of its most solemn and most popularly accessible moments." Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*, 2nd ed. (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 279.

87 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 277.

88 Liuzza, p. 319.

89 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 15–17. Mayke de Jong makes a similar point about medie-val confession. De Jong, "What was *Public* about Public Penance? *Paenitentia publica* and Justice in the Carolingian World," in *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (secoli ix-xi)*, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 44, 11–17 aprile 1996, vol. 2 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1997), pp. 893–96.

90 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 32–33. "Private prayerbooks distinguish themselves from liturgical books by the fact that their setting in life lies outside of liturgical performances."

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

Therefore, while private prayer may not always have been solitary, it took place in a different context from that over which bishops and abbots presided. Confession to a priest was an essential part of the Christian life, but other forms of paired confession also existed, such as confession to a fellow monk or nun. These confessions fall within the remit of this book, and will be discussed in chapter 5. Nevertheless, throughout this book I will sometimes draw attention to the occasional instances in which the speaker of a prayer is specifically instructed to go to a place where he or she can be alone. Thus the speaker of the prayer program *Ælce sunnandæg* in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is told to say the prayers "dihlice, þær ðu sylf sy"; another prayer program, opening with the words *Gyf ðe ðynce*, should take place in a "gelimplicere stowe."[91]

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.[92] I will be discussing prayers which often have no rubrics at all, or are simply labeled as an *oratio* (prayer). On the rare occasions where more extensive rubrics do appear, they give important clues as to their intended usage. For example, the prayer "Qui in hunc mundum" in the *Galba Prayerbook* is prefaced with a rubric stating: "[i]n quacumq*ue* die cantauerit hom‹o› hanc orationem nec diabolus nec ullus homo inpedime*ntum* ei facere poterit, et quod petierit dabitur ei."[93] This implies that the prayer is for voluntary use, and for when the reader feels the need for personal protection. With such alterations, prayers could be re-copied to suit the different purposes of a different time: for example, a prayer to St. Ælfheah copied into the *Eadui Psalter* in the mid-eleventh century was adapted into a prayer

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91 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143: "secretly, where you are alone"; Hughes, *Portiforium*, p. 24: "suitable place."

92 See, for example, E. S Dewick and W. H. Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, Henry Bradshaw Society 45 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1914), 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.

93 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 61. "On whatever day a man should sing this prayer, neither a devil nor any person will be able to create any hindrance for him, and what he has asked for will be given to him."

to St. Thomas of Canterbury in the twelfth through the addition of glosses over the name of the saint each time it appears.[94]

Finally, a practice sometimes seen in Latin prayers is the opportunity to name oneself or the person for whom a priest is praying. The use of the abbreviation ".N." for this name can, of course, be seen in liturgical manuscripts as well as in private prayer. Occasionally, however, the actual name of the owner or creator of the manuscript was written into a prayer. This is seen in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*: "Deus, qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum, pietatem tuam humili prece deposco, ut me, famulum/am tuum/am .ÆLFWINE., benignus respicias."[95] Similarly, Psalm 150 in the *Eadwine Psalter* (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.17.1, dating to ca. 1150) is followed by a prayer in the voice of the copyist: "[o]mnipotens et misericors deus · clementiam tuam suppliciter deprecor · ut me famulum tuum · EADWINUM tibi fideliter seruire concedes."[96] A prayer which calls its reader by name is presumably one which was intended for the speaker to pray for himself, although in some cases the scribes would have anticipated the use of the manuscripts by other readers as well.

Number, Gender, and Language

The grammatical number and gender used in a specific copy of a prayer are worthy of some attention. Bestul argues that, while scribes were not at liberty to alter the text of a biblical book or a patristic work, private prayers were frequently lengthened and changed, for example, by alteration for grammatical gender.[97] Likewise, grammatical number was also changed: the prayers to the individual members of the Trinity, common in the *libelli precum* and discussed in chapter 1, consistently make use of first person singular verbs and pronouns, such as this prayer, "Splendor et imago patris": "Domine iesv christe, fili dei vivi…te laudo, te adoro, teque glorifico."[98] This would be appropriate for prayers which were originally composed for an extra-liturgical context, with one person praying

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94 "Cogitationum et voluntatum mearum." Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 95–99.

95 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 187. "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." The glosses were added by a later female reader.

96 Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.17.1, fol. 262r. "Almighty and merciful God, I humbly ask your mercy, that you may grant me, your servant EADWINE, to serve you faithfully."

97 Bestul, "Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing," p. 115.

98 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 137. "O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God . . . I praise you, I adore you, and I glorify you."

alone or at least outside of a communal environment. Nevertheless, caution must be exercised in considering this issue: Waldhoff has noted that private prayers could also use the plural form on occasion.[99]

Grammatical gender provides some clues as to how prayers were used, and this can take place in two ways. A prayer can have been written in the masculine gender in one manuscript, and in the feminine in another; otherwise, the manuscript copy of a prayer could be altered by a later user of the opposite sex, either by erasure or by interlinear correction. In both cases, the readers presumably 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 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."[100] This adaptation is not entirely consistent, as "dignus" has not been altered to "digna," but, in reusing a prayerbook from a previous century, a female reader has made the prayer more intimate by making it reflect her own voice. Even so, it should be noted that not all of the feminine grammatical forms in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* were added by a later user. The prayers on folios 56v–79r of Titus D XXVI contain 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 absolutely prove who used it.[101] Finally, it should be noted that the gendering of prayers suggests that manuscripts could be moved between monasteries and convents. 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.[102]

The choice of the vernacular language instead of Latin is a significant one. Old English is by no means unknown in late Anglo-Saxon liturgical books: it appears in rubrics, calendars of the saints, and in penitential texts for the

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99 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 21, n. 57, and pp. 37–38.

100 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 130. "God, be favourable to me, a sinner, because I, a sinner, am not worthy to lift my eyes to heaven."

101 Günzel, p. 4.

102 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 138–39, the *Prayers ad horas*, which will be examined in detail in chapter 2 below.

laity.[103] Furthermore, in the eleventh century, considerably more vernacular texts related to the liturgy appeared; 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 accompanying computistical expositions) would routinely have been written in the vernacular."[104] 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, and perhaps a decline in the production of Latin texts that allowed writers to concentrate on English books.[105] Helen Gittos has extended this discussion, noting the place of the vernacular in, for example, the rite for the visitation of sick and dying people in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 422 (the *Red Book of Darley*) and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 482, and in the coronation liturgy in London, British Library Cotton MSS Cleopatra B XIII and Vitellius A VII.[106] As English was used more widely in liturgical 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.[107]

The *Galba Prayerbook* 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.[108] Muir draws attention to this skillful translation, noting that some vernacular texts include new words designed to

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103 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), pp. 129–32.

104 Dumville, p. 132.

105 Dumville, p. 132.

106 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," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, pp. 75–82.

107 See also Victoria Thompson, "The Pastoral Contract in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Priest and Parishioner in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Miscellaneous 482," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, pp. 106–120, and Ursula Lenker, "Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England: Old English Terms for the Sign of the Cross," in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), pp. 233–75.

108 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*, pp. 30–31, 89, 136–39, 143–46, 150.

translate complex Latin theological terminology.[109] As an example of this, I note the word *efenece* (coeternal), a striking neologism used twice in the prayer "Gloriosissime conditor mundi" to describe the Holy Spirit: "efenece þinum fæder *and* þam halegum gaste."[110] *Galba*'s translation of this prayer 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. Furthermore, as will be discussed from time to time throughout this book, Old English prayers often have a slightly more intimate focus on the relationship between God and the speaker, and monks and nuns, however Latinate, may have wished to pray in their mother tongue. Prayer was generally in prose, but in some cases it uses deliberately patterned, rhythmic language, or poetry of some kind. Unlike Latin verse, English poetry was written without special lineation, and so on the manuscript page it looks indistinguishable from prose, suggesting that readers would not have been given any initial prompts to perceive prose and poetic texts differently from one another. The original users of these manuscripts may not have differentiated between prose prayers which used rhythm and alliteration, on one hand, 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.[111]

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109 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. xxiii. For the choice of theological and other standard vocabulary in the vernacular of this time, see Helmut Gneuss, "The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester," *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972), pp. 75–81.

110 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 145. "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, appearing in thirteen gloss texts and one glossary. 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 and 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 Web Corpus*, University of Toronto (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2009).

111 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. 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*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 447–66.

This brief examination of gender, number, and language shows that none in itself can be used as a completely reliable guide to the usage of a prayer. These three issues are nevertheless worthy of attention, as a scribe may at least have had greater motivation for altering the gender and number, and using the vernacular language, when creating prayer collections for private use.

Contemporary Terminology

An important guide to what was considered a "prayer" at the time was the terminology used in manuscripts themselves. The primary term for a prayer was *oratio* or *gebed*. The former is frequently used as the rubric to prayers, often in a form as simple as "Oratio" or "Alia" (another; i.e., a similar prayer). Occasionally, the term *oratio pura* (pure prayer) or *bona oratio* (good prayer) appears, although it is not clear if "pura" had any specific meaning. For example, the *Libellus Turonensis* uses the term *oratio* in its prayers to God, but *obsecratio* (supplication) in the prayers to the saints which follow them, underlining the saints' role as mediators.[112] Hrabanus Maurus's differentiation between the two may be of use: "[o]bsecrationes itaque sunt implorationes seu petitiones pro peccatis. . . . Orationes sunt, quibus aliquid offerimus seu vovimus deo."[113] Confessional prayers sometimes use the rubric *confessio*, perhaps *confessio ad deum* (confession to God), and the term *collecta* or its abbreviation *coll.* sometimes appears before prayers which originated as liturgical collects.[114] The concept of a "prayer" was apparently quite broad: the *Theodulfi Capitula* refers to "þæt ærest gesædum gebede þæt we credo nemnað."[115] To a modern reader, it seems strange to describe the Creed as a prayer, yet it evidently counted as a *gebed* to some at the time. Some prayers were written in the form of several short petitions, a medieval term which can be seen in the *Eadui Psalter*: "Oratio ad crucem cum septem

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112 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 139–41.

113 Detlev Zimpel, ed. and trans., *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum, Über die Unterweisung der Geistlichen*, vol. 2, Fontes Christiani 61 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 266–67. "*Obsecrationes* are entreaties or petitions on account of sins . . . *Orationes* are the means by which we offer or have made a vow to God." English translations from this text are my own. Zimpel cites Cassian's *Conlationes* as a source; it is also noteworthy that he translates *orationes* as *Gelübdgebete*, "vowing prayers."

114 For example, in the copy of the *Psalmi de paenitentia* in the *Galba Prayerbook*. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 75–79.

115 Hans Sauer, ed., *Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1978), p. 349. "The first mentioned prayer, which we call the Creed."

petitionibus."[116] Prayers at the canonical hours, or Special Offices modeled on them, could be referred to as a *cursus*, such as the "cursus de sancta trinitate" in the *Crowland Psalter*;[117] times for morning prayer could be referred to thus in Old English, "morgengebedtida," as observed by the subject of the prose *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*.[118]

Manuscript Contexts

Although certain texts seem to have been popular and were recopied in many manuscripts, it is important to note that the prayer collections discussed in this book did not follow a particular pattern: as Waldhoff notes, the early medieval *libellus precum* differs from the later Book of Hours in that there was no set canon of texts which it should have contained.[119] Instead, we can speak of the genres and types of prayers which seem to have been popular with the creators of these manuscripts. Having no fixed prescriptions for their collections, monks, nuns, and medical practitioners must have copied out prayers on the basis of whether they were considered to be good, holy, and effective for their needs. Prayers which recur in several manuscripts, and which were built on and rewritten by different users, presumably became popular for one of these reasons.[120] Therefore, the selection of prayers from liturgical sources for reuse in more informal prayer collections can arguably be regarded as a kind of litmus test for the liturgy. Private prayer collections reveal to us what was believed to be most important and most useful in it, at least insofar as could be practiced without the aid of a priest. At the other end of the formality spectrum,

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116 "Pro sancta cruce tua." Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 237. "Prayer to the cross with seven petitions."

117 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 296, fol. 127v.

118 Paul Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Miniaturen*, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1909), p. 135.

119 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 5.

120 An interesting approach to the replication of monastic culture has been taken by Michael Drout. Using meme theory as an explanation of how traditions are made and handed down, he studies the Benedictine Rule, Anglo-Saxon wills, and Old English wisdom poetry as containing examples of successful cultural memes. Drout, *How Tradition Works: A Meme-based Cultural Poetics of the Anglo-Saxon Tenth Century*, Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 306 (Tempe: 2006); for his basic concepts of *recognitio*, *actio* and *justificatio*, and how they determine which "meme-plexes" are most likely to survive, see pp. 12–19.

some words used in medical prayer may not have been understood by the speaker, but were nevertheless considered to be of benefit to the patient.

This book will consider the differences between copies of the same prayer, particularly in the case study of prayers for the canonical hours at the end of chapter 2. However, I will not be preoccupied with reconstructing the original version of a text, much less with seeking an "authentic" version. Every copy of a prayer or prayer collection, however much it was re-copied and altered, was an authentic version in the form in which the copyist found it or adapted it. Sarah Larratt Keefer notes, for example, that the scribe of London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 427 chose to copy only part of the poem known as *A Prayer*, because that portion fitted with the manuscript's theme of confession and contrition.[121] Likewise, I will pay attention to which prayers were copied together with which other prayers, and to the use of script hierarchies, initials, and color. Keefer's article begins by stating an important principle: "[t]he way in which we understand Old English verse 'text' when it is written down should inherently be governed by the manuscript versions in which it appears."[122] Comparing the two extant versions of *A Prayer* (in London, British Library Cotton MS Julius A II and Lambeth Palace 427), she notes that the scribe of the former used page layout and colored initials in order to emphasize textual repetitions and contrasts, whereas the compiler of the latter excerpted part of the longer text which was of particular relevance to a penitential collection.[123] Keefer's work is of great importance to this study because of her emphasis on the text as it appears in the manuscript, rather than in printed editions, and her consideration of the use of codicological clues to determine the scribe's or compiler's intentions.

Psalters from the Anglo-Saxon era, and indeed afterwards, typically include a few quires of prayers. M. J. Toswell has noted that, before the popularization of the Books of Hours, the psalter was the most widespread genre of book used for private devotions amongst the wealthy laity – indeed, she argues that the collection of prayers and devotions together with the psalter ultimately led to the creation of the Book of Hours.[124] Although my concern in this book is more with prayer collections in monastic usage, Toswell reminds us that a psalter

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121 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*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 39–40.

122 Keefer, p. 21.

123 Keefer, pp. 34–43.

124 Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, pp. 18, 27.

could be owned either by individuals or by a community, and makes the important point that the texts chosen for inclusion within it suggest the preoccupations of their creators and users.[125] In a discussion of the eighth-century *Vespasian Psalter* (London, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian A I), Helmut Gneuss makes the interesting point that, in the eleventh century, Roman psalters such as *Vespasian* were on the way towards becoming obsolete: "[i]m 11. Jahrhundert wurde das Psalterium Romanum durch das Gallicanum verdrängt. Da der Vespasian-Psalter das Romanum enthielt, war er zu Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts – in den Augen der damaligen Zeit – praktisch wertlos."[126] 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.

As well as their origins, the structure and length of prayers should also be mentioned: many prayers tend to be short, of a similar length and structure to a liturgical collect. Noting that, until around the year 1000, they were addressed only to God the Father, Peter Cobb summarizes the form of early Christian collects thus:

(1) an address to God;
(2) a relative or participial clause referring to some attribute or saving act of God;
(3) the petition;
(4) the purpose for which we ask;
(5) the conclusion.[127]

A group of prayers which will be discussed in chapter 1 fits this pattern exactly. For example:

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125 Toswell, pp. 97–98.

126 Helmut Gneuss, "Zur Geschichte des Ms. Vespasian A.I," *Anglia* 75 (1957), p. 128. "In the eleventh century, the Roman psalter was displaced by the Gallican. Since the *Vespasian Psalter* contained the Roman, by the end of the eleventh century it was – in the eyes of the time – practically worthless." On the psalter, see Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 381; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 203; T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 22. 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, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 17–18.

127 Peter G. Cobb, "The Liturgy of the Word," in *The Study of Liturgy*, rev. ed., ed. Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, Edward Yarnold, and Paul Bradshaw (London: SPCK, 1992), p. 225.

(1) Domine sancte pater omnipotens et misericors Deus

(2) qui coequalem, coeternum et consubstantialem tibi ante omnia secula fil-ium ineffabiliter genuisti, cum quo atque cum Spiritu sancto ex te eodem-que filio procedente celum et terram, mare et quecumque in eis existunt, uisibilia atque inuisibilia creasti, te laudo, te adoro, teque glorifico

(3) Esto, queso, propitius mihi miserrimo/a peccatori/trici

(4) et ne despicias me opus manuum tuarum, sed ineffabilitem bonitatem tuam salua et adiuua me, propter sanctum nomen tuum

(5) Per eundem Dominum nostrum, qui tecum coeterno patre in unitate eiusdem.[128]

Here, only the words of praise beginning "te laudo," in which the speaker tem-porarily abandons the complex clauses and praises God in very simple words, break the pattern of the original liturgical form.

Other prayers, particularly for use in confession, are longer and made up of several sections in quite different styles, such as a group of short, repeated peti-tions; I refer to these as being in a "litanic" style. The prayer "Qui in hunc mun-dum" uses various literary styles and includes passages of this kind, as these brief excerpts show: "Domine Ihesu [*sic*] Christe qui in hunc mundum propter nos pec-catores de sinu patris aduenisti ut de Ade peccato nos redimires. . . .D*omi*ne d*eus* om*nipoten*s, libera me de protoplasto satane. D*omi*ne d*eus* om*nipoten*s, libera me de uerm‹e immorta›li etern[o]. . . .Auxil‹iat›ri‹x› sis m‹ihi› trinitas *sanct*a. Exau‹di› me, d*omi*ne; tu es d*eus* m*eus* uerus, tu es pater meus sanctus, tu es d*eus* m*eus* pius, tu es d*eus* m*eus* magnus. . . ."[129] Indeed, the section beginning with the final

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128 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 136–37. "O Lord Holy Father, almighty and merciful God, who ineffably created the Son, coequal, consubstatial, and coeternal with you before all worlds, with whom and with the Holy Spirit proceeding from you and from that same Son, you created things visible and invisible, heaven and earth, the sea, and all things that are in it; I praise you, I adore you, and I glorify you. I ask, be favourable to me, a pitiable sinner, and do not despise me, the work of your hands, but through your ineffable goodness save and help me because of your holy name. Through our same Lord, who coeternal with you, the Father, in unity of the same."

129 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 61, 64, 66. "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 . . . O Lord God almighty, free me from the first-created Satan. O Lord God almighty, free me from the eternal and immortal worm . . . Be a helper to me, Holy Trinity. Hear me, O Lord: you are my true God. You are my sacred Father. You are my holy God. You are my great God." I have substituted "eterno" for Muir's "eterna."

of these three quotations was sometimes copied as an entirely separate prayer.[130] It may well be that the version of "Qui in hunc mundum" as found in the *Galba Prayerbook* and other sources was created out of shorter pre-existent prayers. Alternatively, the opposite will have happened in some cases: a monk or nun may have read a prayer in one manuscript and decided to copy only a part of it into his or her new text. Of course, it is not always clear in which direction such an alteration took place.

What were the Practical Contexts of Prayer?

Although this book is ultimately a textual study, it seeks to emphasize 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. Rachel Fulton has asked what effect the practice of spending many hours in prayer, both corporate and private, would have had on people's inner experience, and in what practical contexts they would have done so.[131] Referring to Admont, Stiftsbibliothek MS 289, an early copy of Anselm's prayers made for Matilda, countess of Tuscany, Fulton asks, "[w]here would the nun or Matilda have taken up the book? At what time of day or night?...Would she have memorized the prayers first[?]...If alone, would the reader have spoken the words aloud, in a slight murmur, or silently 'in her heart'?"[132] Accordingly, I consider how the Anglo-Saxons prayed, at which times, in which places, and using which bodily postures or gestures. In chapter 2, I will consider the time of day at which one was advised to pray, and on which days of the week. The posture which one was expected to use will also be discussed from time to time. Some prayers require the speaker to be prostrate upon the floor; *Gyf ðe ðynce*, discussed in chapter 4, instructs the speaker to hold the arms outstretched, in cruciform position. The presence of such instructions, however, implies that these were not the typical postures adopted in private prayer. Two Carolingian prayers, both known in the late Anglo-Saxon church, are worth noting in this respect. The confession "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," attributed to Alcuin, includes a list of sins committed by the speaker with each part of the body,

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130 In Paris 2731A, the *Libellus Trecensis*, and *Libellus Parisinus*, for example, the section beginning "Auxiliatrix esto mihi" appears alone. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 388; Wilmart, *Libelli precum*, pp. 13, 42.

131 Rachel Fulton, "Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice," *Speculum* 81 (2006), pp. 700–8.

132 Fulton, pp. 718–19.

including the phrase "[g]enua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem libenter flexi,"[133] implying that Alcuin or the true original composer of the text assumed that prayer would take place upon bended knees. However, "Mane cum surrexero," found in some of the same manuscripts, includes the words: "[c]ustodi 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."[134] The composer expected that prayer would be said whilst standing, with the hands raised. It may, of course, be that both practices were commonplace, as both prayers assume their respective bodily postures to be a given. As for bodily gesture, I will examine this particularly in chapter 3, considering references to the various ways in which the sign of the cross could be made.

Terms Used, Gendering, Text Naming, Major Reference Works, and Translation

Most of the human beings referred to in this book are now, unfortunately, unknown to us: aside from Ælfwine, Dean of the New Minster in Winchester, St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Alcuin of York, the names of the users of the manuscripts which I study, and of the composers of the prayers within them, are now lost. I therefore need to fall back on terminology for the people who produced these texts, most of whom will have been monks or nuns.

While the *writer* or *composer* of a text is the person who originally thought up the words, the *scribe* or *copyist* is the person who wrote it down in its surviving manuscript copy. Where gendered grammatical forms are used to describe the speaker of the prayer, the scribe may have chosen to use his or her own gender: the existence of prayers in which a later glossator has altered the grammar suggests that later readers cared about the gendering of their prayers. Nevertheless, it cannot be said for certain that a scribe would not have copied from his or her exemplar without altering the gendering, even if it did not match his or her own.

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133 Jonathan Black, ed., "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin's *Confessio peccatorum pura* and the Seven Penitential Psalms (Use 1)," *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003), l. 27. "I have freely bent my knees in fornication more than in prayer."
134 Wilmart, *Libellus Trecensis*, p. 11. "Guard my feet lest they wander around idle homes, but let them stand in prayer of God. Guard my hands, lest they be frequently stretched out to take gifts, but let them rather be raised cleanly and purely in the prayers of the Lord."

The *compiler* of a manuscript, or of part of a manuscript, refers to the person who decided to assemble a collection of certain texts in one particular order. This could be the scribe him- or herself, or one who instructed the scribe of an extant manuscript, but it could also refer to the person who determined the contents of this prayer collection, perhaps several exemplars ago, and not of the surviving manuscript.

The terms *user*, *reader*, and *speaker* denote the person who read and used the texts within a manuscript, perhaps some time after its original creation. Even though we know the original user of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, an eleventh-century collection designed by or for a known individual, it must be remembered that other people, even some time after Dean Ælfwine's death, would have used the manuscript. A prayer with masculine grammar might well have been used by a female speaker, and vice versa; however, for ease of reference, I refer to the implied speaker as "he" where masculine forms are used, and "she" where they are feminine.

Lacking a single "authoritative" version of a text, let alone a stable "title," I discuss prayers by giving them a name, usually taken from the opening words of the prayer, minus any opening address to God or the saint, which might lead to confusion with other prayers. For example, the prayer which opens "Domine iesu christe, qui in hunc mundum propter nos peccatores de sinu patris aduenisti ut de Ade peccato nos redimires"[135] is titled "Qui in hunc mundum." I use a single consistent spelling for the prayer name despite the variation which is found between different manuscripts: for example, *Gyf ðe ðynce* is used to refer to the prayer program which begins with that incipit in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* and in Tiberius A III, despite the fact that it is spelled "Gif þe þince" in the latter. An index of prayers, listed according to title, can be found at the end of the book.

I quote from printed editions where they are available, giving the text as it appears in the edition and citing page numbers, or, where it is more helpful, chapter or line numbers; I have also consulted original manuscripts, high-quality online digital reproductions, and microfiches, normalizing spacing and word division where necessary. The British Library manuscripts which I cite can all be consulted online, and, as discussed above, quotations from the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* are based on the digital copy, with page numbers in Hughes's edition given for reference. In order to make this book more accessible outside of the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, I have translated all quotations

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135 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 61. "O Lord Jesus Christ, who came into this world from the bosom of the Father because of us sinners."

that are not in modern English, including Latin, Old English, German, and French. All translations are my own, except where stated: some modern editions include good facing-page translations, but in the case of older translations which deliberately use unusual, Old English-influenced vocabulary, such as Oswald Cockayne's 1864–1866 work *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft*, I have instead used my own, plain English translations.

It has been necessary to impose limits on what would otherwise have been an extremely wide field of research by excluding certain subjects. The tenth and eleventh centuries are a particularly fruitful period for research, perhaps more so than the earlier Anglo-Saxon centuries. Some aspects of prayer have already been studied in greater depth by others, such as prayer to the Virgin Mary by Mary Clayton, and litanies by Michael Lapidge.[136] 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, or 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 from this time relate to monks, nuns, and secular clergy, and so the monastic experience must necessarily be the focus of this work, although in the later chapters I do investigate medical and confessional prayers, which are likely to have involved the laity.[137] While I do not consider the Paternoster and Creed in depth, it should be noted that the homilists Ælfric of Eynsham and Wulfstan of York both insist that they should be known by every Christian;[138] their use in healing prayer will be discussed in chapter 4.

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[136] Mary Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 90–121; Michael Lapidge, ed., *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints,* Henry Bradshaw Society 106 (London: Boydell Press, 1990).

[137] 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), pp. 47–61; Cooper, "Inculcating the Idea of the Inner Heart into the Laity of Pre-Conquest England," *Mirator* 9, no. 1 (2008), pp. 1–17; and John D. Niles, "The *Æcerbot* Ritual in Context," in *Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays*, ed. Niles (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1980), pp. 44–56.

[138] "Feria III De dominica oratione" and "Feria IIII De fide catholica," in Peter Clemoes, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, Early English Text Society s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 325–44; "De fide catholica" and "To eallum folke," in Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 157–68.

From Series to Office: Different Levels of Organization in Prayer Collections

The fundamental purpose of this book is an exploration of the groupings in which Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns copied and used their prayers, and of how they elaborated these over time. Yet, with the layout of manuscripts in this era, it is not always clear where one "group" of prayers begins and another ends. It is not even obvious where one prayer begins and ends. Occasionally, prayers appear alone, between other kinds of texts: often, these will have been copied in after the original contents of the manuscript, perhaps some time later, filling in blank spaces and folios, or in the margins.[139] More often, however, they appear in groups. The manuscript sections which I will be discussing generally take the form of a seamless run of texts, with only a few rubrics to divide them up. Furthermore, the readers of these collections may have been free to use these manuscripts as they thought best, beginning and ending where they wished, and omitting the parts which they did not want to use. Therefore, in order to argue that a group of prayers was conceived of as a discrete group, complete in itself as a single act of devotion, I will consider some subtle but significant codicological clues. Page layout, the use of page space, and quiring may suggest how the scribe or compiler of a manuscript intended the texts to be used; so too do rubrics, the differing sizes of initials, the choice of colored inks, the hierarchy of scripts, lines, and markings within the manuscript, the leaving of blank space, and the use of an "Amen" at the end of a group of prayers. Another clue is the fact of a prayer program's survival in more than one manuscript. *Gyf ðe ðynce*, discussed in chapter 4, appears in two manuscripts and consists of a number of short prayers and antiphons, yet it is almost completely identical in the two sources – and, critically, in these manuscripts it is preceded and followed by entirely different texts. So the copyists of both evidently understood the program to begin and end in the same places.

A nuanced vocabulary for prayer groupings has not yet been fully developed. Waldhoff has very usefully written of (*Gebets*)*reihen* (prayer series) and

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139 For example, an Old English confessional prayer appears after a penitential manual in London, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian D XX, fols. 87r–92v; in the twelfth century, a prayer to a guardian angel was added onto a blank page left in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; and the eighth-century prayerbook London, British Library Royal MS 2 A XX was augmented in the tenth century by three scribes who added prayers into the margins. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," pp. 97–100; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 3–4, 128; 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), pp. 223–303.

Gebetsstaffeln (prayer sequences) in his attempt to reconstruct Alcuin's prayer-book for Charlemagne.[140] I will seek not merely to create such terms in English, but to define them, clearly distinguishing between different groups of prayers according to how they were conceived of, copied out, and used: these terms are *series*, *sequence*, *program*, and *office*.

Series

At the most basic level of textual organization, prayers can simply be grouped together in a section of a manuscript lasting for several folios. In *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, this can be seen in a series of prayers beginning on folio 56v of Titus D XXVI, following a litany and, before that, the *Psalmi de paenitentia* which will be discussed in chapter 2.[141] The opening prayers in this collection begin with rubrics such as "Collecta. Oremus," and use the first person grammatical plural; others are in the singular, including the one which names the speaker as Ælfwine.[142] The specific usage, or intended usage, of these prayers is not clear. Was the reader intended to read numerous folios of prayers at once, or just short sections at a time? Alternatively, did the compiler merely intend to copy down an assortment of prayers to be said individually, when and where the reader thought best?

With this in mind, it can be proposed that a "prayer series" is a group of prayers which includes few rubrics, and those that it does include offer no indication of how the prayers should be used; a group of prayers in which it is not altogether clear where the reader was supposed to start and finish praying. Compared to other kinds of grouping, the prayer series has little or no reliance on repetition and patterning, and there is no use of items such as psalms, Paternosters, or Kyries to link the prayers together. Most of the grouping of prayers towards the end of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* can for this reason be described as a "prayer series."

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140 See, for instance, the use of these terms in relation to the prayers to the Trinity which will be the main subject of chapter 1. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 240–41.

141 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 184–97.

142 Günzel, pp. 184 ("Collect. Let us pray"), 187.

Sequence

However, there are some prayers on these folios which are gathered together according to a common theme, suggesting that the compiler was thinking about how his or her material could be organized. For example, some prayers on folios 62v–65v of Titus D XXVI all ask forgiveness for the dead, and they begin with one headed "Pro defvnctis."[143] Further on in the same series, on folios 69v–71r, a prayer begins with the rubric "Oratio mane prima," followed by another also intended for morning use to the Holy Cross; another prayer, four antiphons, and a *benedictio* (blessing) follow, before another prayer for the living and the dead.[144] Even more strongly suggestive of a common theme is a group of prayers to the Trinity and the saints, on folios 86r–93v of Titus D XXVII. These short groupings of prayers could have been suitable for use as discrete acts of prayer in their own right, but other than their common theme there are no further indications for how they should be used.

I refer to a grouping of this kind as a "sequence." The prayers will probably have some rubrics, perhaps with some indication of how they should be used, though not complete directions. There may be repetition and patterning: for example, as was seen above, the prayers to the Trinity are united by the phrase "te laudo, te adoro, te glorifico." There are also some suggestions that the sequence begins at one point and ends at another, though it may be both preceded and succeeded by other prayers.

Program

On folios 66–73 of Titus D XXVII, a complete quire in itself, there are some prayers to the Holy Cross. This group is worthy of particularly close examination, as it goes beyond the simple grouping seen in the prayer sequence. Table 1 presents a general overview of the prayers within these folios. The entries before the first set of dotted lines, and after the second set, are sections which appear to have been usable as programs for private devotion in their own right, as will be argued below.

This quire contains a number of short prayers, featuring repetition, using rubrics, and based on a common theme: it is an excellent example of the prayer

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143 Günzel, pp. 188–89.
144 Günzel, p. 192. "Early morning prayer."

Table 1: Ælfwine's Devotions to the Holy Cross.[145]

Fol.	Rubrics	Description
66r–67v	"Sɪ ᴠɪs ᴏʀᴀʀᴇ ᴀɴᴛᴇ ᴄʀᴠᴄɪꜰɪxᴜᴍ ʜᴏs ᴘsᴀʟᴍᴏs ᴄᴀɴᴛᴀ. Aᴅ ᴘᴇᴅᴇᴍ ᴅᴇxᴛʀᴠᴍ," etc.	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
67v–68r	"Pʀᴇᴄᴇs"	Biblical verses, with the refrain "Domine, miserere nobis"
68r–69r	"Cᴠᴍ ʜᴏᴄ ᴅɪᴄɪs, ᴘʀᴏsᴛᴇʀɴᴇ ɪɴ ᴛᴇʀʀᴀᴍ ᴇᴛ ᴅɪᴄ"	Antiphons and a prayer, linked by Paternosters
69r–v	—	"Tuam crucem adoramus"
69v–70r	"Oʀᴀᴛɪᴏ"	"Ave, crux gloriosissima"
70r–v	"Hᴀᴇ sᴠɴᴛ .ɪɪɪɪ. ᴄᴀᴠsᴀᴇ ϙᴠɪʙᴠs sᴀɴᴄᴛᴀ ᴄʀᴠx ᴀᴅᴏʀᴀᴛᴠʀ"	Four reasons for adoring the cross
70v–71r	"Oʀᴀᴛɪᴏ ᴀᴅ ᴄʀᴠᴄᴇᴍ ᴄᴠᴍ sᴇᴘᴛᴇᴍ ᴘᴇᴛɪᴛɪᴏɴɪʙᴠs"	"Pro sancta cruce tua" (a simple *lorica* for the protection of seven parts of the body)
71r–v	"Aɴᴛᴇ ᴄʀᴠᴄᴇᴍ ᴅᴏᴍɪɴɪ ᴅᴇᴘʀᴇᴄᴀᴛɪᴏ sᴀɴᴄᴛᴀ ʟᴇɢᴇɴᴅᴀ"	"Per gloriam et uirtutem"
71v–72r	"Pᴀssɪᴏ ʜɪᴄ ᴅᴏᴍɪɴɪ ʙʀᴇᴠɪᴛᴇʀ ᴄᴏɴsᴄʀɪᴘᴛᴀ ᴛᴇɴᴇᴛᴠʀ. Aᴅ sᴀɴᴄᴛᴀᴍϙᴠᴇ ᴄʀᴠᴄᴇᴍ. Bᴏɴᴀ ʜɪᴄ ᴏʀᴀᴛɪᴏ ᴄᴏɴsᴛᴀᴛ"	"Qui uoluisti pro redemptione mundi"
72r–73v	"Oʀᴀᴛɪᴏ ɪɴ .ɪ. ᴍᴀɴᴇ" "Pʀᴇᴄᴇs" "Cᴏʟʟᴇᴄᴛᴀ" "Aʟɪᴀ" "Cᴏʟʟᴇᴄᴛᴀ" "Oʀᴀᴛɪᴏ"	Psalm 5, Gloria patri, Kyrie, Paternoster, Creed Psalm *preces* "Respice, quesumus" "Gregem tuum, quesumus" "Adesto familie tue" "Obsecro te, Domine Iesu Christe" (*lorica* for the protection of eight parts of the body) and a final blessing

sequence as discussed above. However, the beginning and end of the quire have been organized with particular care.

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145 Günzel, pp. 123–28.

I would propose that these two groupings could have been separated from the others and used on their own as complete programs for private devotion. For example, immediately following the miniature of the crucifixion on folio 65v is the rubric "Sɪ ᴠɪs ᴏʀᴀʀᴇ ᴀɴᴛᴇ ᴄʀᴠᴄɪꜰɪxᴜᴍ ʜᴏs ᴘsᴀʟᴍᴏs ᴄᴀɴᴛᴀ," followed by psalms and prayers to be said to seven named parts of Christ's body.[146] This short program could stand alone, separate from the rest of the collection. Similarly, on folios 72r–73v, at the end of the quire, there appears the rubric "Oʀᴀᴛɪᴏ ɪɴ .I. ᴍᴀɴᴇ ᴀᴅ ᴄʀᴠᴄᴇᴍ,"[147] followed by a psalm, the Gloria Patri, Kyrie, Paternoster, Creed, some *preces*, three collects, a short *lorica*, and a final blessing before the end of the text.[148] It is not clear whether the rubric was intended to refer to all of the following prayers, but it is arguable that these could have formed an act of devotion to the cross on their own. Therefore, while prayer sequences carry with them some suggestions of a beginning and end point and of instructions for use, the prayer program is a more complete, formalized act of worship, giving not merely a few rubrics, but detailed descriptions of how, when, and why to use it. The prayers are linked together through the use of psalms, Paternosters, Kyries, antiphons, or indeed all four.

Some prayer programs take the form of a group of prayers taken all together from a particular liturgy, with a clear beginning and end point and directions for use. In chapter 3, I will discuss the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross which appear in, among other places, the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, and which more clearly demonstrate how a group of prayers could be assembled as a complete act of private worship. Similarly, the *Galba Prayerbook* contains several programs of psalm incipits, Paternosters, and collects, taken from the same feast or organized according to a common theme, the evidence for which I will discuss further on in this chapter.

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146 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 123–24. "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 program 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*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 3 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2010), pp. 105–16; Karkov, "Text as Image," pp. 98–104.
147 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 127. "Prayer in the early morning to the cross."
148 Günzel, pp. 127–28.

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 Blessed Virgin Mary follows this plan:

Table 2: The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook.*[149]

Fols.	Item
81v	Rubric: "In honore sancte Mariae" "Deus in adiutorium meum intende" [Ps. 69:2] Gloria Patri Antiphons and psalm verses Capitulum: "Ab initio ante secula creata sum" Response and versicle Hymn: "Ave Mari[s] stella"
81v–82r	Versicle and antiphons
82r	Kyrie Paternoster Creed Antiphons "Domine exaudi" [Ps. 101/142] Collect: "Averte, quesumus, Domine, iram tuam" Collect: "Famulorum tuorum, quesumus" "Supplicationes servorum tuorum": four prayers
82r–85v	"Praeces sancte": five shorter prayers.

The Special Offices of the Trinity and Holy Cross, immediately preceding this one, follow the same pattern, although the Office of the Virgin includes a greater number of final prayers. The offices are not greatly different from the prayer programs in their organization around a common theme, their use of linking Paternosters and psalms, and their indications for use. Where they differ from them is in their extended length and their closeness to their liturgical origins. They open with the verse "Deus in adiutorium," with which the communal liturgy of the hours

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149 Günzel, pp. 133–36.

began,[150] and include a hymn. These texts are offices in their own right, although, as Günzel notes, only for one hour.[151]

These four kinds of groupings – series, sequence, program, and office – are the main concepts which I will use to discuss the organization of prayers in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. As the later medieval Book of Hours was based on similar 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 were created. In order to see how this may have been done, we should look to collections such as *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, and the *Galba Prayerbook*, with their sometimes unique but nonetheless complex programs for personal devotion. However, it must of course be remembered that these terms are only approximate, and that not all of them existed in contemporary terminology. Secondly, although there are reasons to believe that some groups of prayers were copied down with a specific beginning and end point, medieval manuscript usage could, of course, be very fluid. Outside of the mass and the offices, monks and nuns may well have had the freedom to use their prayer collections as they wished.

Chapter Summaries

The five main chapters of this book will demonstrate the ideas which I have so far outlined, each being focused on a different genre of prayer. Chapter 1 illustrates the organization of prayer collections by examining a sequence of prayers to the Trinity and saints which were found in a number of manuscripts, but were treated differently by each compiler. This sequence is then compared with more complex prayer programs and offices of the Trinity, in order to demonstrate the differences between groups of prayers which were rooted in the liturgy and those which were not.

Chapter 2 turns to prayer groupings for use at specific times of the day, or based on the liturgy of the hours. An examination of morning prayer will introduce the issue of how prayer was supposed to be practiced: I will note the importance of rubrics and directions for teaching the reader how to pray, resulting in the creation of new and unique prayer collections. As the psalms were the most important expression of monastic worship, I will discuss how monks and nuns used their deep knowledge of them to create prayer collections

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150 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 18.1.

151 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 53.

in which the reader was able to meet his or her personal needs. Finally, I will examine the relationship between the liturgy of the hours and private prayer, ending with an in-depth study of a group of *Prayers ad horas* in Latin and Old English, in which I investigate a previously unnoticed connection between the Carolingian *libelli precum* and the *Galba Prayerbook*, demonstrating the importance of the vernacular in late Anglo-Saxon prayer.

In chapter 3, I will apply the same concepts to prayer to the Holy Cross, a genre in which bodily gesture and devotion before images were of particular importance. For this reason, I begin by examining ceremonies for blessing crosses recorded in the Anglo-Saxon benedictionals. 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, while indicating some of the uses of the cross in lay religious practice. The remainder of this chapter discusses Special Offices, and in particular some prayers for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday which were thoughtfully reworked as a basis for a range of different prayer programs. An increasing sophistication can be seen in these experiments in private worship, which draw on similar sources and yet have subtly different emphases.

The sign of the cross was also an important part of medical and apotropaic prayer. The next chapter will therefore take a slightly different turn, discussing prayer programs which may have been practiced by laypeople as well as by monastics. Beginning with prayer and psalm programs intended to protect the speaker from harm, it will then discuss those which were supposed to cure illnesses or keep a person in good health. These remedies often make use of prayers and other healing words as well as herbal medicines: through a study of relevant terminology, I will investigate how the concept of "prayer" may have been considerably broader than one might think if there were no extant medical prayers. In a series of short case studies, I will demonstrate the various ways in which people could pray in a context far removed from the ceremonies of the church, but without necessarily being forbidden by its leaders. With so many directions for their purpose and context, prayer between a physician and patient offers a glimpse of the varied situations in which Anglo-Saxons could pray outside of the liturgy.

Paired prayer was also an essential feature of confession, which is the subject of chapter 5. While some liturgical prayers could be easily adapted for different contexts, the guidance of a priest or abbot played an important part in confession and penance. This chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of confession before examining the different kinds which existed in Anglo-Saxon England, both public and private. Some texts found in monastic compendia would have been

particularly suitable for confession in pairs, or before and after meeting a priest; I discuss the situations in which these may have been used, and the possibility that some confessional prayers could be said to God alone, or at least without the aid of a priest. With this in mind, I finish the chapter with an extended discussion of the prayers of confession and contrition in late Anglo-Saxon compendia, and in particular the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan.* Notably long compared to those of other genres, these prayers make use of striking rhetorical devices in order to encourage the penitent to confess and to stir up sorrow and tears. Although only a priest could offer full forgiveness of sins, in any situation confessional prayers could be used to bring the penitent to meditate upon sin and forgiveness.

1 Prayers to the Trinity and Saints

In the Introduction, I outlined the differences between the simple series of prayers and the thematic sequence, between the sequence and the more complex program, and between the program and the office. These different kinds of prayer organization will be explored in greater depth in this chapter and in those which follow. I will begin by examining a sequence of prayers to the Holy Trinity and saints, which originated in the Carolingian church and became popular with compilers of late Anglo-Saxon prayer collections. By comparing a number of different manuscript copies, I will show how these compilers revised and adapted the prayers which they had inherited in order to reflect their own concerns, without ever developing the collection into anything more complex than a prayer sequence. I will then compare this with a liturgically based prayer program for Trinity Sunday in the *Galba Prayerbook*, using other, similar programs in the same manuscript in order to reinforce my argument, demonstrating how the program differs from the simpler sequences that have already been discussed. Finally, I will discuss texts in the *Crowland Psalter* and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* which have already been identified as Special Offices by scholars of early medieval liturgy. More consciously modeled on the monastic offices, these are of a genre already recognized by scholars of early medieval prayer looking towards the high and late medieval Books of Hours, whose studies can only be enhanced by a look backwards, o8r sideways, to the other prayer collections of the time and before.

The *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*: Six Prayers to the Persons of the Trinity and to the Virgin

The prayers to the Trinity and saints with which I will begin are generally prefaced with rubrics such as "Oratio ad personam Patris," and so on; on this basis, I have titled them the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, although this collective rubric is not itself used in any manuscript source. The prayers consist of a core collection of four which are believed to have been written together, one to each member of the Trinity, and one which is addressed to the Trinity as a whole; they are generally seen accompanied by a fifth, usually addressed to Christ, a sixth to the Virgin Mary, and a looser assortment of prayers to the saints, generally appearing together in the manuscript. As discussed in the Introduction, Waldhoff believes that the prayer collection which Alcuin compiled for Charlemagne survives, albeit in an altered form, in some extant manuscripts and is best attested in Paris 2731A and

d'Orville 45;[152] at least some of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* appear in both manuscripts,[153] and Waldhoff believes that they formed part of Alcuin's original collection.[154] Whether or not his theory is correct, it is certainly true that these prayers to the Trinity are extremely closely associated together in the manuscript record, both in the Carolingian church and in the Anglo-Saxon.

The following table briefly lists the main six prayers to the persons of the Trinity and to the Virgin. Intended purely for guidance, it is not a faithful reproduction of the text in any one manuscript, or a formal collated edition of several, but merely a rough indication of what a typical rubric and incipit for each prayer looks like. It also shows the editorial "title" which I have assigned to each, according to the practice which I apply throughout this book.

Table 1.1: *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*: the basic six prayers to the Trinity and Virgin.

No. in sequence	Rubric	Editorial name	Opening lines
1	Oratio ad personam patris	"Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum"	Domine deus pater omnipotens qui consubstantialem et coaeternum tibi ante omnia ineffabiliter saecula filium genuisti
2	Oratio ad personam filii	"Qui es verus et omnipotens deus"	Domine Iesu Christe, filii Dei uiui, qui es verus et omnipotens deus
3	Oratio ad personam Spiritus Sancti	"Qui coaequalis, coaeternus, et consubstantialis"	Domine sanctus spiritus, Deus omnipotens, qui coaequalis, coaeternus, et consubstantialis patri filioque existens
4	Oratio ad sanctam et individuam Trinitatem	"Aeterne et ineffabilis"	Domine, deus omnipotens, aeterne et ineffabilis
5	Oratio ad Dominum Iesum Christum	"Rex virginum"	Domine Jesu Christe, rex virginum, integritatis amator
6	Oratio ad sanctam Dei genitricem	"Singularis meriti/ gratiae"	Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, mater et uirgo Maria

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152 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 116–26.
153 Waldhoff, pp. 382–87.
154 Waldhoff, p. 250.

An analysis of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*

The six prayers together are too long to reproduce in full. However, I will give the example of the first prayer in the sequence, in the earliest manuscript known to me, the *Libellus Trecensis*:

> Oratio eiusdem[155] ad Patrem. Domine deus pater omnipotens qui consubstantialem et coaeternum tibi ante omnia ineffabiliter saecula [filium genuisti],[156] cum quo atque cum sancto spiritu ex te eodemque filio procedente a te cuncta exsistunt, visibilia atque invisibilia creasti, te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico. Esto quaeso propitius mihi peccatori, et ne despicias me opus manuum tuarum, sed salva et adiuva me propter nomen sanctum tuum.[157]

"Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum" was written according to a specific structure. The rubric identifies the addressee as God the Father specifically, and the opening words address him as "Lord God, Father almighty." The "qui" clause ("qui...visibilia atque invisibilia creasti") defines him as the Creator, but this is broken up quite substantially by a complex clause identifying the Father as coeternal with the Son, expressing the belief that all things came into being through all three members of the Trinity, and that the Spirit proceeds both from the Father and from the Son. An abstract tenet of Christian theology, and specifically Western theology, is introduced into a relatively short prayer.[158] Yet this complex sentence, which reads more like a credal statement than a prayer, is followed by utterly simple and direct praise of God: "te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico."[159]

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155 As will be discussed below, the prayer immediately previous to this one is attributed to St. Ephrem: *eiusdem* implies that the scribe also believed these prayers to be by the saint. It should be noted that, although this rubric does not use the words *ad personam*, the following two do. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 14–15.

156 The words "filium genuisti" are missing from this manuscript: I have supplied them from other copies, such as the *Libellus Turonensis*. Wilmart, p. 139.

157 Wilmart, pp. 14–15. "Prayer by the same [saint] to the Father. O Lord God, Father almighty, who ineffably begot the Son, consubstantial and coeternal with you before all worlds, with whom and with the Holy Spirit proceeding from you and from that same Son, you created all things, visible and invisible, which exist from you; I adore you, I praise you, I glorify you. I ask, be favorable to me, a sinner, and do not despise me, the work of your hands, but save and help me because of your holy name."

158 Waldhoff links the four prayers to the Trinity to the Spanish Adoptionism controversy, finding in them textual parallels to the Athanasian Creed and Paulinus of Aquileia's confession of faith. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 244–47.

159 Commenting on a similar prayer in the *Waltham Chronicle*, Marjorie Chibnall and Leslie Watkiss compare these words to "laudamus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te" from the Gloria in excelsis. Marjorie Chibnall and Leslie Watkiss, eds., *The Waltham Chronicle: An Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and its Conveyance to Waltham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 14, n. 2.

"Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum" ends with the request for God's mercy upon the speaker, a sinner, and for his aid and salvation. The speaker refers to himself as the very work of God's hands: although he has already praised him for being the creator of all things, he makes his belief more personal by speaking about himself and by picturing God as having physical hands.

The prayers to the Son, to the Spirit, and to the Trinity as a whole, follow the same pattern, each using the words "te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico."[160] The fifth prayer breaks this pattern. It begins by addressing Christ simply as "Domine Iesu Christe, rex virginum, integritatis amator": with no praise formulas, this prayer simply asks for protection against the enemy's arrows, and for humility and stillness of heart, and that he may please God every day of his life.[161] The sixth praises Mary more fulsomely for being the one in whom Christ took on human form, and asks for her intercessions, so that the speaker might come to the eternal kingdom through her merits.[162]

The first four prayers, therefore, are united by a strongly Trinitarian theology and the same words of praise, followed by a request for mercy, salvation, and inspiration as befits the role of each member of the Trinity. The following two have far looser connections with this basic pattern: another prayer to the Son of God is introduced, plus one to the Mother of God, but they are less credally oriented, and lack the "te adoro" phrase. Noting the recurring praise formula, Waldhoff concludes that the prayers to the three Persons and to the Trinity formed the *ursprüngliche Kern* (original core) of the group; by the fourth prayer, he remarks, the composer seems to have already said all he needed to say, judging from the relatively short address made in that prayer, compared to those in the foregoing three.[163] Although he believes these four to have appeared in Alcuin's prayerbook for Charlemagne, he leaves open the question of whether they were in fact composed by Alcuin specially for the prayerbook.[164] The oddity of the Trinity prayer being followed by another to the Son implies that the full prayer sequence "nicht in einem Zug konzipiert und verfaßt wurde, sondern aus unterschiedlichem Material zusammengewachsen ist."[165] Donald Bullough was convinced that Alcuin at the very least did a great deal to popularize the original four prayers, while perhaps being the author

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160 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 15–16.

161 Wilmart, p. 16. "O Lord Jesus Christ, king of virgins, lover of chastity."

162 Wilmart, pp. 16–17.

163 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 243.

164 Waldhoff, pp. 247–48.

165 Waldhoff, pp. 241–42. "Was not conceived and assembled in one go, but instead grew together from diverse material."

of "Rex virginum"; Henri Barré suggested that perhaps one of his followers instead might have been responsible for composing the prayers.[166]

The *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* in the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon manuscript record

The six prayers were copied together as a closely associated group in three Carolingian manuscripts, along with prayers to the apostles, confessors, and St. Benedict. However, the scribes of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts altered and extended this sequence in different ways. The main group of six prayers was shortened, or divided up and copied into different parts of the manuscript; and many more prayers to the angels and saints were used than in the Carolingian sources. It can be seen that these later copyists inherited a group of prayers and reused them to create new sequences for the different kinds of prayer which they required.

The table below demonstrates the close associations between the six main prayers, and the looser ones with the prayers to the saints, in the Carolingian *libelli precum* and the late Anglo-Saxon prayer collections.[167] It is not a comprehensive record of all the manuscripts in which the collection appears, but rather gives a small number of Carolingian sources as a point of comparison for the later Anglo-Saxon ones. Since so many different prayers are associated with them in the various sources, I have only listed those which occur three or more times, or which, particularly in the case of London, British Library Harley MS 863, are essential to my argument. I have used italics and an asterisk to indicate where the standard prayer to a particular saint does not occur, but a different prayer to

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166 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 (Washington D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 12–15; Henri Barré, *Prières anciennes de l'occident a la mère du sauveur* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1963), pp. 12–13.

167 Some or all of the prayers can be found in other manuscripts also, including, but not limited to: d'Orville 45, fols. 36v–37r; Angers, Bibliothèque municipale MS 18, fols. 178r–179v; Egerton MS 3763, fols. 88v–90v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. MS 1154, fol. 40r–v. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 240–41, n. 377. For Egerton MS 3763, see Odilo Heiming, "Ein benediktinisch-ambrosianisches Gebetbuch des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts: Brit. Mus. Egerton 3763 (ehemals Dyson Perrins 48)," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 8 (1964), pp. 410–11. John C. Hirsh has discussed the prayers' appearance in Rome, Bibliotheca nazionale centrale Sessorianus MS 71, a late ninth-century manuscript, in greater depth, noting how the compiler has grouped the prayers together according to which saint is being addressed, and the use of the collection to move the reader to personal devotion. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 67 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 15–16.

Table 1.2: The *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* in a select manuscript record, emphasizing the distinctions between the early Carolingian and later Anglo-Saxon sources.[168]

Prayer grouping	Member of Trinity/saints prayed to; title	Carolingian prayerbooks				Cambridge, UL Ff. 1.23 *Eadui Psalter*	Late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts			
		Trecensis	Turonensis	Paris 2731A	Titus D XXVII		*Bury Psalter*	BL Harley MS 863	Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 296	*Portiforium*
The early six prayers	Father ("Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum")	no. 1.7	no. 16.1	fol. 61r–v	fol. 86r	fols. 276v–277r	fol. 168v	fol. 114v	fol. 124v	
	Son ("Qui es verus et omnipotens deus")	no. 1.8	no. 16.2	fol. 61v	fol. 86r–v	fol. 277r	fol. 168v	fol. 114v	fol. 124v	pp. 582–83

(continued)

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168 I have given folio or page numbers as in the manuscript where possible: in the case of the *Libelli Trecensis* and *Turonensis*, for reasons of clarity I have given references to the item numbers in Wilmart's edition. Paris 2731A is edited in Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 341–91; *Trecensis* and *Turonensis* in Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 14–17, 139–41; Harley 863 in Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, cols. 449–54; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol.2: 2–24; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 126–37; Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," pp. 230–54; André Wilmart, ed., "Prayers of the *Bury Psalter*," *Downside Review* 48 (1930), pp. 6–7; for the *Winchcombe Psalter*, see Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. 1. 23, fols. 276v–277v.

Table 1.2 (continued)

Prayer grouping	Member of Trinity/saints prayed to; title	Carolingian prayerbooks					Late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts				
		Trecensis	Turonensis	Paris 2731A	Titus D XXVII	Cambridge, UL Ff. 1. 23	Eadui Psalter	Bury Psalter	BL Harley MS 863	Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce 296	Portiforium
	Holy Spirit ("Qui coaequalis, coaeternus et consubstantialis")	no. 1.9	no. 16.3	fols. 61v–62r	fols. 86v–87r	fols. 277r–v	fols. 171v–172r*	fol. 169r	fol. 115r	fol. 124v	p. 583
	Trinity ("Aeterne et ineffabilis")	no. 1.10	no. 16.4	fol. 62r	fols. 78v–79r		fol. 171r–v		fol. 115r		p. 583
	Christ ("Rex virginum")	no. 1.11	no. 16.5	fol. 62r–v	fol. 87r		fol. 171v				p. 583
	Virgin Mary ("Singularis meriti/gratiae")	no. 1.12	no. 16.6	fol. 62v	fol. 82r–v				fol. 115v	fol. 125r	p. 618
Other prayers to the angels and saints	Angels ("Precor vos sancti angeli")								fol. 116r		
	Apostles ("Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei")	no. 1.13	no. 16.7	fols. 62v–63r	fols. 90v–91r		fols. 184r–185v		fol. 116r	fol. 126v	p. 596

Confessors ("Obsecro vos beatissimi confessores")	no. 1.14	no. 16.9	fol. 63v		fol. 188v	*fol. 116v**	p. 598
Martyrs ("Sancti martyres gloriosi")					*fol. 187r–v**	fol. 116v	
St. Benedict ("Obsecro te beatissime Benedicte")		no. 16.8	fol. 63r	*fols. 89v–90v**	fol. 187v		*p. 598**
Virgins ("Sancte virgines gloriose")					fol. 189v	fol. 116v	
Holy Cross ("Per gloriam et virtutem")				fol. 71r–v	fol. 174r	fol. 115r	

the same saint is found instead. For example, the prayer to St. Benedict is usually one beginning "Obsecro vos sancte Benedicte," but in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, two other prayers to St. Benedict are found instead, beginning "Clarissime pater et dux monachorum" and "Sanctae [*sic*] ac beatissime domine et pater".[169]

From this table, it can be seen that the prayers are extremely closely associated in the Carolingian manuscripts, where the six prayers all appear and are usually in the same order. Although the Anglo-Saxon compilers broke up and altered the sequence somewhat, the prayers were nevertheless frequently copied together, or into the same manuscripts, though sometimes with different rubrics from those seen in the earlier sources.

The *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* in some Carolingian Manuscripts

Since the *Libellus Trecensis* is a little earlier than the other sources of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, it is all the more interesting that it is the only one in which the prayers are attributed to a named author. Before them, there appears a prayer of contrition to God, "Qui solus sine peccato," with the rubric "Orationes sancti Effrem diaconi."[170] This asks God for his mercy, that the speaker may join the angels, saints, and blessed in heaven, and is thus an ideal prayer with which to begin a group of prayers to God and the saints. The first six prayers introduced above then follow, with the rubrics "Oratio eiusdem ad Patrem," "Oratio eiusdem ad personam Filii," and so on.[171] The scribe therefore evidently understood the six prayers, plus the preceding "Qui solus sine peccato," to be the work of the fourth-century Syrian St. Ephrem.[172] The following two prayers, those to the apostles and confessors, are also attributed to Ephrem: they have the rubrics "Obsecratio eiusdem ad sanctos Apostolos" and "Obsecratio eiusdem ad plures confessores."[173] Notably, the first seven prayers are differentiated from the next two by the use of the terms *oratio* and

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169 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 139–40.

170 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 14. "Prayers of the deacon St. Ephrem."

171 Wilmart, pp. 14–16.

172 For Ephrem's impact upon the Anglo-Saxon church, see Bestul, "Ephraim the Syrian and Old English Poetry," *Anglia* 99 (1981), pp. 1–24; and 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 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 205–26.

173 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 16–17.

obsecratio, despite Barré's general observation that "les recueils carolingiens emploient indifféremment *oratio* et *obsecratio*."[174]

Waldhoff proposes that the scribe erroneously thought that the full sequence was composed by Ephrem and reflected this in the rubric.[175] It can be further noted that the attribution, however incorrect, reveals that the scribe evidently understood the contritional prayer, the four to the Trinity, "Rex virginum," and the prayers to Mary, the apostles, and the confessors – and no more than those – to have been composed by St. Ephrem. The prayers before and afterwards, however relevant, may then have been added to "Ephrem's" original grouping.

In the *Libellus Turonensis*, there is no such attribution. Following a prayer program based on the psalms,[176] the six prayers to the Trinity and Virgin appear, simply with the rubrics "Oratio ad Patrem," and so on.[177] As in the *Libellus Trecensis*, they are followed by "Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei" and "Obsecro vos beatissimi confessores," but interposed between those two is a prayer to St. Benedict, "Obsecro te beatissime Benedicte."[178] The prayer to the confessors is followed by a brief confessional prayer, "Suscipe confessionem meam unica spes," with the rubric, "Confessio peccatorum breviss(ima) inter m(i)s(sas),"[179] and then two prayers for use when seeing and receiving the Eucharist, a prayer to the cross which I have named "Adoro te," and Bede's abbreviated psalter.[180] In *Turonensis*, the prayers to the Trinity and to Christ are labeled with the rubric *oratio*, and those to the Virgin, apostles, Benedict, and confessors with *obsecratio*, suggesting that the compiler of this manuscript or of an exemplar understood the group to be composed differently from the way in which the compiler of *Trecensis* understood it: the term *oratio* is here only used for prayer to the members of the Trinity themselves. Paris 2731A is noticeably similar to *Turonensis*: it contains the same sequence of the prayers to the Trinity, Virgin, apostles, Benedict, and confessors, the confessional prayer, and the first of the two Eucharistic prayers; the distinction between *oratio* and *obsecratio* seen in *Turonensis* remains.[181]

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174 Barré, *Prières anciennes*, p. 5. "The Carolingian collections make use of *oratio* and *obsecratio* indifferently."

175 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 249.

176 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 123–38. This program, *De laude psalmorum*, will be discussed further in chapter 2.

177 Wilmart, pp. 139–40.

178 Wilmart, pp. 140–41.

179 Wilmart, p. 141. "Brief confession of sins between masses."

180 Wilmart, pp. 140–43. "Adoro te" will be discussed further in chapter 3.

181 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 382–88, nos. 27a–46a.

In these three early sources, then, the prayers to the Trinity and saints appear as a small and fairly tightly knit collection, with similar rubrics and arranged in the same order.

The Late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts

The late Anglo-Saxon copies of the *Ad personas* prayers show both continuity and change. Unlike many prayers in Anglo-Saxon collections, they always appear with brief headings; these are sometimes the same ones as in the Carolingian sources but in some cases, the prayers to the apostles or confessors have been replaced by others to the same category of saints, some prayers are now addressed to a different member of the Trinity, and in some manuscripts the prayer to the Virgin Mary has been removed from the group and added to a separate program of prayer to the Virgin. Notably, the early Anglo-Saxon manuscripts do not contain any of the prayers associated with the *Ad personas* sequence, suggesting that they may have been first encountered by English scribes in the late Anglo-Saxon period.[182]

London, British Library Harley MS 863

Of the English manuscripts, London, British Library Harley MS 863 shows the least change from the Carolingian versions. This is a Gallican psalter from Exeter; dated to 1046x1072,[183] it is potentially the latest of all the Anglo-Saxon sources. After the psalms themselves, there follows an "Oratio post psalterium";[184] the usual psalter canticles; another "Oratio post psalterium," beginning "Liberator animarum";[185] a litany and sequence of prayers; an Office of the Dead; and a "sample office."[186] It is with the sequence of prayers, on folios 114v–115v, and its preceding litany, that I am here concerned. The prayers to the Trinity have rubrics such as "Oratio ad personam Patris," "Oratio ad sanctam et

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182 Waldhoff, p. 241, n. 377.

183 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 425; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 232. Only one text, part of the Athanasian Creed, is glossed.

184 This begins "Om*nipoten*s *et* misericors d*eus* clementiam tuam supplici*ter* deprecor," and it precedes the rubric "Explicit liber psalmorum." London, British Library Harley MS 863, fol. 98v. "Almighty and merciful God, I humbly ask your clemency."

185 This is a commonplace prayer in psalters of this date: it will be discussed in chapter 2.

186 Pfaff, "The 'Sample Week'," 80–84.

individuam trinitatem," which are similar to those in the Carolingian sources, and end with the "Oratio ad sanctam Mariam."[187] However, the sequence in Harley 863 differs from them in one crucial aspect: instead of the second prayer to Christ, "Rex virginum," the scribe has copied in a somewhat longer "Oratio ad sanctam crucem," with the incipit "Per gloriam et uirtutem,"[188] before resuming the usual sequence with the prayer to the Virgin. This is then followed by prayers to the angels and archangels ("Precor vos sancti angeli"), apostles (as in the earlier manuscripts, "Sanctissimi apostoli domini mei"), Holy Innocents, martyrs, confessors (though not, as is more common, "Obsecro vos beatissimi confessores"), virgins ("Sanctę uirgines gloriosę"), to the saints, and another brief prayer for the saints' intercessions.[189]

In Harley 863, the *Ad personas* sequence is not the beginning of the prayer collection, but is preceded by other prayers for various purposes: for peace, for one's enemies, for one's brothers and sisters, and for going on a journey, with each prayer's purpose clearly indicated by a rubric.[190] The scribe appears to have intended a prayer series to begin with "Liberator animarum," as this opens with a three-line initial and a header line in adapted Roman capitals, a script used nowhere else in Harley 863 after the end of the psalter.[191] There is nothing in the manuscript layout, rubrics, or initials to suggest that an entirely new sequence of prayers begins with "Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum," a third of the way down folio 114v: this prayer begins, as the others do, with a two-line initial and a first line in rustic capitals, and is not preceded by any special markings or spaces; therefore, it cannot be argued that the reader was expected to start his or her prayers at this point. Yet a careful look at the rubrics reveals a definite shift in focus. The previous prayers were designated according to their use of theme – "Pro compunctione lacrimarum," or "Pro nauigantibus" – and many of these are not prayers that might necessarily have to be said every day, such as those for a good journey.[192] On folio 114v, the rubrics beginning "[Oratio] pro" end and the "Oratio ad" rubrics begin, starting with the prayer to the Father. This sequence proceeds carefully from the Trinity to the Holy Cross, the Virgin, and each group of saints; there are

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187 Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 449–51.

188 Dewick and Frere, col. 450. This prayer also appears in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, the *Eadui Psalter*, and Tiberius A III, and will be discussed in chapter 3.

189 Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 451–53.

190 Dewick and Frere, cols. 445–49.

191 London, British Library Harley MS 863, fol. 108v.

192 Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 446–48. "For the instigation of tears"; "For those sailing."

no prayers to specific saints, and, except for the last, each is labeled "Oratio ad."[193]

The compiler of the sequence which is preserved in Harley 863 appears to have inherited the prayers to the Trinity, Virgin, and saints, and then lengthened and organized it into a more logical order and into something more comprehensive. He or she perhaps regarded "Rex virginum," the second prayer to Christ, as superfluous to the Trinity sequence, and substituted for it a prayer to the Holy Cross; and then extended the sequence with prayers not only to the apostles and confessors, as in the Carolingian examples, but also to the martyrs and virgins, in order to ask the aid of all of the saints.

This compiler has therefore turned the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* into a kind of expanded litany. The speaker prays to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the undivided Trinity, the Cross, the Virgin, all angels, the apostles, the Holy Innocents, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the saints, almost exactly paralleling the order of the litany which was at the start of this prayer sequence, which begins by naming the three members of the Trinity and, separately, the Savior. The litany then continues with the Virgin Mary, Gabriel, Raphael, and all orders of angels, followed by John the Baptist and the patriarchs and prophets.[194] "St. Peter," written in rustic capitals, begins the list of apostles, evangelists, and Holy Innocents;[195] St. Stephen, again in rustics, is followed by the list of martyrs, ending with "Om*nes* s*anct*i martyres orate p*ro* nob*is*";[196] the confessors follow likewise;[197] and at last the virgins,[198] followed by the usual final petitions to all the saints.[199] The compiler of this sequence has, therefore, put together various prayers and created a complement to the litany of the saints.

The *Crowland Psalter*

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 296, the *Crowland Psalter*, is dated to around 1057.[200] On folios 119v–127v, after the psalter text, it has a collection of prayers,

193 Dewick and Frere, cols. 449–53.

194 London, British Library Harley MS 863, fol. 108v, cols. 1–2.

195 Harley MS 863, fol. 108v, col. 2 – fol. 109r, col. 1.

196 Harley MS 863, fol. 109r, col. 1 – fol. 109v, col. 3.

197 Harley MS 863, fol. 109v, col. 3 – fol. 110v, col. 1.

198 Harley MS 863, fol. 110v, col. 1 – fol. 111r, col. 1.

199 Harley MS 863, fol. 111r, col. 1 – fol. 111v.

200 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," pp. 185–86. Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 617; Temple, *Survey*, no. 79. For the following discussion, I have consulted the microfilm of this manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

including the *Orationes ad personas*. After the psalter, canticles, and litany, on folios 119v–127v there is a collection of prayers: a few short collect-style prayers (119v–120v), three to be said after chanting the psalms (120v–121r), the longer confessional prayer "Qui in hunc mundum" (121v–124v), and the *Orationes ad personas*, including prayers to the angels and saints (124v–127v), followed by an Office of the Trinity (fols. 127v–130v).

This prayer collection offers a useful example of how the hierarchy of scripts can be used as a guide to the possible intended usage of a manuscript. The prayers for use in chanting the psalter end with an "Amen" in uncials with a colored infill, whereas all the preceding prayers ended with "P*er*"; the "Amen" and the higher-grade script suggest that the end of one section was intended. Another "Amen," likewise in uncials and with an infill, ends the long prayer of confession, "Qui in hunc mundum." The rubric and opening line of the first of the *Ad personas* prayers are in uncial script, and the prayer ends with an "Amen," this time in rustic capitals, but with an infill. The same is true of the second prayer in the sequence; the third prayer similarly begins with a heading and first line in uncials, but there is no "Amen," and the rubric and opening lines of "Singularis gratiae" are in rustic capitals. In the *Crowland Psalter*, these differ somewhat from those in other manuscripts – there are four prayers to the archangels that are atypical of the *Ad personas* group, followed by others to the saints – and the sequence ends with another uncial "Amen" and a largely blank final line, followed by the Office of the Trinity, which opens with a large, decisive two-line initial D.

The scripts used here suggest the relative importance of the three prayers to the Holy Trinity compared to those which follow them. The Trinity prayers open with not only an uncial rubric (as was the case with the prayers immediately following the litany), but also an uncial first line, and each one is divided from the preceding prayer by an "Amen." The following prayers to the Virgin, saints, and angels have rubrics only in rustic capitals, with no "Amen" until the very end of the sequence. It is reasonable to suppose that the scribe intended the *Orationes ad personas* sequence to be distinctly separated from the confessional prayer that precedes it, and from the office that follows (which is, in any case, in another hand), and for the three prayers to the Trinity to be specially marked out.

The *Bury Psalter*

The Anglo-Saxon *Bury Psalter* (Vatican City, Bibliotheca Apostolicana Vaticana MS Reg. lat. 12) shows how some copyists took from the original *Orationes ad personas* only the basic collection of three prayers to the persons

of the Trinity, with these being clearly marked as a group within a longer se-
ries of prayers. This manuscript, a Gallican Psalter with prayers, dates from
the mid-eleventh century, and was probably made at Christ Church,
Canterbury.[201] As in Harley 863, they are found within the quires towards the
back of a psalter, but, in this manuscript, they appear in between much longer
confessional prayers.[202] The Trinity prayers appear on folios 168v–169r –
these are just the prayers to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as seen in other
manuscripts – but between the latter two appears a prayer headed "Oratio.
Item alia," with the incipit "Domine Iesu Christe fili D*e*i uiui. Creator et restau-
rator generis humani."[203] Yet the primacy of the original three prayers is
clearly marked in the manuscript through the use of marginal miniatures.
Beside the prayer to God the Father, there is a small image of God seated in a
mandorla, with the text "Maiestas D*e*i Patris" written around it.[204] Beside the
original prayer to the Son appears an image of the Lamb of God and the words
"Agn*us* D*e*i om*ni*p*otentis*" in a roundel, and, alongside the prayer to the
Spirit, a roundel in which there is drawn a dove and the words "Sp*iritu*s *sanc-
tu*s."[205] Even though the manuscript includes an extra prayer to the Son, the
scribe or another reader knew to mark out the original three prayers to the
persons of the Trinity with special images, perhaps making these prayers eas-
ier to find. The compiler of the sequence seen here has selected the first three
prayers out of a larger series, judging those to the persons of the Trinity to be
the most important.[206]

The *Eadui Psalter*

Following the psalter itself, and a few twelfth-century quires later added to it,
Arundel MS 155 contains some eleventh-century quires, original to the manu-
script, dedicated to prayers,[207] beginning with three to the Trinity, some to the

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201 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 912; Temple, *Survey*, no. 84.

202 Wilmart, "Prayers of the *Bury Psalter*," pp. 5–7.

203 Wilmart, pp. 6–7. "O Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, creator and restorer of
humankind."

204 *Digital Vatican Library*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 12, fol. 168v. "Majesty
of God the Father."

205 MS Reg. lat. 12, fols. 168v–169r; Temple, *Survey*, no. 101. "Lamb of God almighty"; "Holy
Spirit."

206 See also the eleventh-century *Winchcombe Psalter. Cambridge University Digital Library*,
Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. 1. 23, fols. 276v–277v.

207 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 171.

Table 1.3: The prayers of the *Eadui Psalter*, showing the prayers to the Trinity and saints.[208]

Fol. no.	No. in edition	Prayer (showing rubric and incipit where relevant)	
171r	*—*	*Brief prayers of intercession*	
171r–172r	1–3	Prayers to the Trinity:	
		"Oratio ad personam patris"	"Domine, deus omnipotens, aeterne et ineffabilis"
		"Oratio ad personam filii"	"Domine Jesu Christe, rex virginum, integritatis amator"
		"Oratio ad personam spiritus sancti"	"Spiritus sancte deus omnipotens, ex utroque patre & filio procedens lux vera, illuminans omnem hominem"
172r–174r	*4–15*	*Prayers to the cross, including "Per gloriam et uirtutem"*	
174r–182v	*16–27*	*Prayers of confession*	
182v–191v	28–43	Prayers to the saints:	
		"Oratio de sancta Maria"	"Sancta & gloriosa dei genitrix semperque uirgo Maria"
			St. Michael
			St. John the Baptist
			Ss. Paul and Peter
		"Oratio ad .xii. apostolos"	"Domine iesu christe qui dedisti potestatem apostolis tuis"
			St. Stephen
			St. Maurice
			St. Ælfheah (later altered to St. Thomas)
			Martyrs
		"Oratio de sancto Benedicto abbate"	"Obserco [*sic*] te beatissime Benedicte dilecte dei"
			St. Dunstan
			Confessors
			St. Cecilia
		"Oratio ad sanctas virgines"	"Omnes sanctae virgines et gloriosae. quibus a domino datum est"
			Two prayers to all the saints
191v–192v	*44*		*"Liberator animarum" and confessional prayer*
192v–193v	*—*		*Gloria, Creed, etc.*

208 Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," pp. 230–54; Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," pp. 115–120; Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 82–117.

cross, and some to individual saints. The following table shows the contents of this prayer collection: prayers to the Trinity, saints, and angels are listed individually, while those belonging to other genres and irrelevant to this discussion, such as confession and prayers to the cross, are grouped together and italicized. I have shown both the rubric and the incipit of prayers where they are relevant to this discussion; otherwise, I have simply listed the saint to whom the prayer is addressed.

At first glance, the prayer collection appended to the *Eadui Psalter* is similar to that in Harley 863. It contains three prayers to the persons of the Trinity and prayers to the various categories of saints, albeit divided from one another by prayers to the Holy Cross and of confession. There are some overlaps with the manuscripts already discussed in this chapter: the prayer to St. Benedict is in Paris 2731A,[209] and those to the confessors and virgins appear in Harley 863.[210] Yet the prayers to the Virgin, apostles, and martyrs are all different from those in the manuscripts discussed so far.

Furthermore, the sequence of prayers to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is not what one might expect. The compiler has inherited from his or her predecessors the usual rubrics and the same basic concept of prayers to the Trinity and the saints. However, what are usually the fourth and fifth prayers in the basic sequence of six, addressed to the Trinity and Christ the Savior, are instead used as prayers to the Father and the Son; a different prayer altogether is said to the Holy Spirit.[211] The fifth remains a prayer to Christ, so it required no alteration, but *Eadui*'s prayer to God the Father is clearly addressed to the indivisible Trinity, and the compiler left it much as it appears in the other sources, despite using the rubric "ad personam Patris."

The compiler has therefore included three prayers specifically addressed to the three persons of the Trinity, yet has chosen or inherited a different sequence of prayers from the usual ones; moreover, instead of copying the usual prayers to the groups of saints before those to individuals, he or she has broken this sequence apart with prayers to special saints. Unlike the scribe of Harley 863, he or she did not include a prayer to the cross amongst those to the Trinity; instead, the collection has a separate grouping of prayers to the cross, which includes "Per gloriam et virtutem," also seen in Harley 863. This shows that some compilers

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209 Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 100–1; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 386–87.

210 Campbell, "Prayers from MS Arundel 155," pp. 103–4, 107–8; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 452–53.

211 In the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, this prayer is said to Christ instead. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 137–38.

wished to group prayers according to genre, perhaps by breaking up the *Ad personas Trinitatis* prayers as they had inherited them, using individual prayers to help form specialized prayer sequences dedicated to the Virgin or the Trinity.

Portiforium of St. Wulstan

This idea can also be seen in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, where the *Orationes ad personas* appear in a group of unconnected prayers. In the *Portiforium*,[212] the collects on pages 581–82 are followed, not by the prayer to the Father, but by the one to the Son. This is prefaced by the rubric "Alia cuius supra," yet the preceding prayer has only the rubric "Item," and none of the foregoing are attributed to a named author. This suggests that the scribe, or that of his or her exemplar, accidentally missed out the prayer to the Father, which had an attribution with it. That prayer is followed, as might be expected, by "Qui coaequalis, coaeternus, et consubstantialis," "Aeterne et ineffabilis," and "Rex virginum." The first of these, as usual, has the rubric "O*ratio* ad sp*iritu*m s*anctu*m"; but the second has "O*ratio* alia ad d*eu*m patre*m*." This strengthens the suggestion that the omission of the first prayer, "Qui consubstantialem et coaeternum," was unintentional, but it is a little incongruous with a prayer that focuses on the oneness of the whole Trinity. "Rex virginum," on the other hand, is prefaced by "Ite*m* de eade*m* re," rather than being addressed to a member of the Trinity: this may simply refer to the spiritual gifts which each prayer requests.

The incomplete *Ad personas* sequence is followed by some rather longer confessional prayers, and then a number of shorter ones to the saints, including "Sancti martyres gloriosi"; prayers to the apostles and St. Benedict also appear, though not those found in the other *Ad personas* sequences.[213] "Singularis meriti" does appear in the *Portiforium*, but not until after several leaves of prayers, some of which are for use with a confessor.[214] *Gyf ðe ðynce* and "Singularis meriti" are written in a different hand from the preceding prayers, more pointed, and with only red initials, rather than the mixture of red, blue, green, and purple used in the preceding folios;[215] and they are followed, on pp. 619–21, by a

212 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2: 2; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 582–83.

213 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2: 3–12; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 583–99.

214 These will be discussed in chapters 4 and 5.

215 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 617–18; compare pp. 608–17, for example.

completely blank leaf, and then the Offices of the Saints. "Singularis meriti" consequently appears to be something of an afterthought, not even introduced by a rubric, after some more complex prayer programs. It is also not complete, ending abruptly at the end of page 618, with the words, "7 cunctis iniquitati*bus* fedo. ut qui ex meis."[216] Notably, the prayer in the *Portiforium* begins not with the words "Singularis meriti," but "Singularis gr*atię*."[217]

Ælfwine's Prayerbook

In *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, likewise, the prayer to the Virgin begins with "Singularis gratia" and is separated from the rest of the sequence;[218] however, there it has not merely been removed from the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, but has been made part of something larger, namely the Office of the Virgin. The office ends on folio 85v of Titus D XXVII, with the cryptographic message "SIC FIAT," at the end of a quire.[219] The following quire consists of eight folios of prayers, unconnected by any linking material, and with rubrics identifying the addressee of the prayers, but giving no directions for their usage; with this quire, Titus D XXVII ends, and D XXVI begins with *Ælce sunnandæg*, a distinct prayer program written in a different hand.[220]

The *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, comprising the whole of the quire beginning on folio 86r of Titus D XXVII, have the same scribe as the offices and the cross sequence (Günzel's Scribe B),[221] who did not treat it any differently from those prayer groupings: the same decoration, rubrication with red rustic capitals, and red and blue initials are used as in the scribe's immediately foregoing work. Yet in other respects this sequence is distinctly different from those which precede it: it is not consciously arranged into a program, with directions for use, and its thematic organization is far looser. It begins with the prayers to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, with the rubrics "Oratio ad personam Patris,"

216 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2: 24; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618. "And filthy from all my sins, so that I, who because of my [actions]."
217 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2: 24; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618. "Of unique merit"; "of unique grace."
218 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 134.
219 Günzel, p. 136. "May it be thus." For information on the quiring, see pp. 10–11.
220 Günzel, pp. 136–43; for the hands, see pp. 10–11. This program will be discussed in chapter 2.
221 Günzel, p. 10.

and so forth.[222] The prayer to the Trinity, "Aeterne et ineffabilis," does not appear here, but "Rex virginum" is present, with the rubric "ORATIO AD DOMINVM NOSTRVM IESVM CHRISTVM."[223] This is followed by a prayer beginning, "[A]LIA ORATIO. DOMINE IESV CHRISTE, FILI DEI VIVI, lux uera, quae illuminas omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum."[224] This is the prayer that, in the *Eadui Psalter*, was addressed to the Holy Spirit, with a slightly different opening; consequently, unlike the other manuscripts, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* has a sequence with not one, but two extra prayers to Christ. There follows the prayer "Qui in trinitate perfecta vivis," which, with its address to the triune God, fills the role of the prayer to the Trinity; after a brief prayer for virtues, the quire concludes with prayers to individual saints, to the cross, to the apostles, and two final prayers to all the saints.[225]

Ælfwine's Prayerbook, then, includes a passage of prayers much like those in Harley 863, the *Eadui Psalter*, and the Carolingian manuscripts: beginning with three prayers to the Trinity, it then has prayers to various individual saints, including the Holy Cross, and ends with prayers to the saints as a group. Neither the prayer to the Trinity nor the one to the Virgin appears in this sequence in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. They are not, however, absent from the manuscript. On folios 76r–80r of Titus D XXVII, there is an Office of the Trinity, for one hour, and, on 81v–85v, a similar Office of the Blessed Virgin.[226] "Aeterne et ineffabilis" appears in the former office, slightly extended by a plea for the power of the cross and the intercessions of the Virgin and Saints,[227] drawing together the different genres of the prayer collections in this manuscript. Meanwhile, "Singularis gratia," the *Ad personas* prayer to the Virgin, appears as one of the longer "Supplicationes servorum tuorum" which form the middle part of this office.[228]

It may be that the compiler of this collection inherited the complete *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* and decided to separate the prayers to the whole Trinity and to the Virgin Mary from the group in order to place it more appropriately elsewhere. Although the *Orationes ad personas* sequence here includes two prayers to the cross, "Per gloriam et virtutem," seen in the *Eadui*

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222 Günzel, pp. 136–37.

223 Günzel, p. 137. "Prayer to our Lord Jesus Christ."

224 Günzel, p. 137. "Another prayer. O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, true light, which lightens every person coming into this world."

225 Günzel, pp. 138–42.

226 Günzel, pp. 128–31, 133–36: between the two is the Office of the Holy Cross.

227 Günzel, p. 131.

228 Günzel, pp. 134–36; "Singularis gratia" is on p. 134.

Psalter and Harley 863, is not amongst them, but is found in the looser collection of prayers to the cross on folios 66r–73v. In *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, we can therefore see something like the expansion and breakup of the basic sequence of prayers to the Trinity and saints. Two – or three, if the prayer to the cross is counted – of the prayers from the extended *Ad personas* sequence have been placed elsewhere in the manuscript, perhaps because the scribes wished to create longer and more specialized programs of prayer on a single theme.

John C. Hirsh has undertaken a comparative study of the different versions of "Singularis meriti/gratiae," of which the one in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is the earliest after the original Carolingian copies. He notes subtle differences of phraseology that the scribe of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, or a predecessor, has made to this prayer since it was composed: for instance, the Virgin must now intercede "pro me *misero/a* spurcissimo/a" who will be saved "tuis...meritis *et intercessionibus*" emphasizing both the moral gulf between the sinner and the Virgin, but also her power to save the speaker through her prayers.[229]

In this chapter so far, then, it has been shown that six prayers to the Trinity and the Virgin were grouped together with prayers to the saints and copied together in various manuscripts, differing a great deal in their content, but with a great deal of agreement in their theme and structure. The user of the manuscript was expected to pray first to each member of the Trinity, and the whole Trinity; to the Virgin Mary and, perhaps, the cross; to the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins; then, sometimes, to individual saints, and finally to all the saints as a group. Thus, the speaker prayed to all those, both divine and human, whose aid and intercessions they might need. The most interesting and carefully designed versions of this sequence are those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and Harley 863. In the former, some of the prayers appear to have been removed from their original setting in order to contribute to a Special Office. The psalter, on the other hand, includes a selection of prayers to the Trinity and saints which almost exactly parallels the litany in the same manuscript, allowing the speaker to pray the litany in a deeper way.

Even so, the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* differ from the other prayer collections discussed in this book, because in no manuscript known to me are they linked together with psalms and antiphons, or given any directions for their usage, such as the posture to be adopted when saying them, or the time of day when they are to be said. Nevertheless, the various copyists of these prayers apparently wished them to be used as part, generally the beginning, of

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[229] Hirsh, *Boundaries of Faith*, pp. 23–29, in particular, pp. 27–28; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 134. "For me, a most filthy wretch"; "by your ... merits and intercessions."

a well-conceived sequence of prayers to the Trinity and the saints. It is in this grouping of prayers, however loosely associated with one another, that we can see how the simple prayer sequences were nevertheless not assembled at random, but carefully designed by their compilers as part of a themed grouping for personal devotion.

The Feast of the Trinity in Anglo-Saxon England

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine the use of prayers for the Feast of the Trinity in what Barbara Raw has called "[s]horter private devotions in honour of the Trinity" in the *Galba Prayerbook* and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, and in the longer text in the *Crowland Psalter*, to which Raw refers as an "office...for private use."[230] Unlike the prayer sequence discussed so far, these collections draw heavily upon the liturgies of the Holy Trinity, and take the form of more organized prayer programs and offices.

A feast of the Holy Trinity must have been observed in at least some places in early eleventh-century England, given that Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* lists it amongst the feasts to be celebrated after Pentecost.[231] Liturgies for the feast are included in a number of eleventh-century manuscripts, including those written in England, such as the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, and the *Leofric Collectar*.[232] The feast also made an impact on private devotions. Special Offices were popularized in England in the eleventh century, and in some monasteries they became incorporated into the liturgy.[233] According to a note appearing in a twelfth-century manuscript written by Orderic Vitalis (Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale MS 14), Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester instituted Offices of the Virgin, of Peter, Paul and the other apostles, and of all the saints.[234] Mary Clayton queries whether this evidence is authentic, but she accepts that Ælfwine's Office of the Virgin may possibly be the same as

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230 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," pp. 187, 191.

231 Christopher A. Jones, ed., *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1998), p. 138.

232 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2: 48–52; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 187–91. Further manuscripts are listed in Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 187, n. 13.

233 Inge B. Milfull, ed., *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Study and Edition of the "Durham Hymnal,"* Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 58.

234 Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, p. 67.

Æthelwold's, and is convinced that English Offices of the Virgin developed out of private devotions, such as one in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.[235]

Prayer Programs in the *Galba Prayerbook*

Being in a manuscript of relatively low status, texts in the *Galba Prayerbook* look unpromising at first glance: they often lack the differing script sizes, large initials, and line spacings that help the reader to navigate through a text. However, the manuscript nevertheless contains several prayer programs, such as groups of psalm incipits, Paternosters, and collects, taken from the same feast or organized according to a common theme. These are listed in the table below.

Table 1.4: Personal liturgical programs in the *Galba Prayerbook* (listed in Muir, *Prayer-Book*).

Fol.	Muir's title and page no.	Contents
57v	"Various incipits and rubrics" (p. 74)	An incomplete version of the text on fols. 114v–117v
58–62r	"The Psalter Collects" (pp. 75–79)	The penitential psalms and the associated collects (the Carolingian *Psalmi de paenitentia*)
62v–63v	"Prayers for Eastertide" (pp. 80–81)	Collects for Easter week
105v–107v	"A Series of Prayers 'ad horas'" (pp. 138–39)	Prayers for the hours translated into Old English
110r–114r	"Prayers from the Veneration of the Cross Ceremony" (pp. 143–46)	Penitential psalms and three prayers for Good Friday, in Latin and Old English
114v–117v	"Prayers and Incipits" (pp. 147–49)	Paternoster etc., psalms and collects for Trinity Sunday
133v	"Verses from Psalm [69]" (p. 167)	Verses from Ps. 69
141r	"Biblical Verses" (p. 170)	Verses from Judith, Psalms, and Job
146r–149v	"The Feast of St. Michael" (pp. 174–75)	Mass prayers for the feast of St. Michael

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235 Clayton, pp. 67–68.

Given the poor condition of the manuscript, and the impossibility of identifying some of its contents, it may be that other such prayer programs were originally included in *Galba*. Nevertheless, the contents of this table suggest that the scribes frequently used the manuscript to put together groupings of prayers, usually liturgical in origin, on the same subject. The programs based upon the penitential psalms and those for the liturgical hours will be discussed in chapter 2; those for the Veneration of the Cross in chapter 3; and those against enemies in chapter 4. In each of these cases, I will use them to demonstrate that texts from the liturgies of the church's feasts, or verses from the Bible, were adapted by their users to create complete prayer programs that were suitable for use on a particular feast or in a specific situation.

Prayer programs for Trinity Sunday in the *Galba Prayerbook*

In the texts for Easter, for Trinity Sunday, and to St. Michael, the compiler has extracted the collects for a particular feast. The most significant of these is the program to the Trinity on folios 114v–117v. It is immediately after the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross (this is certain, since it begins on the verso of the same leaf on which the Veneration ends); a copy of the same program to the Trinity can be found on folio 57v, but this ends abruptly with the opening of the first of the biblical verses. The full version follows this plan:

> Quicumque vult
> Paternoster
> Creed
> "Benedictus es, d*omi*ne . . ." [final lines of 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 d*eu*m patrem ingenitu*m* . . ."
> Four biblical verses, again mostly from the psalms
> "Coll*ecta*. Om*nipoten*s se*m*piterne d*eu*s, qui dedisti famulis tuis . . ." [collect for Trinity Sunday]
> "Coll*ecta*. Da ‹p›opulo tuo, d*omi*ne, q*uesumu*s inuiolabile dei . . ." [collect for Christmas]
> "Collecta. Om*nipoten*s sempiterne d*eu*s, trina maiestas et una deitas . . ." [collect for Matins on Trinity Sunday][236]

In this program, a group of collects has been extracted from the liturgies of Trinity Sunday and other feasts, but is prefaced by a large number of psalm verses and

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236 Information on the sources of the texts is taken from Muir's notes to this item and to its analogue in the same manuscript. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 74, 147–49.

the Paternoster and Creed. This is therefore a particularly well-developed prayer program. Muir comments that "[i]t 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."[237] Indeed, it may be that he understates the significance of this text. The Trinity Sunday devotional differs from the other prayer programs mentioned above because it uses the liturgical collects as the final part of an act of devotion, based around the psalms and beginning with the most important prayers and statements of the Christian faith. It therefore, far more than the other programs, resembles the Special Offices.

The Trinity Sunday program begins with items such as the Athanasian Creed, the Paternoster, and the end of the Benedicite. A biblical, mostly psalmic, florilegium follows, and then a group of collects and an antiphon, most of which are for Trinity Sunday. It is therefore very closely tied to the monastic liturgy: not in itself a monastic office, but something unique which its compiler created out of liturgical sources. It can be compared with the texts for Trinity Sunday in the *Leofric Collectar*, the analogue with which Muir finds the greatest common ground with the text in *Galba*:

> *Dominica de sancta trinitate. Ad vesperam.*
> *Super psalmos.* Gloria tibi trinitas . . .
> *Ps.* Benedictus
> *Ant.* Laus et perhennis gloria . . .
> *Ant.* Gloria laudis resonet in ore . . .
> *Ant.* Laus deo patri . . .
> *Ant.* Ex quo omnia . . .
> *Capitula.* Pater filius spiritus sanctus . . .
> *R.* O beata trinitas . . .
> *V.* Tibi laus tibi gloria . . .
> *Ymnus.* Ave colenda trinitas
> *V.* Benedicamus patrem . . .
> *In euang. Ant.* Te deum patrem ingenitum te filium unigenitum . . .
> *Collecta.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus . qui dedisti nobis famulis tuis in confessione . . .
> [Matins: *Collecta.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus. trina maiestas et una deitas . . .][238]

In the collectar, the items for Vespers are listed in full, followed by changeable items for the following hours, such as the capitula and collect: I have included the Matins collect above, because it is one of three items given for this feast in

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237 Muir, p. 147, n. 1.
238 The rubric identifying this collect as being for Matins is not found in the *Leofric Collectar* itself, although Dewick has supplied it. Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, cols. 187–88.

Leofric that is used in *Galba*. Muir comments that the rubric to the antiphon in *Galba* is "abbreviated curiously as *INEŪ GL. Ā*,"[239] yet this is not so different from *Leofric*'s "INEV. Ā," presumably standing for "In evangelium: Antiphon." As Muir also notes, the compiler of this program has chosen texts from the liturgy for the feast of All Saints, including "Te trina deitas," which is found in the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory I,[240] but presumably those which he or she considered the best or most useful for prayer; many other collects and antiphons could have been chosen instead. Indeed, one of the collects included in the program, "Da populo tuo, domine," is identified by Muir as being a prayer for the birth of Christ included in the *Sacramentaire grégorien*.[241] Since this prayer is about the incarnation, it may have been considered by the compiler to be suitable for contemplating the mystery of the Holy Trinity.

The biblical *florilegium* is a particularly interesting part of the prayer program. Collections of biblical verses were a recognized form of prayer in the early medieval period.[242] The *Book of Cerne* includes a *florilegium* of verses from the psalms, as does the *Libellus Turonensis*,[243] the so-called *Old English Benedictine Office* contains one,[244] and *Galba* itself has a few short groups of psalm verses. The verses which are selected for this purpose, and the alterations made to them, are of great interest, as they reveal the scribe's concerns.

Nearly all of the biblical texts included in *Galba*'s Trinity program are taken from the Psalms. They reveal a slight emphasis on prayer for protection against one's enemies; for example, "Protexisti me, d*eus*, a conuentu malignantiu*m*; a multitudine operantiu*m* iniquitatem."[245] Although only four of the verses are concerned with enemies specifically, and another three with God's help in times

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239 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 148, n. 20.

240 Muir, p. 74, n. 3.

241 Muir, p. 149, n. 26.

242 For a brief history of this genre, apparently founded by Bede, see Daniel Anlezark, "The Psalms in the Old English Office of Prime," in *The Psalms and Medieval English Literature: From the Conversion to the Reformation*, ed. Tamara Atkin and Francis Leneghan (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2017), pp. 200–2. I am grateful to the author and editors for supplying me with a copy of this article before publication.

243 A. B. Kuypers, ed., *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop, Commonly Called the Book of Cerne* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), pp. 174–95; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 143–61.

244 This will be discussed in chapter 2.

245 Ps. 63:3; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 147. "You have protected me, O God, from the assembly of the wicked, from the multitude of those doing evil works." As the biblical quotations in this prayer program do not precisely follow a standard text, in this discussion I have used my own translation.

of trouble,[246] these are notable in the light of *Galba*'s pervasive concern with protection from enemies, which will be discussed in chapter 4. The compiler does not, however, simply copy all of the verses exactly from the Book of Psalms; instead, he or she has altered the text, actively working with it. This is particularly notable where grammatical number and gender are concerned. Like their sources, the collects use the grammatical plural, but the compiler has treated the biblical verses with greater freedom. For example, he or she quotes Ps. 85:2 and then immediately follows it with two alterations: "[s]aluu*m* fac seruu*m* tuu*m*, d*eus* m*eus*, sperante*m* in te. Salua*m* fac ancilla*m* anima*m*, d*eus* m*eus*, sperante*m* in te. Saluos fac seruos tuos et ancillas tuas, d*eus* m*eus*, sperantes in te."[247] The scribe rephrases the text, and then uses the masculine and feminine plural together, altering and extending the meaning of the text as a prayer for Christians of both genders. It may be that this text, like others in *Galba*, was written by a woman, or that, as discussed in the Introduction, it is one of the texts that were used by scribes practicing their Latin.

The following quotation has also been heavily adapted. Psalm 40:3 begins "Dominus conservet eum et vivificet eum et beatum faciat eum."[248] The *Galba* program, on the other hand, has "D*omi*nus conseruet nos, et uiuificet nos et beatum faciet nos."[249] The scribe has begun to convert the text from the third-person singular of the original psalm to the first-person plural, making the psalm verse a prayer for the speaker and those around him or her, although after this point the grammar reverts to the singular.

In the *florilegium*, then, we can see that the scribe did not merely select some useful biblical verses, but actively reshaped them. There are also subtle changes of emphasis, expansions of meaning, and alterations from the psalm verse into a prayer for the good of the speaker and his or her community, male and female. The collects appear in forms not significantly different from the sources identified by Muir, but the scribe has taken texts not only from the liturgy for Trinity Sunday, but also from that for the birth of Christ, drawing deeply on traditions of communal prayer, but flexibly reusing the liturgies of different feasts for a new purpose.

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246 Jer. 15:15; Pss. 40:3, 63:3, 117:6; Pss. 17:7, 78:9, 123:8.

247 Ps. 85:2; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 147. "Save your servant, my God, hoping in you. Save your handmaid soul, my God, hoping in you. Save your servants and your handmaids, my God, trusting in you."

248 "The Lord preserve him and give him life, and make him blessed."

249 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 147. "The Lord preserve *us* and give *us* life, and *he will* make *us* blessed." Italics mine, indicating the differences in meaning.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook: The Office of the Trinity

On folios 76r–85v of Titus D XXVII there are three texts which Günzel has identified as Special Offices of the Trinity, the Cross, and the Virgin Mary, running on directly from one another, and preceded by an image known as the "Holy Quinity": the Father and the Son, with the Holy Spirit represented as a dove, together with the Virgin and Child, and with Arius and Judas depicted below them in hell.[250] The offices comprise the whole of quires 13 and 14, with the miniature appearing on the final page of an originally blank bifolium.[251]

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. OBSECRO TE, SANCTA TRINITAS . . ."[252]

It should be apparent that the office in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is longer and more complex than the prayer program to the Trinity in *Galba*. As the other two Special Offices in the former manuscript are organized along very similar lines, I will primarily discuss the Office of the Trinity, using those of the Cross and the Virgin as points of comparison.

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250 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 128–36; London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fol. 75v.

251 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10–12. The prayer on folio 74r was added in the twelfth century. See also Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 266.

252 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 128–31.

At the start of the Office of the Trinity, the reader has a miniature of the "Holy Quinity" to the left and the office on the right. This may have acted as a form of introduction, because the office has no opening rubric or title, but simply begins with Psalm 69:2, with which the offices of the daytime hours began.[253] By contrast, the Offices of the Holy Cross and of the Blessed Virgin Mary are introduced with the opening titles "In honore Sancti Crvcis" and "In honore Sancte Mariae":[254] as each successive office runs immediately on from the one previous, this clearly denotes where each one begins and ends. The Office of the Virgin concludes at the foot of folio 85v, also a quire end, with a widely spaced "Amen" and the cryptographic words "SKC FKBT" (altered to "SIC FIAT").[255] The purpose of each office, and the start and end of each one, is well defined, although the manuscript does not suggest when or how they should be used.

These are, as Günzel notes, offices for one hour only;[256] comparing them to the complete offices in the *Leofric Collectar* and *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, Raw has further demonstrated that the Office of the Trinity includes texts from different offices of the monastic day, such as psalms for Prime, collects for First Vespers, Lauds and Sext, and the *capitulum* from Terce.[257] Thus although Ælfwine's text is not a complete set of offices, it is nevertheless closely modelled on all of them. It opens with "Deus in adiutorium," it uses antiphons, capitula, collects, responds and versicles, and a hymn, and has rubrics identifying these items.[258] In all three cases, only the incipit of the hymn is given: it may have been assumed that the reader will know the words, or have access to them.[259] Nevertheless, there are also similarities to the prayer programs discussed hitherto: as will be shown in chapter 3, other kinds of prayer programs also begin with psalm verses and the Paternoster, Creed, and other foundational prayers of the Christian faith, and end with a group of prayers not linked together by antiphons and psalms.

Despite resembling the liturgy of the hours, these offices show suggestions of personal use. The four longer *orationes* with which the Office of the Trinity ends are of particular interest. Unlike the collects, these are not found in the Offices of Trinity in the sources studied by Raw with which Ælfwine's office otherwise has so

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253 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 18.1.

254 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 131, 133. "In honor of the Holy Cross"; "In honor of St. Mary."

255 Günzel, p. 136. "Let it be."

256 Günzel, p. 53.

257 Raw, "The Office of the Trinity," pp. 188–89.

258 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 128–36.

259 These are "Veni creator spiritus," "Vexilla regis," and "Ave maris stella." Günzel, pp. 129, 132, 133.

much common ground.[260] A notable characteristic of Ælfwine's Offices of the Trinity and of the Virgin is their use of the first person singular, but in the *orationes* alone. This contrasts with the preceding antiphons and collects. For example, "Coaeterna maiestas et una deitas," identified with the rubric "Collecta," has the petition, "presta, quesumus, ut qui peccatorum nostrorum ponderibus pregrauamur, celeri indulgentia ueniam consequamur."[261] The following collects are likewise in the plural number, in accordance with their liturgical origins. The subsequent *orationes*, by contrast, speak with the singular number from their very start: "[S]ANCTA TRINITAS VERAQVE VNITAS, TE adoro, te laudo, te confiteor, teque posco, ut digneris accipere preces labiorum meorum."[262] The *orationes* are also notably longer than the collects which precede them: "Te adoro, Domine," the second *oratio* in the Office of the Trinity, is the equivalent of an entire folio in length.[263] In keeping with the more personal nature of the *orationes*, the female glossator of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* has glossed some nouns, pronouns, and adjectives with feminine endings, though not always consistently. As is occasionally seen in private prayer collections, "Obsecro te, sancta trinitas" 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."[264] The *orationes* in the Office of the Virgin are similar to those in the Office of the Trinity in their length, use of the singular number, and feminizations; the interposed Office of the Holy Cross, by contrast, has four relatively short, collect-length "Orationes de Sancta Cruce ac salubritate," using the plural number, and with no feminine glosses.[265] It may be that the more personal prayers to the cross had already been used in the sequence of prayers to the cross earlier in the manuscript.

As discussed above, the scribe of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* took two prayers out of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* sequence and included them amongst the *orationes* in the Offices of the Trinity and the Blessed Virgin.[266] Another of the *orationes* to the Trinity uses a similar formulation to that in the

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260 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 188.

261 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 129–30. "Grant, we ask, that we, who are weighed down by the weights of our sins, may obtain pardon with swift gentleness."

262 Günzel, p. 130. "Holy Trinity and true Unity, I adore you, I praise you, I confess you, and I ask you that you may deign to accept the prayers of my lips."

263 Günzel, pp. 130–31; London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fols. 77v–78v.

264 Günzel notes that "peccatorum" has been altered by a later hand to "peccatorem." Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 131. "Defend me, a pitiable sinner and your servant [both genders], [name], everywhere by your divine protection."

265 Günzel, pp. 132–33. "Prayers of the Holy Cross and of health."

266 These are "Aeterne et ineffabilis" (with the rubric "Oratio ad individuam Trinitatem") and "Singularis gratia" ("Oratio de Sancta Maria"). Günzel, pp. 131, 134.

Orationes ad personas: "[S]ANCTA TRINITAS VERAQUE VNITAS, *TE adoro, te laudo, te confiteor, teque posco*, ut digneris accipere preces labiorum meorum, et erue me per merita sanctorum tuorum."[267] This simple, patterned phrasing can also be found in the second *oratio* in the Office of the Trinity, "Te adoro, Domine." At this point, the scribe introduces deliberate line breaks to emphasize the patterned phrasing of this prayer. Here, I have quoted the text according to the layout and capitalization used on the manuscript page:

<div align="center">Tu es uerus</div>

[fol. 78r] d*eus* solus · *et* non est alius d*eus* preter te ·
Tu es adorandus · *et* colendus ·   /tate ·
Tremendus *et* uenerandus in trinitate *et* uni
Tu idem dominator d*omi*ne d*eus* omnipotens
qui solus nosti fidem *et* conscientias omniu*m*
hominum ·[268]

In this respect, the text layout is reminiscent, perhaps deliberately, of the layout given in litanies, with each new petition starting on a new line, enabling the reader to read and follow the pattern more easily.

A significant aspect of the usage of these prayers, and of other prayer collections in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, is the miniature. The miniature of the Holy Quinity takes up the final page of a bifolium, Titus D XXVII folios 74–75.[269] The only other item on this bifolium is the prayer "Credo quod sis angelus sanctus," which, as Günzel notes, was added by a female scribe in the twelfth century.[270] It was, therefore, a blank bifolium when the original manuscript was assembled. The miniature of the crucifixion, preceding the Devotions to the Holy Cross, is on folio 65v, the only item on an otherwise blank bifolium (fols. 64a and 65).[271] Finally, the miniature of Ælfwine standing before St. Peter appears on folio 19v of Titus D XXVI, the final page of a bifolium (fols. 18–19), preceding the collectar.[272] Folio 18r finishes the list of decisions made at a synod.[273]

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267 Günzel, p. 130, emphasis mine. "Holy Trinity and true Unity, *I adore you, I praise you, I confess you, and I ask you* that you may deign to accept the prayers of my lips, and save me through the merits of your saints."

268 London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fols. 77v–78r. "You alone are the true God, and there is no God other than you. / You are to be adored and praised, / Awe-full and venerable in Trinity and Unity. / For you are the lord, Lord God almighty, who alone know the faith and consciences of all people."

269 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10, 128.

270 Günzel, pp. 128, 3–4.

271 Günzel, pp. 10, 123.

272 Günzel, pp. 11, 158.

273 Günzel, pp. 11, 157–58.

It may be no accident that all three of the miniatures in the original, unified manuscript precede collections of prayers, and that the remainder of each bifolium was left blank. I would argue that these three bifolia were originally loose, not affixed to the rest of the manuscript, in order that Ælfwine or another reader might have the relevant image constantly before him as he read his prayers.[274] Judging from the current binding of Titus D XXVII, it is difficult to tell how the crucifixion and Quinity bifolia may originally have been placed in the manuscript: they are sewn into the current, Cottonian binding from the seventeenth century,[275] and it is not clear if they were originally left unsewn. However, Titus D XXVI provides more clues. Last bound in 1965,[276] each quire of this manuscript is sewn into the binding individually, in such a way that the quires are now completely free of one another. Unlike the other quires, however, the bifolium of folios 47–48 is not sewn into this binding, but affixed to it. There are no holes, nor any sign of stitching having taken place, in this bifolium. If this was the case with the miniature of St. Peter, the same may originally have been true of those of the crucifixion and Quinity.

The bifolium including the miniature of St. Peter is not disconnected from the rest of the manuscript as those in Titus D XXVII are, as it includes the end of a text from the previous quire. This quire, the second in Titus D XXVI, in itself begins with the continuation of a text from the previous quire, a prognostic based on thunder.[277] This might suggest that the bifolium was, in fact, sewn into the manuscript from the start, not intended to be moved, as I have argued. However, it should be noted that the first three quires of Titus D XXVI feature four hands, denoted by Günzel by the letters F, G, H, and I, which do not appear elsewhere in the manuscript; Günzel and Ker identify these as additions to the original manuscript, though added early on, being dated to the first half of the eleventh century.[278] If the first two quires of Titus D XXVI were simply not original to the manuscript in the first place, then any inconsistency is explained. Quire 15 of Titus D XXVII, the *Orationes ad personas*, would have been immediately followed by a loose bifolium featuring only the miniature of St. Peter, and subsequently the collectar: both the *orationes* and the collectar were the work of Scribe B.[279] This would have the further significance that each

274 I am indebted to Jane Hawkes of the University of York for proposing this idea and encouraging me to investigate further.

275 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 266; British Library catalogue, Cotton MS Titus D XXVII.

276 British Library catalogue, Cotton MS Titus D XXVI.

277 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 11, 150.

278 Günzel, pp. 6–7, 11; Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 266.

279 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10–11.

miniature would only be separated by one collection of prayers, with those to the cross comprising one complete quire of eight, and the three Special Offices having run over onto an extra bifolium. The table below shows the current – and what I believe to have been the original – layout of the central part of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Texts, quires, and hands which appear not to have been part of the original manuscript, but were added early on (except the twelfth-century text of Hand E), are shown in italics.

Table 1.5: A plan of the central part of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, showing later additions.[280]

Quire	Fols.	Contents	Hand
Titus D XXVII, 10	Titus D XXVII, 64a–65	Crucifixion miniature	—
11	66–73	Prayers to the Cross	B
12	74–75	*"Credo quod sis angelus sanctus"*	*E*
		Quinity miniature	—
13	76–83	Office of the Holy Trinity	B
		Office of the Holy Cross	
		Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary	
14	84–85	(cont.) Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary	B
15	86–93	Orationes ad personas	B
Titus D XXVI, 1	*Titus D XXVI, 2–9*	*Ælce sunnandæg*	*F*
		Notes and prognostics	*G*
2	*10–17*	*(cont.) Notes and prognostics*	*G*
		Prayers for cleansing; cure for boils	*H*
		Decisions from a synod	*I*
3	*18–19*	*(cont.) Decisions from a synod*	*I*
		St. Peter miniature	—
4, etc.	20–27, etc.	Collectar	B

The manuscript, therefore, could have existed without quires 1–2 of Titus D XXVI. The three bifolia could have been blank except for the miniature on the second verso, and Ælfwine or another user could have moved these as he turned the leaves, having them always before him as he said his prayers.

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280 Based on the table of quires and hands in Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10–11, but revised to incorporate my theories.

The Special Offices in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, despite only being for one hour each, were nevertheless created with the offices for the canonical hours in mind. In this, they stand in contrast both to prayer sequences such as the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* already discussed in this chapter, and also to the prayer programs of the kind which were described towards the end of the Introduction. The Special Offices have a more complex structure, closely matching that of the liturgy of the hours, and are greatly dependent on liturgical sources, but the *orationes* in the second half of the office are more rooted in the private prayer tradition. Those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* were consciously marked out from the other items in the manuscript, through the use of identifying rubrics and miniatures which may have been left unbound in the manuscript so that Ælfwine could have them at hand as he read his prayers.

Offices for the Full Day: The *Crowland Psalter*

However, where Special Offices appear in other manuscripts, they are distinctly different from those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, as they are for each hour of the monastic day. This is the case in the Hours of the Virgin in London, British Library Royal MS 2 B V and Tiberius A III, and those of the Trinity in the *Crowland Psalter*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 296.[281] Another important difference is that they give the full text of their hymns.[282] Dewick notes that Ælfwine's Office of the Virgin contains elements of liturgies for both Prime and Evensong, suggesting that it may have been "a private devotion which might be said at any convenient time."[283]

Douce 296, a psalter ending with canticles and prayers, has been dated to around 1057, and, on the basis of its calendar and litany entries, placed to Crowland Abbey in Lincolnshire.[284] Its Office of the Trinity follows immediately on from the version of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* that is in that manuscript,

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281 E. S. Dewick, ed., *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine from English MSS. of the Eleventh Century*, Henry Bradshaw Society 21 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902), cols. 1–18 (Royal 2 B V), cols. 19–44 (Tiberius A III); Raw, "The Office of the Trinity," pp. 192–200; see also the discussion in Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin Mary*, pp. 70–81.

282 Compare, for example, "Ave maris stella" in Royal MS 2 B V with its appearance in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Dewick, *Horae de Beata Maria*, col. 15; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 133.

283 Dewick, *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*, p. ix. A useful summary of the Special Offices found in Anglo-Saxon liturgical manuscripts can be found in J. B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, *Winchester*, vol. 6, Henry Bradshaw Society 80 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1942), pp. 107–30.

284 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," pp. 185–86.

although it is written in a different hand, smaller than the preceding one.[285] The final prayer in the *Ad personas* sequence, "Oro vos ac deprecor omnes sancti," ends on folio 127v with an "Amen" in uncials, indicating that the manuscript is about to move on to a text of importance. Unlike the other prayers in the sequence, the line on which this one ends remains blank, comprising about a third of the line, rather than being used for the opening rubric of the office, suggesting that the office was considered a new section of the manuscript. The scribe has introduced it with a designatory rubric in rustic capitals, "cursvs de *sancta* trinitate," and a two-line initial "D" for the opening verse Ps. 69:2. It therefore resembles the offices in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* by being introduced with a rubric, but it also provides a piece of contemporary terminology for describing the group: a *cursus*. The ensuing office is for all hours of the monastic day, with most of the hours marked by rubrics; offices, collects, lections, capitula, and the hymn "O lux beata Trinitas" are given in full, while psalms are introduced with incipits. In her edition, Raw judges that the reader was probably expected to have memorized many texts, especially the psalter. She notes not only the close overlaps between the content of this office and the *Leofric Collectar*, *Portiforium*, *Galba Prayerbook*, and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, but also the prayers which have no known analogue,[286] concluding that "the office as a whole shows the fluidity of liturgical texts in the late eleventh century and the wide range of prayers in honour of the Trinity available at this time."[287] Just as the opening of the text is clearly marked, so also are the different parts of the office: antiphons and psalms use a smaller size of script, and open with a one-line initial, whereas prayers and lections are in full-size script, with two-line initials. This differentiation in script size indicates that the scribes understood there to be a distinction between the prayers for a feast and the liturgical pieces which connect them together.

As was the case in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, the prayers in this office generally use the grammatical plural to refer to the speakers, which is to be expected, given their liturgical nature. However, in the *Crowland* offices, the *orationes* generally use the plural number as well. The exception is the *oratio* for Lauds, and the first of the following *preces*: "[d]eprecor te sancta Trinitas, pro me famula tua et pro omnibus peccatis et angustiis, et necessitatibus meis, et pro omnibus tribulationibus atque infirmitatibus meis. Salvam me fac ancillam tuam sancta Trinitas,

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285 This discussion of Douce 296 is based on the microfilm of the manuscript kept in the Bodleian Library.
286 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," pp. 192–200, footnotes *passim*.
287 Raw, p. 191.

Domine Deus meus sperantem in te."[288] After this, the *preces*, based on psalm verses, revert to using the plural number. However, this prayer suggests, as Raw has already noted, that the office may have been created by a woman for personal use.[289] It is also notable that the only one of the *preces* that has this singular feminine grammar is an adaptation of Psalm 85:2, the same psalm verse that the compiler of the *Galba* program used three times in different genders and numbers. The *oratio* which follows the *preces* uses the plural number, except in the words "ab omnibus infirmitatibus meis";[290] it may be that the scribe made a mistake while adapting a source originally in the plural number.[291]

As already stated, the office has many overlaps with liturgies for Trinity Sunday in other contemporary manuscripts. The collect for Vespers in *Crowland* is also used for that hour in the Trinity Sunday liturgies of the *Leofric Collectar* and the *Portiforium*;[292] the antiphons for Lauds are found at different hours in those manuscripts, and the first two in the office in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, as well as in the *Libellus Turonensis*;[293] the collect "ad mat[utinas]" is used for Trinity Sunday in the *Leofric Collectar*, for None in the *Hyde Breviary*, and in a "Missa de sancta trinitate cotidianis diebus" in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 422, as well as being the final collect in the Trinity program in *Galba*.[294] Meanwhile, as already shown, some items have no known analogues, and one antiphon has been identified as originating in one

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288 Raw, p. 197. "I beseech you, Holy Trinity, on behalf of me, your [female] servant and for all my sins and difficulties, and my needs, and for all my troubles and weaknesses. Save me, your handmaid, Holy Trinity, O Lord my God, hoping in you."

289 Raw, p. 191.

290 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 296, fol. 129v. A later scribe has corrected this to "nostris," which is the reading that Raw uses in her edition. Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 197.

291 Raw reports no analogues for this text. Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 198, n. 83.

292 Raw, p. 193, n. 59; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, col. 191; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, p. 69 (where it is listed as the Octaves of Pentecost).

293 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 196, n. 75; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, pp. 189–90; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, pp. 68–69; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 128–29; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 165.

294 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 198, n. 84; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, p. 188; J. B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey*, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society 70 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1933), p. 132r; Frederick Edward Warren, *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter During the Episcopate of its First Bishop, A.D. 1050–1072, Together with some Account of the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and a few other Early Manuscript Service Books of the English Church* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1883), p. 273; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 149. "Mass of the Holy Trinity for ordinary days."

for the Feasts of St. Michael and of All Saints.[295] The compiler's approach, therefore, is similar to that shown in the *Galba* program: selection from what may have been several different manuscripts, but also a slight eclecticism by including prayers from other feasts, and those from sources unknown to us. What is particularly noteworthy, however, is the fact that Raw has not identified any analogues for a single one of the texts labeled "Oratio" (or "Alia," following an *oratio*),[296] suggesting that these were derived from altogether different sources from the collects, lections, and other items of liturgical origin. It may be that these were taken from private prayer collections: this is particularly likely in the case of the grammatically feminine prayer "Deprecor te sancta Trinitas." In this office, therefore, we can see how compilers of prayer collections drew on liturgical and non-liturgical prayers in order to create something unique.

Conclusion

At the end of the previous chapter, I distinguished between the different kinds of prayer collections in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Using the example of prayers to the Holy Trinity, and prayers to the saints associated with them, I have demonstrated the characteristics of these sequences, programs, and offices. The sequence which I have named *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* can be found in a number of Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Although based around a central core of prayers to the members of the Trinity themselves, the sequence has loosely associated with it a number of prayers to the Virgin, different categories of saints, the angels, and individual saints. Any attempt to determine the order in which a full sequence of *Ad personas* prayers "ought" to appear would not only be futile, but would also negate the character of such prayer collections. Creators of manuscripts copied those texts which they believed to be worth preserving, adding prayers from other sources as they saw fit. Yet, for all its diffuse nature, a version of the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis* collection was apparently regarded as almost an essential part of a prayer or psalter manuscript at this time. Even so, as far as I am aware the *Orationes ad personas* never appear with any shorter liturgical items in between, such as Paternosters or antiphons: the copyists of the sequence seem to have understood the prayers

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295 Raw, "Office of the Trinity," p. 198, n. 92.

296 Raw, pp. 194–99, nn. 66, 81, 83, 95, 96, 103.

to belong together, but also to stand alone. Neither do the prayers, to my knowledge, appear in any liturgical or quasi-liturgical setting.

Prayer programs, such as those in *Galba*, and Special Offices, such as those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Crowland Psalter*, borrow largely from liturgical sources and, in the case of the latter, are heavily modeled on communal practice in their structure as well as in their use of rubrics. Both make considerable use of liturgical items to join together the collects and *orationes*, and their compilers seem to have regarded items such as psalms and antiphons as taking place to string together the main prayers, judging by the difference in script sizes seen in manuscripts such as *Crowland*. In the offices, the singular first-person grammatical forms found in the main prayers, and their alteration for gender by later users, also suggest that they were regarded as different in kind from the psalms and antiphons, and some were apparently selected from the private prayer tradition, as evidenced by the use of some of the *Ad personas* sequence in Ælfwine's Special Offices. The sequences typical of this tradition seem to avoid texts with liturgical origins, but the liturgically based offices do draw on the private prayers.

Compared to the full *cursus* of offices found in the high-grade *Crowland Psalter*, the prayer programs in the *Galba Prayerbook* are poorly laid out on the manuscript page, and are less clearly based upon the liturgy of the hours. Yet it is in these programs that we can see the inventiveness of Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns at its fullest. Drawing on the communal liturgy which they knew so well, but not restricted by it, they created unique works of devotion. The evolution of the Anglo-Saxon office may have reached its completion in the full, formal offices for every hour, as seen in manuscripts such as the *Crowland Psalter* and Royal MS 2 B V. Yet it may also be that these Special Offices themselves started out as idiosyncratic collections of liturgical texts and private devotions put together for personal use in prayerbooks such as *Galba*.

2 Praying with the Hours and Psalms

The previous chapter examined one specific form of devotion: prayer to the Holy Trinity. This chapter will discuss prayer intended for use at different times of the day, such as the early morning and the canonical hours (and, as will be shown, some non-canonical ones); in doing so, it will examine in greater depth the importance of the psalms in private prayer. The *Regularis concordia* instructs monks to pray first after rising from bed. This need to pray immediately upon waking up is reflected in a number of surviving Anglo-Saxon prayer programs, which include both prayers and psalms, and are valuable to the study of private prayer as they include very specific instructions about how, when, where, and why to pray. The psalms, being the foundation of the monastic liturgy of the hours, were also used as the basis of prayer programs either by Alcuin or associated with his works; these also became a commonplace part of late Anglo-Saxon prayer collections, attached to psalters and included in manuscripts such as *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

The liturgy of the hours will form the background of the second half of this chapter. Following a brief discussion of the monastic offices, I will examine responses to them for use outside of the communal liturgy, including a letter by Alcuin, a liturgical exposition by his pupil Hrabanus Maurus, and the *Old English (Benedictine) Office*, a devotional text which includes English translations of Hrabanus's work. This will serve as the basis for the major source study which closes the chapter. The *Prayers ad horas* are a sequence of prayers for the canonical hours and for two extra-canonical ones, originally written in Latin and surviving in collectars and in Carolingian *libelli precum*. As demonstrated by R. A. Banks, some vernacular prayers for the hours in the *Galba Prayerbook* are translations of this sequence. However, Banks was not aware of how many Carolingian sources contain the Latin originals. Drawing his work together with that of Bernard Muir and Stephan Waldhoff, I will examine these prayers in greater detail than has hitherto been done, arguing that the translation and alteration of these prayers show the development of the private observance of the hours in the eleventh century and beyond.

Prayer in the Early Morning: *Ideoque omni tempore*

So central was prayer to the monastic day that some form of prayer was considered necessary upon rising from sleep, before the liturgy of the hours began. The *Regularis concordia* gives some directions for these prayers:

Ideo*que* omni tempore nocturnis horis, cum ad opus diuinum d‹e› lectulo surrexerit *frate*r, primum sibi signu*m* s*anct*ę crucis inprimat per s*anct*ę trinitatis inuocationem. Deinde dicat uersum "D*omi*ne, labia mea aperies", dehinc psalmum "D*eus*, in adiutorium meum intende", totum cum "Gl*ori*a". Tunc prouideat sibi corpoream naturę necessitatem, si ipsa hora indiguerit, *et* sic ad oratorium festinando psallat psalmum "Ad te, D*omi*ne, leuaui animam meam", cum summa reuerentia *et* cautela intrans, ut alios orantes non impediat. At tunc, flexis genibus in loco congruo *et* consu*e*to, in D*omi*ni conspectu effundat preces magis corde quam (h)ore, ita, ut illius uox p*er* magnam animi conpunctione*m* *et* peccaminum suorum recordationem aures misericordis D*omi*ni efficaciter penetr*et* ac scelerum omnium, Chr*ist*i annue[n]te gr*ati*a, uenia[m] obtineat.[297]

There then follows a brief program for the monk's devotions, which consists of three prayers divided up by the penitential psalms.[298] At this point, the boys enter the church for Nocturns: from here onwards, the directions are in the plural, referring to the community as a whole, rather than to each monk individually. This section of the *Regularis concordia* effectively gives a short program of prayers and psalms for use by each monk before the office itself, even though he is in the company of his fellows at all times, from awaking in the dormitory to kneeling alongside them in the oratory. Firstly, he must sign himself with the cross in the name of the Trinity, and pray with Psalm 50:17, followed by the whole of Psalm 69. These two psalms – the penitential psalm "Miserere," and the psalm with whose opening verse each office began[299] – are important enough that they must be said before the monk takes care of his bodily needs. Even on the journey to the oratory, he is instructed to pray with Psalm 24. The monk must find a suitable place ("loco congruo et consu*e*to") in which to kneel. It is not clear what this might be, but the *Regularis concordia* anticipates that he will find

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297 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 257–74. "And so, at every time in 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. After that, may he say the verse 'O Lord, thou wilt open my lips,' and after that the psalm 'O God, come to my assistance,' complete, with the Gloria. Then may he provide for himself the bodily necessity of nature, if he has required it at that hour, and, thus hurrying to the oratory may he sing the psalm 'To thee, O Lord, have I lifted up my soul,' entering with complete reverence and care, so that he may not hinder the other men praying. And then, with knees bent in a suitable and habitual place, may he pour out prayers in the sight of the Lord, more with the heart than with the mouth, so that his voice may penetrate the ears of the Lord's mercy more effectively through the great compunction of the soul and the remembrance of his faults, and that he may obtain pardon of all his sins, with the grace of Christ granting it." A fragment from an Old English copy of this part of the *Regularis concordia* is on a leaf added to Tiberius A III. London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 174v.

298 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 275–96.

299 Chapter 18 of the *Regula Benedicti* teaches that the psalms at each hour should begin with Ps. 69.1. Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 18.1.

his brothers already praying there, and requires him not to disturb them. He is to pray "in D*omin*i conspectu,"[300] a phrase which, as will be discussed in chapter 5, may imply that the speaker was expected to pray before God alone. He should also pray "magis corde quam (h)ore,"[301] a phrase which both emphasizes the emotional nature of the prayer and suggests that the words which the monk speaks should either be few or inaudible. The description given strongly suggests that, while the monk was not technically alone, he was nevertheless intended to pray apart from his brothers. The final part of the program is more structured, with the penitential psalms being said in three parts, separated by prayers, a practice also seen in the *Regularis concordia*'s liturgy for Good Friday, discussed in chapter 3. The text of each prayer is given in full, and, unlike many of the prayers and incipits in the Tiberius A III copy of the *Regularis concordia*, these are completely glossed. In each case, the purpose of the psalms and prayer is given: they are offered for the monk himself, the king and queen, and the souls of the dead.[302]

The *Regularis concordia*, therefore, while primarily being concerned with the liturgy of the hours as observed by the monastery as a whole, pays close attention to the practice of individual prayer in the company of other monks, including such matters as posture, intention, and emotion.

Ælce sunnandæg

The extent to which the *Concordia*'s prescriptions were followed is, of course, not known, but the need for morning prayer programs appears to have been felt by Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns, judging from the inclusion of some texts in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Tiberius Psalter*. One of these, with the rubric "Oratio in .I. mane," appears at the end of a group of prayers to the cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*; due to its theme, I will discuss it in depth in chapter 3.

Folio 2 of Titus D XXVI is wholly taken up with a brief program for prayer in the early morning, with the incipit *Ælce sunnandæg*, in a hand unknown elsewhere in the manuscript,[303] which Ker suggests may have been added onto

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300 "In the sight of the Lord."

301 "More with the heart than with the mouth."

302 A similarity should be noted between the second prayer, "Gratias tibi ago," with the Vespers prayer from the *Prayers ad horas* sequence discussed later in this chapter. Compare Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 278–83, with, for example, the *Libellus Parisinus*. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 35.

303 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 10–11.

a blank leaf, after Ælfwine's use of the manuscript.[304] For these reasons, unlike many other texts in prayer manuscripts, it is clear where this text begins and ends. The text is as follows:

> Ælce sunnandæg bebeod þe ðære þrynnesse naman, þæt is fæder 7 sunu 7 se halga gast. 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. Mihtest þu gewunian þæt ðu hit sunge ælce dæge, þonne ðu ærest onwoce. 7 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 toweardra gescildnessa, 7 þine bletsunga to eallum þingum 7 huru minre sawle reste on ðam ecan life 7 a ðine miltse.' 7 geþenc ælce frigedæge, þæt ðu strecce þe on eorðan godes þances, 7 sing 'DEVS misereatur nostri.' [Ps. 66] 7 do þis dihlice, þær ðu sylf sy. 7 geþenc þæt he ðrowode on þone dæg micel for eall mancyn. 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 sealmum 7 mid oþrum swilcum. Gyf þu ælce dæge þine tidsangas wel asingst, ne þearft ðu næfre to helle, 7 eac on þisse worulde þu hæfst þe gedefe lif. 7 gyf ðu on hwilcum earfeðum byst 7 to Gode clypast, he ðe miltsað 7 eac tiþað, þonne þu hine bitsð. Amen.[305]

This text includes clear instructions for its usage. It outlines a complete program 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. It is of particular importance because, despite its brevity, the program is very specific about the context in which it should be performed.

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304 Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 264, 266.
305 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "Every Sunday, pray in the name of the Trinity, that is the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. 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. You could get used to singing it every day, when you first wake up. 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.' And every Friday, think to stretch yourself out onto the earth with thanks to God, and sing 'God have mercy on us.' And do this secretly, where you are alone. And think that he suffered greatly on that day for all mankind. 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. 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. 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." In a previous article, I referred to this text as "Sunday Morning Prayers." Kate Thomas, "Which Psalms Were Important to the Anglo-Saxons? The Psalms in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Prayer and Medical Remedies," *English Studies* 98, no. 1 (2017), p. 36.

The reader is told to say these prayers every Sunday, but ideally every day upon first waking, and the psalm of penitence should be sung on Friday. The physical posture of the penitent is also considered: he or she should be prostrate upon the ground, and thinking of Christ's sufferings. The compiler makes it very clear that at least some of the program, the Friday devotions if nothing else, should be done "dihlice," secretly, and in a place where the speaker can be alone. Most importantly, this program also gives several reasons why it was considered important to say such prayers: the week will go better; it will lead to blessings in this life, as well as in heaven; furthermore, God will forgive the reader's sins and grant what he or she prays for. The compiler also remarks that there is no better way of communicating one's struggles to God than through the words of "these psalms," even though only one actual psalm is named in it: "[n]e 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 sealmum 7 mid oþrum swilcum."[306]

Although Günzel reports no analogues for the "Directions," it is through this sentence that it is directly linked to the Carolingian prayer tradition. As I have discussed in greater depth elsewhere,[307] this sentence is an almost word-for-word translation from *De laude psalmorum*, a work on the psalms which I will discuss later on in this chapter.[308] The Carolingian text *De laude psalmorum* therefore had a clear impact upon the concept of private devotion in later centuries, showing 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, the speaker 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.

Þonne þu onmorgen

London, British Library Cotton MS Vitellius C VIII is a composite manuscript created from works of different periods; folios 22–25 were written in the early

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306 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "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."

307 Kate Thomas, "*De Laude Psalmorum* and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*: A Quotation from a Carolingian Psalm Devotional in a Late Anglo-Saxon Programme for Morning Prayer," *Notes & Queries* 59, no. 4 (2012), pp. 479–83.

308 Jonathan Black, ed., "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmorum usu*," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002), ll. 164–70.

eleventh century, perhaps at the New Minster in Winchester, in Old English.[309] These texts are: a brief program for morning prayer, a text on the "Egyptian Days" when bloodletting was considered dangerous, a short excerpt from *De temporibus anni*, and notes on how to calculate the dates of feasts, such as on the concurrents and epacts. The similarity of subject matter to that of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is noticeable:[310] prayer, computus, and scientific knowledge, as usual, were grouped together.

These leaves have no decoration, although prominent initial Þs of several lines' depth and height in the margins clarify the beginnings of new texts. The prayer program in its entirety reads thus:

> Þonne þu onmorgen ærest arise gemune þu þone halgan heahengel sanctus michael on þinum mode 7 gebide þe to him. 7 sing gloria in excesis [*sic*] deo 7 credan 7 pater noster 7 þas þreo fers. Benedicite dominum omnes angeli eius potentes uirtutes facientes uerbum eius ad audiendam uocem sermonum eius. Benedicite dominum omnes uirtutes eius ministri eius qui facitis uoluntatem eius. Benedicite dominum omnia opera eius in omni loco dominationes eius benedic anima mea domino. þonne hafast ðu blisse on þone dæg ægðer ge for gode ge for worulde. amen.[311]

As with the programs analyzed so far, and as with the letter "Beatus igitur David" which will be discussed later in this chapter, *Þonne þu onmorgen* must be performed when the speaker arises from sleep. Much like *Ælce sunnandæg*, it includes a period of silent meditation, in this case upon the Archangel Michael: "gemune þu . . . on þinum mode." The prayer to Michael which follows is not prescribed, so presumably the speaker can choose whichever he or she wishes to use. The remainder of the program is purely liturgical, although the use of the Gloria in excelsis, as opposed to the Gloria Patri, is of note, presumably chosen because it is the song of the angels in Luke 2:14. The verses from Psalm 102 are clearly relevant to a prayer program to an angel; together with the Gloria in excelsis, these strike a note of praise and glorification of God,

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309 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 404; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 221. For a complete list of contents, see British Library catalogue, Cotton MS Tiberius C VIII.

310 See, for example, Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 108, 145, and of course its inclusion of *De temporibus anni*. Günzel provides an explanation of the concurrents and epacts on pp. 20–21.

311 Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 292. "When you first rise in the morning, remember the holy archangel St. Michael in your mind, and pray to him. And sing Gloria in excelsis to God and the Creed and the Paternoster and these three verses: 'Bless the Lord, all ye his angels: you that are mighty in strength, and execute his word, hearkening to the voice of his orders. Bless the Lord, all ye his hosts: you ministers of his that do his will. Bless the Lord, all his works: in every place of his dominion, O my soul, bless thou the Lord [Ps. 102: 20–22].' Then you will have joy on that day, both in God and in the world. Amen."

rather than the more penitential mood that might otherwise be created by the inclusion of the Kyrie eleison.

The reason for this emphasis is clear from the final line of the program. Like *Ælce sunnandæg* it promises joy, both divine and worldly, to the person who follows these instructions. This program is therefore another example of prayers which are intended to bring about a particular purpose: as will be discussed in chapter 4, some prayers of contrition and confession are prefaced by a rubric which promises protection from both devils and bad people, so desires for heavenly and earthly prosperity were clearly linked together on a number of occasions in Anglo-Saxon prayer.

Oratio cuiusdam hominis Dei

A more complex guide to morning prayer, under the heading "Oratio cuiusdam hominis Dei," can be found amongst the prayer texts on the opening folios of the *Tiberius Psalter*.[312] It follows this pattern:

> Rise from sleep
> Make the sign of the cross with the name of the Trinity
> Prayer: "Sancta Trinitas, esto mihi cooperatrix"
> In church, with knee bent and head upon ground: make the sign of the cross
> Ps. 50.17 ("Domine, labia mea aperies") with Gloria
> Pss. 3, 6, 24, 37, 50, 56, 85, 87, 94, 101, 102, 142
> Head upon the earth, strike the breast
> Prayer: "Peccaui, domine"
> As many psalms as you wish
> Confession: "Omnipotens sempiterne deus."[313]

As in the morning devotions in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, this text specifies how and why private prayer should be undertaken:

> *Oratio cuiusdam hominis dei.*[314] [P]rimitus enim insinuat et docet eum qui pecularius [*sic*] orare uoluerit *et* furtiua [*sic*][315] orationes quesierit que*m* ad modu*m* agi debeat qualiter mis*eri*cordiam dei p*r*ouocet ut indulgentia*m* p*r*o peccatis quib*us* gessit obtineat · Inde uero cu*m* a somno

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312 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, fols. 21v–22v.

313 A longer version of this prayer can be found in the *Bury Psalter*. Wilmart, "Bury Psalter," pp. 14–15. *Digital Vatican Library*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 12, fols. 179r–180v.

314 Barré has noted the presence of this opening rubric in a number of Carolingian monastic collections. Barré, *Prières anciennes*, p. 4, n. 22.

315 The versions cited by Barré give "furtiuas orationes." Barré, p. 4.

surrexerit signu*m* crucis fronte inpremat *s*anct*ę* trinitatis nomine confitet*ur* ita dicens; *S*anc*t*a trinitas esto mihi coop*er*atrix; Et c*um* requisita natur*ę* petierit· C*um* silentio p*r*operans ad *ę*ccl*esi*am flectens genua cu*m* capite in terra deposito dicoratione dominica *et* surgens incip[e] re uersum· D*omi*ne labia mea ap*er*ies *et* os meu*m* adnuntiauit laude*m* tua*m*.[316]

This text is specifically aimed at those who wish to pray "pecularius" and who have sought "furtiua" prayers: precisely what this amounted to is not made clear, but the writer is making a distinction between the private and the public. Again, this program should be followed as soon as the reader wakes up; and, like the *Regularis concordia*, follows the first act of devotion with an instruction to go to the church after taking care of bodily functions. The reader must then bend the knee, placing the head upon the ground, and make the sign of the cross, before rising and beginning the psalmody with Psalm 50:17, the verse with which the Office of Nocturns began.[317] Twelve more psalms follow, after which this instruction is given:

> Post unu*m* quoq*ue* psalmu*m* dans gl*ori*am deo genua flectendo cum capite deuoluto in terra; p*er*cutiens pect*us* reuoluens in corde suo dicens· Peccaui d*omi*ne peccaui miserere mei *et* quia pondera peccato*rum* meo*rum* me pregrauant non ualeo surgere nisi tu qui pius *et* misericors es iuberis[.] Exsurge d*omi*ne adiuua me *et* libera me p*r*opter nomen tuu*m;* Deinde quantos psalmos uolueris p*er* ordinem canebis; Nouissime uero sequeris ista*m* oratione*m* *et* p*r*ouoces sup*er* te mis*ericor*dia*m* dei *et* uenientem [*sic*] *et* misericordia*m* a deo consequeris *et* initias exorare.[318]

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316 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, fol. 21v. "Prayer of a certain man of God. Indeed, first of all it introduces and teaches him who may wish to pray more for himself, and seeks secret prayers, which ought to be conducted in a manner in which he may elicit God's mercy, in order that he might obtain pardon for the sins which he has borne. Therefore, when he has risen from sleep, may he imprint the sign of the cross on his forehead with the name of the Holy Trinity, let him confess thus, saying: 'Holy Trinity, be my aid.' And when he has asked for the needs of nature, hurrying in silence to the church, bending the knee with the head placed upon the ground with the Lord's decoration, rising, may he begin the verse 'O Lord open my lips and my mouth will announce your praise.'"

317 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 9.1.

318 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, fols. 21v–22r. "After each single psalm, giving glory to God, bending the knees, with the head down upon the earth, striking the breast, reflecting in his heart, saying: 'I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned. Have mercy on me, and because the burdens of my sins weigh me down, I am not able to rise unless you, who are holy and merciful, command it. Rise up, O Lord, help me, and free me because of your name.' Then you will sing by order as many psalms as you wish, and last of all you will use this prayer and call God's mercy upon yourself and you will receive forgiveness and mercy from God and begin to entreat." I have interpreted "uniente*m*" as scribal error for "ueniam."

Again, the text is very clear about the posture and gesture with which these psalms should be said: the reader should again bend the knee and touch his or her head to the earth, striking the breast. The instruction to the speaker to pray reflectively in his or her heart is also significant: it shows that some prayer was expected to be silent, audible to no one but God. Finally, after as many psalms as the reader wishes to sing, he or she is to ask God's mercy with the prayer "Creator omnium universarum."

Although prayer programs for use in the early morning are relatively few, they do display some similarities. The speaker is instructed to pray immediately upon waking up, and the use of terms such as "dihlice," "pecularius," and "furtiua" implies prayer that is in some sense private, or restricted to oneself, even though some programs take place partially in church. They involve acts of penitence, giving great attention to posture and gesture: prostration, the sign of the cross upon the forehead, kneeling with the head to the floor, and striking the breast. *Ælce sunnandæg* and *Þonne þu onmorgen* also explain why it is useful to follow such devotional programs. *Oratio cuiusdam hominis Dei*, by contrast, is not intended to bring about a particular result, but is an important and under-recognized example of the use of the psalms in late Anglo-Saxon extra-liturgical prayer.

Prayer Programs Based on the Psalms: *Psalmi de paenitentia* and *De laude psalmorum*

The monastic offices were centered on the recitation of the psalms, and the *Regula Benedicti* provides instructions for which psalms were to be chanted at which hour, ensuring that the whole psalter was covered every week.[319] Monks were, however, also instructed to read the psalms privately: the *Regula* specifies that "[p]ost refectionem autem vacent lectionibus suis aut psalmis."[320] Even outside of the offices, the psalms were clearly regarded as the best form of prayer. Through them people could praise God, confess, or seek aid in times of trouble.

The various prayer guides which were compiled 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.

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319 Fry et al., *Rule*, chaps. 8–18.
320 "Then after their meal they will devote themselves to their reading or to the psalms." Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 48.13.

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 Psalmorum*,[321] and which were used as the basis for an anonymous Carolingian private prayer guide sometimes titled *Psalmi de paenitentia*. This was often copied together with a confessional prayer attributed to Alcuin, "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," which will be discussed in chapter 5, and was evidently popular across medieval Europe:[322] amongst late Anglo-Saxon sources, it is found in the *Galba Prayerbook* (fols. 58r–62r) and, without the confession, in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (Titus D XXVI, fols. 46v–50v).[323] Despite the association with Alcuin's work, there is no reason to believe that he was the compiler of this prayer program.[324]

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."[325] Each psalm, marked in the text with its incipit, is followed by the Kyrie eleison, the Paternoster, a number of capitula, and a collect asking for forgiveness.[326] The text therefore foregrounds the psalms and the Paternoster as the most important kinds of prayer, takes them out of their biblical and liturgical contexts, and uses them as the basis for a kind of private liturgy.

Another prayer program from the same era goes further than this, by explaining why the psalms should be sung, and by giving the reader a choice of psalms to sing according to his or her needs. *De laude psalmorum* appears as

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321 Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," pp. 19–20; M. Adriaen, ed., *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 97 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), Ps. 6, ll. 39–54.

322 Jonathan Black has undertaken a comparative study of this text and the associated confession. Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 26–28 lists Black's source texts, and the text of the *Psalmi de paenitentia* appears on pp. 41–56.

323 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 75–79; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 175–78. Amongst Carolingian sources mentioned in this book, the confession and program appear in the *Libellus Trecensis*, *Libellus Turonensis*, and in Paris 2731A. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 21–24, 27–30, 73–84, 89; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 342–50.

324 For example, Black refers to this text as an "independent program" contemporary with Alcuin. Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," p. 1.

325 "Which every soul who wants to please God ought to sing for the remission of his/her sins."

326 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 344–47. The collects are derived from various versions of the Romana series of psalter collects. Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 22–24; Louis Brou and André Wilmart, eds., *The Psalter Collects from V–VIth Century Sources (Three Series)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 83 (London: Boydell Press, 1949; Reprint, 2009), Romana series, nos. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, 142.

the preface to the ninth-century prayer guide *De psalmorum usu*.[327] Once attributed to Alcuin, the latter's authorship was challenged by André Wilmart, and it is now assigned to an anonymous writer.[328] However, Wilmart, and following him Black and Bullough, accept *De laude psalmorum* itself as being a genuine work by Alcuin,[329] while Waldhoff, drawing on the work of Jean Chazelas, argues against this attribution.[330] Whether or not Alcuin is the author, it had been composed by the early ninth century, to which the oldest extant copies date, but it remained popular into the late Middle Ages; as with *De psalmorum usu*, Jonathan Black has undertaken a study of this text, and has produced a collated edition drawing on all of the many surviving manuscripts.[331] No complete copy of *De laude psalmorum* survives from Anglo-Saxon England. However, a summary of the text, and an excerpt from its eighth part, can be found in the *Tiberius Psalter*,[332] and, as discussed above, a single sentence from the text's second part survives, in translation, in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that at least some readers in late Anglo-Saxon England had access to copies of the text.

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

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327 J.-P. Migne, ed., *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini,* Patrologia latina 101 (Paris: Garnier, 1863), cols. 465B-508D; *De laude psalmorum* can be found in cols. 465B-468A. A full collated edition has been published in Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," pp. 1–60.

328 Wilmart, "Le manuel de prières de Saint Jean Gualbert," *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936), pp. 262–65.

329 Wilmart, p. 263; Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," pp. 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," pp. 19–20.

330 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 psalmorum usu*, and appears to have been made in order to give such works an authoritative status. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 272–76. Black has accepted that Waldhoff's argument has some weight, but adds that there is an earlier text of *De laude psalmorum* than he allows for, in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1008, probably dating from before the year 800. Black, "Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch*," p. 773.

331 Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," p. 5. A list of surviving manuscripts is on pp. 36–44.

332 These are on fols. 22v–23r and 27r–v. Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," p. 43; London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI. See also Thomas, "*De laude psalmorum* and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*," pp. 482–83.

et ceteris his similibus."[333] The best way of approaching God and giving voice to one's sufferings is through these psalms, which monks and nuns 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 psalmorum*, 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:

Table 2.1: *De laude psalmorum.*

Line nos. in edition	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"	Pss. 6, 37, 101, 142, 31, 50, 129: to confess and do penance for your sins. Through these psalms you will quickly find God's mercy.
156–70	2: "Si vis orare"	Pss. 24, 70, 85, 69, 53, 66, 16: 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"	Pss. 102–3, 104–6, 110–15, 116, 117, 134–35, 145–50: 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"	Pss. 21, 63, 68: 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"	Pss. 41, 83, 62: if this life is wearisome, and you want to contemplate God and his kingdom, God will console your mind through these psalms.

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333 Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," ll. 164–70. "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 2.1 (continued)

Line nos. in edition	Section no. and incipit	Psalms and summary
211–19	6: "Si te in tribulationibus a Deo derelictum intellegas"	Pss. 12, 43, 55, 54, 30: 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"	Pss. 33, 102, 144 + the "Hymnus trium puerorum": to praise God in times of calm and prosperity.
232–45	8: "Si volueris intima mente exercere te in divinis laudibus"	Ps. 118: 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.

This treatise is essentially a list of eight situations that readers may experience, and of the right psalms to be said on those occasions. In fact, seven of the eight are introduced with the word *si* (if), and of those seven, four begin "si vis" (if you wish), or "si volueris" (if you will have wished). For example, point one reads: "[s]i vis pro peccatis tuis paenitentiam agere et confessionem peccatorum tuorum et veniam rogare delictis."[334] The defining feature of this text is its emphasis on the individual needs of the person praying: it is not a fixed prescription for all people, but a guide from which one can pick and choose to suit one's own desires.

At three points during *De laude psalmorum,* one is told to sing psalms "intima mente." When in trouble, the reader is instructed: "intima mente decanta illos psalmos quorum caput est."[335] Elsewhere, it is written, "[s]i volueris intima mente exercere te in divinis laudibus ac praeceptis et mandatis caelestibus,

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334 Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," ll. 141–44. "If you wish to undergo penance and confession for your sins and ask for the forgiveness of your sins."
335 Black, ll. 194–96. "In your innermost mind, chant those psalms whose beginnings are."

psalmum *Beati inmaculati* [Ps. 118] decanta,"[336] and the treatise ends by telling the reader of all the wisdom which is to be found in the psalms "si intima mente perscruteris."[337] The repetition of this phrase suggests that these psalms may have been intended to be read silently rather than aloud. Other expressions of interiority also appear from time to time in *De laude psalmorum*. The introduction, which Black notes is drawn from Gregory the Great's *Homeliae in Hiezechihelem propheta*,[338] explains: "[v]ox 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."[339] The phrase "intenta mente" (with an intent mind) occurs another three times in the introduction to *De laude psalmorum*, all of which are within a few lines of one another.[340] This phrase also appears in the section on the fifth reason for singing psalms, and reads: "[s]i tibi praesens vita fastidiosa sit, et animum tuum delectet supernam patriam contemplare et omnipotentem Deum ardenti desiderio, intenta mente hos psalmos decanta."[341] 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.[342] Overall, then, *De laude psalmorum* 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.

Prayers for Use with the Psalter

As Thomas Bestul notes, the addition of private prayers to psalters from earlier centuries was typical of eleventh-century England, and followed earlier

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336 Black, ll. 232–35. "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.'"
337 Black, ll. 258–59. "If you have read [them] thoroughly in your innermost mind."
338 Black, pp. 5–7.
339 Black, ll. 93–98, emphases mine. "For the voice of psalmody, when it is with the heart's intent, through it a way to the heart is prepared for the Lord almighty, so that he may pour into the intent mind the mysteries of prophecy or the grace of compunction."
340 Black, ll. 117–26.
341 Black, ll. 202–6. "If this present life is wearisome to you, and your spirit delights to contemplate the celestial homeland and Almighty God with burning desire, chant these psalms with an intent mind."
342 Black, l. 212.

Continental manuscripts which similarly combined the two.[343] In Anglo-Saxon England, this can be seen in manuscripts such as the *Vespasian Psalter*, where the eleventh-century additions include a prayer added to the start of the psalter: "[s]uscip*ere* digneris d*omi*ne d*eus* om*n*ipoten*s* hos psalmos consecratos quos ego indignus *et* peccator decantare cupio. in honor*em* no-minis tui et beat*ę* se*mper* uirginis mari*ę et* omniu*m* s*an*ctorum tuor*um*. p*ro* me miserrimo infelice. seu p*ro* cunctis consanguineis meis. uel p*ro* amicis meis. necnon p*ro* illis qui in me habent fiducia*m*. *et* p*ro* cunctis fidelib*us* uiuentib*us* siue defunctis. Concede d*omi*ne ut isti psalmi om*n*ibus p*ro*ficiant ad salut*em*. *et* ad uera*m* p*ę*nitentia*m* facienda*m*. uel emendatione*m*. et ad uitam *ę*ternam amen."[344] This prayer does not make clear whether it refers to chanting psalms in private, or to the ordinary recital of the psalms in the offices. However, it does testify to the bonds of prayer between the monk and his community, and blurs the distinction between the enclosed world of the monastery and the wider church.

"Liberator animarum," a similar prayer, is found in the *Eadui Psalter* with the rubric "Oratio post psalterium. vel orationum."[345] 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 psalter: "[s]upplico te ego peccator per inmensam clementiam et misericordiam tuam. et per modulationem psalmo-rum et orationum quos ego indignus et peccator decantavi. libera animam meam de omni peccato."[346] This prayer suggests that psalms and private prayers could be said together for the good of one's own soul. Furthermore, both of

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343 Bestul, "Continental Sources," pp. 112, 114. See also Bestul's list of Anglo-Saxon private prayers, which contains a number of these psalters, pp. 124–26.

344 Sherman M. Kuhn, ed., *The Vespasian Psalter* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 312. All expansions of words in Kuhn's edition of *Vespasian* are my own. "O Lord God Almighty, may you deign to receive these consecrated psalms, which I, unworthy and a sinner, desire to sing in honor 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 these psalms may bring about salvation for all, and the making of true penitence, or emendation [of life], and eternal life. Amen."

345 Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 113–17. The final prayer, "Deus omnipot-ens bone et iuste," is in a different hand, suggesting that "Liberator animarum" was originally intended to be the final prayer in this series. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 171.

346 Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 113–14. "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* and Harley 863. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 162; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, col. 434.

the two prayers reveal that there existed prayers which were intended to shape the experience of the communal liturgy and give it its meaning. Individual readers were given the chance to offer the psalms which they sang 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.

The Liturgy of the Hours and Private Prayer

The most important use of the psalms in the Anglo-Saxon religious life, however, was in the cycle of daily offices. In the remainder of this chapter, I will outline the development of these, and the creation of programs of prayer based upon the offices for use in other contexts. Most importantly, I will discuss what R. A. Banks terms the *Prayers ad horas*, a sequence of vernacular prayers in the *Galba Prayerbook* which have a more complex history than has yet been discussed in full.

Following Jewish custom, early Christian communities 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."[347] A couple of centuries later, Tertullian found justification in the New Testament for prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day.[348] 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.[349] Indeed, Hippolytus's work also ushered in a new mode of understanding for these hours.[350] The third hour was honored as the time when Christ was nailed to the cross, the sixth as the time when he hung upon it, and the ninth as when he was pierced upon it.[351] Hippolytus also teaches that one should pray before

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347 "At the ninth hour of prayer." See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study in the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (London: SPCK, 1981), pp. 1–2; Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*, trans. Francis A. Brunner (London: Darton, Longmann and Todd, 1959), p. 99. A comprehensive history of the offices can be found in Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*.

348 Ernest Evans, ed., *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani De oratione liber: Tertullian's Tract on the Prayer* (London: SPCK, 1953), p. 34.

349 Jungmann, *Early Liturgy*, pp. 98–99; Dix, *Apostolic Tradition*, chap. 36.1–6.

350 Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, pp. 53–55.

351 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*, chap. 36.1–6.

sleep and at midnight.[352] Early Christianity therefore set a pattern not only for prayer, but for private prayer, at specific times of the day, recollecting Christ's crucifixion.[353]

This pattern was developed in the early days of Christian monasticism. In *De institutis coenobiorum*, John Cassian cites Psalm 118:164, "septies in die laudem dixi tibi," in justification of the custom of worshipping God seven times a day, a practice which, he notes, comes from eastern monasteries.[354] 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*.[355] Benedict writes that divine service should be performed at the hours of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.[356] Like Cassian, Benedict refers to Psalm 118:164, and he justifies the night office of Nocturns with verse 62 of the same psalm, "[m]edia nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi."[357] These verses would continue to be cited by later writers who sought to justify or explain the offices. The liturgy of the canonical hours was, of course, the essence of the monastic life, which is expressed in Benedict's command to sing them with reverence: "[u]bique 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."[358] Considering the constant presence of the offices in the daily lives of all Benedictine monastics, and the great importance that was laid upon them, it is entirely natural that they had an influence on extra-liturgical prayer.

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352 Dix, *Apostolic Tradition*, chap. 36.7–8.

353 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: Brill, 2008), pp. 31–58.

354 Michael Petschenig, ed., *De institutis coenobiorum, De incarnatione contra Nestorum*, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 17 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), p. 39. "Seven times a day I have given praise to thee." Adalbert de Vogüé has studied the earlier history of this verse, and its use by Eusebius. De Vogüé, "*Septies in die laudem dixi tibi*. Aux origines de l'interprétation bénédictine d'un texte psalmique," Regulae Benedicti Studia 3/4 (1975), pp. 3–4.

355 Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, pp. 136–40.

356 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 16.1.

357 "At midnight I arose to give you praise." Fry et al., chap. 16.4.

358 "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." Fry et al., 19.1–2.

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: "[f]ratres 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."[359] 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 prayers based on the hours can be seen.

As Jesse Billett has argued, the monastic office used in England was for a long time not that prescribed by St. Benedict, but a Roman one which, after the Benedictine Reform, would continue to be used in secular practice.[360] The *Regularis concordia*, however, demonstrates the practice of the Benedictine *cursus* of psalms in England for the first time, presupposing that the reader has the use of necessary liturgical books, though perhaps not a Benedictine antiphoner.[361] The *Concordia* reiterates the *Regula Benedicti*'s requirement of private observance of the hours. There, travellers are urged to speak of holy and necessary things, "ut horas regulares non equitando sed de equis desiliendo, genuflectentes nisi dies festiua fuerit, conuenienter, ut potuerint, cum diuina conpunctione compleant."[362] If the tenth-century reformers considered this

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359 "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." Fry et al., chap. 50.1–4.

360 A summary of this argument can be found in Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c. 1000*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 7 (London: Boydell Press, 2014), p. 11.

361 Billett, pp. 179–80, 185.

362 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 168–71. "So that they might more suitably fulfill the regular [Benedictine] hours with divine compunction, as they might, not while riding, but dismounting from their horses, genuflecting, unless it is a feast day." Billett notes that the *Concordia* differentiates between *horae regulares*, the Benedictine *cursus*, and *horae canonicae*, the secular one. Billett, *Divine Office*, p. 181.

Benedictine obligation to be worth restating, then they must have believed it to be of high importance.

Conversely, there are also a couple of brief references to chanting the offices outside of the usual times. The senior monks are advised to do this after Prime to drive away the devil: "[s]eniores uero, unusquisque semot‹i›m, prout Deus in corda eorum diuino inmiserit instinctu, silenter ac tota mentis intentione opus suum in his obsequiis, sicut in omnibus conuenit, 'sanctis' orationibus decorando celebrent, horas canonicas uel septem penitentię psalmos uel aliud quippiam spirituale ad temptationem diabolicam deuincendam psallendo."[363] Similarly, after the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, the monks are all expected to say Compline silently: "[c]ompletorium uero post collationem unusquisque in loco suo stans semotim ac silenter, more canonicorum, ut supra diximus, decantet et consueto more cetera compleat. His uero tribus diebus in refectorio omnia cum benedictione et in capitulo more solito agantur."[364] Given that the *Regularis concordia* itself encourages monks to recite the offices silently for their own use, they may well have reflected upon them and altered them for personal use.

Alcuin's Letter "Beatus igitur David"

Although the offices were intended for monks, some laypeople evidently wished to follow a *cursus* for daily worship. The letter "Beatus igitur David" is apparently a response by Alcuin to Charlemagne's request for guidance on private prayer; it is preserved in Paris 2731A and d'Orville 45, at the start of

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363 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 366–73. "Truly, the seniors, each and every one separately, just as God will have sent into their hearts with divine inspiration, should celebrate their work silently and with full intention of the mind on their duties, just as it is appropriate in all things, by honoring it with holy prayers, and by singing the secular hours or the seven psalms of penitence or by some other spiritual thing for the overcoming of diabolical temptation." For the distinction between *horae canonicae* (secular hours) and *horae regulares* (the Benedictine *cursus*), see Billett, *Divine Office*, p. 181; for the private observance of the offices by tenth-century clergy, see Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), pp. 118–19.

364 Kornexl, ed., *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1149–55. "After the meal, standing silently in his own place, according to the manner of canons, as we said above, let each one sing Compline and fulfill it and the other things in the customary manner. And on these three days, let them perform all things in the refectory with a blessing and in chapter in the usual manner."

the prayer collection which Waldhoff regards as the remnants of Alcuin's prayerbook for the emperor.[365] It also appears in the *Libellus Parisinus*.[366]

The letter begins by explaining why it is necessary to observe the canonical hours. Just as Cassian and Benedict find a precedent for the hours in Psalm 118:164, "septies in die laudem dicam tibi," Alcuin explains that these are the first, second, third, sixth, and ninth hours, Vespers, and the twelfth hour.[367] 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 offices for the night and seven for the day.[368] Waldhoff has noted that the second and twelfth hours 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.[369] The whole of this sequence of Latin prayers is found complete in Paris 2731A, and in the *Libelli Trecensis*, *Parisinus*, and *Turonensis*;[370] as will be discussed later in this chapter, a selection of them is also found in liturgical sources. In *Parisinus*, the sequence immediately follows "Beatus igitur David,"[371] suggesting that the compiler of that manuscript understood the prayers to be a means of fulfilling the advice given in the letter. The prayers will be the subject of the major case study at the end of this chapter, where they are referred to as the *Prayers ad horas*.

Following this discussion, Alcuin concludes: "[s]ed 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

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365 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 341–42. 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. On the inadequacy of Dümmler's *MGH* edition of "Beatus igitur David," see Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 139–44. 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*, *Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 36, 7; Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Epistolae Karolini aevi (II)*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 4*, www.dmgh.de (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), pp. 463–64.

366 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 33–34.

367 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 341. "Seven times a day I will give praise to you" (translation mine).

368 Waldhoff, p. 341.

369 Waldhoff goes so far as to argue for Alcuin's authorship of the prayers on these grounds. Waldhoff, pp. 230–34, 381–82.

370 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 25–26, 35–36, 96–99.

371 Wilmart, pp. 33–36.

quia rogastis, dicemus breuiter quod sentimus."[372] Instead of the monastic offices themselves, the reader is first given a specific prayer program to say in the morning: "[c]um 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."[373] 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, and the program ends with as many psalms as the reader wishes.[374]

What is evident from this letter and the accompanying prayer program 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" was the opening of the monastic offices,[375] so lay worship is consciously patterned according to a monastic precedent. While people in the secular world might not have had the time or inclination to dedicate themselves to the observance of the monastic offices, they could sanctify the different periods of the day by recalling Christ's sufferings on the cross and by asking for God's mercy, and thus share a little in the continual worship of God which took place in the monasteries. The program is also noteworthy for what it tells us about the temporal and physical contexts of prayer, immediately after awaking from sleep, and probably not far from the bed from which the speaker has risen. It is also possible that he may have interpreted the opening words literally and prayed with arms raised. As will be discussed below, Alcuin's letter would turn out to have implications for private observances of the hours in Anglo-Saxon monasteries and convents.

Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*

Another response to the offices was the explanation of the monastic liturgy. The first full liturgical exposition in western Christianity was *De ecclesiasticis officiis*

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372 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 341. "But because you asked that we might write a handbook in plain language, as to how a layman who, still being 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 think."

373 Waldhoff, p. 341. "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."

374 "Et surgens incipiat uersum: Domine, labia mea aperies [Ps. 50:17]." Waldhoff, p. 342. "And, rising, may he begin the verse 'O Lord, thou wilt open my lips.'"

375 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 18.1.

by Isidore of Seville, whose work was later used in the education of clergymen during the Carolingian reforms.[376] As a result, the late eighth and early ninth centuries saw an increase in the number of new *expositiones missae*,[377] including Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum*, which was completed in 819.[378] As as Detlev Zimpel notes, Hrabanus was writing in an age of liturgical reform, in which it had become necessary to reconcile the widely varying customs followed in the Carolingian empire, and to explain and justify the forms of worship in use in the monasteries.[379] It is therefore understandable, he argues, that Hrabanus's brothers would ask for clarification on liturgy and monastic customs, and that works such as *De institutione* would be written to meet these needs.[380]

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 canonical hours are celebrated by the whole church: "preces et orationes generaliter sine differentia universae domino offerre decet ecclesiae."[381]

Hrabanus begins his discussion of the hours by explaining why they are so essential to the monastic life. Both Paul and the Psalmist teach the importance of praising God and raising the hands of prayer in every place;[382] so, by keeping the canonical hours established by the fathers, the church may fulfill this obligation to pray at all times.[383] Like Cassian and Benedict, Hrabanus justifies the seven day hours by quoting Psalm 118:164, and he refers to Daniel's praying at

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376 Christopher A. Jones, "The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England," *Speculum* 73, no. 3 (1998), pp. 666–69. 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 Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 309–13.

377 Jones, "Book of the Liturgy," pp. 669–70.

378 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 1, p. 16; a summary of the text can be found in vol. 1, pp. 26–45.

379 Zimpel, vol. 1, pp. 18–20.

380 Zimpel, vol. 1, pp. 20–21.

381 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 248. "It is right for the whole church, generally and without distinction, to offer requests and prayers to the Lord."

382 This passage draws on Isidore's *Etymologies*. Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 248; W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarvm sive originvm libri XX*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911; Reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1957), chap. 6.19.59.

383 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 250; Ps. 33:2; 1 Thess. 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. Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 250, n. 273.

the third, sixth, and ninth hours. The hours are set apart for prayer so that, even though one is prevented from constant praise by the busyness of life, one can still worship God throughout the day. 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.[384] However, his argument 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.[385] For example, it was at the morning vigil that God led the Israelites through the Red Sea and that Christ also saved his people by rising from the dead.[386] 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. According to Hrabanus, Jesus's passion began at the third hour, he ascended the cross at the sixth, and he died at the ninth.[387] So, for the sixth hour, he writes: "[s]exta 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 inveniat, qua ipse nos per suam passionem ad vitam aeternam restauravit."[388]

De institutione clericorum is, of course, far more concerned with liturgy than with private prayer. However, Hrabanus's 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

384 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, pp. 250, 262–66; Petschenig, *De institutis*, p. 39.

385 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, pp. 252–62. This is not the unusual sequence of hours found in "Beatus igitur David" and the *Prayers ad horas*. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 230–34.

386 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 252.

387 Zimpel, vol. 2, pp. 254–56. Zimpel compares these chapters to Cassian and Isidore, although neither is a direct source. Zimpel, vol. 2, p. 254, nn. 282–83; Petschenig, *De institutis*, p. 35; Christopher M. Lawson, ed., *Sancti Isidori Episcopi Hispalensis De ecclesiasticiis officiis*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), pp. 23–24.

388 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 254. "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."

unceasing prayer as required by the scriptures. These insights would in turn influence the observance of the canonical hours in private prayer. Hrabanus's distinction between the sacraments and offices is also important: by stating that the sacraments are celebrated by the priest, and the hours by the whole church generally, he opens up the possibility of observing the hours in private.

Once assessed as less popular in the Anglo-Saxon era than in late medieval England,[389] works of Hrabanus or parts thereof are now known to survive in fifteen manuscripts written or owned in England dating from the late ninth to the late eleventh century, including three which contain excerpts from *De institutione*.[390] Additional evidence for Anglo-Saxon knowledge of this text can be found in an inventory of Latin books, from eleventh- or twelfth-century Peterborough, which includes "Rabanus De institutione clericorum."[391] Most important of the responses to Hrabanus's work, however, is the eleventh-century work usually known as the *Old English Benedictine Office*.

The *Old English (Benedictine) Office* and Private Prayer

The *Regularis concordia* says little about why monks were supposed to observe the hours, presumably because this was expected to be common knowledge. However, the *Old English Benedictine Office* explains in full why the offices and psalms were so important for use in prayer. Versions of this text survive in two mid-eleventh century manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius MS 121 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201.[392] It is a bilingual work structured according to the eight canonical hours, plus the capitular office following Prime, with explanatory notes. 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 English preface explaining why one should praise God at that

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389 For example, by William Schipper, "Hrabanus Maurus," in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, Paul E. Szarmach, and Karen Hammond, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 74 (Binghampton: State University of New York, 1990), p. 131.

390 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos. 12, 59, 65.5, 73, 131, 140, 178, 243, 258, 398, 498.4, 644, 779, 814, and 919.3. Nos. 59, 73 and 131 contain excerpts from *De institutione*, and nos. 65.5 and 644 include the *Old English Benedictine Office*.

391 Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 143–47, item no. 59.

392 Junius 121: Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 644, Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 338. Corpus Christi 201: Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 65.5, Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49.

time of the day, and a brief conclusion.[393] These prefaces are reworkings of *De institutione clericorum*, indicating how influential Hrabanus's explanation of the hours was in the following centuries.[394] Each one 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 selections of psalm verses in Latin and English.[395] Aside from the office of Prime, however, none of these liturgical sections is especially long or comprehensive. The version in Junius 121 also includes vernacular poems based on the Paternoster, Gloria Patri, and Creed; the same Gloria prayer, and another Paternoster, are found in Corpus Christi 201, albeit separated from the *Office*.[396]

However, it has been apparent to all who study it that the *Office* cannot be a complete service book. James Ure notes that only the word "Psalmus" indicates that the psalm is to be said at Terce, and that the *Office* gives the prayers and readings, but not all the psalm readings. It cannot have functioned as a full service text, but merely an exposition of the liturgy.[397] John Houghton came to the conclusion that the *Office* was "to be used by literate monks for the instruction of ignorant secular clergy in the performance of the seculars' own

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393 James M. Ure, ed., *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, Edinburgh University Publications Language and Literature 11 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), pp. 81–102.

394 Emil Feiler recognized Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum* as the basis for the prose parts of the *Office*, and Bernhard Fehr identified the excerpts used from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 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 Corpus Christi 190; and that it was revised and extended by Wulfstan, using Corpus Christi 265. Conversely, Peter Clemoes argues against Ælfric's authorship of the translation. Feiler, ed., "Das altenglische Benediktiner-Offizium: Ein altenglisches Brevier aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *Anglistische Forschungen* 4 (1901), p. 54; Bernhard Fehr, "Das Benediktiner-Offizium und die Beziehungen zwischen Aelfric und Wulfstan," *Englische Studien* 46 (1913), pp. 337–46; Ure, *Benedictine Office*, pp. 15–16, 25–46, especially 25–26, 34–35, 42–43; Peter Clemoes, "The Old English Benedictine Office, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 190, and the Relations between Ælfric and Wulfstan: A Reconsideration," *Anglia* 78 (1960), pp. 265–70.

395 Ure, *Benedictine Office*, pp. 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 Þeowdom: Select Monuments of the Doctrine and Worship of the Catholic Church in England before the Norman Conquest* (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1849), p. xiv; Ure, *Benedictine Office*, pp. 17–19.

396 Ure, *Benedictine Office*, pp. 83–94; the relationships between the poems in the two manuscripts are discussed on pp. 49–57.

397 Ure, p. 63.

proper divine service,"[398] while Bruce Holsinger has concluded that it is a "kind of vernacular troper" in which the Old English goes beyond merely glossing the Latin.[399] Most recently, however, the purpose of the *Office* has been reconsidered by Daniel Anlezark, who names it simply the *Old English Office*.[400] Observing the inadequacy of the text for use as an office, and the careful organization of the extracts from the psalms found in the section for Prime, Anlezark argues that the *Office* contains an abbreviated psalter or psalmic *florilegium*, perhaps drawing on Bede's own work. Although he does not draw too strong conclusions about its intended audience, he considers the *Office* to be an incomplete work intended for daily use, in which the offices are "sketched out" in order "to meet the spiritual needs of those who could not meet the elaborate demands of the official cycle of prayer (in Latin)."[401]

Although the *Old English Office* cannot be seen as a full private office, the introductions to each hour are valuable to the study of prayer, as they demonstrate how the liturgy of the hours was understood and considered to be worth explaining in the vernacular at this time. Hrabanus begins by distinguishing between the mass, which is celebrated by the priest, and the hours, which are celebrated by the whole church; likewise, the general introduction to the *Old English Office*, a much shorter summary of the opening chapter of Hrabanus's second book, begins by explaining that "[g]odcund þeowdom is gesett on cyriclicum þenungum æfter canoneclican gewunan to nydrihte eallum gehadedum mannum."[402] 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.

The *Old English Office* explains the significance of the canonical offices in greater detail than seen in *De institutione clericorum*. This can be seen by comparing Hrabanus's introduction to Matins with that in the *Office*:

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398 John William Houghton, "The *Old English Benedictine Office* and its Audience," *American Benedictine Review* 45, no. 4 (1994), pp. 445. Christopher Jones suggests that the *Office* and other paraliturgical texts associated with Wulfstan may have been used in the examination of priests' knowledge. 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 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 332–34. See also Jones, "The Book of the Liturgy," pp. 693–95.

399 Bruce Holsinger, "Liturgy," in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 307.

400 Anlezark, "The Psalms in the Old English Office of Prime," pp. 210–16.

401 Anlezark, p. 217.

402 Ure, *Benedictine Office*, p. 81. "The Divine Office is established in church services according to canonical custom as the duty of all ordained men."

> 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.[403]

> 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 ðe he wolde; and his wiðer-winnan, þæt is deofol sylfne, he besencte and *eall* his gegenge on helle-susle.[404]

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, using unsubtly similar phrasing in each sentence. 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 *Old English Office* justifies the seven hours by referring to Psalm 118:164.[405] The opening paragraph of the vernacular text does not attempt to harmonize Christ's teaching on secret prayer with the injunctions in the Epistles to praise God openly at all times. Instead, it begins: "[o]n 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."[406]

This introduction explains the canonical hours clearly, teaching that they 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 commemorate the events in the Bible which prefigured it. It also explains that God deserves to be praised at all times, but the hours exist to accommodate this constant praise within what is humanly possible. Importantly, it is a skillful translation of Latin texts into

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403 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 2, p. 252. "So at the morning vigil, the Lord, leading Israel through the Red Sea, drowned 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."

404 Ure, *Office*, p. 82. "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."

405 Ure, p. 81.

406 Ure, p. 81. "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 fulfill that duty daily."

the vernacular, expanding the originals in order to inform the reader and drama-tize biblical narratives. These are all qualities that are seen in a related sequence of prayers for the hours.

The *Prayers ad horas*: Prayers for the Monastic Hours

These are seven vernacular prayers appearing on folios 106r–107v of the *Galba Prayerbook*, following either two or three other Old English prayers,[407] which were referred to as "a series of Prayers 'ad Horas'" by R. A. Banks in an article of 1965:[408] this is the name which I will use henceforth.

The *Prayers ad horas* are a sequence of prayers to Christ for each of the canon-ical hours of the monastic day, plus, significantly, a couple of non-canonical ones: the second hour, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, the twelfth hour, and Prime. Banks's article has shed a great deal of light on these vernacular prayers and their Latin sources. However, a number of details are missing from his study. In the final part of this chapter, I will demonstrate that a couple of his sources were incorrectly identified, that there are more extant analogues to the Latin source texts than those of which Banks was aware, that the English translation found in *Galba* is especially close to one of the Latin analogues, that the copy in *Galba* bears a rela-tionship to Alcuin's letter "Beatus igitur David," that the translation deepens and expands the Latin originals, and that the translation was probably written by or for a woman and subsequently altered for male use, an implication obscured by Bernard Muir's editorial practice. However, it is Muir himself who has indicated the true significance of these prayers by linking them to the later Books of Hours.

The *Prayers ad horas* in the *Galba Prayerbook* and *De psalmorum usu*

Banks's article identifies the prayers in *Galba* as translations and succeeds in finding a Latin analogue to all but the opening prayer beginning "Min drih*te*n

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407 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 136–39.

408 R. A. Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS. Cotton Galba A.xiv," *Notes & Queries* 12, no. 6 (1965), p. 210; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 138–39. I consider the *Prayers ad horas* proper to begin with the prayer which opens "Min drih*te*n hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu, on þinu*m* noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe," as it is from here that the sources can be identified. 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*, p. 138.

hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu."[409] The Latin analogues which Banks finds can be shown most clearly in the form of a table:

Table 2.2: Latin analogues to the *Prayers ad horas* identified by R. A. Banks.[410]

Hour	Opening of prayer in *Galba*, no. 65	Opening of Latin analogue	Page nos. in Banks	Analogues identified by Banks
Second hour	Min drih*ten* hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu, on þin*um* noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe; drih*ten* hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uht*an*tide . . .	—	—	—
Terce	Min drihten hæle‹nd› Crist, þu þe on þa ðriddan ‹tide› . . .	DOmine ihesu [*sic*] christe qui hora tertia diei . . .	211	*Liber sacramentorum*, *Durham Collectar*, *Leofric Collectar*, *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*
Sext	Min drih*ten* hælend Crist, þu þe on þa sixtan tide . . .	DOmine ihesu christe qui hora diei sexta . . .	211	*LS*, *DC*, *LC*, *Portiforium*
None	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan . . .	Domine ihesu christe qui hora diei nona in crucis patibulo . . .	212	*LS*, *DC*, *LC*, *Portiforium*
Vespers	Þancas ic ‹þe› do ‹min drihten› . . .	Gratias tibi agimus, Domine Deus . . .	212	*De psalmorum usu*
Twelfth hour	Min drihten waldend *and* gescyldend . . .	Domine Deus, dominator omnium et protector . . .	212	*DPsU*
Prime	Drihten god almih‹tig›, þu þe to fruman þisses dæges . . .	Domine sancte pater omnipotens æterne deus qui nos ad principium huius diei . . .	210, 212–3	*LC*, Old English *Office*

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409 Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," pp. 210–13; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 138–39.
410 Banks, pp. 210–13.

There are, however, some problems with Banks's summary of the analogues. In his overall conclusion, he argues that the *Galba* scribe used a now lost source based closely upon *De psalmorum usu*. He therefore believes the *Prayers ad horas* in *Galba* to be a sequence of private Old English prayers translated from a sequence of Latin collects.[411] 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's missing source for the first prayer:

> Domine Deus omnipotens, qui nos in hanc horam secundam post nocturnas caligines pervenire fecisti, conserva nos hodie per omnium horarum spatia et momenta temporis, et perpetua nos semper fac misericordia permanere illaesos, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.[412]

> drih*ten* hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uht*an*tide gesund'n'e þurh ðas nihtlican dimnesse becuman lete, geheald me nu todæg, drihten, þurh ealre tida fæc *and* b‹ea›rhtmas *and* mid þinre gyfe læd me ‹unge›dered'n'e.[413]

Instead, Banks believes that the Old English prayer is "a version of the collect for Prime."[414] He also links the opening sentence, "Min drih*ten* hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu, on þinu*m* noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe," to the phrase "elevatio manuum nostrarum" in *De psalmorum usu*,[415] whereas I will demonstrate that it had a different derivation. Finally, Banks's article notes that the Latin original of the final vernacular prayer, one for Prime, appears as a collect in the *Old English Office*;[416] in fact, it should also be noted that the collects for Terce and None are the Latin versions of the *Prayers ad horas* for those hours:

> [Terce] Domine deus qui hora tertia diei ad crucis poenam pro mundi salute ductus es, te suppliciter deprecamur ut de preteritis malis nostris semper aput te inueniamus ueniam et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam, qui cum patre.[417]

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411 Banks, pp. 212–13.

412 Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini*, PL 101, col. 507B; the full sequence is at cols. 507A-508A. "O Lord God almighty, who made us arrive at this second hour after the gloom of night, keep us today through the durations of all hours and moments of time, and make us remain unharmed in perpetual mercy, through our Lord Jesus Christ."

413 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138. "Lord Savior Christ, you who let me come through the darkness of this night to this dawn whole, hold me now today, Lord, through the hours and moments of all times, and through your grace lead me unharmed."

414 Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," p. 213.

415 Banks, p. 210.

416 Banks, pp. 212–13.

417 Ure, *Office*, pp. 96–97. "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

[Terce] Min drihten hæle‹nd› Crist, þu þe on þa ðriddan ‹tide d›æges rode ‹pin›e[418] gelæded wære for ealles middaneardes hælo, ic þe bidde eadmodlice þ*æt* þu mine synna adilgie *and* ic minra forðgewitenra synna æt þe forgifennessa gemete *and* þ*æt* þu me sy wið þan toweardum synnum arful hyrde.[419]

[None] Domine Iesu Christe qui hora nona in crucis patibulo confitentem latronem intra menia paradysi transire iussisti tibi suppliciter confitentes peccata nostra deprecamur deleas et post obitum nostrum paradisi nobis gaudia introire concedas, saluator mundi, qui cum patre.[420]

[None] Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan ahangen wære *and* þone scaþan þu onfenge þe on þe gelyfde on þa fægernesse 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.[421]

It is therefore clear that, although Banks's article has done a great deal to bring to light the origins of the vernacular *Prayers ad horas*, there is more to this prayer sequence than immediately meets the eye.

The Latin Analogues of the *Prayers ad horas*

In order to create a fuller picture of the roots of the Anglo-Saxon *Prayers ad horas*, I will show that the Latin prayers appear in far more sources than Banks uncovered. Table 2.3 below shows the main prayers in the *Ad horas* sequence in the sources which are most relevant to this study.[422] For reasons of

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find in you pardon for our past evils and that we may perpetually have protection against future evils, who with the Father."

418 For my preference for Banks's emendation of "pine" over Muir's "þine," see the discussion following table 2.4 below.

419 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138. "My Lord Savior 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."

420 Ure, *Office*, p. 98. "O Lord Jesus Christ, who at the ninth hour on the gallows of the cross commanded the confessing thief to go into the joys of paradise: humbly confessing to you, we ask that you may blot out our sins and that, after our death, you may allow us to go into the joys of paradise, savior of the world, who with the Father."

421 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 139. "My Lord Savior 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." I have quoted the part of the prayer which is a translation of the Latin; the additions will be discussed below.

422 Some of the information in this table is derived from Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," pp. 210–13, and Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 215.

space and clarity, it excludes similar prayers on the same model which have become attached to the sequence in a couple of the manuscripts. Also for the sake of clarity, rather than citing folio numbers, the table lists each text according to its number in the standard edition used throughout this book, or, in the case of the *Leofric Collectar* and the *Old English Office*, according to the column and page number respectively. The unusual order of the prayers in the *Libellus Parisinus* and *Galba* should be noted: its implications will be made clear below.

Even a brief examination of this table should show clearly that only a limited range of the *Prayers ad horas* appears in the sacramentaries and collectars, whereas the compilers of the private prayerbooks, such as *Galba*, included a longer one. 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 collectars, and a fuller one in the private prayerbooks.[423] It can therefore be said that there is a "sacramentary sequence" of the *Prayers ad horas* and a "prayerbook sequence," which is longer and further developed. A similar situation can be seen in the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross, a prayer sequence discussed in the case study in chapter 3.

As Banks demonstrates, the prayers for Terce, Sext, and None appear in the *Liber sacramentorum*.[424] Günzel has also noted their presence in the *Gregorian Sacramentary* and, accompanied by the prayer for Vespers, in the *Gellone Sacramentary*.[425] To Banks's and Günzel's observations, it should be added that the prayer for Prime likewise appears in these three sacramentaries.[426] 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 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*

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[423] While this is a useful overall distinction, the *Old English 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," pp. 283–85.

[424] Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," pp. 211–12; Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini,* PL 101, cols. 445B-466A, see col. 463A-B.

[425] Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 215; Jean Deshusses, ed., *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien: Ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 3rd ed., vol. 3, Spicilegium Friburgense 24 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1992), nos. 4407–9; A. Dumas and Jean Deshusses,eds., *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis: Textus*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 159 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), nos. 2122–24, 2132.

[426] Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 3, no. 4406; Dumas and Deshusses, *Gellonensis*, no. 2120; Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini,* PL 101, col. 462D.

Table 2.3: 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	*Gregorian*, vol. 3	*Gellone*	*Liber Sacramentorum*, PL 101. 462D-463B	*Durham Collectar*	*Portiforium collectar*	*Leofric Coll.*	*Ælfwine's Prayer-book collectar*	*Paris 2731A*	*De psalmorum usu*, PL 101. 507A-508A	*Libellus Parisinus*	*Libellus Turonensis*	*Libellus Trecensis*	*OE Office*	*Royal 2 A XX*	*Galba Prayer-book* (OE)
Rising from bed	In nomine tuo levabo manus meas								no. 2a.1		no. 1.1					no. 65.3
Prime	Qui ad principium huius diei	no. 4406	no. 2120	chap. 18.9		no. 315	col. 69		no. 19a	14.1	no. 1.8	no. 7.3	no. 2.1	94		no. 65.9
2nd 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	chap. 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	96–97	no. 65.4
Sext	Qui hora diei sexta pro redemptione	no. 4408	no. 2123	chap. 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	chap. 18.12	no. 660	no. 321	cols. 70–71 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
12th 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	

Collectar), and the collectar of the *Portiforium*, and the prayer for Prime appears in the *Leofric Collectar*.[427] The prayers for Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers also appear in the collectar in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, and the prayers for Prime and Vespers in the *Portiforium*'s collectar.[428] The Carolingian private prayerbooks, on the other hand, include the full prayerbook sequence 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 2731A, and in chapter 14 of *De psalmorum usu*.[429] As discussed above, in his letter "Beatus igitur David," Alcuin advised Charlemagne to pray privately at "prima hora, secunda, tertia, sexta, nona, uespertina et duodecima."[430] Stephan Waldhoff has noted not only that these are not the canonical hours, but also that they resemble the sequence of *Prayers ad horas* found in Paris 2731A, the manuscript which he believes to be based on the prayerbook compiled by Alcuin for Charlemagne.[431] For this reason, he regards Alcuin himself as the composer of the Latin *Prayers ad horas*.[432] However, Jonathan Black has expressed doubts about this, noting that Waldhoff disregards the sacramentaries.[433] At the very least, the unusual sequence of hours in the *Prayers ad horas* may owe something to Alcuin's influence, even if he himself did not compose the additional prayers.

Black has also argued that the Carolingian reforms replaced older liturgical traditions with the Benedictine *cursus*, and, as the latter did not include liturgy for the second or twelfth hour, "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."[434] He does, however, acknowledge that only the prayers for Prime, Terce, Sext, None,

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427 Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," pp. 210–11; Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, cols. 69–71, 131; Corrêa, *Durham Collectar*, p. 234; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, pp. 18–19.

428 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, pp. 18–19; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 174–75, 215.

429 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 25–26, 35–36, 96–99; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 381–82; Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini,* PL 101, cols. 507A-508A.

430 "The first hour, the second, the third, the sixth, the ninth, at evening, and at the twelfth hour." Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 341.

431 Waldhoff, pp. 230–35.

432 Waldhoff, pp. 234–35.

433 Black, "Review of *Alcuins Gebetbuch*," p. 773.

434 Black, "Divine Office," pp. 63–64.

and Vespers appear in an early liturgical source, the late eighth-century *Gellone Sacramentary*.[435] In any case, while the Carolingian prayerbooks preserve the full sequence of prayers, and the liturgical sources only include the prayers for the standard Benedictine hours, the appearance of the full sequence in *Galba* is of particular interest. The translator and compiler responsible for the Old English text were drawing not on a contemporary liturgical source, but were instead working from a text in the prayerbook tradition exemplified by the *libelli precum*.

The *Prayers ad horas* in the *Galba Prayerbook* and *Libellus Parisinus*

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 it is likely that many copies will not have survived. However, I will argue that the order of the prayers in *Galba* suggests that this translator was 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 prayerbook sequence,[436] although their two versions are demonstrably different from one another. In Table 2.4, the prayers are shown in the order in which they appear in each manuscript. Significant differences between the versions are 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.

Although I am not, of course, suggesting that *Parisinus* was the immediate source for *Galba*, Table 2.4 shows immediately that the two share a distinctive

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435 Black, p. 64, n. 47.

436 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 5.

Table 2.4: The *Prayers ad horas* in three manuscripts[437]

Hour	Trecensis	Parisinus	Galba	Translation of Galba
Rising from bed		[The end of the letter "Beatus igitur David"] Cum autem de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: **"Domine Iesus Christe filius dei in nomine tuo levabo manus meas."**	**Min drihten hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu, on þinum noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe;** [the prayer for the second hour follows immediately]	My Lord Savior 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]*

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437 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 25–26, 33–36; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 138–39.

	Latin	Old English	English
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 **perpetua** nos semper fac **misericordia** permanere inlaesos, per.	Secunda vero hora sic orabis: "Domine deus omnipotens qui nos in hac ora secunda nocturnas caliginis **incolomis** pervenire fecisti, conserva nos hodie per omnium orarum spacia et momenta temporis et **in tua gracia** nos semper fac permanere inlesus."	drihten hælend Crist, þu ðe me þisse uhtantide **gesund'n'e** þurh ðas nihtlican dimnesse becuman lete, geheald me nu todæg, drihten, þurh ealre tida fæc and breahtmas and **mid þinre gyfe** læd me ‹ungedered'n'e.	Lord Savior Christ, you who let me come through the darkness of this night 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, ut et de praeteritis malis nostris semper apud te inveniamus veniam, et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam, qui cum patre.	Tercia autem hora sic orabis: "Domine Iesus Christe qui hora tercia diei ad crucis penam ductus es pro mundi salute, te suppliciter deprecamur ut nostra deleas peccata, et ut de preteritis malis nostris semper aput te inveniamus veniam, et de futuris iugiter habeamus custodiam."	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on þa ðriddan ‹tide dæges rode **þin**e [pine? wite?] gelæded wære for ealles middaneardes hælo, ic þe bidde eadmodlice þæt þu mine synna adligie *and* ic minra forðgewitenra synna æt þe forgifennessa gemete *and* þæt þu me sy wið þan toweardum synnum **arful hyrde.**	My Lord Savior 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 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.

(continued)

Table 2.4 (continued)

Hour	Trecensis	Parisinus	Galba	Translation of Galba
Sext	SEXTA HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine Iesu Christe qui dum hora sexta pro **perditione** 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 Iesus Christe qui dum hora sexta pro **redemptione** 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 dæges rode treow gestige for middaneardes **onlesednesse** and þes middaneard wæs eall on þystre gehwyrfed, syle me symble þæt leoht minre sawle and mines lichoman þæt ic geearnian mote and cuman to eacan life.	My Lord Savior 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 to me always that light of my soul and my body, that I may merit and come to eternal life.
None	NONA HORA SIC ORABITIS: Domine deus Iesu Christe qui hora nona in crucis patibulo confitentem latronem intra **moenia** 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 Iesus Christe qui ora nona in crucis patibulo confitente latrone infra **agmina** paradisi transire fecisti, te supplices confitentes peccata nostra deprecamur ut post obitum nostrum paradisi **nos portas fac** introire gaudentes."	Min drihten hælend Crist, þu þe on rode galgan ahangen wære and þone scaþan þu onfenge þe on þe gelyfde on þa **fægernesse** neorxnawonges **gefean**, and hine mid þe feran **lete; þu wære rice cyning þeah þu on rode hangadest**. Ic þe eadmodlice **mine synna andette** and ic bidde þe for þinre micelan mildheortnesse þæt ic mote æfter minre forðfore neorxnawonges **gatu** agan.	My Lord Savior 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 to you and ask you, by your great mercy, that I may reach the gates of paradise after my going hence.

Vesp	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 oportit: "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 elevacio manuum nostrarum sit in conspecto tuo acceptabile sacrificium vespertinum."	Pancas ic ‹þe› do ‹min drihten› ælmihtig› god þæt þu me **gesundne** 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.
12th	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 subnexis precibus exoramus ut per hanc superventure noctis caliginem tua nos protegat dextera ut lucis aurora cuncti sint gaudentes."	Min drihten waldend *and* gescyldend, þu þe leoht *fram* 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.
Comp	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.	—	—	—

Table 2.4 (continued)

Hour	Trecensis	Parisinus	Galba	Translation of *Galba*
Prime	[*See first prayer*]	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 **eloquia.**" Tamen ad istas supra scriptas horas semper dominica cantetur oracio.	Drihten god almihtig›, þu þe to fruman þisses dæges me becuman lete, gehæl me, min driht*en*, mid þin*um* mægene þæt ic on þissum dæge on nane synne ne gehwyrfe, ac symble **min word *and* min weorc** sy on þinre soðfæstnesse gehwyrfed þu þe l*eo*fast *and* rixast a to worulde.	Lord God Almighty, you who let me come to the beginning 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.

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 are the only ones which 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 drih*ten* hælen‹d› Crist, godes sunu, on þinu*m* noman ic mine handa up ahæbbe."[438] These words do not appear in *Trecensis*, but they do reflect *Parisinus*. In the Carolingian manuscript, the *Prayers ad horas* follow Alcuin's letter "Beatus igitur David," which ends with this instruction: "[c]um autem de lectulo stratus vestri surrexeritis, dicendum vobis est: 'Domine Iesus Christe filius dei in nomine tuo levabo manus meas.'"[439] The prayer for the second hour then follows.[440] 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 in bold in Table 2.4 indicate the similarities and dissimilarities between the versions. Below, I discuss the most significant distinctions which I have detected between them, in order of the prayers in which they appear.

Second hour: in the *Galba* prayer for this hour, the word *gesundne* (whole) translates *incolomis* (unharmed), which only appears in the *Parisinus* and *Turonensis* versions of this prayer. Furthermore, "mid þinre gyfe" translates "in tua gracia," which is unique to *Parisinus*.[441]

Terce: this prayer is similar across all the Latin sources. In *Galba*, after "rode," the manuscript is damaged. Muir supplies the emendation "rode ‹þin›e" (your cross) whereas Banks's earlier edition has "ro(de pi)ne" (the torture/pain of the cross).[442] Due to the similarity between all the Terce prayers,

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438 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138. "My Lord Savior Christ, son of God, in your name I lift up my hands."

439 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 34. "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.'"

440 Muir interprets this as a prayer for Prime; however, it is evidently a translation of the prayer which is specifically stated in the Latin manuscripts to be for the second hour. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138.

441 Muir, p. 138. "With your grace."

442 Muir, p. 138; Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," p. 211.

"pine" is the most likely reading, as it not only has the same meaning as the Latin "poena," but is an anglicization of it.[443] 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."[444]

Sext: in this prayer, *Galba* has *onlesednesse* (liberation), which translates the "redemptione" found in *Parisinus*, all of the sacramentaries and collectars, and in *De psalmorum usu*. *Trecensis* and *Turonensis* have *perditione* (damnation), and Paris 2731A has *proditione* (treason).[445]

None: the extra word "portas" is relatively rare: aside from the *Libellus Parisinus*, it appears only in the *Gregorian Sacramentary*, *Gellone Sacramentary*, and the *Durham Collectar*.[446] It can also be found in *Galba*, translated as *gatu* (gates).[447] In *Galba*, though not in *Parisinus*, there is no mention of the ninth hour itself.

Prime: the translation of the Prime prayer also seems to draw on a version seen in the *Old English Office* and the *Poriforium*. The *Office* prayer ends by adding the words "et dirigantur opera" to the text seen in *Parisinus*, which are translated in *Galba* with the common Old English collocation "min word *and* min weorc."[448] In the *Portiforium*, the text has been developed one stage further, to "dirigantur cogitationes *et* opera,"[449] which reflects the traditional confessional formula of thoughts, words, and deeds.[450] The versions in the *Office*, *Galba*, and the *Portiforium* therefore show how the prayer had been developed by the eleventh century.

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443 J. R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), s. v. "pīn."

444 *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Charles University, s. v. "wite," http://bosworth. ff.cuni.cz/finder/3/036093. "Wite" was also more frequently used to translate "poena." Healey et al., *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, University of Toronto.

445 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 381, no. 22a.

446 Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 3, no. 4409; Dumas and Deshusses, *Gellonensis*, no. 2124; Corrêa, *Durham Collectar*, p. 234.

447 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 139.

448 Ure, *Office*, p. 94. "And may our works be directed." Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 139. "My words and my deeds."

449 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 328; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, p. 18. "May our thoughts and deeds be directed." The final part of the prayer, from 'peccatum. sed semper' to the end, appear to have been written over an erasure.

450 This collocation and formula will be discussed further in chapter 5.

As has already been stated, there is no reason to believe 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 English translator was working from a Latin text which was similar to that seen 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.

Were the *Prayers ad horas* Copied by a Woman?

Like a number of prayers in *Galba*, the English copy of the *Prayers ad horas* has been freely adapted for gender through the use of interlinear glosses. However, 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.[451] Now that the manuscript has been damaged, only two distinctly gendered words survive in the text of the seven *Prayers ad horas*.[452] These are *gesundne* (whole) and ‹*unge*›*deredne* (unharmed), both in the prayer for the second hour. Based on a first glance at Muir's edition, one would suppose that these two words appear thus in the manuscript itself. However, a look at folio 106r of *Galba*, and indeed at Muir's own notes, will reveal that in each case the final 'n' has been added interlineally:[453] the original text gave the adjectives *gesunde* and *ungederede*, feminine adjectives which were later altered and made masculine. What is more, where the prayer for Vespers is damaged, Muir supplies "ges‹undne›," further giving the impression that the prayer was originally in the masculine gender. It should be noted that this is the opposite of Muir's editorial practice elsewhere: in *Galba*'s copy of "Deus inestimabilis misericordie," Muir prints the words "ego miserrima omniu*m* peccatrix" whilst adding in a footnote the glossed "-mus" and

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451 Audrey Meaney has argued that the original scribe of the manuscript was male, and his work added to by a woman. Meaney, "Variant Versions of Old English Medical Remedies and the Compilation of Bald's *Leechbook*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984), pp. 240–41.

452 The three prayers immediately preceding include a couple of indisputably masculine forms. "In naman þære halgan þrynesse" has "ic e‹om and›etta" (Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 136; I am [a man] who confesses), and "Min drihten hælend Crist, ic do þe þancas" has "me synfullu*m*" (Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138; 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.

453 London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fol. 106r. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138.

"-tor" endings which were presumably added by a later male scribe.[454] It is diffi-cult to understand why he has given the glosses as the main text in the Anglo-Saxon prayers whilst relegating the original to a footnote, when it provides further evidence 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 Vernacular *Prayers ad horas* in Use

The presence of the *Prayers ad horas* in *Galba* shows that the tradition of these prayers in the Carolingian prayerbooks was continued in eleventh-century England, as the *Galba* version developed the prayers beyond their sources. It demonstrates the importance of translating texts into the vernacular in the elev-enth 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, as Banks notes, 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 suit-able for private devotion.[455] 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,"[456] in Old English she more directly asks "þæet þu mine synna adilgie."[457] 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 protection, "custodiam," against future sins, in the vernacular she asks for Christ himself as an "arful hyrde,"[458] with "hyrde" having specifically pastoral connotations, recalling Christ the Good Shepherd. This process of translation, rather than merely transmitting the text, deepens its meaning.

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454 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 70. "I, the most pitiable [female] sinner of all."
455 Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," p. 211.
456 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 35. "That we may always find pardon for our past evils in you."
457 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138. "That you may blot out my sins."
458 Muir, p. 138. "A merciful guardian/shepherd."

Indeed, the English prayer for None likewise differs from the Latin in a number of ways. In contrast to the prayers for Terce and Sext, there is no mention in *Galba* of the hour which is being commemorated: it is as if the original translator forgot it, being more preoccupied with deepening the pathos of the story of Christ on the cross, and the personal connection between him and the speaker. 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").[459] The vernacular is somewhat gentler: Christ lets him go to paradise and travel with him 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."[460] The speaker here also confesses his or her sins directly ("[i]c þe eadmodlice mine synna andette")[461] rather than referring parenthetically to confession in the words "suppliciter confitentes peccata nostra" as the Latin versions do.[462] "Moenia paradisi" is the normal variant in the prayer for None, compared to "agmina"/"aimina" and "gloriam."[463] Compared to these, *Galba*'s *fægernesse* (beauty) and *gefean* (joy) are a little unusual. The translator appears to have emphasized 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 of *moenia* with *amoena* (pleasures).

Whether using the Latin or English version, through praying at each of the hours, the reader used his or her own daily routine to commemorate and be united with the events of the day on which Christ was 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."[464] The *Prayers ad horas* are an example of this phenomenon.

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459 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 25. "You commanded the confessing thief to go into the walls of paradise."

460 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 138. "You were a powerful king even though you hung on a cross."

461 Muir, p. 138. "I humbly confess my sins to you."

462 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 25. "Humbly confessing our sins."

463 "The walls of paradise." Cf. Wilmart, p. 35; Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 3, no. 4409; Dumas and Deshusses, *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, no. 2124; Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini*, PL 101, col. 463B, "streams."

464 M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 1, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), p. 9.

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. This is most obvious in the prayer for None, which marks the death of Christ: "[i]c þe eadmodlice mine synna andette *and* ic bidde þe for þinre micelan mildheortnesse þæt ic mote æfter minre forðfore neorxnawonges gatu agan."[465] 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.

The affectivity of these prayers must be emphasized: Helen Foxhall Forbes has noted that certain penitential texts of the late eleventh century began to introduce a new focus on the sufferings of Christ, inspiring an emotional response in the reader, which would later become central to the devotional writings of the later Middle Ages.[466] An address opening with the words "Leofa man," found in Junius 121, and Goscelin of St. Bertin's *Liber confortatorius*, in which the reader is instructed to recall the sufferings of Christ at each canonical hour, both suggest this tentative development in penitential literature; Forbes meanwhile notes that the *Office*, also found in Junius 121, links Christ's passion to the daily *cursus* without encouraging such deep emotional responses.[467] Based upon Latin prayers of which several are included in the *Office*, but with a greater emphasis on Christ's sufferings and the reader's relationship with him, the vernacular *Prayers ad horas* also exemplify the growing desire for personal emotional responses in prayer.

The *Prayers ad horas* and the Books of Hours

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.[468] Muir explores this idea more

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465 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 139. "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."
466 Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Affective Piety and the Practice of Penance in Late-Eleventh-Century Worcester: The Address to the Penitent in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121," *Anglo-Saxon England* 44 (2015), pp. 325–26.
467 Forbes, pp. 329–30.
468 Banks, "Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers," pp. 208, 212.

fully. Although he does not see any Special Offices in the *Galba Prayerbook*,[469] 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."[470] 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 kinds of things a personal book of private devotion ought to contain, which they apparently handed on to later generations."[471] Thus it can be seen that a sequence of prayers for the monastic hours, transmitted through the sacramentaries, was 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 demonstrating the different levels of prayer organization to examining programs and sequences of prayers for use at different times of the day. Early morning prayer is required by the *Regularis concordia*, and both there and elsewhere we can find programs of prayers and psalms for use upon rising from bed. Despite their brevity, these are particularly valuable for the detail which they give us about the reasons for prayer, and the places and times in which it should be undertaken.

Other prayers were to be said at the times of the canonical hours. In order to contextualize these, I have discussed both the origins of the liturgical offices and texts which shed light on how they were viewed in the early Middle Ages. Due to the continual round of psalm-singing at these hours, monks and nuns knew the psalter intimately, and would have regarded some psalms as particularly useful or important. The Carolingian psalm programs *Psalmi de paenitentia* and *De laude psalmorum* demonstrate how psalms and prayers could be

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469 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*, ed. Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998), p. 19.

470 Muir, p. 19.

471 Muir, p. 16.

used by those who wished to pray for themselves, and the latter is particularly important as it suggests why its readers may have wanted to pray and gives its readers a choice of different psalms to sing as they thought best.

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. 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* provide evidence that a tradition of the hours which was 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 has shown that the creator of the text in *Galba* not only translated the prayers with great accuracy, but also sought to deepen their meaning and use them to bring the reader closer to Christ.

3 Prayers to the Holy Cross

In chapter 2, I examined how forms of private prayer were created from communal liturgies, with a focus on the daily monastic 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, as there is evidence for prayer before representations of the cross, and for the use of the sign of the cross. After a brief introduction to the feasts of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England, I will turn to physical representations of the cross in prayer, beginning with 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 venerated. From there, I move into a 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 inexpressible glory of God, and therefore all manifestations of the sign were considered holy.

In the final part of this chapter, I return to the development of the Special Offices and other private prayer programs, previously discussed in chapter 2. Prayers to the cross almost always appear grouped together, rather than accompanying prayers of other genres, and more often than not they are arranged as a devotional program, 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 in different manuscripts, with varying levels of sophistication, particularly in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*. *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* is widely recognized as including Special Offices, but I will compare the Office of the Holy Cross in this manuscript to a short prayer program found a few folios previously, noting the similarities between the two. There are clear parallels to be drawn between the antiphons used in all of these offices and prayer programs, and in their themes and concerns, suggesting that, even if the users of these manuscripts recognized a difference between an office and another kind of prayer program, the two genres drew on the same liturgical sources.

The Feasts of the Holy Cross

Many 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, which is believed to have been celebrated in the Western church from the fifth century, and to have been known in England from the eighth century onwards.[472] The feast of the Exaltation, 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.[473] 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 of Roman service books.[474] 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 MS 63, which originated in late ninth-century Northumbria and was at the Winchester Old Minster by the tenth century.[475]

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.[476] Naturally, the collectars include prayers, antiphons, and hymns for these two feasts, which, as this chapter will show, were used by the compilers of prayer

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472 Antonina Harbus, *Helena of Britain in Medieval Legend* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 20–22, 30–31.

473 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), p. 75.

474 van Tongeren, p. 76.

475 Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, vol. 1, Henry Bradshaw Society 72 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1934), pp. vi, 6, 10; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 611; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 319.

476 "Inuentio sanctae crucis" in Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, Early English Text Society s.s. 5, (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 174–76; "Exaltatio sanctae crucis" in Walter W. Skeat, ed. and trans., *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, vol. 3, Early English Text Society o.s. 94 (N. Trübner: London, 1881–1900; Reprint, 2 vols., London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 144–58; Mary-Catherine Bodden, ed. and trans., *The Old English Finding of the True Cross* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987).

programs in the late Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks.[477] 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*.[478] Evidence for the great importance of the cross in Anglo-Saxon culture can be seen in its use outside the liturgy, such as in charms and prayers used in finding lost items, in medical remedies, and in protecting people from demons.[479]

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 of Eynsham writes of the true cross: "[i]s swa-þeah to witenne þæt heo is wide todæled . mid gelomlicum ofcyrfu*m* to lande gehwilcu*m* . ac seo gastlice getac-nung 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 rihtu*m* geleafan."[480] According to Ælfric, the holiness of Christ's cross remains implicit in any image made of it, because its spiritual significance remains with God, even though the true cross itself is in fragments. The *rod* (cross) can be prayed to because it is a *tacn* (sign) signifying the Lord who hung upon it. By using this terminology, he distinguishes between the sign of the cross and the mere *beam* (tree) from which the *rod* was made.

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477 See, for instance, the *Portiforium* and the *Leofric Collectar*. Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, p. 108 (Exaltation) and vol. 1, pp. 123–24 (Invention); Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, cols. 167–71 (Invention) and 230–32 (Exaltation).

478 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1013–1155. For the models on which this ceremony was based, see Keefer, "Veneration of the Cross," pp. 143–60.

479 All these aspects of the Holy Cross in Anglo-Saxon England, and many more, have been analyzed from a variety of disciplinary perspectives in the three volumes of the Sancta Crux/Halig Rod project. Jolly, Karkov, and Keefer, *Cross and Culture*; Jolly, Karkov, and Keefer, *Place of the Cross*; Jolly, Karkov, and Keefer, *Cross and Cruciform*.

480 Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, vol. 3, p. 152. I have used my own translation. "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."

While only some had access to relics of the true cross, the majority of Christians were encouraged to draw on its power through praying before its representations. This is evident from the blessings for crosses in Anglo-Saxon pontificals. For example, the *Canterbury Benedictional* contains the liturgy for a blessing, conducted by a bishop, which involves the singing of litanies, an exorcism of water, the washing of the cross, and a number of prayers interspersed with antiphons, during which the cross is censed with incense.[481] Several of these prayers are linked by their emphasis on the power of the cross to give protection against spiritual and physical harm.

Interestingly, these prayers also suggest that the actual blessing of the cross would have taken place away from its usual location. The prayer "Salus inmortalis, rex angelorum" includes the words "concede propitius . ut in locis ac domibus fidelium ubi crux ista manet . fugantur demones et inmundi spiritus."[482] 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; also, a reference to "signum sanctę crucis . quod … famulus tuus .iłł. deuotus erexit" suggests that the cross may have been of some size and donated by a patron. If so, the construction of the cross was itself an act of willing devotion.[483]

The Canterbury ceremony does not refer specifically to the use of the cross outside of liturgical ceremonies. However, it does suggest how the cross could have been venerated, actions which may have taken place in all kinds of different settings. The cross is to be consecrated "per [os] et per manus atque officium

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481 R. M. Woolley, ed., *The Canterbury Benedictional (British Museum, Harl. MS 2892)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 51 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1917), pp. 129–32. This eleventh-century manuscript is London, British Library Harley MS 2892, which originated from Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Woolley, *Canterbury Benedictional*, pp. xiii-iv, xxv; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 429. The relationship between different manuscripts including these rites, and an outline of the ceremony, is explained in Helen Gittos, "Hallowing the Rood: Consecrating Crosses in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2008)," pp. 246–62.
482 Woolley, *Canterbury Benedictional*, p. 133. "Grant, 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."
483 Woolley, pp. 129, n. 1; p. 133. See also the prayer "Qui pretioso unigeniti": "[H]oc signum crucis quod uoluntaria mentis deuotione famuli tui religiosa fides construxit," p. 131 ("This sign of the cross which the religious faith of your servant built by willing devotion of the mind").

nostrum": this suggests that it will be kissed and touched, and offices will be sung before it.[484] It will also be knelt before: the bishop prays "ut omnibus hic genu flectentibus ac tuam supplicantibus maiestatem gratia tua largia-tur."[485] Most importantly, the cross is specifically named as an image which points towards the true cross: "[b]enedic quesumus domine hanc crucem fabricatam ad instar et ad imaginem crucis . in qua passus est filius tuus unig-enitus ihesus [*sic*] christus pro salute mundi."[486] Once blessed and in its place, a cross could be adored in a number of ways. 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."[487] 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: Christopher A. Jones has noted the tendency of vernacular homi-lists to include crosses in the category of *reliquias*.[488]

Considering how essential the veneration 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. William of Malmesbury reports that St. Wulfstan used to weep and pray before an altar of All Saints bearing a cross of some kind.[489] Yet repen-tance was not the only form of prayer to the cross. In the sequence of prayers to the cross following the crucifixion miniature in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, there ap-pears a list of reasons for adoring the cross:

> HAE SVNT .IIII. CAVSAE QVIBVS SANCTA CRVX ADORATVR.
> PRIMA CAVSA EST, QVI IN VNA DIE septem cruces adit, aut septies unam crucem adorat, septem porte inferni clauduntur illi, et septem porte paradisi aperiuntur ei.

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484 Woolley, p. 130. "Through the mouth, and through the hands, and our office." Woolley reads "os" for the manuscript's "hos."

485 Woolley, p. 133. "So that your grace may be given to all those bending the knee and be-seeching your majesty here."

486 Woolley, p. 131. "Bless O Lord, we ask, this cross, made in the likeness and in the image of the cross on which your only begotten son Jesus Christ suffered for the salvation of the world."

487 D. G. Scragg, ed., *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, Early English Text Society o.s. 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 320. "The signs of his cross and other holy relics."

488 Christopher A. Jones, "Old English Words for Relics of the Saints," *Florilegium* 26 (2009), pp. 97–99.

489 M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury, Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 24.

> 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.[490]

Even if this text does not refer to private worship, it implies 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 amongst Ælfwine's 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."[491] As these begin, "[e]cce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit,"[492] 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.

Other rubrics amongst these devotions specifically imply prayer before a cross of some kind. For example, there is a series of seven prayers to different parts of Christ's body, with the rubric, "[S]I VIS ORARE ANTE CRVCIFIXVM HOS PSALMOS CANTA";[493] an "[O]RATIO AD CRVCEM CVM SEPTEM PETITIONIBUS";[494] and the prayer "Per gloriam et virtutem" is prefaced with the rubric, "[A]NTE CRVCEM DOMINI DEPRECATIO SANCTA LEGENDA."[495] Since these prayers to the body of Christ follow the miniature of the crucifixion, they were probably copied in order to be said before that image; as I argued in chapter 1, the miniature may have

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490 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 126. "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, if all the demons had been around you, they 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 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. London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fols. 59v–60r.

491 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 124. "When you say this, prostrate yourself on the ground and say."

492 Günzel, p. 124. "This is the wood of the cross, on which the salvation of the world hung."

493 Günzel, p. 123. "If you want to pray before a crucifix, sing these psalms."

494 Günzel, p. 126. "Prayer to the cross with seven petitions."

495 Günzel, p. 126. "A holy prayer to be read before the cross of the Lord." A similar rubric prefaces the prayer in the *Eadui Psalter*. Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 235.

originally been a loose bifolium that could be moved as the reader turned the pages of the manuscript. The words "ante crucem/crucifixum", which in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* only occur in these two examples, seem to suggest prayer taking place in front of a physical cross more strongly than does the more typical phrase "ad crucem."

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‹e› lectulo surrexerit *frate*r, primum sibi signu*m* s*anct*ę crucis inprimat per s*anct*ę trinitatis inuocationem."[496] The sign of the holy cross could be used for protection, for healing, and as a weapon against the devil, and was chiefly made upon the forehead.[497] This had been part of Christian practice at least as far back as the second century, as Hippolytus's *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."[498] Ælfric likewise taught that this sign was 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."[499] Similarly, in Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's life of St. Edith, the saint makes the sign of the cross

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496 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 257–60. "At every time in 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 "signu*m* s*anct*ę crucis" in Tiberius A III is "tacn þære halgan rode."

497 The various uses of the sign of the cross, particularly in saints' *vitae*, have been examined in David F. Johnson, "The *Crux Usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 2, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 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," pp. 235–41, 254–55.

498 Dix, *Apostolic Tradition*, chap. 37.1–3.

499 Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series*, p. 151. "We should mark our forehead and our body with Christ's cross sign, so that we may be saved from destruction. Then

upon her forehead so often that the relic of her thumb remains perpetually in-
tact.[500] *Vitae* such as this, in which the saint makes the sign of the cross as a
protection against evil, may have been used to encourage an audience to do the
same.

Making the sign of the cross was such a simple and yet meaningful way of
expressing one's faith that it appears to have been 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 seo-
fon siþum gebletsian mid Cristes róde tácne. Ærest on ærne morgen, oþre siþe on
underntíd, þriddan siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on nontíd, fiftan siþe on
æfen, syxtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofoþan siþe on uhtan. Huru he hine
Gode bebeode. Ond gif þa lareowas þis nellaþ 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."[501] According to 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. Not everyone would become a monk or
nun, but all human beings needed protection from demons, and Christians were
armed with the weapon of the holy cross.

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 in praise of the cross added in the eleventh century to the *Vespasian
Psalter*. In one of these, "O sanctum et venerabile," the speaker prays that he
may escape all kinds of persecutions and wickedness, "postq*uam* huius uitę

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we will be marked both on the forehead and in the heart with the blood of the Lord's
suffering."

500 André Wilmart, ed., "La Légende de Ste Édith en prose et verse par le moine Goscelin,"
Analecta Bollandiana 56 (1938), chap. 21.

501 Richard J. Kelly, ed. and trans., *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (With
General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London:
Continuum, 2003), pp. 30–31. "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 morn-
ing, 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.

terminum inuiolabili tuae protectionis signo munitus."[502] Similarly, "Salve crux sancta et veneranda," in the same prayer series, has "in hora exitus mei quando morte p*reu*entus tuum auxiliu*m* inuocare non ualeo. p*er* tui uenerabile signum quod fronte gero sacro crismate inpressum. esto mihi adiutrix aduersus principes tenebrarum *et* terrores eorum."[503] 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 n*ost*ra. salua omnes in te liberatos. *et* uere tuo uexillo signatos."[504] 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 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" begins with the petition, "[p]er gloriam et uirtutem sancte crucis tue, Domine Iesu Christe, cuius signaculum mihi inpono corde et corpore, salua me."[505] The verb *impono* (place, put upon), with its physical connotations, and with the object *corpore* (body) as well as *corde* (heart), 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*.[506] If this diminutive form of the word *signum* has the specific meaning of the little sign of the cross made upon the body, then "Tuam crucem adoramus," also in Ælfwine's devotions to the cross, may also require

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502 Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 317. "After the end of this life, strengthened by the sign of your inviolable protection."

503 Kuhn, p. 318. "In the hour of my departure, when, having been overcome by 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."

504 Kuhn, p. 318. "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."

505 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 126. "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."

506 "Impono" is, for example, used in the sense of the laying on of hands in ordination and confirmation. Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, 2nd ed., 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 *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, which asks for protection through the cross: "Christe ... salua nos ... cuius signum in frontibus et cordibus nostris infigimus" (Christ ... save us ... whose sign we fix onto our foreheads and our hearts). Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 192.

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."[507] It is also important to note the occasions on which a cross is marked on the manuscript page, perhaps inviting the reader to make the sign of the cross: for example, a prayer in the Office of the Trinity in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* has a cross marked in the right margin, not in the text itself, at the words "Miserere mei peccator/trici";[508] another has been scratched into the margin at the start of the prayers in the *Holy Salve* remedy in the *Lacnunga* collection of medical remedies.[509]

In whichever way the cross was represented, it was a sign pointing to the immeasurable and unknowable God, and it was through the cross that the inexpressible could be symbolized. This can be seen in the *Vespasian Psalter* prayer "Salve crux sancta et veneranda": "[q]uis tui misterii profunditatem. *et sanc*titatis magnitudinem sensu comprehendere. uel uerbis plene potest enarrare. cum signum tuę imaginis tantam in se contineat uirtutem. ut quocu*mque*modo exprimatur aduerse potestates *et* di[a]bolica fantasmata inde fugentur[?]"[510] The words "quocumquemodo exprimatur"[511] 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 solely the true cross, nor even only its image, but merely the sign of its image is enough to put all demons to flight.

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507 Günzel, p. 125. "May enemies be overthrown and demons 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."

508 London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fol. 78r.

509 London, British Library Harley MS 585, fol. 148v; Edward Pettit, ed. and trans., *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga*, vol. 1, Mellen Critical Editions and Translations 6 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2001), l. 260.

510 Kuhn, *Vespasian*, p. 318. "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?" The "aduerse potestates" recall Eph. 6:12: "quia non est nobis conluctatio adversus carnem et sanguinem sed adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum contra spiritalia nequitiae in caelestibus" ("[f]or 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.

511 "In whatever way it is expressed."

Sequences, Prayer Programs, and Offices of the Holy Cross

In the remainder of this chapter, I will examine devotional programs dedicated to the cross, that is, prayers which are linked together with psalms, Paternosters, and antiphons, and furthermore have rubrics guiding the reader in how to use them. Several late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts contain such groupings of prayers to the cross, some of which were derived from the liturgy for the feasts, beginning with *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Even within this one manuscript, there are a variety of distinctly different programs of prayer to the cross. This suggests that Anglo-Saxon monks and nuns experimented with liturgical forms, creating private prayer programs based on other liturgies. I will then turn to an in-depth analysis of the adaptations of the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday. R. M. Liuzza has already compared the different versions of the Veneration liturgy. However, he focuses on the version in Tiberius A III, using the *Portiforium* and *Regularis concordia* as points of comparison, and mentioning *Galba* and the *Eadui Psalter* only in passing.[512] In the following analysis, I extend Liuzza's work by considering different levels of sophistication seen in the various prayer programs based on the Veneration, comparing them to those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

In honore sanctae crucis

Chapter 1 introduced the Offices of the Trinity, Holy Cross, and Blessed Virgin Mary on folios 76r–85v of Titus D XXVII. These can be used as a model to which to compare the other groupings of prayer to the cross in the same manuscript. The following table is a plan of the Office of the Cross, in which rubrics are indicated in italics, and prayer text in plain type.

From this table, it should be clear that *In honore sanctae crucis*[513] is consciously planned out in the manner of a monastic office. The text begins with "Deus in adiutorium meum intende," the verse with which the liturgy of the hours should begin, according to the *Regula Benedicti*.[514] After this, the office is structured around four psalms, a *capitulum* on Christ's victory on the cross, Venantius Fortunatus's hymn "Vexilla regis," and the most fundamental prayers and tenets of the Christian faith: the Quicumque vult, Gloria Patri, Magnificat, Kyrie, Paternoster, and Creed. All of these elements are linked together with

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512 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," pp. 299–308, 301, nn. 76–77.
513 I will use this title in preference to the ungrammatical title found in the manuscript.
514 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 17.3.

Table 3.1: *In honore sanctae crucis*: the Special Office of the Holy Cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.[515]

Description	Incipit of text
Opening psalm (verse)	IN HONORE SANCTI [*sic*] CRVCIS. 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 inmaculati [Ps. 118], usque in finem
	Quicumque uult.
Antiphon	*A.* Salua nos, Christe saluator . . .
Capitulum	CAPITVLVM. Christus peccata nostra pertulit . . . [1 Pt. 2:24]
Response	*R.* O crux benedicta . . .
Versicle	*V.* O crux admirabilis . . .
Hymn	YMNVS. VEXILLA REGIS [no text]
Versicle	*V.* Omnis terra adorat te, Deus.
Antiphon	*A.* Super omnia.
	Magnificat.
Antiphon	*A.* Super omnia ligna cedrorum . . .
	Kyrrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrrieleison. 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]
Prayer	ORATIONES DE SANCTA CRVCE AC SALVBRITATE. DEUS CVI CVNCTE OBEDIVNT CREATVRE . . .

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515 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 131–33.

Table 3.1 (continued)

Description	Incipit of text
Prayer	*ITEM ALIA.* ILLVMINA, DOMINE, VVLTUM TVVM SVPER NOS . . .
Prayer	*ALIA.* DEVS, QUI BEATAE CRVCIS PATIBVLVM . . .
Prayer	*ALIA ITEM.* DEUS, QVI PER SANGUINEM et crucem . . .

antiphons and responses appropriate to the praise of the cross. Finally, *In honore sanctae crucis* ends with four prayers, unconnected by any antiphons. The psalms, as Günzel notes, are the same as those used in Ælfwine's Offices of the Trinity and of the Virgin, and are derived from the hour of Prime and the Little Hours, although other aspects of these offices relate to other hours.[516] As this text appears to offer a highly developed private office, it provides a useful comparison for other programs of prayer dedicated to the cross.

Oratio in .I. mane ad crucem

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, on folios 66r–73v of Titus D XXVII, at the end of the quire of prayers to the cross which was discussed in the Introduction. This is a considerably less carefully organized collection of prayers, and accordingly Günzel has titled it simply "Devotions to the Holy Cross."[517] Alternatively, Alicia Corrêa has more confidently referred to this quire as "the Office of the Cross," and these two choices of title indicate the difficulty of categorizing the private worship of this time.[518] Liuzza, on the other hand, refers to it as "a long collection"[519] of prayers to the cross, which he divides into five distinct parts; I accept his argument that these prayers fall into specific, themed sections, based on the linking together of prayers together with psalms and Paternosters. Summarized briefly,

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516 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 53–54.

517 Günzel, p. 123.

518 Alicia Corrêa, "Daily Office Books: Collectars and Breviaries," in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Richard W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter Subsidia 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1995), p. 51.

519 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 286. For a full listing of the prayers in this quire, see Table 1 above.

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 antiphons, as well as a list of reasons for adoring the cross;[520] the quire ends with a group of prayers and collects prefaced with the Gloria Patri, Kyrie, Paternoster, Creed, and a group of antiphons. Various prayers in this sequence have been and will be discussed throughout this chapter. However, although this quire does not appear to have an overall plan, it seems to fall into sections with a beginning and an end. These sections would have been suitable for use as individual prayer programs in their own right, and plausibly could have been in an exemplar manuscript, or in any manuscripts which might have been subsequently copied from *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

It is the final group of prayers and collects that most resembles a full office: Liuzza identifies this as "a morning prayer service to the cross."[521] Towards the bottom of folio 72r of Titus D XXVII, there appears the heading "Oratio in .i. mane ad crvcem"[522] in red rustic capitals, a heading which suggests that it was conceived as a separate group of prayers alongside others on the same theme. As happens in a few places on folios 66r–73v, the line following the rubric, the incipit of Psalm 5, is also written in rustic capitals, in black ink, giving particular emphasis to the psalm as if it marked a distinct beginning point.[523] This group of prayers, beginning with Psalm 5 and ending with the blessing at the foot of folio 73v, follows a pattern which is reminiscent of *In honore sanctae crucis*. The following table outlines this text: as above, italics indicate rubrics.

Though somewhat shorter, this bears 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" as a whole are not considered to be an office, there are good grounds to regard *Oratio in .I. mane* as an embryonic one, though

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520 As already discussed, "Per gloriam et virtutem" appears in both *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and the *Eadui Psalter*, with similar rubrics. Likewise, "Pro sancta cruce tua" has the heading "Oratio ad crvcem cvm septem petitionibvs" (Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 126; "Prayer to the cross with seven petitions"). The same rubric accompanies this prayer in *Eadui* (Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 237).

521 He identifies this as section (e) of the sequence. Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 287.

522 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 127. "Prayer in the early morning to the cross."

523 London, British Library Cotton MS Titus D XXVII, fol. 72r.

Table 3.2: *Oratio in .I. mane ad crucem*: a possible Office of the Holy Cross in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (Cotton Titus D XXVII, fols. 72r–73v).[524]

Description	Incipit of text
Psalm	*Oratio in .i. mane ad crvcem*. Verba mea auribus percipe, Domine [Ps. 5], usque in finem
	Gloria patri. Sicut erat. Kyrrieleison. Christeleison. Kyrrieleison. Pater noster. Credo.
Antiphons	*Preces*. Adoramus te, Christe . . . Per signum crucis . . . Omnis terra adorat te . . . Psalmum dicam nomini tuo, Domine.
Psalm	Domine exaudi [Ps. 101/142]
Prayer	*Collecta*. Respice, quesumus, Domine Deus noster . . .
Prayer	*Alia*. Gregem tuum, quesumus, Domine pastor bone . . .
Prayer	*Collecta*. Adesto familie tue, quesumus . . .
Prayer(s)	*Oratio*. Obsecro te, Domine Iesu Christe filii Dei uiui, per crucem tuam et per sanctam passionem tuam, ut dimittas delicta mea. Pro beata cruce, custodi capud meum . . .
Final blessings	Et omnes benedictiones, que in scripturis sanctis scripte sunt, sint super me omnibus diebus uite meae. Amen. Benedicat me Deus pater . . .

it differs in the scribe's omission the hymn, capitulum, and versicles and responses that make up the full Special Office.

However, a major similarity between the two is their use of antiphons. The three antiphons in *Oratio in .I. mane*, and in a number of others, continually feature in the texts dedicated to the cross under discussion in this chapter. Table 3.3 below shows the structures of five different prayer programs analyzed alongside one another: *In honore sanctae crucis*, *Oratio in .I. mane*, two versions of the liturgy for the Veneration of the Cross (which will be discussed later in the chapter), and *Gyf ðe ðynce*, the prayer program for use against enemies in the *Portiforium* and Tiberius A III (which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4).

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524 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 127–28.

Table 3.3: A comparison of the antiphons used in five prayer programs dedicated to the cross.[525]

Oratio in .I. mane	In honore sanctae crucis	Portiforium Veneration I	Portiforium Veneration II	Portiforium, Gyf ðe ðynce
Psalm, Gloria, Kyrie, Paternoster, Creed	Psalm, Gloria	Three psalms and Paternoster	Kyrie	Prayer
Adoramus te*	Salua nos	Adoramus te	Adoramus te*	O sancta crux*
Per signum crucis*	Three psalms, Quicumque vult	Omnis terra	Per signum crucis*	Three psalms, Kyrie and Paternoster
Omnis terra*	Salua nos*	Per signum crucis	Three psalms	Per signum sancte crucis
Psalm, five prayers, two blessings	Capitulum	Ne derelinquas me*	Omnis terra*	Adoramus te
	O crux benedicta*	Prayer, two psalms, Paternoster	Prayer, two psalms, Kyrie	Salua nos
	O crux admirabilis*	Adoramus te	Dicite in nationibus*	Prayer and psalm
	Hymn	Omnis terra	Crucem tuam*	Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis*
	Omnis terra	Per signum crucis	O crux benedicta*	Psalm, Kyrie, Paternoster
	Super omnia	Ne derelinquas me	Prayer, two psalms, Kyrie	Hoc signum crucis erit*
	Magnificat	Prayer, two psalms	Tuam crucem adoramus*	Per signum sancte crucis
	Super omnia*	Adoramus te	Salua nos*	Omnis terra
	Kyrie, Paternoster, Creed	Omnis terra	Ne derelinquas*	Psalm, prayer

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525 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 127–28, 131–33; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, pp. 18–20, 20–23, 24.

Table 3.3 (continued)

Oratio in .I. mane	In honore sanctae crucis	Portiforium Veneration I	Portiforium Veneration II	Portiforium, Gyf ðe ðynce
	Adoramus te	Per signum crucis	Adoro te*	Ecce crucem domini
	Hoc signum sancte crucis erit*	Ne derelinquas me	*Three prayers*	Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis
	Dicite in nationibus	*Four prayers*		
	Tuam crucem adoramus			
	Psalm and four prayers			

Antiphons are indicated in plain type, with other items in italics; and an asterisk shows where the whole antiphon, rather than simply the incipit, is given in the manuscript.

This table shows some significant similarities between 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 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," and "Per signum crucis" are all antiphons, versicles, or responses for the different hours on the sixth *feria*, which were dedicated to the Holy Cross.[526] Additionally,

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526 Hughes, *Portiforium*: Vespers: "Adoramus te" (vol. 2, p. 60), "O crux benedicta" (vol. 1, p. 108), "Tuam crucem adoramus" (vol. 2, p. 60), "Hoc signum crucis erit" (vol. 2, p. 60), "Super omnia" (vol. 2, p. 59); Prime: "Salua nos" (vol. 2, p. 60); Terce: "Ecce crucem domini" (vol. 2, p. 60); Sext: "O crux admirabilis" (vol. 2, p. 60); None: "Per signum crucis" (vol. 2, p. 60).

"Ne derelinquas me" is used in the *Portiforium* collectar,[527] and "Crucem tuam" is one of a number of "[a]ntiph*onae* ante crucem decantandę du*m* defer*tur*" on Maundy Thursday.[528] "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.[529] The choice of antiphons from established feasts of the Holy Cross suggests that the compilers of Anglo-Saxon prayer programs drew upon and in some cases aimed to create something similar to those feasts when they sought to pray outside of the liturgy.

The Veneration of the Cross

Of the various prayer programs and offices of the Holy Cross, none was so popular and so thoughtfully reworked as the one based on the prayers for the Veneration of the Cross for Good Friday. In the final part of this chapter, I will discuss this group of prayers as a special case study. What I term the "Veneration prayers" is a group of three prayers, originating in the early Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian private prayerbook tradition. These appear to have been gathered together, in a modified form, to make up a part of the liturgy for Good Friday in the tenth-century English customary *Regularis concordia*. In the late Anglo-Saxon period, the prayers were subsequently extracted from that context as a group and then reused to form five different prayer programs, most likely for use in a private or unofficial context.

No other group of prayers in the Anglo-Saxon tradition demonstrates so well the process by which prayers from the private prayerbook tradition were used as a basis for a liturgical text, which, completing the circle, was then drawn on for use in private worship. The Veneration prayers are also an excellent example of how ongoing rewritings of a prayer sequence increased in intricacy, linking short prayers together with increasingly complex patterns of psalms and antiphons. Finally, the reuse of this group of prayers demonstrates especially well how monks and nuns identified the most valuable part of a

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527 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 668; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 42.

528 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 375, 377; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 1, p. 48. "Antiphons to be sung before the cross while it is venerated." "Crucem tuam" is also an antiphon for the Veneration of the Cross in Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, l. 1061.

529 Dewick and Frere, *Leofric Collectar*, vol. 1, cols. 167, 169–170, 230–31; 148, 150, 153.

liturgical text and reused it in a number of ways, in an ongoing tradition of de-votional rewriting.

"Adoro te," "Gloriosissime conditor mundi," and "Qui tuas manus mundas" in the early prayerbooks

I will refer to the three Veneration prayers as "Adoro te," "Gloriosissime condi-tor mundi," and "Qui tuas manus mundas." These were examined extensively by Lilli Gjerløw in her short but immensely detailed and useful 1961 study *Adoratio Crucis: The* Regularis Concordia *and the* Decreta Lanfranci.[530] More re-cently, Gjerløw's work has been discussed and extended by Kirsty March; the adaptation of these prayers has also been discussed by Tracey-Anne Cooper and R. M. Liuzza.[531] The continued examination of the use of these prayers from the *Concordia* offers further evidence for the use of this customary in late Anglo-Saxon England.[532]

"Adoro te" has the most complex history of the three. Gjerløw demonstrates that it appears in two different variants, the "common form" and the "Concordia form," differentiated partly on the basis of the number of petitions included in the prayer.[533] The former, with which I am here concerned, is seen in *Cerne* and *Parisinus*; a truncated form appears in the tenth-century additions to the *Royal Prayerbook*.[534] The prayer is an excellent example of the "litanic prayer" identified

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530 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).

531 March, *Performance, Transmission and Devotion*, pp. 157–66, with an in-depth discussion of the first prayer on pp. 169–82; Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, pp. 131–40; Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," pp. 299–308.

532 For a discussion of the use of the *Regularis concordia* at Canterbury, see also Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 121.

533 Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 16–21, 24–28.

534 Kuypers, *Cerne*, pp. 114–17; Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 44–45; Crowley, "Latin Prayers," pp. 275–77. Crowley notes that "[t]he phrase libera me ab angelo percutiente here in Royal is distinctly the older and more widely distributed "common" form rather than the "*Concordia*" form. This likely implies that the prayers were written before the 970s." As Alicia Corrêa rea-sons, had the prayerbook been used by a community which was possessed a copy of the *Regularis concordia*, "Adoro te" would appear in the form found in that customary. Crowley, "Latin Prayers," p. 277; Corrêa, "The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses," in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence,* ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 289.

in the Introduction. It is written as pairs of lines, fifteen in *Cerne* and thirteen in *Parisinus*: the first of each pair calls to mind God's work in the Bible, from Creation to the Last Judgment, while in the second the speaker parallels that biblical episode and prays for him- or herself to Christ. For example:

> Domine iesu christe adoro te quando dixisti ante saecula fiat lux · et facta est lux ·
> Lumen tuum fiat in me salus ·

> Domine ihesu [*sic*] christe ad oro [*sic*] te quando meridie uocasti adam · et dixisti ubi es adam ·
> depraecor clementiam tuam Ut ego ambulare merear in meridie Sed non in umbra mortis.[535]

The prayer continues through Noah, the liberation from Egypt, and the incarnation and life of Christ to the final six line-pairs, concerned with Christ's crucifixion, resurrection, and return as judge.[536] These six petitions would later be extracted from the prayer and used as the basis for the Veneration ceremony in the *Regularis concordia*.

The second prayer, to which I will refer by its more usual incipit "Gloriosissime conditor mundi," appears as follows in its earliest source, the *Libellus Trecensis*, although I only quote up to the point that the text diverges from the Anglo-Saxon versions: "Domine Iesu Christe gloriose conditor mundi qui cum sis splendor gloriae coaeternus aequalis patri sancto quoque spiritui, ideo dignatus es carnem ex inmaculata virgine sumere et gloriosas palmas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere ut claustra dissipares inferni et humanum genus liberares a morte, respice et miserere misero mihi, facinorum pondere gravato, multarum nequitiarum labe pollutum [*sic*]. Non me digneris derelinquere piisime pater, sed indulge, quod impie gessi. Exaudi me prostratum ‹ad› adorandam tuam gloriosissimam crucem ut in his diebus merear tibi adsistere mundus et placere conspectui tuo."[537] The speaker asks God, the "glorious

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535 Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 114. Page layout and line breaks have been altered to show parallelism. "O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you when you said, before the ages, 'Let there be light,' and light was made; may your light become salvation in me. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you when, in the middle of the day, you called Adam and said, 'Where are you, Adam?'; I ask your mercy, that I may merit to walk with you in the middle of the day, and not in the shadow of death."

536 The version in the *Libellus Parisinus* ends without the final two petitions, those to the risen Christ and to Christ as judge. Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, p. 45.

537 Wilmart, *Precum libelli*, pp. 13–14. "O Lord Jesus Christ, glorious creator of the world, who, although you are the splendor of glory, coeternal and equal with the Father and also with the Holy Spirit, you deigned to take on flesh from the immaculate Virgin and allowed your glorious palms to be fixed to the gallows of the cross for this reason, so that you might destroy the gates of hell and free humankind from death, look upon and have mercy on me, a wretch, burdened by the weight of sins and befouled by the dishonor of many crimes. Do not

creator of the world," who allowed himself to be nailed to the cross in order to free humankind, to have mercy upon him, a sinner, prostrate before the cross, that he might be pleasing in God's sight.[538]

The final of the three Veneration prayers is unknown prior to the *Regularis concordia*; however, Gjerløw believes it to originate, like the others, in the private prayerbook tradition, noting its similarities to private prayers such as "Qui manum tuam in crucem misisti" in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.[539] For ease of discussion, though, I will quote the *Concordia* version here: "D*eus* om-*nipoten*s, Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti *et* de tuo s*anct*o sanguine nos redemisti; mitte in me sensum *et* intellegen-tiam, quomodo habea*m* ueram penitentiam *et* habeam bonam perseuerantiam omnibus die*bus* uitę męe. Amen."[540] In this brief prayer, the speaker invokes Christ, who was crucified and redeemed humanity by his blood, and asks that he may grant him or her understanding, penitence, and lifelong perseverance. In "Adoro te" Adam, as he is liberated from hell, recognizes "manus quae me plasmauerunt,"[541] and in "Gloriosissime conditor mundi" Christ allows his glorious palms to be fixed to the cross, in order to free humankind from hell; in this prayer, again, Christ's hands are dwelt upon in particular. They are the instrument by which he willingly chose death upon the cross: he placed his clean hands upon the cross in order to redeem humanity.

Regularis concordia

The section on Good Friday in the *Regularis concordia* gives a liturgy for use on that day, which follows the plan in Table 3.4. It consists of various relevant readings, responses and antiphons, prayers, and psalms: the passion gospel ac-cording to John; the Improperia or reproaches, divided up by the Trisagion; the

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design 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 stand before you cleansed, in these days, and to be pleasing in your sight."

538 Sources for this prayer are listed in Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 21–23.

539 Gjerløw identifies the correct prayer but quotes a different text. Gjerløw, *Adoratio crucis*, p. 23; Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 139.

540 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1096–1101. "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 persever-ance all the days of my life. Amen."

541 Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 116. "The hands which formed me."

hymn "Pange, lingua"; and then, as indicated by the dotted line in the table, the three prayers, divided up by the seven penitential psalms, with three before the first prayer, two before the second, and two before the third. It is not stated which psalms these are, nor in which order; this knowledge is assumed to be known, given the references to the "primos psalmos," "duos medioxim‹o›s," and "ultimos duos."

Table 3.4: Texts for the *Regularis concordia* liturgy of the Veneration of the Cross.[542]

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"

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542 Except where indicated, this is taken from Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1013–1107; cf. Symons, *Regularis concordia*, pp. 41–44. For the history of the Veneration ceremony and the prayer "Adoro te," see Sarah Larratt Keefer, "The Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 143–84; Keefer, "The Performance of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies in Honor of George Hardin Brown*, ed. Karen Louise Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 1, Medieval European Studies 9 (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2008), pp. 203–41; and Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance," pp. 911–14.

Table 3.4 (continued)

Description	Text or incipit
Hymn	"Pange, lingua"
The seven penitential psalms divided up by three prayers: "Adoro te," "Gloriosissime conditor mundi," "Qui tuas manus mundas"	. . . *cum magno cordis suspirio vii*˙*tem*´ *poenitentię psalmos cum orationibus* s*an*ct*e cruci compe(ni)tentibus decanta‹nd›o peror*et. *In prima quidem oratione, tres psalmos primos cum oratione:* D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, adoro te in cruce ascendentem; deprecor te, ut ipsa crux liber*et* me de diabolo percutiente. D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, adoro te ‹in cruce› uulneratum; deprecor te, ut ipsa uulnera remedium sint animę meę. Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te in sepulchro positum; deprecor te ut ipsa mors sit uita mea. D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, adoro te descendentem ad inferos liberante*m* captiuos; deprecor te, ut non ibi me dimittas introire. D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, adoro te resurgentem ab inferis ascendentem ad cęlos; deprecor te, miserere mei. D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, adoro te uenturu*m* iudicaturu*m*; 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.
	*In sec*u*nda, duos medioxim‹o›s sequente(m) oratione:* D*omi*ne Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor glorię coęternus Patri S*an*cto*que* S*piritu*i, ideo dignatus es carnem ex inmaculata 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 multarum*que* nequitiarum labe polluto; no[n] me digneris derelinquere, piisime 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.
	[I]n tertia ultimos duos cum oratione: D*eu*s om*nipoten*s, Ih*esu* Chr*iste*, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti *et* de tuo s*an*ct*o* sanguine nos redemisti; mitte in me sensum *et* intellegentiam, quomodo habea*m* ueram penitentiam *et* habeam bonam perseuerantiam omnibus dieb*us* uitę męe. Amen.

Focusing on the final section (as marked by the dotted line), it will be seen that the late Anglo-Saxon responses to the Veneration prayers are notably more similar, and in some cases identical, to those in the *Concordia* ceremony, rather than to the versions in the earlier prayerbook tradition: they use just the final six petitions of "Adoro te", those relating to the crucifixion. This suggests that they were either directly based upon the version in the *Regularis concordia*, or on a related source.

Galba Prayerbook

Of the various programs based on the Veneration ceremony, that in the *Galba Prayerbook* is the closest to the *Regularis concordia*: the copyist has extracted the sequence of prayers and psalms almost exactly as it appears in the customary.

Table 3.5: The Veneration program in the *Galba Prayerbook*.[543]

Description	Text
Penitential psalms 6, 31, 37	"P*salmus*: D*omi*ne, ne in furore tuo; P*salmus*: Beati quorum; P*salmus*: D*omi*ne, ne in furore tuo."
"Adoro te"	6 petitions of "Adoro te" in Latin, followed by English
Rubric	"In se*cun*da, duos medioximos sequente oratione"
Penitential psalms 50, 101	"P*salmus*: Miserere mei, d*eus* (primus); P*salmus*: D*omi*ne, exaudi."
"Gloriosissime conditor mundi"	In Latin, followed by English
Rubric	"In *tertia* ultimos duos cum oratione"
Penitential psalms 129, 142	"P*salmus*: De p*ro*fundis; P*salmus*: D*omi*ne, exaudi (*secundus*)."
"Qui tuas manus mundas"	In Latin, followed by English

Indeed, so close is the program to its source that the rubrics preceding the second and third groups of psalms have been reproduced verbatim from the

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543 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 143–46

Concordia.[544] The *Galba* text does not, however, develop the liturgy any further: for example, it does not 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 "Pl" or "P." In addition, all three Latin prayers are followed by an English translation. Thirdly, the text differentiates between the first and second "Domine, exaudi" psalms. These translations and directions would make *Galba* 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.

The context of the Veneration prayers within the Galba manuscript is also worthy of discussion. Partly due to the damage done to *Galba*, it is not clear whether this sequence was intended for use with the prayers immediately preceding it. However, several things can be said of the context of the Veneration prayers with some certainty. The first page of the text, folio 110r, includes the ending of the preceding prayer "Mane cum surrexero." This, in turn, begins on folio 108r, at the start of which begins the prayer "Meis culpis, domine." Likewise, the Veneration prayers end on folio 114r, followed immediately by the prayer program dedicated to the Trinity discussed in chapter 1, which continues to the end of folio 117v.[545] 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 prayers to 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 the sequence may have been for use in the morning.[546] Alternatively, the abrupt change of genre suggests that the Veneration prayers form a complete prayer program on their own. In fact, the position of the Trinity prayers immediately after the prayers to the cross may be significant: it appears that, as in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, prayer programs for different occasions were grouped together in the manuscript.

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544 Muir, pp. 145–46. 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, p. 143, n. 2.

545 Muir, pp. 140–43, 146–49.

546 This prayer begins, "D*omi*ne Ih*es*u Chr*ist*e, mane cu*m* surrexero intende in me et guberna actos meos et uerba mea et cogitationes meas ut toto die tra‹n›sea*m* in tua uoluntate." Muir, p. 141. "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."

London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III

One of the two surviving copies of the *Regularis concordia* can be found in Tiberius A III; this manuscript also contains a number of prayers to the cross in both English and Latin, including two prayer programs based on the Veneration liturgy. As Liuzza has noted, this manuscript thus effectively contains three versions of the Veneration text,[547] considering the presence of the Good Friday liturgy in the *Regularis concordia*, where it is partly glossed in Old English. Tiberius A III is therefore an important example of the cyclic relationship between private and public prayer. As Liuzza comments, "the presence of these prayers in non-liturgical settings and from apparently independent sources in Arundel 155 and Rouen 231 suggests that the influence between private and public prayer was mutual: independent prayers might have been taken up into public worship such as that prescribed in *Regularis Concordia*, which then could serve as a template and source for other private devotions."[548] Tracey-Anne Cooper notes that, while Tiberius A III is larger than the *Portiforium* and therefore too large to have been taken about by a bishop on his travels, its prayers "could have been regarded as models of desirable practice" for use with the laity.[549]

As shown in Table 3.6, the *Regularis concordia* is followed by a series of short texts, mostly Latin prognostics glossed in English (fols. 27v–44r), penitential and confessional literature in both languages (fols. 44r–56v), and then a series of prayers (fols. 57r–60v), beginning with a brief Office of All Saints, followed by prayers and prayer programs related to the Holy Cross.

The first prayer program based on the Veneration of the Cross follows the pattern shown in Table 3.7. The compiler has created something different from the basic Veneration pattern seen in *Galba*; the program has been extended through the addition of extra prayers and embellished by the interspersing of these not only with the intermediary psalms, but also with antiphons, Kyries, and Paternosters. As will be shown, this is also the case in the two Veneration programs in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*. Here, however, the compiler actually divides up the prayer "Adoro te" itself, essentially treating it as six separate antiphons with which the longer prayers are introduced.

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547 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 299.

548 Liuzza, p. 290. The *Eadui Psalter* will be discussed below; the Rouen manuscript is Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS 231 (A. 44), a late eleventh-century psalter from St. Augustine's Canterbury, with prayers to the cross on folios 132r–148v. Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 288.

549 Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, pp. 137–38.

Table 3.6: Prayers to the cross in Tiberius A III (based on Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*).

Cooper no.	Fol. no.	Prayers
T46	58r–59r	Prayer program for the Veneration of the Cross no. 1
T47	59r–v	*Gyf ðe ðynce*: protective program for prayer before the cross, including prayers and antiphons
T48	59v–60r	"Hae sunt IIIIor cause quibus *sancta* crux adoratur"
T49	60r	"Pro sancta cruce tua"
T50	60r	"Per gloriosam [*sic*] et uirtutem"
T51–T95	*60r–114v*	*Ælfric's Colloquy, confessional prayers, homiletic pieces, prayer program to the Virgin, etc.*
T96	114v–115v	Prayer program for the Veneration of the Cross no. 2

Table 3.7: The first Veneration program in Tiberius A III, fols. 58r–59r.

Description	Text or incipit
Rubric	"Sing þas sealmas swa oft swa swa þu oftust mæge þære halgan rode to lofe 7 wurþmynte"
Penitential psalms	Pss. 6, 31, 37 Kyrie, Paternoster
Prayer	"Adoramus te *christ*e *et* benedicimus tibi"
Adoro te (incomplete)	"D*OMINE* I*ESU* C*HRIST*E ADORO TE INCRUCE ASCENDENTE*M* . . ." "D*OMINE* i*esu* *christ*e adoro te in cruce uulneratu*m* . . ." "D*OMINE* i*esu* *christ*e adoro te in sepulchro positu*m* . . . Amen."
Penitential psalms	Pss. 50, 85, 101 Kyrie, Paternoster
Prayer	"Adoram*us* te *christ*e · Ut sup*ra*"
Antiphons	"p*er* signum s*anct*ę crucis" "per triumphum s*anct*ę crucis"
Adoro te (incomplete)	"D*OMINE* i*esu* *christ*e adoro te descendente*m* . . ." "[D]*OMINE* i*esu* *christ*e adoro te resurgente*m* ab inferis · Ascendente*m* ad celos . . . Amen." "D*omin*e i*esu* *christ*e adoro te uenturu*m* & iudicaturu*m* . . . Qui cum d*omin*o coeterno patrę in unitate sp*iritu*s s*anct*i · uiuis & regnas d*eu*s p*er* om*n*ia s*ecu*la s*e*culor*um* Amen."

Table 3.7 (continued)

Description	Text or incipit
Penitential psalms	Pss. 129, 142
Qui tuas manus mundas	"Deus omnipotens iesu christe qui tuas mundas . . ."
Prayer	"Obsecro te iesu christe fili dei uiui persanctam crucem tuam . . ."
Rubric	"þonne þu hæbbe þis gefylled þonne bletsa þu þe mid þissere bletsunge"
Blessing	"Sanctifica me domine signaculo sanctę crucis"

While "Gloriosissime conditor mundi" is notably missing, "Obsecro te Iesu Christe" and the shorter blessing "Sanctifica me, Domine" are added. This program also gives further directions for use which do not appear in *Galba*: it is to be performed to the glory of the Holy Cross, "swa oft swa þu oftust mæge," and the final prayer is identified as a *bletsunge*, apparently something separate from the program proper, as it is to be said "þonne þu hæbbe þis gefylled."

At what was originally the very end of the manuscript there appears a full set of Special Offices of the Virgin and another prayer program based on the Veneration prayers.[550]

This second Veneration program follows that in *Galba* by beginning with the rubric which appears in the *Regularis concordia*. However, in other respects it resembles the earlier Veneration program. Kyries, Paternosters, and antiphons, as well as the seven psalms, appear between the prayers. While "Gloriosissime conditor mundi" remains, the compiler has added "O crux splendidior cunctis astris"[551] and "Qui per crucem passionis tue." Finally, "Adoro te" is once more separated into two parts, this time with only four of the *Regularis concordia* petitions remaining. The omitted two are those addressing Christ placed in the tomb and to Christ who will come as judge; it may not be coincidental that the petition to Christ in the tomb is also missing from the copy of "Adoro te" in Tiberius's copy of the *Regularis concordia*.[552]

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550 The *Regula Benedicti*, now at the end of the manuscript, was originally at the start. Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 241.

551 This prayer also appears in the program "Si vis orare" in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 123.

552 It would otherwise appear in Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, l. 1074.

Table 3.8: The second Veneration program in Tiberius A III, fols. 114v–115v.[553]

Description	Text or incipit
Rubric	*In prima quidem oratione et tres psalmos primos cu*m *oratione*
Penitential psalms	Pss. 6, 31, 37 Kyrie, Paternoster
Antiphons	"Adoramus te," "Adoramus crucis," "Om*ni*s terra," "Per sign*um* sancte," "D*omi*ne exaudi"
Adoro te (incomplete)	"D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e adoro te in cruce ascendente*m* . . ." "D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e adoro te in cruce uulneratu*m* . . ."
Prayer	"O crux speldidor [*sic*] cun[c]tis astris . . ."
Penitential psalms	Pss. 50, 85, 101 Kyrie, Paternoster
Adoro te (incomplete)	"D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e adoro te in cruce descendente*m* . . ." "[D]*omi*ne i*esu christ*e christe adoro te resurgentem . . ."
Gloriosissme conditor mundi	"D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e filii [*sic*] dei uiui gloriosissime conditor mundi . . ."
Penitential psalms	Pss. 129, 142 Kyrie
Qui tuas manus mundas	"Q*uesumu*s omnipotens i*esu christ*e qui tuas manus mundas . . ."
Prayer	"D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e qui p*er* crucem passionis tue me redemisti . . ."

Whereas the Veneration program in the *Galba Prayerbook* is simple, and essentially just a section excised from the *Regularis concordia*, the creator of the programs in Tiberius A III has elaborated it, turning the pattern of prayers into a longer rite for private worship before the cross, linking them with antiphons for the feasts of the cross as well as psalms. Furthermore, they add new, and in some cases somewhat longer, prayers to the basic pattern of three, including "Qui per crucem passionis tue."

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553 Although I have used my own transcription here, see also Dewick, *Facsimiles of Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*, cols. 45–48.

Portiforium of St. Wulstan

It is in the *Portiforium* that we can see a pair of Veneration programs which are considerably more complex than the simple pattern of prayers and psalms in the *Regularis concordia*. As in Tiberius A III, these texts include extra prayers, and the result shows the increasing level of sophistication with which the compiler of these prayer programs adapted this liturgy and created something more like a private office. The following table outlines the miscellaneous prayers on pages 581–618 of the *Portiforium*, indicating prayers to the cross in plain type, while prayers of other kinds are in italics and not listed by name.

Table 3.9: The private prayers in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, indicating the prayers to the cross.

Page no. in Hughes vol. 2	Page no. in MS	Prayers
1–2	581–82	*Liturgical prayers*
2	582–83	*Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*
3–8	583–92	*Confessional prayers*
8–12	592–99	*Prayers to the saints* (incl. one to the cross: "Crux christi ego te diligo et amplector")
12–18	599–609	*Confessional prayers, prayer to St. Swithun*
18–20	609–11	Prayer program for the Veneration of the Cross no. 1
20–23	611–16	Prayer program for the Veneration of the Cross no. 2
23–24	616–17	*Confession to a priest*
24	617–18	*Gyf ðe ðynce*: protective program for prayer before the cross, incl. prayers and antiphons
24	618	*Singularis gratiae*

In this prayer collection, all but one of the prayers to the cross have been grouped together. Since the original three Veneration prayers appear twice, it is reasonable to suggest that each group was conceived of separately as independent programs of prayer to the cross. The following table shows the contents of the two prayer programs on pages 609–11 and 611–16 of the manuscript. The italics indicate rubrics, and the dotted lines show where each program appears to begin and end.

Table 3.10: The prayer programs based on the Veneration of the Cross in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*.

Page nos. in Hughes vol. 2	Page nos. in MS	Description	Text
1–18	581–609		[A lacuna of eight folios is followed by a series of prayers][554]
18	609	PROGRAM NO. 1 First three penitential psalms	*Hic decanta ·VII· penitentiales psalmos.* ("Here, chant the seven penitential psalms") D*omi*ne ne in furore tuo Ps*almus* · Beati quor*um* D*omi*ne ne in furore
		Paternoster and antiphons	Pat*er* n*oste*r Adhoram*us* te *christ*e. Om*ni*s terra P*er* signu*m* crucis Ne derelinquas me d*omi*ne . . .
18–19		"Adoro te"	*Or*atio *ad crucem* · D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e, adoro te in cruce ascendent*em* . . .
19		The next two penitential psalms, Paternoster, and the same antiphons as above	*De eadem re unde supra* · Miserere mei d*eu*s D*omi*ne exaudi pat*er* n*oste*r *et* preces
	609–610	"Gloriosissime conditor mundi"	D*omi*ne i*esu* christe, glori*o*sissime conditor mundi . . .
	610	Final two penitential psalms and the same antiphons as above	De p*r*ofundis D*omi*ne exaudi P*r*e*ce*s ut sup*r*a
		"Qui tuas manus mundas"	*Alia orati*ones · Q*uesumu*s om*ni*pote*n*s i*esu christ*e q*u*i tuas man*us* mundas . . .

Table 3.10 (continued)

Page nos. in Hughes vol. 2	Page nos. in MS	Description	Text
		"Qui pro humano genere"	*De eadem re* · D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e q*ui p*ro humano genere crucis patibulu*m* sustinuisti . . .
		"Deus cui cuncte obediunt creature"	*Vnde supra* · D*eu*s cui cuncte obędiunt creature . . .
20	610–11	"Sancta et ueneranda crux"	*Ut supra* · S*anct*a *et* ueneranda crux in qua nos gloriari oport*et* . . .
	611	OFFICE NO. 2 *Kyrie* and two antiphons, each in both Latin and English.	*It*e*m ali*ę *orationes latine et anglice* Kyrrieleyson *christ*e*leison* kyrrieleison Adhoram*us* [*sic*] te *christ*e . . . Aɴɢʟɪᴄᴇ · We gebiddað þe driht*en* . . . Lᴀᴛɪɴᴇ· Per signu*m* crucis de inimicis n*ost*ris libera nos d*eu*s n*ost*e*r*. Ðurh rode tacen þu alysdest us ure driht*en*
		Three penitential psalms	*Ps*almus D*omi*ne ne in f*urore* *Ps*almus Beati quor*um* *Ps*almus D*omi*ne ne in furore tuo
		Antiphon in Latin and English	Om*n*is terra adoret te . . . Aɴɢʟɪᴄᴇ · Eall eorðe gebidde . . .

Table 3.10 (continued)

Page nos. in Hughes vol. 2	Page nos. in MS	Description	Text
20–21	611–12	"Adoro te" [Latin alternating line-by-line with English. The second part of each line only appears in the English.]	*LATINE* . D*omi*ne i*esu christ*e adoro te in cruce ascendentem. *ANGLICE* . Drih*ten* hælend crist ic bidde ðe on rode astigende · ic bidde þe þ*æt* seo sylfe rod me alyse fram deofles slæge. . . . in cruce uulneratum. *ANGLICE* . . . on rode gewundadne . . . *LATINE* · . . . in sepulchro positum. *ANGLICE* · . . . on byrigenne geledne . . . . . . descendente*m* ad inferos. *ANGLICE* · . . . adune to helwaru*m* . . . *LATINE*. . . . resurgente*m* ab inferis. *ANGLI*CE. . . . arisende fram helwaru*m* . . . *HOC PROSEQUIT*UR *LATINE* · . . . uenturu*m et* iudicaturum . . . toweardne deman . . . ðu þe leofast 7 rixast god mid god fæder in annysse haliges gastes · á in weorulda weoruld Amen·
21	612	Two penitential psalms and Kyrie	*INDE PSALMUS* · Misserere [*sic*] mei d*eu*s · D*omi*ne exaudi · Kyrrieleison ·
21		Three antiphons, each in Latin and English	*LATINE* · [D]icite in nationi*bus* . . . *ANGLICE*· Sæcgað on þeodu*m* . . . Cruce*m* tua*m* adoram*us* d*omi*ne . . . *ANGLICE*. Drihten þine halgan rode we geadmedað . . . O crux benedicta . . . *ANGLICE* · Hala [*sic*] þu gebletsode rod . . .

Table 3.10 (continued)

Page nos. in Hughes vol. 2	Page nos. in MS	Description	Text
21–22	612–14	"Gloriosissime conditor mundi"	ORATIO . Domine iesu christe gloriosissime conditor mundi . . . Drihten hælend crist se wuldorfullesta middaneardes scyppend . . .
22	614	Two penitential psalms and Kyrie	De profundis clamaui · Domine exaudi·. II· KIRRIELEISON·
	614–15	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 iesu 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 . . .
	615	"Qui crucem tuam veneror"	Deus qui crucem tuam ueneror . . .
22–23	615–16	"Tuam misericordiam recolentes"	Domine iesu christe tuam misericordiam recolentes . . .
23	616	"Qui per crucem passionis"	Domine iesu christe qui per crucem passiones [sic] tue . . .
23–24	616–18		[There follow some confessional prayers, apparently for use with a priest, in the middle of which is a lacuna of one folio. Afterwards follows *Gyf ðe ðynce*.]

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. Firstly, 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. Secondly, 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*, which take the form of much simpler series or sequences of prayers. The rubric introducing the penitential psalms is of particular note: "[h]ic decanta ·VII· penitentiales psalmos."[555] *Hic* (here) implies that the reader is not simply reading prayers singly or at random, but that he is engaged in a program which has to be followed in a particular order. For these reasons, we can therefore be reasonably confident that the scribe here intended to copy out a well-organized program of prayer to the cross, with distinct beginning and end points.

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 the table above, the reader is instructed to chant the first three of the seven penitential psalms, then the prayer "Adoro te"; the next two psalms, and then "Gloriosissime conditor mundi"; the final three psalms, and then "Qui tuas manus mundas." 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 out in full. Rubrics further on in the text indicate that the same antiphons are to be said with each set of psalms: these rubrics read, "[m]iserere mei d*eus* D*omi*ne exaudi pa*ter* n*oste*r *et* preces"[556] and "De pr*o*fundis · D*omi*ne exaudi · Pr*e*c*es* ut sup*ra*."[557] As seen in the Office of the Trinity in chapter 1, in this program, the psalms and antiphons are given in a smaller script than the prayers, indicating that the scribe placed them on a different con-

555 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 609; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 18. "Here, chant the seven penitential psalms."
556 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 609; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 19. "'Have mercy on me, O God,' 'Hear, O Lord,' Paternoster and *preces*."
557 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 610; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 19. "'Out of the depths,' 'Hear, O Lord,' preces as above."

ceptual level, though this is not the case in the program which follows in the manuscript.

Furthermore, the first program 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 veneranda crux." It is noticeable that "Qui pro humano genere" follows the Veneration prayers in both the *Portiforium* and, as will be discussed below, the *Eadui Psalter*; it may be that the pattern of three prayers in the *Regularis concordia* was being expanded to include a fourth. These final prayers are notably not connected together by antiphons, psalms, or Paternosters, and in this respect the programs in the *Portiforium* resemble the Special Offices in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.

Perhaps surprisingly, this prayer program is immediately followed by another based on the Veneration of the Cross, beginning with the rubric "Item alię orationes latine et anglice."[558] The word *alię* (others) is rather surprising, considering that the following are more or less the same prayers, but it does suggest that the compiler understood an entirely new set of prayers to begin at this point. The second program follows a similar pattern to the first, 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 program 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, indicating the increasing complexity with which this basic pattern was treated by different compilers.

Like its *Galba* equivalent, the second *Portiforium* Veneration text translates the prayers for the benefit of the user: all of the antiphons in this text appear in both Latin and English, as do "Adoro te" and "Gloriosissime conditor mundi."[559] In the case of "Adoro te," each line appears first in Latin and

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558 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 611; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 20. "Also, other prayers in Latin and English."

559 The first line of "Adoro te" appears as the final antiphon in the office, immediately before the prayer "Qui crucem tuam veneror." Unusually, this takes a different form from that hitherto encountered in the *Portiforium*: "D*omi*ne i*e*su *christ*e adoro te in cruce ascendent*em spineam coronam in capite portantem*; *deprecantem* depr*e*cor te ut ipsa crux liber*et* me ab *angelo* per*cutiente*" (*Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 615; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22, 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 the *Eadui Psalter*

then in translation, and the second part of each line is only found in the English. For example:

> LATINE . Domine iesu 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 iesu christe adoro te . . .[560]

Muir notes that only *Galba* and the *Portiforium* include the Old English translation of the Veneration prayers;[561] indeed, the translation is essentially the same in these two manuscripts, suggesting that there was a common source known to the compilers of both programs. It is at least possible that this translation was included for saying together with the laity, since Bishop Wulfstan may have taken the book with him when travelling in his diocese.[562] In this case, the ability to translate Latin liturgical prayers into the vernacular may have been of particular importance.

The *Eadui Psalter*

Having examined the increasing sophistication with which the Veneration prayers were used as the basis for a private liturgy, a little should be said about another way in which this set of prayers was used. In some contexts, rather than being presented as part of a prayer program, the prayers were stripped of

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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*, pp. 16–18, 20, 25–27; Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," pp. 232–33.

   Furthermore, the translation of this line in the *Portiforium* is closer to the gloss in the *Eadui Psalter* than to the translation of the whole prayer earlier on in the *Portiforium*: they translate "adoro te" as "ic geadmede þe" (Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22; Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 232; "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*.

560 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 611; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 20. "*Latin.* O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you climbing onto the cross. *English.* Lord Savior 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."

561 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 143, n. 1.

562 Pfaff, "The 'Sample Week,'" p. 82.

their liturgical trappings altogether and presented as a simple prayer sequence, or as part of one. The *Eadui Psalter* draws on the sequence of Veneration prayers as they appear in *Galba*, but the prayers are not linked together by psalms or antiphons, although, as previously noted, some of them have rubrics indicating how and why they were to be said. They can therefore be regarded as simply a sequence of prayers rather than a full program. Nevertheless, the ordering of prayers according to genre shows that the compiler was thinking seriously about how to arrange his or her material. This organization is shown in the following table, in which prayers to the cross are listed individually and indicated in plain type, and other prayers are printed in italics and grouped according to subject.

Table 3.11: The private prayers in the *Eadui Psalter*, indicating the prayers to the cross.[563]

Number in edition	Fol. no.	Type of prayer
—	*171r*	*Brief prayers of intercession*
1–3	*171r–172r*	*Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*
4–9	172r	"Adoro te"
10	172v	"Gloriosissime conditor mundi"
11		"Qui tuas manus mundas"
12	172v–173r	"Qui pro humano genere"
13	173r	"Per gloriam et virtutem"
14	173r–v	"Omnipotens, dilectissime deus"
15	173v–174r	"Pro sancta cruce tua"
16–27	*174r–182v*	*Prayers of confession*
28–43	*182v–191v*	*Prayers to the saints*
44	191v–192v	*"Liberator animarum" and confessional prayer*
—	*192v–193v*	*Gloria, Creed, etc.*

It should be apparent from this table that in the *Eadui Psalter* the sequence of prayers for the Veneration has been extended by the addition of an extra four

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563 Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," pp. 230–54; Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," pp. 115–120; Campbell, "Prayers from MS. Arundel 155," pp. 82–117.

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 be said to include any offices, it shows that the collection of prayers for the Veneration of the Cross was being developed and extended.

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS d'Orville 45

This eleventh-century manuscript from Moissac,[564] mentioned above as a possible source for Alcuin's prayerbook for Charlemagne, includes a prayer series before the psalter; it ends with "Adoro te" and the prayer which here begins "Gloriose conditor mundi," with a longer prayer, "Rex cęli et terrę glorię," between them.[565] The final two prayers are both prefaced with the rubric "Alia oratio." Aside from the alteration of the opening word from "gloriosissime," the latter appears much as in the *Regularis concordia*. "Adoro te," on the other hand, is worthy of some discussion.

The text of the prayer is prefaced with the words "Oratio ad crvcem adorandam," suggesting use before a cross, and roughly follows that of the *Concordia*, with its six petitions to the dying and rising Christ.[566] However, it shares a few details with Gjerløw's "common form" of the prayer. Like that in *The Book of Cerne*, d'Orville's text includes an extra phrase in the first two petitions which does not appear in the *Concordia* form: "Domine iesu christe, adoro te in cruce ascendentem, *spineam coronam in capite portantem*. Deprecor te, ut ipsa crux liberet me de angelo percuciente. Domine iesu christe, adoro te in cruce uulneratum, *felle et aceto potatum*. Deprecor te …"[567] The fifth petition of the prayer is a mixture of a petition from *Cerne* and its equivalent in the *Concordia*:

> *Cerne*:
> Domine iesu christe adoro te *ascendentem in caelos sedentem ad dexteram patris* Depraecor miserere mei.[568]

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564 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 116.

565 Waldhoff, pp. 389–90.

566 Waldhoff, p. 389.

567 Waldhoff, p. 389, emphases mine. "O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you climbing onto the cross, *wearing a thorny crown on your head*; I ask you that that cross may free me from the piercing angel. O Lord Jesus Christ, I adore you wounded on the cross, *given gall and vinegar to drink*; I ask you." Cf. Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 116.

568 Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 116.

d'Orville 45:

Domine iesu christe, adoro te resurgentem a mortuis, *ascendentem in cęlis, sedentem ad dexteram patris*. deprecor te, miserere mei.[569]

Regularis concordia:

Do*m*ine Ih*e*su Chr*ist*e, adoro te resurgentem ab inferis *ascendentem ad cęlos*; deprecor te, miserere mei.[570]

The first phrase in d'Orville, referring to Christ's rising from the dead, does not appear in *Cerne*, while the second, about rising to the heavens and sitting at the right hand of the Father, is incomplete in the *Regularis concordia*. The text of "Adoro te" in d'Orville therefore appears to be a kind of hybrid form. It may be that the copyist reproduced a version of Gjerløw's common form whilst also knowing the *Concordia* form. Alternatively, and more significantly, it may record a copy of an early intermediary stage, as the copyist adapted the prayer from its original context and rewrote it as one which would later become the prayer for the Veneration of the Cross in the *Regularis concordia*.

Tovi the Proud and "Adoro Te"

It was noted above that Bishop Wulfstan may have taken his *Portiforium* with him as he travelled around his diocese. Tracey-Anne Cooper has found some evidence that the Veneration prayers may have been taught to laypeople in the *Waltham Chronicle*, a text which is centered on the discovery of a stone cross and the miracles performed through it. The chronicle records that Tovi the Proud, a thegn of King Cnut, saw the cross being unearthed on his land, which miraculously bled when metal plates were nailed to it.[571] Putting on penitential dress, the thegn knelt, and, weeping, said a prayer, the beginning of which strongly resembles "Adoro te" in its construction, even if not being discernibly the same form as in either the *Book of Cerne* or the *Concordia*: "Adoro te Christe pendentem in ligno pro salute fidelium, quod michi representat presens istud exemplar tue passionis; adoro te, Domine, infernum uisitantem et in sanctis animabus inferos triumphantem; adoro te a mortuis resurgentem, morte tua mortem fidelium consummantem; adoro te in celum ascendentem ad consessum patris et abinde spiritum tuum in corda discipulorum et eorum pure sequatium

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569 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 389.

570 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1076–78.

571 Tracey-Anne Cooper, "The Monastic Origins of Tovie the Proud's Adoration of the Cross," *Notes & Queries* 52, no. 4 (2005), p. 437.

mittentem."[572] Cooper notes the similarity of this prayer to that in the *Regularis concordia*, though with some differences;[573] it can be added that, although the phraseology is distinctly different from that which has been examined so far, these four clauses nevertheless correspond roughly to a combination of phrases from the versions of "Adoro te" in the prayerbook and the *Concordia*. The first refers not to Christ's climbing upon the cross, but to his hanging there, as in both versions of "Adoro te"; the second recalls the thirteenth clause of the version in *Cerne*, "Domine iesu christe adoro te descendentem ad inferos · liberantem captiuos."[574] The third recalls the fifth clause of the *Concordia*-form "Adoro te," "adoro te resurgentem ab inferis ascendentem ad cęlos,"[575] while the fourth resembles not the *Concordia*, but *Cerne* again: "Domine iesu christe adoro te ascendentem in caelos sedentem ad dexteram patris."[576] It may therefore be the case that prayers similar to both the prayerbook-form and the *Concordia*-form of "Adoro te" were circulating in early eleventh-century England.

   If this 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. Indeed, Cooper notes that although this chronicle was written over a hundred years after the events which it describes, the very dissimilarity between Tovi's prayer and the standard versions suggests that the words are his own, rather than being the *Concordia* form with which an ecclesiastical chronicler would have been familiar, and which therefore might have been a tempting text to assign to Tovi.[577] To the comments in her original article, Cooper has since added that the *Waltham Chronicle* is unlikely to be an altogether accurate record of Tovi's devotions, considering that it is written in a different language, one hundred years later, by a writer with a political agenda. However, she argues that the chronicler at any rate believed that a powerful

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572 Chibnall and Watkiss, *Waltham Chronicle*, pp. 20–23. "I worship you, O Christ, hanging there on the tree for the salvation of the faithful, for this represents for me a present likeness of your passion. I worship you, O Lord, for visiting Hell and leading the souls of the holy dead in triumph; I worship you for rising from the dead and by your death putting an end to death for the faithful; I worship you for ascending into heaven to sit beside the Father, and for sending from there your Holy Spirit into the hearts of the disciples and those who follow you with a pure heart." All translations from this text are taken from this edition.

573 Cooper, "Monastic Origins," pp. 437–38.

574 Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 116.

575 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 1077–78; as noted above, in Tiberius A III, the fourth clause of the prayer is missing.

576 Kuypers, *Cerne*, p. 116.

577 Cooper, "Monastic Origins," pp. 439–40.

layman would have said this prayer in this situation, which in itself indicates that "Adoro te" may have spread beyond monastic culture.[578] Tovi, a high-ranking thegn under King Cnut, is known to have witnessed charters between 1018 and 1035:[579] this event is therefore supposed to have taken place in the same era as the creation of the *Galba Prayerbook*, suggesting that not only monastics, but also laypeople and those who taught them were rewriting "Adoro te" for use altogether outside of a church setting. It is rare to receive a glimpse into how and why laypeople prayed in Anglo-Saxon and Norse England, but this chronicle gives a very valuable one. Not only do we have a context – the discovery of a cross and a miracle attributed to it – but also the performative aspects of Tovi's adoration. As was suggested by "Hae sunt .IIII. causae" in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* and Tiberius A III, the veneration of crosses was regarded as a valuable form of prayer, and the ground upon which one walked to approach it could be given a sacred significance. Tovi does not even walk to the cross, but crawls "more pueri balbutientis … manibus et genibus,"[580] casts off his fine cloak and puts on sackcloth, and weeps as he prays, "multa lacrimarum effusione";[581] this desire for an abundance of tears will be seen again in the confessional prayer discussed in chapter 5. Ultimately, in this account of Tovi's devotion we see how a prayer, derived from personal monastic traditions and rewritten for the purpose of a formal liturgy, could be freely adapted for adoration before a cross.

Conclusions on the Veneration Prayers

In this section, I have explored the various responses made in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to the Veneration of the Cross ceremony in the *Regularis concordia*, which itself is based on sources in private prayerbooks. It may be this combination of personal roots and annual liturgical performance that made the Veneration so attractive for extra-liturgical use: the litanic form of "Adoro te" may have aided memorization, while the use of these prayers and psalms on an especially sacred day in the monastic calendar may have raised the profile of the prayers for those who wished to venerate the Holy Cross outside of a liturgical context.

The version in *Galba* is apparently derived without much deviation from the ceremony in the *Regularis concordia*, to the extent of preserving two of its

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578 Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 138, n. 99.

579 Chibnall and Watkiss, *Waltham Chronicle*, p. xvi.

580 Chibnall and Watkiss, pp. 20–21. "[O]n hands and knees like a prattling infant."

581 Chibnall and Watkiss, pp. 20–21. "[W]ith copious tears."

rubrics. Nevertheless, the compiler of this text consciously extracted part of the *Concordia*'s liturgy from its source, removing the Trisagion, scriptural readings, and Improperia, and retaining the simpler format of three prayers interspersed with the penitential psalms. The two major developments from the *Regularis concordia* are not in the text itself, which remains otherwise unchanged, but in the presentation: the identity of the seven penitential psalms is indicated in the form of incipits, and the three prayers are translated expertly into Old English. It is a prayer program which is more accessible to those who may not have known which were the penitential psalms, or who preferred to pray in English rather than Latin.

It is in Tiberius A III and the *Portiforium* that we see the Veneration pattern being developed into something more like a sophisticated program of prayer. Both manuscripts include two versions of the Veneration, and both elaborate on the basic pattern by adding antiphons, Kyries, and Paternosters as well as the psalms to join the prayers together; furthermore, Tiberius splits "Adoro te" into two groups of petitions. These four programs all add prayers to the basic pattern of three, and in some cases one of the original three prayers is replaced. One of the *Portiforium*'s prayer programs, like that in *Galba*, includes the English translation of the prayers and antiphons, indicating the importance of the vernacular in this kind of complex devotional work.

Outside of these more elaborate prayer collections, the Veneration prayers were chosen for inclusion in sequences of prayers such as those in the *Eadui Psalter* and d'Orville 45. Although these contains no connecting psalms or antiphons, the prayers associated with them are noteworthy: "Pro sancta cruce tua" appears in both Tiberius and *Eadui*, "Qui pro humano genere" in *Eadui* and the *Portiforium*. As for d'Orville, the form of "Adoro te" in this manuscript suggests that the prayerbook and *Concordia* forms of the Veneration liturgy were both in circulation in the eleventh century. This manuscript offers us a reminder that manuscripts and texts remained in use for centuries: even if a more recent version of the prayer had been composed, it does not necessarily mean that the older version was not also still in use.

Thematic Interests of the Prayer Programs to the Cross

Since these texts make use of the same antiphons and prayers, their thematic concerns will inevitably be similar to great extent. However, the precise selection of prayers and antiphons used in each program causes them to have slightly different emphases. The basic sequence was augmented in different ways in the versions of the Veneration in the *Portiforium* and in the *Eadui Psalter*. 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 former, it praises Christ for shedding his blood on the cross "pro humano genere," before asking for forgiveness and protection in the future.[582] In the *Portiforium*, this is followed by "Deus cui cuncte obediunt creature" and "Sancta et veneranda crux." The former of these 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 uitę paradisique reparator,"[583] and will destroy the venom of the tempting serpent. The latter prayer, by contrast, looks forward to the Day of Judgment, as the speaker prays that Christ may protect him through the cross and let him enter heaven.[584] The overall theme of the first Veneration text in the *Portiforium* is therefore Christ's redemption of humankind through his sharing of human nature, in addition to requests for future help for the speaker himself, after which the speaker 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 veneror," "Tuam misericordiam recolentes," and "Qui per crucem passionis tue." The use of the word "hodie" in these prayers is worth noting. In "Qui crucem tuam veneror," the speaker prays to Christ, "pro nobis pendens hodie in cruce."[585] An interlinear addition of the words *hodierna die* (on this day) was made to the text of "Gloriosissime conditor mundi" in a later hand, resulting in the phrase "gloriosas palmas tuas *hodierna die* in crucis patibulo permisisti configere."[586] It may be the case that this prayer program was considered good for use on Good Friday, or on Fridays in general. The emphasis in this text is again on Christ's redemption of humanity on the cross. "Qui crucem tuam veneror" is similar to "Gloriosissime conditor mundi": the speaker asks, "salua me peccatorem

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582 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 610; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 19. "For humankind."

583 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 610; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 19. "The tree of life and the restorer of paradise."

584 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 610–11; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 20.

585 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 615; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22. "Hanging on the cross for us today."

586 Emphasis mine. *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 613; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 21. "On this day you permitted your glorious palms to be fixed to the gallows of the cross."

p*ro*stratum adorantem te humiliter *et* confitentem."[587] 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 car-itate ut iustus p*ro* peccator*ibus* morereris · Nec enim p*er*iret essentia n*ost*ra fieri dignatus es redemptio n*ost*re [*sic*]."[588]

The prayers found in the *Portiforium*'s two Veneration texts, then, have sim-ilar 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, "[d]icite in nationi*bus* quia d*ominus* regnauit a ligno."[589] The third set of antiphons asks Christ to save the speaker from his enemies, and to have mercy upon all Christians: "[s]alua nos *christ*e saluator p*er* uistutum [*sic*] s*an*c*t*e crucis qui saluasti petrum in mari miserere nobis."[590] These antiphons immedi-ately precede "Qui crucem tuam veneror" and therefore set the tone for the prayer's increased focus on the speaker's sinfulness.

The prayer programs in the *Portiforium* can be usefully compared with those in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. As demonstrated above, *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 programs that I have discussed, spe-cifically praises the cross as that on which Christ triumphed and conquered death.[591] 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 bea-tae crucis patibulum" asks that God's people may have "fidei fundamentum spei suffragium in aduersis defensio, in prosperis iuuamentum."[592] The follow-ing prayer closes the office by asking God that his people may be enriched by

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587 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 615; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22. "Save me, a sinner, prostrated, adoring you humbly and confessing."
588 "Tuam misericordiam recolentes": *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 615; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22. "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."
589 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 612; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 21. "Say amongst the peoples that the Lord has reigned from the tree."
590 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, p. 614; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 22. "Save us, savior Christ, through the power of the Holy Cross; you who saved Peter on the sea, have mercy on us."
591 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 132.
592 Günzel, p. 133. "A foundation for faith, aid for hope, defence during troubles and assis-tance during prosperity."

his peace and by the society of angels.[593] 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.

Oratio in .I. mane again shares some of its antiphons with the other prayer programs, but is slightly more oriented towards prayer to the cross as a defence against enemies. The opening psalm is not one of the penitential psalms, nor is it "Deus in adiutorium," but 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.[594]

This is clearly a psalm especially 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 for the monastery specifically or for the church in general. It is his *familiam* (family) and his *gregem* (flock) which the speaker asks to be protected against the devil's attack and from the wickedness of its enemies.[595] 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 human attacks.

The prayer programs dedicated to the cross, therefore, have slightly different emphases. *Oratio in .I. mane* looks to the cross for protection, *In honore sanctae crucis* asks God for his protection, and the *Portiforium* texts stress the cross's role in the redemption of humankind, with the second text emphasizing Christ's triumph a little more. However, the various prayer programs all include each of these themes in some way, showing not only how the cross was called upon for many different reasons, but also the extent to which the programs are

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593 Günzel, p. 133.

594 Ps. 5:2, 4–5, 9. "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."

595 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 127.

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, ending with a series of approximately four prayers. If such prayer programs can be described as an early form of Special Office, then Anglo-Saxon manuscripts may well include more offices than scholars have so far recognized, if we are able to look at them as an Anglo-Saxon monk would have done.

Conclusion

This chapter has begun from the conclusions reached in chapter 2 and extended them to prayer to the holy cross. More than the previous chapter, this one 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 the cross 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.

The rest of this chapter explored the different prayer programs dedicated to the cross in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and in particular those which draw on the liturgy of the Veneration of the Cross. I analyzed 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 programs which were in some ways similar to the Special Offices. Furthermore, I found that a group of prayers amongst those 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 a version of the liturgy of the hours

which was intended for private use, then this *Oratio in .I. mane* is arguably an example of the genre. In praying to the cross, the Anglo-Saxon monk or nun meditated on the joys of salvation, was assured of entry into paradise, and was protected from evil. In the next chapter, I will consider apotropaic prayers and others which offered protection and healing.

4 Prayers of Protection and Healing

[W]yrce rode tacen on þæs untruman breostu*m and* æf*ter* þisum cweðe se mæsse-pr*e*ost ofer þone untruman . . .[596]

These instructions are found in a text for use by priests when visiting the sick in their homes, found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 422 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Miscellaneous 482. They serve as a reminder that prayers to the cross existed in a context. Both inside and outside of the monastery, the cross was a powerful symbol, used in prayers, blessings, medical remedies, and in the short texts, generally known as "charms," which were used for healing, protection, or for finding lost things. In this chapter, I will move from the previous chapter's more general discussion of the sign of the cross towards a genre with which the sign was closely linked: prayers for protection and healing. This subject is of particular importance because it includes prayers which may have been said by or for the laity. A few of the prayers in manuscripts already discussed promise that whoever says them will receive blessings or avoid harm, either in this world or the next. In other cases, such as a program in the *Portiforium* and Tiberius A III, prayers and psalms could be put together in order to ward off evil, whether arising from human or spiritual enemies. Prayers either for or against one's enemies are a particular feature of the *Galba Prayerbook*: in some cases, it even looks as if the compiler of that manuscript may have wished to put together prayer programs for cursing them.

From these I move on to a discussion of medical prayer. While earlier scholars were too quick to identify certain prayers in the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbook* collections as purely pagan, I will examine the use of terms such as *gebed* and *gealdor* in medical manuscripts, arguing that these terms are a great deal more fluid than a modern reader might expect. Medical prayer is of particular value for the study of prayer outside of liturgical contexts, as it is often accompanied by instructions for how, when, where, and why the prayers must be said. It also makes use of a great deal of religious ritual along with the preparation of healing herbs. Accordingly, I end the chapter with four brief case studies, demonstrating the breadth of ritual practice, prayers, and other words of power used

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[596] 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*, ed. Max Förster and Karl Wildhagen (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1921), pp. 56–57. I have quoted the version in Laud Misc. 482. "May [the priest] make the sign of the cross on the chest of the sick man, and after these things, may the mass-priest say over the sick man . . ."

in the interaction between the physician and patient. Valuable as they are for the study of Anglo-Saxon medicine, these remedies may also shed some light on the practice of prayer in this period.

Protective Prayer

Some prayers in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts begin with a rubric making promises of what will take place if the speaker says that prayer. "Hae sunt .IIII. causae," the text quoted in the previous chapter which lists the reasons why the cross should be venerated, promises a simple set of outcomes for particular actions.[597] If the reader's first action, presumably in the morning, is to venerate a cross, then demons will not be able to hurt him or her. There is an equation between the land which the reader walks on when approaching the cross and the "inheritance" which the reader will offer to the Lord: the text creates a kind of spiritual scheme in which undertaking certain religious devotions will certainly produce particular results. It also serves as a reminder that prayer need not involve words, but can include ritual actions which, as the second of the ".IIII. causae" suggests, may have been undertaken outside of a liturgical context, such as upon waking in the morning.

This text can be compared with the rubrics that occasionally precede prayers in private prayer collections, promising particular blessings for those who say them. The confessional prayer "Qui in hunc mundum" was apparently believed to be especially valuable for self-protection, as it opens with such a rubric in three different manuscripts. In the *Eadui Psalter*, it begins: "[i]ncipit inquisitio Sancti Augustini de ista oratione. In quacunque die cantaverit aliquis istam orationem, non nocebit illi diabolus, neque ullus homo impedimentum facere potest."[598] Though not attributing the text to St. Augustine, the scribe of the *Galba Prayerbook* additionally promises that "quod petierit dabitur ei."[599] The copyist of the version found in the *Crowland Psalter*, however, writes something similar to the ".IIII. causae": "[i]ncipit inquisitio sancti augustini episcopi. de ista oratione In quacumque die cantauerit aliquis istam orationem Non nocebit illi diabolus . neque ullus homo impedimentum facere potest .*et* quod iustum petierit a deo dabitur ei · Et si anima sua egrediatur de corpore · In infernu*m*

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597 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 126.

598 Holthausen, "Altenglische Linearversionen," p. 242. "Here begins the inquiry of Saint Augustine. Regarding this prayer: on whatever day someone will have sung this prayer, a devil will not harm him/her, nor can any person do him/her hindrance."

599 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 61. "What he/she will have asked for will be given to him/her."

non exiet."[600] Although such rubrics are relatively rare in Anglo-Saxon prayer collections,[601] similar ones are found preceding three consecutive prayers in the *Eadui Psalter*, on folios 174r, 175v, and 177v.[602] The first of these is "Tempus meum prope est," a confessional prayer known in other manuscripts and in this one attributed to St. Gregory.[603] This is followed by "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," and then "Qui in hunc mundum," as already discussed. In *Eadui*, "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" is attributed to St. Augustine, and has a rubric dissimilar to those discussed so far: "[o]ratio Sancti Augustini. Quicunque hanc orationem cotidie coram deo devote oraverit, & in presenti seculo beatus erit & in futuro cum sanctis gaudebit."[604] The distinction is clear: whereas "In quacumque die" promises that evil agents will not be able to harm a person on the day on which he or she sings it, this one instead promises blessings if one prays it every day *coram deo* (in the presence of God).[605] It bears some similarities to the promise in *Ælce sunnandæg*, discussed in chapter 2: "[g]yf þu ælce dæge þine tidsangas wel asingst, ne þearft ðu næfre to helle, 7 eac on þisse worulde þu hæfst þe gedefe lif."[606] While the prayer in *Eadui* promises heaven itself rather than the avoidance of hell, both rubrics offer a blessed life both before and after death: indeed, it is arguable that "7 eac on þisse worulde þu hæfst þe gedefe lif" is close enough to be a paraphrase, if not an exact translation, of the promise "& in presenti seculo beatus erit," wherever the scribe of *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* may have found these or similar words.

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600 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 296, fol. 121v. I have consulted the microfilm of this manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. "Here begins the inquiry of St. Augustine, the bishop. Regarding this prayer: on whatever day someone has sung this prayer, a devil will not harm him, nor can any person do him hindrance. And the righteous thing which he has asked from God will be given to him. And if his spirit goes out of his body, it will not go into hell." The same text appears in the *Bury Psalter*. *Digital Vatican Library*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 12, fols. 165v–166r.

601 For the presence of similar rubrics in Middle English and French prayers, see Sheri Smith, "Answers to Prayer in Chaucer" (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2016), pp. 39–44, 137–38, 185–86.

602 Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," pp. 237, 242.

603 Holthausen, p. 237. The same prayer begins with a similar rubric in the *Portiforium*. Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 12.

604 Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 242. "Prayer of St. Augustine. Whoever has prayed this prayer devotedly every day in the presence of God will be blessed both in the present world and in the future he will rejoice with the saints."

605 Chapter 5 will discuss the significance of this expression.

606 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "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."

A final, particularly noteworthy example of a rubric which makes promises is the heavenly letter in Caligula A XV, fol. 140r, which was discussed in the Introduction. The prayer in this letter begins with the names of the four evangelists, followed by some not entirely comprehensible Latin, and concludes with excerpts from Psalms 149–50. It begins thus:[607] "Matheus. Marcus. Lucas. Iohannes. bonus fuit et sobrius religiosus. me abdicamus. me parionus. me orgillus. me ossius ossi dei fucanus susdispensator et pisticus."[608] This is preceded by a relatively lengthy rubric, ten lines of the manuscript,[609] explaining the effects that it will have upon whoever sings it. This text – which, though brought down from heaven in the form of a *gewrit* (writing), is referred to as a *gebed* (prayer) – is primarily recommended for its healing benefits: it is a cure for any unknown ill, whether "flying" or "travelling," and can be sung over water and given to drink, or over butter and rubbed into the patient's body.[610] However, it should also be sung before bed in order to prevent bad dreams, and has particularly striking spiritual benefits: "[s]e þe þis gebed singð on cyrcean, þonne forstent hit him sealtera sealma. And se þe hit singð æt his endedæge, þonne forstent hit him huselgang."[611] This text, therefore, attests to the fact that a prayer, identified by the Old English term *gebed*, could do more than simply praise, confess to, or make requests from God or the saints: it could also be protective in its own right, and could effect change in the speaker's life. It also suggests the high status of private prayers, in this case one brought directly from heaven by an angel: prayer outside of liturgical contexts could be of more value than the church's most sacred songs and its most sacred rite.

Although relatively few rubrics explain why a prayer should be said, they do shed some light upon attitudes to prayer in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Similar promises are attached to different prayers, presumably because copyists believed that there were many texts which possessed these protective qualities. Although private prayers were presumably recopied because they were believed to be the ones that were useful and holy, most prayer collections do not attempt to differentiate firmly between the effects of one prayer and another. Some prayers, however, had very specific powers which the speaker could harness for him- or herself, whether to heal the body, ward off harm, or call down God's

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607 Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, p. 272.

608 Storms, p. 272. Although mostly incomprehensible, this begins "Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, he was good and sober and religious."

609 London, British Library Cotton MS Caligula A XV, fol. 140r.

610 Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, p. 272.

611 Storms, p. 272. "He who sings this prayer in church, for him it will stand in place of psalters of psalms. And he who sings it on his final day, for him it will stand in place of receiving the Eucharist."

blessings. Finally, the examples quoted remind us that the veneration of a cross counted as a form of prayer, no less valid than a spoken one.

Prayers For and Against Enemies in the *Galba Prayerbook*

As discussed in the Introduction, the original purpose of *Galba* is not altogether clear. A feature of the manuscript which has perhaps been overlooked is its pre-occupation with enemies: prayers asking for defence against them, for their for-giveness, or for their destruction, and even, in one case, what is apparently a form of curse. Most of these cases are simply individual prayers, and not part of a greater whole, but one collection of biblical verses resembles the prayer pro-grams, discussed in chapter 1, for Michaelmas and Trinity Sunday. Assuming Muir's foliation to be correct, there are also two and a half folios further on in the manuscript which contain a run of texts relating to enemies. I propose that these may have been conceived of and used as a short program of prayer on a single theme, though unfortunately the poor state of this part of the manuscript means that little beyond speculation can be offered.

Some of the longer prayers in *Galba* intended for use in, for example, peni-tence make brief reference to one's enemies. One such is "Qui dedisti potesta-tem apostolis tuis," a prayer for the gifts of Christ and the twelve apostles, which asks, "custodia[612] contra hostes meos uisibiles et inuisibiles" and, through St. Andrew, "da mihi uirtutem et fortitudinem om*n*es inimicos meos sup*er*are s*anct*e trinitatis protectione."[613] Likewise, "In naman þære halgan þry-nesse," a vernacular prayer asking protection and forgiveness for which Muir reports no analogues, the speaker ends by asking, "in eallu*m* þyssu*m* þe ic nu arimde on godes noman hi me forbioden eallu*m* fiondu*m* gesewenlicu*m* *and* ungesewenlicu*m* þæ*t* hy me sceððan ne motan ne in ‹þysse worulde n›e æfter in ecn‹esse›."[614] Ultimately, however, these two prayers only ask protection from one's enemies in passing, in the context of a more general prayer.[615]

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612 Muir emends to "custodi me." Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 48. "[Guard me] against my enemies, visible and invisible."

613 Muir, p. 49. "Grant me the power and strength to overcome all my enemies by the protec-tion of the Holy Trinity."

614 Muir, p. 137. "In all these things which I have now enumerated in God's name, may they forbid all enemies visible and invisible from me, that they may not harm me, neither in this world nor afterwards in eternity."

615 Similar brief requests for protection from enemies can be found in "Peccavi, Domine" (Muir, p. 45), "Qui es trinitas una" (p. 58), the collect for Psalm 50 (p. 78), and the prayer for the king in the "Celtic Capitella" (p. 115).

The credal phrase "visible and invisible" also appears in a prayer to St. Machutus[616] and in the fragments of a prayer concerning St. Mark on folios 73v–74r.[617] Although the latter can no longer be read in full, it appears to be intended specifically to ask for protection against enemies. Amongst the remaining visible words on folio 173v are "hostes pugna … uirtute tua … exercitu ualid … sup*er*are fecisti … inimicos n*ost*ros uisi biles at*que* in‹uisi›biles."[618] It is worth noting that this is a relatively short prayer, comprising only the verso and recto of adjacent folios in this small manuscript: the frequency of references to enemies and its closing petition, which is for protection, suggest that this is a prayer which was specifically intended for asking God, through St. Mark, for protection from the speaker's enemies.

Similar is a collect in *Galba*, "Sancte Dei genetricis," in which the speaker asks, by the merits and through the prayers of the Virgin and the saints, for God's mercy and peace. In particular, the speaker asks, "repelle a nobis hoste*m* et fame*m* et peste*m*. Da nob*i*s in tua uirtute constantia*m* et fortitudine*m*; inmitte hostib*us* n*ost*ris formidinem."[619] The speaker asks for protection from these enemies, and that fear should strike their hearts, but this prayer goes further than the fragmentary one. After asking for blessings for those who have done the speaker good, he or she continues, "‹da inimicis nostris et perseq›uenti‹bus nos recognitionem et ind›ul‹gentiam›."[620] Rather than just asking for the protection of his or her own people, the speaker prays also for the enemies themselves as people who need forgiveness and blessing. A similar wish is expressed in a brief prayer further down the same folio, 87v: "D*eus* pacis caritatisque amator ‹et› custos, da omnibus inimicis n*ost*ris pace*m* caritate*m*que uera*m* cunctorum-que eis remissione*m* tribue peccatorum nosque ab eoru*m* potenter insidiis eripe."[621] This prayer is at least as much concerned with the welfare of the enemies themselves as with protection from them.

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616 Muir, p. 160.

617 Muir, p. 94. Muir reports no analogues amongst the prayers for the feast of St. Mark.

618 Muir, p. 94. "Enemies fight(?) … by your power … strong with(?) the army … you made conquer … our enemies, visible and invisible."

619 Muir, p. 109. "Repel the enemy, hunger, and plague from us. Grant us, in your power, constancy and courage; send fear to our enemies."

620 Muir, p. 109. "Grant to our enemies and those pursuing us examination and pardon." Muir has supplied lacunae from the analogue text in London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 37. John Wickham Legg, ed., *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, vol. 2, Henry Bradshaw Society 5 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1893), col. 1180.

621 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 111. "God, lover and guardian of peace and charity, give to all our enemies peace and true charity, and grant to them the remission of all their sins, and save us mightily from their plots."

Prayers Asking for the Destruction of One's Enemies

Elsewhere in *Galba*, however, a distinctly different note is struck. The prayer "In cuius manu omnis uictoria,"[622] which appears in Latin and Old English in Galba A XIV, and in Latin in Nero A II, is specifically concerned with enemies, yet it is more militant in its tone and asks God for his help in destroying them.

> D*omi*ne d*eu*s om*nipoten*s, rex regum et d*ominu*s dominantium, in cuius manu omnis uictoria consistit et omne bellum conteri*tur*, concede mihi ut tua manus cor meum corroboret ut in uirtute tua in manib*us* uiribusque meis bene [pu]gnare uiriliterque agere ualeam ut inimici mei in conspectu meo cadent et corruant.[623]

> Æla þu drihten, æla þu ælmihtiga god, æla cing ealra cynynga, hlaford ealra waldendra on þæs mihta wunaþ ælc sige *and* ælc gewin weorþ tobryt, forgif me, drihten, þæt þin seo mihtigu hand mines unstrangan heortan gestrangie, *and* þæt ic þurh þine þa miclan mihte mid handum minu*m and* mihte stranglice *and* werlice ongan mine fynd winnan mæge, swa þ*æt* hy on minre gesihþe feallan *and* gereosan.[624]

These enemies are then compared to various biblical figures, such as Goliath before David and Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea. Finally, the speaker asks God that his or her enemies may be destroyed:

> sic cadant inimici mei sub pedibus meis, et p*er* uiam unam conueniant aduersum me et p*er* septem fugiant a me; et conteret d*eu*s arma eo*rum* et confringet framea eorum, et liquescent in conspectu meo sicut cera a facie ignis.[625]

> swa feallan *and* gereosan mine fynd under minu*m* fotu*m and* hy ealle samod þurh ænne weg ongæn me cumen *and* þurh seofan wegas hie fram me gewitan. Forbryt, drihten,

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622 I have given the prayer this title because the opening words "Domine deus omnipotens, rex regum et dominus dominantium" appear in other prayers also.

623 The version in *Galba* is quoted. Muir, p. 29. "O Lord God almighty, king of kings and lord of lords, in whose hand all victory resides and all war is destroyed, grant to me that your hand may strengthen my heart, so that, in your power, in my hands and in my strength I may be able to fight manfully and be deemed worthy that my enemies may fall and come to ruin in my sight." I have emended Muir's reading of "dignare" to "pugnare", which, as he notes, is the variant in Nero A II. London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fol. 3r.

624 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 30. "O Lord, O God almighty, king of all kings, lord of all rulers, in whose powers all victory remains and all war is destroyed, grant to me, Lord, that your mighty hand may strengthen my weak heart, and that, through your great power with my hands and strength I may prevail powerfully and manfully against my enemy, so that they may fall and come to ruin in my sight."

625 Muir, p. 29. "Thus may my enemies fall beneath my feet, and let them come against me by one way and let them flee from me through seven; and may God destroy their weapons and break up their spears, and may they melt in my sight like wax in the face of fire."

heora wapna *and* heora sweord tobrec; *and* do, drihten, þæt hy formeltan on ‹mi›nre ge-sihþe swa swa weax mylt fram fyres ansyne.[626]

In this cascade of biblical language,[627] the speaker visualizes the destruction of his or her enemies in fierce, brutal terms: here there is no prayer for their redemption. This prayer asks God for victory over the speaker's enemies, but the focus is more on them than on God: it comes close, in spirit, to being more like a curse than a prayer.

Verses from Psalm 68: An Embryonic Prayer Program for the Destruction of Enemies?

If "In cuius manu omnis uictoria" comes close to being a curse, a text on folio 133v of *Galba* is yet closer, and may perhaps even be part of a prayer program for cursing one's enemies. These "Verses from Psalm 68," as Muir titles it, are taken out of their biblical context and followed by some further, mostly illegible, text which does not appear in the psalm: "‹obsc›urent*ur* o‹c›uli ei ne ui-d‹eat et› dorsu‹m› eius se*m*per incuru‹a›[628] . . . ‹De›leatur de ‹libr›o uiuentium e‹t› cu*m* iustis non scribatur. ‹Eff›unde sup*er* eu‹m› ira*m* tua*m* et ind‹igna›tio tua ‹compreh›endat eum [. . .] uerte [. . .] dolor eius [. . .] inimici et iniqui [. . .]."[629] This is all, or almost all, derived directly from Psalm 68, with no prayers or antiphons interposed between the quotations: it is not a complete prayer program by any means. However, a few things might be said about this text.

Firstly, the compiler has been very selective with his or her material. The source text is certainly a psalm in which the speaker calls down vengeance upon his or her enemies, but its scope is not confined to cursing alone. The compiler could have selected verse seventeen, in which the speaker prays to

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626 Muir, p. 30. "Thus may my enemies fall beneath my feet, and let them all come together against me through one path and let them depart from me through seven paths. Destroy, O Lord, their weapons, and break up their swords; and let it be, Lord, that they melt completely in my sight, just as wax melts from the face of fire."

627 Muir reports the use of Ps. 17:39, Deut. 28:7, Ps. 45:10, and Ps. 67:3 in this passage alone. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 29.

628 Muir supplies "incuru‹um›"; I have changed this to "incuru‹a›" based on the Vulgate.

629 Muir, p. 167. "Let *his* eyes be darkened that *he* see not; *his* back bend thou down always. . . . Let *him* be blotted out of the book of the living; and with the just let *him* not be written. Pour out thy *wrath* upon *him*: and let thy *indignation* take hold of *him*." Translation based upon Ps. 68:24, 29, 25, with alterations marked in italics. The fragmentary part of the text does not appear to be from this psalm.

God for his mercy: "exaudi me Domine quoniam benigna est misericordia tua secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice me."[630] Also, he or she might have quoted from the final verses of the psalm, which are full of praise, such as verse thirty-one: "laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico magnificabo eum in laude."[631] Instead, the compiler has selected solely from between verses twenty-three and twenty-nine, in which the speaker curses his or her enemies and God is barely mentioned. He is only addressed in the imperative *effunde*, quoted above, and in *adpone* (add thou) of verse twenty-eight; otherwise, these verses are all in the subjunctive mood, merely wishing harm upon the enemies.

Secondly, as Muir has already noted, the original psalm refers to these enemies in the plural, whereas the scribe of *Galba* has converted the verbs and pronouns to the singular:[632]

obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant et dorsum eorum semper incurva (Ps. 68:24).[633]

‹Obsc›urent*ur* o‹c›uli ei ne uid‹eat et› dorsu‹m› eius s*emper* incuru‹a›.[634]

The compiler may have wished to write a very short program of verses for cursing and praying against a single enemy, created by consciously adapting a psalm: this could have been for general use, but this deliberate alteration of the text may perhaps suggest that he or she had a particular enemy in mind.

Thirdly, there is the issue of whether this text can be identified as a prayer program. It is especially brief, and, as I have stated, includes no prayers or antiphons between the psalm verses. Nevertheless, it may be profitable to compare it to the two programs for Trinity Sunday found elsewhere in *Galba*. As discussed in chapter 1 above, a full program can be found on folios 114v–117v, but the beginning of the text also appears on 57v. The incomplete version consists of verses from the books of Daniel and the Psalms, and a prayer for All Saints;[635] in the full text, these are followed by a number of quotations from the psalms and collects.[636] If the incomplete text had consisted of this portion of the program, it would have appeared far less like a program for prayer and more like simply a list of psalm verses with no apparent purpose. It is not impossible that the verses from Psalm 68 may have been taken from, or were the beginning of

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630 "Hear me, O Lord, for thy mercy is kind; look upon me according to the multitude of thy tender mercies."

631 "I will praise the name of God with a canticle: and I will magnify him with praise."

632 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 167.

633 "Let their eyes be darkened that they see not; and their back bend thou down always."

634 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 167.

635 Muir, p. 74.

636 Muir, pp. 147–49.

work on, a similar full-length prayer program for the cursing of one's enemies, or that they were put together as a brief abbreviated psalter on this theme.

Finally, the position of this text should be noted. It appears on folio 133v, of which the recto is blank;[637] interestingly, folios 130r–132r include not curses but blessings for the monastery, followed by a hymn with musical notation.[638] The cursing text is followed by six badly damaged folios which contain a number of other hymns.[639] It would seem, therefore, that, if Muir's foliation is correct, this brief program of psalm verses stands apart from any related material in the manuscript.

Galba A XIV, fols. 140r–142r: A More Developed Program of Prayers against Enemies – and a Curse?

This is not the case, however, with the texts on the three leaves immediately following the six damaged ones mentioned above. These prayers on the subject of enemies seem to form a more developed prayer program, one text amongst which is the most strongly curse-like to be found in *Galba*.

The first of these texts is perhaps the most intriguing. Muir transcribes it thus: "[d]a [2–3 words] confessores uirgines et omnes *sancti* dei.[640] Da me [1 word] celi et terra mare et omnia que in eis sunt. [1–2 words] sol et luna et [1 word] te [glossed "eos"] accusantes ante [2 words] die [2–3 words] intermissione [1 word] ibi semp*er* dolor et tristitia [1 word] tibi mors sine cessatione fiat, fiat, fiat. Amen."[641] Given its proximity to "sine cessatione" (without ceasing), it is possible that the word before "intermissione" was also "sine" (without intermission); similarly, given the appearance of "tibi mors" (to you be death), it is probable that "ibi" was originally "tibi," "to you always sorrow and sadness."

The beginning is evidently a prayer to the saints, although, as there is damage to the manuscript after both appearances of the word "da," it is not clear what the speaker is requesting. The words "te/eos accusantes" (those accusing

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637 Muir, p. 167.

638 Muir, pp. 163–66.

639 Muir, pp. 168–69

640 A close look at the manuscript reveals an "N." at this point. London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fol. 140r.

641 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 169. "Grant [...] confessors, virgins and all the saints of God. Grant to me [...] heavens, earth, sea, and all things that are in them [...] sun and moon and [...] accusing you [gloss: them] before [... on the?] day [...] intermission [...] always sorrow and sadness [...] to you death without ending. Let it be, let it be, let it be. Amen."

Table 4.1: A possible prayer program for use against enemies on some damaged leaves in the *Galba Prayerbook*.

Page nos. in Muir	Folio	Muir's heading; description of text
169	140r	"Unidentified Fragment": opens as prayer to the saints, ends more curse-like
169	140v	Omitted due to complete illegibility
170	141r	"Biblical Verses": verses possibly from Judith, and from the Psalms and Job; effectively a prayer for destruction of enemies and for protection from them
170	141v	Omitted due to complete illegibility
171, 212	142r–v	"Unidentified Fragments": a hymn with musical notation, possibly on the theme of enemies; it ends illegible

you/them) is the first reference to enemies, which, as seen in the verses from Psalm 68, has been glossed for use in a different situation: here it is both pluralized and converted into the third person. From "intermissione" onwards, however, the text reads more like a curse than a prayer. In all, it has up to three different addressees: the confessors, virgins, and saints to whom the opening request is addressed, the "te" who is being accused, and the "tibi" to whom the speaker wishes sadness and death. The identity of the second is not clear, and the gloss may have been intended as a correction, but it is certain that the final lines are not addressed to the saints, or any other holy figure. In short, whereas the texts discussed so far have been prayers asking for God to destroy the speaker's enemies, or psalm verses expressing a wish for their destruction, these lines actually address the enemy him- or herself as the speaker expresses the desire for the addressee's death. These lines cannot be considered a prayer, but a curse. Unfortunately, the use and context of most texts in *Galba* are difficult enough to determine even when they are completely legible, and so it is impossible to know in precisely which contexts this text might have been used.

The words "fiat, fiat, fiat" seem to suggest an ending to this text; presumably a new one begins on the verso, which Muir reports to be completely illegible.[642] The following leaf, folio 141r, begins in the middle of a small group of biblical verses very similar to the selections from Psalm 68 a few folios

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642 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 169.

beforehand. Insofar as these can be read, they begin with "sicut cera lique-
facta."[643] The second half of the group of verses, however, is more in line with
the prayers for protection: for example, "[e]ripe me de inimicis meis."[644] The
verso of this leaf, like that of the previous one, is illegible;[645] on folio 142r ap-
pears a hymn, now only partly legible, with musical notation written interlin-
eally.[646] It is difficult to determine the theme of this, although the phrase
"despoliantur ‹d›omino"[647] perhaps implies that the destruction of one's ene-
mies was still on the speaker's mind. Beyond this point, the manuscript can
barely be read at all, though the reference to "s*ancta* Maria [. . .] ‹i›nuiolata sin-
gular [. . .]"[648] at the foot of fol. 142r and head of 142v suggests that this is a
hymn to or about the Virgin.

It is ultimately impossible to determine the motivation which lay behind
the compilation of folios 140–142, especially since so much of the text is now
lost. However, these pages do suggest that texts concerning enemies were con-
sciously grouped together on the adjacent leaves. They begin with what is prob-
ably a form of curse against a hated person, followed by a brief biblical
florilegium through which the speaker prays both against his or her enemies,
and subsequently by a hymn, perhaps to the Virgin, which may have called for
their destruction. It is at least possible that the compiler brought together a
group of texts in varied genres – prayer, curse, psalm verses, and a hymn – to
form a short program for prayer against enemies. This program is not altogether
unlike other, similar programs of prayer for other purposes, such as those to
the cross, which appear elsewhere in this and in other manuscripts.

Gyf ðe ðynce

If the idea of a prayer program against enemies sounds unlikely, it is worth
comparing the *Galba* texts to one found in Tiberius A III and in the *Portiforium
of St. Wulstan*. In the case of the latter manuscript, this text is an addition in a
hand of the eleventh or twelfth century.[649]

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643 Muir, p. 170. "Melted like wax." Muir notes that these words may refer to Jth. 16:18.
644 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 170. "Rescue me from my enemies."
645 Muir, p. 170.
646 Muir, p. 171.
647 Muir, p. 171. "May they be deprived by the Lord."
648 Muir, pp. 171, 212–14. "Holy Mary [. . .] alone undefiled."
649 Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 114–15.

> Gyf ðe ðynce þæt ðine fynd þwyrlice ymbe þe ðrydian ðonne gang þu on gelimplicere
> stowe· 7 þe ða halgan rode to gescyldnesse geciig. 7 asete þe aðenedum earmum 7
> cweð þus ærest.
>
> [Prayer and antiphon: "Ave alma crux"; "O sancta crux"]
>
> Sing ðonne þas salmas oð ende. Domine deus meus in te speraui [Ps. 7]. Vsquequo domine
> [Ps. 12]. Exaudi domine .iii· [Ps. 16]
>
> [Kyrie, Paternoster, and *preces*]
>
> [Prayer: "Redemptor et saluator noster"]
>
> [S]tand þonne up sumehwile. 7 sing ðisne sealm oð ende aþenedum earmum. Domine
> quid multipli[cati sunt] [Ps. 3]. 7 cweð þæræfter þas bledsunge.
>
> [Blessing: "Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis"]
>
> Sing þisne salm oð ende. 7 sing hine aþenedum earmum swa oft swa ðu oftost mæge. Ad
> te domine leuaui [Ps. 25].
>
> [Kyrie, Paternoster, and *preces*]
>
> [Prayer: "Deus qui per crucem"]
>
> 7 wyrc swyþe gelome cristes rode tacen on ðinum heafde. 7 cweð þis gelome. Ecce crucem
> domini. 7 cweþ ðis þonne. Hoc signaculo sanctę crucis.[650]

For those who are in such a difficulty, this text has the solution. The reader, addressed by the singular pronoun "þu," is told to go to a "suitable place," wherever that might be, and call upon the Holy Cross for protection: perhaps this might be before a crucifix or another image of the cross. Very specific instructions on physical posture are given: he should sit down with arms outstretched, presumably in order to take on the shape of the cross, and later on to stand up again, with the arms still in that position; the phrase "aðenedum earmum" appears no fewer than three times. As Liuzza notes, the speaker does not simply pray in front of a cross, but also takes on the posture of the crucified Christ in a form of "somatic

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[650] *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 617–18; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "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 … ['Ave alma crux', 'O sancta crux']. 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' … [Kyrie, Paternoster and *preces*; 'Redemptor et salvator noster']. 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 … ['Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis']. 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' … [Kyrie, Paternoster, and *preces*; 'Deus, qui per crucem']. 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.'" See also 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* 4, no. 1 (1991), pp. 3–5. In an earlier article, I referred to this prayer program as the "Rite Against Enemies." Thomas, "Which Psalms?," p. 38.

devotion."[651] Finally, the speaker should sign himself with the "signaculo," the sign of the cross, on the head. This program of prayers and psalms, therefore, is carefully united through the performance of specific postures and gestures. *Gyf ðe ðynce* is also a good example of a prayer program with a clear beginning and end: it opens with the introductory "Gyf," introducing the reason for using the program, and it appears in two different manuscripts, with an almost identical text, but preceded and followed by different items in the two manuscripts.

Much like the programs for the Veneration of the Holy Cross, the *Gyf ðe ðynce* program consists of a group of prayers alternating with groups of psalms and antiphons. The prayers call upon the power of the cross in the fight against the speaker's enemies. "Ave alma crux" asks that the cross, upon which Christ triumphed, may also triumph over these enemies. "Qui per crucem," the final prayer, asks for salvation from all sins, dangers and enemy plots: "D*eus* qui p*er* crucem et passionem tuam redemisti mundum. lib*er*a me d*omi*ne ab omnib*us*; peccatorum meorum p*er*iculis · *et* ab om[n]ium machinis aduersariorum meorum."[652] "Redemptor et saluator" is more triumphant: "concede ut ego miser 7 peccator famulusq*ue* tuus · Nᵒ · *sanct*ę signo CRVCIS munit*us* ac p*ro*tect*us* om[n]ium m*ih*i aduersantium machinas dirump*er*e ualeam."[653] Like the *Galba* prayers, *Gyf ðe ðynce* offers protection against human and demonic enemies, expanding upon the "visible and invisible" distinction, in "Hoc signaculo sanctae crucis": "[h]oc signaculo *sanct*ę crvcis p*ro*sternant*ur* d*omi*ne omnes inimici mei tam uisibiles qu*am* inuisibiles tam presentes qu*am* absentes tam potentes qu*am* impotentes."[654] It is worth remembering that "Hae sunt .IIII. causae," which comes immediately after *Gyf ðe ðynce* in Tiberius A III (fols. 59v–60r), teaches that "[s]i primum opus tuum ad crucem . Om*nes* dęmones si fuissent circa te · Non potuissent

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651 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," pp. 319–20.

652 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "God, who redeemed the world through the cross and your passion, free me, O Lord, from all the dangers of my sins, and from the schemes of all my adversaries."

653 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "Grant that I, pitiable and a sinner, and your servant, [name], strengthened and protected by the sign of the holy cross, may prevail to destroy the schemes of all my adversaries."

654 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "By this sign of the holy cross, O Lord, may all my enemies be prostrated, the visible as well as the invisible, the present as well as the absent, the powerful as well as the powerless."

nocere tibi."[655] The cross, therefore, was regarded as the best protection against demons as well as against human enemies.

As I have discussed elsewhere,[656] the psalms used in this program, and those used in the medical remedies against demonically induced illness, were selected from those which ask God's protection from the speaker's enemies. Psalms 7, 12, 16, 3, 24, and either 101 or 142 are used in *Gyf ðe ðynce*, and all of these, to a greater or lesser extent, make some reference to protection from, or the destruction of enemies. For example, Psalm 3.6–8: "ego dormivi et soporatus sum exsurrexi quia Dominus suscipiet me non timebo milia populi circumdantis me exsurge Domine salvum me fac Deus meus quoniam tu percussisti omnes adversantes mihi sine causa dentes peccatorum contrivisti."[657] This protection comes through the sign of the cross, which will usher in the Last Judgment itself: one of the *preces* in this program is "[h]oc signum crucis erit in cęlo cum dominus ad iudicandum uenerit."[658] This calls to mind the transcendent significance of the cross, for it links the past and the future together with the needs of the speaker in the present.

Liuzza's study of Anglo-Saxon prayers and charms to the Holy Cross concludes with an extended discussion of *Gyf ðe ðynce*, demonstrating that this program has a great deal in common with both charms and the more official liturgical practices found alongside the one in Tiberius A III.[659] Proceeding from this discussion, he argues that scholars must recognize the fluidity of generic classifications in the religious practices of this era: "[i]nstead of a dichotomy, we might imagine a spectrum of practices, with an episcopal consecration (for example) at one end and a ceremony for the relief of elf-shot in horses at the other, and most forms of popular devotion somewhere in the middle."[660] While *Gyf ðe ðynce* does indeed sit very comfortably in the spectrum of prayers and charms to the Holy Cross, this brief study has shown it can also be placed in the putative genre of prayer intended for helping people to deal with their

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655 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 60r. "If your first act [is] to the cross, if all the demons had been around you, they would not have been able to harm you."

656 Thomas, "Which Psalms?," pp. 42–43.

657 "I have slept and taken my rest: and I have risen up, because the Lord hath protected me. I will not fear thousands of the people surrounding me: arise, O Lord; save me, O my God. For thou hast struck all them who are my adversaries without cause: thou hast broken the teeth of sinners."

658 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 618; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "This sign of the cross will be in heaven when the Lord will come to judge."

659 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," pp. 308–17.

660 Liuzza, pp. 318–19.

enemies, both human and demonic. While the idea of an Anglo-Saxon Office against Enemies, alongside those to the Virgin or the Holy Cross, may seem unusual, various prayers and prayer programs in the *Galba Prayerbook* appear to have been put together precisely for the purpose of asking for protection against, or curses upon, the speaker's enemies; and *Gyf ðe ðynce* is a well-developed example of what the composers of these programs may have been trying to create. By placing the program into this genre of prayers against enemies, Liuzza's argument in favour of a sliding scale from charms to liturgy is strengthened further still. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss another genre of text in which the distinction between charms and liturgy is similarly blurred: prayers for health and healing.

Anglo-Saxon Medical Prayer Compendia

Anglo-Saxon prayer collections include a number of rituals for personal protection, including medical recipes, prognostics, and rituals designed for finding lost or stolen items or livestock. *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* includes a remedy for boils and a writing which will uncover the identity of a thief,[661] and the *Galba Prayerbook* includes a treatment for foot problems and a pair of medical recipes for preserving general overall health.[662] In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the complex programs of prayer, liturgy, ritual, and medication found in two late Anglo-Saxon medical collections: the *Leechbooks* (London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII) and *Lacnunga* (London, British Library Harley MS 585, fols. 130r–193v).

Medical remedies are of great value for the study of prayer, if we are a little flexible in defining the genre: not only are there a great many of them in *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbooks* alone, but they also offer rare evidence of prayer by and for the laity. They demonstrate how public, private, and sacred space could be used in prayer, and also how different languages and kinds of language could be used together. Most importantly of all, they are an example of prayer programs, in some respects similar to those which have already been examined in this book, which suggest a great deal about their purpose, participants, and general context, information which is relatively rare for other kinds of prayer. Medical prayer programs are therefore an essential yet underused source of information on late Anglo-Saxon prayer.

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661 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 157, 197.
662 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 89, 150.

From a modern viewpoint, medieval medicine displays a striking diversity of approach. Although many Anglo-Saxon remedies simply take the form of herbal potions, others required the saying of prayers and masses upon the healing plants, while, in yet other instances, whole cures could take the form of a prayer, poem, or another set of words to be said over the patient. Although a modern mind might distinguish sharply between pharmacopoeic and religious treatments, there is no reason to suppose that the medieval compilers of these codices did so. Certain sections of the medical manuscripts are composed largely of what would now be considered rationalistic medicine, with little use of divine or other supernatural power: for example, the Old English translation of the *Herbarium*, or the collection to which I will refer as *Leechbook II*. These were included in the same manuscripts as the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbooks I* and *III*, with their more religious content. All of these different kinds of medical remedy, however, would have been written down because they were believed to be useful for healing.

London, British Library Harley MS 585, fols. 130r–193v: The *Lacnunga*

London, British Library Harley MS 585 is an early eleventh-century compendium of medical manuals measuring only 192mm. x 115mm., a book which could have been easily carried around and used in the field.[663] The first 129 folios comprise Old English translations of the Latin medical books known as the *Herbarium Apulei* and an incomplete copy of the *Medicina de quadrupedibus*, which are known elsewhere,[664] and other medical collections. Folios 130r–193v, the final third of the volume, written in Old English and generally known as the *Lacnunga* (remedies),[665] comprise a collection of just under two hundred medical recipes most recently edited and translated by Edward Pettit.[666] The *Herbarium* and *Medicina de quadrupedibus* are composed of remedies based on plants and animals respectively, organized according to the plant or animal which is used as a basis for the remedies. For example, in Harley 585, chapter 63 of the *Herbarium* begins on folio 34r with the heading "mersc mealuwe" (marshmallow), a note on

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[663] Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 421; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 231.

[664] The Old English copies of these are listed in Hubert Jan de De Vriend, *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, Early English Text Society o.s. 286 (London: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. xi-lv; Harley 585 is discussed at pp. xxiii-xxviii.

[665] This name, not found in the manuscript, was assigned to the text in Oswald Cockayne, ed., *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, vol. 3, Rolls Series 35 (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1965), p. 2.

[666] Pettit, *Lacnunga*.

where the plant is found, and two short remedies for different ailments, each with marshmallow as the main ingredient.[667] The *Herbarium* and *De quadrupedibus* are dedicated to remedies based on plants and animals, not healing words and rituals, and for this reason they are not relevant to my study. However, *Lacnunga* is markedly different. It begins as a manual of brief herbal remedies, starting with the head and working its way down the body, but soon deviates from this scheme and introduces medical recipes involving liturgy, ritual actions, prayers, poetry, and what might be called "charms"; there are even references to Woden and to practices which may well have originated in pagan belief.[668] It was therefore suggested by J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, in their 1952 edition of the text, that *Lacnunga* was can be divided into four basic "strata": classical material "modified by barbarian interpretation and mishandling," "Teutonic Pagan charms and lays," a Christian stratum which "was clearly compiled by a 'mass-priest,'" and liturgical prayers added by the scribe, plus a few others that do not fall into any of the four strata.[669] Although this is a fair description of the *Lacnunga* remedies, the editors' desire to tease out the "Christian" elements from the "pagan" or "semi-pagan" parts of the collection does not necessarily reflect the reality of the collection's compilation and usage in the eleventh century. Nevertheless, whatever the origins of *Lacnunga*, we can be reasonably sure that the copyist of Harley 585 understood all of the remedies to be useful for healing, and within the bounds of acceptable medical and religious practice.

London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII: The *Leechbooks*

A second Anglo-Saxon medical book is London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII. This manuscript, originating in mid-tenth-century Winchester,[670] is solely dedicated to medical remedies in Old English and is divided into three sections, each prefaced by a table of contents, in which the remedies are divided into numbered sections introduced with a Roman numeral. Many of these sections contain two or more discrete sets of instructions for treating the same ailment; in some cases, the start of a new remedy is clearly shown either by placing the opening

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667 De Vriend, *Herbarium*, p. 86.

668 See, for example, the reference to Woden in the "Nine Herbs Charm." Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 565–66.

669 J. H. G. Grattan and Charles Singer, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, *Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952; repr., London: Richard West, 1978), pp. 18–19.

670 Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 479; Ker, *Catalogue*, 264.

initial in the margin, or through the use of two strokes. The second book ends with a Latin colophon, opening with the words "Bald habet hunc librum cild quem conscribere iussit":[671] for this reason, the manuscript is generally known as *Bald's Leechbook*.[672] However, after this follow another nineteen folios of remedies, leading some to reserve that name for the first two books, referring to the third as *Leechbook III*.[673] Indeed, it is arguable that book 2 is the odd one out. This book is concerned with ailments of the internal organs, and places notable emphasis upon the scientific description of them, explaining their functions before describing the ailments which afflict them and how to cure these: *Lacnunga*, and the other two *Leechbooks*, show little or no interest in the healthy state of the human body. Additionally, Richard Scott Nokes argues on textual grounds that books 1 and 2 are distinctly different from one another,[674] although he ultimately concludes that they were nevertheless compiled together as part of the same project.[675] For the sake of caution, I will avoid the name *Bald's Leechbook* altogether and instead differentiate the three parts solely by number.

Leechbooks I and *II* are believed to have been written as part of King Alfred's educational reform, which is suggested by the inclusion of remedies given to the king by Helias, the Patriarch of Jerusalem.[676] These remedies began upon leaves which are now missing from the manuscript: there is a lacuna between folios 104v and 105r,[677] but, judging from entries in the table of contents,[678] it is apparent that some of the missing text was preserved in London, British Library Harley MS 55.[679] The two recipes for promoting general health in the *Galba Prayerbook* can also be found in *Leechbook II*.[680] Generally speaking, book 1 is devoted to external ailments and book 2 to internal;

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671 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 298. "Bald has this book, which he told Cild to write out." All translations from this text are my own.

672 The term *læceboc* is used to refer to the manuscript itself in the index to book 2, section 42. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 168.

673 For example, Meaney, "Variant Versions," pp. 236–37.

674 Richard Scott Nokes, "The Several Compilers of *Bald's Leechbook*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 33 (2004), pp. 56–61.

675 Nokes, p. 61.

676 Nokes, p. 54; Meaney, "Variant Versions," p. 236; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 288–90.

677 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 278, 288.

678 Cockayne, vol. 2, p. 172.

679 Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 280–88.

680 Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 294–96; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 150; Stephanie Hollis and Michael J. Wright, "The Remedies in British Library MS Cotton Galba A. xiv, fos 139 and 136r," *Notes & Queries* 41 (1994), pp. 146–47.

remedies making use of prayer, sacred writing, ritual, and religious practice tend to be grouped together in specific parts of the manuscript.[681]

A Late Anglo-Saxon View of Medical Literature

It can often be difficult to determine why certain words, spoken or written, were considered meaningful and powerful. Some earlier scholarship on Anglo-Saxon medicine, in an understandable search for the origins of Anglo-Saxon culture and belief, risks imposing a viewpoint upon these tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts which their creators and users would not have held. In their 1952 edition of texts from Harley 585, which they title *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine, Illustrated Specially from the Semi-Pagan Text "Lacnunga,"* Grattan and Singer give each entry an editorial heading which does not appear in the manuscript, in order to categorize and make sense of the various different entries; these include "Christian Prayer," "Pagan Lay of the Magic Blasts," "A Semi-Pagan-Christianized Rite for Heartache," and "Gibberish Veterinary Charm."[682] Their division of the text into four strata may well reflect the ultimate origins of these practices. However, few firm conclusions can be drawn about paganism from late Anglo-Saxon medical manuscripts. The nature of their scholarship detracts attention from the one thing of which we can be certain – the existence of the eleventh-century manuscript Harley 585 – and fails to consider why the scribes copied the texts which they did, and how these texts were perceived in a late Anglo-Saxon cultural and religious context. The eleventh-century scribes are unlikely to have seen their efforts as being "semi-pagan," or to have divided up their knowledge into Christian and pagan categories. A more holistic approach is that taken by Karen Jolly, writing in 2002, who rejects the "modern tendency" to see Christianization as "the retention of paganism with a veneer of Christianity" in favour of a view of it as "a transformative process in which old and new ideas interact to create a new and meaningful ritual with ties to the past."[683] However, Grattan and Singer do make the important point that "[t]here is no reason to suppose that Woden, Thor, and the Æsir were more than *words* of power to the compiler of *Lacnunga*. It was enough for him that his charms worked, as he surely

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681 For more details of the different kinds of remedies found in this manuscript, see Nokes, "Several Compilers," pp. 66–70.

682 Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, pp. 189, 155, 197, 185.

683 Karen Jolly, "Medieval Magic: Definitions, Beliefs, Practices," in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, ed. Karen Jolly, Catharina Raudvere, and Edward Peters (London: Athlone, 2002), p. 8.

thought they did."[684] This insight, which focuses on the practical application and effects of healing words, is an important one which will guide my study. Another useful approach is to examine the terminology used within the manuscripts themselves. In his work on Anglo-Saxon elf beliefs, Alaric Hall has written that "[t]o reconstruct early-medieval concepts and conceptual categories, we should build our reconstructions up from our primary evidence, rather than positing categories and then seeking evidence for them. Meanwhile, one system of categorisation, providing valid insights into world-view, is a culture's vernacular language."[685] That is, we should try to understand Anglo-Saxon beliefs via their own definitions of their experiences, rather than by trying to force these experiences into more modern categories.

Karen Jolly has undertaken a great deal of insightful work into Anglo-Saxon medicine, focusing in particular on the practical use of prayers, cross charms, and medicine in "popular" Christianity.[686] Alaric Hall is more cautious of this label, since it is uncertain whether there was a strong division between popular and elite culture in this period, and in any case most of the evidence for elf belief, the subject of his study, derives from sources which would necessarily belong to any elite culture that may have existed.[687] However, Jolly argues that priests still belonged to the same culture as the laity.[688] As will be discussed below, Ælfric was deeply critical of the use of plant ligatures and the chanting of *gealdor* (charms) in healing, preferring instead Christian prayers and the use of herbs strictly as a dressing for wounds, yet the evidence of the medical manuals suggests that many priests and other Christians were more relaxed about practices that Ælfric might regard as pagan. Perhaps the distinction which is required is not that between Christian and pagan, professional

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684 Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, p. 58.

685 Alaric Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity*. Anglo-Saxon Studies 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 9.

686 See in particular Karen Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); amongst her many articles on this subject, see for example Jolly, "Tapping the Power of the Cross: Who and for Whom?" in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Jolly, Catherine E. Karkov, and Sarah Larratt Keefer, Sancta Crux/Halig Rod 2, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 58–79; 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*, ed. M. Bradford Bedingfield and Helen Gittos, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 213–43.

687 Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 18.

688 Jolly, *Popular Religion*, p. 21.

religious and laity, or elite and non-elite, but between church reformers and those who were happy to live their faith as they saw fit.[689]

Anglo-Saxon Medical Remedies: A Brief Overview

Unlike Grattan and Singer, the actual scribes of *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbooks* do not give headings to their work. Instead, they begin most of their entries with the name of the illness which was to be cured, such as "Wiþ fefer adle" or "[w]ið fleogendan attre,"[690] while most of the entries in the *Leechbook* tables of contents begin with the words "[l]æcedom(as) wiþ."[691] Their organizational schemes are based on the illnesses that need to be cured.[692] In short, we must remember that the compilers of these collections were preoccupied above all with the practical purpose of a rite or recipe – with its results rather than with its origins – and that it is often difficult to interpret Anglo-Saxon names for diseases, although editors and translators offer tentative identifications.

It is also worth noting the ingredients and actions involved in recipes, and the terminology used in the manuscripts themselves. Large parts of both collections are occupied by remedies requiring few actions but the mixing together of some herbs, either with liquid or butter, and no ritual actions or words. The most common descriptors of these remedies are *drenc/drænc* (drink), *sealf* (salve), and variants on these, such as *spiwdrenc/spiwe drenc*: "[e]ft spiwe drenc wið deofle · nim micle hand fulle secges · 7 glædenan do on pannan · geot micelne bollan fulne ealaþ on bewyl healf gegnid . xx. lybcorna do on þæt þis is god drenc wiþ deofle."[693] The writer or compiler of this remedy classes this not as pagan or Christian, nor even as religious or secular, but as a "good

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689 These issues have been explored with respect to early medieval masses in Celia Chazelle, "The Eucharist in Early Medieval Europe, in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Christopher Levy, Gary Macy, and Kristen van Ausdall (Leiden: Brill, 2011), in particular at pp. 229–35.

690 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 134. "Against fever disease"; "for flying poison." Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 753. All translations from *Lacnunga* are taken from this edition.

691 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 2–16. "Remedy/remedies against." I have used my own translations for the *Leechbooks*.

692 For example, chapter 6 of *Leechbook I* is dedicated to different cures for tooth pain. Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 50–53.

693 Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 354–56. "Also an emetic against a devil. Take a large handful of sedge and gladioli; put them into a pan; pour a large bowl full of ale onto them and boil away half; grind up twenty poisonous seeds, and add them to it. This is a good drink against a devil."

drink" for driving away an adversary which we might expect to be driven out through the use of prayers and psalms.

Anglo-Saxon Terminology for Words of Healing

Other remedies in the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbooks* make use of healing words and often very complex ritual actions; these include remedies for some illnesses which we might consider to be physical, and others we might classify as spiritual, although it is questionable whether the compilers would have made such distinctions. These include liturgical prayers and words which are unknown outside of healing literature; verse and prose; speech, song, and writing; Latin, Old English, a form of Irish, or the occasional word of Greek. It is commonplace for healing herbs to be placed under the altar of a church so that a certain number of masses may be said over them. Many prayers are to be said three, nine, or twelve times;[694] the names of the evangelists appear sometimes, as do the Paternoster, Creed, and litany of the saints.

An examination of *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbooks* reveals the wide range of terminology used to describe these various kinds of healing words: *oratio*, *gebed*, *g(e)aldor*, and *leoð*; liturgical items such as *mæsse*, *benedictio*, *sealm*, *letania*, and *creda*; terms for written words, such as *gewrit*; and some sets of words are simply referred to as *þas word*, *þis*, or nothing at all.

Gebed/oratio

In *Lacnunga*, the English word *gebed* occurs five times; in one case, it appears in the plural *gebedu*, to refer to a list of prayers. In *Leechbook I*, it appears in two remedies, and in the table of contents entry for those two plus one other; in *Leechbook II*, it is used in one remedy, as well as in the list of contents for two remedies which have now been lost; and it appears once in the contents for *Leechbook III*. Where a verb is used with *gebed*,[695] that verb is nearly always *singan*, "to sing." For example, a bone salve in *Lacnunga* instructs: "[s]ing þon(ne)

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694 For example, remedies for malign enchantments and mental conditions in chapters 63–64 of *Leechbook I* require the singing of different numbers of masses over the herbs. Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 136–40.

695 Two remedies in the *Leechbooks*, plus three of the list of contents entries (two from *Leechbook I* and one for *II*), merely state that there are prayers to use. Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 10, 14, 140, 172 (twice), 294.

þærofer, 'Benedictus D(omi)n(u)s D(eu)s M(eu)s' 7 þone oþerne 'Benedictus D(omi)n(u)s D(eu)s Israel,' 7 'Mangnificað' [*sic*], 7 'Credo in unum,' 7 þ(æt) gebed, 'Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes.'"[696] The nature of this singing is unclear: it may perhaps have been sung according to the manner used for singing the psalms. The one occasion on which another verb is explicitly given is in the list of contents for *Leechbook II*, describing a treatment for a woman who cannot bear a live child, which would have been in a part of the manuscript that no longer survives: "do on hire gyrdels þas gebedo swa on þisum læcebocum segþ."[697] Presumably the prayers would have been written down, much as a number of other verbal remedies in the *Leechbooks* are, but those are not usually referred to as *gebedu*.

Another written *gebed* can be found in a remedy for *lencten adl* in *Leechbook I*. This includes two texts referred to as *godcund gebed* (sacred prayer): "[e]ft godcund gebed· In nomine domini sit benedictum · beronice · beronicen · et habet In uestimento et In femore suo · scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium · Eft godcund gebed. In nomine sit benedictum."[698] This is followed by a row of runes. Cockayne interprets these as "DEEREÞ· HAND· ÞIN· DEREÞ· HAND · ÞIN," although Derolez is not convinced: considering how badly copied the runes are, the scribe apparently did not understand them.[699] For the first of these two *gebedu*, no directions are given, but presumably it is to be said or sung. The runic inscription is perhaps intended to be written and worn on the clothing, along with the verse from Revelation, otherwise it is difficult to say why it should be in runes; indeed, runes are not used elsewhere in the *Leechbooks* or *Lacnunga*.

It is also unique in those collections for being a *gebed* in English. While the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbooks*, being written in Old English, almost always use the English word for "prayer," *gebed*, these *gebedu* are otherwise always in Latin, corrupt Irish, or a mixture of the two. The prayer known as "Tigað" is one example. This is given early on in *Lacnunga* as a cure for black blains, and later on in the collection for boils. In the first instance, the reader is told: "[s]ing ðis

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696 Pettit, Lacnunga, vol. 1, ll. 145–47. "Then sing thereover, 'Blessed be the Lord my God,' and the other 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel,' and the Magnificat, and the 'I believe in One,' and the prayer 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.'"

697 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 172. "Put these prayers onto her girdle, just as it says in these remedy books."

698 Cockayne, vol. 2, p. 140. "Also, a divine prayer: 'In the name of the Lord, be it blessed. *Beronice, beronicen.*' And may s/he have written on his/her clothing and on his/her thigh: 'King of kings and lord of lords' [Rev. 19:16]. Also a divine prayer: 'In the name [of the Lord] be it blessed.'"

699 Cockayne translates this as "Thine hand vexeth, thine hand vexeth." Cockayne, vol. 2, p. 140–1; R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brugge: De Tempel, 1954), p. 417.

gebed on ða blacan blegene VIIII sy[ð]an; ærest 'Pater n(oste)r': 'Tigað tigað tigað calicet. aclu cluel sedes adclocles … querite et inuenietis; adiuro te p(er) Patrem et Filium et Sp(iritu)m S(an)c(tu)m …'"[700] On the second occasion, later on in the manuscript, the reader is simply told, "[þ]is gebed man sceal singan on ða blacan blegene IX siðum: 'Tigað.'"[701] This remedy demonstrates that a healing text need not have been completely comprehensible to its users in order to be considered effective. Pettit has discussed the origins of this and other similar prayers in the Irish language, but appearing in a form almost beyond recognition; in some cases, he is able to provide a rough translation, but it should in any case be noted that the users of the text may not have understood the words in any case.[702] Alderik Blom has identified such passages of corrupted Irish as a deliberate use of "*uoces magicae*" in a language renowned for its ritual power, which, along with Greek words and letters, were commonly found as ritual formulae within passages in Latin charms and curses; indeed, he argues that the corruption of the Irish language in itself contributed to its ritual value.[703] These prayers are often found in conjunction with Latin prayers, including some of the most important prayers of all. For example, one remedy for glandular swellings includes the instruction: "'[e]cce dolgula medit dudu(m) beðegunda breðegunda elecunda eleuachia mottem mee renu(m) orþa fueþa letaues noeues terre dolge drore uhic All(eluia).' Singe man þis gebed on þ(æt) se man drincan wille nygan siþan, 7 'Pater noster' nigan siþan. Wið cyrnla."[704] There is therefore no indication that texts such as "Ecce dolgula" were not supposed to stand alongside a Latin blessing or the Paternoster: they were both simply useful, holy prayers.

While liturgical prayers are not usually introduced by the term *gebed*, one remedy for poisoning in *Lacnunga* suggests that a portion of the gospels could be considered a *gebed*. Matt. 4:23, in which Jesus travels around Galilee preaching and healing, is one of a number of incipits followed by the direction "[þ]as

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700 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 85–86, 88–89. "Sing this prayer nine times on the black blains, first of all the Our Father: '*Tigað tigað tigað* … seek and you shall find; I adjure you by Father and Son and Holy Spirit.'"

701 Pettit, ll. 627–28. "This prayer must be sung on the black boils nine times: '*Tigað*.'"

702 Pettit, vol. 1, pp. xxix-xxxii, and vol. 2, pp. 22–28.

703 Alderik Blom, "*Linguae sacrae* in Ancient and Medieval Sources: An Anthropological Approach to Ritual Language," in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 136–38. Blom's argument is made with reference to the "Gonomil orgomil" song discussed below.

704 Pettit, *Lacnunga,* vol. 1, ll. 951–54. "'*Ecce dolgula medit*' … Let this *gebed* be sung nine times upon that which the person wants to drink, and the Paternoster nine times upon that which the person wants to drink, and the Our Father nine times. For glandular swellings."

gebedu þriwa man sceal singan," over a cure apparently for poisoning.[705] Likewise, in the bone salve quoted above, the practitioner is told to sing "þ(æt) gebed, 'Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes.'"[706] It is not clear whether the names of the four evangelists in themselves constitute the whole prayer, or whether the names are merely the incipit to a longer prayer, such as the one found in Caligula A XV; certainly, the *Holy Salve* remedy in *Lacnunga* uses the four names themselves on the stick which is used to stir the salve as it is made: "[g]enim þon(ne) ænne sticcan 7 gewyrc hine feðorbyrste; writ onforan ðas halgan naman: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes."[707] On the other hand, in the remedy for *lencten adl* in *Leechbook I* referred to above, which includes the *gebed* in runic letters, the evangelists' names are the beginning of a longer *gealdor 7 gebed*: "[f]eower godspellara naman 7 gealdor 7 gebed · [cross patterns] · Matheus · [cross patterns] Marcus [cross patterns] · lucaS · [cross patterns] · Iohannes [cross patterns] Intercedite pro me · Tiecon · leleloth · patron · adiuro uoS."[708] No verb is used with this sentence. It may be that the physician was expected to make these cross signs with his or her hand whilst speaking the words, or perhaps they were all to be written down. Either way, these two examples from the *Holy Salve* and *lencten adl* remedy suggest that the names of the four evangelists in the *Lacnunga* bone salve recipe may in themselves have constituted a *gebed*. It can therefore be seen that the category of "prayer" included not merely direct addresses to God, but was broad enough to encompass relevant biblical passages and the names of the four evangelists.

Given that *Lacnunga* is written entirely in Old English, it is understandable that prayers in any language are referred to by the term *gebed*. However, one remedy uses the Latin equivalent in the midst of the English text. The user of the *Holy Salve* is told, "lege ða wyrta be ðæm ceace, 7 gehalg[ie] hy syððan mæssepreost. Singe ðas orationis [*sic*] ofer: 'D(omi)ne, s(an)c(t)e Pater . . .'"[709] Six Latin prayers follow, of which each addresses God and asks for his healing upon the patient, who is prayed for by name. This is the only occasion on which the term *oratio* is used in either *Lacnunga* or the *Leechbooks*. It may be because the prayers were to be

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705 Pettit, l. 295. "One must sing these prayers thrice."

706 Pettit, ll. 146–47. "[T]he prayer 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.'"

707 Pettit, ll. 249–50. "Then take a stick and make it (?)four-pronged; write on the front [(?)of each prong] these holy names: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John."

708 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 140. "The names of the four evangelists and a *gealdor* and (a) prayer: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, intercede for me. *Tiecon, leleloth, patron*, I command you." The words "intercedite" and "pro" each have a cross above them. London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII, fol. 53r.

709 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 257–60. "[L]ay the plants by the bowl, and then let a priest consecrate them. Let him sing these prayers over them. 'Lord, holy Father.'"

spoken by the priest, or because they were derived from sources which labeled them with the word *oratio*. In any case, as the compiler does not generally insert Latin terms into the English text this freely, the decision to label prayers as *orationis* is noteworthy. It is a term only rarely used in Old English.[710] One example is in the English translation of part of the *Regularis concordia* in Tiberius A III, where the terms *gebed* and *oratio* are both used to describe the prayers to the Holy Cross: "[s]yððan he gange to þam oþran gebede ·7 singe þa twegen æftre sealmas . . . Syððan he gange to þam þriddan *oratione* · þære he singe þa twegen æftemestan penitentiales sealmas."[711]

G(e)aldor

A category which is even more difficult to understand is *gealdor* or *galdor*.[712] This is generally translated as "charm" or "incantation,"[713] but it is a particularly complex term, and its connotations in the tenth and eleventh centuries are difficult to comprehend. The word occurs thirteen times in *Lacnunga*, and nine times across *Leechbooks I* and *III*, although four of these instances appear in the lists of contents at the start of each book. The term may have been interchangeable with *leoð* (song), as they are both used to refer to a set of words which are to be sung into the ear of someone who has swallowed an insect: "[s]ing ðis leoð . . . 'Gonomil orgomil marbumil marbsai ramum tofeð tengo docuillo biran cuiðær cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht cuib duill marbsiramum.' Sing nygon siðan in þ(æt) eare þis galdor 7 'Pater n(oste)r' æne."[714] As Pettit notes, the word *leoð* appears

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710 A search for "oratio" in prose texts in the *Old English Corpus*, ignoring results for Latin headings and texts which are glossed in Latin, suggests that the term appears in the Old English versions of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and of the *Regularis concordia*, and in a few confessionals. Healey et al., *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, University of Toronto.

711 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 175r, emphasis mine. "Afterwards, may he go to the second prayer, and sing the two following psalms. . . . Afterwards, may he go to the third prayer; there may he sing the two final penitential psalms."

712 For a discussion of *gealdor* and the use of the term "charms" with which to translate it, see Jolly, *Popular Religion*, pp. 98–103. A doctoral thesis has recently been completed on the subject of charms as liturgy: Ciaran Arthur, "The Liturgy of 'Charms' in Anglo-Saxon England" (PhD diss., University of Kent, 2016).

713 For example, Storms translates the term *gealdor* in *Lacnunga*'s *Holy Salve* recipe as "worm-charm" and "this charm," whereas Pettit writes "'worm'-incantation" and "this incantation." Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, p. 243; Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 254.

714 Pettit, ll. 92, 94–96. "Sing this song. . . . Sing this incantation [*galdor*] nine times into the ear and the Our Father once."

nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon medicine, but the cognate words *galdr* and *ljóð* in Old Icelandic do have the meaning of a magical incantation.[715]

Unlike *gebed*, the term *gealdor* rarely refers to a Latin text, and more often to an English or corrupt Irish one.[716] However, as with *gebed*, the verb *cweþan* (to say) is never used with *galdor*: again, the verb is almost always *singan*. Only on a couple of occasions is another verb used. *Lacnunga*'s *Holy Salve* includes one of these. When preparing the remedy, the user is told to sing psalms, the Gloria, and the Creed over it, and is also told: "letanias arime ofer, þ(æt) [i]s ðara haligra naman 7 'D(eu)s m(eu)s et Pater,' et 'In principio,' 7 þ(æt) wyrmgealdor; 7 þis gealdor singe ofer: 'Acre arcre arnem nona ærnem beoðor ærnem. nidren. arcun cunað ele harassan fidine.'"[717] The second *gealdor*, the one beginning "Acre arcre," is to be sung over the remedy. By contrast, the text of the *wyrmgealdor* (worm/snake charm) is not given – presumably the user was expected to know it, or have it written down elsewhere – but it is included in a list of liturgical items: it is something which can recited, like a litany of the saints.

In addition to *ariman*, the verb *ongalan* is once used of a *gealdor* in *Lacnunga*. This is a short verse headed "Wið dweorh," generally understood to mean "against fever," though *dweorh* can also mean "a dwarf."[718] The user must sing a *galdor* into the ears of the patient, and over the head, and let a virgin hang a necklace around the patient's neck, which is made out of sacramental wafers with the names of the Seven Sleepers written on them.[719] The *galdor* refers to a creature called an *inspidenwiht*, which is being ridden by the addressee of the poem:

> Þa co(m) ingangan   deores sweostar.
> Þa g(e)ændade heo,   7 aðas swor
> ðæt næfre þis ðæ(m) adlegan derian ne moste,
> ne þæm þe þis galdor begytan mihte,
> oððe þe þis galdor   ongalan cuþe.[720]

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715 Pettit, vol. 2, p. 30

716 Latin *gealdor* can be seen on a couple of occasions in *Leechbook I* and *Leechbook III*. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 112, 322.

717 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 253–55. "[R]ecite litanies over it, that is the names of the saints and 'My God and Father,' and 'In the Beginning' and the 'worm'-incantation [*wyrmgealdor*]; and sing this incantation [*gealdor*] over it. . . ."

718 Pettit, l. 644. Pettit sees no reason to believe that, in the late Anglo-Saxon era, the word *dweorh* referred to a literal dwarf: it seems to have been used to mean "fever." Pettit, p. xxxiii.

719 Pettit, ll. 644–48

720 Pettit, ll. 654–58. "Then came walking in the beast's sister. / Then she interceded, and swore oaths / That this [*i.e.* this beast] might never harm the sick person / Nor the person who could obtain this incantation / Or who knew how to recite this incantation."

Here, the *galdor* refers to itself as a *galdor*, but rather than using the verb *sin-gan*, it has instead *ongalan*, apparently a poetic word for singing or reciting verses: for example, *ongalendra* is used to translate *incantatium* in Ps. 57:6 in glossed psalters such as the *Tiberius Psalter*.[721]

Most *gealdor* are in untranslatable corrupt Irish prose, sometimes including some Latin, or are in English verse. An exception is a cure for joint pain in *Leechbook III*: "sing .VIIII. siþum þis gealdor þær on · 7 þin spatl spiw on · Malignus obligauit · angelus curauit · dominus Saluauit· him biþ sona sel."[722] This *gealdor* is more like what we might expect from a charm than from a prayer: it does not address the Lord, but merely speaks of him, asserting his and his angel's power over illness, just as the *inspidenwiht gealdor* does, or as does the *gealdor* generally known as the *Nine Herbs Charm*:

> þa wyrte gesceop   witig Drihten,
> halig on heofonu(m), þa he hongode;
> sette 7 sænde on VII worulde
> earmum 7 eadigum   eallu(m) to bote.[723]

With this in mind, it is tempting to suggest that a prayer is addressed to God, whereas a charm merely speaks of God, and asserts his healing power. However, it appears that the concepts of *gealdor* and *gebed* were fairly fluid. The words of the "Acre arcre" *gealdor* in the *Holy Salve* overlap to some extent with the words of "Tigað," which is nevertheless referred to as a *gebed*.[724] Therefore, as far as the compiler of the manuscript was concerned, such a text could just as well be considered a prayer as a *gealdor*. Another interesting case is found in *Leechbook I*. This cure for snakebite begins with the directions: "do of þinum earan þæt teoro 7 smire mid ymb 7 sing þriwa þæs halgan S*ancte* Iohannes gebed 7 gealdor. Deus meus et pater et filius et spiritus Sanctus. Cui omnia subiecta sunt."[725] This

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721 A. P. Campbell, ed., *The Tiberius Psalter, Edited from British Museum MS Cotton Tiberius C. vi* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1974), p. 144.

722 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 322. "Sing this *gealdor* on [the joint?] nine times, and spit your spittle onto it: 'The spiteful one has bound, the angel has cured, the Lord has saved'. Soon it will be better with him." An almost identical text is called a *medicina* in Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 894.

723 Pettit, ll. 571–74. "The wise Lord created these plants, / Holy in the heavens, when he hung; / He created (them) and sent (them) into seven worlds / For the needy and fortunate – as a remedy for all." The poem is identified as a *galdor* or *gealdor* in ll. 602–3.

724 Compare Pettit, ll. 255–56 with ll. 86–88.

725 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 112. "Take the wax from your ear and smear around with it, and sing three times the prayer and *gealdor* of St. John. 'My God and Father, Son and Holy Spirit, to whom all things are subject.'"

prayer, a relatively long Latin petition to God to heal the sick person from the venom of the snake, is described as a "gebed 7 gealdor." That one text, in good Latin and using liturgical phraseology, can be referred to using both terms indicates either that there was some overlap between the concept of *gebed* and *gealdor*, or that one text could fulfill both functions. This text falls into two parts, divided by the prayer by the words "[e]t cum hoc dixisset, totum semet ipsum signo crucis armauit, et bibit totum quod erat In calice."[726] It is possible that what follows these words is the *gealdor*, but that is merely a final blessing in the name of the cross. It is also noteworthy that virtually the same text appears in *Lacnunga*, as a cure for a person so badly poisoned that he or she cannot swallow, but with a little more context: St. John says the prayer, with a different final blessing, over a poisoned cup that has killed those around him.[727] *Lacnunga* does not refer to this story or its prayer as a *gebed*, *gealdor*, or anything else at all, merely noting that the remedy should be sung into the mouth.[728]

Another remedy in *Leechbook I* is labeled as a *gealdor*, but only in the list of contents at the start of the book. The entry for chapter 64 promises "[l]æcedomas wiþ ælcre leodrunan 7 ælfsidenne þæt is fefercynnes gealdor 7 dust 7 drencas 7 sealf."[729] The remedy itself refers to the *gealdor* as "þis gewrit" (this writing) in what it calls "greciscum stafum" (Greek letters)[730] – a group of crosses, letters, and what Cockayne interprets as "ɪᴇsᴠᴍ (?) ʙᴇʀᴏɴɪᴋʜ"[731] – but the term *gealdor* does not appear: it does not seem to have been important to the compiler to describe the writing as such. In any case, the word appears to have been broad enough to encompass one of the written amulets that occasionally appear in the medical literature.

This remedy was intended to combat supernatural evils, such as those caused by *leodrunan*; yet some apparently thought that the singing of *gealdor* in itself qualified as a supernatural evil in its own right. In the era in which *Lacnunga* was compiled, Ælfric wrote that "[s]e wisa agustinus cwæð þæt unpleolic sy þeah hwa læcewyrte þicge; ac þæt he tælð to unalyfedlicere wigelunge. gif hwa þa wyrt on him becnytte buton he hi to þam dolge gelecge;

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726 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 112. "And when he had said these things, he armed himself with the sign of the cross and drank all that was in the cup."

727 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 297–314.

728 Pettit, ll. 297–98.

729 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 14. "Remedies against every enchantment and elvish influence, that is, a *gealdor*, powder, drinks and salve for each kind of fever." This remedy, and the meanings of *leodrune* and *ælfsiden*, is discussed in Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 124–26.

730 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 138.

731 Cockayne, vol. 2, p. 139.

ðeahhwæðere ne sceole we urne hiht on læcewyrtum besettan; ac on þam ælmihtigum scyppende þe ðam wyrtum þone cræft forgeaf. Ne sceal nan man mid galdre wyrte besingan ac mid godes wordum hi gebletsian 7 swa þicgan."[732] The homilist is keen to distinguish between *gealdor* and the words of God, but the compilers of the medical literature apparently felt no need to make such distinctions, nor did they refrain from recommending herbal ligatures for healing.[733] A few healing rituals must owe something to pagan practices and beliefs, such as the *Nine Herbs Charm*, which goes so far to refer to the god Woden.[734] Yet the poem also asserts the power of Christ. It is also notable that some medical enemies were used to combat supernatural evils; in fact, *gealdor* themselves were sometimes the problem which the physician sought to cure, judging from an entry in *Leechbook III*: "sec lytle stanas on swealwan bridda magan … hi beoþ gode wiþ … malscra · 7 yflum gealdor cræftum."[735] The compiler is happy to use the word *gealdor* to describe both healing and harmful words: in the latter case, he or she adds *yflum* as a qualifier, unlike Ælfric implying that a *gealdor* was not inherently wicked.

The examples discussed show that the meaning of the term *gealdor* is far from easy to understand today. While evil ones were certainly known to exist, the compilers of medical manuals clearly did not regard a *gealdor* to be inherently harmful, but simply a form of words which could be put to use in healing. These words are often markedly Christian in either their words or their context, but tend not to take the form of an address to God or the saints; while they often accompany liturgical prayers, they are rarely in Latin, the primary language of church liturgy. When in English, they are invariably in alliterative verse, however brief, yet they could also take the form of brief, incomprehensible snatches of language based on Latin or Irish; these examples, perhaps more than others, suggest that *gealdor* were primarily conceived of as words which had power over disease.

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732 Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 450. "The wise Augustine said that it is not dangerous if someone eats a medicinal herb, but he censures it as an unlawful sorcery if he binds the herb onto himself, unless he lays it on a wound; however, we ought not to place our hope in medicinal herbs, but in the Almighty Creator, who gave that power to the herbs. One ought not to enchant herbs with a charm, but bless them with the words of God and eat them thus."

733 See, for example, the binding of *hegeclifan* (hedge clivers) upon the neck in order to stanch blood. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 54.

734 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 566–67.

735 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 306. "Seek little stones in the stomachs of swallows … they are good against … bewitchment and bad *gealdor*-works."

Liturgical Terms

After this consideration of the terms *gebed* and *g(e)aldor*, the liturgical terminology of Anglo-Saxon medical remedies is relatively simple to discuss. Even so, it is arguable that even words such as "mass," "benediction," "psalm," and "litany" may not have had the fixed and stable meanings that we might be tempted to assign to them. For example, the word *sealm* appears five times in *Lacnunga* and the *Leechbooks*, and *gebedsealm* (prayer-psalm) twice; four other remedies instruct the physician to sing psalms but identify these only by their incipits, without using the word *sealm*.[736] It is notable that a remedy in London, British Library Cotton MS Vitellius E XVIII requires the reader to "sing þas þry sealmas þær ofer · [Miserere] nostri 7 Exurgat dominus 7 Quicumque uult."[737] The last of these is the Athanasian Creed, not itself one of the Hebrew psalms at all, yet to the scribe it was just as much of a *sealm*. This serves as a warning against the assumption that medieval and modern classifications correspond easily to one another.

The Paternoster is always identified by the term "pater noster," but the text of the prayer is never given, nor is there any suggestion that it might have been said in English. It is in four instances accompanied by the Creed,[738] twice by the Gloria in excelsis,[739] and on six occasions by litanies (*letanias*).[740] It should be noted that these liturgical forms do not appear without the Paternoster, except in the *Holy Salve*, where *letanias* must be sung along with *gealdor* and *sealmas*, but no Paternoster.[741] Of these core Christian prayers, the Paternoster appears to have been most important for healing. No text is given for the Creed, either, raising the question of whether the Nicene or the Apostles' Creed was intended.

The term *letanias* is explained in the remedy for "weden heorte," in which the reader is instructed to begin the remedy in church by singing "letanias þæt is þara haligra naman · 7 pater noster mid þy sange þu ga þæt þu sie æt þam wyrtum 7 þriwa ymbga 7 þonne þu hie nime gang eft to ciricean mid þy ilcan

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736 Cockayne, vol. 2, pp. 14, 116, 136, 138; Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 251; for *gebedsealmas*, see Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 136 and Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 113. M. J. Toswell has suggested that these may refer to the precatory psalms. Toswell, *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, p. 14; see also Thomas, "Which Psalms?," p. 46.

737 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 1, p. 388. "Sing these three psalms over it: '[May God have mercy] on us' and 'Let God arise' and 'Whoever will [be saved].'"

738 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 1011; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 346, 350, 356.

739 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 116, 346.

740 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 115, 806; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, pp. 112, 138, 346, 356.

741 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 253.

sange."[742] Litanies, like the Paternoster, psalms, Creed, and masses, are always to be sung, except in the *Holy Salve*, which includes these instructions: "letanias arime ofer, þ(æt) [i]s ðara haligra naman · 7 pater noster mid þy sange þu ga þæt þu sie æt þam wyrtum 7 þriwa ymbga 7 þonne þu hie nime gang eft to ciricean mid þy ilcan sange."[743] Again, the writer of the remedy considers it necessary to note what *letanias* are, and the verb used is *ariman* (to number, count, enumerate):[744] the same verb is used in the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, when St. Augustine and his companions meet King Æthelberht: "hi . . . wæron haligra naman rimende, 7 gebedo singende."[745] In these cases, prayers are *gesungen*, but litanies are *(a)rimed*. The glossed *Regularis concordia*, on the other hand, gives "canente letanias" (singing litanies) in the Latin, with "canente" glossed as "singendre."[746]

What is most notable about the Paternosters, litanies, Creeds and Glorias in the medical books is the extent to which they occur together, and not in isolation. A particularly complex example from *Leechbook III* is a remedy for *ælfadl* (elf disease).[747] On a Thursday evening after sunset, the physician must go to where the plant *elene* (elecampane or helenium) grows, sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and a litany, and then stick his knife into the plant. When digging up the plant later on, the physician must again sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and a litany; finally, when making the medicinal drink, the Benedicite, Paternoster, the Gloria in excelsis, and a litany must be sung.[748]

It is rarer for the Paternoster to be used without any other words at all. In one remedy, the singing of three Paternosters was probably intended to function as a timing device.[749] In a *Lacnunga* remedy for *wyrm* or *se bledenda fic*,

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742 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 138. "Litanies – that is, the names of the saints – and the Paternoster. Go with the song, so that you may be by the plants, and go around them three times; and when you take them, go to the church again with the same song."

743 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, l. 253. "[R]ecite litanies over it, that is the names of the saints." This remedy will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

744 *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Charles University, s. v. "ariman," http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/finder/3/002126.

745 "[T]hey . . . recited the names of saints and intoned prayers." Thomas Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, Part 1*, Early English Text Society o.s. 95 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890; repr., 1959), pp. 58–59. The translation is quoted from this edition.

746 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, l. 1180.

747 From "Wiþ þon ilcan " to "siþþan him biþ sona sel" ("Against the same . . . afterwards it will soon be well with him"). Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 346.

748 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 346.

749 M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 7 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 38–39. The remedy is in Cockayne,

which Pettit interprets to mean "anal fistula" and "the bleeding haemorrhoid," the physician must dig around *cileþenige* (greater celandine), take it with both hands, and sing nine Paternosters upon it; at the words "deliver us from evil," on the ninth time, the physician must pull up the plant, and then make a drink from it.[750] While this remedy does not conjoin the Paternosters with other liturgical material, it shares with the *ælfadl* remedy the requirement to pray over plants as the physician cuts them or pulls them up.

Finally, the singing of mass was an important part of medical remedies – and it was always to be sung, not said. For example, in a remedy for a "shot" horse, it is specifically stated that the priest should sing twelve masses: "nim ompran sæd 7 Scyttisc wex; gesing(e) mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer 7 do haligwæt (er) on; 7 do þon(ne) on þ(æt) hors ... hafa þe þa wyrta symle mid."[751] In other remedies, the imperative is used, such as in a salve against supernatural enemies: "[d]o þas wyrta on an fæt sete under weofod sing ofer .VIIII. mæssan."[752] It seems to be implied that the physician him- or herself is expected to sing these masses, although that cannot be assumed. More often, a subjunctive is used to create a passive voice, leaving aside the question of who was expected to sing the mass. This can be seen in *Leechbook I*'s copy of the remedy for a "shot" horse, virtually identical but for the omission of the *mæssepreost*: "nim ompran sæd 7 scyttisc weax gesinge mon .XII. mæssan ofer."[753] From these examples, it can be seen that masses were sometimes sung directly over the remedy, but is more commonplace for the plants to be set under an altar and have a number of masses sung over them – usually either three, nine, or twelve[754] – before being

Leechdoms, vol. 2, p. 358. "[Þ]onne hit wealle · sing .III. pater noster ofer do eft so sing þonne .VIIII. siþum pater noster on 7 þriwa awyl 7 swa gelome" ("When it boils, sing three Paternosters over it; do the same again, and then sing the Paternoster on it nine times, and boil it three times, and do thus frequently").

750 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 604–8.

751 Pettit, ll. 708–10. "[T]ake seed of dock and Irish wax; let a priest sing twelve masses over them and put holy water on them; and then put them on the horse ... have the plants with you always." For a discussion of the concept of "shooting" pains and "elf-shot," see Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 96–118.

752 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 344. "Put the plants into a vat, set it under an altar, and sing nine masses over [it]."

753 Cockayne, vol. 2, p. 156. "[T]ake seed of dock and Irish wax; may one sing twelve masses over them."

754 These numbers were presumably selected for their Christian connotations, with nine being thrice three, though the frequent recurrence of the number nine in Anglo-Saxon medicine may, like the names of the pagan gods, owe something to pre-Christian religion also: the *Nine Herbs Charm* (Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 535–603) makes great use of both. See Jolly, *Popular Religion*, pp. 123–28.

made into the final remedy. These could be masses for specific feasts or dedicated to a particular saint: for example, "sette under weofod þonne cristes tid sie 7 gesinge mon .III. mæssan ofer þa .III. dagas on midne winter 7 æt stefanes tide 7 Sancte Iohannes euangelista 7 þa þry dagas þicge on wine on neaht nestig";[755] "[b]er þon to ciricean; læt singan mæssan ofer, ane 'Omnibus,' oðre 'Contra tribulatione,' þriddan 'Sancta Marian.'"[756] The inclusion of masses in the preparation of Anglo-Saxon medical recipes indicates that, as in private prayer programs, formal liturgical occasions played a part in rites for the treatment of the sick, alongside prayers and *gealdor* which had been specifically composed for the purposes of healing. It also suggests that priests worked in cooperation with physicians, both actively, by blessing the remedies themselves, and passively, because healing herbs seem to have been left underneath altars for periods of time when masses were being sung. Karen Jolly has argued from such remedies that church altars may frequently have had herbs and other items stored beneath them, by parishioners or perhaps by the priests, noting that the bringing of household items to church for blessings is commonplace in the contemporary church, particularly in cultures where Christianity has been adopted since 1500.[757]

"Þis," "þas word," or No Description

Finally, it is important to note that many sets of healing words are not labeled at all: the reader is merely told, "say these words," or "say this." On three occasions in *Lacnunga*, healing words are referred to as "þas word" (these words): in one case, it is a list of Latin prayers, including the Paternoster; the other two are brief snatches of loose English verse for use by a woman who cannot bring a pregnancy to term.[758] In all three remedies, the verb used with "þas word" is *cweþan* (to say). Meanwhile, in other remedies, healing words are simply referred to as "þis" (this). Interestingly, the physician is always told to "sing this" or "write this," but never "say this." These are generally brief phrases often containing corrupt Irish: for example, "[s]ing ðis wið toðece syððan sunne beo

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755 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 294. "Place [them] under an altar when it is Christmas, and let one sing three masses over the three days at midwinter and on St. Stephen's Day and St. John the Evangelist's, and for three days consume in wine, at night, fasting."

756 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 111–12. "Then carry it to church; have masses sung over it, first 'By all [the saints],' second 'Against trouble,' third 'Holy Mary.'"

757 Jolly, *Popular Religion*, p. 122.

758 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 874–76, 925–29, 942–48.

on setle, swiðe oft: 'Caio laio. quaque uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrm.'"[759] By contrast, in a cure for flying poison, "þis" is a Latin blessing which the afflicted person must sing three times after scarifying him- or herself: "+ Matheus me ducað; + Marcus me conseruæð; + Lucas me liberat; Iohannes me adiuuat semper. Am(en). Contriue D(eu)s omnem malum et nequitiam, p(er) uirtutem Patris et Filii et Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i; s(an)c(t)ifica me Emanuhel Ih (esu) (Cristus); libera me ab o(m)nib(us) insidiis inimici; benedictio D(omi)ni sup(er) caput meum; potens D(eu)s in omni tempore. AMEN."[760] The *Lacnunga* compiler's tendency to refer to some verbal remedies as "þis" may simply indicate that there was not always any real need to label healing words as a *gebed* or *gealdor*, particularly in *Lacnunga*: words were simply held to have healing properties regardless of classification. For example, in *Lacnunga* the heading "Wið þeofentu(m)" ("For thefts") is followed by the words, "Luben luben niga. efið niga efið fel ceid feldelf fel cumer orcggaei ceufor dard giug farig pidig delou delupih."[761] Not only is this remedy not labeled as a *gebed* or a *gealdor*, there are also no directions for use given with it: presumably the physician was supposed to know how to use them. We know why these words were used, but not how: it can only be assumed that the physician was to some extent expected to work from memory, and to use the manuscript to supplement his or her practical knowledge. This fact acts as a reminder of how much of Anglo-Saxon healing took place off the manuscript page, and how, even in medical prayer, the surviving written word does not tell us everything about the spoken words which left no traces behind.[762]

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759 Pettit, ll. 75–76. "Sing this for toothache, after the sun has set, very often: '*Caio laio. quaque uoque* over *sæloficia* strike the worm of men.'"

760 Pettit, ll. 753–59. "+ May Matthew lead me; + May Mark keep me safe; + May Luke deliver me; + May John help me always. Amen. (?)Destroy, God, all evil and vileness, through the power of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit; sanctify me, Emmanuel Jesus Christ; deliver me from all the artifices of the Enemy; the blessing of the Lord (be) upon my head; God powerful in eternity, AMEN."

761 Pettit, ll. 820–22.

762 Anne Van Arsdall argues that written remedies in Anglo-Saxon medical manuals were intended more as *aides-mémoires* than as comprehensive instructions, comparing them to the practice of modern-day *curanderismo* in New Mexico, in which not all directions for the preparation of remedies are written down. Van Arsdall, "Medical Training in Anglo-Saxon England: An Evaluation of the Evidence," 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*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Maria Amalia D'Aronco, Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 415–34.

Programs of Prayer in Medical Collections

Having investigated the kinds of words used in healing rites, and the terms used to describe them, I will now discuss a few such rites in more specific detail. As noted in the Introduction, R. M. Liuzza analyzes prayer to the cross by considering not whether it was Christian or pagan, but by considering its practical use and the authority which underpins it: "rather than ask where it comes from or what theology it promotes, we might rather ask, who controls the practice? Who performs it? When is it performed, and for what purpose? Did a given practice draw on the reservoir of spiritual power represented by the Latin mass, the Daily Office, or the ecclesiastical hierarchy?"[763] Accordingly, I have chosen four programs for healing, three from *Lacnunga* and one from *Leechbook III*, which can be placed at different points upon Liuzza's power spectrum. Another useful approach is that of Ciaran Arthur, who has examined the use of space within Anglo-Saxon charms, concluding that they draw power from the church and transmit it to other locations and people.[764] The four programs I have selected all draw upon church liturgy or sacred space, but in different ways. Some are to be performed alone, some in conjunction with another person; some require the active or passive participation of a priest; some have very specific instructions for their use and context, others less so.

Se wifman se hire cild afedan ne mæg

On folio 185r–v of Harley 585 there are three remedies for a woman who cannot *afedan* her child, each beginning with "Se wifman se hire cild afedan ne mæg" or a very close paraphrase.[765] Judging from the position of the stitching, folio 185 is the first leaf in the second half of a quire,[766] but the copyist marked the start of a group of related remedies by starting at the top of a fresh leaf; the previous remedy, on folio 184v, ends with a large "AMEN" (written in Greek letters) and two Alleluias, after only nine lines of well-spaced script, leaving a noticeable blank space at the end of the leaf. No such blank space is found after the group of three related remedies ends on folio 185v, although a different

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763 Liuzza, "Prayers and/or Charms," p. 319.

764 Ciaran Arthur, "*Ex Ecclesia*: Salvific Power beyond Sacred Space in Anglo-Saxon Charms," *Incantatio* 3 (2013), pp. 17–27.

765 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 925–50. "The woman who cannot rear her child."

766 London, British Library Harley MS 585, fol. 185r.

scribe takes over.[767] It is this first remedy, which Grattan and Singer title "Pagan Rites for Miscarriage,"[768] that I will discuss here.

The program can be summarized thus:

Go to a grave
Step over it three times
Say these words three times: three lines of Old English verse
She becomes pregnant and her husband goes to rest
Say: three lines of Old English verse
She feels the baby to be alive
Go to church and come before the altar
Say: "Criste, ic sæde, þis gecyþed."[769]

The opening line, "Se wifman se hire cild afedan ne mæg," instantly identifies the purpose of the program. This is a ritual with one very definite intended outcome. *Afedan* is translated as "to feed, nourish, rear, bring up,"[770] and, given the context, it seems to refer not to breastfeeding but to bringing a healthy baby to term: this is implied in the second of the two poems, in which the speaker says,

Up ic gonge,   ofer þe steppe
mid cwican cilde,   nalæs mid cwel[l]endum.[771]

It is also suggested in the second program, which requires the woman to use part of her child's grave.[772] The performer of the ritual is also very clearly the woman herself. Indeed, no other person is directly involved in the program itself: the only other people involved at the times when she speaks these three sets of words are either resting or dead.[773] Unusually for the medical books, a physician is not in charge of this remedy, or even involved at all, except perhaps if the owner of the manuscript needed to teach the ritual to the speaker.

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767 London, British Library Harley MS 585, fol. 185v.

768 Grattan and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine*, pp. 188–91.

769 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 925–36. "(?)To Christ, I have said, this is made manifest."

770 *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Charles University, s. v. "afedan," http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/001097.

771 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 931–32, vol. 2, pp. 323–24. "Up I go ... With a living child, not with a dying one." Pettit emends "cwellendum" to "cwe[l]endum," meaning "dying" rather than "killing."

772 Pettit, ll. 937–38.

773 "[Þ]on(ne) þæt wif ... to hyre hlaforde on reste ga." Pettit, l. 930. For this, Pettit offers "when the woman ... goes to her husband in his rest [*or* bed]."

The remedy is very precise about the places in which the three parts of the ritual must be performed: a grave, some kind of bed or other resting place, and a church. It is noteworthy that, if the phrase "gewitenes *mannes* birgenne" specifically implies a man, rather than a person of either sex, then all three spaces are those over which a man presides, yet none of them speaks. In line with Arthur's argument, the sacred space of the church, and specifically of the altar, is essential to the rite's conclusion. Furthermore, as Helen Gittos has noted, churchyards for the burial of the dead were also regarded as sacred spaces in Anglo-Saxon England.[774] The instructions are also clear about when the different parts of the ritual should be performed: before the woman is pregnant, once she is pregnant, and when she feels that the child is "cwic," presumably when it has started kicking.[775]

Liuzza's questions about the authority by which charms are performed and where such charms might sit on the liturgical spectrum are relevant here. The words used are far from being formally liturgical. They are all in rough Old English alliterative verse, and never really address God directly. The words are not given any kind of name, neither *gebed* nor *gealdor*: they are simply referred to as "þas word." If the words have any form of label, they are "to bote" ([as a] remedy), a perfect example of words and rituals being performed not for general praise of or communion with God, but to bring about a very specific and desired result. Yet the program is not thoroughly secular, as it concludes with the woman coming before the altar itself and testifying that Christ has witnessed her pregnancy.

This therefore raises the question of whether this ritual can be considered a private prayer program. The woman relies on nobody else to perform the ritual, even if she is not actually alone: this is highly unusual for programs of healing. Only the final set of words is specifically Christian, but it has already been demonstrated that the concept of "prayer" is fairly flexible in the context of healing. These are words which were believed to bring about a desired outcome, an approach which may have been considered in accordance with the nature of prayer. If so, then it is a valuable example of a layperson, a married woman, praying, both at home and before a church altar.

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774 Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, pp. 39–54.
775 According to a brief text on the development of the fetus in Tiberius A III, the child becomes "cwicu" in the fifth month of pregnancy. London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fols. 40v–41r.

The *Holy Salve*

The *Holy Salve* remedy, on folios 146v–150v of Harley 585, is introduced with the words "[t]o haligre sealfe sceal."[776] Unlike the remedy previously discussed, no reason is given in the manuscript for why one might need to use it: presumably the physician is expected to know. As will be discussed, it seems to have been intended to protect both body and soul from the devil, so perhaps it was supposed to be a general medicine for no one specific ailment. There is neither any mention of how it should be applied to the patient, nor any mention at all of a patient in the instructions themselves, suggesting that the recipe should be prepared in advance; considering the large number of ingredients that must be brought together, this is extremely likely. I will note that it was, nevertheless, apparently prepared for one person in particular.

The remedy can be briefly summarized thus:

Collect a large number of different herbs: of the final four, more must be gathered
Make butter from the milk of a cow of only one color, red or white
Shave the plants finely
"Consecrate water at the consecration of a font"[777] and put a bowl of it in the butter
Take a stick and make *feðorbyrste* (prongs or bristles)[778] on it; write upon it the names of the four Evangelists
Stir the butter with the stick
Sing:
> Ps. 118 three times
> Gloria in excelsis
> Creed
> Litanies: that is, the names of the saints
> "Deus meus et Pater," "In principio," and the *wyrmgealdor*
> A *gealdor*: "Acre arcre arnem nona . . ." nine times

Put your saliva upon the butter, breathe on it, and lay the plants beside it
Let the priest consecrate them
Let the priest sing six *orationis* over them.[779]

This is followed by some prayers which make reference to a healing drink, not a salve, so presumably these must belong to a separate remedy.[780] At no point

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776 Pettit, Lacnunga, vol. 1, l. 235. "For a holy salve (the following) shall serve."

777 Thus Pettit translates "wæter gehalga fonthalgunge." Pettit, l. 248.

778 Pettit translates this tentatively as referring to a "four-pronged" stick; Bosworth-Toller suggests "having four bristles." Pettit, l. 249; *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Charles University, s. v. "fiþer-byrste," http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/045110.

779 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 235–89.

780 The reference to the drink is at Pettit, ll. 295–96.

is it stated when the plants must be added to the butter: perhaps this should have been done after the priest had finished praying.

It is clear that this remedy requires two people: a maker of medicines who is skilled in plant knowledge, and a priest, who need not be present for the first part of the remedy. The line about holy water, however, is worth noting: it states that the maker of the remedy should bless the water, suggesting either that he was a priest, or that the blessing of water was not limited to priests at this time. The remedy states that this blessing should take place at the consecration of a font; the sacred space of the church's font is therefore necessary for the full performance of the remedy, which thus draws upon an event which may have taken place a long time previously. Gathering the herbs required would be complex and time-consuming, unless, of course, the physician had them to hand in dried form already, which is entirely possible. Overall, however, time and place are not very important to the remedy: the physician is not told to go to a particular place, such as the church or the patient's home, nor to sing the prayers at a particular time, such as sunrise. Other than, perhaps, the gathering of the plants, the recipe is not particularly complex.

What is of interest about this entry from *Lacnunga*, however, is the program of prayer that should be said over the remedy. The names of the four Evangelists are used to bless the very stick with which the vat of butter is stirred; as these should be written "onforan" the stick, literally meaning "before" or "in front," perhaps the intention is for them to be written on the ends of the prongs or bristles, so that the words are stirred into the remedy itself, in much the same manner as, in other remedies, one writes sacred words onto a paten and then washes them into a remedy using holy water.[781] This is a reminder of the diversity of forms that prayer could take in this period: not only could one make the sign of the cross over something in order to bless it, but words themselves were seen as physically entering a substance which would then enter the body. Following this, the physician is instructed, "ðu sing ofer ðas sealmas, 'Beati inmaculati' [. . .,] ælcne þriwa ofer."[782] This is only one psalm, but it is the psalm divided into twenty-two parts, one for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, each of which

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781 Such as, for example, the very similar *Holy Drink* recipe in the same manuscript. Pettit, ll. 109–10.

782 Pettit, ll. 251–52. "[S]ing these psalms over it, 'Blessed are the undefiled . . ., each one three times over it.'" The ellipsis does not appear in the manuscript, but has been inserted by Pettit on the assumption that the plural "ðas sealmas'" indicates that some psalms were omitted by the copyist. An alternative interpretation is that Ps. 118, with one section for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, was regarded as a group of psalms, though Pettit rejects this (Pettit, vol. 2, p. 67).

had to be sung three times. Given the length of this psalm, to sing it several times must have required a significant time investment.[783]

As with the programs of prayer to the cross, the psalm is linked to the prayers by two of the basic texts of the Christian church: not the Kyrie and the Paternoster, in this case, but the Gloria in Excelsis and the Creed. Litanies, an important part of prayer programs, follow these: "letanias arime ofer, þ(æt) [i]s ðara haligra naman 7 'D(eu)s m(eu)s et Pater,' et 'In principio,' 7 þ(æt) wyrmgealdor; 7 þis gealdor singe ofer."[784] The scribe explains that *letanias* are the names of the saints, while "In principio" refers to the opening of the Gospel of St. John, which is found excerpted in, for example, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*.[785] The scribe did not see the need to copy out the *wyrmgealdor*, but the following *gealdor* is copied out, beginning on a new line of the leaf with a large two-line initial A that sweeps down into the bottom margin.[786]

The first of the priest's Latin prayers, "Per inpositionem manuum mearum," lists the parts of the body from which the devil is to be driven out. *Loricae* of this kind, which will be discussed further in chapter 5, are intended to provide total healing. It should be remembered that "Beati immaculati" consists of a section for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, in accordance with this desire for total healing and enumerating all the parts of the body. The litany of the saints, likewise, is a long list of all one's heavenly intercessors. The second prayer is more concerned with the patient's soul: it is not a prayer of absolution, but a prayer that he may confess his sins and submit to God's will, so that the devil may have no power over him spiritually as well as physically.[787] This is entirely consistent with the hypothesis that this salve is intended to be kept in store for future use, rather than to be used in the presence of the herbalist and priest. Having said that, the third prayer requires the priest to name the patient twice,[788] suggesting that, even if he is not present, then the salve is being made with one person in mind. The final three prayers are shorter blessings, of which one is not in altogether coherent Latin, but appears to be about blessing plants as some kind of defence against enemies.[789]

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[783] For the use of this psalm in Anglo-Saxon medical prayer, see Thomas, "Which psalms?," p. 46.

[784] Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 253–54. "[R]ecite litanies over it, that is the names of the saints and 'My God and Father,' and 'In the Beginning' and the 'worm'-incantation; and sing this incantation over it."

[785] Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 197.

[786] London, British Library Harley MS 585, fol. 148r.

[787] Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 268–74.

[788] Pettit, ll. 280–81.

[789] Pettit, ll. 285–88.

This remedy, therefore, is heavily dependent on words, more so than on ritual actions, and it mixes liturgical prayers and priestly blessings together with *gealdor*, grammatical Latin with ungrammatical, the written word and the spoken. (It is a particularly helpful program for defining the names of different kinds of prayers.) Although it should be noted that the priest need not be present when the *gealdor* are said, they are nevertheless present in a ritual which is to a large extent reliant upon the authority of the liturgy, the priest, and the sacred space of the church font. This remedy is therefore distinctly different from the one previously discussed: the patient is not involved in his or her own cure, which is instead wholly in the hands of a physician and a priest. Time and place are virtually unimportant to it, whereas they were crucial to the remedy for the woman who cannot bear a healthy child. While it does include corrupt Latin and Irish along with grammatical Latin, it does not use the speaker's own vernacular language. It is either an example of how physicians could pray alone, or of a priest participating in a paired prayer program outside of the church, which drew not only on the mass and daily offices, but also on healing words originating far outside of the church's doors.

A Remedy for *ælfadl*

On folios 123v–126r of Royal MS 12 D XVII, in *Leechbook III*, there is a group of remedies for elf-related ailments. One for *ælfadl*, on folios 123v–124r, takes the following form:[790]

> After sunset on Thursday, go to where *elene*[791] grows
> Sing Benedicite, Paternoster, and litany
> Put a knife firmly into the plant; leave it there and depart
> At dawn the next day, go to church
> Sign yourself and commend yourself to God
> Return to the plant without speaking a word to anyone else
> Sing Benedicite, Paternoster, and litany
> Dig up the plant, but let the knife remain in it
> Go to church as quickly as possible
> Lay the plant and knife under the altar until the sun is up
> Wash it

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790 From "[w]iþ þon ilcan · gang on þunres æfen" to "drince þone drenc siþþan him biþ sona sel." The remedy is differentiated from the one before with a pair of strokes. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 346; London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII, fol. 123v.

791 That is, elecampane or helenium. *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Charles University, s. v. "elene," http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/009213.

> Make it into a drink:
>> Add bishopwort and lichen from a crucifix
>> Boil in milk three times
>> Pour holy water over it three times
> Sing upon it:
>> Paternoster
>> Creed
>> Gloria in excelsis
>> Litany
> Using a sword, "write" a cross around the drink on four sides
> May he drink it; he will soon be well.

As so often in the medical manuscripts, the recipe states plainly what it is intended to cure – it is one of several in a chapter beginning "V[v]iþ ælfadle"[792] – yet there is no space given whatsoever to diagnosis, and the physician is presumably expected to know what the symptoms of *ælfadl* were.[793] Again, as with the *Holy Salve*, the patient himself does not participate in the preparation of his own medicine, although he is at least mentioned at the end as he consumes the healing drink. Even if a priest's involvement is necessary for the blessing of the holy water, this is only a passive collaboration, as previously blessed water can be used without his knowledge. The physician, on the other hand, has a great deal of work to do. Like the remedy for the woman who cannot bear a child, this one is heavily dependent on time and place: it specifies the day of the week and the times of day, perhaps with the intention that the second part of the remedy should take place on Friday morning. The physician is required to make use of his or her knowledge of the natural world – the remedy involves going somewhere "þær þu wite elenan standan" – and also of sacred space, the church and its altar, and some kind of stone cross, *cristes mæl*, on which lichen grows.[794]

The words spoken in this remedy are all strictly liturgical and confined only to the basic prayers of the Christian church: litanies, the Paternoster, and so on, in a repeated pattern, again like the Paternosters and Kyries that were

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792 Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 344. "Against elf-disease." The chapter opens with a two-line initial, not a *wynn* but one 'v' inset within another. London, British Library Royal MS 12 D XVII, fol. 123v.

793 For a discussion of this and related terms, see Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 105–8.

794 "Where you know helenium to stand." This remedy is discussed in detail by Ciaran Arthur, as an excellent example of how Anglo-Saxon remedies transferred Christian power from the church, via the liturgy, to the natural world with its healing powers. Arthur, "*Ex Ecclesia*," pp. 21–23.

joined with the psalms and prayers in the Veneration program in the *Portiforium*. Yet rather than linking other prayers, specific to the patient's healing, the remedy text links ritual actions and a period of silence. The actions of finding the plant, putting a knife into it, digging it up, and taking it to church, are linked together in this kind of prayer program. The *ælfadl* remedy is also of great interest as it specifically requires prayer outside of a church, and even outside of the home, in the place where the plant is to be found.

This remedy is notable for its particularly complex ritual, which must be undertaken at specific times of the day and week, using the sacred spaces of the church and altar, making the sign of the cross both by signing oneself and also with the sword around the plant. It also instructs, with particular emphasis, that the physician go from the church to the plant in complete silence.[795] Each time he strikes at the plant, whether with a spade or a knife, the physician must sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and a litany, and on one occasion the Gloria in excelsis. These are the only words to be spoken in the ritual, aside from whatever might be said when the physician "commends himself to God"; they are all liturgical prayers, and on each occasion are to be said grouped together.

N. in adiutorium sit salvator

Folio 191 of Harley 585 is written in a different hand from the preceding and following leaves,[796] and appears to comprise one single entry in the collection. Like the remedy for the woman who cannot nourish a child, but unlike the *Holy Salve* and the *ælfadl* cure, this one does not involve any physical medicine, but instead is an entirely verbal program of prayers for the health of a woman:

> "+ In nomine Patris & Filii & Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i. Am(en). N. In adiutoriu(m) sit salvator. N."
> Latin prayer-poem: "Deo celi regi regum," spoken by the patient
> Brief Latin prayer and response: "Deus libera illam"
> Pseudo-Latin/Irish: "Brigittaum dricillarum"
> Old English prayer to the saints, spoken by the woman.[797]

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795 "[G]ang þonne swigende 7 þeah þe hwæt hwega egeslices ongean cume oþþe man ne cweþ þu him ænig word to ær þu cume to þære wyrte þe þu on æfen ær gemearcodest" ("Then go silently and, even if something or someone terrifying come in your way, do not say any word to him before you come to the plant which you marked on the evening before"). Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, vol. 2, p. 346.

796 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, notes to ll. 1038 and 1069.

797 Pettit, ll. 1038–68.

There are no line breaks or indications in the manuscript to differentiate between one prayer and another, or one speaker and another.[798]

This prayer program has no rubrics indicating why it might take place. The prayers themselves, however, give some indication. In the poem, the speaker must thank God,

> ut a nobis lues isti huius pestis careat,
> et in nobis quam donauit salus uera maneat.[799]

The following prayer opens with the request, "D(eu)s libera illam, D(omi)ne, de languorib(us) pessimis & de periculis huius anni."[800] It appears, therefore, to be a prayer program against a plague of some kind, but possibly one for protection rather than healing.

The context of this program is not at all clear, but there do appear to be at least two speakers: one, perhaps in religious orders, who opens it by praying for God's aid to the patient, who is named. The poem appears to be spoken by this patient: "Ih(es)u (Criste) me, N., defende p(er) [tuam] potentia(m)."[801] The brief prayer which follows this appears to be opened by the first speaker, with the patient responding: "D(eu)s libera illam, D(omi)ne, de languorib(us) pessimis & de periculis huius anni."[802] This is followed by the words "Brigitarum dricillarum … brio rubebroht,"[803] which are given no explanation, and whose speaker are unclear; the final prayer, in Old English, is one in which the speaker once more names herself, and prays that the saints may shield her, specifically, Ss. Rehhoc, Rehwald, Cassian, Germanus, and Sigmund.[804] It is, therefore, a prayer dialogue, in which two people pray for the health and protection of one, who is named five times throughout the program.[805] It is also notably multilingual, making use of prose and verse, Latin, Old English, corrupt Irish, and Latin; the patient herself is expected to speak in Latin, suggesting that she may have been a nun. It is, nevertheless, very reliant upon words, and not

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798 London, British Library Harley MS 585, fol. 191r.

799 Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 1042–43. "[T]hat the plague of this pestilence be removed from us, / and that the health which he has given may remain sound within us."

800 Pettit, l. 1062. "God, deliver this woman, Lord, from the worst illnesses and from the dangers of this year."

801 Pettit, l. 1044. "Jesus Christ, defend me, Name *[to be supplied]*, through your power."

802 Pettit, l. 1062. "God, deliver this woman, Lord, from the worst illnesses and from the dangers of this year."

803 Pettit, ll. 1065–66.

804 Pettit, ll. 1067–68.

805 Pettit, ll. 1039 (twice), 1044, 1054 and 1064.

upon ritual actions, aside from the sign of the cross which the first speaker is probably expected to make at the start, indicated in the text, and no time or place is specified. Its format is reminiscent of the dialogue confessions which will be examined in chapter 5 – these included not only confessions to a priest, but also those between an abbot and his monks, or between pairs of priests or nuns.

Of the four which I have examined, this prayer program is the one which is most dependent upon words alone, the only one which appears to be undertaken for prevention rather than cure, and the only one in which a patient and another person work together for the patient's health. It opens with a conventional blessing in the name of the Trinity, calls upon the aid of the saints, and includes a protective prayer. Yet the program also uses words which are neither Latin nor English and which have no literal meaning, with nothing to suggest that these words were at all out of place. This prayer program therefore indicates that its copyist and users were happy to blend official and unofficial religious ritual together. It also uses a Latin prayer as a poem for one's own healing, raising the question of in which contexts other prayer-poems may have been used.[806]

Although these four case studies do not begin to cover the sheer diversity of prayer programs in the *Lacnunga* and *Leechbook* collections, I have aimed to give a few examples of how prayer of various kinds was used in healing rituals in late Anglo-Saxon medical literature, and to draw a few tentative conclusions about the role that prayer and other forms of religious ritual may have played in healing at this time. Secondly, these rituals act as a useful point of comparison for the other prayer programs studied in this book. In the earlier chapters, I specifically singled out those which gave some small indications as to when, where, why, and how one might pray, and who might be saying such prayers, but in the medical books, such information is abundant. They therefore allow us to think more seriously about which details the prayerbooks and psalters leave out.

Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, the medical prayer programs give examples of when laypeople might pray, with or without the presence of a priest; this is seen most strikingly in the remedies for women who cannot bear a healthy child. It is not clear who the medical practitioners themselves were, but if they were laypeople, then they were expected to undertake a considerable amount of prayer in the production of their remedies, including singing the psalms and

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806 See, for example, the *Lorica of Laidcenn*. Pettit, ll. 315–498.

litanies, and also prayers that were specific to medical treatment. Dialogue prayer between the practitioner and the patient sometimes occurs, although this is less common. Priests could be involved, too, sometimes actively by saying prayers over the patient or remedy, or sometimes at a remove, such as when the remedy required the physician to place healing herbs under an altar for a certain number of masses. These manuscripts contain a great many references to the saying and singing over prayers over plants and medicines. Of course, the Anglo-Saxon benedictionals testify to the wide range of everyday items which bishops and priests could bless; the medical manuals, on the other hand, suggest that other people might have prayed over things in everyday life, and tell us something about the contexts in which this could have been done.

The remedies freely mix the kinds of prayers that laypeople were most likely to know, such as the Paternoster and Creed, with distinctly extra-liturgical sets of words such as *gealdor* and brief vernacular poems. Liturgical prayer is relatively rare in medical remedies: the psalms, such as Psalm 118, are one of the few overlaps between the two. There are some slight parallels between the medical prayer programs and the non-medical programs discussed elsewhere in this book. For example, those for the Veneration of the Cross in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* use a pattern of Paternosters and Kyries to link together the psalms and prayers that make up the longest parts of the programs, while the remedy for *ælfadl* discussed above uses a pattern of Benedicites and litanies to link together the ritual actions of digging up and preparing the healing plant. It is important to note that, in these remedies, "official" and "unofficial" kinds of prayer are freely mixed with one another, and, given that priests are sometimes involved and the church building is often used in remedies, it is evident that the compilers of the medical books did not perceive these kinds of extra-liturgical healing words to be in any way sacrilegious or unacceptable to the church's leadership.

These remedies also place a lot of emphasis on the importance of particular times and places for the gathering of herbs and the saying of prayers over them. Presumably these times of the day and year were considered to be more powerful than others, increasing the effectiveness of the plants and of the prayers, much as the phases of the moon were believed to affect the natural world.[807] There were also particular places which were believed to be good for medical prayer

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[807] Even Ælfric, in his condemnation of lunar divination in his homily "Octabas et circumcisio Domini," conceded that the full moon made wood stronger. Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 230.

and for the sanctification of healing herbs, with the church and its altar being most important of all, but also the home, the habitat in which the plants grew, and the public spaces between all of these, such as the paths down which the physician walked to find the herbs. It may be the case that prayer performed for purposes other than healing was similarly dependent on times and places which were believed to make the prayers more effective: perhaps this is a particular feature of prayers which were performed in order to achieve a specific outcome, rather than prayers of general praise and thanksgiving.

Conclusion

While most of the prayer sequences and programs discussed in previous chapters were intended for general praise and adoration of God, this chapter turned to those which were undertaken for specific purposes. The place of prayer in everyday life can be seen from its use in finding lost items, healing the sick, ensuring a good day and a blessed afterlife, protecting oneself from enemies and perhaps even cursing them. From their rubrics and instructions, it can be seen that specific prayers were believed to have certain beneficial effects, and that a person could improve his or her life by saying the correct ones. Having discussed prayer programs which are most likely to have taken place in a monastic context, in this chapter I also examined prayer with or by the laity. The medical manuals, though not generally considered in discussions of Anglo-Saxon prayer, are a valuable source for such studies, as they include many examples of liturgical and other forms of prayer along with numerous details about the times and places involved, the reasons for saying such prayers, and the ritual actions involved. Notably, most forms of healing words were intended to be sung, not said, which serves as a reminder, when studying private non-medical prayer, that such prayers may have been intoned or chanted rather than spoken. Healing words were also recommended for use in written form, sometimes tied onto the body, and used in conjunction with the sign of the cross upon the body.

A consideration of the terminology used in medical prayer indicates the great complexity of what a *gebed* was in Anglo-Saxon England: it encompassed different languages, including words which would have been incomprehensible to their users, but were nevertheless understood to be beneficial, and it also included words which we might not regard as prayers, such as passages from the Bible, or perhaps the singing of the names of the four evangelists alone. The meaning of the term *gealdor* is even more difficult to perceive: if anything unites these texts, it is their assertion of God's power over illness, rather than the

request that he might heal the patient. As with non-medical prayer, liturgical items such as the Paternoster and psalms form part of healing rites, often occurring together in groups. The final part of this chapter demonstrated the complexity of medical prayer through a brief examination of four somewhat different programs, between them encompassing prayer both liturgical and non-liturgical, ritual actions both in sacred and secular space, and both solitary and paired prayer. In the final chapter, I will consider the significance of praying with a priest and praying alone in the genre of confessional prayer.

5 Prayers of Confession and Penitence

In the previous chapter, it was seen that prayer for protection and healing could be undertaken alone, but a great number of medical prayer programs were intended to be led by a practitioner of some kind. Confession is another genre which, in contrast to the prayers discussed in chapters 1–3, by necessity had to be undertaken under the direction of a priest. However, it seems that some prayers of confession and contrition could be said without such guidance. While vernacular homilies emphasize the great importance of confessing to a priest, confession was not clearly regarded as a sacrament in the same way that 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."[808] After a brief explanation of the sacraments, the remainder of Hrabanus's book 1 is concerned with a Christian's progress through these sacraments: baptism, the catechumenate, holy anointment by the bishop, and finally the body and blood of Christ; confession is not amongst these.

Since many kinds of confession existed in late Anglo-Saxon England, it is helpful to distinguish between them. In this chapter, the term "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 confession to a priest within the context of a formal and public penitential rite. "Sacerdotal confession" refers specifically to confession, whether by a monastic or a layperson, made in dialogue with a priest, abbot, or bishop. 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 forms of confession practiced in monasteries and convents, in which confession was made either before the whole community or in partnership with another monk or nun. Finally, while prayers of confession and contrition could be said in various contexts outside of public rites, I will also discuss the possibility that some

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808 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 1, p. 184. Lindsay, *Etymologiarvm sive originvm*, vol. 1, chap. 6.19.39–43. "These are the sacraments: baptism and chrism, the body and the blood."

prayers were said before God alone, although this does not necessarily preclude the use of the same prayer texts in pairs, or before another human being.

As the quotation from Hrabanus reminds us, it is important to remember that the texts under discussion in this chapter were composed and used before the systematization of the church's sacraments in the twelfth century.[809] Although sacerdotal confession and the penance which it involved were considered to be essential, the concept of confession was wide enough to encompass the different grades of formality defined above. My study will therefore use the term "confession" in a broad sense. I will assume that sacerdotal confession, penance, and absolution were considered essential, but also that other ways 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. Beginning with some observations on the Carolingian history of "public" and "private" confession, I will examine monastic confession, both in groups and in pairs, before turning to the confessions which took place before a priest. I will consider the possibility that some confessions may have been specifically intended to be said before God alone, before moving on to a more general discussion of the characteristics of confessional prayers, however they may have been used, including a consideration of poetic prayer and of the particular intimacy with God which was achieved in the vernacular language.

The Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon Background to Confession

The status of confession between the ninth and eleventh centuries can be best understood in the context of the changes which it 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 were recognized as inevitable, the ceremony of canonical penance, performed by a bishop and only once in an individual Christian's lifetime, was instituted. For understandable reasons, this was usually performed when the believer was dying, although in 459 Pope Leo I allowed exceptions to be made for soldiers, whose lives would of course be

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809 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 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 516–32, 583–609.

most at risk. "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. The earliest surviving mention of such penance was made at a council in Toledo in 589, to whom it was a shocking novelty.[810]

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.[811] Nevertheless, 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*.[812] "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.[813] The secrecy to which *paenitentia occulta* refers is therefore that of the sin, not of the penance – ninth-century concepts of "privacy" are not those of the present day.[814]

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. Furthermore, it required the penitent to think over each sin which he or she had committed and to consider its circumstances.[815] One could do no better than to summarize this issue using Rob Meens's 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.[816]

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810 Alexander Murray, "Confession before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6, no. 3 (1993), pp. 54–56.

811 Murray, p. 56.

812 De Jong, "What was *Public*?," vol. 2, p. 893.

813 De Jong, vol. 2, pp. 893–94.

814 De Jong, vol. 2, pp. 894–95.

815 Murray, "Confession before 1215," p. 57.

816 Rob Meens, "The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology 2 (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1998), pp. 36–37.

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. It is in this context that private confessional prayers, to be said before God alone, were composed. 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.[817] In particular, I have selected a group of confessional texts which has been edited by Roger Fowler under the title of "An Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," and appears to have been, if not actually compiled, then read, amended, and quoted by Wulfstan the Homilist.[818]

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.[819]

The *Handbook* is made up of the following parts:

I. "Quando aliquis uoluerit confessionem facere": prayers to be said by the penitent before meeting the confessor (Latin)

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[817] 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 *Scriftboc* (or *Confessional*), the *Penitential*, and the *Old English Handbook*. Allen J. Frantzen, "Tradition of Penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 35–49; see also Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983), pp. 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, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 141–74.

[818] Roger Fowler, ed., "A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor," *Anglia* 83 (1965), pp. 1–34; Melanie Heyworth, "The 'Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor': Authorship and Connections," *Notes & Queries* 54, no. 3 (2007), pp. 218–22.

[819] Cooper, "Lay Piety," pp. 51–53. A guide to the manuscripts in which Fowler finds the so-called "handbook" can be found in Fowler, "Handbook," pp. 1–4.

II. "Efter þisum arise eadmodlice to his scrifte": confessions to be said before the priest (Old English)

III. "Ðæt sceal geþencan se þe bið manna sawla læce": guidance for the priest on how to offer penance and forgiveness (Old English)

IV. "Þas þeawas man healt begeondan sæ": a tariff of penances (Old English)

V. "On wisum scryfte bið swiðe forðgelang": advice on how to assign penance (Old English)

VI. "Þus mæg mihtig man and freondspedig": on penance for the powerful (Old English).[820]

Together, the constituent sections of the so-called *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,[821] is a program for solitary confession to be undertaken before visiting the priest, for which section II, a set prayer for the penitent to say before his confessor, might have been used. While section IV combines a description of the practice of public penance with a tariff of penances, sections III, V, and VI 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.

Parts I and II of the *Handbook* will be discussed during this chapter. Fowler finds the former in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8558–63 (2498); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 265; Tiberius A III; and, incomplete, in Corpus Christi 201. He identifies Part II in Tiberius A III and Corpus Christi 201.[822] Fowler does not, however, note that *Handbook I* can also be found in the *Tiberius Psalter*. As discussed in chapter 2, this manuscript begins with a number of prayers and prefaces to the psalms, including the final part of *De laude psalmorum*. Following this, on folio 23r–24r, is *Handbook I*.[823] The introductory rubric, which in Tiberius A III, Corpus Christi 265, and the Brussels manuscript indicates that it is for use by any Christian,[824] labels the piece an "ordo

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820 Fowler, "Handbook," pp. 16–34. Part I is ll. 1–24; II: ll. 25–81; III: ll. 82–112; IV: ll. 113–303; V: 304–432; VI: 433–78.

821 This text is found in the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* and *Othmarus ad discipulos*, dating respectively from after 755 and before 759. Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 284.

822 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 4.

823 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, fols. 23r–24r.

824 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 16.

confessionis sacerdotu*m* et omniu*m* clericoru*m*." In this manuscript, unlike the others, the litany is written out in full. *Handbook I* is then followed by a longer confessional program, beginning with a version of the Confiteor, to be said before a priest: this is a similar text to the "Confessio inter presbiteros" in *Galba*, which will also be discussed below.[825]

Public Confession in the Anglo-Saxon Church

Prayers and directions for public confessional rites were recorded in pontificals; of these, I will focus on the *Pontificale Lanaletense*, which includes a comparatively long group of prayers for absolution by a bishop.[826] I will also discuss a confessional prayer in the mid tenth-century manuscript London, British Library Cotton MS Vespasian D XX. Public confession and penance have already been studied in detail in recent years. Sarah Hamilton has discussed references in Anglo-Saxon texts to public penance;[827] for example, Ælfric writes in his homily for the seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost that "ða digelan gyltas man sceal digelice betan. 7 þa openan openlice."[828] 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.[829] He brings to light the different directions

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825 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, fols. 24r–26r; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 130–33.

826 In addition to the examples from the *Pontificale Lanaletense* 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*. *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 146, pp. 16–22, 31–37; Anselme Davril, ed., *The Winchcombe Sacramentary (Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 127 [105]*, Henry Bradshaw Society 109 (London: Boydell Press, 1995), p. 75; Nicholas Orchard, ed., *The Leofric Missal: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 579*, Henry Bradshaw Society 114 (London: Boydell Press, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 125–26, 163–64; H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Henry Bradshaw Society 11 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1896), pp. 270–72; G. H. Doble, ed., *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27, cat. 368)*, Henry Bradshaw Society 74 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1937), pp. 75–80, 140–43.

827 Hamilton, "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions,'" pp. 83–105.

828 Hamilton, p. 83; Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 462. "One must amend the secret sins secretly, and the public ones publicly."

829 Bedingfield, "Public Penance," pp. 223–55. See also Hamilton, "Rites for Public Penance," pp. 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

for ashing penitents and offering public confession and absolution, practices which the homilist evidently wished were more commonplace.[830] 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.[831]

A penitent was expected to make a confession of sin using a formal confessional prayer. There is a confessional prayer in *Handbook II* which appears to be for use when praying before a confessor.[832] However, Max Förster demonstrated that this prayer is a shorter version of the prayer "Dryhten þu halga god," which is found in Vespasian D XX.[833] In that manuscript, 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.[834] 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.[835] The two texts of this prayer demonstrate that, in public confession as well as sacerdotal, a comprehensive and general confession was made of all the sins which the speaker had ever committed against all people.[836] "Dryhten þu halga god" also includes a list of body parts, which again is more comprehensive than that in the shorter prayer.[837] 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 church rite conducted at least partly in the vernacular.

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exist when the former were composed. Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 157; see also pp. 158–63.

830 Bedingfield, "Public Penance," pp. 241–55.

831 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).

832 Fowler, "Handbook," pp. 17–19.

833 Max Förster, ed., "Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche," *Anglia* 66 (1942), pp. 25–30. Förster demonstrates in a comparative table that each line of the prayer in *Handbook II,* up to l. 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 Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," pp. 97–100; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 395.5; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 212.

834 Hamilton, "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions,'" pp. 91–92.

835 Hamilton, p. 92.

836 Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," pp. 97–98.

837 Logeman, p. 98; Fowler, "Handbook," pp. 17–18.

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 group of prayers for penitents in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*. Although the second of these is incomplete, it has an explanatory rubric which the first lacks: "[i]ncipit absolutio dicenda ab episcopo super conuersum et penitentem . qui conuersus . prosternatur coram altare . et psalmum decantet quinquagessimum . 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."[838] This indicates not only the fact that the penitent was supposed to be prostrate before the altar, but also that the ceremony was intended for use with learned people, who could sing a penitential psalm in Latin, as well as unlearned laypeople.

It is notable that the accompanying prayers are generalized absolutions, asking forgiveness for all of the penitent's sins and giving a list of the kinds of sins which he or she may have committed. It is not suggested that penitents should confess to the specific things which they have done wrong, or list particular occasions on which they have sinned. The prayers also ask God to look mercifully upon the penitent's sorrow for his sin. This can be seen in the *Lanaletense* prayer "Deus humani generis benignissime conditor": "[m]oueat pietatem tuam fletus ipse miserorum tuorum medere uulneribus . Tú benignam iacentibus manum porrige . ne aecclesia tua sui corporis portione priuata temeretur … Tibi igitur humiliamur omnes . tibi supplices fundimus preces . tibi fletum cordis offerimus."[839] This implies that tears as well as words were an important part of prayer, and visualizes God stretching out his hand upon the penitent. Again, as will be seen, there are other confessional prayers which express closeness to God by imagining his actions and how he hears the prayer.

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838 Doble, *Pontificale lanalatense*, p. 140. "*Here begins an absolution to be said by the bishop over a convert and penitent.* Let the 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 group of absolutions in *Lanaletense*, as it includes this rubric. However, in all other quotations from this pontifical, I have quoted from the first group of absolutions on pp. 75–80, as they are a more complete version of the same sequence of prayers.

839 Doble, p. 78. "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 … Therefore we all humble ourselves to you, we pour out prayers to you, we offer the tears of our heart to you."

Monastic Confession in Groups and in Pairs

Other forms of confession could also be found in the Anglo-Saxon church, including group confession in monasteries. According to the *Regularis concordia*, this should have taken 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.[840] On Christmas Day, the abbot was supposed to hear individual confessions from each of his monks: "[f]inita prima, uenientes ad capitulum, post cetera sp*irit*ualis ędificationis colloquia petant humili deuotione omnes f*ratre*s [ueniam] ab abbate, qui uices Chr*ist*i agit, postulantes multiplicium indulgentiam excessuum, dicentes 'Confiteor'; *et* abbas respondeat 'Misereatur.'"[841] Afterwards, however, he was expected to prostrate himself and ask forgiveness of all the brothers together: "[d]emum ipse abbas, solotenus se prosternens, eadem a f*ratr*ibus petat."[842] This indicates that the leaders of religious houses were sometimes expected to confess to their inferiors, and to do so to the whole monastery as a group.

The monks' sins, on the other hand, were confessed to the abbot specifically; it is not made clear if this was held in front of the other monks, but it is suggested that the confession took place in dialogue between the individual monk and his abbot. Other forms of paired confession appear to have been known in Anglo-Saxon England. Sacerdotal confession to a priest is the most obvious example of this, but another is the practice, as evidenced by a few brief references in monastic sources, of confession to a fellow monk or nun. According to the *Regularis concordia*, weekday Compline was followed by prayer and then, after a signal from the prior, "inuicem sibi dent confessionis salubre remedium."[843] Confession in itself is therefore enough to bring a certain degree of healing to a sinner, no matter by whom it is offered.

One intriguing confessional text is a dialogue in the *Galba Prayerbook*. Appearing on folios 98r–102v, this is a version of the Confiteor in dialogue

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840 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 407–15.

841 Kornexl, ll. 698–703. "With Prime being finished, coming to the chapter house, after other talks of spiritual edification, may all the brothers ask pardon with humble devotion from the abbot, who plays the part of Christ, asking pardon of many shortcomings, saying 'I confess'; and let the abbot respond, 'May he have mercy.'"

842 Kornexl, ll. 703–4. "Afterwards, may the abbot, prostrating himself on the ground, likewise ask forgiveness from the brothers."

843 Kornexl, l. 562. "They are to give the healing remedy of confession to one another in turn."

form. Joseph A. Jungmann has traced the history of this penitential prayer, originally to be said by the priest when approaching the altar during mass, in the pre-scholastic period.[844] Of particular relevance here is his observation that "even the layman" might respond to the confession by saying the Misereatur, which began with the words "Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat omnia peccata tua,"[845] and that the dialogue Confiteor became standard within the mass during the first third of the eleventh century.[846] Muir has found the *Galba* text to be based on a text in *De psalmorum usu*, although that particular example is not in dialogue form.[847]

The confession itself is divided into ten parts of varying lengths, each beginning "Ego confiteor," and after five of these parts appears the response "Dimittat d*ominu*s omnia peccata tua";[848] this is written in red ink.[849] The penitent confesses to a range of sins, including not having performed the works of mercy, having sinned in all of the five senses, and swearing by the holy relics and name of God.[850] The penitent's script is specifically intended for use by one of the professional religious, as the speaker confesses to having handled sacred things unworthily: "consecratu*m* dei misterium et reliquias et s*ancto*s libros et s*anct*a uasa indigna et polluta tetigi et p[...] et oratione‹m› meam neglegent-[er][851] in conspectu t‹uo› effudi."[852] The text ends with a final rubric of nearly one page's length: the confessor is instructed to kneel before the altar with the penitent, and, if possible, they are to say the Paternoster together; the confessor is to read *capitula* and the penitent to respond with verses from the psalms.[853]

The confession also begins with a rubric, at the top of folio 98r, "‹I›ncipit confessionem [*sic*] inter presbiteros"; Muir notes that this was added to the text

844 Jungmann, *Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, pp. 298–311

845 Jungmann, vol. 1, pp. 300, 303. "May Almighty God have mercy upon you and forgive all your sins."

846 Jungmann, vol. 1, p. 299.

847 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 130; Migne, *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini,* PL 101, cols. 499C–501A.

848 Muir, *Prayer-Book,* pp. 130–31. "May the Lord forgive all your sins."

849 London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fols. 98r–v, 88r, 99r–v. Muir notes that fol. 88r was bound out of place. Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 130, n. 5.

850 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 131–32.

851 Muir transcribes this as "neglegenti," but this is not clear in the manuscript. Muir, p. 132; London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fol. 100v.

852 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 132. "I have touched the mystery consecrated to God and the relics and the holy books and the sacred vessels whilst unworthy and polluted and [...] I have poured out my prayer neglectfully in your sight."

853 Muir, p. 133.

later, and indeed it is in a blacker ink than the prayer itself.[854] He also notes that folio 52v ends with the rubric "Incipit confessio," and although the confessional prayer "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," beginning on what is now folio 53r, has been placed after this rubric, Muir suggests that the dialogue text, to which I will refer as the *Confessio inter presbiteros*, may originally have taken that place instead.[855] Given the condition of Galba A XIV, and the fact that the *Confessio inter presbiteros* begins at the start of folio 98r and finishes at the end of 102v, it cannot definitively be said to be part of any particular grouping of texts within the manuscript; Muir's edition, which follows the current foliation but for his inclusion of the wrongly placed folio 88, places the *Confessio* between the litany and the hymn "Ardua spes mundi."[856] Alternatively, if the rubric on folio 52v does indeed refer to the *Confessio*, then the text will have been preceded by two lengthy prayers: "Dominator domine deus omnipotens" (folios 39r–45r), a prayer of contrition to the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles and "Qui in hunc mundum" (folios 45r–52v), a prayer in a similar vein. If this was in fact the case, then the two prayers of contrition could have been intended as a preparation for the dialogue confession.

Mostly interesting about the *Confessio inter presbiteros*, however, is the use of gendered grammar in the text. The confession opens with a general confession to God and "cora*m* sacerdote tuo" (before your priest), with the masculine "tuo" implying that, of course, the priest is male; in the closing rubric, "cu*m* ipso prosternat se ipse sacerdos"[857] suggests that both priest and penitent are male; and the opening rubric's "confessionem inter presbiteros"[858] (confession between priests) does likewise. Yet the speaker of the ten confessional passages almost entirely consistently[859] refers to herself using feminine grammatical forms, such as "transgressa sum"[860] (I have transgressed) and "fui … inobediens et contentiosa et inuidiosa et iracunda et auara et cupida et rapax et incredula."[861] It may, of course, simply be the case that the main speaker, a woman in this case, was intended to use the text as a means of confessing to a male priest. Yet the rubricator, though writing after the original scribe,

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854 Muir, p. 130, n. 2; London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fol. 98r.

855 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 69–70.

856 Muir, pp. 129–34.

857 Muir, p. 133. "May the priest prostrate himself with him [the penitent]."

858 Muir, p. 130. "[C]onfessionem" is emended by Muir to "confessio."

859 This prayer does contain one masculine phrase "non consolatus su*m*" (I have not consoled). Muir, p. 131.

860 Muir, p. 130.

861 Muir, p. 132. "I have been … disobedient, quarrelsome, envious, wrathful, avaricious, greedy, acquisitive, and unbelieving."

nevertheless must have been doing so in around the same era, and clearly understood this to be a confession for two priests. At the very least, this text shows how a text originally intended for use by priests was used by nuns, since the Misereatur was spoken by people other than priests at this time. Indeed, folio 119v of Galba A XIV contains a short Confiteor and Misereatur, with the speaker of the former addressing that of the latter as "frater,"[862] suggesting perhaps that it was a dialogue between two monks rather than a confession with absolution pronounced by a priest.

It is even conceivable that eleventh-century women could in some way have been considered *presbyterae*, a suggestion raised and then dismissed by Alexandra Barratt: "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, 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."[863] Gary Macy has examined the status of *presbyterae* in the early Middle Ages, and the meanings of the words *ordinare* and *ordinatio*. Until the twelfth century, these terms did not refer only to entering the priesthood, but to being invested with a particular position, religious or secular: one might be "ordained" as an abbess, king, or queen.[864] It should be remembered here that Hrabanus's *De institutione* only includes baptism, anointing, and the mass in its chapters on the sacraments, whereas confession is discussed after the hours, in the context of private prayer.[865] The list of official Christian sacraments was not standardized until the twelfth century, when Peter the Lombard's *Sentences*, which included a list of the seven most important sacraments, became the set text for theological teaching.[866] *Presbyterae* of some kind clearly existed in the early medieval church: references in the ninth-century pseudo-Isidorian decretals to *presbyterae* imply that they were not the wives of presbyters, but had an office of their own along with other female religious.[867] A Roman ordinal from about 900 commissions *presbyterae* and deaconesses along with their priest and

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862 Muir, p. 154.

863 Alexandra Barratt, "Review of *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book,* ed. Bernard James Muir," *Journal of Theological Studies* 40, no. 2 (1989), p. 656.

864 Gary Macy, "The Ordination of Women in the Early Middle Ages," in *A History of Women and Ordination*, vol. 1, *The Ordination of Women in a Medieval Context*, ed. Bernard Cooke and Gary Macy (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), pp. 1–6.

865 Zimpel, *De institutione clericorum*, vol. 1, pp. 184, 268–74.

866 Macy, "Ordination of Women," p. 14.

867 Macy, p. 7.

deacon husbands, and the prayers for ordaining deaconesses in pre-twelfth-century sacramentaries are no different from those for ordaining deacons; in these cases, Macy argues, no distinction was made between deaconesses and *presbyterae* who held their position through marriage or through ministry.[868] The hearing of confession by an abbess or her representative is better understood: early medieval *regulae* for nuns allow or indeed require an abbess to hear nuns' confessions and determine penance, as did Waldebert's seventh-century *Rule for Virgins*.[869] On the other hand, Carolingian church reforms limited the powers of abbesses in administering the sacraments and even in giving blessings to men, reforms which contributed to the tenth-century monastic reforms in England.[870]

Of course, it cannot be stated for certain that *presbyterae* existed in the Anglo-Saxon church, but there is nevertheless a possibility that convent superiors may have heard their nuns' confessions. Alternatively, the *confessio* may have been used in dialogue between nuns, without formal absolution but with the confession being heard by another nun; it may have been used as a preparation for confession with a priest, or it may be the case that the rubric "confessionem [*sic*] inter presbiteros" was added by a later user who did not notice the feminine inflections. Whichever of these possibilities is correct, the *Confessio* is an example of how some kinds of confession could be undertaken between the unordained, and in pairs, rather than in front of a group of people or on one's own.

Sacerdotal Confession in Monastic Rules

The *Regula Benedicti* has relatively little to say about confession; however, it does make several 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 abbot.[871] 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, and the fault is discovered, their punishment must be the greater. To this is added, "[s]i animae vero peccati causa fuerit latens, tantum abbati aut spiritalibus senioribus patefaciat, qui sciat

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868 Macy, pp. 8–9.

869 Macy, pp. 2–3, 11.

870 Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 68–70.

871 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 7.44.

curare et sua et aliena vulnera, non detegere et publicare."[872] 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.[873]

The *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. If there were too many brothers, the remainder had to confess on Monday,[874] and any monk was supposed to be able to confess at any time if he were tempted.[875] If the "spiritual father" were absent, the monks were expected to confess to his replacement.[876] Private confession to a superior was also expected on certain feast days. On Maundy Thursday, at Prime, the monks were expected to finish the psalms in silence, and then make their confession to the prior: "[t]unc, dicto uersu, genu flexo, peragant cetera silenter. Post 'Pater n*ost*er' dicitur silenter 'Uiu*e*t anima mea et laudabit te' us*que* in finem psalmi. Sed priore peruenienti ad confessionis locum, facto signo agant confessionem."[877] The identity of this "place of confession" is not specified. However, in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, which is to some degree based on the *Regularis concordia*,[878] Ælfric outlines the Sunday confession in brief, adding 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."[879] 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

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872 Fry et al., chap. 46.5–6. "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."

873 Sarah Hamilton has noted that Benedictine monks may not have recognized 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." Hamilton, *Practice of Penance*, pp. 81–83.

874 Kornexl, *Regularis concordia*, ll. 431–39.

875 Kornexl, ll. 442–44

876 Kornexl, ll. 435–36.

877 Kornexl, ll. 919–24. "Then, after this verse has been said, may they complete the other [psalms] silently, on bended knee. After the Paternoster is said, silently [let them say] 'My soul shall live and shall praise thee' [Ps. 118:175], up to the end of the psalm. With the prior coming to the place of confession and the signal having been given, may they make their confession."

878 Jones, *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, pp. 19–21.

879 Jones, pp. 112–13. "[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." All translations are taken from this edition.

abbot might hear these confessions.[880] This may perhaps have been due to the small size of the monastery.[881] Different monastic houses would have followed slightly different customs depending on their needs.

In these examples, the role of the abbot is like 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. Monks were expected to have the opportunity to speak privately to a spiritual superior, confessing their sins and receiving personal guidance.

Sacerdotal Confession in Anglo-Saxon England

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 "þon*ne* ge rihtre andetnesse to eowru*m* scriftu*m* becumen."[882] This phrase is noteworthy, for it suggests that confession was unremarkable. Catherine Cubitt has pointed out that, while Wulfstan of York 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 if priests were failing in their duty to provide confession for the laity.[883] Furthermore, as Helen Foxhall Forbes has noted, William of Malmesbury recounts that, when St. Wulfstan of Worcester was approached by a married woman who sought to attract him, he assumed she wished to confess her sins and therefore drew her aside, presumably because he was accustomed to offering impromptu confession and absolution.[884]

Of course, not everyone took part. The late eleventh-century *Sermo ad populum dominicis diebus* contains a list of the different ways in which sinners

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880 Jones, p. 157.

881 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. Jones, p. 40.

882 Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, p. 74. "When you receive good confession from your confessors."

883 Catherine Cubitt, "Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 14, no. 1 (2006), pp. 52–53. For Wulfstan, see his homily for Lent, in which he complains that public penance is not practiced as often as it should be. Bethurum, *Homilies of Wulfstan*, pp. 233–35. For more details on the part played by Ælfric and Wulfstan in developing and promoting confession and penance, see Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, pp. 141–47.

884 Forbes, "Affective Piety," pp. 339–40; Winterbottom and Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, pp. 30–32.

serve the devil, which includes making excuses for not confessing their sins.[885] 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 apparent that the penitent him- or herself had an important part to play in instigating confession and penance. *Handbook I* exhorts the penitent to undergo confession: "[q]uando aliquis uoluerit confessionem facere peccatorum suorum, uiriliter agat."[886] "Uoluerit" would imply that this confession has been initiated by the penitent, rather than being compulsory at any particular time. This is also suggested by the advice to the confessor in *Handbook III*: "[þ]on*ne* se man hi*m* his misdæda andettan wille, gehire hi*m* ærest geþildelice hu his wise gerad sy."[887] The extent to which penitents could make choices about how to confess is suggested in an Old English teaching text for Lent, contained in a mid-eleventh-century part of the composite pontifical London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C I.[888] This text assumes not only that the audience would have a priest to confess to, but also that they would have a choice of priests: "[g]if hwa þonne ne truwige þæt he to anum lareowe gá fare him to oðrum. and georne hine sylfne clænsige mid godum dædum."[889] Sarah Hamilton argues that "[t]his provision, encouraging the penitent to go elsewhere to confess if he cannot face his own priest, ensures that the emphasis of the text is on voluntary devotional confession rather than disciplinary penance."[890] It is implied not only that the penitent is expected to initiate the confession him- or herself, but also that, if one priest cannot be trusted, the penitent should seek out another rather than simply going without a proper confession.

Confession could also be requested in special circumstances, such as in sickness or when approaching death. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Miscellaneous 482 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 422 both contain a pair of Old English texts explaining what to do when visiting the sick and dying, and which Latin prayers to say. The first of the two programs states that

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885 Arthur Napier, ed., *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), pp. 298–99.

886 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 16. "When someone has wanted to make a confession of his sins, may he do it manfully."

887 Fowler, p. 19. "When the man wants to confess his misdeeds to him, may he first patiently hear what his habit of life is."

888 N. R. Ker, "Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C. i," in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture, Presented to Bruce Dickens*, ed. Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 262–67.

889 Ker, p. 279. "If someone then does not trust that he may go to one teacher, may he go to another, and eagerly cleanse himself with good deeds."

890 Hamilton, "Remedies for 'Great Transgressions,'" p. 86.

it is the sick man himself who makes the decision to be visited in his home: "[s]e untruma sceal laðian him his sacerd to."[891] The priest and other ordained men should anoint him with holy oil and water, and sprinkle the holy water around the house.[892] The priest must then sing psalms and canticles over the sick man,[893] after which he must offer him confession: "[']Aerost þinga þu most þa digolnessa þines modes seofan þurh soðre eadmodnesse geyppan *and* un-þeawa geswicennesse behatan, *and* gif heofena waldend þíne lif-dagas gelencgan wylle, medeme dædbote underfon.['] Gif he þon*ne* hwæt geandettan wille þæs þe he ær geandet næfde, þon*ne* tæce se mæsse-preost hi*m*, hwæt hi*m* to frofre mæge, ge for Gode ge for worulde."[894] It is important that the priest should be there to receive the sick man's confession because, if he does not reveal the sins of an unjustified man to him, then Christ will require the man's blood at the priest's hands.[895] This shows the seriousness with which confession to a priest was taken, particularly when the penitent might die.

Sacerdotal confession was therefore considered to be necessary for all, and the penitent's desire to be shriven was just one essential part of the process. The priest could 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 its audience what they could expect from their confessors: "[b]roðor mine, þon*ne* ge rihtre andetnesse to eowru*m* scriftu*m* becumen, þon*ne* sceal he eow geornlice ahsian mid hwylcu*m* gemete oððe mid hwylcu*m* intingu*m* syo syn þurhtogen wære þe he geandette þæ*t* he ær gefremede, 7 æfter þam gemete þære dæde, he sceal him þa hreowsunge gedeman. He sceall hine eac swa læran þæ*t* he of þa*m* þweorlicu*m* geþohtu*m* andetnesse do, 7 he sceal hine manian þæ*t* he of þam eahta [h]eafodleatru*m* andetnesse do, 7 se sacerd hi*m* sceal synderlice ælcne leahtor genæ*m*nan 7 swa of þa*m* his andetnesse anfon."[896] According to this homily, the penitent's sins should be divided

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891 Fehr, "Altenglische Ritualtexte," pp. 46–47. "The sick man should invite his priest to him." Where the two manuscripts diverge from one another, Fehr edits them separately, and I quote the Laud 482 version.

892 Fehr, pp. 47–48.

893 Fehr, pp. 48–49.

894 Fehr, p. 50. "'First of all things, you must reveal the secrets of your mind's thought through true humility and promise to cease from vices, and, if the ruler of heaven wishes to lengthen the days of your life, to undertake appropriate penance.' If he then wishes to confess something which he has never confessed before, then the mass-priest should teach him what can be to his comfort, both with respect to God and to the world."

895 Fehr, p. 54.

896 Scragg, *Vercelli Homilies*, pp. 74–75. "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

up and understood according to a theological scheme, the *eahta heafodleatrum* (eight chief sins), which refers to the eightfold division of sins explained by Cassian in *De institutis coenobiorum*.[897]

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 geþildelice 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.[898]

According to both the homily and *Handbook III*, the confessor should talk to the penitent about each of his sins, aiming to understand why, and the circumstances in which, each one was committed. 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 which confession without a priest could not.

Prayers for Sacerdotal Confession

While parts III–VI of the *Handbook* instruct the confessor how to deal with the penitent, the first two are aimed at the penitent him- or herself. Part II deals

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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."

897 The eight sins are listed in *De institutus coenobiorum*: according to Cassian, they are gluttony, fornication, greed, wrath, sorrow, acedia, vainglory, and pride. Petschenig, *De institutis coenobiorum*, pp. 81–82.

898 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 19. "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 recognize 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."

with prayer under the guidance of the confessor: the penitent is instructed to go to his confessor, affirm his faith in the Trinity, in eternal life, and in the Judgment, and then to bow humbly and say a long prayer making a formal confession of sin.[899] The prayer begins: "[i]c 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 wæpmen oððe wið wifmen oððe wið ænige gesceaft, gecyndelicra sinna oððe ungecyndelicra."[900] 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. Firstly, it is noteworthy whom he is confessing before: "ælmihtigum Gode *and* minum scrifte," both God and the confessor. The prayer thus itself bears witness to the fact that a priest is one of the addressees of the confession. All kinds of sins are repented, covered in pairs of oppositions: those committed in bodily deed and those in inner thought; those against men and those against women, or any created thing; sins classified as natural, and those as unnatural.

The speaker repents in very general terms, defining them by the basic kinds of sins committed. He views his actions by acknowledging them as manifestations of the chief sins, such as greed, envy, and pride, recognizing that sinful desire has entered him through his senses, and been expressed through all the parts of his body: "[i]c andette eal þæt ic æfre mid eagum 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, *and* for æddran *and* for gris[t]lan, *and* for tungan *and* for weleras . . ."[901] As Tracey-Anne Cooper notes, this confession appears to have been written with the professional religious in mind, for the penitent confesses that he has held his office unworthily and neglected the hours.[902] Furthermore, the confession is validated not only through the authority of the confessor, but also through the altar and holy relics: "[s]wa ic to dæg ealle andette mine scylda toforan Drihtene, hælendum Criste, se wealdeð

899 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 17.

900 Fowler, p. 17. "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."

901 Fowler, pp. 17–18. "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 the flesh, through the bone and the sinews, through the kidneys and the cartilage, through the tongue and the lips."

902 Fowler, p. 18; Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, pp. 221–22. Cooper does, however, argue that these words did not prevent the text from being usable with the laity.

heofonas *and* eorðan, *and* beforan þissu*m* halgan weofode *and* þisu*m* reli-
quiu*m*, *and* beforan minu*m* scryfte *and* Drihtenes mæssepreoste."[903] 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 peni-
tents were able to come before relics for confession in a monastery. 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.[904] Finally, the penitent asks God for forgive-
ness and the priest that he may be his witness on the Judgment Day.[905] He
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 just their own.[906] A prayer for sacerdotal confession in
Tiberius A III suggests that this may have been the case. Beginning similarly to
that in *Handbook II*, this prayer begins with a very revealing rubric, implying
that the penitent was supposed to use the confession selectively, admitting
only the sins which he or she had in fact committed: "[m]an 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 andetnysse, þonne he wyrcende wæs: for-þon-ðe ure Hælend nele, þæ*t*
man on hine sylfne leoge, ne eac ealle menn on áne wisan ne syngiað."[907]
Everyone sins in different ways, rendering the priest's role particularly impor-
tant, as he needs to deal with each person's case individually. If this advice

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903 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 18. "Thus today I confess all my faults before the Lord, the Savior
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."
904 Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in
Anglo-Saxon History 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 171–209.
905 Fowler, "Handbook," pp. 18–19.
906 Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 170. Frantzen is referring to a confession in Oxford,
Bodleian Library Bodley MS 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.
907 Förster, "Zur Liturgik," pp. 8–10. "One must pray as he can and knows how to, with any
language and 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."

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.

Various texts in Latin and English survive for use in sacerdotal confession. The poem now known as *The Rewards of Piety* (once edited as two separate poems)[908] is believed by Graham Caie to have been used as a form of private instruction by priests as a part of the confessional process.[909] The first part of the poem teaches right behavior, while the second gives absolution. Caie's argument is reinforced by the fact that, like a number of private prayers,[910] 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."[911] Subsequent uses of the word *þe* (you) in this poem are therefore directed towards this particular penitent and his or her conscience.

Between the Veneration of the Cross and *Gyf ðe ðynce* in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, on pages 616 and 617, stands a brief confession for penitent and priest, most of which was on a now-missing leaf. The Veneration program is followed by an entirely blank line, something which is otherwise unknown in the part of the manuscript dedicated to miscellaneous prayers (pp. 581–620).[912] There are no rubrics instructing the penitent, or giving any suggestion of a context, excepting the addition, by a different hand to that of the prayer, of the

908 Fred C. 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 *þænne* (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. Robinson, "'The Rewards of Piety:' 'Two' Old English Poems in their Manuscript Context," in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. Fred C. Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 180–95, at pp. 181–83, originally published in Patrick J. Gallacher and Helen Damico, eds., *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 193–200.

909 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 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 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*.

910 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*, vol. 2, p. 4.

911 "[T]hen will the King of nations show mercy on you, ·N·, / forever without end, he who rules the world." Robinson, "Rewards of Piety," ll. 82–83. All translations from this text are from this edition.

912 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 581–620.

word "Confesio" [*sic*] above the first line.[913] The penitent begins by declaring his desire to confess: "[e]go uolo esse confessus deo omnipotenti *et* angelis eius *et* tibi homini dei de omni*bus* peccatis meis que ego feci postquam natus fui [*sic*] *et* baptismum accepi us*que* in istam horam."[914] This prayer is clearly one intended for use with a confessor. The penitent goes on to list the sins which he has confessed, with little detail: "[e]go peccaui in iracundiis multis · in uana gloria *et* in su*per*bia in inuidia in maledicto in auaritia in inobedientia in otiosis sermonibus multis."[915] The following page, after the lacuna, begins with the ending of a prayer of absolution, in which the priest asks blessings upon the penitent.[916] Two further blessings follow, each featuring interlinear glosses changing most of the second- and third-person pronouns to the first-person; for example:[917] "[d]a nobis d*omi*ne ut sicut publicani p*re*cib*us et* confessione placatus es ita *et huic/mihi* famulo tuo ill*i*. placare d*omi*ne *et* p*re*cibus *eius/meis* benignus aspira · ut in confessione flebili p*er*manens · *et* petitione p*er*pet*u*am clementiam tuam celeriter *exor*et/*exorem* s*anctis*que altarib*us* sacra*men*tis restitutus rursus celesti gl*orie* mancipetur."[918] In context, the prayer is intended for the absolution of the penitent and in order to reconcile him with the church, and was in fact included in the texts for public penitential ceremonies.[919] Yet even this appears to have been used by a penitent to pray for his own

913 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 616; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 23.

914 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 616; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 23. "I want to be confessed 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."

915 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 616; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 23. "I have sinned in many angers, in vanity and in pride, in envy, in insult, in avarice, in disobedience, in many unnecessary words."

916 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 617; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 23.

917 Neither Ker nor Montague James comments on the hand used in this gloss, which is similar to the main hand. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 67; Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), no. 391; *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 617.

918 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 617; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, pp. 23–24. 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."

919 Doble, *Pontificale Lanaletense*, p. 76.

forgiveness, suggesting that public confessional prayers, like any other liturgical form, could be adapted for private use.[920] 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 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 evidence which suggests that Anglo-Saxon monastics, and perhaps laypeople also, practiced confession and penitence in other contexts, and in some cases to God alone. In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide a new analysis of confessional prayers, examining ways in which they could have been used without a confessor.

Private Confessional Prayer

It is difficult to tell much about the contexts in which private confession may have taken place. These may have involved a person other than a priest, or have taken place alone. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that prayers of confession and contrition were said in situations without a priest or abbot, and that monastics in particular were encouraged to contemplate their own sins and weep over them. According to the *Regula Benedicti*, monks are expected to confess their sins before God every day: one of the marks of a good monk in chapter 4 of the *Regula* is, "mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in oratione Deo confiteri."[921] The use of the word *Deo* is noteworthy. Phrases such as "in conspectu Dei" (in the sight of God) and "coram Deo" (before God) sometimes appear in the instructions given with confessional prayers; since all prayer is before God, the inclusion of this stipulation may suggest that a confession "before God" was one before God alone. This can be seen in *Handbook I*, which teaches the penitent how to prepare before going to a con-

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920 Forbes, likewise, concludes that these prayers were intended for use in "a private confession by a penitent to a priest," but that they were also used in private devotion. Forbes, "Affective Piety," pp. 338–39.

921 Fry et al., *Rule*, chap. 4.57. "Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer."

fessor. First of all, it explains why confession is necessary, and then it instructs that the penitent "p*r*osternat se humiliter in conspectu D*e*i sup*er* terram."[922] Although he does not yet confess his sins, he is expected to pour out tears and adoration, 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. It is then that the penitent is expected to confess to both God and his confessor: "post h*ę*c incipiat confessionem suam *coram Deo et coram sacerdote* confitens peccata sua."[923] This preparatory act of contrition was therefore important as a preparation for confessing one's sins to the priest.

The distinction can be seen elsewhere in confessional literature. The brief confessional program in the *Portiforium* is also identified as a confession to God and to the confessor: "[e]go uolo esse confessus deo omnipotenti *et* angelis eius *et tibi homini dei* de omnib*us* peccatis meis."[924] This can be contrasted with a group of longer prayers slightly earlier in the manuscript, which has no such suggestions as being for use with a confessor: "[c]*onfessio pura*. Confitebor tibi d*omi*ne omnia peccata mea."[925] After another three prayers, follows the prayer "Miserere Domine, miserere Christe," which here has the rubric "Alia or*atio ad* d*eum* deuote cotidie dicenda."[926] Similarly, in Tiberius A III, the prayer "Eala þu ælmihtiga god" is labeled a "[c]*on*fessio et oratio ad d*eum*."[927] These rubrics suggest a distinction between confessions to God alone and those to the confessor also, but also that both kinds were recognized as *confessiones*.

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922 Fowler, "Handbook," p. 16. "Should prostrate himself humbly on the ground in the sight of God."

923 Fowler, p. 16. Emphasis mine. "After these, may he begin his confession, confessing his sins in the presence of God and of his priest."

924 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 616; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 23. Emphasis mine. "I want to be confessed to God Almighty, and to his angels, and to you, a man of God, of all my sins that I have committed."

925 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 604; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 15. "*Pure confession*. I confess to you, O Lord, all my sins." See also "Confiteor tibi, domine, quia ego peccavi nimis coram te & coram angelis tuis" in the *Eadui Psalter*. Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 246. "I confess to you, O Lord, because I have sinned greatly before you and before your angels."

926 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 608; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 17. "Another prayer to God to be said devoutly every day.'"

927 Its appearance in London, British Library Royal MS 2 B V is simply headed "Confessio et oratio." Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 206. "Confession and prayer to God."

Devotional repentance was encouraged in poetry, such as the relatively little-studied homiletic poem *Instructions for Christians*.[928] Although the poem insists that both prayer and fasting are necessary for eternal bliss, 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.[929]

In the eyes of the poet, it was vital not only to say prayers of confession, but also to think about one's sins. An example of how this kind of advice was put into practice can be seen in *Ælce sunnandæg* in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Upon first rising in the morning, the reader should confess in these words: "For þinre miclan mildheortnesse 7 for ðissa godes worda mægne, miltsa me, 7 syle me minra gedonra synna forgyfnesse, 7 ðara toweardra gescildnessa."[930] This must be done "dihlice, þær ðu sylf sy."[931] *The Rewards of Piety*, likewise, assumes that solitary repentance will take place in a similar context. The reader 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 sauwle ræd   swiðe smeage.[932]

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928 This appears in Cambridge, University Library MS Ii. 1. 33, a manuscript of the second half of the twelfth century. James L. Rosier, ed., "Instructions for Christians" *Anglia* 82 (1964), pp. 4–22; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 18.

929 Rosier, "Instructions for Christians," ll. 166–72. "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."

930 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "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."

931 Günzel, p. 143. "Secretly, where you are alone."

932 Robinson, "Rewards of Piety," ll. 68b–71. "[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."

In both texts, the reader is taught not only to say confessional prayers, but also to think deeply about his or her sins, and specifically to do so at dawn.

One of Ælfric's homilies implies that some people believed it was sufficient to confess to God alone, a practice which, of course, did not find favour with the homilist: "[s]ume men wenað þæt him genihtsumie to fulfremedum læcedome; gif hi heora synna mid onbryrde heortan gode anum andettað. 7 ne þurfon nanum 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."[933] Ælfric's reference to "fulfremede læcedome," complete healing, is significant: more informal kinds of confession and contrition may offer healing, but not the completeness which confession to a priest did.

The context of these prayers may perhaps be seen in the penitential poem *Judgement Day II*, which is in Corpus Christi 201 (pp. 1–7, 161–67), along with fragments from the Old English *Regularis concordia* and *The Rewards of Piety*:[934]

Nu ic eow, æddran,	ealle bidde
þæt ge wylspringas	wel ontynan,
hate of hleorum,	recene to tearum,
þænne ic synful slea	swiðe mid fyste,
breost mine beate	on gebedstowe,
and minne lichaman	lecge on eorðan
and geearnade sar	ealle ic gecige.[935]

Again, the penitent must repent with tears, beat his or her breast with a fist in a "place of prayer," and lie prostrate upon the earth. The posture is noteworthy, bringing to mind references to prostration in prayer seen elsewhere, such as the advice "strecce þe on eorðan" given in *Ælce sunnandæg*.[936] It should be noted, as Allen Frantzen has done, that no confessor is mentioned in this poem,

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933 Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, p. 243. "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."

934 This part of the manuscript is Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 65; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 49A.

935 George Philip Krapp and Elliott van Kirk Dobbie, eds., *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 6 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), p. 58. "Now, fountains, I ask you all, that you open your wellsprings well, hotly on the cheeks, quick to tears, when I, sinful, strike strongly with the fist, beat my breast in the place of prayer, and lay my body on the earth, and I call on all the deserved suffering."

936 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "Stretch yourself out onto the earth."

suggesting that the penitent is praying in the presence of God alone in order to stir up contrition for his or her sins.[937]

The *gebedstowe* is not specified, any more than is the "gelimplicere stowe" seen in *Gyf ðe ðynce* in the *Portiforium* and Tiberius A III.[938] However, "Qui in hunc mundum," which appears to have been designed for use in monastic houses,[939] implies where it should be said. In the version in the *Eadui Psalter*, this prayer includes the words, "[a]d portam aecclesię tuę, domine Jesu Christe, confugio et ad pignora sanctorum tuorum prostratus indulgentiam peto," with *pignora* (relics) glossed as *lichaman* (bodies).[940] This would suggest that confessional prayers could be made in church, in the presence of holy relics. It indicates not only the seriousness with which such confessions were taken, but also, perhaps, the need to validate a confession by making it in the presence of the saints. Of course, copies of the text may have circulated in environments where there were no relics: the version of "Qui in hunc mundum" in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* has *suffragia* (intercessions, support) instead of *pignora*.[941]

There is therefore evidence to suggest that the confessional process required the penitent to think about his or her sins, either alone in the morning, or in preparation for visiting the priest. Rubrics instructing the penitent to confess "ad Deum" or "in conspectu Dei" imply that they may have been for use without a confessor. Such a penitent was not at a loss for prayers to use in inciting contrition for sin. It is the nature of such prayers that I will now examine in detail.

The Characteristics of Private Confessional Prayers

Most of the prayer collections examined so far in this book contain confessional prayers of this kind, with certain characteristics in common. 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 sorrow for sin, and they express closeness to God by imagining the penitent's prayer from his perspective. They show a tendency towards generality and comprehensiveness, making great use of

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937 Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 185.

938 Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 24. "A suitable place."

939 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*, p. 68, n. 19.

940 Holthausen, "Altenglische Interlinearversionen," p. 243. "O Lord Jesus Christ, I flee to the door of your church and ask for mercy prostrated before the relics of your saints."

941 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 584; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3.

Table 5.1: Prayers in the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, pp. 581–618, indicating the confessional prayers (based on Hughes, ed., *Portiforium*, vol. 2).

Page no.in edition.	Page no. in MS	Prayers
1–2	*581–83*	*Liturgical prayers; prayers to the Trinity*
3–5	583–88	"Qui in hunc mundum"
5–7	588–90	(Oratio et confessio) "Ego humiliter te adoro"
7	590–91	(Oratio sancta) "Qui es trinus unus"
7–8	591–92	(Oratio) "Mane cum surrexero"
8–12	*592–99*	*Prayers to the cross and the saints*
12–13	599–600	(Oratio Sancti Gregorii) "Tempus meum prope est"
13–14	600–1	"Peccavi domine et nimis peccavi in homine"
14–15	601–3	(Anglice) "For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse"
15	*603–4*	*Prayer to St. Swithun*
15	604	(Confessio pura) "Confitebor tibi domine omnia peccata mea"
15–17	604–6	(Alia oratio unde supra) "Qui es trinitas una"
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 cotidie dicenda) "Miserere domine, miserere Christe"
18–23	*609–16*	*Prayers to the cross*
23	616–17	(Confes[s]io) "Ego uolo esse confessus"
23	617	"Benedicat te deus celi"
23–24	617	"Da nobis domine ut sicut publicani"
24	*617–18*	*Gyf ðe ðynce; prayer to the Virgin*

hyperbole and repetition, they express deep emotion, and they place great emphasis on the innumerability of the speaker's sins. In this discussion, I will refer to the *Portiforium of St. Wulstan* and Tiberius A III above all, and also to the *Galba Prayerbook*. As a significant proportion of the private prayers in the *Portiforium* are of confession or contrition, it is worth noting the names and locations of relevant prayers. Table 5.1 lists the prayers in this series, with

confessional prayers in plain type. Prayers of other kinds are noted in italics and are not listed individually.

Additionally, I will refer to some Old English prayers 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*.[942]

In the *Galba Prayerbook*, the eleventh-century additions to the *Vespasian Psalter*, and in a great many other medieval manuscripts, is a prayer called "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." Originally found in the Carolingian *libelli precum*, this prayer became particularly common across Europe and over several centuries, and has been the subject of a study and collated edition by Jonathan Black.[943] It is usually accompanied by the *Psalmi de paenitentia* discussed in chapter 2, and 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.[944]

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 MS 18.[945] 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"[946] and the *Psalmi de paenitentia* for morning prayer.[947] Waldhoff notes that this letter specifically states that the prayer

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942 Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan, eds., "Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii," *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994), pp. 206–16. For the context of these prayers, and all the confessional texts, in Tiberius A III, see Cooper, "Lay Piety," pp. 49–50.

943 The sources collated by Black are listed in Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 26–28.

944 Black, pp. 2–5; Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven," p. 15. A collated edition of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" and *Psalmi de paenitentia* can be found in Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 30–49.

945 For example, in the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, the prayer is titled "Confessio quam alchuinus composuit karolo imperatori." Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 161–62. "The confession which Alcuin composed for the Emperor Charles." For the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bald*, see Herbert Brunner, *Schatzkammer der Residenz München: Katalog*, 3rd ed. (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 1970), no. 4.

946 André Wilmart, ed., "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine* 34 (1922), p. 241. "The confession which Alcuin, of blessed memory, gave ‹to Lord Charles›."

947 Black, "Alcuin and the Preface," pp. 20–21; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 162–63. 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," pp. 238–42; Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, pp. 253–54. 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

was to be used in private: "in exemplo illius secrete et, si potest, coram altari et coram deo et angelis eius faciatis."[948] Amongst surviving English manuscripts, it first appears in the eleventh century: in the *Galba Prayerbook*, folios 53r–57r;[949] the additions to the *Vespasian Psalter*, folios 156v–157v;[950] the *Bury Psalter*, folios 177r–179r;[951] and, with a gloss, in the *Eadui Psalter*, folios 175v–177v.[952] The Old English "Eala þu ælmihtiga god," beginning as a translation of the Latin but departing from it after a point, is found in Tiberius A III, folios 44r–45v and in London, British Library Royal MS 2 B V, folios 197r–198r.[953] Copies of the Latin text can also be found in the twelfth century manuscripts London, Society of Antiquaries MS 7, and, in a shortened version, in London, British Library Cotton MS Nero C IV, folio 136r–v.[954]

"Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" is divided into four sections. The speaker begins by asking God's clemency upon all his sins,[955] after which he confesses to having sinned in all possible ways: in thoughts, words, and actions.[956] He gives a list of all the specific sins committed by each and every part of his body: this forms the main part of the prayer.[957] Finally, he admits his sinfulness and asks God to look with mercy upon him.[958] This prayer is of particular significance for this chapter as it includes a number of the stylistic and theological features which are typical of confessional prayers.

MS 127, now no longer extant, although Black as well as Wilmart believes that this refers to Charlemagne. Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 3–4.

948 Wilmart, "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," p. 241. "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*, pp. 179–80.

949 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 70–73.

950 Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*, pp. 316–17.

951 Wilmart, "Bury Psalter," p. 13.

952 The text is edited in Logeman, *Anglo-Saxonica Minora*, pp. 115–19; Logeman does not cite full folio numbers. London, British Library Arundel MS 155.

953 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," pp. 189, 206–8.

954 Thomas Bestul, ed., *A Durham Book of Devotions*, *Edited from London, Society of Antiquities MS 7*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 18 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1987), pp. 41–43; for Nero C IV, see Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," p. 28; London, British Library Cotton MS Nero C IV, fol. 136r.

955 Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," ll. 1–8.

956 Black, ll. 9–13.

957 Black, ll. 17–56.

958 Black, ll. 57–72.

The Context of Private Confessional Prayers

Different kinds of confessional prayers, in different languages, can be found grouped together in a passage in Tiberius A III; these are listed in the below table.

Table 5.2: A group of confessional prayers in Tiberius A III (based on Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*).

Cooper no.	Fol no.	Prayers
		Miscellaneous short notes
T31	44r	Introductory lines on confession: "Gif hwa fulice on gecyndelicum þingum"
T32	44r–45v	Prayer: "Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse"
T33	45v–46r	Prayer before confessor, with rubric: "Man mot hine gebiddan . . . Ic eom andetta ælmihtigum gode 7 eac minum scrifte"
T34	46r–v	Prayer: "Tibi flecto genua mea"
T35	46v–47r	Prayer: "For þinre þære mycelan mildheortnysse"
T36	47r–48r	Prayer: "Ic þe eom andetta minra synna"
T37	48r–50v	Prayer: "Si ðe wuldor and þanc"
T38	50v–51v	Prayer: "Drihten þu eart scippend ealra gescefta"
T39	51v–53r	Exhortation to confession: "Gif þu wilt nu læof"
T40	53r–55r	Words for a confessor: "Ic andette þe"
T41	55r–v	Preparation for confession: "Quando aliquis voluerit" (*Handbook I*)
T42	55v–56r	Confession to a priest: "Æfter þissum arise eadmodlice to his scrifte" (*Handbook II*)
T43	56r–v	Instructions for confession: "Ðæt sceal geþencan se þe bið manna sawla læce" (*Handbook III*)
	57r ff.	*Offices and prayers to the cross*

"Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendlicere mildheortnesse," which opens as a translation of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," has the rubric "Co*n*fessio et oratio ad d*eu*m," implying that it may have been used before God alone. This is followed by the prayer instructions "Man mot hine gebiddan," which were quoted in full earlier in this chapter. These begin with a single-line red initial

"M," as do the different sections of "Eala þu ælmihtiga god" and the following prayers in this section of the manuscript, but unlike all of those, the AN of "Man" are written in rustic capitals, suggesting perhaps that a new section of the prayer sequence was supposed to begin here. It is also worth noting that the first line of this text ends with substantial blank space, as if a rubric was planned but was forgotten or deliberately omitted:

> MAN mot hine gebiddan swa swa he mæg 7 can ·
> mid ælcum gereorde . 7 on ælcere stowe . Nu is her on englisc andet
> nyss 7 gebed.[959]

The "andetnyss" referred to begins "Ic eom andetta ælmihtigum gode · 7 eac minum scrifte," and is intended for use with a priest, in Old English and ending with a Latin formula.[960] Various Latin prayers follow, including "Supplico te dei sacerdos," to be said by the penitent to the priest. The section of sacerdotal confession ends with these instructions: "[e]t postea dicat sacerdos cui confessus est peccata sua ante altare dicens · Deuerte ab omni malo usque infinem · Et postea hęc recedat humiliter in domum suam orans *et* custodiens mandata sacerdotis."[961] Indicating that the foregoing exchange has taken place before an altar, and that the priest himself is also expected to confess his own sins, this passage also suggests that the following prayers could be said at home, without the priest. These are the vernacular prayers "For þinre þære mycelan mildheortnysse," "Ic þe eom andetta minra synna," "Si ðe wuldor 7 þanc," and "Drihten þu eart scippend ealra gescefta."[962] While "Qui in hunc mundum" contains an admission of having been late to the monastic offices, "[p]ro hoc q*uo*d ego ad opus dei tarde uenio,"[963] "Eala þu ælmihtiga god unasecgendicere mildheortnesse" has a more general confession of not having gone to church: "[i]c syngode gelome þurh asolcennysse ða ða me

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959 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 45v. "One must pray as he can and knows how to, in any language and in any place. Now, here is a confession and prayer in English."

960 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 45v. "I am a confessant to Almighty God, and also to my confessor."

961 London, British Library Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fol. 46v. "And afterwards, may the priest to whom he has confessed his sins speak, saying before the altar: 'Turn from every evil' up to the end. And afterwards may [the penitent] return humbly to his/her house, praying and keeping the commands of the priest."

962 The first three of these are in Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," pp. 209–16.

963 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 586. Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 4. "Because I arrive late to the Work of God."

god ne lyste don, ne gan to godes huse."[964] Along 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.

The manuscript context of confessional prayers must also be considered. "Qui es trinitas una" in the *Galba Prayerbook* is an interesting example. It begins on folio 39r of Galba A XIV, in a skilled Caroline hand, with eleven well-spaced lines to the rather small manuscript page. Overleaf, the hand soon switches to one much larger and less-practiced, with interlinear additions, presumably due to eye-skip.[965] As discussed in the Introduction, this manuscript may have been used for training new scribes: it is possible that the opening lines were written in by the teacher and the rest of the prayer by a pupil. This prayer opens with the rubric "Oratio ad patriarchas et prophetas";[966] it is mostly a prayer for the intercessions of the saints, asking God for virtues instead of sins, and expressing contrition. The *Galba Prayerbook* includes few such headings. As already discussed in chapter 4, "Qui in hunc mundum" begins with an apotropaic rubric claiming protection for those who say "hanc orationem";[967] it is not here referred to as a *confessio*, even though the speaker accuses himself of great sinfulness. The prayer ends on folio 52v with the rubric "Incipit confessio";[968] due to the condition of the manuscript, it cannot be said for certain which prayer followed. Muir follows it with "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," but he notes that the dialogue discussed above, itself beginning "⟨I⟩ncipit confessionem [*sic*] inter presbiteros," may have instead appeared next.[969]

The copy of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" in the eleventh-century additions to the *Vespasian Psalter* is titled "confessio ad d*ominu*m sive oratio";[970] as will be discussed below, the semi-translation in Tiberius A III is also called a "Co*n*fessio et oratio ad d*eu*m."[971] The *Portiforium* contains far more rubrics, but generally uses the term *oratio* to head its prayers of confession and contrition. "Ego humiliter te adoro" is an "Oratio *et* confessio";[972]

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964 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 207. "I have often sinned through sloth, when I did not desire to do good, nor go to God's house."

965 London, British Library Cotton MS Galba A XIV, fols. 39r–45r.

966 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 56.

967 Muir, p. 61.

968 Muir, p. 69.

969 Muir, pp. 70, 130, and 130 n. 2.

970 Kuhn, *Vespasian Psalter*, p. 316. "Confession or prayer to the Lord."

971 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 206. "Confession and prayer to God."

972 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 588; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 5. "Prayer and confession."

"Confitebor tibi domine" is a "Confessio pura," but the following prayer, "Qui es trinitas una," is titled "Alia or*atio* unde supra,"[973] implying that *confessio* and *oratio* were to some extent interchangeable. Meanwhile, "Miserere Domine, miserere Christe," a prayer for mercy but not a confession of sins *per se*, has the rubric "Alia or*atio* ad d*eu*m deuote cotidie dicenda."[974] "Confitebor tibi domine" expresses contrition for sins and asks for strength, but does not confess specific sins, so it cannot be said that the term *confessio* was specifically reserved for prayers in which sins themselves are listed. The meanings of the two terms are not always clearly distinguished.

The Composition and Style of Confessional Prayers

While confessional prayers often appear grouped together, unlike the prayers to the cross they are not joined together with liturgical items such as psalms, Paternosters, or antiphons, perhaps because they tend to be distinctly private prayers, and not taken from liturgical sources. Unlike the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, they are not short, collect-length prayers, but instead are extraordinarily long, composed of several sections, lists of sins and petitions to saints, and repeated phrases. A possible explanation for this great length is that shorter prayers may have been combined together. The prayer "Qui in hunc mundum" can be found in the the *Book of Cerne*, beginning with the words "Domine iesu christe qui in hunc mundum propter peccatores" and ending with "nisi te auxiliante alme christe."[975] Also, in the tenth-century manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 2731A, the prayer "'Auxiliatrix esto mihi" appears, which almost exclusively consists of repeated epithets for God: "[t]u es deus meus uiuus et uerus. Tu es pater meus. Tu es deus meus pius. Tu es rex meus magnus. Tu es iudex meus iustus."[976] In *Galba* and the *Portiforium*, however, "Auxiliatrix sis mihi" has been copied out as a part of "Qui in hunc mundum," at the point where the *Cerne* prayer ends.[977]

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973 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 604; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 15. "Pure confession," "another prayer as above."

974 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 608; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 17. "Another prayer to God, to be said devoutly every day." Hughes's reading "Alia oratio ad deum deuote corde dicenda" is incorrect.

975 Kuypers, *Cerne*, pp. 111–14. "O Lord Jesus Christ, who in this world, because of sinners . . ."; "except with you helping, merciful Christ."

976 Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch*, p. 388. "You are my living and true God. You are my father. You are my holy God. You are my great king. You are my just judge."

977 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 585; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 4; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 66–67.

The version found in these two later prayerbooks – it runs from the end of page 583 to the start of 588 in the *Portiforium*, and occupies a full seven and a half folios of the smaller *Galba Prayerbook* – comprises a number of different sections in different styles. Some parts are composed of longer sentences, whereas another is made up of repeated petitions based on the same phrase, much like "Auxiliatrix esto/sis mihi": "D*omi*ne d*eus* om*nipoten*s libera me de inferno inferiori · D*omi*ne d*eus* om*nipoten*s libera me de igne inextinguibili · D*omi*ne d*eus* om*nipoten*s libera me de p*roto*plasto satane."[978] It may be that "Libera me de inferno inferiori," like "Auxiliatrix esto mihi," was once a separate prayer, but a copyist chose to make it part of "Qui in hunc mundum."

The use of short, repetitive phrases is known in other prayers as well. For example, "Ego humiliter te adoro," which follows this prayer in the *Portiforium of St. Wulfstan*, opens with a passage also beginning with a number of "tu es" phrases.[979] This style of creating a prayer from a brief, repeating pattern, rather like the "Sancte/a X, ora pro me" pattern of the litany of the saints, occurs occasionally in Anglo-Saxon private confessional prayer. Other examples are "Miserere Domine, miserere Christe" and a vernacular prayer, "Si ðe wuldor and þanc," which is found in Tiberius A III and Royal 2 B V. The Latin prayer reads "[m]iserere d*omi*ne miserere *christ*e tu mis*ericor*dia mea miserere mei · Miserere d*omi*ne miserere *christ*e. ut bene rogam te. Miserere d*omi*ne miserere *christ*e. ut dignu*m* me facias exaudiri."[980] The Old English prayer is based on a longer repeating pattern of phrases beginning with "Min drihten, si ðe þanc" and "Forgif me for": "Min drihten, si þe þanc þæs þe þu lete on þinum andwlite þa earman 7 þa unlædan heora spatl spiwan. Forgif me for þære þrohunge þe hi on þinne andwlitan spætlodon þ*æt* þu geclensie fram eallum besmitennyssum ge minne gast ge minne lichaman. Min drihten, si þe þanc . . ."[981]

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978 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 584; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3. "O Lord God Almighty, free me from the lower hell. O Lord God Almighty, free me from the inextinguishable fire. O Lord God Almighty, free me from the first-created Satan."

979 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 588; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 5.

980 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 608; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 17. "Have mercy, O Lord; have mercy, O Christ: you are my mercy, have mercy on me. Have mercy, O Lord; have mercy, O Christ, that I may ask you well. Have mercy, O Lord; have mercy, O Christ, that you may make me fit to be heard."

981 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 213. "My Lord, thanks be to you that you let the wretched and ignorant bring up their spittle on your face. Forgive me for the suffering which they spat on your face, that you may cleanse both my spirit and my body from all filth. My Lord, thanks be to you . . ."

Another form of repetition which is more notable in confessions than in other genres of prayer is the use of parallelism and synonyms. In an example of the former, the speaker of "Qui es trinus unus" asks God to cast out his sins and grant to him virtues: "[d]epelle a me d*omi*ne concupiscentiam gule *et* da michi uirtutem abstinentię · *fuga* a me sp*iritum* fornicatio*nis*· *et* da mihi ardorem castita[tis]· *Extingue* cupiditatem *et* da mihi uoluntariam paup*erta*tem."[982] The latter can be seen in "Qui in hunc mundum": "[a]udi *et* exaudi me d*omi*ne d*eus* m*eus* peccatorem· *et* culpabilem· *et* indignu*m*, *et* negl[i]gente*m*· *et* obnoxiu*m*."[983] This not only exemplifies the intensifying use of internal rhyme, but is also analogous to the use of synonyms in Old English verse. Likewise, "In naman þære halgan þrynesse," a vernacular prayer unique to the *Galba Prayerbook*, makes use of the predilection for alliterative pairs typical of Old English poetry:

> 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* mine lioðu,
> min fell *and* flæsc,
> min blod *and* ban,
> min mod *and* gemynd *and* min gewit.[984]

In a discussion of Irish prayer, Allen Frantzen has argued that confessions of this kind bear the mark of oral literature, and were intended not merely to be said aloud, but to be aurally pleasing.[985] The distinctive reliance of confessional prayers, above all other forms of prayer, on repetition and alliteration, and on synonyms and parallelism, contributes not only to the great length of confessional prayers, but also to the poetic qualities of the prayer as a text to be spoken aloud. The unpleasant task of confessing one's sins may well have been

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982 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 590; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 7. Emphases mine. "Expel from me, O Lord, the longing of gluttony, and give me the virtue of abstinence. Drive out of me the spirit of fornication, and give me the fire of chastity. Extinguish desire and give me voluntary poverty."

983 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 584; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3. "Hear and listen to me, O Lord my God, a sinner, culpable and unworthy, and neglectful, and guilty."

984 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 136; see also p. xxiv. Page layout mine. "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, my skin and flesh, my blood and bones, my spirit and mind and my sense."

985 Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 90.

thus made more bearable by prayer composers who made confession more pleasurable and appealing. These literary devices also suggest that private confessional prayer was not only about asking forgiveness, but also about achieving a meditative state in order to think about sin and mercy.

These 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." After beginning as a direct translation of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," the list of body parts in the original is replaced with a confession based on the eight chief sins. For example: "[i]c syngode gelome þurh asolcennysse ða ða me god ne lyste don, ne gan to godes huse, ne nan ellen niman to ænigum godan weorce; ac ic lyfede min lif lange on solcennesse butan godum weorcum 7 godum biggenge."[986] 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.

Another scheme for understanding sin can be seen in "Tempus meum prope est," in which the penitent asks forgiveness for "[q]uicquid locut*us* fui [*sic*]· aut cogitaui· aut feci."[987] 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."[988] However, it was in Irish penitential literature that it found its most extensive application. 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.[989] It was of particular use in ninth-century penitential texts, such as those in *De psalmorum usu* and the Confiteor, which made the triad widespread until the Confiteor was formally included in the mass in the eleventh century.[990]

The presence of the triad in prayers from the early Anglo-Saxon prayer-books, such as "Mane cum surrexero" in Royal 2 A XX, is due to the Irish

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986 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 207. "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."

987 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 600; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 13. "Whatever I have said, or thought, or done."

988 Patrick Sims-Williams, "Thought, Word and Deed: An Irish Triad," *Ériu* 29 (1978), pp. 80–82.

989 For examples of the use of the triad in Irish or Irish-influenced texts, see Sims-Williams, pp. 83–103, especially p. 95; for the Irish emphasis on sacerdotal confession, see pp. 103–4.

990 Sims-Williams, pp. 105–7.

influences upon them.[991] 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 of sin.[992] This schema can be seen in the poem which is generally titled *A Prayer*, found in full in London, British Library Cotton MS Julius A II and in part in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 427. Sarah Larratt Keefer has studied the use of liturgical phraseology in this poem:

> 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 geþohte*, þearle scyldi,
> inwitniðas *oft and gelome*.[993]

Keefer notes that, in the lines which I have italicized above, the poem translates the phrase "peccavi in cogitatione, in locutatione et opere,"[994] familiar from formal confessions of sin as discussed above.[995] She also sees in the phrase "dæ(i)ges and nihtes" (by day and by night), which occurs three times in the poem, an echo of the confession of the phrase "regulariter die cotidie noctuque."[996] It could be added to Keefer's observations that "oft and gelome" recalls the expressions of the frequency of sin seen in, for example, "Eala þu ælmihtiga god." 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.[997] This was copied onto the end of a blank folio after a glossed confessional prayer added to a psalter manuscript; and it is followed by "Confitebor

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991 Sims-Williams, pp. 99–103.

992 Sims-Williams, p. 110.

993 Krapp and Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, p. 96. 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."

994 "I have sinned in thought, in word, and in deed."

995 Keefer, "Respect for the Book," pp. 39–40, n. 31.

996 Keefer, p. 40, n. 31. Keefer notes that this phrase can be found in Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 140. "Regularly by day and commonly by night."

997 Keefer, "Respect for the Book," pp. 39–40.

tibi," suggesting that the scribe selected these lines of the poem to fit a penitential context.[998] 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.[999]

In addition to the threefold division of sins, the listing of sins is seen in all kinds of confessional prayers: for example, "Qui in hunc mundum" and "Ego humiliter te adoro." This suggests that these prayers were intended to be very generalized, not made in response to any particular sin, but part of the reader's usual private prayers. For example, in the latter, we see: "[p]eccaui p*er* sup*er*biam *et* p*er* inuidiam · Peccaui p*er* detractationem *et* p*er* auaritionem peccaui p*er* malitia*m et* p*er* mendatiu*m*· peccaui p*er* fornicationem *et* p*er* gula*m*."[1000] The prayer also includes a list of body parts with which the speaker has sinned: "[p]eccaui in oculis meis *et* in aurib*us* meis *et* in narib*us* meis · Peccaui in lingua mea *et* in gutture meo."[1001] Frantzen has compared such body-part lists to the *loricae*, in which the speaker prays for protection over each part of his or her body.[1002] They could also be seen in the light of exorcisms such as one in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, in which the devil is cast out from each of a man's

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998 Keefer, pp. 39–40; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 517; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 280.

999 *A Prayer* may not have been the only Old English confessional prayer-poem. Helena W. Sobol has written on the unusually close parallels of phrasing between the Old English poem *Resignation*, from the *Exeter Book*, and a prayer in the *Galba Prayerbook*, "In naman þære halgan þrynesse," similarities which are perhaps too close to be coincidental. She concludes that *Resignation* itself could be regarded as a prayer, were it not for the fact that part of it is an elegiac poem. Bliss and Frantzen had previously argued that *Resignation* was in fact two poems, but Sobol rejects this theory. Sobol, "In Defence of the Textual Integrity of the Old English *Resignation*," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 50, no. 1 (2015)," pp. 71–85; Alan Bliss and Allen J. Frantzen, "The Integrity of *Resignation*," *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 27 (1976), pp. 386–97; Muir, *Prayer-Book*, pp. 136–37.

1000 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 588; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 6. "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."

1001 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 589; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 6. "I have sinned in my eyes and in my ears and in my nostrils. I have sinned in my tongue and in my throat."

1002 Allen J. Frantzen, "Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), p. 123. *Loricae*, such as the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, were known in late Anglo-Saxon England: see Pettit, *Lacnunga*, vol. 1, ll. 315–498; Kuypers, *Cerne*, pp. 85–88; 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: Simpkin and Marshall, 1889), pp. 90–95.

limbs and organs.[1003] 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: in this case, listing different parts of the body not that they might be blessed, but that they might be forgiven. This tradition of the confessional *lorica* was developed by Alcuin in "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." The speaker of this prayer has sinned "in cogitationibus pessimis, in meditationibus pravis, in consensu malo, in consilio iniquo, in concupiscentia atque delectatione inmunda, in verbis otiosis, in factis malitiosis, in visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu."[1004] It is these five senses which act as the gateways from the outside world into the speaker's body, letting in temptations to sin, and it is through the limbs and parts of his body that such sin is expressed. The speaker then lists all the parts of his body according to the sins which he has committed with them, and the virtues which he should instead have committed. Unlike "Ego humiliter te adoro," Alcuin's prayer gives life to the parts of the body. Frantzen has noted how each part is "animated" and the genre of the body-part list reworked in a far more inventive way than in earlier prayers of the kind.[1005] For example: "[d]orsum meum ad iniqua roboravi opera, et collum in carnali erexi superbia. Humera mea ad portanda nequitiae onera subdidi."[1006] In "Si ðe wuldor and þanc," in Tiberius A III and Royal 2 B V, the list of body parts is also particularly creative. Each sinful part of the body is contrasted with the corresponding parts of the holy body of Christ: "[m]in 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."[1007] This is reminiscent of the prayer

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1003 Sims-Williams has examined the close similarity between a body part list in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, that in the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and in an exorcism in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*. Sims-Williams, "Thought, Word and Deed," pp. 88–93; F. E. Warren, ed., *The Antiphonary of Bangor: An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan*, vol. 1, Henry Bradshaw Society 4 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1892), fols. 30v–31r.

1004 Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," ll. 9–13. "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."

1005 Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 89.

1006 Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," ll. 33–34. "I have put my back into wicked works, and lifted my neck in carnal pride. I have put my shoulders to carrying the burdens of wickedness."

1007 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," pp. 214–15. "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 "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 89; Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," ll. 18–56.

"Adoro te" discussed in chapter 3, in which Christ's wounds heal the speaker's soul, and his death is the speaker's life. In both prayers, a similarity is found between Christ and the speaker only to emphasize the difference between them.

It is unclear, however, how these lists of sins, being such generalized confessions, were intended for use in 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.[1008] It is possible that these prayers were intended for use in the same way, with the penitent using them as an examination of conscience, selecting the sins which he or she needed to confess. Alternatively, Frantzen has argued that these complete lists of sins were a necessary part of private 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."[1009] 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 Judgment, 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 emphasizing his sinfulness. With this in mind, it is worth noting that the speaker of "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" opens 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 poenitentiam te malle peccatorum quam mortem, tibi omnia cordis mei revelabo arcana."[1010] This would be particularly important in cases where the prayer is said before God alone.

Above all, private confessional prayers emphasize the number of sins which the speaker has committed in his or her life, and they do so in several ways. Firstly, they typically request that God forgive all of the speaker's sins, each and every one that he has ever committed: "[e]go te p*e*to remissione*m* om*n*iu*m* peccato*rum* meorum … tibi n*un*c uolo confiteri om*n*ia peccata mea multi-

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1008 Förster, "Zur Liturgik," pp. 8–9.

1009 Frantzen, *Literature of Penance*, p. 88.

1010 Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," ll. 63–64. "You, O Lord, the recognizer of hidden things, who said that you prefer the penitence of sinners to their death, to you I will reveal all the secrets of my heart."

plicata sunt en*im* debita mea numeru*m* non habent."[1011] The innumerability of sins is another common motif: "[t]e *e*go precor d*omi*ne ut inlumines cor meu*m* quia peccata mea innumerabilia sunt ualde."[1012] This is emphasized with the word *ualde* (greatly), which is clearly hyperbolic, as there can hardly be degrees of innumerability. Similarly, in the section of "Eala þu ælmihtiga god" based on the eight chief sins, the word *oft* (often) appears seven times, its synonym *gelome* three times, and *feala* (many) once.[1013] Finally, the speaker of "Peccavi, domine" asks all the saints and angels to pray for him, "ut merear sup*e*rare om*n*es iniquitates meas quas co*m*misi a iuuentute mea · usq*ue* in p*re*sente*m* diem."[1014] This suggests particularly strongly that the prayers are intended to encompass all possible sins.

This may explain why confessional prayers have a tendency towards synonyms and repetition. The speaker of "Eala þu ælmihtiga god," 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.[1015] Something similar is at work in the litanic prayer, which, as discussed earlier, is found embedded in "Qui es trinitas una" in the *Portiforium*: "[a]bscide a me d*omi*ne s*e*cu*l*i hui*us* cupiditate*m*. Da m*ihi* uoluntaria*m* paupertate*m*. Expelle a me iactantia*m* mentis *et* tribuit [*sic*] m*ihi* conpunctione*m* cordis."[1016] 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 emphasizes the strength of the penitent's desire to be healed. There is also a notable emphasis on totality and comprehensiveness: the speakers of Anglo-Saxon confessions ask forgiveness "[a]b om*n*i malo p*re*terito p*re*-

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1011 "Ego humiliter te adoro." *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 588; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 6. "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."
1012 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 599; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 12. "I implore you, O Lord, that you may illuminate my heart, because my sins are greatly innumerable."
1013 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," pp. 206–7.
1014 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 601; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 13. "That I may deserve to overcome all the sins which I have committed from my youth up to the present day."
1015 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 206.
1016 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 606; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 16. "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."

senti *et* futuro,"[1017] for "omnia peccata mea quecu*m*que feci omnib*us* dieb*us* uite m*ę*e,"[1018] and for "ealles þæs þe ic æfre ongean þinne mæran willan geworhte dæges oþþe nihtes, gewealdes oþþe ungewealdes, on worde oðð*e* on weorce oþþe on minum þistrum geþance."[1019]

Yet, though the speaker immoderately accuses himself of complete sinfulness, "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae" does not demand complete holiness from him, but realistically achievable goodness. The list of sins begins with the confession, "in membris singulis naturae modum excessi."[1020] The speaker confesses to having run into "malum sequendo libidinem supra modum."[1021] Finally, the speaker concludes, "in omnibus membris meis me reum intelligo super mensuram."[1022] The prayer therefore consistently emphasizes the importance of moderation in human behaviour, and the dangers of falling into extremes of sin. While it would, of course, to be wrong to take this to mean that the speaker is expected to be moderately sinful, it may be that this confession refrains from demanding full perfection as it does not include an act of absolution from a priest.

Private prayers draw on biblical examples in order to ask God's mercy, and in particular they portray God as the Creator, sometimes with specific references to the book of Genesis. For example, the speaker of "Tempus meum prope est" asks, "[e]ffunde m*ih*i lacrimas sic*ut* fundasti aquas sup*er* terra*m* · q*u*ia obduratu*m* est cor meum quasi petra."[1023] Similarly, "Qui in hunc mundum" contains the petition, "D*omi*ne de limo terre formasti me ossib*us* uenis neruis formasti me· D*omi*ne p*ro* tua pietate custodi me saluu*m* me fac."[1024] In this way, the creation of the human race is emphasized as the foundation of the

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1017 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 607; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 17. "From every evil, past, present and future."

1018 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 604; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 15. "All the sins, whichever I have committed, for all the days of my life."

1019 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 209. "All that I have ever done against your great will, by day or by night, voluntarily or involuntarily, in word or in deed or in my secret thought."

1020 Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," l. 21. "I have exceeded the measure of nature in all my members."

1021 Black, l. 24. "Evil in the way of lust beyond measure."

1022 Black, l. 59. "In all my members I know myself to be guilty beyond measure."

1023 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 599; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 12. "Pour forth my tears, just as you established the waters above the earth, because my heart is as hard as stone."

1024 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 586; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 4. "O Lord, you formed me from the clay of the earth, you formed me with bones, veins, and nerves. O Lord, in your mercy, guard me, make me whole."

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, "D*omi*ne i*esu christe* qui in hunc mundu*m* p*rop*ter nos peccatores de sinu patris aduenisti· ut de ade peccato nos redimeres."[1025] Both the Old and New Testaments are invoked in a later passage from "Qui in hunc mundum": "[e]xaudi me d*omi*ne orantem· sicut exaudisti susanna*m et* liberasti eam de manu inimico*rum* duoru*m* testiu*m*· Exaudi me orantem sicut exaudisti p*etr*um in mari paulum in uinculis."[1026] This use of biblical language emphasizes 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. If no priest or bishop were present to aid the penitent, the biblical comparisons become all the more important, ensuring that the confession is valid and the penitent will be heard.

Confessional prayers often express a desire for the gift of tears, to weep over one's sins: "[s]uscita in me fletu*m* penitentie. *et* mollifica cor meu*m* duru*m et* lapideu*m et* accende in me igne*m* timoris tui q*u*i sum cinis mortuus."[1027] 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 earming dæghwamlice ongean þinne willan gewyrce."[1028] If these prayers were used as a preparation for sacerdotal confession, then their 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. They also

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1025 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 583–84; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3. "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."

1026 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 587; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 5. "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."

1027 "Qui es trinitas una." *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 608; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 16. "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, I who am dead ash."

1028 Pulsiano and McGowan, "Four Unedited Prayers," p. 209. "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."

reminded the reader of death and judgment. The speaker of "Qui in hunc mundum" asks for mercy "us*que* in fine*m* meu*m· et* in illa hora trem*en*da quando anima mea assu*m*ptura fuerit de corpore meo."[1029] It is rarer to ask directly for entry into the joys of heaven. However, the speaker of "Peccavi, domine" not only prays for a blessed afterlife, but pictures this relationship ahead of time: "[i]ta dep*r*ecor te d*omi*ne ut resuscites me de morte mea· ut merear esse ad dexteram tua*m et* audire uoce*m* tuam dicentem m*ih*i · Uenite benedicti patris mei p*er*cipite regnu*m*."[1030] 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. multarum*que* nequitiarum labe polluto."[1031] 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. 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 driht*en* ne læt me næfre færlicu*m* deaðe of þissu*m* 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."[1032] The vernacular prayer implies a more intimate bond

1029 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 584; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3. "Up until my end, and in that terrible hour when my soul will be taken from my body."

1030 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, pp. 600–1; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 13. "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.'"

1031 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 613; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 21. "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 dishonor of many crimes."

1032 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 602; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 14. "My Lord, never let me travel out of this wretched life by a sudden

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.[1033]

The prayers examined throughout this chapter have many characteristics in common: generalized confessions of every kind of sin; 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 prayers used without a priest, who would help the penitent to confess and lend the confession his authority. The speaker 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."[1034] The penitent also recognizes himself as God's servant, and names himself before him: "Ego humiliter te adoro" has, close to its end, the request: "defende me . . . ne derelinquas me unum *et* miseru*m* famulu*m* tuu*m* ·*N.*"[1035]

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: "[p]eccaui· erraui· tam*en* n*on* te negaui· Nec te dereliqui· deos alienos non adoraui."[1036] 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, private 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, "[s]i nunc erit uindicta tua tanta quanta in me ipso s*un*t peccata multiplicata iudiciu*m* tuu*m* d*omi*ne quomodo sustineam. sed habeo te sac-

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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."

1033 The ritual context of the peaceful death requested in this prayer is explored in Victoria Thompson, *Dying and Death in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), pp. 60–62.

1034 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 590; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 6. "What should I do? How should I act? What should I say? Or not say?"

1035 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 590; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, pp. 6–7. "Defend me . . . do not abandon me, your lone and pitiable servant [name]."

1036 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 584; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 3. "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." Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 15.

erdotem magnum· Confiteor peccata mea tibi d*omi*ne d*eus* m*eus*· Tu es unus sine peccato."[1037] 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 defense.

The prayers for public penance in the *Pontificale Lanaletense* ask that the penitent may be reunited with the body of the church, and, in a similar vein, private prayer sometimes allows the speaker to pray for forgiveness for his or her fellow Christians. Considering the particularly personal focus of "For þinre þære miclan mildheortnesse," it is not surprising that the speaker prays for his friends and family: "[i]c bidde ðe min driht*en* eadmodlice· þæt ðu me gehelpe 7 ealra minra freonda 7 maga · 7 ealra ðæra þe to minre gebedræddene ðencað · 7 hihtað · libbendra 7 forðgewitenra … Eac ic bidde ðe min drihten þæt ðu ge-mildsige eallu*m* þam ðe me god dydon · 7 god tæhton · 7 syle ece forgifenysse eallum þam ðe me yfel cwædon · oððe geþohtan · oððe gyta to donne ðencað."[1038] This prayer evokes a network of people close to one another, de-pending on each other's prayers.

Prayers for others tend to be concerned with asking 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."[1039] In the prayer "Suscipere digneris" discussed in chapter 2, the speaker sings the psalter, "p*ro* me miserrimo infelice. seu p*ro* cunctis consanguineis meis. uel p*ro* amicis meis. necnon p*ro* illis qui in me habent fiducia*m*. *et* p*ro* cunctis fidelib*us* uiuenti-b*us* siue defunctis. Concede d*omi*ne ut isti psalmi om*n*ib*us* p*ro*ficiant ad salu-te*m*. *et* ad uera*m* p*e*nitentia*m* facienda*m*. uel emendatione*m*. et ad uitam

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1037 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 589; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, p. 6. "If your vengeance will now be so great as sins are multiplied in me, O Lord, how may I sustain your judgment? But I have you, a great priest. I confess my sins to you, O Lord my God: you alone are without sin."

1038 *Parker Library on the Web*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, p. 603; Hughes, *Portiforium*, vol. 2, pp. 14–15. "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 inter-cession. . . . 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."

1039 Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies, the Second Series*, p. 231. "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."

ęternam."[1040] 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.[1041]

Conclusion

In chapters 2 and 3, it was demonstrated that it was common to create forms of private worship by adapting liturgical prayers for private use, as the liturgies of the hours and of the cross 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 forgive sins. Monks were expected to confess 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. 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 Judgment Day. Nevertheless, while confession to a priest was the most essential kind, other forms 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 programs for private

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1040 Kuhn, *Vespasian*, p. 312. "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 life."

1041 Other examples of prayers asking forgiveness for departed friends and family include a sequence of short prayers marked "Pro defunctis" in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 188–89. Thompson has written on prayer and tears for friends who have already died, in a text in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Miscellaneous 482. Thompson, *Dying and Death*, pp. 74–75.

prayer that religious writers encouraged their audiences to confess frequently, in different contexts, with or without a confessor.

With this in mind, the characteristics of confessional prayers can be better understood. 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 private prayer than when praying before a priest. The penitent cannot risk leaving out any of his or her sins; 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. Private confessions are particularly emotional and hyperbolic in their language, emphasizing 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 him- or herself and God's awareness of the human self, even down to his knowledge of the day on which he or she will die. This intimacy is particularly marked in vernacular prayer.

Poets drew on their knowledge of liturgy and private confessional prayer in order to create vernacular poems of confession and penitence. Whereas in *The Rewards of Piety*, the speaker is a priest who addresses the penitent as þu, in *A Prayer* the speaker is the penitent him- or herself, addressing God. 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. Since confessional prayers often use memorable phrases with balanced syntax, alliteration, and rhyme, it is conceivable that some prayers may have been cast in poetic form.[1042] It may therefore not be appropriate to make too rigid a category distinction between a "prayer" and a "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. Whether in verse or prose, confessional prayer is particularly noteworthy for its evocation of contrition, leading the reader into a meditative state in which he or she could contemplate sin and forgiveness.

[1042] For example, Black has commented on this in relation to "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae." Black, "Alcuin's *Confessio*," pp. 7–8.

Conclusion

In the Introduction, I briefly outlined the Office of None in the fifteenth-century *Bolton Hours* (York, Minster Library Additional MS 2). Towards the end of that manuscript, a number of other devotions can be found, such as this one: "[s]ay yis knelande befor yᵉ crucifix ilk day arise *and* yᵘ sal se yᵉ ʒates of heuen apyne i*n* yᵉ owre of yʳ dyinge. D*omi*ne i*esu* *christe* adoro te i*n* cruce uul*neratum* de*precor* te· ut ip*sa* uulnera remediu*m* sint anime mee. D*omi*ne i*esu* *christe*· adoro te in sepulcro positu*m* de*precor* te ut ip*sa* mors sit uita mea. Crux bona·crux digna lignu*m* sup*er* o*mn*ia ligna · Tu me co*n*signa· redimens a morte maligna· In no*min*e p*at*ris + filii + sp*iritu*s sancti. amen."[1043] This book has focused exclusively on England in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and particularly upon the eleventh century. However, this late medieval prayer reminds us that devotional traditions continued on for several centuries afterwards. This devotion to Christ on the cross is based upon two petitions of the "Adoro te" prayer, as seen in the *Regularis concordia* and many other sources found in eleventh-century England. The rubric, meanwhile, shows that the practice of attaching promises of future bliss to specific prayers was alive and well in the late Middle Ages. Closer to the Anglo-Saxon period, meanwhile, we can see in a twelfth-century manuscript such as London, Society of Antiquaries MS 7 how the celebrated prayers of Anselm were copied along with earlier prayers discussed in this volume, such as "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," "Gloriosissime conditor mundi," and an extended prayer attributed to St. Maurilius, which begins with the words of "Singularis meriti."[1044] The Norman Conquest did not see a destruction of the earlier traditions of prayer, but a continuation of them.

In this work, I have undertaken a detailed study of English prayerbooks before the Books of Hours, paying particular attention to the practice of creating sequences and programs for monastic devotion outside of liturgical contexts, much as would be done in the Books of Hours in the later Middle Ages. Prayer was one of the most important parts of the monastic life. It was there that the monk or nun expressed his or her deepest needs to the Creator, and therefore it is prayer which reveals most about the late Anglo-Saxon monastic understanding

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1043 York, Minster Library Additional MS 2, fol. 177r. "Say this kneeling before the crucifix each day; arise, and you will see the gates of heaven open in the hour of your dying. 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. Good cross, worthy cross, wood above all woods. You seal me, redeeming from wicked death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen."
1044 Bestul, *Durham Book of Devotions*, pp. 41–43, 56, 59–62.

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 private, 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.

Having set out the methodology by which I would undertake this study, I differentiated between four different levels of organization in prayer collections: simple series of unconnected prayers; sequences, which are united through a common theme, and some basic rubrics or instructions for use; complex programs, which combine prayers with antiphons and psalms, include more detailed rubrics, and are designed for a clear purpose; and early versions of the Special Office, which more closely resemble liturgical forms. Chapter 1 then demonstrated these ideas through a detailed examination of what I referred to as the *Orationes ad personas Trinitatis*, a sequence of prayers to the Trinity and saints, noting how, although the basic group of prayers was not, in any of the sources known to me, joined together with Paternosters or antiphons, different copyists altered the sequence in order to meet their own devotional needs. I then contrasted this sequence with prayer programs in the *Galba Prayerbook* and an Office of the Trinity in the *Crowland Psalter*, noting how these differ both from the *Ad personas* sequence and also from each other.

Chapter 2 considered forms of prayer more closely linked to the structure of the monastic day. A number of brief programs for prayer in the early morning can be found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, notably in the *Regularis concordia*, but also copied down between texts in other codices. The one in the *Tiberius Psalter* was particularly long, as it required the recitation of a number of psalms. The psalms were the basis of communal monastic worship, and therefore it is unsurprising that monks and nuns created and copied prayer programs based upon them, which were designed to meet the needs of the individual. The final part of the chapter offered an in-depth case study of a particularly interesting sequence of vernacular prayers for the canonical hours, bringing together the work of scholars working at different times and adding significantly to what is known about them.

Chapter 3 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 liturgical prayer cannot be separated from one another and from private prayer. Prayer to the cross, more than any other kind of prayer, symbolizes 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 every-day life.

In chapter 4, I turned to prayers which were said in order to achieve a desired outcome, generally protection or healing. The *Galba Prayerbook* is particularly interesting in this regard, as it contains a large number of texts which would have been suitable for prayer when persecuted by enemies, whether for their forgiveness, their destruction, or even as a kind of curse. After this, I considered a genre which has rarely been considered in conjunction with prayer: the manuals of medical practice from late Anglo-Saxon England. These are of great value for the study of prayer outside of church liturgy because they may have been used with or by the laity, and they give extensive directions for how and why they were to be used. They also allow us to see how broad terms such as *gebed* and *gealdor* could be at this time.

While chapters 2 and 3 showed how easily prayers originating in a liturgical setting could be adapted for private use, confessional prayer, the subject of chapter 5, 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. After demonstrating what it meant to confess in the late Anglo-Saxon era, I discussed the rhetorical and literary devices used in confessional prayers of the time, showing how they could be used to inspire contrition and penitence.

In addition to these findings, much more could be written on Anglo-Saxon prayer, or of prayer elsewhere in the Christian world during the same period. I have not discussed the use of the Paternoster in great depth, and more could be done to illuminate the devotional lives of laypeople, in particular by using the prayers in the medical manuscripts. Many late Anglo-Saxon psalters include collections of prayers which would be particularly worthy of further study. A good foundation for more comprehensive work in the field 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 and Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, as a starting point.[1045] This could then be used as a basis for digital comparative editions of different versions of prayer texts: Kirsty March's edition of the "Royal Abecedarian Prayer" is a promising example of this kind of work.[1046] With the development of comparative image-viewing platforms such as Mirador, which

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1045 Bestul, "Continental Sources," pp. 124–26.

1046 Kirsty March, ed., *Royal Abecedarian Prayer: London BL 2A xx, (fols 29r–38r)*, University College Cork, http://research.ucc.ie/rpb/.

allows manuscript images from different institutions to be compared side by side, the study of manuscript variants will shortly be transformed completely.[1047] The future of editing may well lie in the preparation of online editions which are designed to be read side-by-side with images from the original manuscripts.

Although we can be confident that monks and nuns were expected to pray outside of strictly liturgical settings, 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 these texts 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 and translation of prayers, and the grouping together of them into ever more complex devotional programs, that we can see how acceptable it was to 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 often a cyclic 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.

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.[1048] I have explored this concept in greater detail, paying attention to issues of translation and adaptation, and the combination of prayers from different sources with monastic liturgy. The study of private prayer, as well as considering the texts

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1047 *Project Mirador*, http://projectmirador.org/.

1048 Muir, *Prayer-Book*, p. 147, n. 1; Muir, "Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition," p. 19.

of individual prayers, should examine how prayers were used in conjunction with one another to form acts of worship.

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 ones. 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 psalmorum* 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.

Prayer did not take place solely within the monastery. Although considerably more work could be done on the subject of medical prayer, in chapter 4 I examined the terms used to describe words used for healing in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and I also considered a small selection of healing rites in greater depth, arguing that these, too, are programs of prayers linked together by Paternosters, psalms, or ritual actions, similar to the prayer programs seen in previous chapters. Medical prayer appears to have taken place both alone, in the preparation of a remedy, and also between the physician and patient together. The instructions given in these remedies is far more extensive than those in non-medical prayers, and therefore they are of great value for understanding the ritual contexts, places for, and use of different languages in private prayer.

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 were also translated into it, such as the *Prayers ad horas*, "Deus inaestimabilis 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 was 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* blessed and protected each part of the body, while confessions emphasized the part played by each sense, limb, and organ in committing sins and virtues. Thus, in private prayer one became 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 *Ælce sunnandæg* in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*: "[n]e 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 sealmum 7 mid oþrum swilcum."[1049] 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.

1049 Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 143. "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."

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London, British Library Harley MS 863
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS d'Orville 45
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 296 (microfilm)
York, Minster Library Additional MS 2

Index of Prayers

A list of prayers, prayer groupings, poems, rubrics, and other similar texts discussed in this volume, listed according to the "name" which I have given them, followed by the manuscripts in which they appear. The list of manuscripts is not comprehensive: I have listed only those which I have discussed, and in some cases I have instead cited major collated editions. Spelling has been standardized.

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General Index

For individual prayers and prayer groupings, see the Index of Prayers above.