

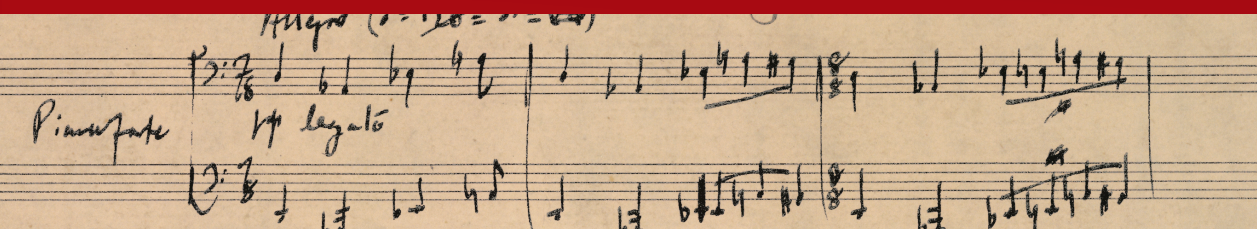
ESSAYS ON THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MUSIC



SOURCES, STYLE,
PERFORMANCE,
HISTORIOGRAPHY

Edited by Emma Hornby and David Maw

IN HONOUR OF JOHN A. CALDWELL



Essays on the History of English Music
in Honour of John Caldwell

Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography



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Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
<i>Contributors</i>	viii
<i>Abbreviations and Library sigla</i>	xi

Introduction	
<i>Emma Hornby</i>	xiii

SOURCES

Traces of Lost Late Medieval Offices? The <i>Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae</i> of John of Tynemouth (fl.1350)	1
<i>Sally Harper</i>	
The Saints Venerated in Medieval Peterborough as Reflected in the Antiphoner Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.10	22
<i>David Hiley</i>	
Interactions between Brittany and Christ Church, Canterbury in the Tenth Century: The Linenthal leaf	47
<i>Emma Hornby</i>	
A New Source of Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century English Harpsichord Music by Barrett, Blow, Clarke, Croft, Purcell and Others	66
<i>H. Diack Johnstone</i>	

STYLE

The Earliest Fifteenth-Century Transmission of English Music to the Continent	83
<i>Margaret Bent</i>	
‘Phantasy mania’: Quest for a National Style	97
<i>David Maw</i>	
Purcell’s 1694 <i>Te Deum</i> and <i>Jubilate</i> : Its Successors, and Its Performance History	122
<i>Matthias Range</i>	
Imitative Counterpoint in Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Mass Settings	143
<i>Reinhard Strohm</i>	
Double <i>cantus firmus</i> Compositions in the Eton Choirbook	162
<i>Magnus Williamson</i>	
Englishness in a Kyrie (Mis)attributed to Du Fay	185
<i>Peter Wright</i>	

PERFORMANCE

Continuity, Discontinuity, Fragments and Connections: The Organ in Church, c. 1500–1640	215
<i>John Harper</i>	
‘As the sand on the sea shore’: Women Violinists in London’s Concert Life around 1900	232
<i>Simon McVeigh</i>	
The Carol in Anglo-Saxon Canterbury?	259
<i>Christopher Page</i>	
Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza and Music in an English Catholic House in 1605	270
<i>Owen Rees</i>	
Music in Oxford, 1945–1960: The Years of Change	281
<i>Susan Wollenberg</i>	

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Three Anglican Church Historians on Liturgy and Psalmody in the Ancient Synagogue and the Early Church	298
<i>John Arthur Smith</i>	
Histories of British Music and the Land Without Music: National Identity and the Idea of the Hero	311
<i>Bennett Zon</i>	

EPILOGUE

John Caldwell (<i>b</i> 1938): Scholar, Composer, Teacher, Musician	325
<i>David Maw</i>	
<i>Index</i>	335
<i>Tabula Gratulatoria</i>	347



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Abbreviations

AMS	<i>Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex</i> , ed. René-Jean Hesbert (Brussels, 1935)
CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae
DTOf	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich
EECM	Early English Church Music
ETOM	<i>Early Tudor organ music</i>
GASA	H. T. Riley (ed.), <i>Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani, a Thoma Walsingham</i> , 3 vols, pt 4 of <i>Chronica monasterii S. Albani</i> , Rolls Series, 28 (1867–9)
JD	<i>John Dunstable: Complete Works</i> , ed. Manfred F. Bukofzer, <i>Musica Britannica</i> , 8 (London, 1953; rev. edn by Margaret Bent, Ian Bent, and Brian Trowell, 1970).
LMLO	Late Medieval Liturgical Office project
M.	<i>Missa</i>
MB	<i>Musica Britannica</i>
MFB	Board of the Faculty of Music
NOHM	<i>The New Oxford History of Music</i>
N.S.	New Style (i.e. according to the Gregorian Calendar)
ODCC	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F. L. Cross (Oxford, 1957; 3rd edn by E. A. Livingstone, New York, 1997).
ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004)
OLMS	Oxford Ladies' Musical Society
OOS	Oxford Orchestral Society
O.S.	Old Style (i.e. according to the Julian Calendar)
OUA	Oxford University Archives, Bodleian Library, Oxford
OUMCU	Oxford University Musical Club and Union
OUOC	Oxford University Opera Club
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64)
RCM	Royal College of Music
S.E.A.C.	South East Asia Command
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640</i> (London, 1926; 2nd edn, rev. and enl. by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, 1976–91)

Abbreviations for musical instruments and voices follow the practice of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

Library Sigla

AB	Aberystwyth, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/National Library of Wales
B-Bc	Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Section de la Musique
Ccc	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library
CDp	Cardiff, Public Libraries, Central Library
Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Ctc	Cambridge, Trinity College
D-KA	Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek
D-KNa	Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt
DRc	Durham, Cathedral Church, Dean and Chapter Library
En	Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Music Dept
F-Pm	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
F-VAL	Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale
I-Ao	Aosta, Seminario Maggiore, Biblioteca
I-Bc	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
I-La	Lucca, Archivio Storico Comunale
I-Lc	Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana e Biblioteca Arcivescovile
I-Plarc	Pisa, Archivio di Stato
I-Rvat	Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
I-TRmp	Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Biblioteca
I-TRmd	Trento, Museo Diocesano, Biblioteca
J-Tn	Tokyo, Nanki Ongaku Bunko
Lbl	London, British Library
Lcm	London, Royal College of Music, Library
Ldc	London, Dulwich College Library
Llp	Lambeth Palace Library
Mp	Manchester, Central Library, Henry Watson Music Library
Oas	Oxford, All Souls College Library
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Och	Oxford, Christ Church Library
Occc	Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library
Onc	Oxford, New College Library
US-Cn	Chicago, Newberry Library
US-LAuc	Los Angeles, University of California at Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library
US-NH	New Haven (CT), Yale University, Irving S. Gilmore Music Library
WRec	Windsor, Eton College Library
Y	York, Minster Library

Introduction

Emma Hornby

THIS COLLECTION OF ESSAYS is offered to John Caldwell in celebration of his seventieth birthday, by colleagues, ex-students, and friends. It is an indication of John's polymath tendencies and eclectic interests that the essays of his erstwhile DPhil students have such a wide range, from medieval chant through polyphony, Purcell and performance culture to twentieth-century historiography. It is a further indication of his wide range that those contributors who are colleagues working in the same field should include scholars writing on chant, the history of the organ, and the pre-history of the carol. Because of John's wide-ranging and long-standing scholarly and musical work, and because of the affection and esteem in which he is held by so many, the potential number of contributors to this book could have created a work of several volumes. The essays included are thus authored by a representative sample of those who wish to honour John, and who share his interest in English music.

The essays are grouped into four sections, reflecting four broad strands of musicology which overlap and interact as theories are developed within the discipline about the history and meaning of musical thought and practice. Primary source material is the fundamental evidence on which we build our understanding. While all of the essays engage with primary materials, close descriptions of the contents of various musical manuscripts, and consideration of their implications, are the focus of the first group of essays (by Sally Harper, Hiley, Hornby and Johnstone). The second strand of this volume concerns musical style. Finding ways to define, describe and see patterns in stylistic features is an integral component of music history and many of the essays touch on aspects of style, while it is the central focus of the contributions of Bent, Maw, Range, Strohm, Williamson and Wright. Music history is not purely an abstract stylistic process, however, and the third strand outlines various performance cultures of English music history, particularly in the chapters by John Harper, McVeigh, Page, Rees and Wollenberg. The final strand is historiographical: Smith and Zon turn to an explicit consideration of the assumptions, prejudices and values that have underlain the writing of particular kinds of English music history, while implicitly reminding us of the contingency of all musicological writing.

Against these four principal threads, other ideas weave a counterpoint. The distinctive Englishness of the *contenance angloise* is examined in macrocosm

by Strohm, who considers counterpoint procedures in a wide variety of Mass settings, and in microcosm by Wright, who reconsiders the stylistic features of a three-part Kyrie previously attributed to Du Fay. Bent identifies hitherto unrecognized interactions between English and Continental music in the early fifteenth century. Maw outlines the origin and history of the phantasy genre, a peculiarly English creation of the early twentieth century which was intended by its originator, W. W. Cobbett, to reinvigorate British musical life. Zon explores the way in which nineteenth- and twentieth-century English music histories wrestled with explaining the distinctive Englishness (and perceived inferiority) of musical practice in 'the land without music'.

Several essays engage with liturgical practices of the past. Hiley outlines the contents of a late-thirteenth century antiphoner from Peterborough, demonstrating its affinity with the northern French tradition whose influence on many insular monastic centres persisted after the Norman Conquest, and focusing on the distinctive local treatment of the Sanctoale. For Sally Harper, the fourteenth-century compendium of Suffrages by John of Tynemouth is a window into local veneration of saints. Hornby uses the notational, repertorial and melodic detail of a tiny surviving Cantatorium fragment to hypothesize about the Mass Proper repertory of pre-Conquest Canterbury, and John Harper considers the way in which sacred music sung with organ accompaniment outside the liturgy in the mid-sixteenth century may shed light on the relationship between choir pitch and organ pitch, and on the transition from the church organ as a solo instrument to its routine accompanimental use. Rees's study uses a different kind of evidence to explore liturgical music making in the same era: accounts in letters and diaries reveal the Jesuit sympathizer Doña Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza's musical experiences in an early seventeenth-century Catholic household in southern England. The history and influence of Purcell's 1694 *Te Deum* is explored by Range. Traditions of writing liturgical history are themselves subjected to scrutiny by Smith, who explores the balance between myth and reality in twentieth-century Anglican perceptions of the relationship between the Jewish synagogue and early Christian music.

Page's essay probes the borders between sacred and secular, finding a possible pre-history for the secular carol in virginal ring-dances with hymn texts in pre-Conquest Canterbury. The remaining essays illustrate the richness of surviving evidence pertaining to types of secular music making which rarely come under scholarly scrutiny. Johnstone outlines the contents and context of a manuscript book of keyboard music, made for teaching purposes in the early eighteenth century. McVeigh paints a portrait of a very different musical world, that of the female professional violinist in early twentieth-century London. Wollenberg brings the focus into living memory

by depicting the musical culture of Oxford in the middle of the twentieth century.

John Caldwell's abiding interest in chant, liturgy and liturgical music is reflected in the majority of the essays here. Several contributions concentrate on fifteenth-century music, an area in which his chief impact has been as an editor. He started his scholarly career working on keyboard music, and keyboard repertoires are also represented here. John Caldwell also takes his place within the narratives explored here of the twentieth-century English musical renaissance in its post-1950s phase, as a composer, performer, musicologist, editor, and defining figure within Oxford's musical and musicological culture for half a century (so far!).



Traces of Lost Late Medieval Offices? The *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae* of John of Tynemouth (fl. 1350)

Sally Harper

MANY OF US have cause to celebrate the recent proliferation of resources enabling study of the late medieval office. Especially notable across the last two decades has been our enhanced awareness of liturgies composed in honour of local saints, where some of the most interesting research has focused on devotional patterns in the British Isles. A fine example is John Caldwell's own article on the office of St Æthelbert of Hereford,¹ which joins similar studies by Andrew Hughes, David Hiley, Owain Edwards and others. Location of sources and identification of textual or musical borrowings has also been facilitated by the recent appearance of searchable electronic resources such as the CANTUS database of office chants (founded by Ruth Steiner in 1987) and Andrew Hughes's Late Medieval Liturgical Office project (LMLO, first published in 1994);² both are welcome companions to earlier collections, such as the monumental *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*.³ This ever-increasing body of evidence confirms that liturgical offices composed to venerate local saints from various parts of Britain and Ireland – whatever the geographical confines of their *cultus* – may once have existed in their hundreds. Even so, the task of identifying, cataloguing, editing and analysing such materials is far from finished. While some offices survive satisfyingly complete in the sanctorale of antiphoner or noted breviary, in other instances the

✂ My grateful thanks go to Professor Richard Sharpe for his very helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay, and to Drs Ian Doyle, Christian Leitmeir and Rainer Fürst for their advice on specific sources.

¹ John Caldwell, 'St Ethelbert, King and Martyr: his Cult and Office in the West of England', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 10 (2001), 39–46.

² <<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>>; LMLO is also currently accessed through the CANTUS pages. See also <<http://www.pims.ca/research/lmlo.html>> and *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. Margot Fassler and Rebecca Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), vi: 'The Office and Computers', 521–60.

³ *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. G. M. Blume, C. Dreves and H. M. Bannister, 55 vols (Leipzig, 1886–1922, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1961; indices 1978); also available online at <<http://www.archive.org/index.php>>.

evidence is far more piecemeal: we ponder over the provenance and function of isolated fragments that may hint at much fuller observances.

One important form of self-contained devotion that sometimes appears detached from its original liturgical context is the suffrage – effectively a ‘compressed’ office, comprising no more than antiphon, versicle and collect. The suffrage was generally observed weekly or even daily after the main collect at the end of both Lauds and Vespers, often as part of a series, and sometimes throughout the entire year. Such observances serve a general votive function and reflect an ancient tradition of praying for special intentions as a conclusion to the office.⁴ The *Regularis Concordia*, for example, the customary devised for the monks of Winchester c. 970–973 and intended to serve as a pattern for other English Benedictine houses, prescribes daily recitation of three suffrages (to the Holy Cross, the Virgin Mary and the local saint) after both Lauds and Vespers.⁵ Appended devotions of this type escalated in subsequent centuries, and lengthy lists of suffrages were evidently observed by many Benedictine foundations in England until their dissolution,⁶ while a standardized series of six, including suffrages for both the Patron saint and the relics, is also provided in the late fifteenth-century printed version of the Sarum Breviary.⁷ Such texts may have been employed on occasion for private devotion, and the large collection of independent suffrages surviving in a miscellany of c. 1480 associated with the Cologne Charterhouse – several of them

⁴ A matter considered more fully in Sally Roper [Harper], *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540* (New York, 1993). The suffrage was different from the identically structured memorial, which generally served either to resolve the collision of two observances (as when first Vespers of one feast displaced second Vespers of its predecessor), or to prolong veneration of a particular saint during the Octave.

⁵ ‘... cantent antifonam de cruce, inde antiphonam de sancta Maria et de sancto cuius ueneratio in praesenti colitur aecclesia aut, si minus fuerit, de ipsius loci consecratione’ [‘they shall sing an antiphon of the cross, then an antiphon of St Mary and of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, or failing that to whom the place is consecrated’] *Regularis Concordia Angliae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque*, rev. edn with Introduction by Thomas Symons, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 7 vols (Siegburg, 1963–), vii, pt 3, ch. 84, 7–9.

⁶ For examples of monastic usage, see J. B. L. Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, printed as *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society, 80 (London, 1942), vi, 101–7.

⁷ ‘Deinde fiat Memoria de sancto in cuius honorem dedicata est ecclesia ut in praebendis vel aliis ecclesiis parochialibus. Et postea de reliquiis secundum antiquum ordinale’ [‘Then is done a Memorial of the saint in whose honour the church is dedicated, in both prebendal churches and parish churches. And afterwards a memorial of the relics in accordance with the Old Ordinal’]: *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879–86, repr. Farnborough, 1970), vol. i, ix.

venerating the saints of the British Isles – may have been copied for such a purpose.⁸ Despite their brevity, observances of this type may often provide significant concordances and models for other materials, or reveal evidence of a particular liturgical *cultus*.⁹

In this respect, it is perhaps surprising that another remarkably full collection of suffrage texts has to date been almost entirely overlooked. Seventy-six suffrages (without notation and in various states of completeness) are to be found in the *Sanctilogium Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae*, a landmark collection of 156 prose *Vitae* of the saints of Britain and Ireland compiled by the chronicler John of Tynemouth (fl. 1350).¹⁰ The earliest known text of the *Sanctilogium* (now bound in two volumes) survives in the badly damaged British Library MS Cotton Tiberius E.i (hereafter Tiberius E.i), a victim of the fire that decimated Sir Robert Cotton's library at Ashburnham House, Westminster in 1731. Aside from the last five Lives (all apparently added later), the collection follows a strict calendar sequence running from 5 January (Edward, King and Confessor) to 30 December (Ecgvine, Bishop of Worcester). Associated feast dates are rarely noted explicitly in the text, although most may be established with reasonable confidence from other sources. The inclusion of so much liturgical material within a collection of this type is unusual, though it has attracted very little attention from the hagiographers. Indeed, John's *Sanctilogium* as a whole has been somewhat neglected by scholars since it was first edited for publication by Carl Horstman in 1901, and a secondary function of this essay will be to draw together some recent views on its compilation, usage and dissemination.

At least five redactions of the *Sanctilogium* survive, although the layout of all but one of these later copies differs significantly from that of Tiberius E.i

⁸ D-KNa MS Best. 7010 Nr. 28 (formerly w.28), now part of the collection of Franz Ferdinand Wallraf. The antiphon texts are edited in *Analecta Hymnica* 28 (1898), 279–324, and may also be accessed via LMLO.

⁹ The 'British' items within the Cologne series are listed by Andrew Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices: A Catalogue and Commentary', in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford, 1993), 239–84; 281. See also Caldwell, 'St Ethelbert', 39.

¹⁰ The sequence of Lives is listed in both *Nova Legenda Anglie: As Collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, and Others, and First Printed, with new Lives, by Wynkyn de Worde, A.D. MDXVI*, ed. Carl Horstman, 2 vols (Oxford, 1901), vol. i, xii–xiv (this may also be accessed at <<http://www.archive.org/details/novalegenda>>); and in Michael Lapidge and Rosalind C. Love, 'The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)', in *Hagiographies: histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1500* ed. G. Philippart (Turnhout, 2001), iii, 307–8. For further comment on the collection as a whole, see Horstman's extensive Introduction and Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), 745–52.

itself. In four of the known sources the saints are no longer ordered by calendar feast but in a mechanically rearranged alphabetical sequence that runs from Adrian to Wulfstan, while the suffrages are omitted altogether – the implication being that John's work was now valued more highly as a reference collection than as a devotional tool. This revised version of the *Sanctilogium* survives in three fifteenth-century manuscript redactions (the third all but destroyed by the same fire of 1731),¹¹ and also in a popular late Tudor version printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516 under the title *Nova Legenda Anglie* (STC 4601).¹² John's original ordering is preserved in just one extant (if incomplete) copy of the *Sanctilogium*: a lavish volume copied for the Bridgettine nuns of Syon Abbey, London, apparently by the Carthusian scribe Stephen Dodesham (d. 1482). Even here, however, the suffrages were not reproduced, leaving Tiberius E.i as the sole comprehensive survivor.¹³

Several scholars have made the assumption that every one of the *Vitae* in Tiberius E.i has its associated suffrage,¹⁴ but in fact just under half are so provided. The Appendix to this essay lists the seventy-five extant suffrages alphabetically, showing the incipit of each component element. All of the suffrages occur in the lower margin of the associated *Vita*, generally on the last page, and most are in the hand of the main scribe; several are decorated with blue and red initials (though not all of these were inked in). Over two-thirds of the suffrages follow the conventional tripartite structure, although some only ever comprised the collect element, while a few others contain additional texts:

¹¹ Y MS xvi.G.23, fols 108–92 (written by Henry Mere in 1454); Ob MS Tanner 15 (colophon dated 1499; written for the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury by Jacobus Neel of Rouen); Lbl MS Cotton Otho D. ix (fifteenth century; severely damaged). For further comment and bibliography, see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 749–51, and Peter Lucas, 'Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*', in *From Author to Audience: John Capgrave and Medieval Publication* (Dublin, 1997), 294–306; 296–7. Lucas here convincingly disproves the long-held claim that the Augustinian theologian John Capgrave (1393–1464) played a role in rearranging or adding to John's *Sanctilogium*.

¹² A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640* (London, 1926; 2nd edn, rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, 1976–91), henceforth *STC*.

¹³ D-KA MS St Georgen in Villingen 12, acquired by the Benedictines of St Georgen in 1642. Its relationship to Tiberius E.i was first noted by Dr Ian Doyle. See Lucas, 'Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*', 306, and Christopher de Hamel, *The Library of the Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation* (London, 1991), no. 36. I have not yet been able to consult this manuscript myself, but Dr Rainer Fürst of the Badische Landesbibliothek kindly performed a specimen check for me.

¹⁴ As for instance *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, xii; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 747, 792; A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), 258.

two collects are provided for Augustine of Canterbury, Edward, King and Martyr, John of Beverley, and Patrick (where the second collect has been all but erased by fire damage), while Kentigern and Oswine each have two separate antiphons, and Augustine and David both feature an 'extended' antiphon with integral verse, perhaps representing a conflation of two antiphons in the exemplar. Collect and antiphon are almost invariably Proper to the saint in question, although the versicle (most often 'Ora pro nobis') is usually taken from the Common.

Fire damage (particularly prominent at the outer margins of the manuscript) has destroyed a handful of the suffrages in Tiberius E.i entirely and rendered others largely illegible. However, parts of the text were reconstructed skilfully at the end of the nineteenth century by Carl Horstman, who collated the manuscript with its alphabetically ordered successors for his edition *Nova Legenda Anglie*, taking Wynkyn de Worde's identically titled 1516 print as the principal source.¹⁵ Horstman was therefore the first to print all of the suffrage texts (albeit as footnote material) alongside the *Vitae*, and he was also the first to elucidate John of Tynemouth's pioneering role in assembling the materials. Examination of Wynkyn's own printed version of 1516 also reveals interesting features. Though it includes none of the suffrages, the print does add an anonymous prologue and fourteen new Lives, including one for Osmund of Salisbury (fols 247v–251v), canonized in 1456 and translated the following year. Here Wynkyn simply reproduced verbatim the new Sarum Office for the Translation feast and its Octave: the *Vita* thus comprises no more than the lections for St Osmund in their original numbered sequence; those for Matins (perhaps more by accident than design) are even accompanied by the prescribed Sarum antiphons and responds.

In contrast, Tiberius E.i itself is surely a monastic source. Though the exact nature of its exemplar(s) remains elusive, it was almost certainly made at the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans, a sizeable institution renowned for its tradition of historical and devotional writing.¹⁶ The book is datable to the mid-fourteenth century on palaeographical grounds and was most likely written during the abbacy of Thomas de la Mare (1349–96), since its undated colophon (fol. 6r) records its presentation by him to the nearby cell of Redbourn, where it was to be used as a devotional aid for those monks sustaining the liturgical *cursus*.¹⁷ Redbourn had always served as a *ludus* or rest-house for

¹⁵ *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman.

¹⁶ See R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of the Abbey of St Albans', in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), 251–77.

¹⁷ 'Hunc librum dedit dompnus Thomas [de la Mare, Abbas monasterii S. Albani Anglorum] prothomartyris. Deo et ecclesiae beati Amphi[bali de Redburne, ut

St Albans itself, and some four or five monks would reside here for a month or so under the supervision of a Prior. Reading was an approved activity, although the monks were still required to observe all of the canonical Hours and daily Mass.¹⁸ Redbourn was also a favourite haunt of de la Mare himself, who extended its Chapel and constructed a book-filled *studium* for his own use.¹⁹ Tiberius E.i is one of just two manuscripts known to survive from the Redbourn library, although it is perhaps more than coincidence that the other (Lbl MS Royal 13.D.ix) is also a *Sanctilogium* – a copy of an even larger collection of *Vitae* compiled by Guido de Castris, Abbot of St Denis (1326–42).²⁰ Like Tiberius E.i, this was also gifted to the cell by the mother house: an inscription identifies its donor as Abbot John Whethamstede (1420–40 and 1452–64).²¹ Although this later source contains no liturgical additions, its fourteen books still follow the order of the liturgical calendar, and it seems possible that both collections were intended to shape a programme of devotional reading. The exact mode of usage remains unclear: the *Vitae* may have

fratres ibidem in cursu ex]istentes per eius lecturam poterint celestibus [instrui, et per sanctorum exempla virtutibus insigniri] [‘Dom Thomas de la Mare, abbot of the monastery of St Alban of the English, *protomartyr*, gave this book to God and to the church of the blessed Amphibalus of Redbourn, that the brothers maintaining the *cursus* there might be instructed in holy things, and through the example of the saints be inspired to virtues.’] The missing words are restored from the 1696 catalogue of Thomas Smith (librarian to Sir John Cotton). See Thomas Smith, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, 1696 ... Together with Documents Relating to the Fire of 1731*, ed. C. G. C. Tite (Cambridge, 1984).

¹⁸ *Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani, a Thoma Walsingham* [hereafter GASA], ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols, pt 4 of *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, 28 (1867–9), ii, 371–449; 203. See also Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priors of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004), 148–9.

¹⁹ GASA, ii, 371–449; GASA iii, 1–423; 399. See also Hunt, ‘The Library of the Abbey of St Albans’, 263.

²⁰ The bibliographer John Bale (1495–1563) claimed that John of Tynemouth’s own collection was modelled on the work of Guido: ‘... quod Guidonem illum Dionysianum abbatem, Gallum, qui de vitis sanctorum magna volumina conguessit, imitatus: grande volumen & ipse de vitis & miraculis sanctorum Angliae, Walliae, Scotiae & Hyberniae fecit’ [‘in imitation of Guido abbot of St Denis, the Frenchman, who constructed great volumes from the Lives of the saints: [John] made a great volume of the Lives and miracles of the saints of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland’]. John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant: Catalogus* (Basle: 1557), 466–7 (‘Ioannes de Tynmouth’).

²¹ Lbl MS Royal 13.D.ix, fol. 1v: ‘Hunc librum providit venerabilis pater dompnus Iohannes Whethamstede, abbas monasterii S. Albani, sacre theologie professor, prioratui Redburne et monachis ibidem cursum capientibus.’ [‘The venerable father Dom John Whethamstede, abbot of the monastery of St Alban, professor of holy theology, provided this book for the prior of Redbourn and the monks upholding the *cursus* there.’]

been read aloud in refectory or chapter on certain feast days, or the context may have been largely private (the reader concluding his devotions with the suffrage, where one was provided).

The nature of John of Tynemouth's own association with St Albans also remains ambiguous. There is no direct evidence that he was a monk here (as is often claimed),²² and the best early sources describe him as a secular cleric: he is referred to as John, Vicar of Tynemouth (or 'Tilmouth') by both the chronicler Sir Thomas Gray (d. 1369) and by Henry de Kirkestede, Prior of Bury St Edmunds (d. in or after 1378), whose *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiae* gives his floruit as 1366.²³ A similar appellation also appears in the St Albans copy of John's only other extant work – a vast chronicle of world history entitled *Historia Aurea* extending to 1347 (Ccc MSS 5–6). However, the Durham copy of this same text (Llp MSS 10–12) calls him 'John of (the diocese of) York', and John Taylor has argued more recently that he may be synonymous with the John Whetely (probably from Wheatley, Yorkshire) who served as Vicar of Tynemouth in the 1350s and 1360s.²⁴ Whatever his identity, it is likely that the John in question came to the attention of Thomas de la Mare during the 1340s. The Benedictine Priory of St Mary and St Oswine at Tynemouth was a daughter house of St Albans, and de la Mare himself came north as head of house in 1340, where his responsibilities as Prior extended to appointing the vicar of the parish church (the parishioners worshipping in the nave of the Priory church itself). That de la Mare fostered John's literary aspirations prior to his return to the mother house as Abbot in 1349 seems entirely plausible. Though it is highly unlikely that either volume was made at Tynemouth itself, both the *Sanctilogium* and the *Historia aurea* reflect the expansiveness of chronicles and histories produced at St Albans, and John is alleged to have produced other works on a similarly ambitious scale – a handful of biblical commentaries, a martyrology and a Sarum lectionary (none of which survives).²⁵

Predictably, the liturgical emphases of both St Albans and Tynemouth are reflected in the *Sanctilogium* itself. A *Vita* with suffrage is provided for

²² A theory proposed by Horstman (*Nova Legenda Anglie*, xxxivff.) but later disputed: see especially V. H. Galbraith, 'The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth, and the sources of the St Albans Chronicle (1327–77)', in *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), 379–98.

²³ See Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Brytanniae*, 466–7. The evidence is also summarized by Galbraith, 'The *Historia Aurea* of John, Vicar of Tynemouth', 381, and Lucas, 'Capgrave and the *Nova Legenda Anglie*', 300.

²⁴ John Taylor, 'Tynemouth [Tinmouth], John', *ODNB*; see also John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), 60, 104–5. Horstman's suggestion that John was the 'Dominus Iohannes perpetuus vicarius de Tynemuthe', mentioned in 1315 and 1316, seems less likely.

²⁵ Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum Maioris Brytanniae*, 466–7.

King Oswald of Bernicia (d. 642), founder of Tynemouth Priory, and for King Oswine of Deira, martyred in 651.²⁶ Oswine's cult was revived in the later eleventh century following a (disputed) claim that the body had been discovered at Tynemouth in 1065, and the relics were eventually translated into a shrine within Tynemouth's newly completed church in 1110. John also collected *Vitae* for Henry, the hermit of Coquet Island (d. 1127) brought to Tynemouth for burial, and for Aidan of Lindisfarne (d. 651), friend of Oswine. Neither of these saints has a suffrage, although one is provided for two prominent St Albans saints: Alban himself, and his follower 'Amphibalus' (whose name of 'St Cloak' was coined by Geoffrey of Monmouth in 1135 following a misunderstanding of the Greek). The establishment of a cell at Redbourn and the appointment of Amphibalus as its patron followed the miraculous rediscovery of his body at that place in 1178; the relics were subsequently taken to the Abbey (where de la Mare himself was to pay handsomely for the adornment of a new shrine in the retrochoir c. 1350).

That John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium* should contain so many suffrages remains something of a puzzle. As noted above, such appendages are uncommon in other hagiographical collections, and very rarely – if ever – are they seen in such quantity or ordered as systematically as in Tiberius E.i. Other known survivals invariably appear in isolation, such as the antiphon (*Gloriose presul Christi David*) and collect following a redaction of the *Vita* of St David in Lbl MS Cotton Vitellius E.vii, or the *Missa de eodem* (comprising no more than collect, secret and postcommunion) that follows another version of St David's Life in Lbl MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv (one of the texts used by John himself, as noted below).²⁷ A few other lone examples appear in Irish sources: a rhymed, metrical antiphon, *Gloriose presul Christi, uenerande Carthace* follows the *Vita* of Mochutu (Carthach) in the extensive fourteenth-century collection of Irish Lives in B-Br MSS 7672–4, and the same manuscript includes a collect after the *Vita* of Brendan; there are also Proper hymns for both Lauds and Vespers after the *Vitae* of Fechin and Tigernach in Ob MSS Rawlinson 505 and 485.²⁸ But in all cases these are arbitrary additions associated only with

²⁶ An extensive rhymed Office of St Oswine with music survives in the Tynemouth source Occc MS 134, apparently copied before 1173. See Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices', 271–3.

²⁷ See Richard Sharpe, 'Which Text is Rhygyfarch's Life of St David?', in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 90–106. Observations on associated liturgical materials appear in Silas Harris, *St David in the Liturgy* (Cardiff, 1940), 45–7, and Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (Aldershot, 2007), 374–5, 381.

²⁸ See Richard Sharpe, *Medieval Irish Saints' Lives. An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1991), 372–5. The hymns for St Tigernach are *Adest dies celebris*

selected saints, whereas the compiler of Tiberius E.i evidently took it upon himself to collect as many suffrages as possible. These liturgical appendages were surely not composed by John himself, but neither could many of them have been taken directly from the books that supplied the *Vitae* themselves. A number of John's sources are still identifiable, confirming that he compiled many of the Lives direct from histories and chronicles (Bede, Goscelin, and William of Malmesbury among them); equally, other materials were abridged direct from the Welsh collection Lbl MS Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, the early thirteenth-century *Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium* probably assembled by the Benedictines of Monmouth from pre-Norman sources.²⁹ In contrast, the antiphons and collects of Tiberius E.i were surely derived from books with a clear liturgical function. In many cases these could only have been procured locally, and it seems that John deliberately sought out such liturgical texts on his travels. His role was therefore not solely that of collector, or even of *relator simplex* (as he described himself); rather, the devotional value of the *Vitae* was enhanced where possible by offering the user a direct reminder of their related liturgical context.

The content and scale of the *Sanctilogium* as a whole suggest an ambitious collecting itinerary undertaken over a number of years. Traces of John's route are, indeed, still identifiable: Carl Horstman noted specific mention of visits to Ely (in the *Vitae* of both St Alban and St Eadwin); to Hereford (in the *Vita* of St Thomas de Cantilupe); to Glastonbury (St Patrick and St Indracht); to Westminster (St Botwulf); and to Canterbury (St Mildred and St Eadburh, both Abbesses of Minster-in-Thanel). Other destinations are not recorded overtly in the *Vitae*, but are nevertheless hinted at strongly: John observed that the body of St Juthwara lay at Sherborne Abbey (less than twenty miles from Glastonbury), while an aside in the Life of St Cenydd (founder of Llangenydd, Gower) remarks that the text (almost illegible from age) was to be found at only one institution in Wales, suggesting that other Welsh houses had also been visited.³⁰ Certain locations (especially the Benedictine houses) surely yielded more material than others, given the transmission patterns of

santi Tigernaci (Vespers) and *Tigernach igne gratie* (Lauds); for Fechin, *Festum diem celebremus* (Vespers) and *Regem regum collaudemus* (Lauds).

²⁹ These include Gwynllyw, Cadog, Illyd, Teilo, Dubricius, David, Bernacus, Padarn, Cletaucus, Cybi, Tatheus, Carantocus, and Aiduus. The collect for St David is duplicated in Tiberius E.i, although John of Tynemouth must have derived the antiphon from elsewhere.

³⁰ 'Multa alia de confessore isto glorioso in uno solo loco Wallie scripta vidi, que vetustate quasi deleta legi non poterant' ['I saw many other things of that glorious confessor written in one sole place in Wales that could not be read on account of age']: see *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Horstman, 109; also Introduction, liii.

specific relics and cults. At least ten saints represented in the *Sanctilogium* have associations with medieval Glastonbury, for example, whose Abbey claimed to house relics of Aidan, Gildas, Indracht, Dunstan, the Martyr-King Oswald, Patrick, Benignus (hermit of Glastonbury) and Bede, while Brigid and Paulinus are similarly represented in early Glastonbury calendars. Table 1 summarizes other possible correlations between saints and institutions.

Table 1 Correlations between saints and institutions

<i>Institutions</i>	<i>Saints</i>
Institutions specifically mentioned by or directly associated with John of Tynemouth	
Ely	Eormenhild, Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, Wihtburh, Botwulf, [?Neot]
Canterbury (St Augustine's)	Æthelberht, Hadrian, Lawrence, Mellitus, Augustine, Deusdedit, Theodore of Tarsus, Honorius, Justus (relics of all nine housed here)
Canterbury (Christ Church)	Dunstan, Oda
Canterbury (general)	Mildthryth, Eadburh of Minster, Ælfheah, Anselm, Thomas of Dover, Edmund Rich, Thomas Becket, Wilfrid, Lanfranc, Bregwine
Westminster	Edward the confessor; Wulsin
London	Erkenwald, Mellitus, Wulsin and Wulfhild
Glastonbury	Aidan, Gildas, Indracht, Dunstan, Oswald, Benignus of Glastonbury, Bede, Brigid, Paulinus, Patrick
Hereford	Thomas de Cantilupe, Æthelberht, Guthlac
Tynemouth	Oswald of Bernicia, Oswine, Aidan, Henry of Coquet
Other institutions likely to have been visited by John of Tynemouth	
Sherborne	Wulfsige, Aldhelm, Juthwara, Eadwold (revered at nearby Cerne Priory)
Wilton	Eadgyth, Iwig
Amesbury	Melorius ['Mylor']
Worcester	Wulfstan, Oswald of Worcester, Ecgwine (relics of all housed here)
Evesham	Odwulf, Ecgwine, Wigstan (relics of all housed here)
Pershore	Eadburh of Winchester (relics housed here)
Durham	Cuthbert, Iwig, Godric of Finchale
St Albans	Alban, Amphibalus

In some cases the recording of the *Vita* itself may have been easier than locating an associated suffrage, for some local saints achieved elevated calendar status without ever acquiring their own Proper liturgy. The absence of suffrages is especially noticeable among John's Welsh Lives, for example, which in other respects occupy a central place in the *Sanctilogium*: only three saints (David, Teilo and Winefred) are provided with a complete suffrage, while two more have just a collect (Justinian, companion of David, and Samson, associated with St Illtud's monastery at Llantwit Major in the Vale of Glamorgan). Otherwise there is no appendage, suggesting that the feasts of many Welsh saints (among them relatively prominent figures such as Cadog, Illtyd, Euddogwy and Padarn) were celebrated largely from the Common – a supposition reinforced by the handful of Welsh liturgical books that have come down to us.

Elsewhere, however, the suffrage was surely taken from a highly developed observance – sometimes a versified office that still survives with notation. Some sixteen of the antiphons copied into the *Sanctilogium* are duplicated in a fully fledged *cursus* known from some other source: those for Ceadda (d. 672), Cyneburh (with Cyneswith and Tibba), David, Æthelberht and Eadmund, both Martyr-Kings of East Anglia, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert of Sempringham, Cynehelm, Kentigern, Mildthryth, Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, Oswald, King of Northumbria, Patrick, Richard of Chichester, Thomas of Canterbury, and Thomas de Cantilupe of Hereford.³¹ The antiphon texts in question are generally taken from Lauds or Vespers: eleven of the *Sanctilogium* antiphons borrow the Magnificat antiphon from a full office (whether from first or second Vespers); three more borrow a Benedictus antiphon; and the unusual composite text for St David (*Toxicate torte panis bolo / V. Occidentem visitavit oriens*) fuses the antiphons for the Benedictus and the fourth psalm at Lauds (both found in the office of St David in the fourteenth-century Penpont Antiphoner, AB MS Add. 20541E).³² The two antiphons following St Kentigern's *Vita* similarly reproduce Benedictus and Magnificat antiphons from the rhymed office found in several sources. One of the most unusual suffrages – in this case attached not to a *Vita* in its own right, but to a short *narratio* concerning Edmund, Earl of Cornwall (1249–1300) – has a

³¹ Most of the Offices mentioned in this paragraph are listed in Hughes, 'British Rhymed Offices', and their texts may be accessed via LMLO. Kenelm, however, is an exception: though missing from LMLO, his Office is found in the twelfth-century Winchcombe breviary F-VAL MS 116; text edited in Rosalind C. Love, *Three eleventh-century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives; Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, and Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford, 1996), 130–4.

³² A transcription of the Office appears in Owen Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day* (Cambridge, 1990), 53–82.

surprisingly late concordance, found in a devotional pamphlet entitled *Missa preciosissimi sanguinis domini*, printed by Richard Pynson c. 1519.³³ Edmund allegedly presented a phial of the Precious Blood to the Cistercians of Hailes, near Winchcombe, on 14 September 1270, the monastery having been founded by his father a few years earlier.³⁴ The relic evidently acquired its own distinctive liturgy: Pynson's print specifies that a Mass of the Precious Blood was to be sung *solemniter* by the community each week, while three antiphons and a collect were to be recited daily by the whole convent in *alternatim* fashion after the principal collect at Lauds and Vespers – the conventional place for a daily suffrage. The collect recorded in the *Sanctilogium*, 'Deus qui presentem locum', concords directly with the printed version, while the antiphon, *Salve sancta pars cruoris*, is also identical with the second antiphon of the Pynson series.

Other texts in the *Sanctilogium* reveal different forms of borrowing or adaptation, reflecting the composite (and sometimes highly variable) nature of local liturgies. The antiphon for Cuthbert (*Nos qui sumus involuti*), for instance, concords with no other known text for this saint (suffrage texts included),³⁵ but it is practically identical with the first section of the responsory sung at second Vespers on the feast of St Ninian. (Ninian himself has a quite different antiphon in Tiberius E.i, *Alme presul Niniane cleri flos Albanie*, known from no other source.) Equally, the very short antiphon for Seaxburh, *Tota pulcra es, amica mea, et macula non est in te* reproduces almost verbatim an antiphon better known from the Presentation of the Virgin, while that for Wihtburh (*Ave gemma claritatis*) borrows the last of three Benedictus antiphons for the feast of St Anne; and that for Paulinus (*Honorabilis Rome*) is modelled on the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers on the feast of St Thomas of Canterbury. In some cases antiphon texts were evidently recycled to the extent that they almost became Common: *Ave primas Anglorum*, prescribed in Tiberius E.i for Archbishop Edmund Rich, duplicates (with only very slight modification) the antiphon sung on the feasts of the two English Martyr-Kings Edmund and Edward, and also on those of Æthelberht and Oswine; similarly, the *Ave presul/pater gloriose* that follows the Lives of

³³ The only known copy of the pamphlet (STC 16224.5) is bound in with a 1494 Sarum missal used in Conwy parish church (STC 16168). See STC and, for fuller discussion, Daniel Huws, 'The Earliest Bangor Missal', in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000), 269–86.

³⁴ For a fuller account of the arrival of the relic at Hailes, see Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood. King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), 137–53.

³⁵ See Christopher Hohler, 'The Durham Services in Honour of St Cuthbert', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956), 155–91.

Oda and Odwulf in Tiberius E.i is prescribed in other sources for Cuthbert, Germanus, Maximus of Riez, Vedastus and Albinus.

The remaining antiphons in the *Sanctilogium* have so far been traced to no other source, and fall into two broad categories. The first may be defined as ‘new’ antiphons that supplement an existing *cursus*, as is the case with the suffrages for Sts Alban, Augustine of Canterbury, Guthlac,³⁶ Ninian, Oswine, Swithun,³⁷ and Winefred (whose complete versified offices survive in other sources), and for Æthelthryth, Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and Osthryth (where only a handful of other texts are known elsewhere). The second category encompasses a further twenty-eight saints whose liturgical representation is apparently known exclusively from John’s *Sanctilogium*: Aldhelm, Amphibalus, Cuthburh, Deusdedit, Eanswith, Eadburh, Eadgyth, Eadwold, Ecgwine, Ælfleda, Eormenhild, Frithuswith (Frideswide), Hildelith, Honorius, Hugh, boy-martyr of Lincoln, Indracht, Iwig, Justus, Juthwara, Liudhard, Mellitus, Melorius, Neot, Teilo, Theodore, Thomas, monk of Dover, Wigstan and Wulfhild. While it would be rash to speculate that *all* of these saints once had their own complete Proper Office, in some cases the possibility of a ‘lost’ *cursus* seems entirely plausible. This is especially true for saints with wider patterns of veneration, or for those associated with a foundation of significant size: Amphibalus, Patron of Redbourn, whose relics were kept at St Albans itself; Cuthburga of Wimborne; Frithuswith of Oxford; and Hugh the boy-martyr of Lincoln. Another likely candidate is Teilo of Wales, Patron of the diocese of Llandaff, and a natural rival to St David himself from the twelfth century: David had acquired his own versified office with music by at least the fourteenth century, and it seems inconceivable that St Teilo should not have attracted comparable veneration.

We have already noted that John of Tynemouth’s *Sanctilogium* served as a ready quarry for successive generations of early hagiographers, achieving still wider dissemination via the printing press (albeit in reordered form) during the early years of the sixteenth century. But the associated suffrages of Tiberius E.i also have unexpected significance. Though they seem to have

³⁶ The antiphon text for Guthlac of Crowland, *O felix divino munere* is an interesting late addition to the partly neumed Office of this saint in Ccc MS 198, fol. 377v, a late eleventh-century volume of Saxon homilies from Worcester: see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1909), 480, and Jane Roberts, ‘Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland’, in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (London, 2001), 69–86; 78–9.

³⁷ See Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 84–5, 792–3, which suggests that the unique antiphon for St Swithun found in Tiberius E.i was perhaps the work of Wulfstan (fl. 996), precentor of the Old Minster, Winchester and author of the lengthy *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*.

been excised by later collectors, the custom of adding devotional texts to *Vitae* was by no means altogether obsolete, for some of the Tudor printers chose to add liturgical material on a very ambitious scale. Richard Pynson, for instance, not only printed the Hailes devotions to the Precious Blood c. 1519, but also issued an English translation of John of Tynemouth's own version of the *Vita* of St Brigid in 1516:³⁸ the text was followed by a prayer to St Brigid in English and two Latin suffrages, each comprising a lengthy rhymed antiphon, versicle and collect. Indeed, Pynson's publication as a whole bears a striking resemblance to William Caxton's translation of the *Vita* of St Winefred, published (probably with encouragement from Margaret Beaufort) c. 1485–8 with extensive liturgical additions. These comprise rhymed suffrages for use after first and second Vespers 'in solempnitate sancta Wenefrede', a collect for her Translation feast, and three sets of distinct Mass Propers: one for the main feast, one for the Translation, and the other a votive Mass.³⁹

The work of John of Tynemouth and his various successors leaves several unanswered questions about the function of the suffrage in both liturgical and devotional contexts, let alone its relationship with more complete observances. But collections of isolated liturgical texts on this scale may hint at much wider patterns of composition and adaptation for local saints than more conventional liturgical sources might suggest. The time is ripe for systematic cataloguing of suffrage texts (the addition of the *Sanctilogium* antiphons to the invaluable LMLO database is already planned); for proper analysis of other unexplored collections (particularly the group of suffrages in the little-known Cologne Charterhouse source, D-KNa Best. 7010 Nr. 28); and for detailed study of the structural and metrical features of suffrage antiphons. It is heartening that so rich an aspect of late medieval office composition yet remains to be discovered.



³⁸ *Here begynneth the lyfe of seynt Birgette*, bound in with *Here begynneth the kalendre of the new legende of Englande* [an abridged translation based on the *Sanctilogium* of John of Tynemouth] (London: Pynson, 1516) (STC 4602).

³⁹ *The lyf of the holy blissid vyrgyn saynt Wenefryde* (Westminster, c. 1485–8) (STC 25853). See Carl Horstman, 'Prosalegenden i. Caxtons Ausgabe der Heilige Wenefreda', *Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 3 (1880), 293–319; also Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650*, 215, 375–6.

APPENDIX

Liturgical materials in BL MS Cotton Tiberius E.i
(ordered alphabetically)

- Ælfheah [Alphege] (d. 1012), Archbishop of Canterbury, martyr (19 April)
 C: Deus qui beatum [Alphegum] po[n]tificem sacerdocii] dignitate et pal[ma]
 Ælfleda [Elfreda] (d. 714), Abbess of Whitby, daughter of Oswine (29 October)
 A: [O] gloriosa virgo sponsaque dei Elfreda
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: [D]eus qui presentem diem nobis honorabilem in beate Elfleda
 Æthelberht [Ethelbert] (d. 616?), King of Kent, confessor (24 February)
 C: Deus qui inter reges Anglorum beatum Ethelbertum regem et confes-
 sorem tuum
 Æthelberht [Ethelbert] (d. 794), martyr-king of the East Angles; Patron of
 Hereford (20 May)
 A: O radix dulcem fusi nectaris stillans liquorem Ethelberte
 V: Gloria et honor.
 C: Deus omnium regnorum institutor et rector qui hodiernam nobis diem
 Æthelthryth [Etheldreda] (d. 679), founder Abbess of Ely (23 June)
 A: Virgo felix Etheldreda celum terram mare seda serves et a labe feda
 V: Ora pro nobis
 C: Deus castitatis amator et tocius religionis auctor
 Æthelwold (d. 984), Bishop of Winchester (1 August)
 C: [D]eus qui hodiernam diem beati Ethelwoldi confessoris tui atque
 pontificis
 Alban (d. c. 303?), *protomartyr anglorum* (22 June)
 A: [Salve] splendor quem intendit flos Albanus martirum
 V: Gloria et honore.
 C: Quesumus omnipotens deus ut beati Albani martiris tui
 Aldhelm (d. 709), Abbot of Malmesbury, Bishop of Sherborne (25 May)
 A: Ave presul insignis Aldelme, salve gloriose senator celestis curie
 V: Ora pro nobis beate Aldel[me].
 C: Deus qui inter apostolicos ecclesie doctores sanctum Aldelmum
 Amphibalus, Patron of Redbourn; supposed companion of Alban (25 June)
 A: [Amphibalo] patulo socios convertere niso
 V: Letamini in domino.
 C: Letetur ecclesia tua, deus beati Amphibali martiris tui sociorumque eius
 Augustine (d. c. 606), Archbishop of Canterbury (26 May)
 A: O beate Augustine, te venerantes tuere / V. Sacerdos dei Augustine pastor
 egregie
 V: Ora pro nobis
 C1: Deus qui beatum Augustinum pontificem
 C2: Deus qui in diversis nacionum populis preclaros

Benignus ['Beonna'], hermit and Abbot of Glastonbury (3 November)

C: Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui mirabiliter fulges in electis tuis

Boniface (d. 755), Bishop of Mainz, martyr (5 June)

C: ... ut beatum Bonifacium quem ... esse concessisti

Brigid (d. 524/526), Abbess of Kildare (1 February)

C: [San]cte Brigide virginis tue domine quesumus precacio tibi

Ceadda [Chad] (d. 672), Bishop of York and Lichfield (2 March)

A: [Sis pro nobis] sancte Cedda rogamus ad [dominum ut nos] regat

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui sanctorum tuorum meritis ecclesiam toto orbe terrarum

Cuthbert (d. 687), Bishop of Lindisfarne (20 March)

A: Nos qui sumus involuti viciorum funibus

V: Amavit.

C: Deus [qui per inestimabile munus gracie tue sanctos] tuos [facis esse ...]

Cuthburh [Cuthburga] (d. 718), Abbess of Wimborne (31 August)

A: O Cuthburga, tuo presidio iuva tuo pronos obsequio

V: Ora pro nobis beata [Cuthburga]

C: Deus qui eximie castitatis privilegio famulam tuam

Cyneburh, Cyneswith and Tibba, Mercian kinswomen (6 March)

A: [Salvete nostre] margarite a deo date et nobis

V: Propter iudicia tua domine.

C: Sanctarum virginum tuarum Kyneburge, Kyneswide ac Tibbe

Cynehelm [Kenelm] (*fl.* 803 × 11), prince of Mercia; relics at Winchcombe (17 July)

A: [M]artir magne dei puer alme Kenelme, superni

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: [Pres]ta quesumus omnipotens deus, ut sicut gloriosa beati Kenelmi

David [Dewi] (d. 589/601), Bishop and Patron of Wales (1 March)

A: Toxicate torte panis bolo degustato / V. Occidentem visitavit oriens iusticie

V: Ora pro

C: Deus qui beatum [David] confessorem tuum atque pontificem

Deusdedit (d. 664), Archbishop of Canterbury (15 July)

A: [Celebr]emus mente pia almi patris letissi[mam] Deusdedit memoriam

V: Iustum deduxit.

C: Deus qui nos beati Deusdedit

Dunstan (d. 988), Archbishop of Canterbury (19 May)

C: [Deus qui] beatum Dunstanum pontificem [tuum ad regna]

Eadburh [Edburga] (d. after 748), Abbess of Minster-in-Thanel (13 December)

A: [O] virgo Christo amabilis in omnibus laudabilis

V: Ora pro.

C: [D]eus qui beatam sancte virginis tue Edburge animam celorum

Eadgyth [Edith] (d. 984), virgin of Wilton (16 September)

A: Quam dilecta deo prefulges Editha virgo

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui fidelibus tuis castitatis exemplum prebuisti dum de virgine

Eadwold of Cerne (Dorset), hermit (29 August)

A: [Sanctus] Edwoldus cecos et claudos sanos [efficit] diversosque curat egrotos

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui fidelis famuli tui Edwoldi merita

Eanswith [Eanswida] (d. c. 640), Abbess of Folkestone (31 August)

A: [V]irginale collegium ecclesia fidelium convocetur in gaudium alleluia

V: Diffusa est.

C: Deus qui beatam virginem Eanswidam ecclesie tue honorabilem exhibuisti

Ecgwine (d. 717), Bishop of Worcester, founder of Evesham (30 December)

A: [S]ancte presul Egwine solve vincula captiuitatis nostre

V: Ora pro.

C: [O]mnipotens sempiterne deus tribue nobis famulis tuis per intercessionem

Edmund (d. 869), martyr-King of the East Angles; revered especially at Bury St Edmunds (18 March)

A: [E]xulta sancta ecclesia tocius gentis anglice ecce in manibus

V: Ora.

C: [D]eus ineffabilis misericordie qui beatissimum regem Edmundum tribuisti

Edmund Rich (d. 1240) of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury (16 November)

A: [A]ve primas Anglorum miles regis angelorum O Edmunde

V: Ora pro.

C: [D]eus qui largiflue bonitatis consilio ecclesiam tuam beati Edmundi

Edward the Confessor (d. 1066), King of England (5 January)

A: [destroyed]

C: Deus qui beatum regem Edwardum confessorem tuum eternitatis gloria coronasti

Edward the Martyr (d. 978), King of England (18 March)

A: [illegible]

C1: Deus eterni triumphator imperii familiam tuam

C2: Deus qui beatum Edwardum regem et martirem tuum

Eormenhild [Ermenilda], Abbess of Ely (13 February)

A: [Unguentum] effusum nomen tuum ideo adolescen[tule ...]

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Concede nobis quesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beate Ermenilde

Frithuswith [Frideswide] (d. 727), Abbess of Oxford (19 October)

A: Veneranda es virgo Frideswida que carnis desideriis restitisti

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Omnipotens sempiterne deus da nobis in commemoracione virginis tue

Gilbert of Sempringham (d. 1189), monastic reformer (4 February)

A: Felix locus felix ecclesia Gileberti dives presencia

V: Os iusti med[itabitur]

C: Plenam in nobis, eterne salvator, tue virtutis operare medelam

Guthlac (d. 714), hermit of Crowland (11 April)

A: [O] felix divino munere Guthlacus quem [mane et] vespe[re] consuevit

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: [D]eus qui glorioso confessori tuo atque sacerdoti Guthlaco

Hildelith (fl. c. 700), Abbess of Barking (24 March)

A: [A]d tumbam dilecte Hildelithe dominus solvit compeditos

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: [D]eus i[n] urbe sua ... [mostly illegible]

Honorius (d. 653), Archbishop of Canterbury (30 September)

A: Intercede pro nobis sacerdotum Christi dignissime Honori pater piissime

V: Amavit eum dominus.

C: Sancti nos domine Honorii confessoris tui atque pontificis

Hugh (d. 1200), Bishop of Lincoln (17 November)

A: [O] quam grata dei pietas, pia gracia quanto Fenore retribuit

V: Elegit sibi dominus virum de plebe / Et claritatem visionis eterne dedit illi.

C: Deus qui beatum Hugonem confessorem tuum atque pontificem ...

Hugh (d. 1255), boy martyr of Lincoln, allegedly crucified by the Jews (1 August)

A: Hic insignis hostia puer immolatus Hugo celi gloria celse coronatus

V: Posuisti domine super c. eius [*sic?*]

C: Deus qui beatum puerum Hugonem martirem tuum

Indracht, martyr at Glastonbury [and his companions] (8 May)

C: Largire nobis quesumus domine, beati Indracti ...

Iwig [Ywi], disciple of Cuthbert (8 October)

A: Tua prece nos emunda atque deo nos commenda O Ywie

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui preclarum confessorem tuum Ywium eterne beatitudinis

John of Beverley (d. 721), Bishop of York, monk of Whitby (7 May)

A: Ave doctor nobilis presul Eboraci Dux iure laudabilis

V: Ora pro nobis.

C1: Deus cuius virtu ... [pon]tifex miraculorum

C2: [Deus qui nobis hodie migra]cionem beati Iohannis conf[essoris]

Justinian, companion of David (5 December)

C: [D]eus qui beatum Iustinianum martirem tuum celesti alimonia ...

Justus (d. 627), Archbishop of Canterbury (10 November)

A: O sanctum pontificem Iustum cuius iusticia sicut palma victrici

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Da nobis quesumus domine beati Iusti confessoris tui

Juthwara [Aude], virgin of Sherborne (13 July)

A: Simile est regnum celorum sagene misse in mare etc. [*sic*]

C: Deus qui beate virgini tue Iu[thware] cum virginitatis gloria martirii

Kenelm: see Cynehelm

Kentigern [Mungo], Bishop of Glasgow (13 January)

A1: Alme presul Kentegerne laudum digne iubilo Ps M[agnificat]

A2: Sacrosanctam Kentegernus servans parsimoniam

V and C: [destroyed]

- Lawrence (d. 619), Archbishop of Canterbury (2 February)
 A: In transitu incliti patris Laurencii celi nobilitantur gaudiis
 V: Ecce sacerdos magnus.
 C: Deus qui beatum Laurencium ... tuo predicatorem salutis
- Liudhard [Letard] (d. c. 603), chaplain to Bertha, queen of Æthelbert of Kent (7 May)
 A: Lux decus angliaci, spes et augustissima regni O Letharde
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Deus qui beatum Letardum ... equasti luminaribus
- Mellitus (d. 624), first Bishop of London; Archbishop of Canterbury (24 April)
 A: O Mellite dulcissime condigne tuo nomine pietate mellifice
 V: Iustus germi[nabit]
 C: [D]a quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beati [Melliti] confessoris tui
- Melorius [Mylor], martyr of Amesbury Abbey (1 October)
 A: Iocundetur et exultet omnis chorus ecclesie recurrente et instante die festo victorie
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Deus qui beato Meloro tale munus contulisti glorie ut regalis
- Mildthryth [Mildred] (d. c. 733), Abbess of Minster-in-Thanet (13 July)
 A: Gaude virgo gloriosa in Christi tui gloria Mildreda benignissima
 V: Dilexisti iusticiam.
 C: Deus auctor castitatis quem tota devocione beata virgo Mildreda dilexit
- Neot, hermit, founder of St Neot, Bodmin (31 July)
 A: [Neo]te dilecte deo vita eras et animo consecratus domino
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gloriosi confessoris tui
- Ninian, Bishop of Whithorn; apostle of the Picts (16 September)
 A: [A]lme presul Niniane cleri flos Albanie Nos conserves tue laudi
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Fragilitatem nostram quesumus domine perpetuo sustenta munimine
- Oda [Odo] (d. 958), Archbishop of Canterbury (2 June)
 A: [Ave] presul gloriose ave sidus iam celeste [deco]rans Odo celum
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Deus qui nos beati Odonis confessoris tui
- Odwulf (d. 855), monk; missionary of Frisia (12 June)
 A: Ave pater gloriose decorans Odulphe celum
 V: Ora pro.
 C: Deus cui beatus Odulphus confessor tuus ita sanctitatis gracia
- Osthryth (d. 697), queen of the Mercians; daughter of Oswiu of Northumbria (7 October)
 A: O Ositha gloriosa variis virtutibus O oliva speciosa florens in celestibus
 V: Ora pro nobis.
 C: Deus qui es omnium sanctarum flos virginum da nobis

Oswald (d. 642), King of Northumbria, martyr (5 August)

A: [S]ceptrigger Oswalde celo terraque sacrate Trans mare Germanis

V: Ora pro.

C: Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui huius diei iocundam beatamque leticiam

Oswald (d. 992); Bishop of Worcester; Archbishop of York (28 February)

A Exultet spiritus noster in deo salutari nostro

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui nobis sanctum pontificem Oswaldum salutis

Oswine (d. 651), King of Deira, martyr at Tynemouth (20 August)

A1: Salve pater Deirorum esto salus miserorum ad te nos confugimus

V1: Ora pro n[obis]

A2: Sancte nostri recordare et pro nobis deprecare summi regis filiam

V2: Ora pro.

C: Largire suplicibus omnipotens pater cunctorum veniam facinorum

Patrick (*fl.* 5th century), Bishop and apostle of Ireland (17 March)

A: Benedictus sit dominus universorum qui suam visitavit plebem

V: Ora pro nobis.

C1: Deus qui sanctam nobis huius diei [precedes antiphon]

C2: Omnipotens sempiterne deus [mostly illegible]

Paulinus (d. 644), Bishop of York, apostle of Northumbria (10 October)

A: Honorabilis Rome acceptabilis Anglie desiderabilis ubique

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus cui beatus Paulinus pontifex ita sanctitatis gracia

Precious blood of Hailes (presented to Hailes in 1270)

A: [Sa]lve sancta pars cruoris fusa nostri redemptoris pede manu latere

V: Propiciare domine Tuo redeem[p]tis sanguine.

C: Deus qui locum de Heyles unigeniti tui precioso sanguine visibiliter

Richard Wyche (d. 1253), Bishop of Chichester (3 April)

A: Ave coheres celorum ave Ricarde lux angelorum

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui ecclesiam [tuam meritis beati] Ricardi confessoris tui

Samson (*fl.* 561/2), Welsh born Bishop of Dol (28 July)

C: [O]mnipotens sempiterne deus tribue nobis per intercessionem sancti Sampsonis

Seaxburh [Sexburga] (d. c. 700), Abbess of Ely (6 July)

A: Tota pulchra es amica mea et macula non est in te.

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Presta quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beate Sexburge commemorationem agimus

Swithun [Swithin] (d. 863), Bishop of Winchester (2 July)

A: O Swithune pater presul mitissime noster per quem mira deus signa facit dominus

V: Ora pro nobis.

C: Deus qui hodiernam diem sacratissimam nobis in beati Swithuni confessoris