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THE CITY OF ROME AND THE WORLD OF BEDE

ÉAMONN Ó CARRAGÁIN

It is a great honour to be asked to speak in this ancient church, where Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrid, Hwaetberht and Bede sang the liturgy. It is also a daunting prospect to speak in the place where they sang. I am comforted in my unease by the generosity with which Bede described Ireland and its schools; and the sympathy which Bede and his community might have had for pilgrims to Jarrow from the extreme South of Ireland: they knew, after all, that the Southern Irish had adopted the Roman Easter very early, in the period when the first Roman missionaries were helping Irish monks to convert the pagan Northumbrians.[1] Perhaps the great English monks who sang in this Church would not object if I begin with two Irish stories, which show that in the seventh and eighth centuries a fascination in these islands with Rome and its liturgy was not confined to the Anglo-Saxons. The first tells how, in about 630, the Southern Irish decided to change to the Roman Easter. The Irish synod of Mágh Léine sent delegates to Rome, 'the chief of cities' [*ad caput urbium*]. They came to Rome at Easter 631, 'as children to their mother' for a ruling on the Easter controversy. "And they were in one lodging in the church of St. Peter with a Greek, a Hebrew, a Scythian and an Egyptian at the same time at Easter, in which we differed by a whole month."[2] To say that the hospice was actually in St. Peter's sounds like an exaggeration, until you read, in the Roman records, that Pope Sergius repaired pilgrim dwellings which had been damaged by fragments falling from the roof of St. Peter's. In the seventh century, pilgrim hostels clustered up to the very walls of the great basilica.[3] The Irish delegates were convinced of the rightness of the Roman Easter by the testimony of pilgrims from so many different nations, and also by the miracles performed by the Roman relics they brought back to Ireland. A visit to Rome was not only an appeal to the authority of St. Peter; it was a practical way in which delegates from a synod could experience and profit from the catholicity of the Church.

The second Irish story is from an early life of St. Brigit. This episode was first composed certainly no later than 750, and some version of the story may date back to about 650:

> Another day also a holy man came to the house where Brigit was praying alone and found her standing with her hands outstretched to heaven in prayer and she did not see or hear anything else. At the same time the residents of the place could be heard making a great din, for the calves had just then rushed to the cows, but the Saint, intent on God in an extasy of spirit.

heard nothing. Then the man left her for the time being. But he came back to her at a different time and said to her, 'Holy one of God. why didn't you run when the people were shouting?' And she said, 'But I didn't hear the shouting'.

The man said to her, 'What did you hear instead?' Brigit replied, 'I heard Masses in Rome at the tombs of Sts. Peter and Paul and it is my earnest wish that the order of this Mass and of the universal rule be brought to me.'

Then Saint Brigit sent experts to Rome and from there they brought the Masses and the rule. Again after some time she said to the men, 'I discern that certain things have been changed in the Mass in Rome since you returned from there. Go back again.' And they went and brought it back as they had found it.[4]

The story shows, not only that the Irish as well as the English were fascinated by the splendours of the Roman basilicas, but that they knew that the Roman Mass was changing fast, and that repeated visits were needed to keep up to date with it.[5] These same concerns we will also find among the earliest Northumbrian pilgrims to Rome.

Some twenty years after the synod of Mágh Léine, we get the first recorded visit of Anglo-Saxon novices to Rome: the visit of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in 653-54.[6] Neither was as yet a professed monk. Biscop was about twenty-five years of age at the time of his first visit, and Wilfrid about nineteen. Bede presents Biscop's decision to go to Rome as part of his monastic conversion:

> He was about twenty-five and one of King Oswiu's thanes when the king gave him possession of the amount of land due to his rank; but he put behind him the things that perish so that he might gain those that last forever, despising earthly warfare with its corruptible rewards so that he might fight for the true king and win his crown in the heavenly city. He left country, home and family for the sake of Christ and the gospel so that he might receive a hundredfold in return and gain eternal life. ...
>
> He therefore left his own country and went to Rome, where, in fulfilment of his long and ardent desire, he made sure he visited the tombs of the apostles and venerated their remains. Directly he returned home he devoted himself wholeheartedly and unceasingly to making known as widely as possible the forms of church life which he had seen in Rome and had come to love and cherish.[7]

In the very next sentence, Bede goes on to tell of Benedict's second visit to Rome (perhaps about 666, a few years after the Synod of Whitby), his further study there, and his departure after a few months to enter the monastery of Lérins. Bede always stresses the warmth of Benedict's love for the city and its customs. Thus, says Bede,

> After two years' training in monastic life, overcome again by love of the Prince of the Apostles, he made up his mind to tread once more the streets made sacred by the presence of St. Peter's body.[8]

When describing Benedict Biscop, Bede continually stresses his capacity for love, his affection for friends, the warmth of his enthusiasm. Bede explains all Benedict's achievements in the context of friendship. Bede chose as a text for his homily on Benedict Biscop Mt. 19:27-29, the characteristically blunt question which St. Peter put to Christ: "Look, we have left everything and followed you: what will we get?" When commenting on verse 29, "he will receive a hundredfold", Bede lays particular stress on Benedict's talent for friendship:

> He left his relatives when he departed from his fatherland; he received a hundredfold, for not only was he held in deserved veneration by everyone in this land, on account of the diligence of his virtues, but even in Gaul, and in Italy, in Rome too, and in the islands of the sea, he was loved by everyone who was able to know him, to such an extent that the apostolic Pope himself, in order to further the progress of this monastery [Wearmouth] (which he rejoiced that [Benedict Biscop] had recently founded), put at its disposition John, abbot and archchanter of the Roman Church, as you dear ones well remember, so that he might be brought from Rome to Britain, and through him this monastery might receive the manner of singing and performing rituals according to the canonical rite of the holy Roman and apostolic Church.[9]

Bede describes Benedict speaking so enthusiastically to King Ecgfrith of Northumbria, after a later pilgrimage to Rome, of all he had seen, and of the books and relics he had brought back, that the king immediately offers him seventy hides of land to build a monastery at Wearmouth in honour of St. Peter (AD 674).[10] Bede was already sixteen years of age when Benedict Biscop died.

Bede is no doubt remembering what he had himself seen when he tells how, even on his deathbed, Benedict "took delight in speaking again and again, always about the keeping of the monastic rules that he had learned and taught, always about the ecclesiastical observances which he had seen throughout all cities and especially [the ones] of Rome, always about the holy places which he remembered having visited as a young man."[11]

Behind Benedict's enthusiasm for what he had seen on his travels there was a theology of the unity of Christ's body in all its members, in heaven and on earth. Both Benedict Biscop and Bede must have been profoundly familiar with the Roman canon of the Mass. As the Common Preface of the Mass in the Old Gelasian sacramentary (ca. 670AD) puts it, if the congregation can think to address the Father Almighty, this is only because it participates with the angels in Christ's own prayer to His Father:

> Uere dignum et iustum est aequum et salutare nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, *per Christum dominum nostrum. Per quem* maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, caeli caelorumque uirtutes ac beata syrafin socia exultatione concaelebrant. *Cum quibus et nostras uoces ut admitti iubeas depraecamur* supplice confessione dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua. Osanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui uenit in nomine domini. Osanna in excelsis.[12]
>
> It is truly right and just, fitting and leading to salvation, that at all times and in all places we give thanks to thee, Lord, Holy Father, almighty and everlasting God: *through Christ our Lord, through whom* the Angels praise thy majesty, the Dominations worship it, the Powers are in awe; the Heavens and the Powers of the heavens and the blessed Seraphim join together in celebrating their joy. *With these, we pray thee, join our own voices also*, while we say with lowly praise: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts. Heavens and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the Highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Communion is a central theme in the Roman Mass canon: communion with the heavenly liturgy in the life of the Trinity, and communion with the body of Christ in all its members.[13] The principle of the unity of the body of Christ, and of the

unity between the earthly and the heavenly liturgy, is expressed with similar force in the *Communicantes* prayer, recited after the prayer for the living:

> Communicantes et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosae semper virginis Mariae, genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum tuorum Petri et Pauli, Andreae, Jacobi, Joannis, Thomae, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomaei, Matthaei, Simonis et Thaddaei, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Joannis et Pauli, Cosmae et Damiani, et omnium sanctorum tuorum; quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tuae muniamur auxilio. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.[14]
>
> In communion with, and venerating the memory of, first Mary, the ever-virgin mother of Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the apostles and martyrs Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude; we honour Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all the saints. May their merits and prayers gain us your constant help and protection. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The unity of the Body of Christ in heaven and on earth is again symbolized by another long list of saints, the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, just after the prayer for the dead.[15] These Eucharistic prayers, central to the lives of Benedict Biscop, Bede and their community, give us the rationale for Benedict's enthusiasm for Rome and its relics. The list I have quoted, and its companion-list, are filled with the names of saints venerated in Rome, or whose bodies rested in Rome. It is therefore probable that they correspond to many of the relics which Benedict and other Anglo-Saxon clerics brought home to Northumbria. The relics themselves, at this period, would not have been actual parts of bodies, but cloths or other objects which had touched the shrines of the saints, or oil from the lamps before the shrines.[16] For Anglo-Saxon monks, these objects were precious images, pledges, of "the fellowship of your apostles and martyrs" for which their liturgy prayed. They knew that the bodies of these saints would certainly share in the glorification of Christ's body at the end of time, a bodily resurrection in which they hoped to share. Benedict Biscop sought and found at Rome a way of replacing the human loyalties of Northumbrian secular society with equally human links to the apostles and martyrs, who already participated in the heavenly liturgy celebrated at Mass.

Wilfrid's primary motivation was similar to Benedict's: he wished to become an exile for Christ. But Wilfrid also wished "to learn the rules of ecclesiastical discipline, so that our nation may grow in the service of God": his biographer sees Wilfrid, at 19, as already wanting to reform the English. At Canterbury, young Wilfrid had to wait until a group of travellers had collected, so that he could go along with them in safety. The group included Benedict Biscop, and Wilfrid took Benedict, six years older than himself, as his advisor and instructor on the journey.[17] Canterbury must have been the perfect place in England to prepare for a visit to Rome. It was there that St. Augustine himself had preached, and it was there that traditions of Roman chant could best be learned. "Now the Psalms which he [Wilfrid] had first of all read in Jerome's revision he committed to memory ... after the Roman use."[18] Canterbury followed the city of Rome in singing the Roman psalter.[19] Wilfrid would have learned the Roman psalter above all by singing it, and listening to others sing it, daily in the office. In the seventh century the psalms were still sung solo at the Monastic office. Individual monks in turn, in order of seniority, chanted the psalms from memory, while the brethren ruminated in silence on the text of the psalm being sung. Psalm singing was a service rendered by an individual singer to his community; the community responded by communally singing the antiphons before and after the psalms.[20] At Canterbury, therefore, Wilfrid prepared himself to take his turn singing the Office when he got to Rome: to take his place as a Roman cleric.

Of the two young Anglo-Saxon noblemen, Benedict got first to Rome; Wilfrid stayed for some period in Lyons with the archbishop. There is some hint in the sources that there was strain between Benedict, eager to get to Rome, and Wilfrid, who wished to stay longer at Lyons.[21] Stephen tells us how, when he finally arrived at Rome in 654, Wilfrid dedicated himself to his vocation:

> In the oratory dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle, he humbly knelt before the altar above which the four gospels had been placed, and besought the Apostle, in the name of the Lord God for whom he suffered, that the Lord, by his intercession, would grant him a ready mind both to read and to teach the words of the Gospels among the nations. ...[22]

Wilfrid's dedication of himself to "reading and teaching the Gospel among the nations" is presented as a private vow, not a public ceremony. Nevertheless, Stephen describes the vow, made in front of gospels on an altar, in a tableau which recalls at least two ceremonies. Before the introit of the papal Mass the gospel-

book was solemnly enthroned on the altar, under the supervision of the archdeacon.[23] Gospel books were also solemnly placed on an altar in a lenten ceremony in which the gospels were symbolically presented to the catechumens. As it is Bede himself who has given us the earliest account of this second ceremony, we can be sure that it was performed in Northumbria by the early eighth century.[24]

Stephen's story of Wilfrid's self-dedication is set in an oratory dedicated to St. Andrew. Tantalizingly, while Stephen specifies the dedication, he does not tell us where the oratory was situated. Of the possible sites for this oratory, two are particularly interesting. One is the monastery on the Caelian hill founded, on his family property, by Gregory the Great. From this monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, Gregory chose St. Augustine to lead the English mission.[25] The second strong candidate was within the complex of St. Peter's on the Vatican. Pope Symmachus (498-515) consecrated to St. Andrew the older of two rotunda-tombs built on the *spina* or 'backbone' around which the races in Caligula's race-track (*circus*) were run. The *circus* stood immediately to the South of St. Peter's basilica: it is likely that St. Peter had been martyred within the *circus*, perhaps on the *spina*. The rotunda dedicated to St. Andrew stood directly to the West of the obelisk which had marked the centre of the *spina*, and to the East of another rotunda, which stood outside the Southern transept of the basilica (**Plate I**).[26] The possibility that this was the oratory where Wilfrid made his vow of self-dedication is of interest. In the apse at the Western end of the basilica St. Gregory the Great, fifty years before Wilfrid's arrival, had commissioned the first altar over the tomb of St. Peter and, under it, the annular crypt which permitted pilgrims access to the tomb. The idea that pilgrims should have access to the relics of a saint by means of a crypt built under the main altar of a church was to be imitated throughout Europe; St. Wilfrid was to imitate the idea (though not the annular form of the St. Peter's crypt) in the crypts of his churches at Ripon (St. Peter's), and Hexham (St. Andrew's).[27] At the end of the Northern transept of St. Peter's, a series of chapels surrounded the baptistery of the basilica.[28] It would be interesting if Wilfrid vowed his commitment to teaching the nations in an oratory, dedicated to St. Andrew, which stood in a significant relationship both to the tomb of St. Andrew's brother, St. Peter, and to the baptistery of the basilica.[29]

In Stephen's account, Wilfrid's prayer is quickly answered:

> For, during the course of his daily visits to the shrines of the saints to pray, a custom which he observed for many months, he met a teacher whom God and the Apostle made his faithful friend. This was Boniface the archdeacon, one of the wisest of the counsellors, from whom he learned the four Gospels of

> Christ perfectly, and the Easter rule, of which the British and Irish schismatics were ignorant, and many other rules of ecclesiastical discipline. These things the archdeacon Boniface taught him, as though he were his own son.[30]

Stephen gives us the impression that Wilfrid and Boniface got to know each other as two solitary pilgrims. This impression may be misleading. Of course it is likely that Wilfrid visited some shrines privately: primitive guide-books, listing the churches and shrines to be seen, existed already for the guidance of pilgrims.[31] But Boniface was not just a pilgrim. He was the archdeacon of the Roman Church, one of the greatest in honour under the Pope among the clerics of the city.[32] Wilfrid was unlikely to encounter him wandering around on pilgrimage; and he was still less likely to gain his friendship in that way.

On the contrary: it was the professional duty of the archdeacon of Rome to visit the shrines regularly, on set days, in public, and in the company of the Pope himself (or, if the Pope was otherwise engaged, of a suffragan bishop or of the archpriest of the Roman Church). The liturgy of the papal court was different from the liturgies of individual basilicas in that it was a travelling liturgy. On some 160 days each year the Pope celebrated Mass, not at the Lateran, but in one of the many other basilicas in the city. The Pope and his court celebrated Mass at the same church on the same days each year. That church was the *Statio*, or station, for that day: the system as a whole is known as the stational liturgy of Rome.[33]

We can understand the importance of Boniface by examining the role he would have played, as archdeacon of Rome, in the papal Mass, say during the reign of Pope Martin, shortly before Wilfrid got to Rome.[34] The papal court proceeded solemnly from the Lateran to the church in which the station was to be celebrated. The liturgical vessels, and the books needed in the Mass, were carried in the procession. On each stational procession, it would have been Boniface's duty, as senior deacon of the Roman church, to carry the gospel book, and to oversee the ceremony in which the gospels were taken from their book-shrine, carried by junior clerics up the centre of the church, and solemnly enthroned on the altar.[35] Boniface himself would meanwhile have donned his liturgical vestments, in the company of Pope Martin and the other senior clerics, in the reception hall, *sacrarium*, at the entrance to the basilica.[36] When the Pope had given the command for the choir to begin the introit, Pope Martin gave his right hand to the archdeacon, and his left arm to the deacon second in rank. They kissed his hands and proceeded with him up the aisle, holding his arms and sustaining him in his solemn procession. On such solemn processions, the archdeacon Boniface would have been Pope Martin's right-hand man.[37]

No doubt eager young visitors from the ends of the earth could find themselves a place in the papal procession to the stational church. In the stational liturgy a young aspirant like the twenty-year-old Wilfrid would have found the best possible professional training. As there was then no way of writing down music, Wilfrid could only learn the music to be sung, and the actions to be performed, by continual participation in the liturgy itself. You learned the liturgy by doing it, and by watching others do it. The stational Mass was an opportunity for the papal court to meet the local clerics and dignitaries of a region of the city. After Mass, refreshments (Lat. *pastilli*, little cakes; and wine) were provided for the local dignitaries and for the visitors from the Lateran.[38] The stational Mass was the perfect way to make a friend of the archdeacon Boniface. Wilfrid duly got his Papal introduction: '... Finally he [Boniface] presented him [Wilfrid] to the Pope of blessed memory and explained to him with singular clearness the whole reason for the journey of the young servant of God. The Pope placed his blessed hand on Wilfrid's head, prayed over him, and gave him his blessing.'[39]

We shall return to this encounter between Wilfrid and the Pope. First, I would like to pause a little on the significance, for Wilfrid, Benedict, and seventh-century Northern monks, of the Roman stational liturgy. We know they were interested in it: the archetype of the early Northumbrian lectionary system, which incorporated a Roman stational list, 'almost certainly belonged to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow'.[40] The stational system was not merely one of the best ways of getting to know the shrines in and around the city; it also enabled monks, after they had returned home, to recall those basilicas and shrines in the course of each liturgical year. The stational system and the liturgical year provided a monk with two compatible memory-systems, each of which was related to and reinforced the other.[41] The major feasts, and in particular the days of Lent, were through the stational system associated with an appropriate Roman basilica and its relics. A monk who had never been to Rome, if he regularly used a lectionary incorporating a stational list, could gradually come to some appreciation of the devotional riches of the city. Most important of all, a stational list would inform such a monk, when he celebrated or assisted at Mass on a certain day, that the Roman Church gathered to celebrate its solemn Mass that same day at a particular basilica. Very often these were the basilicas of the saints mentioned in the Canon of the Mass, or basilicas which contained particularly important relics (such as the Holy Cross). Through the stational system, the city of Rome became an image, in microcosm, of what was involved in the Communion of Saints. A stational list helped Northern monks, whether they had been to Rome or not, to deepen their sense that at Mass they were 'communicantes et memoriam venerantes' with the other members of the Church throughout the world and in heaven. For example, the stations for Easter Week provided a summary of the major basilicas, and also of the major figures (including Christ and Mary)

mentioned in the Roman Canon: Easter Sunday, Mass at Santa Maria Maggiore; Easter Monday, at St. Peter's; Tuesday, at St. Paul's outside the Walls; Wednesday. at St. Lawrence's outside the Walls; Thursday, at SS. Apostoli; Friday, at S. Maria ad Martyres (the Pantheon); and Saturday, at the Lateran (the Basilica Salvatoris). "This scheme constitutes a grand, well-conceived tour of the Christian city ...";[42] and all these basilicas were listed for Easter Week in the archetype which probably belonged to Wearmouth-Jarrow.[43] The stational processions enacted the diversity-within-unity of the city. They ensured that the bishop got to know, and to be recognized by, all parts of it. While stational processions and Masses took place throughout the year, they were particularly frequent during Lent, when, as Canon Antoine Chavasse has shown, the whole city was systematically visited (**Plate II**).[44] As Chavasse's maps demonstrate, the stational system was first developed in the fourth and fifth centuries, when all major areas within the walls were inhabited. But in the course of the wars of the sixth century the population of Rome fell sharply, and in the seventh century the city had fewer than ten thousand inhabitants, who dwelt for the most part along the Tiber bank. The great basilicas on the hills, such as the Lateran and Santa Maria Maggiore, now existed as separate ecclesiastical settlements, separate villages, surrounded by open countryside.[45] In the seventh century a pilgrim travelling between St. Peter's basilica and St. Paul's, a journey of, say, six miles, would have had to make most of this journey by water or through open countryside, and very little of it through city streets. The weather may have been different, and there were a lot more ruins around; but the open countryside and river that separated St. Peter's on the Vatican from St. Paul's on the Via Ostiense was not altogether different from the open countryside and river which separated St. Peter's Wearmouth from St. Paul's Jarrow.

Roman stational processions were sometimes richly symbolic. I shall here give just one example, taken from the lenten season. The fourth week in Lent was a turning point in Lent. It was in the fourth week of Lent that the most important ceremonies of the catechumenate, such as the handing on of the gospels, took place. The stational church for the fourth Sunday of Lent was the church known as Holy Cross in Jerusalem. This basilica stands near the Porta Prenestina or Porta Maggiore, the great gate into Rome from the South. The basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem had been built on the site of an imperial property, the Sessorian palace: in Holy Cross were kept the relics of the Cross which the empress Helena was believed to have brought to Rome from Jerusalem, in the early fourth century, at the request of her son Constantine.[46] Thus the Mass at Holy Cross in Jerusalem on the fourth Sunday in Lent referred several times to Jerusalem, beginning with the Introit: "Laetare Hierusalem", "Rejoice, Jerusalem".[47] The procession from the Lateran to Jerusalem on the fourth Sunday of Lent was a preparation for Holy Week. It made the point that for the next three

weeks, until the end of Holy Week, the imaginations of the faithful should concentrate on 'going up to Jerusalem' (Luke 9:51ff.) for the feast of Passiontide, and concentrate on what was done on the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. To proceed from the Lateran basilica to Holy Cross in Jerusalem was the symbolic equivalent of going, in Jerusalem, from the Temple to the hill of Golgotha.

On Good Friday, before the ninth hour, the Pope and clergy set off once more from the Lateran in procession to the basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem (the archdeacon this time holding the left arm of the Pope).[48] The Pope went barefoot; behind him a deacon carried the Lateran's own relic of the Cross in a jewelled reliquary. At Holy Cross the relic of the True Cross was placed on the altar, opened and worshipped, first by the Pope and clergy, then by all the people. While this worship was going on, a service of readings culminated in the Passion according to John. After the worship of the Cross, and the accompanying service of readings, was completed, the solemn prayers for Good Friday were said, and the procession returned to the Lateran. The Roman liturgy for the hour of Christ's death on Good Friday involved the followers of Christ coming together at the Holy Cross in Jerusalem to hear the Passion and to worship the Cross.[49] This fact was noted in the Northumbrian station-list probably kept here at Wearmouth-Jarrow: in the Burchard Gospels, John 18:1 is annotated 'in ebd. maiore feria vi ad Hierusalem legitur passio dñi': 'In Holy Week on Friday at Jerusalem the Passion of the Lord is read'.[50]

But, apart from acting as a reminder of Rome and a devotional aid for Anglo-Saxon monks, was the Roman stational liturgy of any practical relevance when planning an Anglo-Saxon monastery, or when siting churches within an English city? The complex Roman system made sense only in Rome, and Canon G.G. Willis concluded reasonably that 'stational liturgy spread to certain other cities in the West, but there is no trace whatever of it in England.'[51] But the stational liturgy would have impressed upon Anglo-Saxon monks the possibility that an ecclesiastical settlement, whether city or monastery, could be unified, as Rome was, by having a plurality of shrines or altars; and that the unity (and diversity) of the local church, within the city or monastery, could be enacted publicly by going in procession between shrine and shrine, or between altar and altar. In other words, they would have learned from the stational system (as well as from other sources) that the space within a city or a monastery should be articulated, and experienced not statically but dynamically, through communal movement in symbolic pilgrimages to different shrines.[52] Richard Morris has argued that the churches at Canterbury, York and Hexham could possibly have provided the setting for small stational systems. As Morris points out, we can only speculate whether regular stations were held at these churches. We have the names of the churches, but no evidence survives of regular processions between them on set

days as in Rome (this is hardly surprising: liturgical *ordines* in the early middle ages described, or purported to describe, what went on in Rome, or in an ideal city; they rarely described what went on at other named cities). More definite is the evidence from Alcuin's York, of thirty altars within the church of Alma Sophia: Morris shows that 'the compression of stational patterns into single buildings' is found throughout Europe in the ninth century. In these cases, the processions would take place, not as in Rome between different churches, but between different altars within a church or throughout a monastery.[53] In such a compressed system, the Holy Cross in Jerusalem might be represented by an altar backed by a cross or cross-slab, symbol of the Cross on Golgotha, that unique sign through which life is restored to the world. As Professor Rosemary Cramp has pointed out, the eighth-century fragmentary cross-slab in this very church at Jarrow may well have formed the backdrop for a cross-altar.[54]

We feel the nearness of the Roman stational system, as inspiration, particularly in three Anglo-Saxon texts. The first two are the two accounts that have come down to us of the final departure of Abbot Ceolfrid for Rome on Thursday 4 June 716.[55] On the previous day, Wednesday 3 June, Ceolfrid had gone for the last time north, here to St. Paul's, Jarrow, to tell them he was to leave them and bid them farewell. Bede, in his commentary on Samuel, gives us a moving testimony to the personal crisis this caused himself:

> Having completed the third book of the Commentary on Samuel, I thought that I would rest a while, and, after recovering in that way my delight in study and writing, proceed to take in hand the fourth. But that rest – if sudden anguish of mind can be called rest – has turned out much longer than I had intended owing to the sudden change of circumstances brought about by the departure of my most reverend Abbot; who, after long devotion to the care of his monastery, suddenly determined to go to Rome, and to breathe his last breath amid the localities sanctified by the bodies of the blessed Apostles and Martyrs of Christ, thus causing no little consternation to those committed to his charge, the greater because it was unexpected.[56]

On Wednesday evening Ceolfrid returned to St. Peter's monastery, Wearmouth. At daybreak on Thursday, Mass was celebrated at Wearmouth, both in St. Mary's Church and in St. Peter's, the chapel where the body of Benedict Biscop lay.[57] Ceolfrid called the brethren into the chapel of St. Peter's, asked them to pray for him, and recited a prayer himself. Then he lit a thurible, and, standing before the

altar on the steps from which he had so often read, gave the final kiss of peace 'to very many of them, for his own grief and theirs prevented him from giving it to all'.[58] He then set off, censer in hand, from St. Peter's to 'the oratory of St. Laurence the martyr, which is in the dormitory of the brethren, and they themselves follow his steps singing ...'.[59] The procession would have been headed by a deacon holding the 'golden cross which he [Ceolfrid] had made', flanked by two others bearing lighted candles.[60] The psalm and antiphons sung on the procession were particularly appropriate for the situation of Ceolfrid, setting off for the last time on pilgrimage. Both psalm and antiphons could be interpreted either in terms of the pilgrimage he was going to make to Rome, or of the journey he was about to make to the other world. The first antiphon was based on Isaiah 26:7: 'The way of the righteous is made straight, and the path of the saints is prepared' ('Uia iustorum recta facta est, et iter sanctorum praeparatus est'). The second, 'ambulantes de uirtute in uirtutem' ('they walk from strength to strength') was based on Psalm 83 (84) verse 8: the verse continues as follows: 'Videbitur Deus deorum in Sion' ('The God of gods will be seen in Sion'). This second antiphon was taken from a psalm which was appropriate both to the monastic chapels around which the monks were proceeding, and also to the basilicas which Ceolfrid hoped to see in Rome. It was the great pilgrimage-psalm, which begins 'How lovely are your dwelling-places, Lord of Hosts'. During the procession, Ceolfrid and his monks also sang the sixty-sixth psalm (Ps. 66/67), which began, 'God be merciful to us and bless us, and shew us the light of His countenance ...'. In the procession, with its psalm and repeated antiphons, Ceolfrid was enacting beforehand, in symbolic form, the last pilgrimage which he himself was about to make, towards Rome and towards heaven. Ceolfrid that morning visited the shrines of St. Peter, St. Mary, and St. Lawrence: three of the greatest patrons of Rome. We may assume that each shrine contained relics of its patron saint, brought back from Rome by Benedict Biscop or by Ceolfrid himself. Ceolfrid must have prayed that these patrons would guide him, either to their great basilicas in Rome, or to the heavenly court itself. Their procession from St. Peter's to the Chapel of St. Lawrence at the monks' dormitory was probably along the path traced by the *porticus* or covered way discovered by Professor Rosemary Cramp in her excavations at Wearmouth.[61] Such a *porticus* was possibly intended to be an imitation or citation of Rome. At Rome, an elaborate *porticus* ran from near the Tiber bank to the open space in front of St. Peter's basilica. A similar but longer *porticus* ran from near the pyramid of Gaius Cestius out along the Via Ostiense to the basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls.[62] When he had finished the prayer at the Chapel of St. Lawrence, Ceolfrid led the procession out from the dormitory, to give a last exhortation to the community he was going to leave. When he had finished, they took up again the same antiphon and psalm, and proceeded down to the river Wear which Ceolfrid had to cross.

In emphasizing the pathos of Ceolfrid's last departure for Rome, the homilist was developing a theme familiar to his audience. The idea of death as a journey forth over the sea to the land of the foreigners was natural to any Anglo-Saxon:[63]

> When his address was ended the antiphon was resumed, and with it the psalm above mentioned, and they pass out to the river, leading forth their father with mournful song as one all but lost to them, and once more he gives to each and all the kiss of peace, their chant again and again interrupted by their tears, and having recited a prayer on the shore, he ascends the vessel and sits down at its prow. The deacons seated themselves beside him, one of them holding a golden cross which he had made, the other lighted candles. As the vessel sped across the river, he gazed on the brethren who were bewailing his departure, and as he listened to the glorious music blending itself with sorrow-laden song he could in no wise restrain himself from sobs and tears. But this alone he repeated with frequent ejaculation – "Christ, have mercy on that company! Almighty Lord, defend that band! yea I know it in very truth – I never found any better than they, more ready to yield obedience ... Christ, my God, protect them." ... Thus he quitted the vessel; worships the cross [*adorat ad crucem*], mounts his horse – and departed. He laid aside the anxieties of this world's concerns, hastening from even his kindred English people to be a pilgrim from land to land; so that with a mind more free and pure he might dedicate himself to the contemplation of the angelic societies of heaven.[64]

Once more, in a monastic text, a description of liturgical action naturally leads to thought of the heavenly liturgy, of 'angelorum consortia'. The last thing the Wearmouth monks saw Ceolfrid do was to worship the cross ['adorat ad crucem']. He may have prostrated himself in front of the processional cross, or he may have solemnly kissed the cross held by a deacon between the lighted candles. In either case, the gesture is reminiscent of the Roman Good Friday ceremonies, and of the cult of the Holy Cross: Ceolfrid would certainly have known, as Bede did, that Pope Sergius I (687-701) had given new impetus to the cult of the Cross since Ceolfrid's visit in 678-9.[65] To worship at the relics of the True Cross, either in St. Peter's, at the Lateran or at Sancta Crux in Hierusalem, would certainly have been one of the things Ceolfrid hoped to perform once more, if he were spared to complete his pilgrimage.

Ceolfrid's public worship of the cross brings me to the third early Northumbrian text which clearly reflects the early Roman liturgy. The earliest Northumbrian versions of the Old English Crucifixion Poem were probably, as I shall argue later, composed in the late seventh century. The surviving texts of this poem envisage the followers of Christ coming together at the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. This gathering of Christ's followers at the Holy Cross is strikingly reminiscent of the way that the Roman clergy, with the Pope at their head, came together at the basilica of Holy Cross in Jerusalem at the ninth hour on Good Friday. In the poem the Cross itself speaks:

9 [+] kris[t] wæs on rodi
10 hweþræ þer fus[æ] fêarran kw[o]mu
11 [æ]þþilæ til anum ic þæt al bi[hêald]
12 sa[ræ] ic w[æ]s mi[þ] s[or]ḡu[m] gidrœ[fi]d
h[n]ag –

9 Christ was on the Cross.
10 But eager ones came thither from afar,
11 the noble ones [came] together. I looked upon all that:
12 I was terribly afflicted with sorrows; I bowed – [66]

The sorrow of the Cross is itself reminiscent of the sorrow of the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow monks giving up their beloved Ceolfrid to his last journey. The strikingly original concept behind this *sententia* of the poem, having the Cross bow to present the body of Christ to his followers, was probably inspired by the spreading fashion, in late seventh- and early eighth-century Rome, of receiving Christ's body in the Eucharist at the end of the Good Friday ceremony, after the communal adoration of the Cross had been completed.[67]

Of the first two Anglo-Saxon clerics to visit Rome, Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, Benedict got there first, perhaps early in 653. Wilfrid, delayed at Lyons by his friendship with the archbishop, may have reached the city only in the Spring or Summer of 654. When they got there the city was in deep crisis. For the previous twenty years, the Byzantine Emperors, in order to preserve the unity of the Empire, had held that, although Christ indeed had two distinct natures, human and divine, He only had one will, the divine will which He shared with God the Father and the Holy Spirit. Hence the imperial position was known as Monotheletism, the theory that Christ had only one will, the divine will. After a shaky start under Pope Honorius (625-38), the Popes firmly rejected Monotheletism, starting with John IV (640-42), and Theodore (642-49).

Monotheletism deprived Christ of His human independence: if He had no human will. He would have lacked human courage, human freedom. From the 640s, the Popes took a fully-developed duothelete position: that Christ had two wills. As well as participating in the exercise of the divine will, Christ also acted through an independent human will. As Christ was not subject to original sin, His human will was in perfect harmony with, but quite distinct from, the divine will which He shared with God the Father in the Holy Spirit. Roman adherence to the duothelete position was solemnly affirmed at the first Lateran council, called together by Pope Martin I in AD 649. As Bede put it, the Lateran Council 'was chiefly directed against those who declared that only one will operated in Christ'.[68] The Lateran council's solemn profession of faith included a statement that Christ 'willed and effected our salvation at once divinely and humanly'.[69] This has been justly called "the dogma of Christ's human liberty"; it could with equal aptness be called the dogma of Christ's human courage.[70]

The Lateran council was a direct challenge to the Emperor Constans II, who ordered his viceroy in Italy to arrest Pope Martin for calling the council. The Pope was arrested on 17 June 653, the year in which Benedict Biscop got to Rome. Benedict may have been in Rome at the time of the Pope's arrest; he certainly arrived, at least, in its immediate aftermath. The Pope was exiled to Constantinople (where he arrived on 17 September 653), imprisoned, tried, and banished to the Crimea where he died of ill-treatment (16 September 655). Wilfrid probably arrived in Rome early in 654. From Pope Martin's own letters we learn that the Pope expected that, in his absence, Rome should be governed by a committee of three: the archdeacon (presumably the person he had in mind was that Boniface who was to become Wilfrid's friend), the archpriest, and the chief notary.[71] On 10 August of that year (654), although Pope Martin was still alive in his Crimean prison, a new Pope was chosen under imperial pressure, Eugenius I. Plummer suggests that this interregnum between Pope Martin's exile in June 653 and Pope Eugenius' election in August 654 is the reason why it was only after many months that the archdeacon Boniface was able ("postremo", "finally") to introduce Wilfrid to the Pope.[72] This would be the new Pope, Eugenius. Roman popular feeling was very much in favour of the doctrine of Christ's human courage. One would like to know whether Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop were present in Santa Maria Maggiore in the Autumn of 654 when, soon after the election of Pope Eugenius, the Roman clerics and people physically prevented him from finishing Mass, until he promised to reject a public letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople. The letter gave offence because it was ambivalent on the question of Christ's human will.[73]

Wilfrid and Benedict thus arrived in Rome just as a full-scale schism broke out between Eastern and Western Christianity over the question of Christ's

courage. In the next quarter-century, the papacy made every effort, political and theological, to heal the schism. Particularly important was Pope Vitalian (657-72), the Pope who sent Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian of Naples to Canterbury in the company of Benedict Biscop (669).[74] The young Emperor, Constantine IV, saw that the imperial backing for Monotheletism had been politically ineffective: it had not, as hoped, reconciled the monophysites of Egypt, but it had alienated Italy and the West. Constantine agreed to heal the schism and to accept the Western position on Christ's human will. Pope Agatho (678-81) decided to gather evidence that the belief in Christ's human will was widespread in the Western Latin churches. Archbishop Mansuetus of Milan wrote directly to Constantinople summarizing the duothelete position taken by a synod held in his archdiocese. The consensus of the Anglo-Saxon church was affirmed at a council held, under the presidency of Theodore of Canterbury, at Hatfield in 679. This council solemnly accepted the canons of the Lateran synod of 649. At Easter 680, a council at Rome (which was attended by 125 bishops, including Bishop Wilfrid) formulated the Western response on the question of Christ's human will. The Western Church was able to speak with unanimity on the question at the sixth ecumenical council (held in Constantinople in 680-81) which formally rejected Monotheletism as a heresy. The Ecumenical Council at Constantinople, and the preparatory councils, must have given particular satisfaction to Benedict Biscop (aged 53 in 680) and Wilfrid (then aged 48): it healed the major schism which had rent the Church in East and West for all of their adult lives, and it brought to a happy resolution the crisis which must have caused tension during their first visit to Rome.[75] Each major stage of the monothelete controversy is recorded by Bede in his *Chronica maiora*: to judge by his chronicle, Bede saw Monotheletism as by far the most important event to befall the universal Church in his own lifetime.[76] The reality of Christ's human will is likely to have been a particularly important issue for Benedict and Wilfrid. They were both from Anglo-Saxon noble families: human courage, which can lead a hero to risk his life for his people, was the human quality valued above all among the Anglo-Saxon nobility. Indeed, in the Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Poem (the earliest important poem in the English language of which a text survives), we may have a direct response, and an orthodox response, to the monothelete controversy. The poem explicitly refers to Christ as 'Almighty God'; and in the same sentence it refers twice to His human courage, using the verb 'He willed' and the adjective 'modig', 'courageous'. The Cross speaks of its encounter with Christ as a meeting, and indeed a clash, of two wills, that of a courageous Christ and that of the startled Cross:

1 [+ Ond]geredæ hinæ ḡod almeȝttig [.] þa he walde on ḡalḡu gistiḡa
2 modig f[ore allæ] men

3 [buğa] {*ic ni dorstæ*} ...
5 [Ahof] ic riicnæ ƙyningc [.]
6 hêafunæs h[l]afard hælda ic ni dorstæ ...

1 Almighty God stripped Himself. When He willed to mount the gallows,
2 Courageous before all men,
3 {I dared not} bow ...
5 I [lifted up] a powerful king –
6 the lord of heaven I dared not tilt ...[77]

The poem fundamentally revalues what courage should involve: no longer killing other human beings, but heroically choosing one's own death, even the death of the Cross, to set mankind free from death. By stating explicitly that Christ was 'almighty God' while at the same time emphasizing His will and human courage, the poem reflects the Roman and Western position in the major crisis facing the Church in East and West in the latter half of the seventh century.

Pope Agatho sent no less a person than John, the Archicantor or precentor of St. Peter's on the Vatican, to represent him at the council of Hatfield.[78] Benedict had founded the monastery of St. Peter's at Wearmouth five years before, in 674. Pope Agatho let him have the most suitable person in all Christendom to establish a fully authentic liturgy in a monastery dedicated to St. Peter: the abbot who was in charge of liturgy at St. Peter's body, in Rome. It is unlikely that John, by then presumably an elderly man, would have agreed to go to the ends of the known world if there was not already close friendship between John and Benedict. We can therefore be confident of the truth of Bede's statement that John's coming to Wearmouth was a triumph of Benedict's talent for friendship: friendship not only with Pope Agatho, but with John himself.[79] We know where John's own monastery, St. Martin's, stood: just beyond St. Peter's, in the shadow of the apse of the basilica, slightly to the South of the apse (**Plate I**). The monastery is an early example, in Rome, of the cult of St. Martin of Tours.[80] On his early visits to Rome, Benedict may possibly have lodged in a hospice under the care of St. Martin's (in the shadow of the basilica, like the hospice used by the Irish monks twenty years before).[81]

John the archicantor journeyed to Northumbria in the company of Benedict, and of Ceolfrid who (in 689-90) was to succeed Benedict as abbot. Their journey through Francia included a visit to the monastery of St. Martin's at Tours: Abbot John was thus able to pray at the body of the patron saint of his own Vatican monastery.[82] Benedict ensured that, apart from his presence at the Council of

Hatfield, Abbot John should, during his stay at St. Peter's new monastery at Wearmouth,

> teach the monks of his monastery the mode of chanting throughout the year as it was practised at St. Peter's in Rome. Abbot John carried out the Pope's instructions and taught the cantors of the monastery the order and manner of singing and reading aloud and also committed to writing all things necessary for the celebration of festal days throughout the whole year; these writings have been preserved to this day in the monastery and copies have now been made by many others elsewhere. Not only did John instruct the brothers in this monastery, but all who had any skill in singing flocked in from almost all the monasteries in the kingdom to hear him, and he had many invitations to teach elsewhere.[83]

There was no way of writing music in the seventh century; as Isidore of Seville put it, unless sounds are preserved in the memory they vanish, as they cannot be written down.[84] John the archicantor can only have left written records of the words to be sung, and descriptions of the Roman ceremonies to be imitated or adapted. For the rest, he must have left a rich oral musical tradition, which had to be preserved by being memorised, and handed on from singer to monastic singer. For such singers, words and music must have been inseparable, the words acting as a mnemonic for the appropriate music and, conversely, musical phrases recalling the words sung to these phrases.[85]

The Roman liturgy had developed considerably in the quarter-century since Benedict's first visit to Rome.[86] This was the period in which liturgical texts, previously transmitted in informal collections (*libelli*), began to be recorded in organised manuscripts: gospel lectionaries, epistle lectionaries, antiphonaries, sacramentaries.[87] Such organised collections were of particular interest to outsiders such as Northern monks, eager to learn about and to imitate the ceremonies of the city.[88] To describe such a major development in any detail is beyond the scope of this lecture: I shall concentrate on one small but symptomatic example of the process. Four new feasts, which celebrated Christ's incarnation and the glory of His mother Mary, were introduced gradually into Rome during that generation, 650-80.[89] Two of these feasts were feasts of Christ Himself, rather than the Virgin. These two feasts of the Lord fell close to each other in Spring: Christ's coming in to His Temple (Candlemass, the Meeting with Simeon), on the 2nd February; and the feast of Christ's incarnation, the

Annunciation of the Lord, on the Spring equinox of the Julian calendar, the 25 March.[90] The other two feasts were, from the beginning, feasts of the Virgin. They fell in Autumn: her death or Dormition, the 15 August; and her Nativity or birthday, 8 September. These feasts were introduced gradually and piecemeal into Rome. They were adopted by different basilicas at different periods, sometimes ten or more years apart.[91] In particular, the Papal liturgy at the Lateran used different prayers and chants from other basilicas. The introduction of these four feasts is an excellent example of the liturgical variety and freedom which then existed within the city of Rome. Only at the end of the seventh century were the four feasts marked out in the papal (stational) liturgy as a 'set', and thus in a certain sense 'unified', by Pope Sergius I (686-701). He decreed that on each of the four feasts a stational procession should go from the church of S. Hadrian in the Forum Romanum (formerly the Senate House) to celebrate Mass at the basilica of S. Maria Maggiore.[92]

We can illustrate this diversity by looking at the way in which the feast of the Annunciation of the Lord was introduced. The Annunciation posed a particular problem. The Spring equinox, 25 March, almost always fell during Lent, and sometimes in Holy Week. How could the joy of Christ's incarnation be celebrated in the penitential season which prepared for His Passion? One solution was to refuse to have a feast of Christ's incarnation in the middle of Lent. This was the solution of the Spanish church. The tenth Council of Toledo in 656 knew of the ancient learned tradition that Christ had been crucified at the Spring equinox (25 March in the Julian Calendar); they knew of the precedents and arguments being developed in their own generation for celebrating His incarnation on the same day.[93] Nevertheless, precisely because such a joyful feast could not properly be celebrated in the middle of the penitential season of Lent or Passiontide, they opted instead to celebrate a special Marian feast, in honour of the incarnation, a week before Christmas, i.e. on 18 December.[94] Another solution was to ignore the problem, and simply celebrate the Annunciation of the Lord in the middle of Lent. This was the solution adopted by the Roman basilicas which used the Gelasian sacramentary: they have no mention of Lent or Passiontide in their Mass for the Annunciation.[95]

A third solution was to try to face the problem directly: to celebrate the Annunciation of the Lord in the middle of Lent, but to explore the connections between Christ's incarnation and His Passion. The papal liturgy at the Lateran made a slight effort to confront the problem: the prayer after communion in their Mass for 25 March runs as follows: "Pour your grace into our minds, O Lord, that we, who have known the incarnation of Christ thy Son by the message of an angel may, by His Passion and Cross be brought to the glory of His resurrection":

> *Ad completa.* Gratiam tuam domine, mentibus nostris infunde, ut qui angelo nuntiante christi filii tui incarnationem cognouimus, per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per.

This noble prayer memorably expresses the idea that the incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection form a single divine act in which mankind can participate. While in its classic beauty it is suitable for any occasion in which the incarnation of Christ is to be seen in the context of the Atonement, we cannot really say that it confronts and resolves the particular problem which exercised the Spanish bishops in 654: how can one celebrate the incarnation of Christ during Lent or Passiontide?[96]

As far as we know, only one basilica in Rome in the late seventh century provided an explicit solution to the problem posed by celebrating the Annunciation of the Lord on 25 March, during Lent or Passiontide. That basilica was St. Peter's on the Vatican. Their solution was one which went deep back into the traditions of St. Peter's itself. It is likely that, even in pre-Christian times, there had been a cult of the sun-God Apollo at Nero's circus on the Vatican hill, the place where St. Peter was martyred. Bede and Anglo-Saxon clerics would have known from the official biography of St. Peter that he was buried on the Via Aurelia, at the temple of Apollo, near the place where he had been crucified: 'in Templum Apollinis, iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est'.[97] In the late third century a Christian family, the Julii, represented Christ in their family tomb at the Vatican, in close proximity to the tomb of St. Peter, as the light of the world, riding His four-horse chariot (*quadriga*) across the sky. This iconography was based directly on that of Helios/Phoebus-Apollo, the pagan Sun God: to apply the iconography to Christ implied that the Julii (within the privacy of their family tomb) rejected the cult of Apollo, associated with the Vatican Circus just next to their tomb. This representation of Christ as Helios-Apollo, the Unconquered Sun, is unique in the ancient Christian world.[98] As late as the mid-fifth century, Pope St. Leo I felt it necessary to reproach the congregation at St. Peter's for their custom of pausing in the atrium in front of St. Peter's (the façade of the basilica faced East), and turning with their backs to the door of the basilica to pray facing the rising sun.[99] In the course of the fourth century the Roman Church established the feast of Christ's nativity on the Winter solstice, 25 December, in successful competition with the pagan feast of the unconquered Sun (*Sol Invictus*) on the same day.[100] It was appropriate that, from the first establishment of the feast, the Papal Mass at Rome on Christmas Day should be celebrated at St. Peter's. In the early Middle Ages, this stational Mass at St. Peter's had become the culmination of a series of three Masses celebrating the vigil and the feast. During the vigil

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Matins and Midnight Mass (*ad galli cantum*: at cock-crow) were celebrated at the shrine of the crib, at S. Maria Maggiore; thence the stational procession went to the foot of the Palatine hill, to celebrate the dawn Mass at the Church of S. Anastasia.[101] The stational procession finally made its way from the Palatine across the Tiber to the Vatican, to celebrate a second office of Matins, and the Day Mass, at St. Peter's.[102]

As we have seen, the liturgy of St. Peter's basilica was in the charge of the monks of the monastery of St. Martin's, which stood just outside the apse, immediately to the West of the basilica. These monks must have known the ancient and widespread Christian learned tradition that Christ had been crucified at the Spring equinox, the 25 March. A community dedicated to St. Martin of Tours is also likely to have known, either through personal contacts or through the writings of Gregory of Tours, that in early Christian times the Church at Tours had celebrated a fixed Easter on 27 March, and had thus commemorated the Passion on 25 March.[103] We get a moving account of just how intimate was the friendship between the two monasteries of St. Martin, at the Vatican and at Tours, in Bede's account of the death of John the Archicantor:

> As he was returning to his own land, not long after he had crossed the Ocean [back to Francia], he was attacked by illness and died. Because of his great affection for St. Martin over whose monastery [at the Vatican] he presided, his body was taken by his friends to Tours and honourably buried there. He had been hospitably entertained by the church in that place on his way to Britain [in the company of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid] and had been earnestly asked by the brothers to take that road on his return to Rome and to stay at the same church. In fact they provided him with men to accompany him on his journey and to assist him in his appointed task. Though he died on the way, nevertheless the testimony of the English to the catholic faith was carried to Rome and most gladly received by the Pope and by all those who heard it or read it.[104]

We could not get a clearer picture of how the traditions of Roman monks could be enriched by liturgical ideas from Gaulish churches, and of how for Anglo-Saxon monks Roman traditions could be supplemented and reinforced by networks of monastic friendships in Francia. Drawing both on the ancient Vatican tradition which associated the incarnation of Christ with the yearly course of the sun, and perhaps also on an awareness of the liturgical traditions of

Tours on the part of the monks of St. Martin's to whom the Vatican liturgy was entrusted, the Vatican Mass confronted and resolved the problem of celebrating the Annunciation during Lent. They, and apparently they alone among Roman basilicas, celebrated 25 March as "the Annunciation of the Lord and His Passion" ("*Adnuntiatio Domini et Passio Eiusdem*").[105] The Vatican offertory prayer ['prayer over the offerings', *super oblata*] for 25 March is fully consistent with the title of the Mass. It makes an explicit link between the incarnation of Christ and His Passion, and so implicitly provided a justification for the celebration of the Annunciation of the Lord in Lent or Passiontide: "O Lord, we ask that this your people's offering, which we offer you today on account of the incarnation and likewise the Passion of our redeemer Jesus Christ, may be acceptable to you, humbly beseeching that you be pleased to receive it. Through the same Jesus Christ ...":

> Super *obl[ata]*. Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus haec oblatio plebis tuae, quam tibi offerimus hodie ob incarnationem simul et passionem redemptoris nostri iesu christi, te supplices deprecantes ut placatus accipias. Per eundem.[106]

Thus, perhaps from the 670s onwards, the liturgy of St. Peter's annually presented 25 March as a feast of the Passion as well as of the incarnation of Christ. In the Vatican Mass for the 25 March, the lenten feast of the Annunciation of the Lord is as closely associated with the lunar cycle (of Holy Week and Easter) as it is with the solar cycle of the Incarnation (centred on Christmas).

To sum up: the new feast of the Annunciation, falling during Lent or Passiontide, posed a liturgical problem which received at least three separate responses in seventh-century Rome: that of some presbyteral basilicas (the Old Gelasian sacramentary), that of the papal court at the Lateran (reflected in the Hadrianum sacramentary), and that of St. Peter's on the Vatican (reflected in the Sacramentary of Padua). Of the three, the Mass of St. Peter's is likely, because of their personal experience of the Vatican liturgy, to have been of greatest interest to Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrid and their community. If John the Archicantor brought with him a formulary for the new feast of the Annunciation (whether in his memory or in written form) on his journey via Tours to Wearmouth, this formulary would certainly have been that of the Vatican (and would have been consistent also with the ancient customs of St. Martin's at Tours). If the Vatican Mass was composed during the lifetime of John the Archicantor, it seems possible that John, as abbot of St. Martin's and archicantor of St. Peter's, might himself have had a hand in composing the title, and the

Offertory prayer, for the Mass. Even if these formulae were composed during John's last journey North in the company of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, Bede provides us with vivid evidence of how quickly 'the testimony of the English to the catholic faith was carried to Rome' by John's companions after he had been laid to rest at Tours, and how eagerly what they brought back was received at Rome itself.

Bede, a boy seven years old, may have joined the monastery at Wearmouth just when John the archicantor was there in 679. Bede certainly came there soon after; in any event, he was introduced to liturgical chant from a pure spring: the oral tradition of music sung at the Vatican. Here at Jarrow, in the terrible plague-year of 686, when

> in the monastery over which Ceolfrid presided all those brethren who could read or preach or recite the antiphons and responds were taken away, with the exception of the abbot and one little lad, who had been raised and taught by him, and who is at this day still in the same monastery, where he holds the rank of a priest, and both by written and spoken words justly commends his teacher's praiseworthy acts to all who desire to know of them. Now he – I mean the abbot – being much distressed by reason of the aforesaid pestilence, gave command that, their former use being suspended, they should go through the whole psalter, except at vespers and matins, without the recitation of the antiphons. And, when this practice had been followed not without many tears and plaints on his own part for the space of one week, being unable to endure it longer he resolved once again that the customary order of the psalms with their antiphons should be restored ...[107]

This famous account is first hand evidence of the central part which liturgical song played in the lives of the monks of this community, from the day of their first entry to the monastery as little boys, *pueruli*: it shaped, defined and gave meaning to each day in their lives, and to their lives as monks. Uninterrupted participation in liturgical praise, an activity which they saw as shared with the angels and saints and as uniting heaven and earth, was an essential feature of a monastery as conceived by Benedict Biscop. The account of how Ceolfrid founded St. Paul's at Jarrow five years before the plague (681-2) presents Ceolfrid's chief concern as being the full establishment of liturgical performance at St. Paul's: Ceolfrid

> inaugurated the identical discipline of regular observance and the same complete canonical method of chanting and reading which was maintained in the older monastery; and that at a time when by no means all the members of his company knew how to chant the psalms, much less how to read in the church, or to repeat the antiphons or responds. But what helped them was their love of religion, and the example of their zealous founder, and his tactful persistency. For, in his desire to set deep the roots of monastic observance he was generally wont to attend the church with them at all canonical hours; to refresh himself and to rest when they did; that, if anything needed correction, if any lesson had to be taught to the novices, he himself might be there to perform the task.[108]

We could not ask for a clearer statement of the way in which at Wearmouth-Jarrow the liturgy itself was seen as a school of the Lord's service, and of the way in which monastic school-work was necessary for, directed towards, and completed by, the correct performance of the canonical hours. At the height of the plague, Ceolfrid's 'tears and plaints' came from the perception that, if even at the day-hours a full liturgy became impossible, the monastery itself was in danger of losing its prophetic and communal function. As we have seen, psalms were sung solo; the community sang the antiphons together, as a choir, in response to the psalms. It was in the antiphons that the voice of the community was heard. Having to abandon the antiphons was a painful reminder of how precariously St. Paul's was now clinging on to the monastic life, of how near they were to having no choir, and no community, at all. The account of Ceolfrid and the *puerulus* also provides evidence of the conditions under which liturgical song was preserved and handed down before the invention, and common use, of music-writing. An oral tradition existed only as embodied in, and enacted by, its singers. Without continual performance, the tradition soon faded and vanished. Ceolfrid and his young pupil, both, would have known how vital it was not to abandon the singing of any antiphons for too long a time, no matter how grave the crisis: that they must preserve, by continuous performance, the precious oral traditions which had been brought to them from the *schola cantorum* at St. Peter's body. It is moving to think of Ceolfrid and his teenage helper, in this very church, in the years after 686, building up the choir again, educating them for and through the liturgy, passing on to other young English monks the oral musical traditions of the Vatican:

> by himself and with the help of the boy above mentioned with no small pains he [Ceolfrid] carried out his resolve, till such time as a sufficient number of asssociates in the divine service could be trained up by himself or gathered from other places.[109]

CONCLUSIONS

I shall conclude by making three general points:

1. First, Northern monks could not just copy the Roman liturgy even if they wanted to, any more than they could find any single 'standard' Roman rule for the monastic life: the variety of liturgical and canonical customs in the city made it absolutely necessary to pick and choose among them. Bede saw the skill of Benedict Biscop in choosing eclectically what he needed for his own family of monks as one of the greatest of the founder's qualities. Benedict Biscop had plenty of opportunity to exercise this quality within the city of Rome, as well as in smaller cities on his journeys out and back.[110] It is certain that not even Wearmouth-Jarrow adopted all the usages of St. Peter's, though they certainly knew about them. At Jarrow they used, not the lectionary of St. Peter's, but a lectionary from Southern Italy (Naples-Campania) modified with some elements of Roman usage.[111] Even that Neapolitan lectionary system may have come to Wearmouth-Jarrow via a Roman monastery which had Neapolitan connections or a Neapolitan abbot: such liturgical diversity within the city of Rome is quite conceivable in the age of Benedict Biscop and Bede, and it would be quite natural to find Neapolitan customs practised, for example, in the Greek quarter near the Palatine Hill (in schola Greca).[112] What was important to Northumbrians was, not that they should slavishly copy the use of a particular Roman basilica, but that they should practise customs which were consonant with those practised in, or approved by, Rome. Scholars have convincingly argued that the veneration which the Anglo-Saxons had for St. Benedict and his Rule (a veneration much earlier and stronger than was felt by any communities of monks in Rome itself) was inspired less by the inherent qualities of the Rule than by the praise of St. Benedict in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, and by their sense that, of all the authors of monastic rules, Benedict was most closely associated with Rome and the Papacy.[113] In Rome at this period liturgical books were primarily the product and possession of the basilica or community that used them; many churches and monasteries must still have been using loosely-organised collections of prayers based on earlier booklets or *libelli*. There is a great difference between this period and the ideal of uniformity sought (but achieved in a very limited way) in the Carolingian Empire. Apart from essential matters, like the date of Easter, the generation of Benedict Biscop, or that of Ceolfrid and Bede, did not identify unity with uniformity. Their attitudes to Rules and to liturgy was Roman of their period: it still embodied elements, at least, of the Gregorian ideal of diversity within unity, of taking the best wherever you found it. Paul Meyvaert in a classic study illustrated this Gregorian ideal, primarily from the letters of Gregory to St. Augustine of Canterbury as preserved by Bede: 'For things are not to be loved

for the sake of a place, but places are to be loved for the sake of their good things'.[114] The greatest Roman expression of the tradition was the Roman stational system: that system celebrated the diversity, within an overall unity, of the city's churches. The stational system implied that the city was a microcosm of a Church, in East and West, in which local diversity of language, custom and usage coexisted with, and was essential to, an ecumenical unity. In this matter the *lex orandi* was still, in the early eighth century, wiser than the language of theological controversy which was to have such a limiting and stultifying effect on the liturgy itself in future centuries. Canon Antoine Chavasse, the greatest living authority on the development of the Roman city liturgies, has succinctly expressed the way in which the Roman stational system manifested the fact of diversity within unity in the churches of the city:

> Ainsi organisée, l'Assemblée stationnale veut être l'expression *adéquate*, mais *condensée*, de l'Église urbaine, unique et une.
> Le rassemblement unifie, sans confusion ni exclusion.
> Le pluralisme des églises titulaires y est conservé et manifesté, tout en étant coordonné à l'intervention unitaire de l'Episcopus.
> Le déroulement conjugué de la célébration "tient" chacun à sa place hiérarchique qui est la sienne.[115]

Chavasse has shown that the same spirit of diversity within unity lay behind the ancient Roman practice of the *fermentum*. At each stational Mass, the Pope sent fragments of the Eucharistic host to the churches throughout the city who were also celebrating the Eucharist that day. In the basilicas, the papal gift was brought in at the end of the Canon of the Mass, just after the Our Father and just before the formula which invited the congregation to perform the Kiss of Peace. The celebrants in the basilicas inserted the papal gift into their Eucharistic chalice while reciting the formula of invitation, "Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum" ("May the Peace of the Lord be always with you"). Chavasse has shown the rite of the *fermentum* to be an enacted symbol that, no matter what the tensions and controversies which rent the local church, "no one has been rejected" from the Eucharist. The *fermentum* manifested the truth that theological controversies and organisational tensions should give way to the fundamental symbols of reconciliation embodied in poetic action in the Eucharist.[116] Traditional liturgical actions were wiser and more creative than theological debates.

2. Secondly, liturgy, and liturgical thought, is central to the clerical culture of the period, both at Rome and in England. The development of the liturgy is of interest to all students of medieval Christian culture, because the liturgy was the

point at which the central Christian doctrines, and some of the best theological reflection upon them, were communicated to, accepted by, and incorporated into the life of wider communities. Through communal action, song and image, the liturgy took scriptural (and, sometimes, patristic) texts beyond the realm of the cerebral, and made them the scripts for regularly-repeated communal actions.[117] Theological writings can tell you how the individual authors of these writings, and perhaps some of their readers, thought; but in order to trace how a community perceived the Christian faith, their liturgical actions are the best guide. Where we can be sure that a Christian community existed, the axiom 'lex orandi, lex credendi' holds true: the way a community prayed is the best guide to what the community believed. All the arts (visual, dramatic, literary) were involved in liturgical expression.[118] Thus political change, liturgical change and artistic change went closely together. In Rome, as well as in Byzantium, political and theological positions were expressed publicly by innovations which were at once liturgical and artistic. This form of discourse was universally accepted throughout the Church, in East and West (and so these liturgical-cum-artistic innovations were carefully recorded in the official biographies of the Popes). It was perfectly well understood by Bede, for example. In his *Chronica maiora* he records how at the beginning of the monothelete controversy the monothelete Patriarch Paul of Constantinople destroyed the altar of the Papal ambassadors in Constantinople, so that they could not celebrate Mass there.[119] In his account of the last outbreak of the heresy (in 711), Bede records that Pope Constantine

> made pictures in the *porticus* [perhaps the nave, the chancel, or a side-chapel?] of St. Peter's, which represented the acts of the six holy universal synods. For when pictures of this kind were to be seen in the imperial city [Constantinople], Philippicus ordered them to be taken away. And the Roman people decided not to accept the name or letters of the heretical Emperor, and not to accept his portrait on *solidi* [coins]. Thus his effigy was not brought into church, nor was his name read out at Mass.[120]

Bede takes care to bring the story to a happy ending: he records that, when Philippicus had been deposed (in 713), the Emperor Theodosius 'soon erected in its former place in the imperial city the venerable image in which the six holy synods were depicted, and which had been thrown down by Philippicus.'[121]

In late-seventh and early-eighth century Rome, political and theological positions were regularly publicized through liturgical developments and artistic innovations (or renovations). Three examples are particularly instructive for the artistic and political importance of liturgical developments:

a. In 692 the Quinisext Council was held in the imperial palace in Constantinople at the command of the Emperor Justinian II. The object of the council was 'to establish the usage of the see of Constantinople as the canonical norm'.[122] Its Eighty-second Canon decreed as follows:

> On some venerable images is depicted a lamb at whom the Forerunner points with his finger: this has been accepted as a symbol of Grace, showing us in advance, through the Law, the true Lamb, Christ our Lord. While embracing the ancient symbols and shadows inasmuch as they are signs and anticipatory tracings handed down to the Church, we give preference to the Grace and the Truth which we have received as the fulfilment of the Law. Consequently, in order that the perfect should be set down before everybody's eyes even in painting, we decree that [the figure of] the Lamb, Christ our God, who removes the sins of the world, should henceforward be set up in human form on images also, in the place of the ancient lamb, inasmuch as we comprehend thereby the sublimity of the humiliation of God's Word, and are guided to the recollection of His life in the flesh, His Passion and His salutary Death, and the redemption which has thence accrued to the world.[123]

The decrees of this council infringed Western customs and prerogatives in a variety of ways, and Pope Sergius I (686-701) refused to ratify the acts of the council when they were submitted to him for confirmation. Sergius also introduced an important liturgical innovation into the Mass: 'he laid it down that at the time of the breaking of the Lord's body [for communion] the clergy and people should sing "Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us." '[124] It is likely that this liturgical innnovation was, among other things, a way of publicizing Sergius' rejection of the disciplinary decrees of the Quinisext Council. The new liturgical chant did not of course transgress against Canon 82 of the Council, but it familiarized everyone, both clergy and people, with the scriptural basis (John 1:29; cf. 1:36) for representing Christ as the Lamb of God. Sergius also renovated at least two Roman buildings which had important representations of Christ as the Lamb of God. The most important of these was the fifth-century façade of St. Peter's on which representations of the four Evangelists flanked an image of the glorified Lamb (this image of the *Agnus Dei* must have been familiar to all the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who, Bede tells us, flocked to Rome in the next thirty years).[125] Sergius also renovated SS. Cosmas

and Damian near the Forum, where a splendid sixth-century representation of the Lamb in glory, lying on an altar and surrounded by seven candle-sticks, angels, the four Evangelists, and the elders of the Apocalypse, surmounted the apse.[126] To publicize his rejection of Canon 82 of the Quinisext Council, Sergius employed both liturgy and art. His public rejection of this canon implicitly proclaimed his right to reject any other pastoral provisions of the Council in Trullo which did not conform to Western tradition.[127]

b. Some fifteen years later, Pope John VII commissioned frescoes for the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum. On the façade above the apse Christ was represented naked on the Cross, but adored by flanking legions of angels and saints. Professor Per Jonas Nordhagen has shown how this iconography apparently conforms to the prescriptions of Canon 82 of the Trullan synod: the scene is a highly original variant of earlier scenes (such as the façade of St. Peter's or the mosaic above the apse at SS. Cosmas and Damian) in which the Agnus Dei was adored by angels and saints. It would seem that John VII wished to tone down the Roman rejection of the 82nd canon of the Council in Trullo, and to obey the canon by placing the naked figure of Christ crucified in a context where a glorified Agnus Dei might be expected.[128] But John's point was more subtle than that. On the sides of the apse façade, below the scene of the adoration of Christ, four Roman Popes were represented. Three of them can still be identified from their inscriptions. They included John VII himself, and some of his distinguished predecessors. One of these was Pope Leo I, whose writings had formed the basis of the definition, at the Council of Chalcedon (451 AD) of the hypostatic union in Christ of two natures, human and divine. Even more significant, these papal portraits included Pope Martin I who, some fifty years before, had been martyred by the Eastern Emperor for his defence of Christ's human will. In the context of these papal portraits, the representation of a glorified Christ naked on the Cross was primarily a statement of how faithfully Rome had held to the union of full humanity with divinity in the person of Christ, and how faithfully, even to martyrdom, the Popes had defended His independent human courage, manifested above all when He chose His death on the Cross.[129]

c. In the last decade of Bede's life, the question of the role of images in Christian devotion and liturgy became of even more acute political importance. In 726, the Emperor Leo III banned the use of images in worship. Pope Gregory II (715-31) rejected the imperial decree.[130] Paul Meyvaert has demonstrated that the controversy was known to Bede before 730. In his *De Templo*, Bede wrote his own extensive defence of the use of images, against 'some who believe that God's law forbids us to sculpture or to paint, whether in a church or in any other place, the figures of men or animals or the likeness of any other object'.[131] Gregory's successor and namesake, Gregory III, began his reign with a synod in

St. Peter's which formally condemned iconoclasm and excommunicated its adherents. If the Emperor was destroying images of Christ, Mary and all the saints, then the Western Church would develop their cult: on 12 April 731, Gregory III, in yet another synod in St. Peter's, inaugurated a sumptuously-decorated oratory in St. Peter's, in honour of all the saints throughout the world, and containing relics of saints from all parts of the world. For the oratory, he made provision that the monks serving St. Peter's should sing a daily vigil office and Mass, in honour of the saint of that day. The oratory was equipped with a jewelled icon of the Blessed Virgin; its other gifts included 'five gold Saxon bowls'. When the imperial exarch at Ravenna sent six twisted onyx columns to match the six which had stood at the *confessio* of St. Peter's since the time of Constantine, Gregory accepted this diplomatic gift and placed the columns in front of the *confessio*, parallel to the existing six (**Plate I**). But 'on top of them he placed beams and coated them with fine silver on which were depicted in relief, on one side, the Saviour and the apostles and, on the other side, God's mother and holy virgins'. In this way, the gift from the imperial administration was transformed into a celebration of the role of images in worship. Gregory's biography contains a long list of other ways in which Gregory III honoured saints in the city of Rome: by repairs to the catacombs, repairs to churches, and gifts to churches. These included a fresh roof and apse for the oratory of St. Andrew in St. Peter's, as well as, in St. Peter's itself, 'a gold image with jewels of St. Andrew, weighing 8 lb.'[132]

As these three Roman examples make clear, the Christian Church in both East and West saw liturgical innovations, political or theological developments, and artistic expression as closely related forms of discourse. It is clear from the writings of Bede that Northumbrian clerics were perfectly well aware of this, and that they kept up to date with new developments in all three related fields of discourse. We still possess one outstanding Northumbrian monument, the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, in which all three forms of discourse are closely related, and which provides a synthesis of what early Anglo-Saxon clerics learned from Rome. The Ruthwell Cross is probably to be dated to the second quarter of the eighth century, i.e. to the period immediately following the outbreak of iconoclasm. This is the period of Anglo-Saxon expansion Westward along Solway Firth, and of the installation of the first Anglo-Saxon bishop of Whithorn (Pehthelm, a friend of Bede).[133] The iconographic programme on the Ruthwell Cross is more extensive than any other surviving insular monument from the period: as Professor Cramp put it in her Jarrow Lecture, 'no other cross illustrates so perfectly the intellectual background of Northumbrian christianity'.[134] Archaeological excavation at Ruthwell suggests that the cross was not erected in open countryside, but rather that it stood close to a small settlement. In the late Middle Ages it stood in Ruthwell Parish church. The monument is so large that it is likely that this was its original site, and that the

church was built around the cross, perhaps replacing an earlier wooden shelter or protective structure. The church is sited just outside the circle formed by a substantial earthen rampart, dating back to the Romano-Celtic period.[135] Some sculpted fragments from the sixth to the eleventh centuries have been found on the site, and Chris Crowe suggests that 'such remains justify the impression that there was a Christian settlement on this site from the 6th century onwards'.[136] If in the eighth century this circular fortification was re-used as the enclosure for a small monastic establishment, then the Ruthwell Cross stood just outside its walls, as the hill of Calvary stood outside the walls of Jerusalem.[137] The patrons who commissioned the Ruthwell Cross seem to have been particularly careful not to leave its interpretation to chance. They provided it with far more elaborate inscriptions than any other surviving Anglo-Saxon monument. There is on the cross a hierarchy of scripts and languages. Pride of place is given to Latin and to Roman script: practically all the inscriptions on the broad faces are in Latin, and almost all of these are in Roman capitals. On the secondary narrow sides, a carefully edited version of the Old English Crucifixion poem was inscribed in runes.[138] Granted the fascination of early Anglo-Saxon clerics with the inscriptions of Rome, the uniquely extensive inscriptions on this monument may have been intended as a sign of its 'Romanitas'.[139] The careful balancing of two languages on the cross may have been intended as another citation of Rome: in Rome at this period it must have been common to find, in a single church, inscriptions in two languages and two scripts, Greek and Latin. On occasion, these two languages were balanced against each other even in the liturgy itself (particularly in the liturgy of Holy Week and Passiontide).[140]

The version of the Old English Crucifixion poem on the Ruthwell Cross is carefully edited, and fully integrated with the iconographic programme.[141] The English poem begins by presenting the Cross's dilemma as it sees it must bear its Lord to His death: 'I dared not bow', 'I dared not tilt' 'they mocked the pair of us together'. Its dilemma is reminiscent of the dilemma of Mary at the Annunciation (on the 25 March), when she was asked to bear Christ into life although she knew not man. It is possible that at Ruthwell we have a relatively late (eighth-century) version of a song which may go back to the period of Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrid and John the Archicantor: to the first efforts on the part of seventh-century Anglo-Saxon clerics to popularise the paradox that, within each liturgical year, Christ's incarnation coincided with Lent and Passiontide. The poem gives the Cross a voice and a personality; it is unique in imagining the situation of such a creature when faced with Christ's divine and human acts of will to choose His death upon it. Alone among medieval poems on the Passion, this poem grasps the fact that Christ's incarnation and His Passion both involved an encounter between Christ and a startled but cooperative creature (Mary at the incarnation, the Cross at the Passion). This may be the earliest original theological insight of

the English Church: to see that the incarnation could provide a model for the Atonement; that Christ acted at the Crucifixion both as God and as a courageous human being; and that the cooperation of creatures was necessary in both events (the Cross completing what Mary chose to begin). It was an insight which another great English poet-theologian arrived at independently, some nine hundred years later, meditating with metaphysical wit on the liturgical coincidence that, in 1608 in England, Good Friday fell on the Feast of the Annunciation:

> Tamely, fraile body, 'abstaine to day; to day
> My soule eates twice, Christ hither and away. ...
> Shee sees him nothing twice at once, who'is all;
> Shee sees a Cedar plant it selfe, and fall,
> Her Maker put to making, and the head
> Of life, at once, not yet alive, yet dead.
> She sees at once the virgin mother stay
> Reclus'd at home, Publique at Golgotha; ...
> At once a Sonne is promis'd her, and gone,
> Gabriell gives Christ to her, he her to John; ...
> All this, and all betweene, this day hath showne,
> Th'Abridgement of Christ's story, which makes one
> (As in plaine Maps, the furthest West is East)
> Of the Angel's Ave and Consummatum est.
> How well the Church, Gods Court of faculties,
> Deales, in some times, and seldome joyning these! ...
> This Church, by letting these daies joyne, hath shown
> Death and conception in mankinde is one;
> Or 'twas in him the same humility,
> That he would be a man, and leave to be:
> Or as creation he hath made, as God,
> With the last judgement, but one period,
> His imitating Spouse would joyne in one
> Manhoods extremes: He shall come, he is gone ... [142]

At Ruthwell, the iconographic programme complements the English poem, showing the relevance of its insight to contemporary liturgical practice and the sacramental life of the local Church. It begins with an Annunciation scene, at the bottom of the shaft. This Annunciation scene already associates the cross (the Ruthwell monument itself) with the incarnation. But the point was still further reinforced: either when the cross was first erected, or later, a Crucifixion scene

was added on the base, directly below the Annunciation on the shaft (**Plate III**). Between the unique English poem on the narrow sides, the Annunciation panel at the base of the shaft, and the Crucifixion (added later?) on the base, it is evident that the Ruthwell community was intent upon making the links between Christ's incarnation and His Passion central to their major public monument. It is unsatisfactory to rely on the surmise that the Ruthwell community may have been familiar with the learned tradition that Christ was crucified on the anniversary of His Annunciation. This does not account for the public nature of their monument. If the uniquely original English poem was so carefully edited, given public prominence on such a durable monument, and complemented by an extensive and coherent iconographic programme, it is reasonable to conclude that the commissioners of the monument (some *monasteriolum* of clerics at Ruthwell: we do not know of what kind) saw the idea as having significance for all their community.[143] One way in which the idea could have had communal significance was if the community celebrated 25 March each year as the feast "of the incarnation of the Lord and His Passion". In their great monument we may have a reflection of the interest which in 679-80 had brought monks flocking from all parts of Northumbria to Wearmouth, to learn from John the Archicantor the liturgy of St. Peter's. The reflection is late (perhaps two generations later) and perhaps indirect (because it is possible that Ruthwell became Anglo-Saxon only in the eighth century). But in the intervening period the original liturgical idea has been fully assimilated, so that its implications (including its implications for a Germanic poetic tradition) are at Ruthwell fully explored and magisterially expressed in a unique synthesis of the arts of liturgy, sculpture, poetry and epigraphy.

The rich Marian programme of the monument includes a Visitation scene (Plate IV). On the panel two female figures, the Virgin Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, embrace. This is the standard iconography of the Visitation, and no scholar would have challenged this identification of the panel were it not for one word in the runic inscriptions (in Latin) on the panel. Much of the inscription has probably been lost: the side borders of the lower half of the panel have been largely destroyed. On the battered upper half of the left hand border there are four legible runes, 'm. rþ(a)'.[144] These may possibly have once formed a group of five runes reading 'marþa', 'Martha'. This single word, which may or may not exist as I have transcribed it, has caused much discussion among scholars. Building upon the word, David Howlett argued that the panel represents, not the Visitation at all, but Mary and Martha of Bethany and, in them, the reconciliation of the Active and Contemplative Lives.[145] Paul Meyvaert went further still on the basis of these four surviving runes.[146] For him, 'the only name that can be securely read, it seems, is that of "Martha," but this would be enough to identify the meaning of the panel' – i.e. as Martha and Mary, as no longer a Visitation scene.[147]

Then, on the basis of this identification of the panel, Meyvaert proposes that the entire upper half of the Cross should be turned around, so that this representation of the reconciliation of the Active and Contemplative Lives can take its place among the monastic scenes on the other side of the monument (such as the meeting of Saints Paul and Anthony).[148]

The Roman liturgy suggests a simpler solution to the problem. We have discussed the gradual introduction into seventh-century Rome, and from there to Anglo-Saxon England, of the four Marian feasts. Two of those feasts fell quite near each other in the Autumn, and hence were associated particularly closely: Mary's birth (the Nativity of the Virgin, on 8 September) and her death (the Dormition of the Virgin, 15 August). The same epistle (Eccles. 24:11-13 and 15-20) was sometimes read on both feasts, and it would seem that all the Mass-chants for 15 August were sung again on 8 September.[149] It would be difficult to find any two major feasts in the year which were so closely 'paired' in the liturgy.[150] As far as the Mass was concerned, the only element that always differentiated the two feasts, apart from their prayers, was the different gospel lection read on each feast. Choosing these gospel lections may have caused some perplexity to the liturgical compilers in Rome in the seventh century, as neither the birth of the Virgin nor her death are described in the Gospels. On the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September) the gospel lection they chose was Luke 1:39-47, the Visitation.[151] For the Dormition of the Virgin (15 August) they chose Luke 10:38-42, the story of Martha and Mary. This gospel had already been used for the feast in the byzantine liturgy. The decisive reason for its use on the 15 August, in the East and then in Rome, was clearly the final sentence of the lection: 'But only one thing is necessary. Mary has chosen the better part, which shall not be taken from her'. By reading this lection on the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, the Greek liturgy already used the honour Christ gave to Mary of Bethany (who had chosen not to act as handmaid but to listen to the Lord's word) as an analogy for the greater honour which, precisely on this feast of her Dormition, He gave His own mother (the handmaid of the Lord whose free choice to bear the Word would cause all generations to call her blessed).[152] In his liturgical homily on the Visitation lection, Bede points out that the Virgin Mary perfectly united in herself both the active and the contemplative lives. After Mary 'was found worthy to be exalted by seeing and hearing the angel, and after she learned that she was to be honoured by a heavenly birth, she by no means extolled herself for [these] heavenly gifts as though they [had been given] for her sake'; instead, she took herself to the path of active charity and ascended into the hill-country 'so that as an attentive young virgin she might commit herself to ministry to a woman of advanced age.'[153] The Roman liturgy thus made it perfectly natural to associate all four women, the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth (8 September) and Martha and Mary of Bethany (15 August). It is reasonable to conclude that at Ruthwell we

have a Visitation scene, pure and simple. This Visitation panel is the second panel of the rich Marian cycle on the Cross (a cycle which could equally well be seen as celebrating the incarnation and infancy of Christ). The cycle begins with the Annunciation at the foot of the same ('first') broad side of the Cross, and, after the Visitation, continues in due historical order with the 'Return from Egypt' panel at the bottom of the shaft on the other ('second') broad side.[154] But, true to the Roman liturgy, the Ruthwell clerics may have incorporated within the inscription for the Visitation panel commemorative references (perhaps a mini-litany) to other ladies ('dominnae'), perhaps including Martha, who were associated with the Virgin Mary's glory. A Ruthwell clerical community would have seen such ladies as embodying the contemplative and active Christian virtues which she, the type of the Church, possessed to perfection; and as responding in their turn to the glory she freely chose to bring into the world.[155] Nevertheless, even if the Roman liturgy is an important help to understanding the Ruthwell Cross, the monument is by no means exclusively Roman: on the other side of the cross the Agnus Dei scene, which recalls Sergius' new Roman chant for the breaking of bread, is balanced by a panel in which the Egyptian hermits, Saints Paul and Anthony, break bread in the desert.[156] This scene was extremely popular on Irish and Pictish monuments, and a liturgical rite probably inspired by the way Paul and Anthony broke bread together was performed at Iona at the breaking of bread at Mass. In short, the Ruthwell monument shows just that diversity within unity characteristic of the Roman liturgy of that period.

3. The third and final point I wish to make is that the attitude of Northern monks to Rome had to be to some extent ambivalent. Only from the South could they learn a really catholic ecclesiastical life, experience that universality of the Church in East and West which so impressed the Irish pilgrims at Easter 631. Their instincts were healthily eclectic; and only from travel could Benedict Biscop get that sense of the rich variety of traditions and customs in the Church which still fascinated him on his deathbed.[157] But on the other hand the essence of the monastic life was *stabilitas loci*, staying part of the same community, preparing through the contemplative life for the only journey that really mattered. In Bede's own moving words,

> Fore them neidfaerae naenig uuiurthit
> thoncsnotturra than him tharf sie,
> to ymbhycggannae, aer his hiniongae,
> huaet his gastae, godaes aeththa yflaes
> aefter deothdaege doemid uuerthae.

> In face of that unavoidable journey
> No man is wiser than needs must be
> When reflecting, before his departure,
> On what may be decided for his soul,
> By way of good or evil, after his death-day.[158]

Bede's Death-song is very close, in its monastic emphasis on life as a preparation for the journey at death, to the famous Irish quatrains 'Téicht doróim', which criticize Rome-pilgrimage, since going to death is certain:

Téicht doróim	To go to Rome,
mór saido. becc. torbai.	much labour, little profit:
INrí chondaigi hifoss.	the King whom thou seekest here,
manimbera latt nífogbái.	unless thou bring him with thee,
	thou findest him not.
Mór báis mor baile	Much folly, much frenzy,
mór coll ceille mor mire	much loss of sense,
	much madness (is it),
olais airchenn teicht do écaib.	since going to death is certain,
beith fo étoil. maíc. maire.	to be under the displeasure of
	Mary's Son.[159]

Frank O'Connor's verse-translation of the first of these two quatrains is justly well-known:

> To go to Rome
> Is little profit, endless pain;
> The Master that you seek in Rome,
> You find at home, or seek in vain.[160]

We know of at least one Irish abbot, St. Berach, who erected a cross to Sts. Peter and Paul in his monastery precisely in order to discourage pilgrimage to Rome. A young monk in Berach's monastery, Colman Cáel (Colman the Lean), could not be dissuaded from setting off to Rome. After doing their best to stop him, the abbot Berach and a friend, Ciaran Máel (Ciaran the Bald), agreed to walk courteously a little bit of the road with the young monk as he set out on his long journey. As they walked with him, Berach tried once more to stop him. But the young monk Colman Cáel

> said that he would not rest till he should see Rome with his eyes. Berach made the sign of the cross in the air, and another over Colmán's eyes; and they three, Berach and Colman Cáel, and Ciarán Máel, saw Rome, and praised the Lord in that place, and erected a cross and a mother church there to Berach, and to Ciaran Máel, and to Colman Cáel. And another cross was erected there to Paul and to Peter. And the visiting of those crosses is the same to any one as if he should go an equal distance of the road to Rome. And (Berach) stopped Colman Cáel there.[161]

There is no doubt that Bede would have agreed with the author of this story; and one wonders whether perhaps one of the functions of the Ruthwell Cross was to provide an epitome of central yearly events in the community's liturgical life (such as Lent with its emphasis on spiritual growth and conversion; and the Eucharist as the recognition of Christ in the desert), so that members of a small isolated monastery would always be reminded, as long as they lived under its protecting shadow, that physical pilgrimage was unnecessary; that the best preparation for the last pilgrimage was to soldier on, faithful to their vow of *stabilitas*; and that they already had at home (through the communal Mass and Office) full participation, *communicantes et memoriam venerantes*, in the spiritual life of Rome and of the heavenly liturgy.

Bede, as usual, took a balanced view of Rome-pilgrimage. He thought that journeys to Rome were necessary for some, so that others could stay at home in peace and get on with the life of contemplation. In his moving homily on Benedict Biscop, Bede sees Benedict's arduous journeys as a service which the abbot and founder performed so that his community could enjoy the peace of contemplation, that foretaste of the glory of heaven celebrated in the Canon of the Mass. Bede's praise of Benedict Biscop involves a clear-eyed criticism of some less productive pilgrims, whom Bede (naturally in a sermon) does not name: 'As often as he crossed the sea, he never returned, as is the custom with some people, empty-handed and without profit.'[162] Bede then lists the seven gifts which Benedict brought back from Rome to this monastery: books, relics, architects, glassmakers, masters to teach chant, documents of privilege from the Pope, and the seventh, "pictures of the events of sacred scripture which are exhibited not just to ornament the church, but so that those who cannot read letters may learn the works of our Lord and Saviour just by looking at them".[163] The pictures, in other words, enable even those who cannot read to experience

the joys of contemplation. Then Bede goes on to the eighth result of Benedict's travail: the deepening and enriching of the contemplative life:

> And so, in all matters of this kind, he took care to work at so many things, less we should be left under any necessity of labouring in the same way; he travelled to so many places beyond the sea, so that we, feasting on all the riches of saving knowledge, can remain in quiet within the enclosure of the monastery and can serve Christ in confident freedom [*intra monasterii claustra quiescere et cum secura libertate Christo seruire queamus*].[164]

NOTES ON THE PLATES

Plate I: Plan of the West end of Old St. Peter's by Tiberio Alfarano (engraved 1589-90; based on a drawing of 1571), as reproduced in Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, facing p. 191. On the plan, see Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum*, v, pp. 218-9; Pierluigi Silvan, 'Le origini della pianta di Tiberio Alfarano', *Atti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti*, 62 (1989-90), 3-23. Alfarano's plan gives a general idea of the architectural features of this area. But it was drawn long after the altar-end of the old basilica had been destroyed, and thus it cannot be relied on for architectural details: either of the round chapels outside the South transept, to the left of the plan (see the studies listed in note 26), or of the baptistery area in or near the North transept (see Paul-Albert Février, referred to in note 28). The monastery of St. Martin's had been destroyed in the early sixteenth century to make way for one of Bramante's pillars in the new basilica. On the printed plan, reproduced here, Alfarano recorded only the chapel of St. Martin's; but the extensive monastic buildings were sketched in on the original working draft of his plan (see Silvan, pp. 7-8). On St. Martin's, see note 81. I have marked with large capital letters the Baptistery area (B: Alfarano marks the large circular font in the centre of the transept, and its neighbouring chapels, Nos. 31-33); the chapel of St. Martin's monastery (M); St. Andrew's rotunda (A); and the solar obelisk from the *spina* of the Vatican Circus (O) (in 1587 this Egyptian obelisk was moved to St. Peter's Square, to the East of the basilica).

Plate II: Lent in early medieval Rome: a schematic representation of the stational processions for the six weeks of Lent, from Antoine Chavasse, 'L'Organisation stationnale du Carême romain' (1982) (referred to in note 44); reprinted in Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, p. 244. In his study Chavasse presents, in separate plans, the stational processions for each week of Lent. In his final plan, reproduced here, Chavasse superimposes the weekly schemata one upon the other, to show how the entire city, as inhabited in the fifth century, was methodically encompassed by the lenten stational processions. By the seventh century most of the urban area was depopulated, and the processions must often have passed through open countryside filled with ruins. Chavasse presents the processional routes schematically, as straight lines between two points; in reality they must often have been much more circuitous. Basilicas mentioned in the text of the lecture include: St. Peter's (P at upper left of plan), the Lateran (L to the lower right of the plan), Holy Cross in Jerusalem (+ to lower right of plan), St. Lawrence's outside the Walls (L to the upper right of the plan), S. Maria Maggiore (M), S. Anastasia (22).

Plate III: Ruthwell Cross, Crucifixion and Annunciation panels. Photograph: Department of Archaeology, Durham University. The Crucifixion panel, which

covers the base, is much larger than the Annunciation above it on the shaft; the Crucifixion panel seems from the beginning to have lacked inscribed borders such as those provided for the panels above it. Christ is represented naked, perhaps clad in a short loin-cloth; He is flanked by Longinus (traces of the spear-shaft can perhaps be made out) and Stephaton, and by the Sun and Moon. The Crucifixion panel may have been deliberately placed at ground level so that, covering the base, it could be as big as possible, and so that people could kneel before it and physically touch and kiss it: see É. Ó Carragáin, 'The Ruthwell Cross and Irish High Crosses: some Points of Comparison and Contrast', pp. 118-128 in Michael Ryan (ed.) *Irish and Insular Art, 500-1200* (Dublin, 1987) (at p. 122). The surviving inscription on the Annunciation Panel, 'INGRESSVS A[*NG*] ... B[*E*] -', is based on Luke 1:28, 'And the angel going in (*ingressus angelus*) said unto her "Hail, full of grace: the Lord is with you; blessed (*benedicta*) are you among women".' Antiphons based on this verse, or on clauses from it, are found for the Feast of the Annunciation of the Lord (25 March) in the earliest Roman antiphonaries for Mass and Office: see Ó Carragáin, 'Rome Pilgrimage', forthcoming.

Plate IV: Ruthwell Cross, Visitation panel. Photograph: Department of Archaeology, Durham University. On this badly-damaged panel, see now Richard Bailey, 'The Ruthwell Cross: A Non-Problem' (referred to in note 148).

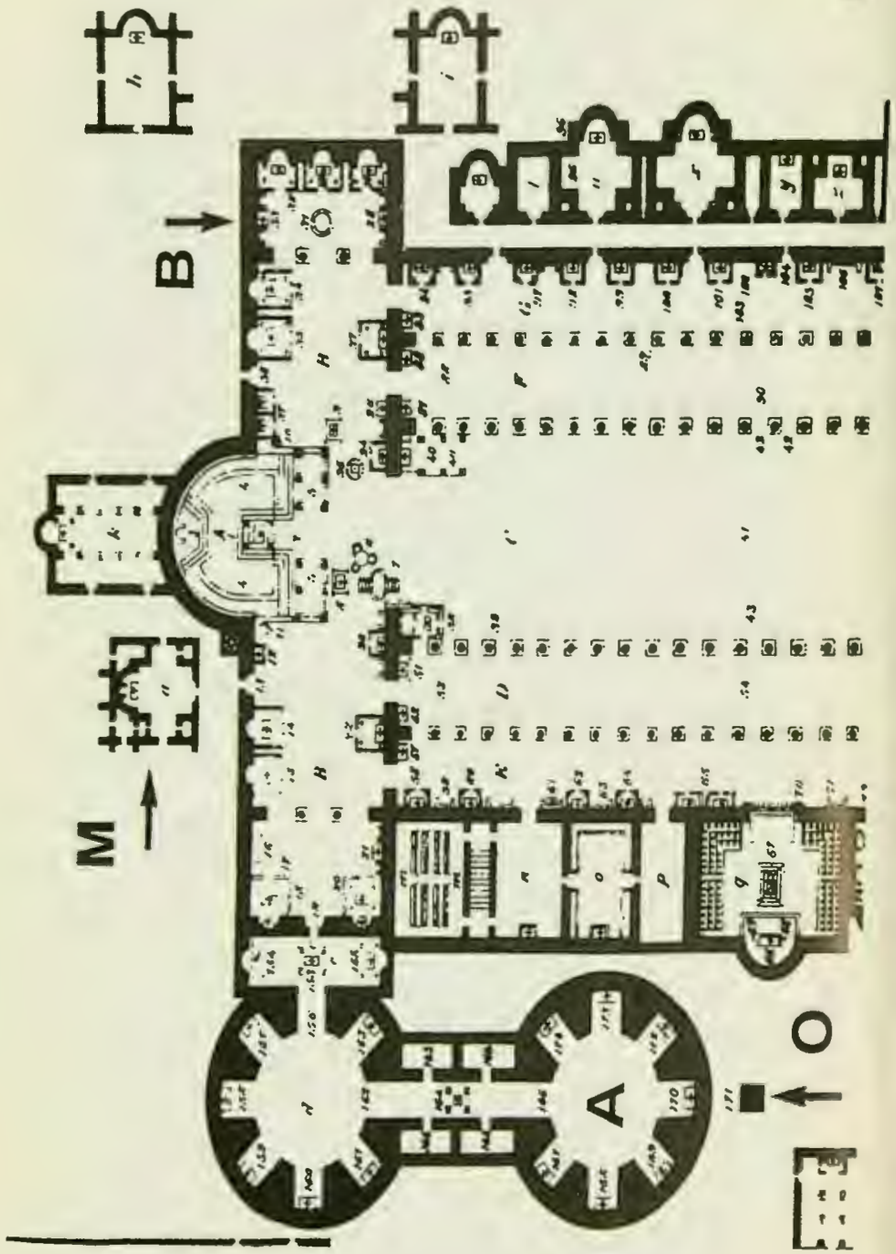


Plate I

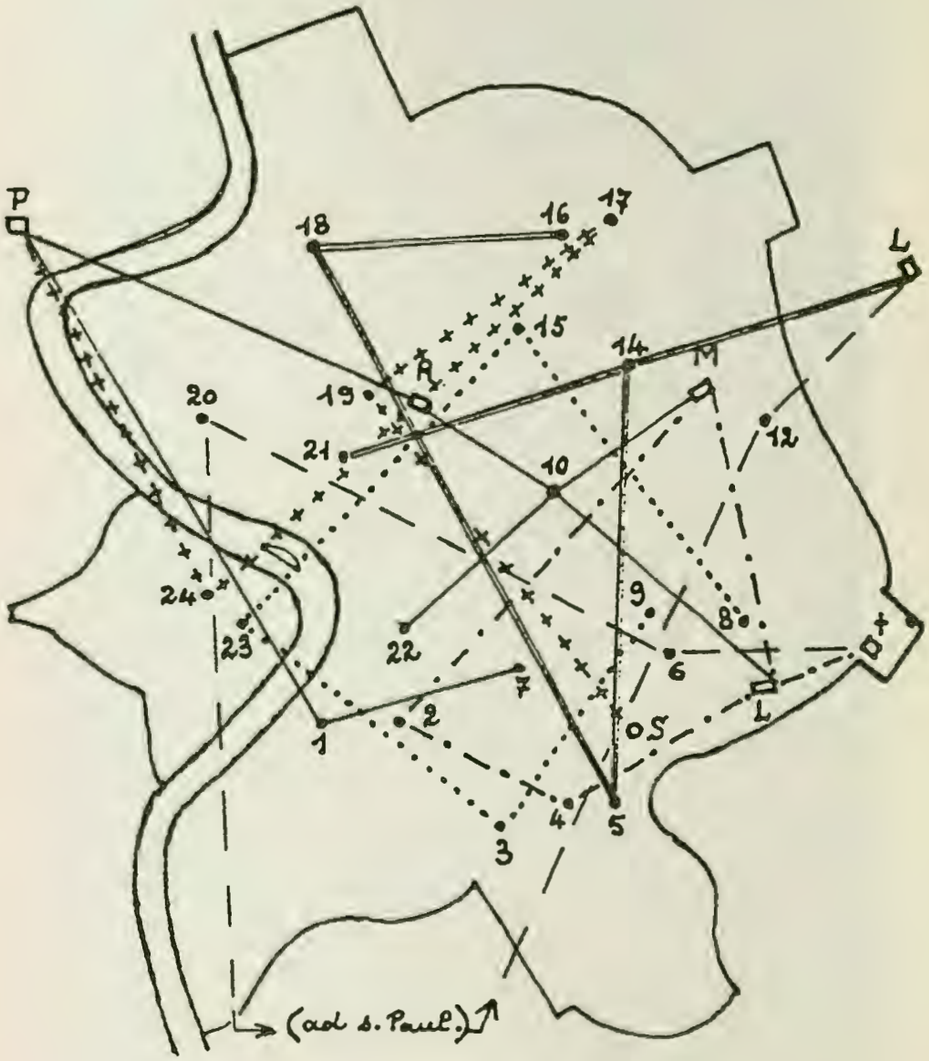


Plate II



Plate III

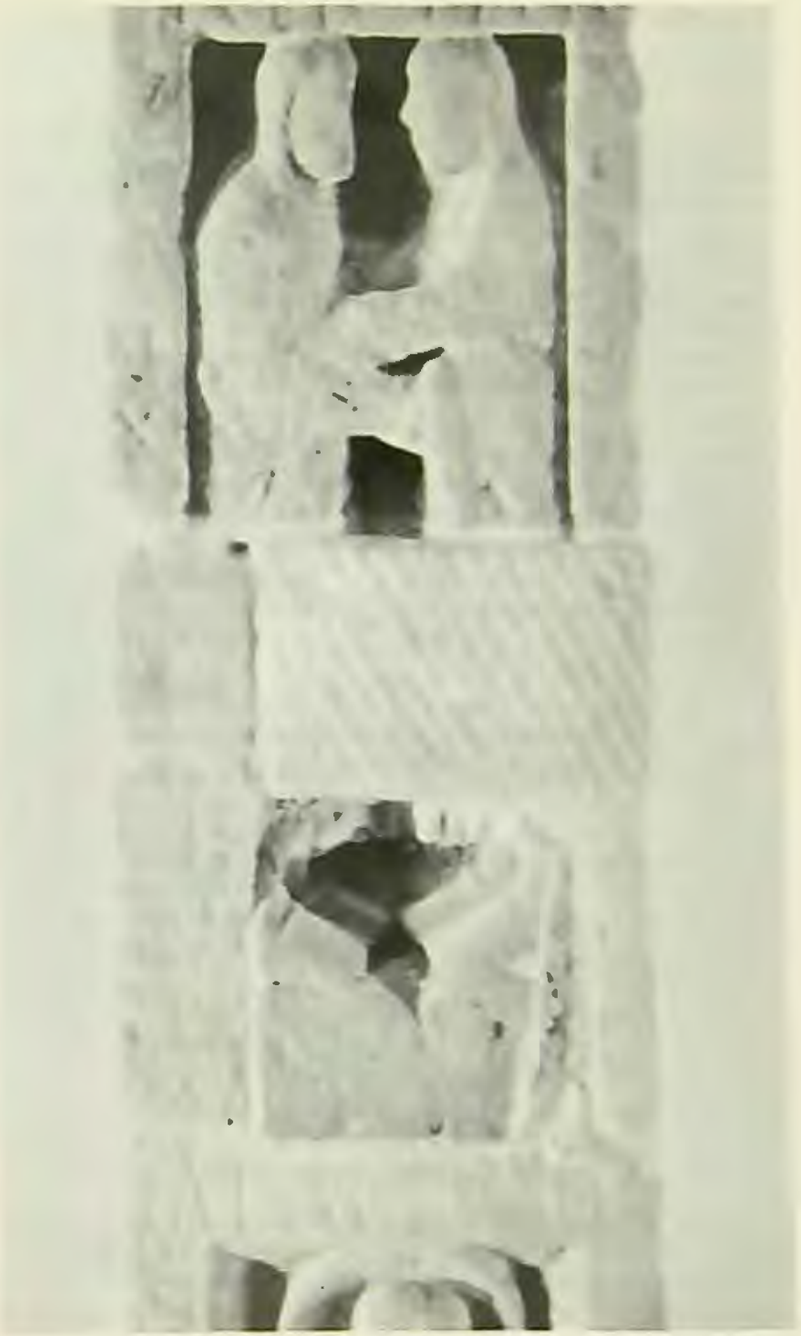


Plate IV

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

1 See especially *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), 3:5 (p. 226) on Aidan; 3:27 (p. 312) on English students in Ireland and Rathmelsigi; 4:4 (p. 348), on English monks in Mayo. On the early adoption of the Roman Easter by the Southern Irish, see now *Cummian's Letter 'De Controversia Paschali' Together with a Related Irish Computistical Tract 'De Ratione Conputandi'* (Studies and Texts, 86) ed. Maura Walsh and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (Toronto, 1988), pp. 18-29.

2 Walsh and Ó Cróinín, pp. 93-95.

3 The repair of the lodgings (*cubicula*) in the shadow of St. Peter's is recorded in the *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-92), reprinted with a third volume, *Additions et corrections de Mgr L. Duchesne*, ed. Cyrille Vogel (Paris, 1981), i, p. 375; see also the translation by Raymond Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool, 1989), p. 86. Similar *cubicula* surrounded St. Paul's basilica on the Via Ostiense (Duchesne, *loc. cit.*; Davis, *loc. cit.*). On the topography of the Vatican area, see Louis Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique de la région du Vatican à la fin de l'Antiquité et au début du moyen âge (300-850)', in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au professeur Jacques Lavalleye* (Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 4e série, fascicule 45) (Louvain, 1970), pp. 197-235.

4 *Vita Prima*, chapter 90: trans. Seán Connolly, 'Vita Prima Sanctae Brigitae: Background and Historical Value', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 119 (1989), 5-49 (at p. 41). I am grateful to Dr. Connolly for allowing me to consult his forthcoming edition of the *Vita Prima*. Dr. Connolly dates the compilation of the *Vita Prima* to about 750, and assigns its provenance to the territory of the Southern Uí Néill in the Clonard-Ardbraccan areas ('Vita Prima ... Background' pp. 6-7); but he is of the opinion (pers. comm.) that materials of the legend, including the passage just quoted, date from the mid-seventh century. An uncritical text of the Latin life may be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarii tomus I, pp. 118-29 (the Rome-vision episode is in Caput XV, p. 131).

5 Stephen J.P. van Dijk, 'The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome', *Sacris Erudiri*, 12 (1961), 411-87 (at pp. 469-70). associates the awareness in this text of swift liturgical change at Rome with the pontificate of Pope Vitalian (657-72); but the pace of liturgical change hardly lessened in the reign of Pope Sergius I (686-701), and still continued

under Gregory II (715-31). The story may have originated in the seventh century, but it would still fit conditions at Rome in the first half of the eighth century.

6 The best studies of Anglo-Saxon pilgrimage to Rome are: Wilfrid J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (University of Fribourg dissertation, Fribourg en Suisse, 1937); Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946); Bertram Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', pp. 156-72 in *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. E. Bagby Atwood and Archibald A. Hill (Austin, Texas, 1969); Giulia Mazzuoli Porru, 'I rapporti fra Italia e Inghilterra nei secoli VII e VIII', *Romano-barbarica*, 5 (1980), 117-69; see now the excellent synthesis in Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 127-96.

7 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, chapters 1 and 2, ed. Charles Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896), i, pp. 364-5; trans. J.F. Webb, *The Age of Bede* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 185-6.

8 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ch. 2; ed. Plummer, i, p. 366; trans. Webb, p. 186.

9 Bede, Homily 1:13, ed. D. Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Homiliarum Euangelii Libri II* (CCSL 122, pp. 1-378), p. 92; trans. Lawrence T. Martin and David Hurst, *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the Gospels*, 2 vols (Cistercian Studies Series, 110-111) (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991), i, p. 130. Benedict's experience of friendship and hospitality as a pilgrim, and the network of monastic friendships he built up in Southern lands, is again referred to a little later in the same homily: 'And he received a hundredfold when, not only in his own region, but also in regions beyond the sea, many desired to receive him into their homes and to refresh him with the fruits of their fields: when so many matrons and men devoted to God served him, on account of the excellence of his steadfast soul, with an earnestness of love no less than that which they had for their own marriage-partners or parents': CCSL 122. *loc. cit.*; trans. Martin and Hurst, *loc. cit.* On this homily, see the important article by Patrick Wormald, 'Bede and Bendedict Biscop', pp. 141-69 in Gerald Bonner (ed.) *Famulus Christi* (London, 1976).

10 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 4, ed. Plummer, i, p. 367; trans. Webb, p. 188.

11 Bede, *Opera Homiletica*, 1:13, lines 190-6, ed. Hurst, pp. 93-4; trans. Martin and Hurst, i, p. 132.

12 Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli* (Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes, IV), third edition (Rome, 1981), Book III, Section xvii, No. 1243, pp. 183-4. This preface is incorporated into the Canon of the Mass in the sacramentary: Book III, Section xvii, Nos. 1242-1272, pp. 183-87. I have silently incorporated some small emendations from the critical text of the Preface, in Eugène Moeller (ed.) *Corpus Praefationum*, 5 vols, CCSL 161-161D (Turnhout, 1980-81), No. 687: Vol. ii (CCSL 161A) p. 203. For the widespread and early use of this preface, see the manuscripts listed in the apparatus criticus to Moeller's edition: Vol. III (CCSL 161B) pp. 326-7.

13 Victor L. Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass* (Studi di Antichità Cristiana, 14), second edition (Rome, 1963), pp. 9-46; Henri de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum. L'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Age: étude historique* (Collection: Théologie, 3) (Paris, 1944), pp. 19-43, 89-116.

14 Kennedy, *Saints of the Canon*, p. 10; see his critical text of the prayer, pp. 56-7; and his extensive analysis of the list of saints in this prayer, pp. 97-148.

15 This list is analysed by Kennedy, pp. 149-93. The preceding *Memento* for the dead was recited on weekdays only, not on Sundays: see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 11, 23, 24, 28, 29 (Louvain, 1931-61), ii, pp. 274-81.

16 John Osborne 'The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 53 (1985), 278-328 and Plates XVI-XXII; John M. McCulloh, 'The Cult of Relics in the Letters and "Dialogues" of Pope Gregory the Great: a Lexicographical Study', *Traditio*, 32 (1976), 145-84; John M. McCulloh, 'From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change in Papal Relic Policy from the 6th to the 8th Century', pp. 313-24 in Ernst Dassmann and Karl Frank (edd.) *Pietas. Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting* (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 8) (Münster Westfalen, 1980).

17 Bertram Colgrave (ed.) *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), ch. 3, p. 8.

18 *Life of Wilfrid*, ch. 3, ed. and trans. Colgrave, pp. 8-9.

19 Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 91-3.

20 See the two articles by Joseph Dyer, 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office', *Speculum*, 64 (1988), 535-78; and 'Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages', *Revue bénédictine*, 99 (1989), 41-74. For a fine account of the importance of the psalms in monastic education and monastic life, see Sr. Benedicta Ward, *Bede and the Psalter* (Jarrow Lecture, 1991).

21 *Life of Wilfrid*, Ch. 3. ed. Colgrave, p. 8, compares the separation at Lyons between Wilfrid and 'his stern guide' ['discedente ab eo austerae mentis duce'] to the separation in Acts (13:36-40) between Paul and Barnabas on account of John surnamed Mark; see also Bede, *Opera historica*, ed. Plummer, ii, p. 321.

22 *Life of Wilfrid*, ch. 5, ed. and trans. Colgrave, pp. 12-13.

23 See especially the description of the solemn Papal Mass (ca. 700 A.D.), in *Ordo Romanus Primus*: ed. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, ii, pp. 1-108; the *Ordo* is translated by E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus* (The Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, 6) (London, 1905). The enthronement of the gospel book on the altar is described in *Ordo* I, No. 31; Andrieu, ii, p. 77.

24 The ceremony, known from its opening words as the 'Apertio aurium' ceremony, is most fully described in *Ordo* XI, Nos. 44-45, ed. Andrieu, ii, pp. 428-9. Various medieval descriptions of the ceremony are translated in E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, second edition (London, 1970), pp. 172-74 (Gelasian sacramentary), 199-201 (*Ordo* XI), 204-6 (Bobbio Missal). The classic introduction to the Apertio aurium ceremony is by Pierre de Puniet, *'Apertio aurium'*, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 15 vols (Paris, 1907-53), Vol. I part 2 (1924), cols 2523-37. Bede refers to the ceremony twice, each time calling it beautiful: see D. Hurst (ed.) *De Tabernaculo, De Templo, in Esram et Neemiam* (CCSL 119A) (Turnhout, 1969): *'pulcher'*, *De Tabernaculo* II, lines 1849-55, CCSL 119A, p. 89; *'pulcher ac salubris'*, *In Esram et Neemiam* II, lines 924-27, CCSL 119A, pp. 310-11. The longer of the two references is translated by Arthur G. Holder, *Bede: on the Tabernacle* (Translated Texts for Historians, 18) (Liverpool, 1994), p. 101: 'Then there are four pillars at the entrance of the court because no one is able to come into the unity of the Holy Church except through the faith and the sacraments of the gospel, which are contained in four books. For this reason, in that same Church the pleasing custom has developed from ancient times that the beginnings of the four gospels are recited for those who are about to be catechized and initiated into the Christian sacraments, and at the opening of their ears they are carefully instructed concerning the figures [of the evangelists] and their order, so that from then on they may know and remember which books, and how many, [contain] the words by which they ought chiefly to be instructed in the true faith.'

25 On 'monasterium S. Andreae, quod appellatur Clivus Scauri', see Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries. Notes for the History of the Monasteries*

and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century (Studi di antichità christiana, 23) (Vatican City, 1957), pp. 138-51.

26 See Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (IV-IX Cent.)* 5 vols. (Vatican City, Rome and New York, 1937-77), v, pp. 178-81, figs. 146-8. Krautheimer argues that the rotunda dedicated to St. Andrew had been built in the early third century; and that the second, smaller, rotunda was built around 400AD to hold the graves of the Emperor Honorius and his family. It, too, was later (ca 757) to become a chapel (dedicated to St. Petronilla, St. Peter's daughter), and so to become the chapel of the Kings of France. For recent discussion of the Vatican rotundas, see Ralf Biering and Henner von Hesberg 'Zur Bau- und Kultgeschichte von St. Andreas apud S. Petrum. Vom Phrygianum zum Kenotaph Theodosius d.Gr.?', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 82 (1987), 145-82; Francesco Tolotti, 'I due Mausolei rotondi esistiti sul lato meridionale del vecchio S. Pietro', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 64 (1988), 287-315; and Jürgen J. Rasch, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Andreasrotunde in Alt-St. Peter', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 85 (1990), 1-18, plates 1-3.

27 For recent discussion of St. Wilfrid's crypts, see Richard N. Bailey, 'St. Wilfrid, Ripon and Hexham', pp. 3-26 in Catherine Karkov and Robert T. Farrell (ed.) *Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology* (American Early Medieval Studies, 1) (Oxford, Ohio, 1991). Bailey suggests that the form of Wilfrid's crypts was inspired by the intersecting passages of the Roman catacombs, and by the desire to make the dimensions of the crypts recall what was known in Northumbria of the dimensions of Christ's tomb in Jerusalem. Of the catacombs, Bailey particularly mentions that of S. Valentino, which had been extensively restored by Pope Honorius I (625-38), shortly before Benedict and Wilfrid got to Rome. The basilica and catacomb of S. Valentino stood on the Via Flaminia. Northern pilgrims following the Via Flaminia into Rome would have come upon the S. Valentino complex soon after crossing the Milvian Bridge. Another thirty minutes' walk would bring them to the walls of the city. The early eighth-century frescoes in the entrance-hall of the catacomb are examined by John Osborne, 'Early Medieval Wall-Paintings in the Catacomb of San Valentino, Rome', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 49 (1981), 82-91, Plates XIV-XVII. I visited the catacomb with Professors Richard Bailey and Rosemary Cramp in September 1994. During our visit, Professor Cramp remarked that the drapery of the standing figure of a saint, on the right wall of the entrance-hall, was the closest analogue she had yet seen for the treatment of the drapery in the standing figures of Christ on the Ruthwell Cross.

28 On the baptistery area of St. Peter's, see especially Paul-Albert Février, 'Baptistères, martyrs et reliques', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 62

(1986), 109-38 (at pp. 129-36); also Christine Smith, 'Pope Damasus' Baptistery in St. Peter's Reconsidered', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 64 (1988), 257-86.

29 On the particular importance of St. Andrew as a model for preachers, and on the connection of this cult with the chapel of St. Andrew in the seventh and eighth century liturgy of St. Peter's, see the collected papers of Antoine Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe s. Une liturgie conditionée par l'organisation de la vie "in urbe" et "extra muros"* (Studia Anselmiana, 112; Analecta Liturgica, 18) (Rome, 1993), Paper XIV, pp. 315-6. We cannot be certain that either the oratory at St. Peter's, or the monastery of St. Andrew founded by St. Gregory, is the oratory mentioned in the Life of St. Wilfrid. It may have been another place. There were at least two monasteries dedicated to St. Andrew in the immediate vicinity of S. Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill, S. Andreas iuxta Praesepem, founded by Pope Simplicius in the fifth century in the villa of Junius Bassus, and S. Andrea cata Barbara. These two monasteries were close to one another; it is not certain which of them, if either, was the monastery dedicated to St. Andrew and serving the basilica of S. Maria, which was known as 'Massa Iuliana'. The monastery of S. Andrea cata Barbara was sited behind the apse of S. Maria Maggiore. This monastery, too, was associated with Gregory the Great: it was founded during his reign by the patrician lady Barbara. Gregory II (715-31), who restored it, found it deserted, without a single monk ('ad nimiam deductum desertionem, in quo ne unus habitabatur monachus'). Wilfrid arrived at Rome at about the mid-point between its foundation under Gregory the Great and its restoration, from a desolated state, by Gregory II: we have no direct evidence of the state of the monastery in the mid-seventh century. See *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, 397-8; trans. Raymond Davis, *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes* (Translated Texts for Historians, 13) (Liverpool, 1992), pp. 4-5. On the monasteries dedicated to St. Andrew associated with S. Maria Maggiore, see Louis Duchesne, 'Les monastères desservants de Sainte-Marie-Majeure' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de L'École Française de Rome*, 27 (1907), 479-94, reprinted in Louis Duchesne, *Scripta Minora. Études de topographie romaine et de géographie ecclésiastique* (Collection de L'École Française de Rome, 13) (Rome, 1973), pp. 329-44; and Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 51-57.

30 *Life of Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, ch. 5, pp. 12-13.

31 See *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, 2 vols (CCSL 175-176) (Turnhout, 1965), i (CCSL 175), 'Itineraria Romana', pp. 284-343, especially Nos. I-IV, pp. 284-322; Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zuchetti (ed.) *Codice topografico della città di Roma* (Rome, 1940-53), 4 vols: vol. ii (1942), *passim*.

32 On the office of archdeacon (Ordo Romanus I, No. 4: 'archidiaconus, id est vicarius pontificis': ed. Andrieu, ii, 68), see T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter. The Birth of the Papal State, 680-825* (Philadephia, 1984), pp. 207, 218, and 224 note 61. For a drawing of a leaden seal inscribed 'bonifatii archidiac(oni)' found at Whitby, which may possibly have appertained to Wilfrid's friend, see Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 17.

33 There are in English two excellent introductions to the Roman stational liturgy: G.G. Willis, 'The Roman Stational Liturgy', pp. 1-87 in his *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (Alcuin Club Collections, 50) (London, 1968); and John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 228) (Rome, 1987). On the role of suffragan bishops and the Archpriest in acting as substitutes when the Pope was otherwise engaged, see Antoine Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, pp. 337-42.

34 The following details are taken from the *Ordo Romanus Primus*, ed. Andrieu, ii, pp. 69-81.

35 Ordo I, Nos. 20, 30 (Andrieu, ii, pp. 73, 77).

36 This reception-hall or vesting-hall, usually at the entrance of a basilica, is the ancestor of the modern sacristy. Ordo I, No. 45; Andrieu, ii, p. 45.

37 Andrieu, *loc. cit.* The famous representation in the Book of Kells (fol. 114r) of Christ, flanked by two figures, proceeding from the Last Supper to the Mount of Olives, labelled arbitrarily in modern scholarship 'The arrest of Christ', shows us how an insular artist could be inspired by such a solemn liturgical procession. I have suggested elsewhere that the Kells illumination should be renamed 'Christus Intrat in Passionem', 'Christ Enters into His Passion': *'Traditio Evangeliorum* and *Sustentatio*: the Relevance of Liturgical Ceremonies to the Book of Kells', pp. 398-436, and plates, in Felicity O'Mahony (ed.) *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin 6-9 September 1992* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT, 1994) (at pp. 418-21).

38 Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, ii, p. 141: the local church provided the *pastillos*, little cakes; after the papal Mass, the Pope distributed them to the principal clerical and secular dignitaries, and everyone drank some wine: Ordo IV, No. 95 (Andrieu, ii, p. 168); for this civilised custom see also Ordo XXVII, Nos. 78-9 (Andrieu, iii, p. 366: refreshments after vespers in the evenings of Easter Week). It is good to note that this Roman custom has lived on among the English Churches: it is still performed in great style before and after the Jarrow Lectures, for example.

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39 *Life of Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. Colgrave, ch. 5, pp. 12-13.

40 Christopher D. Verey, *The Durham Gospels* (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. 20) (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 26-28 (at p. 28 note 90). The archetype itself does not survive, but it can be at least partially reconstructed, as different elements of it were copied into four surviving Gospel Books: the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL, Cotton MS Nero D.iv: CLLA 405); The Codex Regius (BL, Royal MS I.B.vii: CLLA 406); The Durham Gospels (Durham, Chapter Library, MS A.II.16/17: CLLA 260e); and the Burchard Gospels (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.68: CLLA 407). CLLA = entry numbers in Klaus Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* [Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia, 1 (two parts) and 1a, *Supplementum* (1988)], second edition, 2 vols in 3 (Freiburg Schweiz, 1968-88). A fairly full stational list was copied from the archetype into the Burchard Gospels, in an Anglo-Saxon hand of about 700AD, at the top of the appropriate page where each Gospel-lection began. The incipit of the lection is then indicated on the page by a cross formed from five points (see CLLA 407, Vol. i Part 1, p. 230). The surviving material is edited by John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 51-65. Chapman also helpfully arranges the Burchard stational list according to the liturgical year, pp. 121-9. The archetype is probably to be dated to the 650s, i.e. to the period of Benedict Biscop's first visit to Rome, as it contains no mention of the Marian Feasts which came into Roman use in the third quarter of the seventh century, nor of later Roman liturgical developments: see Chapman, pp. 127-8.

41 On the importance of memory within monastic culture, and medieval culture in general, see Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories. Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 115-54; and Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 10) (Cambridge, 1991). For the importance of liturgy in the preservation of historical memory, see the studies in Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch (ed.) *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 48) (Munich, 1984).

42 Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*, p. 156.

43 See the lections and stations for Easter Week, reconstructed (from the Burchard Gospels) by Chapman, *Early History*, p. 125.

44 See Antoine Chavasse, 'L'organisation stationnale du Carême romain avant le VIIIe siècle. Une organisation pastorale', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 56 (1982), 17-32, reprinted in his *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, No. IX, pp. 231-46.

45 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 62-87, 311-26.

46 Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum*, i, pp. 168-9; Baldovin, *Urban Character of Christian Worship*, p. 155; G.G. Willis, *Further Essays*, pp. 40, 45, 56-7 and 83. Bede, in his *Chronica maiora* (relying on the *Liber Pontificalis*) records the building of S. Croce in his list of Constantine's basilicas: 'Item basilicam in palatio Sosoriano, quae cognominatur Hierusalem, ubi de ligno crucis Domini posuit' (Bede, *Opera Didascalica*, 2; CCSL 123B, p. 509, par. 417). For constrasting modern views on the historicity of Helena's finding of the Cross, see J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: the Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 27) (Leiden, 1991); and Stephan Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross was Found: from Event to Medieval Legend* (Bibliotheca Theologiae Practicae Kyrkovetenskapliga Studier, 47) (Stockholm, 1991).

47 René-Jean Hesbert (ed.), *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935), No. 60, pp. 74-5, 'Statio ad Hierusalem'; the epistle was Galatians 4:22-5:1, the contrast between the Earthly and the Heavenly Jerusalem (between Hagar and Sarah): see Antoine Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains de la Messe au VIIe et au VIIIe Siècle: sources et dérivés*, 2 vols. Volume i, *Procédés de Confection*; ii, *Synoptique général, Tableaux complémentaires* (Spicilegii Friburgensis, "Subsidia", 22) (Fribourg-en-Suisse, 1993), ii, p. 13; the gospel was John's account (6:1-14) of the feeding in the desert: Chavasse, *Lectionnaires*, ii, p. 28: from this Sunday in Lent until the end of Holy Week, Johannine readings predominated in the Sunday and weekday Masses. John 6:1 is annotated as follows in the Burchard Gospels: 'In LXXgisima ebd. v die dominico in Suxurio': "The fifth week after Septuagesima on Sunday in the Sessorian [Palace]," i.e. in S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Chapman (p. 123) edits in liturgical order all the Lenten and Passiontide stations from Burchard. He notes (p. 124) that 'the name Septuagesima is curious; it seems to mean seven weeks, and in fact seven weeks are counted, yet the first week is passed over in silence': in the Burchard list, the 'fifth week after Septuagesima' is assigned all the stations for the fourth week of Lent (the standard nomenclature, fourth week in Lent, is also occasionally used in the list).

48 Ordo XXIII, No. 11: 'archidiacono tenente sinistram manum domni apostolici': with his right hand, the Pope held a thurible with incense. On the procession they sang the long pilgrimage psalm, 'Beati immaculati in via' (Ps. 118/119).

49 For the Roman adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, see Ordo Romanus XXIII, ed. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, iii, pp. 269-73. For various

adaptations of this Good Friday ceremony to cities outside of Rome, see Ordo XXIV, ed. Andrieu, iii, pp. 287-97; Leo Cunibert Mohlberg (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae*, pp. 64-7; A. Dumas and J. Deshusses (edd.) *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, 2 vols [CCSL 169 (textus: ed. Dumas) and 169A (introductio, tabulae et indices: ed. Deshusses)] (Turnhout, 1981), Vol. 169, pp. 86-90; Patrick Saint-Roch (ed.) *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis* (CCSL 169C) (Turnhout, 1987), pp. 91-4. There is a brief but instructive examination of the differences between the Roman ceremony described in Ordo XXIII and its Frankish adaptation as described in the Old Gelasian sacramentary in Antoine Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, pp. 191-2.

50 Chapman, *Early History*, pp. 63, 124.

51 Willis, *Further Essays*, p. 87. On stational processions in towns in Francia, see Patrick Saint-Roch, 'L'utilisation liturgique de l'espace urbain et suburbain. L'exemple de quatre villes de France', ii, pp. 1103-1115 in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne: Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 Septembre 1986)*, 3 vols. (Studi di antichità cristiana, XLI; Collection de L'École Française de Rome 123) (Rome and Vatican, 1989). In the same collection see the fine essay on Rome itself by Victor Saxer, 'L'Utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain: l'exemple de Rome dans l'antiquité et le haut moyen âge', ii, pp. 917-1033.

52 On the symbolism of processions, and their music, see Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 21) (Toronto, 1971).

53 Richard K. Morris, 'Alcuin, York, and the *Alma Sophia*', pp. 80-89 in Lawrence Butler and Richard K. Morris (ed.) *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor* (Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 60) (London, 1986). See also the magisterial account of how the Roman stational system was 'copied' in the great monasteries of the Carolingian period: Angelus Albert Häussling, *Mönchskonvent und Eucharistiefeier: eine Studie über die Messe in der abendländischen Klosterliturgie des frühen Mittelalters und zur Geschichte der Messhäufigkeit* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 58) (Münster Westfalen, 1973); and, for a later summary of his thesis, Häussling, 'Missarum Sollemnia: beliebige Einzelfeiern oder integrierte Liturgie?', ii, pp. 559-78 (discussion pp. 579-80) in *Segni e riti nella Chiesa altomedievale Occidentale (11-17 April, 1985)*, 2 vols (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 33) (Spoleto, 1987).

54 Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, Vol. I, *General Introduction to the Series; County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford, 1984): Part 1 (text), Jarrow 16a-b, Cross-slab, inscribed IN HOC SINGULARI SIGNO VITA REDDITUR MUNDO ('In this unique sign life is returned to the world'), pp. 112-13; Part 2 (Plates) Pl. 96, figs. 519-20. Professor Cramp made the suggestion that the slab may have formed the backdrop for an altar of the Holy Cross in a personal communication; it is hoped that she will expand the idea in her forthcoming publication of the Jarrow excavations.

55 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, Ch. 17, ed. Plummer, i, pp. 381-2; *Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, ed. Plummer, i, Chs 21-27, pp. 395-8. Judith McClure, 'Bede and the Life of Ceolfrid', *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 71-84, presents strong arguments for thinking that the latter text, a homily on the Life of Ceolfrid, is an early work by Bede himself. I refer to it henceforth as the *Life of Ceolfrid*.

56 Bede, *In Primam Partem Samuhelis Libri IIII*, ed. D. Hurst (CCSL 119) (Turnhout, 1962), IV, p. 212; trans. Plummer, i, pp. xv-xvi. This autobiographical passage is addressed to Bishop Acca of Hexham. Bede goes on to tell Acca how he has been consoled for the loss of Ceolfrid by Ceolfrid's choice of the young Hwaetberht to succeed him as abbot.

57 Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, Ch. 14, ed. Plummer, i, p. 378: 'sepultus in aecclesia beati apostoli Petri'; *Life of Ceolfrid*, 18, ed. Plummer, i, p. 394: 'Sepultus est autem Benedictus in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum etiam reuerentissimorum abbatum Easterwini et Sigfridi sunt ossa translata.' In view of his love for the 'Princeps Apostolorum', Benedict was buried in an appropriate place.

58 *Life of Ceolfrid*, Ch. 25, ed. Plummer, i, pp. 396-7; translated by Douglas Samuel Boutflower, *The Life of Ceolfrid, Abbot of the Monastery at Wearmouth and Jarrow* (Sunderland and London, 1912), p. 73.

59 *Life of Ceolfrid*, Ch. 25, ed. Plummer, i, p. 397, trans. Boutflower, p. 73.

60 *Life of Ceolfrid*, Ch. 26; ed. Plummer, i, p. 397; trans. Boutflower, p. 74.

61 Rosemary Cramp, 'Excavations at the Monastic Sites of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Co. Durham: an Interim Report', *Medieval Archaeology*, 13 (1969), 21-66 (Building B: pp. 36-7, figs. 13, 14 and 16). See now Rosemary Cramp, 'Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their Continental Context', pp. 279-94 in K. Painter, (ed.) *Churches Built in Ancient Times ...* (Society of Antiquaries Monographs, 16) (London, 1994), at p. 284, and fig. 2 on p. 283, with full references to discussion of the feature since 1969. Like Professor Cramp, I am using the word *porticus* in its Roman and continental

meaning rather than in the insular meaning (an individual area within a church, a chapel, or even a chancel or nave) used by Bede and explained by David Parsons; but there is no doubt that the Wearmouth community knew of both usages. For the insular tradition, see David Parsons, *Books and Buildings: Architectural Description before and after Bede* (Jarrow Lecture, 1987), pp. 24-27.

62 For the *porticus* (sometimes known as *portica S. Petri*) which ran through the Borgo from Castel S. Angelo to the parvis of St. Peter's (roughly along where the Via della Conciliazione now runs), see Louis Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique', pp. 206-8, 219-27, 231-33; see also Cesare D'Onofrio. *Roma dal cielo: itinerari antichi della città moderna. Laterano – Borgo – Vaticano* (Rome, 1982), pp. 104-22. For the *porticus* leading from the city to St. Paul's outside the Walls, see D'Onofrio, pp. 112-16. Both the *porticus* of St. Peter's and that of St. Paul's date from the imperial period; they are both mentioned in Procopius' account of the siege of Rome by the Goths in AD 537 (*De Bello Gothico*, 1:22 and 2:4, quoted D'Onofrio, pp. 107, 112). Another *porticus* leading out from the city to St. Lawrence's Outside the Walls was to be built in AD 782-3, by Hadrian I (*Liber Pontificalis*, Life of Hadrian I, Ch. 74, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 508; trans. Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 161). Although this is later than our period, it is of interest, as it indicates that in the eighth century a *porticus* was becoming a normal feature of the approaches to the great Roman basilicas outside the walls of the city. Hadrian I also repaired the *porticus* of St. Peter's (Ch. 72: Duchesne, i, p. 507; trans. Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 159) and that of St. Paul's (Ch. 74: Duchesne, i, p. 508; trans. Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 161). In Rome, the major function of such structures must have been to shelter pilgrims from the sun; at Wearmouth we may assume that, apart from acting as a citation of Rome, the main function of the *porticus* was to keep out the rain. Irish monasteries on the continent also seem to have copied this idea: E. James, 'Archaeology and Merovingian Monasticism', pp. 33-58 in H.B. Clarke and H. Brennan, (edd.) *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism* (British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 113) (Oxford, 1981) at p. 46, compares the Wearmouth feature to the *porticus*, repaired in the ninth century, which ran between two churches in the monastery at Luxeuil. On this Luxeuil feature, see also Parsons, Jarrow Lecture 1987, p. 25.

63 See I. L. Gordon (ed.) *The Seafarer* (London, 1960), pp. 33-48; T.P. Dunning and Alan Bliss (ed.) *The Wanderer* (London, 1969), pp. 37-40, 94-102.

64 *Life of Ceolfrid*, Chs. 26-27, ed. Plummer, i, pp. 397-8. I have quoted the translation by Boutflower, pp. 74-5, but have silently made some verbal

changes, to bring the translation closer to the Latin phrase 'adorat ad crucem'. Boutflower treats the phrase rather gingerly: for him Ceolfrid 'bows before the cross'. Ceolfrid's horse, and presumably most of his travelling companions and baggage, wait for him, at the end of the liturgical ceremony of parting, on the South bank of the Wear. Among them there may have stood a donkey or mule laden with the great manuscript bible intended as a present for Pope Gregory II, now the Codex Amiatinus; or perhaps the great manuscript was already stowed on board the boat Ceolfrid had ordered to be prepared: *Life of Ceolfrid*, ch. 22; Plummer, i, p. 395: on the codex, see Rupert Bruce-Mitford, *The Art of the Codex Amiatinus*, Jarrow Lecture 1967, and Malcolm Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture 1982, reprinted in Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), Paper 5, pp. 93-120.

65 On the Good Friday ceremonies, see Ordo XXIII, Nos. 13-15: 'osculatur eam ... osculantur episcopi, presbiteri, diaconi, subdiaconi super altare ipsam crucem ... ibi osculatur illam reliquus populus': ed. Andrieu, iii, p. 271. On the ceremony instituted at the Lateran for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (before 700, i.e. some sixteen years before Ceolfrid's departure) by Pope Sergius, see the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 374: the biography has just described how Sergius found, in the sacristy of the Vatican, a lost relic of the Cross: 'Qui etiam ex die illo pro salute humani generis ab omni christiano, die Exaltationis sanctae Crucis, in basilicam Salvatoris quae appellatur Constantiniana osculatur ac adoratur'; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 85: 'From that day, for the salvation of the human race, this is kissed and worshipped by the Christian people on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the basilica of the Saviour called Constantinian'. *The Liber Pontificalis* account is quoted by Bede in his *Chronica maiora*: CCSL 123B, pp. 529-30, pars 568-9. Although the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was celebrated at the Lateran, the relic was worshipped throughout the year at St. Peter's: see the prayer 'Ad crucem salutandum, in Sancto Petro', preserved in the Sacramentary of Padua (Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, i, p. 659. No. 665), discussed by Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, p. 314. This prayer was used as a collect in the Lateran Mass for the Exaltation of the Cross (Hadrianum: ed. Deshusses, i, p. 271, No. 159). For the later history of the prayer, see Eugène Moeller, Jeanne-Marie Clément, and Bertrand Coppieters't Wallant (ed.) *Corpus Orationum* (CCSL 160-). Turnhout, 1992-. iii (CCSL160B), p. 201, No. 2149.

66 The Ruthwell Crucifixion poem, *Sententia* III. The text and its reconstruction (by David Howlett) is discussed by Ó Carragáin, 'The

Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem in its Iconographic and Liturgical Contexts', *Peritia* 6-7 (1987-88), pp 1-71, pls 1-3 (at pp. 25-26). The only lacuna which affects the meaning of this *sententia* is the one after the word 'h[n]ag̃', in Line 12b. David Howlett, 'A reconstruction of the Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem', *Studia Neophilologica*, 48 (1976), 54-58, reasonably suggested that line 12 of the Ruthwell poem was a different recension of line 59b of the Vercelli *Dream of the Rood*: 'Sare ic wæs miþ [sorgum] gedrefed, hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum to handa'. Both recensions of the line alliterate on 's'; so close does the parallel between the two recensions seem to be at this point that the lacuna in the Vercelli text at 59a is universally supplied by editors from Ruthwell 12a, 'sorgum'.

67 The ways in which the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday was in this period just beginning to be linked to the reception of the Eucharist are discussed by Ó Carragáin, 'Rome Pilgrimage, Roman Liturgy and the Ruthwell Cross', to appear in *Peregrinatio: Pilgerschaft und Pilgerziel* (12. Internationaler Kongress für christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22. bis 28. September 1991, Kongressakten) *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsbände, 20 (Münster, 1995), i, pp. 630-9.

68 Bede, *HE*, iv, 18 [16]; Colgrave and Mynors, 390-91: 'contra eos maxime qui unam in Christo operationem et uoluntatem praedicabant'.

69 'utpote volentem et operantem divine et humane nostram salutem': Latin Canons of the Lateran Synod: A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (ed.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1871), iii, p. 146. The canons of the Lateran synod are printed by Haddan and Stubbs as an appendix to the Council of Hatfield (AD679), where they were solemnly accepted by the Anglo-Saxon church. This canon is discussed by François-Marie Léthel, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ: la liberté humaine du fils de Dieu et son importance sotériologique mises en lumière par Saint Maxime le Confesseur* (Théologie historique, 52) (Paris, 1979), pp. 107-8.

70 On 'the doctrine of Christ's human liberty', see Léthel, *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ*, pp. 108-109. For recent discussion of Martin I, the Lateran Synod, and Monotheletism, see *Martino I Papa (649-653) e il suo tempo. Atti del XXVIII congresso storico internazionale, Todi, 13-16 ottobre 1991* (Accademia Tudertina, Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale dell'università degli studi di Perugia) (Spoleto, 1992).

71 See the letter of Martin I, October or November 654, arguing that during his exile the Roman clergy should elect no successor to replace him: "Spero quod nec aliquando fieri habet, quia in absentia pontificis archidiaconus et

archipresbyter et primicerius locum praesentant pontificis": PL87:201. For surveys of the events of 653-55, see Ottorino Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Istituto di Studi Romani, Storia di Roma, 9) (Bologna, 1941), pp. 317-50; Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, revised edition (London, 1993), pp. 149-56; and Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London, 1987), pp. 252-9.

72 Plummer, ii, pp. 321-22.

73 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 341; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 71; Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, pp. 351-55.

74 Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, pp. 355-67; Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, pp. 263-9.

75 Bede, *HE*, iv, 17 [15]; Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 384-7; Plummer, i, pp. 238-40; ii, pp. 230-33. Plummer (ii, p. 234) mentions a later Council, held in 684 at Toledo, which also explicitly affirmed its adherence to the Roman position on the 'double will and operation of Jesus Christ' ('de ... gemina uoluntate et operatione Iesu Christi'); Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio*, pp. 377-86; Herrin, *Formation of Christendom*, pp. 274-82.

76 Bede's account of the controversy in the *Chronica maiora* is excerpted from the *Liber Pontificalis*: see CCSL 123B, pp. 525-33. It clearly was Bede's central concern: he records little else from the *Liber Pontificalis* between 640 and 713, and so there is little in the *Chronica* to distract the reader from Bede's full and connected account of the development and defeat of Monotheletism. Bede records the origins of the controversy in the East, with the role of Pyrrhus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and others (pars 543-6); the intervention of Constans II, his decree (*typum*), the calling of the Lateran Synod of AD 649 by Martin I (pars 547-8); the exile and martyrdom of Martin, and the miracles after his death (par. 549); the reign of Vitalian, and peace moves by Constans II; his visit to Rome in July 664 (pars 551-2); how Vitalian sends Theodore and Hadrian to Britain, and the murder of Constans II in his bath (pars 554-5); Pope Agatho and Constantine IV make peace, exchanging advisers and the scholarly documents (pars 558-9) which enable the formal rejection of Monotheletism and the anathematization of its upholders (including Pope Honorius I) at the Council of Constantinople (par. 559). Bede carefully places this council among the six ecumenical councils of the Church (Pars 560-1). Bede also records the final outburst of Monotheletism under Philippicus Bardanes (AD 711-13), the fall of that Emperor (pars 579-84) and the restoration of the painting of the six ecumenical councils in Constantinople destroyed by the order of Philippicus (par. 588).

77 The Ruthwell Crucifixion poem, *Sententiae* I and II; discussed by Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell Crucifixion poem', pp. 15-25.

78 Bede, *HE*, iv, 18 [16], ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 388-91; Plummer, i, pp. 240-42; ii, pp. 233-34; *Bede, Historia Abbatum*, ch. 6, ed. Plummer, i, p. 369; ii, p. 360.

79 Bede, *Opera homiletica*, 1:13, on Benedict Biscop, CCSL 122, p. 92; trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 130, quoted above.

80 Though not the earliest: that honour belongs to the Church of S. Martin *in montibus*, founded by Pope Symmachus: see Clare Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford, 1983), p. 361, and Eugen Ewig, 'Der Martinuskult im Frühmittelalter', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 14 (1962), 11-30.

81 On the monastery of St. Martin's see Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 230-40; Reekmans, 'Le développement topographique', p. 213. Bede's account of John the Archicantor is the earliest evidence for the existence of the monastery.

82 Bede, *HE*, iv, 18 [16], Colgrave and Mynors, p. 390; Plummer, i, p. 242; ii, p. 234.

83 Bede, *HE*, iv, 18 (16); trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 389. Compare the account in Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ch. 6, Plummer, i, pp. 368-70. Benedict Biscop brought the first great batch of pictures, for St. Peter's Church at Wearmouth, on this trip. Bede's first impressions of the monastic life, as an oblate of seven years on or about that year, must have been dominated by the first pictures he had ever seen, and the first liturgical chant he ever heard, both newly come from Rome.

84 *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford, 1911), vol. i, Book III.xv.2. Isidore says that the power of song and vocal modulation are sought from the Muses: "The sound of these (song and modulation) because it is a thing which can be sensed, and flows past in passing time, is impressed on the memory. Thus the poets pretend that the muses are the daughters of Jove and Memory. For indeed unless man holds sounds in the memory they perish, because they cannot be written down" ("Quarum sonus, quia sensibilis res est, et praeterfluit in praeteritum tempus inprimiturque memoriae. Inde a poetis Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt.")

85 On the role of memory in the transmission of early medieval liturgical chant, see Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgiques* (Typologie des sources du

Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 52) (Turnhout, 1988). Kenneth Levy, 'On Gregorian Orality', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990), 185-227, provides an excellent statement of the 'early' theory for the introduction of music writing (neums) in the West: that neums were invented in the latter half of the eighth century in Francia, and spread slowly in the great Carolingian monasteries (770-850) as a means for ensuring the standardization of chant required by the Emperor. Leo Treitler, 'Reading and Singing: on the Genesis of Occidental Musical Writing', *Early Music History*, 4 (1984), 135-208, provides a good statement of the 'late' theory: that oral tradition reigned supreme until a century later; that the use of neums spread very slowly from the latter half of ninth century, spreading widely only in the tenth (850-950).

86 For general surveys of the rapid liturgical developments in the city of Rome in this period, see especially Stephen J.P. van Dijk, 'The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome'; also Stephen J.P. van Dijk, 'The Old Roman Rite', *Studia Patristica*, 5 (1962), ed. F.L. Cross, (= *Texte und Untersuchungen zür Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 80), pp. 185-205.

87 See the excellent summaries of this development by Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 45-93; and Antoine Chavasse, 'Évangéliaire, épistolier, antiphonaire et sacramentaire. Les livres romains de la messe aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles', *Ecclesia Orans*, 6 (1989), 177-225, reprinted in Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, pp. 153-229. See also Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: an Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, DC, 1986). It is worth remembering the limitations to such development, however. Lacking a notational system, music was transmitted orally for centuries to come. The stage-directions or *ordines*, when written down at all, were recorded only in relatively unorganised, informal collections of descriptive (rather than prescriptive) *libelli*: see Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, ii, pp. xvii-xlix. See especially Andrieu pp. xxvi-xxix, xxxi-xxxiii, on the primary importance of oral tradition, of the personal experience of the cleric who had 'been there' (at Rome, some other cathedral city, or some great monastery) and could report the order of their ceremonies. The individual community then had to make their own of this reported tradition, adapt it to their own customs and circumstances.

88 The manuscript (CLLA 1101: Vol. 1 Part 2, pp. 431-2 and 447-8) containing the earliest list of Roman gospel lections, epistle lections, and stational list (reflecting the situation at Rome in the mid-seventh century, the period when Benedict and Wilfrid first arrived there) is written in an Anglo-Saxon

hand of the first half of the eighth century: see the facsimile ed. H. Thurn, *Comes Romanus Wirziburgensis: Facsimile Edition of Codex M.p.th.f.62 of the University Library at Würzburg* (Codices Selecti Phototypice Impressi, 17) (Graz, 1968). The manuscript is discussed by Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 339-40 and 342-44. The stational list is printed in Baldovin, *Urban Character*, Appendix 4, pp. 286-7. We have already discussed the Northumbrian archetype of the gospel lectionary and stational list (reflected in the Burchard Gospels: Würzburg Codex M.p.th.f.68: CLLA 407). It is remarkable that these two early documents describing the Roman liturgy of the mid-seventh century should be in Anglo-Saxon hands (of 700-750), and that both should have been preserved among the books of St. Kilian at Würzburg (an Irish foundation).

89 See Georges Frénaud, 'Le Culte de Notre-Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine', in Hubert du Manoir (ed.) *Maria: Études sur la Sainte Vierge*, 8 vols (Paris, 1949-71), vi (1961), pp. 157-211; Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vat. Reg. 316)* (Bibliothèque de théologie, IV, 1) (Paris and Tournai, 1958), pp. 375-402 ('Les quatre fêtes de la Vierge'). For an excellent account of how, later, in the lifetime of Bede, these four feasts spread in Anglo-Saxon England, see Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 2) (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 30-38.

90 On the Annunciation, see Corrado Maggioni, *Annunciazione: storia, eucologia, teologia liturgica* (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae", Subsidia, 56) (Rome, 1991); and A.H.M. Scheer, 'Aux origines de la fête de l'Annonciation', *Questions liturgiques*, 58 (1977), 97-169.

91 The dates at which each feast may have been introduced into the 'papal' and 'urban' liturgies of Rome are summarized in tabular form by Georges Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame', p. 184.

92 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 376 (with Duchesne's notes, p. 381); trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 87. Sergius' innovation was to extend to all four of these feasts the stational procession which, since the first half of the seventh century, had been held on the feast of the Purification or Candlemass (2 February). This procession was known to Bede, who describes it, and correctly sees the whole fourfold Sergian 'set' of Marian processions as later, and as growing out of it: *De Temporum Ratione*, ch. xii 'De mensibus Romanorum', lines 56-68, ed. Charles W. Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, pp. 207-8, 348-9 (notes). Bede was also familiar with the *Liber Pontificalis* life of Sergius, and so with Sergius' role in instituting the four Marian stational processions: see Bede, *Chronica maiora*, CCSL 123B, pp. 529-30, par. 569.

93 J.D. Mansi (ed.) *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, reprint (Graz, 1960-62), 11, col. 968; quoted and discussed in Maggioni, *Annunciazione*, pp. 51-52. On the origin of the learned patristic tradition that the Crucifixion took place on 25 March and the (later) idea that the incarnation took place thirty-three years before on the same date, see now Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York, 1986), 'The Computation of the Nativity from the Passion', pp. 91-99. A.H.M. Scheer, 'Aux origines de la fête de l'Annonciation', also gives a good survey of the patristic tradition. Bede was quite familiar with it: he gives an extended meditation on it in his commentary on Luke 1:26 (CCSL 120, p. 30). Although Bede came to the conclusion that the Spring equinox fell on 21 March, he declared his respect for the older tradition, so important in the liturgy and in the writings of the Fathers of the Church: *De Temporum Ratione* xxx, 'De aequinoctiis et solstitiis', ed. C.W. Jones, pp. 235-7 and pp. 365-66 (notes): 'perplures ecclesiae tradidere magistri' (line 40, Jones p. 236).

94 Maggioni, *Annunciazione*, pp. 51-53.

95 Mohlberg, Eizenhöfer and Siffrin (ed.), *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae*, pp. 135-6, Book II, xiv, Nos. 847-50; Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 375-402 and 651-6.

96 Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien. Ses principales formes d'après les manuscrits les plus anciens*, 3 vols (Fribourg-en-Suisse, 1971), i, p. 128, No. 143. The greatness of the prayer, and its subsequent popularity, depends on its adaptability. For some of the uses to which it was subsequently put, see *Corpus Orationum*, Vol. IV (CCSL 160C), pp. 175-6, No. 2748.

97 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 118; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 2. On this passage, see Roberto Giordani, '"... In Templum Apollinis ...": a proposito di un incerto tempio d'Apollo in Vaticano menzionato nel *Liber Pontificalis*', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 64 (1988), 161-88.

98 On the significance of the mosaic (on the roof just inside the entrance of mausoleum M of the Vatican excavations), and on its specific Vatican context, see Giordani, pp. 180-86. Giordani demonstrates that this iconography of Christ is unique in ancient Christianity. The mosaic was by no means public: it made a specific point available only to, and specifically relevant to, Christian members of the Julii family attending celebrations in the tomb in honour of their dead: that their salvation depended on Christ, the light of the world, and not on the official cult of Helios/Apollo at the nearby Vatican Circus (centred on its solar obelisk). For illustrations of the mosaic, see Walter Oakeshott, *I mosaici di Roma* (Milan, 1967), p. 20, figs. 3 and 4;

James Lees-Milne, *San Pietro: la storia della Basilica di S. Pietro in Roma* (Milan and Rome, 1967), p. 69, and colour-plate on p. 27; Barry Cunliffe, *Rome and her Empire* (London, 1978), p. 285; and Jacquetta Hawkes, *Man and the Sun* (London, 1962), p. 204 and Plate VII. All of these studies see the mosaic as of far more general significance than, behind the closed door of the tomb, it could possibly have had.

99 Antoine Chavasse (ed.) *Sancti Leonis Magni Romani Pontificis Tractatus Septem et Nonaginta*, 2 vols (CCSL 138, 138A) (Turnhout, 1973), Sermon XXVII, Section 4, CCSL 138, pp. 135-6; for similar preoccupations, see Sermon XXII, Section 6, CCSL 138, pp. 99-101. On Leo's ambiguous attitudes to the Christian use of solar symbolism in the liturgy, see Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, pp. 99-103, 'Solar Symbolism at Christmas', especially p. 101. The fundamental study of the theme is Franz Joseph Dölger, *Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen, 4/5) (Münster in Westfalen, 1925), who begins by discussing (pp. 1-20) the theme in the sermons of Leo I.

100 See Bernard Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie. Étude historique* (textes et études liturgiques, 1) (Louvain, 1932), pp. 32-9, 59-67; Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, pp. 91-103. The feast of the *Sol Invictus* was of recent importance: it had been definitively established at Rome under Aurelian, in AD 274: see Giordani, pp. 103-4.

101 On the history of this procession and of the basilica of S. Anastasia, see Louis Duchesne, 'Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age, III. Sainte-Anastasie', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de L'École Française de Rome*, 7 (1887), 397-413, reprinted in his *Scripta minora*, pp. 45-71. Duchesne argued that the dawn procession on Christmas Day, which dates to before the pontificate of Gregory the Great, was intended as a compliment to the imperial representatives at Rome, who still occupied the palace on the hill which looms over S. Anastasia. On S. Anastasia, whose name appeared in the 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus' prayer in the Roman canon of the Mass, see also Kennedy, *The Saints of the Canon of the Mass*, pp. 188-91.

102 On the double matins for Christmas, see Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine', pp. 207-8. On the Christmas stational processions, see Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, pp. 157-8. Bede records that a group of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow monks (including Hwaetberht, later his abbot) participated in the ceremonies at Rome on Christmas Day, 701: *De Temporum Ratione*, xlvii, ed. Jones,

p. 267 (with discussion p. 349). The Day-Mass at St. Peter's was to have an important place in European history, as Charlemagne was to be crowned Emperor at that Mass, on Christmas Day, 800AD: see K.J. Benz, '"Cum ab oratione surgeret". Überlegungen zur Kaiserkrönung Karls der Grossen', *Deutsches Archiv*, 31 (1975), 337-69.

103 See Luce Pietri, *La ville de Tours du IVe au VIe siècle: naissance d'une cité chrétienne* (Collection de L'École française de Rome, 69) (Rome, 1983), pp. 451-9; Luce Pietri, 'Calendrier liturgique et temps vécu: l'exemple de Tours au VIe siècle', pp. 129-41 in Jean-Marie Leroux (ed.) *Le Temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au moyen âge, IIIe-XIIIe siècles* (Colloques internationaux du Centre national de la recherche scientifique No. 604, Paris, 9-12 March 1981) (Paris, 1984).

104 Bede, *HE*, iv, 18 [16], trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 391.

105 In the sacramentary of Padua, which here reflects the tradition of St. Peter's 670-690, 25 March is entitled: 'VIII KALENDAS [APRILIS] / ADNUNTIATIO SANCTAE DEI GENETRICIS. / ET PASSIO EIUSDEM DOMINI.': Jean Deshusses (ed.) *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, i, p. 636. In this title, the word 'eiusdem' has no grammatical referent, and in seventh-century Rome the feast was understood as a feast of Christ, not of Mary, and known as *Adnuntiatio Domini* (see the *Liber Pontificalis* biography of Sergius I, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 376, line 4: '... diebus Adnuntiationis Domini ...'). Thus Antoine Chavasse (*Le sacramentaire gélasien*, p. 377) reconstructed the original title as *Adnuntiatio Domini et Passio Eiusdem*. In the Sacramentary of Padua, the Lateran prayer 'Gratiam tuam domine' (Hadrianum 143, quoted and discussed above) is found again, this time as the collect.

106 Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, i, p. 636, No. 386. For subsequent transmission and uses of the prayer, see *Corpus Orationum*, No. 39: Vol. i (CCSL 160), pp. 25-6. The date the prayer was composed is discussed by Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 394-6. He dates it to before the end of the seventh century [it appears in 'Gelasians of the eighth century' dependent on Paduense-type Gregorian sacramentaries which must have left Rome before the reign of Gregory II (715-31)]. Chavasse concludes that the prayer should be dated not much before 680. Frénaud comes to a similar conclusion: after 670 ('Le culte de Notre-Dame', pp. 179-80). In recent articles, Chavasse has dated the compilation of the original Gregorian sacramentary (i.e. the material common to the Paduense and the Hadrianum) to 681-2: 'Le sanctoral et le temporal grégoriens, vers 680. Distribution et origine des pièces utilisés', *Ecclesia orans*, 3 (1986), 263-88, reprinted in Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, Paper XIII, pp. 269-95; when a

version of this 'Gregorian' book, compiled for the Papal curia at the Lateran, reached St. Peter's, it was re-edited for the needs of that basilica: at this stage, earlier Vatican formulae would have been incorporated into it. Chavasse has also provided striking new evidence of the local Vatican origin of material in the Paduense sacramentary: 'Le sacramentaire grégorien: les additions et remaniements introduits dans le témoin P', *Traditio et Progressio. Studi liturgici in onore del Prof. Adrien Nocent* (Studia anselmiana 95 = Analecta liturgica 12) (Rome, 1988), pp. 125-48, reprinted in Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, Paper XIV, pp. 297-320.

107 *Life of Ceolfrid*, ch. 14, ed. Plummer, i, p. 393; trans. Boutflower, p. 65. Patrick Wormald has pointed out that Chapter 17 of the Benedictine Rule permitted the antiphons to be omitted at the day hours if the congregation was small: see his 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp. 143-44.

108 *Life of Ceolfrid*, ch. 11; Plummer, i, pp. 391-2; trans. Boutflower, pp. 62-3.

109 *Life of Ceolfrid*, ch. 14; Plummer, i, p. 393; trans. Boutflower, p. 65.

110 The best introductions to liturgical variety in the city of Rome in this period are Stephen van Dijk, 'The Urban and Papal Rites in Seventh and Eighth-Century Rome'; Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien (Vat. Reg. 316)*; Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, Ch. 4, 'Roman Monastic Observance', pp. 377-407. Ferrari's conclusions are worth quoting: '... there is no evidence of a monastery in Rome which employed exclusively the rule of St. Benedict much before the X century. ... The only specific Roman element is the traditional conservatism of all this city's institutions. ... The monks and nuns of the many Roman monasteries and convents ... lived the traditional 'canonical' and 'regular' life according to the best practices of monastic observance as interpreted and legislated by any of the numerous written rules' (pp. 406-407). This is quite consistent with Benedict Biscop's practice of seeking out the best of seventeen rules, storing them in his memory, and incorporating them in the customs of Wearmouth-Jarrow: Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, 11; Plummer, i, pp. 374-5; and also, 'the ecclesiastical observances which he had seen throughout all cities and especially [the ones] of Rome', Bede, *Opera homiletica* 1:13, CCSL 122, pp. 93-4; trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 132.

111 Verey, *The Durham Gospels*, pp. 26-8; Chapman, *Early History*, pp. 51-67; for details of Bede's lectionary, see Bede, *Opera homiletica*, ed. Hurst, CCSL 122, pp. ix-xvi; G.G. Willis, 'Early English Liturgy from Augustine to Alcuin', *Further Essays*, pp. 189-243, gives an excellent account of the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow customs reflected in Bede's writings (at pp. 219-26).

112 This possibility is strengthened if it can be accepted that in the Northumbrian archetype the Campanian lectionary-system coexisted with a Roman stational list: Verey, *Durham Gospels*, pp. 26-8. One might illustrate this liturgical possibility by an architectural analogy. In the arches of the sixth-century *diaconia*-hall of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (*in schola Greca*), a special technique of alternating brick and tufa voussoirs is used. This is unique in Rome, but common in the Naples area (e.g. at Nocera) and in Sicily (Catania). Richard Krautheimer argued that the technique 'might well have come to Rome from Southern Italy, to be employed once, and once only, in the Greek quarter': Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum*, ii, p. 304. See Krautheimer, *Profile of a City*, p. 78.

113 See Joachim Wollasch, 'Benedictus Abbas Romensis. Das römische Element in der frühen benediktinischen Tradition', pp. 119-37 in Norbert Kamp and Joachim Wollasch (ed.) *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des frühen Mittelalters* (festschrift dedicated to Karl Hauck) (Berlin and New York, 1982); and Pius Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung: zur Frage der Verbreitung der Regula Benedicti im Frühmittelalter', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 81 (1986), 39-60. On the use of the Benedictine Rule in early Northumbria, see now the work of Klaus Zelzer: 'Von Benedikt zu Hildemar. Zu Textgestalt und Textgeschichte der Regula Benedicti auf ihrem Weg zur Alleingeltung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 23 (1989), 112-30; and 'Zur Frage der Observanz des Benedict Biscop', *Studia Patristica*, 20 (1989), 323-29. This reverence for the Benedictine Rule is of a piece with the reverence felt at Wearmouth-Jarrow for the Roman variety of uncial script, demonstrated by Malcolm Parkes (Jarrow Lecture, 1982, p. 21; reprint 1991, p. 118): 'Roman models inspired in Ceolfrid and his monks a particular kind of respect because of the place from which they had come ... The models were imitated with that meticulous care which springs from a high degree of reverence.' The Northumbrian attitude towards the Benedictine Rule is in marked contrast to the tardiness shown by the conservative Roman monasteries, who did not begin to adopt it until the tenth century: see Ferrari, pp. 406-7, quoted above.

114 *HE*, 1:27; Plummer, i, pp. 48-62 (at p. 49); trans. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 83. Paul Meyvaert, 'Diversity within Unity, a Gregorian Theme', *The Heythrop Journal*, 4 (1963), 141-62, reprinted in Meyvaert, *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others* (Collected Studies, 61) (London, 1977), Paper VI. A year later, in his Jarrow lecture (1964) (reprinted in *Benedict, Gregory, Bede and Others*, Paper VIII), pp. 16-18, Meyvaert again spoke of the Gregorian ideal, but, on the basis of the Easter controversy, contrasted the attitude of Gregory with that of Bede: 'A Gregory the Great must never be

confused with a Gregory VII, and on the issues at stake Bede's mind was probably closer to the latter than to the former' (p. 18). But for Bede and his fellow-monks the liturgical year was extremely important, and so for them the Easter controversy dealt with essentials. Bede's attitude in that matter could coexist with a delight in Benedict Biscop's love of variety in all non-essential matters (Benedict Biscop's seventeen customs and rules must have included liturgical as well as disciplinary elements). Perhaps in the light of the researches of Antoine Chavasse, Stephen van Dijk and others (who have demonstrated the diversity, readiness to experiment, and openness to outside influences and change of the Roman liturgy in that period), Meyvaert might now modify his view of Gregory the Great as an isolated champion of diversity within the early-medieval Roman Church. It is surely wrong to project the attitudes of Gregory VII, or even the will-to-uniformity of the Carolingian period, back onto the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

115 Chavasse, 'Les célébrations eucharistiques à Rome, Ve-VIIIe siècle. Une double ossature in *Urbe', Ecclesia Orans*, 7 (1989), 69-75, reprinted in his *Liturgie de la ville de Rome*, Paper XI, pp. 253-9 (at p. 256). A major example of the acceptance of diversity within Rome at the period was the use of Greek in the Latin Liturgy, and the flourishing of Greek monasteries at Rome. On Greek in the Roman liturgy, see Louis Brou, 'Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines', *Sacris Erudiri*, 1 (1948), 165-80; 'Les chants en langue grecque dans les liturgies latines: premier Supplément', *Sacris Erudiri*, 4 (1952), 226-38; some of the most important examples are listed by Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, p. 297. For Greek monks at Rome and their influence in this period, see Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries*, pp. 281-90 on S. Saba on the Aventine. The standard study is now Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VIe s. – fin du IXe s.)*, 2 vols (Académie royale de Belgique. Mémoires de la classe des lettres, collection in octavo, second series, volume 66, fascicule 1) (Brussels, 1983).

116 Chavasse, 'A Rome, l'envoi de l'Eucharistie, rite unificateur de l'Église locale', *Revue bénédictine*, 97 (1987), 7-12, reprinted in *La liturgie de la ville de Rome*, Paper II, pp. 21-6. Chavasse quotes the phrase "no-one has been rejected" from the letter of St. Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130-c. 200AD), on behalf of the Quartodecimans of Asia Minor, to Victor of Capua, bishop of Rome: Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, V, xxiv, 14-15. On the *fermentum*, see also Pierre Nautin, 'Le rite du "Fermentum" dans les églises urbaines de Rome', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 96 (1982), 510-22.

117 On the centrality of the communal and oral experience of scriptural texts in premodern cultures (including early monasticism, Hinduism and Islam), see

the excellent study by William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987).

118 In his classic introduction to monastic culture, Jean Leclercq calls the liturgy 'the synthesis of the arts': *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York, 1962), ch. X, p. 232. In an important article, R. Emmet McLaughlin has shown that in the first millenium the Christian Church communicated its pastoral message primarily through encouraging communal ritual action; preaching was seldom practiced, and was seen as of peripheral importance: 'The Word Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages', *Traditio*, 46 (1991), 77-122.

119 CCSL 123B, p. 526, par. 546. See *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 336; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 69 (Life of Martin I).

120 CCSL 123B, p. 532, par. 581. There are some interesting verbal changes between this summary by Bede and its source, the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 391; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, pp. 91-2. Bede attributes the erection of the Roman image to the Pope, not to the people of Rome; Bede explains Constantine's motivation in a way the *Liber Pontificalis* does not do at this point; and Bede uses the phrase 'picturas in porticu sancti Petri', while the *Liber Pontificalis* uses the phrase 'imaginem quod Greci Botarea vocant, ... in ecclesia beati Petri erecta est'. On the meaning of *porticus* in Anglo-Saxon usage, see Parsons, Jarrow Lecture 1987, pp. 24-7. In the light of Parson's discussion, and of the text Bede was summarizing ('in ecclesia beati Petri') Bede presumably had in mind a marked-off area within St. Peter's; but St. Peter's also had its own *quadriporticus*, its columned parvis or atrium before the façade of the basilica: Krautheimer. *Corpus Basilicarum*, v, pp. 261-71.

121 CCSL 123B, p. 533, par. 588. See *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 399; trans. Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 6 (Life of Pope Gregory II).

122 Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, p. 160.

123 Mansi, *Concilia*, 11, 977ff., translated in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453. Sources and Documents* (Medieval Academy reprints for teaching) (Toronto, 1986), pp. 139-40.

124 *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, i, p. 376; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*. pp. 86-7.

125 Bede, *Chronica maiora*, CCSL 123A, p. 534, par. 590. On the repair of the façade, see Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*. i, p. 375; trans. Davis. *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 86. For the iconography of the fifth-century façade. see the

eleventh-century manuscript from Farfa, now in Eton College library, reproduced and discussed in Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum*, v, p. 222, fig. 199.

126 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, p. 375; trans. Davis, *Book of Pontiffs*, p. 86. The central part of this mosaic survives, but not the flanking Adoration of the Elders. It is reproduced and discussed in Guglielmo Matthiae, *Pittura romana del medioevo*, 2 vols, second edition updated by Maria Andaloro (Rome, 1987-88), i, *Secoli IV-X*. fig. 62 on p. 91; discussion of the mosaic and its date, pp. 90 and 233-34.

127 On Sergius, see T.F.X. Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 16-18, 185-7; Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, pp. 159-62.

128 Per Jonas Nordhagen, 'John VII's Adoration of the Cross in S. Maria Antiqua', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 388-90; Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (AD 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome* (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae. Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, 3) (Rome, 1968), pp. 43-54.

129 For discussion and reproduction of the portrait of Pope Leo I, see Nordhagen, *Frescoes of John VII*, p. 42 and Pl. XLVI; for Martin I, p. 43 and Pls XLIX-L; for John VII, p. 42 and Pls XLVII-XLVIII. See also Jean-Marie Sansterre, 'Jean VII (705-707): Idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique', pp. 377-388 in L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet, with G. Cambier (ed.) *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels, 1982); Jean-Marie Sansterre, 'À propos de la signification politico-religieuse de certaines fresques de Jean VII à Sainte-Marie-Antique', *Byzantion*, 57 (1987), 434-40. Bede in his *Chronica maiora* mentions John's many famous works. He singles out John's oratory in honour of the Virgin in St. Peter's: 'Iohannes, qui inter multa operum inlustrium fecit oratorium sanctae Dei genitrici opere pulcherrimo intra ecclesiam beati apostoli Petri' (CCSL 123B, p. 530, par. 574). Bede's emphasis on this chapel shows his awareness of the development of the cult of Mary at Rome (this chapel is also the earliest recorded mortuary chapel, built by John VII to contain his own body). It also shows Bede's special interest in St. Peter's, the basilica of particular interest to the many Anglo-Saxons who, Bede records a little later, flocked in those days to Rome (CCSL 123B, p. 534, par. 590). On John VII's chapel, see Per Jonas Nordhagen, 'The Mosaics of John VII (705-707AD). The Mosaic Fragments and their Technique', *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, 2 (1965), 121-66 and Plates I-XXVI; and William Tronzo, 'Setting and Structure in Two Roman Wall Decorations of the Early Middle Ages', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 477-92.

130 See Peter Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages*, pp. 165-72; T.F.X. Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 28-40.

131 Meyvaert, 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth-Jarrow', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), 63-77, at pp. 68-9, where he translates the whole passage (from CCSL 119A, pp. 212-3).

132 Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, i, p. 419; trans. Davis, *Eighth-Century Popes*, p. 24.

133 Rosemary Cramp, 'The Anglian Sculptured Crosses of Dumfriesshire', *Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society Transactions*, third series, 38 (1959-60), pp. 9-20 (at p. 12): 750AD; Cramp, *Early Northumbrian Sculpture* (Jarrow Lecture, 1965), pp. 8-12; on Pehthelm, see David Howlett, 'Inscriptions and Design of the Ruthwell Cross', pp. 71-93 in Brendan Cassidy (ed.) *The Ruthwell Cross: Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 8 December, 1989* (Princeton, 1992) (at p. 92); Douglas MacLean, 'The Date of the Ruthwell Cross', pp. 49-70 in the same book, comes to the same conclusion as Cramp and Howlett (p. 70).

134 Cramp, Jarrow Lecture 1965, p. 9.

135 Chris Crowe, 'Excavations at Ruthwell, Dumfries, 1980 and 1984', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, third series, 62 (1987), 40-47: see in particular fig. 2 on p. 41. The church stands to the South, slightly to East of centre, of the circular rampart.

136 Crowe, 'Excavations', p. 42.

137 The idea that Christ was crucified 'outside the gate', was an important theme in scripture: cf. Hebrews 13:12-14 ('let us go forth therefore to him outside the camp, bearing his reproach') and parallels; for discussion, see Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem', p. 44. In Rome, S. Croce in Gerusalemme was built in the Sessorian Palace, which stood just at the Antonine Walls, and enclosed by them. But the Antonine walls (ca. 275AD) were in Constantine's time less than fifty years old. A modern military structure, they had no religious or symbolic significance in defining the city's boundary. S. Croce stood well outside the Servian wall, which followed the ancient sacral boundary (*pomoerium*) of the city. To go to S. Croce was symbolically to go outside the walls.

138 In its carefully constructed hierarchy of languages, giving pride of place to Latin but also an important rôle to the English vernacular, the design of the

cross is consistent with Bede's discussion of the relation of Latin to the vernaculars in *HE* 1:1 (Plummer, i, p. 11), and also with the other evidence we have of Bede's interest in using and writing English as well as Latin for catechetical purposes: (1) Bede's stress that those who did not know Latin should know the basic prayers in English, and his translation of the Creed and the Our Father into English for such people (Plummer, i, pp. 408-9); (2) his detailed narrative of Caedmon's poetic achievement (one of the classic accounts of the use of the vernacular for catechesis, and of co-operation between singer and monk-writers) [*HE* 4:22 (24)]; (3) his unfinished translation into English of St. John's Gospel, on which he was working when he died (unfortunately lost to us) (Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 582-7); (4) as he lay dying, Bede sang a vernacular song, his Death Song, as well as psalms and liturgical antiphons: this in itself provides an interesting parallel with the balance of languages on the Ruthwell Cross (Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 580-3); (5) Bede, as well as being a fine Latinist, was 'doctus in nostris carminibus' (Colgrave and Mynors, p. 580) 'skilled in our [English vernacular] songs': we can be sure, therefore, that his repertoire was not confined to one small item. For a balanced survey of early medieval Western ecclesiastical attitudes to language, see now Francis J. Thomson, 'Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism. A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Mediaeval Theories of Sacred Languages', *Analecta Bollandiana,* 110 (1992), 67-122. On Bede, see especially André Crépin, 'Bede and the Vernacular', pp. 170-92 in Gerald Bonner (ed.) *Famulus Christi* (London, 1976); for a rather different view, that in *HE* 1:1 Bede made a distinction between 'Latin, the written language, and the vernaculars, the spoken tongues', see Elisabeth Okasha, 'Vernacular or Latin?', pp. 139-47 in Walter Koch (ed.) *Epigraphik 1988* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 213) (Vienna, 1990) (at pp. 145-6).

139 See now the fine survey of Bede's, and other English clerics', interest in Roman inscriptions in Michael Lapidge, *Bede the Poet* (Jarrow lecture, 1993), pp. 1-5.

140 Only one church survives in which the linguistic diversity of seventh- and eighth-century Rome can still be appreciated, S. Maria Antiqua in the Forum Romanum. For drawings of its Greek and Latin inscriptions, see Nordhagen, *Frescoes of John VII*, Pls CVII-CXXVI. On Greek within the Latin liturgy, see the works of Louis Brou, cited above. On linguistic diversity within the city, see Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs*, i, pp. 62-76.

141 Professor Ute Schwab was the first to relate the layout of the poem on the Ruthwell Cross to its closest analogues: reliquaries and reliquary-crosses,

precisely the precious objects that Anglo-Saxon monks would have seen, and found impressive, in Rome in that period: Schwab, 'Das Traumgesicht vom Kreuzesbaum. Ein ikonologischer Interpretationsansatz zu dem ags. "Dream of the Rood"', pp. 131-92 in Ute Schwab and Elfriede Stutz (ed.) *Philologische Studien. Gedenkschrift für Richard Kienast* (Germanische Bibliothek. Dritte Reihe: Untersuchungen und Einzeldarstellungen) (Heidelberg, 1978) (at pp. 156-62). Schwab's insight has now been complemented by a thorough and wide-ranging survey of the tradition (in early Christian culture and in early medieval monastic culture) of composing or editing poems as an element in visual design: Ulrich Ernst, *Carmen Figuratum. Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Pictura et Poesis. Interdisziplinäre Studien zum Verhältnis von Literatur und Kunst, 1) (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1991).

142 John Donne, Divine Poems, 'The Annuntiation and the Passion', ('Upon the Annnuntiation and Passion falling upon one day. Anno Domini 1608'), lines 1-2, 7-12, 15-24, 33-40; *John Donne: Poetical Works*, ed. Herbert Grierson (Oxford, 1933), pp. 305-6. I am grateful to my late colleague, Sr. Una Nelly, for illuminating discussion of John Donne's poem; and for bringing to my attention the theological discussion of the Annunciation-Crucifixion theme in John Saward, *The Mysteries of March: Hans Urs von Balthasar on the Incarnation and Easter* (London, 1990).

143 For a good examination of the variety of establishments comprehended in the term *monasterium, monasteriolum*, see Alan Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 137-70 in John Blair and Richard Sharpe (ed.) *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992).

144 I examined the inscription twice, in different lights (12 July and 20 July 1987) and on both occasions recorded the **m**, **r** and **þ** runes as legible (spaced unevenly, wide apart, reading upwards at right angles to the onlooker's vision); I could see only the ascender of the final **a** rune. The lower half of this border has been destroyed: it is not likely that this group of runes stood alone, nor that it formed the beginning of the inscription. If indeed the **þ** rune exists in the surviving group of runes, and if that group can be interpreted as the word **m**[a]**r**þ(a), 'Martha', then one might speculate that on the lower half of the border a group of runes presented the name of Martha's sister, Mary of Bethany, identified by Gregory the Great and Bede with Mary Magdalen. One might tentatively suggest that the runes '**m a r i a e t**', 'Maria et', may possibly have once read upwards along the lower half of the panel, and that the inscription on that side might have read '[maria et] **m**[a]**r**þ(**a**)', 'maria et martha'.

145 David Howlett, 'Two Panels on the Ruthwell Cross', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 333-6. In spite of the fact that the lower half of the panel was almost completely destroyed, Howlett (following R.I. Page: see next note) made the assumption that the fragmentary runic inscriptions which survive on the three separate borders of the upper half of the panel formed one complete phrase. He combined the three fragments to read 'martha maria merentes dominnae', 'Martha and Mary, worthy women'. That a whole phrase, a complete sense-unit in itself, should have been preserved from beginning to end on the upper half of the battered panel must be seen as unlikely.

146 Paul Meyvaert, 'A New Perspective on the Ruthwell Cross: Ecclesia and Vita Monastica', pp. 95-166 in Cassidy, *Ruthwell Cross*. To be more precise, Meyvaert's argument totally depends on one rune, 'þ': for if the word simply read, say, 'maria', the iconographic problem would not arise. Caution is necessary in such matters: Professor Ray Page does not record the þ-rune in his transcription of the panel's runic inscriptions printed in Elisabeth Okasha, *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 111. Like Howlett three years later, Page tried to combine the fragmentary inscriptions on the three sides into a single phrase, miraculously preserved intact from the ruin of the panel: 'maria mater dominnæ'. The phrase he came up with did not make grammatical sense, so he. rather condescendingly, blamed the Ruthwell rune-masters, explaining 'dominnæ' as a howler for 'domini' ('Mary, the mother of the Lord'). I find Page's reconstruction even less convincing than Howlett's, and cannot reconcile his transcription (in particular what he sees on the top border) with what my totally untrained eye could see in 1987. By then I was troubled by Howlett's theory, and went to Ruthwell hoping not to see the fatal 'thorn'-rune (þ) on the left border. It then seemed to compel the conclusion that the panel was not a Visitation panel (as we shall see, it by no means does so). My notes on the 'thorn'-rune begin 'Clear, I fear ...'. Further examination of the panel by cautious runologists, and the publication of photographic evidence, is needed to enable scholars to decide for themselves whether the 'thorn', and with it 'Martha', exists on the panel at all. See the judicious remarks of R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (London, 1973): 'The first five runes apparently form the name *Maria* though from what remains *Marþa* is also possible and has sometimes been preferred' (p. 150).

147 Meyvaert p. 138, footnote 168. Neither Howlett nor Meyvaert could find a single medieval iconographic parallel for two embracing female figures as representing either Martha and Mary, or the Reconciliation of the the Active and Contemplative lives. For this reason alone, their proposal must be seen as unlikely in the extreme. As we shall see, it is an unnecessary hypothesis.

148 Meyvaert's theory that the upper stone should be reversed is essential to his interpretation of the panel. Most of his evidence for the reversal of the upper stone has been convincingly challenged, on purely archaeological grounds, by Richard N. Bailey, 'The Ruthwell Cross: a Non-Problem', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 73 (1993), 141-8 and figs. 1-4. Unsympathetic to the idea that for this public monument the primary context might be public worship (even though he imagines it as standing from the beginning in an elaborate hypothetical church, between choir and nave), Meyvaert adopts the only alternative approach available to modern scholars: learned allegory based on patristic commentaries. His title ('Ecclesia and Vita Monastica') perfectly expresses his approach: he sees the cross in terms of two distinct allegorical programmes, (1) 'Ecclesia': the monument illustrated what church membership should involve for the faithful in the body of the hypothetical church; (2) 'Vita Monastica': for the monks behind the cross in choir, the monument illustrated themes of their monastic life (including the 'Reconciliation of the Active and Contemplative lives'). Meyvaert's interpretation is the last in a long line of bookish interpretations; these have been attractive to modern scholars who, by definition, are assiduous private readers. Literary sources and patristic scholarship can of course help us understand the monument: for one thing, they illustrate how liturgical actions and communal devotional developments were received by theologians and interpreted in homilies. But for a public monument like the Ruthwell Cross they need to be systematically checked, whenever possible, against the surviving evidence about communal public worship in the period. As a general scholarly principle, consonance with what we know about the *lex orandi* is a useful help in deciding which, among competing scholarly theories, we should include within our *lex credendi*. For a lucid exposition of the theoretical issues involved, see Staale Sinding-Larsen, *Iconography and Ritual. A Study of Analytical Perspectives* (Oslo and Bergen, 1984), especially pp. 47-59 and 130-9.

149 For the uses of Eccles. 24:11-13 and 15-20, see the tables in Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains*, ii, 18-19 (Lectionary of Corbie). But see also the more extensive discussions by Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 386-7, and by Georges Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine', pp. 160, 175, 181 (on the omission of verse 24:14 from the lection, see Frénaud, p. 189). For the re-use of the Mass-chants for 15 August on 8 September, contrast the discussion by Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 387-9 with that by Frénaud, pp. 181-82; I find Frénaud's arguments convincing.

150 The closest analogy is perhaps the relation between a major feast and its 'Octave': the practice of singing the chants of a major feast once more, a

week later, to bring the celebration of that feast to a conclusion. For an example of an Octave, see Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame dans l'ancienne liturgie latine', p. 171: the singing of Christmas antiphons on 1 January. See also (Frénaud, pp. 175-6) the discussion of the two feasts, 15 August and 8 September, as they appear in the lectionary of Alcuin.

151 Both the Annunciation lection (Luke 1:26-38) and the Visitation lection (Luke 1:39-47) were read during Advent: the Annunciation on the Wednesday of the ember week in Advent, the Visitation on the Friday of the same week. This use continued throughout our whole period: the Annunciation and Visitation lections, together, formed an entirely appropriate prelude to the feast of Christmas. When the four new Marian feasts began to spread in Rome, each of these lections was given an additional use: they were distributed among the new feasts. The Annunciation was naturally assigned to 25 March, to which it was completely appropriate. As part of the same process, the Visitation was assigned to 8 September. Its appropriateness to 8 September was not very evident, and in the course of the eighth century it gradually began to be replaced by the Genealogy of Christ in Matthew 1:1-16. This appears for the first time in the Lectionary of Murbach, which is dated to the end of the eighth century (but reflects earlier usages). See Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame', p. 181; Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 384-6; Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains*, i, p. 63 and ii, p. 34.

152 When it first appeared, 15 August was entitled 'in natale' or 'festivitate sanctae Mariae'. By the time of Pope Sergius, it had become 'in dormitione'; later, in the eighth century, the title became 'in assumptione': Frénaud, 'Le culte de Notre-Dame', p. 175. On the gospel for 15 August, see Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires romains*, i, p. 65; ii, p. 34; on its earlier byzantine use, see Frénaud, pp. 169 and 175. As Mary is associated with other women ('**dominnæ**') on the Visitation panel of the Ruthwell Cross, it is interesting to note a parallel for this association in the Roman liturgy: the chants for Marian feasts were often the same as those used for other virgins. Frénaud (pp. 160, 173, 175-80) shows that several of the oldest Marian Mass-antiphons were originally taken from the Masses of Virgins; he argues that, on the other hand, the Office Psalms for the Marian feasts are based on the psalms of Christmas, and that the Office of Virgins derives from this Office (pp. 191-200). One scheme of psalms for the second Vespers of Marian feasts was taken from the psalms for the Dedication of a church (pp. 200-201). Luke 10:38-42, the lection for 15 August, was also provided as an alternative gospel for the Mass of St. Felicity, 23 November: Theodor Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. I. Typen*, Second, revised

edition (Münster, 1972), p. 41, No. 225, and parallels; Chavasse, *Les lectionnaires*, ii, p. 36. From the second half of the seventh century, an alternative gospel was also provided for the Dormition of Mary on 15 August: Luke 11:27-28 ('Blessed is the womb that bore you'). Chavasse suggests that the existence in the surviving lectionaries of alternative pericopes for 15 August stems from the early use of different pericopes for the feast in different Roman churches: Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, pp. 384-6. Although Luke 11:27-28 had a more marian character, it did not replace Luke 10:38-42, the Martha and Mary lection. Instead, when in the course of the eighth century a special Mass was provided for the Vigil of the Assumption on 14 August, Luke 11:27-28 was quickly assigned to it: Frénaud, pp. 175 and 189. For an illuminating discussion of the implications of assigning the Martha and Mary lection to the feast of the Dormition, and so associating Mary Magdalen and the Virgin Mary, see Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'La Madeleine du "Sermo in Veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae" attribué à Odon de Cluny', pp. 37-70 in *La Madeleine (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle) [Mélanges de L'École Française de Rome: Moyen Age*, Vol. 104/1 (1992)], at pp. 49-50, 59-64; see also, in the same volume, the fine article by Veronica Ortenberg, 'Le culte de Sainte Marie Madeleine dans l'Angleterre Anglo-Saxonne', pp. 13-35. Iogna-Prat's article is a revised and expanded version of her earlier paper, '"Bienheureuse polysémie". La Madeleine du "Sermo in Veneratione Sanctae Mariae Magdalenae" attribué à Odon de Cluny (Xe siècle)', pp. 21-32 in Éve Duperray (ed.) *Marie-Madeleine dans la mystique, les arts et les lettres. Actes du Colloque international, Avignon, 20-21-22 juillet 1988* (Paris, 1989).

153 Bede, *Opera homiletica*, ed. Hurst, 1:4, lines 17-20, 40-41: CCSL 122, pp. 21-22: 'postquam angelica uisione et allocutione meruit sublimari postquam se caelesti honestandam partu didicit nequaquam se donis caelestibus quasi a se haec essent extulit' ... 'sed ut mulieri prouectae aetatis uirgo iuuencula ministerium sedula inpenderet'; trans. Martin and Hurst, pp. 31-32. Bede's homilies on the Annunciation (1:3) and the Visitation (1:4) are in the homiliary assigned to Advent. Just as the Annunciation and Visitation lections, while continuing to be used in Advent, were also distributed among the new Marian feasts, Bede's homilies would have been of use for either occasion on which a particular lection was read.

154 The base of the 'second' broad side, below the 'Return from Egypt' scene, now presents featureless stone. It is possible that on that base a Nativity or Epiphany of Christ originally existed; parhaps it was destroyed by the seventeenth-century iconoclasts who tore down the cross. On the 'first' broad side, the two closely-related scenes, Annunciation and Visitation, form a frame or envelope-pattern around two panels: (1) the Man Born

Blind (John 9:1-38), a figure of conversion and enlightenment: this lection was associated with the lenten catechumenate ceremonies; and, directly above, (2) the Woman who was a Sinner (Luke 7:36-47), a figure of repentance: this lection was associated in Rome with lenten public penance. The decision to frame these two panels associated with lenten conversion and repentance with two panels representing the invisible growth of Christ in Mary's womb was probably inspired by the idea, central to the Roman lenten liturgy, that during Lent the Church was pregnant, longing to give birth at Eastertide to its newly-born neophytes and its reconciled sinners. Their growth towards conversion and reconciliation in the womb of the Church, and the concomitant growth of Christ in their souls, were both seen as analogous to the growth of Christ in Mary's womb. For this lenten liturgical theme, see Michel Dujarier, 'Le catéchuménat et la maternité de l'Église', *La Maison-Dieu*, 71 (1962), 78-93; Paul A. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 5 (1950), pp. 41-138 and Plates 1-76; Adrien Nocent, 'Aspects célébratifs de la réconciliation dans la tradition liturgique Occidentale', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 97 (1983), 347-61; and James Dallen, *The Reconciling Community: the Rite of Penance* (New York, 1986), pp. 62-73. I apply this theme to the cross in my 'Rome Pilgrimage' paper, forthcoming.

155 The word '**dominnæ**' is clearly visible, reading downward on the upper half of the right-hand border of the panel. On the upper border, I could make out the runes, '**m(a)r ... m ... r**'. The twice-repeated '**m**' and '**r**' runes were clear, the identification of the '(a)' rune doubtful. There was room for several lost runes after the first group of three runes, and room for at least one lost rune between the final '**m**' and '**r**'. I would suggest, extremely tentatively as befits an amateur, '**m(a)r[ia]mr**' as the reading of the top border (though the space between the final two extant runes is troubling). This reading confirms Howlett's reading of the top border; but I would suggest '**m**[ate]**r**' as an expansion of the final two runes: for MR = MATER, see 'S : MARIA : M̄R̄ : X̄RI.' on the cross-slab from Brechin: Okasha, 'Vernacular or Latin?', p. 140 and fig. 2.

156 See Éamonn Ó Carragáin, 'The Meeting of St. Paul and St. Anthony: Visual and Literary Uses of a Eucharistic Motif', pp. 1-58 and Pls I-XII in Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Patrick Wallace (ed.) *Keimelia: Studies in Archaeology and History in Memory of Tom Delaney* (Galway, 1988). For other 'Irish symptoms' on the monument, see Ó Carragáin, 'Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem', pp. 51-4.

157 Bede, Homilies, 1:13, lines 190-96, CCSL 120, pp. 93-4; trans. Martin and Hurst, p. 132, quoted above.

158 Bede's Death-song, quoted and discussed by Lapidge, Jarrow Lecture 1993, p. 17.

159 Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (ed.) *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse*, 2 vols, reprint (Dublin, 1975), ii, p. 296 (from Codex Boernerianus, Misc. Dresd. A. 145b).

160 *Kings, Lords, and Commons* (London, 1962), p. 16.

161 Life of Berach, p. xxx: Charles Plummer (ed.) *Bethada Náem nÉrenn; Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), ii, pp. 41-42; I am grateful to Dr. Michael Ryan for this reference. I have made a minor verbal change to eliminate an archaism in Plummer's translation. I discuss the passage at more length in 'Traditio Evangeliorum', pp. 411-13.

162 'Toties mari transito numquam ut est consuetudinis quibusdam uacuus et inutilis rediit': Bede, *Opera homiletica*, 1:13, CCSL 122, lines 172-3, p. 93.

163 Bede, *Opera homiletica*, 1:13, CCSL 122, p. 93, lines 184-5. Cp. Martin and Hurst, p. 131.

164 Bede, *Opera homiletica*, 1:13, lines 185-90, CCSL 122, p. 93; cp. Martin and Hurst, p. 132.