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PERFORMANCE, TRANSMISSION AND DEVOTION:

UNDERSTANDING THE ANGLO-SAXON PRAYER BOOKS,

c. 800–1050

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Submitted for the qualification of Ph.D

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Abstract

Through an investigation of the Anglo-Saxon prayer books and selected psalters, this thesis corrects standard histories of medieval devotion that circumvent the Anglo-Saxon contribution to medieval piety. In the first half of the thesis, I establish a theoretical framework for Anglo-Saxon piety in which to explore the prayers. Current theoretical frameworks dealing with the medieval devotional material are flawed as scholars use terms such as 'affective piety', 'private' and even 'devotion' vaguely.

After an introduction which defines some of the core terminology, Chapter 2 introduces the principal witnesses to the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition. These include the prodigal eighth- and early ninth-century Mercian Group, comprising the Book of Nunnaminster (London, British Library, Harley 2965, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1}), the Harleian Prayer Book (London, British Library, Harley 7653, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1}), the Royal Prayer Book (London, British Library, Royal 2 A. xx, s. viii^{2}/ix$^{1/4}$), and the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 10). These prayer books are the earliest of their kind in Europe. This chapter challenges some established views concerning the prayer books, including purported Irish influence on their composition and the probability of female ownership.

Chapter 3 explores the performance of prayer. The chapter demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon prayers, for example, the Royal Abecedarian Prayer, were transmitted fluidly. The complex relationship between this abecedarian prayer and its reflex in the Book of Nunnaminster reveals the complexity of prayer composition and transmission in the early medieval world but more importantly, it helps scholars theorise how the prayers may have been used, whether recited verbatim or used for extemporalisation. Changes made by later readers to earlier texts are also vital

to this study, since they help answer questions of usage and show the evolution and subsequent influence of Anglo-Saxon religiosity.

The second half of the thesis makes a special study of prayers to the Cross, the wounded Christ, and the Virgin, three important themes in later medieval spirituality. These focus on the Royal Abecedarian Prayer, which explores Christ's life (Chapter 5), especially his Passion; the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' which celebrates the Cross (Chapter 4); and the *Oratio Alchfriðo ad sanctam Mariam*, which invokes the Virgin Mary (Chapter 6). These prayers occur in multiple, temporally-diverse witnesses and have complex transmission histories, involving both oral and written dissemination. The concluding chapter (7) highlights some of the avenues for future research opened by the thesis.

For Shane McCarthy Lyons

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Declaration

This thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere.

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Kirsty Teresa March

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Abbreviations

Alexander	Alexander, J. J. G., *Insular Manuscripts: 6th to the 9th Century, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 1* (London, 1978)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*
CH I	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I* (ed. Clemoes)
CH II	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II* (ed. Godden)
EETS	Early English Text Society *SS* *Supplementary Series* *OS* *Original Series*
Gnuess	Gneuss, H., *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona, 2001)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HE	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* (ed. and transl. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors)
Ker	Ker, N. R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957)
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Minge
Temple	Temple, E., *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 2* (London, 1976)

Editorial decisions

Note on the referencing of prayers

Like many Old English poems, most prayers do not have titles. The rubrics to prayers are often generic and do not give any indication of what the prayer is about. In a thesis that cites and cross-references multiple prayers, for the sake of clarity, it is not appropriate to refer to a prayer either by its rubric or by its incipit. The prayers in the Book of Cerne, Ælfwine Prayer Book, Galba-Nero Prayer Book and Arundel 155 Psalter, will be referred to according to the number given to them in the published edition of the prayer book as the editors have clearly numbered the prayers. The prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book and

Harleian Prayer Book, are not clearly numbered in published editions and so in Appendix A, I have numbered the prayers and have cross-referenced them to published texts and the prayers will be cited according to these numbers. For clarity, I refer to the prayers in the Nunnaminster Life Cycle Christ by their rubrics since these are succinct and describe the content of the prayer. I refer to the prayer units of the Royal Abecedarian by their letters ('A', 'B', 'C', etc.). One of the main case studies in this thesis is Book of Cerne 15. Cerne and subsequent manuscripts assign a generic rubric to the prayer and so I refer to it henceforth by its refrain 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'.

Punctuation

When quoting from Kuyper's 1902 edition of the Book of Cerne, I modernise the punctuation. The text of the Royal Abecedarian and many of the Book of Nunnaminster's Christ Life Cycle prayers are based on my own transcriptions, and I have modernised the punctuation; however, I cross-reference to the published editions of the prayers, through the above numbering system. The full edition of these prayers and my preparation of the digital edition are discussed in Appendix D. I have also normalised the punctuation of *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies I,* ed. Clemoes.

I have decided to use a lowercase 'c' for cross, unless the cross is a character such as in *The Dream of the Rood*. All biblical references are to the Douay Rheims Bible.[1]

[1] http://www.drbo.org/ accessed 5/March/2012

1
INTRODUCTION

Christ is dead on the cross in the Judith of Flanders Gospel Book Crucifixion miniature (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 709, c. 1065, fol. 1v) (Plate 1).[1] Judith of Flanders (d. 1094), who married the brother of Harold Godwinson, Tostig of Northumbria, commissioned this gospel book towards the end of the Anglo-Saxons' kingship of England. The miniature is the exquisite work of an Anglo-Saxon artist. Christ's suspension from the cross creates an exaggerated 's' shape of the body: Christ's knees bend to his right, his trunk arcs slightly to the left, and Christ's head rests gently upon his right shoulder. Personal devotion to the crucified Christ is manifest in the image as the patron Judith embraces the bottom shaft of the cross.[2] This miniature is an innovative rendering of a familiar scene. The artist's originality is evident in the non-canonical gesture from Mary to her son, as the Virgin moves to touch Christ's body. The grieving mother and the devotion of the patron create a sense of pathos. The scene is characteristic of the increasingly affective and personal nature of medieval spirituality; this piety is apparent in prayers and devotional practices of the Anglo-Saxons at this time.

[1] On the person of Judith and this manuscript see J. Rosenthal, 'An Unprecedented Image of Love and Devotion', in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts,* eds. K. Smith and C. Krinsky (London, 1997), pp. 21–36*;* P. McGurk and J. Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon Gospelbooks of Judith, Countess of Flanders: their Text, Make-up and Function', *ASE* 24 (1995), 251–308; D. Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Edith, Judith, Matilda: the Role of Royal Ladies in the Propagation of the Continental Cult', in *Oswald, Northumbrian King to European Saint*, eds. C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, CT, 1995), pp. 210–29.

[2] There is some question over whether the penitent woman is Mary Magdalene or the patron of the Gospel Book, Judith of Flanders, on this see B. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of the Monastic Revival* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 159–61.

'WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE AFFECT OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS?'[3]

This thesis offers a corrective to standard histories of medieval devotion that circumvent the Anglo-Saxon contribution to medieval piety, by investigating private prayers found in certain manuscripts between 800 and 1050. It examines the manuscript tradition of prayer, to reveal the reality of prayer performance in Anglo-Saxon England. Seminal work on the development of medieval spirituality and even studies of Medieval English devotional practices ignore the important advances of the Anglo-Saxons.[4] Sarah McNamer's *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (2010) focuses on Middle English texts, but begins her discussion with Latin writers such as Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109), sidestepping a vernacular tradition.[5] Though prayer is one of the main expressions of medieval devotion, scholars neglect it. Introducing two articles on Anglo-Saxon spirituality, Allen Frantzen, pertinently asked,

> Whatever happened to the affect of the Anglo-Saxons? Why were their modes of spirituality omitted from the grand narratives of devotion and mysticism in the Middle Ages? Given the immense body of Latin evidence that attests to the devotional tradition of the Anglo-Saxons, to say nothing of the vernacular, how are we to explain the failure of scholars to integrate early and late medieval piety? Central terms of the later tradition, including

[3] A. Frantzen, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), 117–28, at p. 117.
[4] Such as E. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*: *Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992); *Ibid.*, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, c. 1240–1570* (London, 2006); E. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1997).
[5] S. McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia, PA, 2010). Anselm was born in Aosta and entered the monastery of Bec, Normandy, under Lanfranc (d. 1089), who became Anselm's mentor. Anselm would succeed Lanfranc (d. 1089) as both the prior of Bec (1063) and archbishop of Canterbury (1098).

"affectivity", "meditation", and "mysticism", seem out of place when used in conjunction with the earlier evidence. But should this be the case?[6]

Franzten advanced a brief corrective and challenged scholars to re-evaluate the spirituality of the Anglo-Saxons; this series of articles, however, tended towards lamenting the lack of scholarly concern rather than demonstrating the originality of the tradition, a lacuna this thesis remedies.[7]

In the twelfth century, a personal affective spirituality is seen to emerge and was consolidated by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The transition towards affective piety is perceptible in the evolution of redemption theology: by this, I mean the changing ways in which medieval Christians viewed Christ's sacrifice in relation to their reconciliation with God. The advancement of *redemptio* and *reconciliatio* with the Godhead elicited a closer bond between God and man (the doctrine of which culminated in Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*).[8] This new relationship, based on love, is demonstrated in prayers to Christ, the cross, and Mary. The traditional theories of redemption were based on Ransom and Devil's Rights (discussed in Chapter 5).[9] However, it is important to understand that there is no cut-off point for a Devil's Rights view nor does the Satisfaction model have a

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[6] Franzten, 'Spirituality and Devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials', p. 117.
[7] *Ibid.*, Franzten uses rather outdated material to support his arguments, particularly Colledge's 1962 anthology *The Medieval Mystics of England*; while the scholarship is still valid, it has been superseded.
[8] This is the contention of R. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953, repr., 1975), see particularly pp. 225–9. Also see R. Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 171–3. *Redemptio* - redemption - means 'buying back' and the Greek *λυτρον* is translated in the Vulgate as 'ransom', C. Marx, *Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 3.
[9] Marx, *Devil's Rights*, p. 1, 'In order to explain the emergence of the emphasis on the humanity of Christ and the growth of affective piety in medieval devotion, Southern drew on a distinction between formulations of redemption before and after Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*, which is generally recognised as the first work devoted solely to the doctrine of redemption. Before Anselm, he argued, it was assumed that God was under an obligation to respect the Devil's right to possess humanity and that humanity could be freed and reconciled to God only if the Devil abused his power, which he did by killing the sinless Christ. Anselm refuted the concept of the Devil's rights and redemption could then be understood not as a cosmic struggle between God and the Devil, but as a drama with more of a human dimension in which Christ as man and God was the sacrifice or satisfaction for humanity's debt to God'.

definite beginning, though it is mostly associated with Anselm and *Cur Deus homo*. Seeds of this interpretation of redemption are seen before Anselm in the works of Goscelin of St Bertin (d. 1107), especially the *Liber confortatorius*, and there is overlap between the two views as in demonstrable in the homilies of Ælfric of Eynsham (d. c. 1010).[10]

An exact date for the arrival of affective piety is undeterminable but current scholarship generally sees the writings of Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) as the milestone (Beckwith).[11] Scholars of the Middle English mystics strongly associate affective piety with Anselm, often forgetting Anselm built upon a tradition.[12] For example, Nicolas Watson states, 'The story [of the Middle English mystical tradition] begins with Anselm, who in 1092 arrived from Normandy, and whose *Orationes sive meditationes* becomes an early expression of a fervid non-liturgical type of devotion known as 'affective spirituality'', and then only admits in a footnote that impact of the twelfth century writers might be overstated.[13] Rachel Fulton argues that Christ's failure to return to earth in 1033 AD partly provoked the affective piety movement.[14]

However, there is manuscript evidence for an Anglo-Saxon tradition of personal piety from at least the eighth century. The early prayer books are

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[10] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, pp. 166–78. On the continuation of Devil's Rights in the Middle English vernacular after Anselm see Marx, *Devil's Rights*.
[11] S. Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London, 1993), pp. 50–1. In a very recent article Stephen Shoeman also takes exception to the late accreditation of affective piety, demonstrating that a scholarly dialogue is needed on the subject, 'Mary at the Cross, East and West: Maternal Compassion and Affective Piety in the Earliest *Life of the Virgin* and the High Middle Ages', *The Journal of Theological Studies* 62 (2011), 570–606.
[12] S. DeGregorio, 'Affective Spirituality: Theory and Practice in Bede and Alfred the Great', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 22 (2005), 129–39, at p. 129.
[13] N. Watson, 'Middle English Mystics', in *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. D. Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 539–65, at p. 545. Albeit, Watson, admits in a footnote that the 'revolutionary nature of the rise of religious affectivity in the twelfth century is exaggerated', p. 545, n. 23.
[14] R. Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*: *Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), p. 3 and pp. 60–4; M. Karnes, 'Nicholas Love and the Medieval Meditations on Christ', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 380–408, p. 381, also see p. 381, no. 6.

inheritors of the Hiberno-Saxon milieu that existed in Anglo-Saxon England, however, this has provoked a historiographical emphasis on a Celtic spirituality rather than history and a overemphasis on the "Irishness" of the texts.

The use of politically expedient Romano-Celtic stereotyping (a creation of the eighteenth-century political environment and cemented by the Celtic revival in the late nineteenth century), and the overestimation of the originality of Anselm of Canterbury's writings have led to an under-evaluation of the contribution of the Anglo-Saxons to medieval devotional life.[15] Edmund Bishop's seminal 'Liturgical Note' helped popularise characterising texts into two categories: Roman and Celtic, where Celtic influence was emotive and romantic and the Roman influence somewhat more clinical:

> The Celt brings all heart and much fluency with little mind; the Roman brings all mind – I was going to say 'no' but perhaps had better prefer "small" – heart. The one commonly by excess of words and sometimes by extravagance of form brings us easily and soon within the verge of unreality; the other has the right sense, the right mind but leaves us cold as marble.[16]

This assessment is influential on further studies of the Anglo-Saxon devotional tradition and it paved the way for more devotional texts to be perceived as having been guided by Irish–Celtic influences, where a Celtic spirituality would be

[15] See C. Wright's introduction to *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 1–48.
[16] E. Bishop, 'Liturgical Note' *Downside Review*, 1907, repr. in *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 384–91, at. p. 385, also cited in K. Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish influence on Early English Private Prayer', *Studia Celtica* 5 (1970), 48–61, p. 48. Bishop also describes a phrasing of a prayer in a Galba MS (he is not specific as to which one – perhaps part of the Galba-Nero Prayer Book?) as 'a relic of the ancient Celtic piety, little suited to the commonplace Anglo-Saxon . . .', p. 386. The 'Liturgical Note' in *Downside Review* should not be confused with the 'Liturgical Note' published by Bishop in *The Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, pp. 234 – 83.

considered emotive and introspective.[17] This distinction, based on a *mentalité*, finds its way still into scholarship, for example in that of Frantzen,

> English texts are less varied and colourful than the Irish for several reasons. It may be that the English were, after all, sober and more restrained.[18]

Understandably, the early editions of the prayer books (such as the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 10, c. 820–840) and Harleian Prayer Book (London, British Library, Harley 7653, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{i})) are couched in the language of Celtic spirituality and scholars sought to associate the prayer books with Ireland.[19] This is less reasonable in modern scholarship. Bernard Muir, for example in his 1984 edition of the Galba-Nero Prayer Book (London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv and Nero A. ii, s. xi$^{1/2}$), still observed an emotional tone to the prayers which he described as Celtic, whereas I would prefer the broader term 'Insular'.[20]

Southern described the prayers and meditations of Anselm as 'more subtle, more personal, and theologically more daring, than any earlier prayers in the west'.[21] Indeed, for Southern, Anselm marks the beginning of a special devotion to the humanity of Christ (e.g. *Cur Deus homo*) and to his mother Mary (e.g. *Consideratio de exellentia gloriosissimae uirginis matris dei*), arguing further that Anselm's prayers were a reaction to a solemn Carolingian piety and the repetition of the Insular prayers: 'One of the main characteristics of the Carolingian piety

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[17] Also see A. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983), p. 85.
[18] Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance*, p. 90. Wright articulates these issues in *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 1–48. This is also noticeable in M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 100–3.
[19] One example of this older type of scholarship is that of A. B. Kuypers and is particularly evident in his preface to *The Book of Cerne* (Cambridge, 1902) which reads, 'Two great currents of influence, two distinct spirits, Irish and Roman, have been recognised spirits acting and reacting upon each other, working at times singly then again together, influencing the composition of these prayers', pp. iii–iv.
[20] *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-book (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff.3-13)),* ed. B. Muir (Woodbridge, 1988), *intro*., p. xxv. While I accept that enumeration of body parts is a feature of Irish texts, I am less sure of an effusive vs. restrained mentality.
[21] R. Southern, *Preface,* in B. Ward, transl., *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm* (Harmondsworth, 1973)*,* p. 10.

which they [Anselm's effusive prayers] helped make obsolete was its sobriety – a quality that had developed in reaction to long drawn-out reiterations of the Irish and Insular piety of a still earlier age'.[22] The prayers and meditations of Anselm seem to be amongst his earliest works.[23] The work of Anselm in particular has been shown by Bestul to be the product of an intellectual environment which includes the writings of the Anglo-Saxons; DeGregorio convincingly argues for the presence of affective spirituality in early Anglo-Latin texts, using Bede's commentary *In cantica canticorum* to illustrate this; this is an extremely important text as the Song of Songs is popular amongst writers in the twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries.[24] As DeGregorio has argued, since the publication (and subsequent popularity) of Southern's *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1954), it has been difficult for Anglo-Saxonists to reassert the prominence and importance of Anglo-Saxon devotional texts, as little consideration is given to the climate and traditions that led to the creation of Anselm's prayers and meditations.[25]

Though Anselm's prayers were undeniably innovative, they employ a tradition of earlier meditative and imagistic prayer. Medieval devotees viewed Anselm's prayers as part of a single and continuous tradition as his prayers are found in manuscripts alongside those of the earliest Anglo-Saxon prayer books. The content of London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xxvi (s. xii^{ex}), illustrates the culmination of the textual transmission and development of Anglo-Saxon

[22] Southern describes the reason behind Anselm's "emotion": 'Anselm's prayers marked the moment of rebound. They introduced into a tradition still Carolingian in temper a new note of personal passion, of elaboration and emotional extravagance, which anticipated some of the chief characteristics of later piety', R. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought c. 1059–1130* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 47.
[23] On the creation of prayers and meditations see Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, pp. 34–47.
[24] DeGregorio, 'Affective Spirituality', p. 129.
[25] *Ibid*.

devotional traditions.[26] This manuscript contains examples of prayers present in the ninth-century Book of Cerne (e.g. Cerne, no. 53, the tenth-century Ælfwine Prayer Book (Günzel, no. 76.46)) and alongside these prayers are eleventh-century selections, including selections from Anselm's *Orationes sive meditationes*.

Bestul has shown that Anselm's style was not one that he created himself but that his style is part of a tradition that includes the work of Anglo-Saxons. This Bestul demonstrated through comparing prayers contained in tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon psalters and prayer books (namely, Arundel 155 Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel 155, c. 1012–23), Ælfwine Prayer Book (London, British Library, Titus Cotton D. xxvi + D. xxvii, c. 1023-35) and Galba-Nero Prayer Book) to the prayers of Anselm. Bestul's main points of comparison are thus:[27] the subjectivity of the prayers (e.g. Günzel, no. 51); the personal nature; the use of similar vocabulary to demonstrate emotions (comparing Anselm *Oratio* 11.78 *miserum homunculum* ('miserable man') with *me miserimum et indignissimum* of the Ælfwine Prayer Book and *homunculum quassatum ac miserrimum of* the Galba-Nero Prayer Book; imagery (Arundel 60 Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel 60, s. xi$^{3/4}$), fol. 145r); excessive use of superlatives (Arundel 60 Psalter, fol. 147r); and finally, the use of compunction (as an image) (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, s. xi^{med}, fol. 22r-v). While Bestul notes that Anselm is part of a devotional textual tradition that includes the Insular prayer books, he does little to demonstrate the scope of the tradition besides a comparison with the tenth- and eleventh-century material (though ultimately Anselm's prayers are influenced by

[26] T. Bestul, 'St. Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions', *Annuale Mediaevale* 18 (1977), 20–41, pp. 37–8. Also see *ibid*., 'The Collection of Anselm's Prayers in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D.xxvi', *MÆ* 47 (1978), 1–5.
[27] Bestul, 'St. Anselm and the Continuity of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Traditions', pp. 20–38.

tradition).[28] However, the main point here is not that Anselm was unoriginal in the modern sense but that there is a comparable Anglo-Saxon spiritual tradition that his fame and reputation have obscured. One of the simple reasons for this is one of his 'innovations', namely that prayers could be attributed to someone. Audiences prefer work to circulate with names; this we know from the number of texts attributed to various authors which we now know not to have been composed by them.[29]

The originality and potential power of Anglo-Saxon prayers has therefore been overshadowed by the undoubtedly powerful writings of Anselm. The Anglo-Saxon prayer texts are harder to access and much of the material is not translated; this may account for the lack of scholarly interest. Early studies of the tradition demonstrate a cultural bias; this has caused a negative perception of the texts. However, this thesis challenges this bias by demonstrating the originality and strength of Anglo-Saxon devotion and the sophistication of its textual transmission.

THE THESIS

My thesis draws on a wide-range of texts and images to provide a framework for understanding the prayer books, as it is impossible to interpret the prayers and the use of the manuscripts without knowledge of their cultural and intellectual environment. Homilies and hagiography provide some of this context as they implicitly and explicitly encourage the audience to pray and provide models for

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 20–3.
[29] On Anselm and prayer also see R. Fulton, 'Praying with Anselm at Admont: A Meditation on Practice', *Speculum* 81 (2006), 700–33.

prayer performance. Manuscript illuminations are also important as they can act as focal points for intimate meditation and prayer.

In Chapter 2, I describe the principal witnesses to the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition. These prayer books are the earliest of their kind in Europe. This chapter also interacts with the historiography of the prayer books and consequently challenges some established views concerning them, including purported Irish influence on their composition and the probability of female ownership. As the thesis is about the use of prayers, the first chapter describes in detail the manuscripts in which the prayers are preserved: the Anglo-Saxon "prayer books", and other manuscripts that contain private prayer. These manuscripts – especially the four early Insular prayer books - are of central importance to the history of early medieval devotional practice. As texts contained in these manuscripts are examined throughout the thesis, it is important to begin by outlining their manuscript context.

Chapter 3 explores the performance of prayer. The chapter demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon prayers, for example an abecedarian prayer in the Royal Prayer Book, were transmitted fluidly. Changes made by later readers to earlier texts are also vital to this study, since they help answer questions of usage and show the evolution and subsequent influence of Anglo-Saxon religiosity. This chapter is concerned with the ways in which these prayer texts were used in actuality, whether the texts were used for extemporalisation or recitation. The physical manuscript transmission of a prayer is a performance in itself, as a scribe reads and copies the prayer. This chapter also briefly examines prescriptive documents like monastic rules.

Three thematic chapters follow. Each chapter gives a chronological overview of the prayers pertaining to three central themes – the cross, Mary and the wounded

Christ – and the transmission issues of the particular prayers that incorporate these themes. Given the scope of the thesis, I have chosen to focus on three representative prayers: the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' (Chapter 4), which addresses role of the cross in the Passion, the Royal Abecedarian Prayer, which focuses on Christ's life especially his Passion (Chapter 5), and the *Oratio Alchfriðo ad sanctam Mariam* (Chapter 6). The *Oratio Alchfriðo ad sanctam Mariam* and 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' occur in multiple temporally-diverse witnesses from across Europe, so that the analysis of textual variants enables significant conclusions about the development of the Anglo-Saxon devotional tradition. Each of the three prayers demonstrates different aspects of prayer transmission: the fluidity of private and public prayer; dynamic transmission of prayer; and source 'adaption'.

The cross prayers are uniquely positioned to explore the concepts of public and private devotion. In Chapter 4, we see that the cross prayers hold a unique position: besides being designed to be performed privately, some also feature in the church liturgy. The Book of Cerne is the earliest European witness to the prayer 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', but while in Cerne it is a devotional prayer, the later witnesses place the prayer primarily in a liturgical context.

The fifth chapter focuses on Christ's wounds; its primary aim is to demonstrate the sophistication and originality of the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition by placing the prayers in their wider Christological context. In the pre-Conquest period, representations of the crucified Christ generally concentrated on the sacramental properties of Christ's body, recalling the mysterious transubstantiation of the bread and wine. Many of the prayers engage additionally with Christ's bloody suffering on the cross, demonstrating their proleptic theology and the emotive spirituality of early Anglo-Saxon religious and

anticipating the vividly grotesque concerns of late medieval anchoritic and mystical writings. The treatment of the wounded Christ in the Royal Abecedarian anticipates the language of the scholastic movements.

In the final case study, we see that supplicants prayed to the Virgin as Marian prayer was felt to be particularly effective by the Anglo-Saxons because of her special relationship with Christ and because the Virgin was chosen especially to bear Christ (and therefore was co-redeemer). Church controversy and heresy throughout the medieval period opened dialogue about Christ's human nature, leading to a steady growth in Marian devotion and piety and to an increasingly complex Mariology. Anglo-Saxon text and image in the tenth and eleventh centuries anticipated what would become common in the following centuries, as she was depicted as the *mater dolorosa* in homilies and images. The Anglo-Saxon tradition of Marian prayer is however a somewhat more conservative medium than poetry or visual art. This chapter uses the *Oratio Alchfriðo ad sanctam Mariam* to demonstrate the uses of prayers in the composition of other prayers.

In the conclusion, I compare Old English poetry to prayer. There, I demonstrate the avenues for future research opened by the thesis.

PRAYER TRANSMISSION

Besides the devotional context of the prayers, this thesis examines the manuscript transmission and performance of the prayers. It includes a digital edition of the Royal Abecedarian Prayer from the Royal Prayer Book (London, British Library, Royal 2 A. xx, s. viii^{2}/ix$^{1/4}$) and the Christ Life Cycle prayers from the Book of Nunnaminster (London, British Library, Harley 2965, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1}). The edition is viewable at http://research.ucc.ie/rpb/. Twenty-six of the Nunnaminster prayers

directly correspond to the Royal Abecedarian (the prayer books do have other prayers in common out side of these series, see Table 2.1). The similarities and differences between the two series raise interesting questions about textual transmission, especially regarding how the prayers were used. I have compiled a digital edition as I feel this better represents the complex relationship between the witnesses in terms of visualization and data capture than a traditional edition.

The edition follows the TEI P5 guidelines (Text Encoding Initiative P5) to ensure its compatibility with other international projects and long-term sustainability. After transcriptions of the prayers were completed, they were encoded using XML (Extensible Mark-up Language) using the software tool Oxygen. For display purposes, the text has also been encoded in HTML. A full description of the methodology involved in preparing the edition is included in Appendix D.

A PRAYER VOCABULARY

Few scholars have attempted to write a history of medieval prayer, as Duffy has observed:

> The history of prayer . . . is as difficult to write as the history of sex, and for some of the same reasons. Both activities are intensely personal and in the nature of things not readily accessible to objective analysis. As a consequence the history of prayer, like that of sex, is prone to elicit from historians a good deal of slack thought and overheated comment.[30]

Prayer is a multifaceted and complicated performance of religion and an expression of devotion, comprising the acts of *memoria*, *meditatio*, and – for the

[30] Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, p. ix.

literate few – *lectio*, straddling the binaries of orality and literacy, public and private, visual and aural, communal and personal. Prayer is both a prescribed obligation and an optional performance. Prayer in its most basic form is a monologic conversation between the Godhead and the performer of the prayer, an act of thanksgiving, confession, penance, petitioning, and acclamation; and this is not an exhaustive list. Recent scholarship has also shown that monastic communities viewed prayer as more than words, prayer as action (i.e. physical labour); however, this thesis focuses on prayer as the manuscript text.[31] There are two broader categories of prayer: liturgical (tied to the liturgy) and paraliturgical or devotional; but even the distinction of 'devotional' prayer is treated problematically in scholarship, as I will discuss in Chapter 4.

The prayer corpus

Given the scope of the thesis, I have identified a series of representative texts to focus on. I have chosen prayers concerning Christ's Passion, the cross, and Mary, as the main investigative material as the Crucifixion scene (Christ wounded and dead upon the cross, his mother grieving and John by his side) is the most common theme in later medieval devotion. These prayers reflect key tropes of late medieval affective piety, enabling me to establish the Anglo-Saxon precedent for such devotions. Many of the prayers occur in multiple temporally-diverse witnesses from across Europe, such that the analysis of textual variants permitted by my digital edition will enable bold conclusions about the development and influence of the Anglo-Saxons.

[31] Prayer as action see S. DeGregorio, 'The Venerable Bede on Prayer and Contemplation', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 1–39.

The principal witnesses to the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition are six surviving prayer books including the prodigious eighth- and early ninth-century Mercian Group, comprising the Book of Nunnaminster (London, British Library, Harley 2965, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1}), the Harleian Prayer Book (London, British Library, Harley 7653, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{i}), the Royal Prayer Book (London, British Library, Royal 2 A. xx, s. viii^{2}/ix$^{1/4}$), and the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 10, c. 820–840), which are the earliest extant prayer books from Europe, as well as the eleventh-century Ælfwine Prayer Book (London, British Library, Titus Cotton D. xxvi + D. xxvii, c. 1023-35) and Galba-Nero Prayer Book (London, British Library, Galba A. xiv + Nero A. ii, fols. 3-13, s. xi$^{1/2}$).[32] The language of the majority of the prayers in these manuscripts is Latin, though several prayers are either written or glossed in Old English. The prayers are often accompanied by rubrics which suggest particular contexts for their use, but there is no reason to believe these rubrics were prescriptive or exhaustive, and this thesis carefully traces the complex interface between modal prayer texts and an individual supplicant's devotion.[33]

Terminological issues

Current theoretical frameworks treating medieval devotional material are flawed, particularly as scholars are vague with terminology (e.g. 'affective piety' and 'private').[34] Definitional issues make comparisons of texts difficult; for example, if

[32] Full descriptions of these manuscripts are given in Chapter 2.
[33] Latin and vernacular prayers are found in liturgical books such as psalters and missals, as well as narrative texts, including poems like *Andreas* and *Guthlac A,* and homilies. I use some of these materials for context.
[34] On this see especially L. LeVert, '"Crucifye hem, crucifye hem": the Subject and Affective Response in Stories of the Passion', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 14 (1997), 73–90. LeVert examines this concept in relation to the Nicholas Love translation *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ* but while discussing affectivity never comes to any firm conclusions as to what it is. McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, again discusses the lack of definition without offering a solution, pp. 1–3.

you do not define what components of a text make the text affective or meditative, how can it be said that one text is affective and another not. Here, I lay out some basic terminological issues.

The pray-er

'Penitent', 'supplicant', 'devotee', and 'pray-er', are all terms that can be applied to a person who prays. A penitent is a person performing a particular type of prayer, penitential prayer. A devotee, a person who performs devotion, is an anachronistical term in an Anglo-Saxon context, as the "devotions" performed by the Anglo-Saxon are less formalised and elaborate than those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as epitomised by the luxurious *Books of Hours*. Duffy, throughout *Marking the Hours*, refers to a pray-er, which is a very neutral term. However, I have decided to use the term 'supplicant' as prayer is not a neutral performance but all prayer is supplicatory on a basic level, in that all prayer seeks something from God.

Public and private devotion

It is important to specify what is meant by personal devotion, as there is often confusion between private and public performance and indeed private and personal devotion. The main distinction is the space (location) and formality of the performance. Public devotion is often a formal communal act, perhaps a prescribed part of the liturgy, presided over by a member of the clergy in a 'public' setting with multiple witnesses, such as a mass. The personal quality of a prayer is subjective. Personal devotion can be performed in a private setting such as in a cell

or at home, it is not necessarily based on a formal ritual and does not need to be directed by the clergy.[35]

What do we mean when we say that a prayer is private? In the appendix to his article 'The Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotion', Bestul lists what he describes as 'manuscripts containing private prayer'; Günzel in the appendix to her edition of the Ælfwine Prayer Book follows Bestul's example of listing 'manuscripts containing private prayer'.[36] Liuzza, to compile his list of Anglo-Saxon cross prayers, works through Bestul's list of 'manuscripts containing private prayer' but does briefly describe what private prayer might mean: 'prayers not prescribed for a particular occasion and which may be, though they need not have been, spoken by only one person'.[37] However, few scholars actually question what "private prayer" means. For example, Mary Clayton devotes an entire chapter to private prayer in her seminal work on the cult of the Virgin, without looking at what private prayer might actually be.[38] Sarah Larrett Keefer demonstrates the difficulty of distinguishing between private and public because of the flexibility of certain prayers: she points to the cross prayers of the *Regularis Concordia* which 'were apparently retained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period as part of the body of private prayer for personal use, while being employed in the public Veneration service as well'.[39] A personal prayer is difficult to identify. The use of 'I' does not

[35] A. Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion', in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, NJ, 2003), pp. 54–78, at pp. 54–5.
[36] T. Bestul, 'Continental Sources of Anglo-Saxon Devotional Writing', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture,* ed. P. Szarmach (Kalamazoo, MI, 1986), pp. 103–26; *Ælfwine's Prayer Book (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. XXVI & XXVII),* ed. B. Günzel (London, 1993), pp. 205–6.
[37] R. Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. K. Jolly, C. Karkov and S. Larratt Keefer (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 276–320, p. 279.
[38] Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin*, pp. 90–120.
[39] S. Larratt Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England*, eds. K. Jolly, C. Karkov and S. Larratt Keefer (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 203–41, at p. 211.

preclude the prayer from having a communal use; for example, the creed speaks of 'I' but it is a communal declaration.

Usage is very difficult to ascertain particularly with respect to the early prayer books (Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Harleian Prayer Book, and the Book of Cerne) as they give no instruction on how the prayers should be used, whether they would have been part of a liturgical service or whether they are prayers for personal use. The later manuscripts, such as the Ælfwine Prayer Book, do give brief instructions (Günzel, no. 46). Key to understanding this issue is the consideration of the manuscript context of the prayers: what were the possible uses and users of the manuscripts and what kinds of material are found in the manuscript.

Larrett Keefer describes the *Regularis Concordia* prayers as 'apparently retained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period as part of the body of private prayers for personal use, while being employed in the public Veneration [of the Cross] service as well'.[40] The prayers comprising the tenth-century *ordo* for the Veneration of the Cross ceremony derive from a much earlier tradition. For example, they contain formulae from the sixth century *Pange lingua* and the eighth century 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'. While these prayers formed part of the performance of the public liturgy at Easter, cross devotions of this type are also part of the core of private prayer. The Ælfwine Prayer Book contains the Office for the Holy Cross and a set of cross prayers for what Günzel sees as cross devotions (nos. 44, 46). The cross devotions sometimes come with instructions on how to use the prayers; while we do not have instructions on when or where to use the prayers, we have some idea about how they should be used. For the Anglo-Saxons,

[40] Larratt Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross', p. 211; also see *Ibid.*, 'Veneration of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England' in *The Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* eds. H. Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 143–84.

the cross was the focus of both personal and public veneration, and devotion and was a symbol of sacrifice and salvation. Cross prayers in particular oscillate between the two spheres of public and private, as the same prayers are orientated towards public and personal settings. In Chapter 4, I make a special study of this issue and question the validity of such distinctions.

Devotion

For convenience, the term Anglo-Saxon devotion refers to the performance of devotion in Anglo-Saxon England, since strictly 'Anglo-Saxon' devotions are too difficult to determine. All practices were in constant evolution and were influenced by and freely borrowed from neighbouring countries. Devotion is religious practice performed paraliturgically, formally or informally, often used privately or personally, which can be aided by materials (books and images) but not necessarily directed by a member of the clergy.

Boynton defines devotion in opposition to liturgy: '[using] the term "liturgy" to designate acts of structured communal worship (such as the Mass, Office, processions, and other ceremonies in which clergy preside) and "devotion" to refer to more flexible practices that can be performed by and individual and do not involve clergy'.[41]

[41] S. Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance on Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters', *Speculum* 82 (2007), 896–931, p. 896.

Devotion and the role of the individual

The voice of the individual plays a key role in devotion. Bestal summarises accordingly:

> In general there was a new concern for interior psychology and personality, which was reflected in a spirituality marked by increased attention to both the theory and practice of contemplation and cultivation of the inner life. An affective piety resulted that emphasised meditation on the humanity of Jesus and the events of his earthly life.[42]

The twelfth century has been credited as the time when the individual was "discovered",[43] as a time when, 'Self examination was deeper and more widespread . . . then at any time since the fifth century [Augustine's *Confessio*]'.[44] This introspection is measured by the increase in texts that contain self-examination such as autobiographies (e.g. Peter Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*). It is a methodological quandary to suggest that the individual was "discovered" at any time and to access the self-awareness in a text as Swanson argues, 'Twentieth century formulation lies at the heart of the problem of the twelfth century individual'.[45] However, one of the elements that may have led to a perceived discovery of the individual is the increase in the importance of confession, which is

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[42] T. Bestul, 'Devotional and Mystical Literature', in *Medieval Latin Studies: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide,* eds. A. G. Rigg and F. A. C. Mantello (Washington, DC, 1996), pp. 694–701, at p. 695.
[43] See C. Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual 1050–1200* (Toronto, 1987); R. Hanting, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven, CT, 1977); for an opposing view see C. Bynum Walker, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1982) pp. 82–106. Also see Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, pp. 139–51. For the role of confession in late medieval crucifixion images, see Ross, *Grief of God*, pp. 22–8.
[44] L. Benton, 'Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. R. Benson, G. Constable and C. Lanham (Oxford, 1982), pp. 263–95, at. p. 264.
[45] Swanson, *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, p. 143.

a type of self-examination, and 'became one of the west's most highly valued techniques for producing the truth'.[46]

The 1215 Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (particularly the *Omnis utriusque sexus*, consolidated in England at the Lambeth Council of 1281) are a watershed in the study of devotional practice. The Lateran Council formalised the role of confession; however, this is not to say that confession was not already a large part of devotion and the performance of religion; for example, *Christ III* encourages Christians to confess their sins to someone, if not necessarily a confessor. These canons restructured the pastoral responsibilities of the English Church and of great significance was Canon 21 which promoted self-awareness as Christians were encouraged to make confession and undergo penance regularly.[47] This Council built on the advances already made during the so-called twelfth-century renaissance during which the medieval humanist or scholastic movement flourished and during which Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129), Bernard of Clairvaux, and Allan de Lille (d. 1202) wrote. Their writings gave a new vibrancy to religious writing as they romanticised the relationship between man and Christ.[48] The scholastic movement also gave new meaning to the individual. The definite role of the individual is one of fundamental differences between the surviving writings of the Anglo-Saxon period and the later medieval period. Current scholarship gives the impression that the individual was "discovered" in the twelfth century. The medieval period was a time of constant growth and progression, so surely there

[46] M. Foucault, *A History of Sexuality*, trans. R. Hurley, vol. 1 (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 59. On Foucault's position on confession in general see pp. 58–73.
[47] P. Binski, *Becket's* Crown: *Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170–1300* (New Haven, CT, 2004), pp. 150–5. Indeed c. 1215– c. 1515 are the dates Robert Swanson gives his study on medieval devotion practiced in Europe, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, c. *1215–1515* (Cambridge, 1995).
[48] For a summary of the historiography of the twelfth-century renaissance see L. Melve, 'The Revolt of the Medievalists: Directions in Recent Research on the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 231–52.

was a gradual development up to the flourishing of the individual. This "new" emphasis on the individual is connected to the concept of self-awareness but we cannot say that the Anglo-Saxons were any less introspective or self-aware. These "advances" helped create a culture of "affective piety".

Affective piety

Affective spirituality or piety is a term frequently employed by scholars but seldom defined; the term tends to be particularly used in relation to the later medieval mystical and devotional textual tradition.[49] Paul Binski is a notable exception and grounds his use of the term in its origins, 'the words 'affect' or 'affective', from the Latin *affectus* . . . indicate something like 'emotional affective' or 'capacity to move' (emotion coming from *emotus / emoveo*) – common usage in what might be called a history of spirituality'.[50] Frantzen conflates and uses terms such as devotional and spirituality, and gives no indication of what he means by affective. A somewhat imperceptible concept, in scholarly works it seems to encompass five key features: the text has an "affect"; it is generally personal (repeated use of 'I'); can be used in a private as opposed to communal or public setting; it is used to provoke an emotional response; and is quite often imagocentric (mental or visual). Affective piety is mostly associated with a vernacular tradition but there is also a strong Latin tradition as seen in the works of Anselm. A pertinent question is whether affective spirituality is inside or outside the text; this is especially true of images as can be conjectured that the image are meant to produce a response in the viewer (e.g. *Ecce Homo*).[51]

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[49] Also see McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, p. 1.
[50] Binski, *Becket's Crown*, pp. 209–11, at p. 209.
[51] On the definitional issues surrounding devotional images see R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, 2004), pp. 25–38.

Quantifying the 'emotional' or 'affective' nature of a prayer is a methodological challenge: is the 'affectiveness' of a prayer determined by the number of superlatives and adjectives written by the author or by the response of the reader? If the affectiveness of a prayer is determined by a response to the text, how can we evaluate the response if we do not witness it? Modern reader-response theories are somewhat inappropriate in this context, as reader-response theory relies on knowing the response of the reader to the text (eg. reviews), a response that medievalists can only guess at. A possible solution to this problem might be to apply human experience to the situation. We know that if we see an image of a woman weeping next to the body of her child, that image is probably meant to draw sympathy or compassion (co-suffering) from its audience.

Compunctio cordis is a fruitful concept for exploring issues such as the supplicant's response to the wounded Christ or the Virgin's grief. The use of *compunctio cordis* is evident in eighth-century Anglo-Saxon prayer texts. Mary Carruthers defines as a product of texts which 'induce strong emotions of grief and/or fear, including an emotion-filled imagining as one recites or chants the Psalms, the Passion or other suitable texts; strongly emotional reflection upon one's sins and sinful state; and the specific task of remembering Hell and remembering death in vigorous sensual detail'.[52] Principally, this is affective piety and the theory behind some of the Anglo-Saxon prayers pertaining to the Crucifixion (Chapter 5).

While affective piety is mostly associated with a vernacular tradition, there is also a strong Latin tradition as seen in the works of Anselm. Affective piety is the most elusive term as it is the hardest to quantify but is observable in two tropes,

[52] M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (New York, 1998), p. 103.

the crucified body, and Mary's grief beside the cross. Anselm of Canterbury's *Oratio ad Christum* (*Oratio II*) is characteristic of the "beginnings" of this increasingly intimate and effusive style of prayer:

. . . Cur, o anima mea, te praesentem non transfixit gladius doloris acutissimi, cum ferre non posses vulnerari lancea latus tui salvatoris? Cum videre enquires violari clavis manus et pedes tui plasmatoris? Cum horreres effundi sanguinem tui redemptoris? Cur non es inebriate lacrimarum amaritudine, cum ille potaretur amaritudine fellis? Cur non es compassa castissimae virgini, dignissimae matri eius, benignissimae dominae tuae?	Why, O my soul, were you not there to be pierced by a sword of bitter sorrow when you could not bear the piercing of the side of your Saviour with a lance? Why could you not bear to see the nails violate the hands and feet of your Creator? Why did you not see with horror the blood that poured out of the side of your Redeemer? Why were you not drunk with bitter tears when they gave him bitter gall to drink? Why did you not share the suffering of the most pure virgin, his worthy mother and your gentle lady? My most
Domina mea misericordissima, quos fontes dicam erupisse de pudicissimis oculis, cum attenderes unicum filium tuum innocentem coram te ligari, flagellari, mactari? Quos fluctus credam perfudisse piissimum vultum, cum suspiceres eundem	merciful Lady, what can I say about the fountains that flowed from your most pure eyes when you saw your only Son before you, bound, beaten and hurt? What do I know of the flood that drenched

filium et deum et dominum tuum in cruce sine culpa extendi et carnem de carne tua ab impiis crudeliter dissecari?[53]	your matchless face, when you beheld your Son, your Lord, and your God, stretched on the cross without guilt, when the flesh of your flesh was cruelly butchered by wicked men?[54]

In Anselm's *Oratio ad Christum* the Soul can be interpreted as not just that of a single supplicant, as it can signifies the thoughts of all sinners, past and present. The Soul or supplicant seeks Christ with a profound longing.[55] The prayer invites the reader through a series of questions to meditate upon their role in the causation of the Crucifixion. The supplicant enters into an anguished examination of the Soul's participation in the Crucifixion.[56] The Soul is historically present at the Crucifixion, a technique which Ellen Ross terms 'active remembering' as the supplicant remembers the events of the Crucifixion as if he or she were a witness. The Soul is "historically" present and had the power to stop the Crucifixion but did not.[57] The use of the historical presence or active remembering is a technique that we shall see employed in the early Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition. Remembering and understanding the events of the Passion and the brutal actions carried out on the body of Christ were vital to the penitential process and the quest for salvation. As Christ's body was violated by the nails and spear, so too should the words of the prayer - which remember the wounded body - wound the supplicant, as Rachel Fulton states, ' . . . this "remembrance" was itself keyed to the meditative

[53] Anselm, *Orationes sive meditationes* in *Sancti Anselmi cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1946–61), pp. 7–8.
[54] Anselm, *Oratio ad Christum* (*Oratio II*), ll. 81–91 (transl. Ward, p. 95). Ward's translation is presented in verse and Schmitt's in prose. Here, I have reproduced both texts as prose.
[55] 'I thirst for you, I hunger for you, I desire you, / I sigh for you, I covet you:' ll. 56–7.
[56] Anselm, *Oratio ad Christum* (*Oratio II*), ll. 56–7 (transl. Ward, p. 94). Also, see ll. 167–70.
[57] Ross, *The Grief of God,* p. 34; D. Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Lyric* (London, 1972), pp. 122–8.

experience of pain, to the "compunction" of the heart that the person meditating, if properly roused, suffered in prayer'.[58] The Book of Cerne 3 mentions the importance of remembering the Passion while seeking penitential favors: 'per memoriam tuae beatae passionis et tuae sanctae crucis'.[59]

Anselm paints a vivid and sensate scene as sight, taste, sound and touch are recalled. The drama is heightened by the presence of Christ's mother as she witnesses the event as the prayer recounts the Virgin's great grief.[60] The prayers of Anselm and his contemporaries are heavily driven by graphic images, leaving little room for the penitent's own imagination; often these prayers purport to vocalise the feelings and thoughts of the penitent. Anselm's prayers discuss the 'Very wretched ... he who is continually afraid of the filthy horror of himself', and he generally writes emotively about the damnation and despair of the penitent.[61] The short series of prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster and Royal Prayer Book document a reaction to a biblical event but not as verbosely. It is eminently possible that while the Insular prayer books do not have the same dramatic vocabulary as Anselm, they nevertheless try to affect the penitent by the simplicity of the prayers since the prayer acts as a reminder of what Christ underwent. Prayer is intended to affect a response to the event through meditation, rather than – in the case of Anselm – supplying the emotion for the penitent. The prayers may also have acted to affect the supplicant internally, moving him or her from a state of *compunctio penitentiae* (penitential compunction) to the attainment of

[58] Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion,* p. 197.
[59] 'Through the memory of your blessed Passion and your holy cross'.
[60] Anselm, *Oratio ad Christum* (*Oratio II*), ll. 92–102 (transl. Ward, p. 96).
[61] Prayer to John the Baptist, Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations* (transl. Ward, p. 131).

compunctio amoris (compunction of love).[62] This transformation is a slow process: through fear of his sinful state and subsequent punishment (and therefore removal from God), the sinner meditates upon his weaknesses and fear of damnation and he weeps; because he does his penance, 'a feeling of security emerges' and he looks to his heavenly reward.[63] As the penitent moves through the penitential process, the fear is replaced by love as he is filled with *compunctio amoris*.[64]

Prayer and meditation hinge on the use of imagery, be it a physical image such as a crucifix in a church to focus the mind, or an image conjured by the words on the page; however, even mental images rely on physical images, since mental images are recalled physical images.[65] The graphic and sometimes violent images that Christ's wounded body inspires, lends the Crucifixion to the affective *compunctio cordis* – the supplicants wound themselves through meditation on an affective text or an image. [66]

This movement of interest from a divine triumphant Christ to humanised Christ seen in Anselm's prayer *Oratio ad Christum* is observable in Anglo-Saxon texts and images. However, early Anglo-Saxon prayers on Christ's suffering similarly have this affective quality. Christ's body, wounded at the Crucifixion, was the most popular devotional theme in the medieval period, inspiring artistic and exegetical responses in text and image.[67] The textual and visual references to the wounded

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[62] Also see S. McEntire, 'The Doctrine of Compunction from Bede to Margery Kempe' in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium IV, Papers read at Dartington Hall, July 1987*, ed. M. Glasscoe (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 77–90.
[63] Gregory, *Dialogues* III.34 (ed. and transl. Zimmerman) (New York, 1959), p. 170–5.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 174. Also see Bede, Homily II.4 in *Bede the Venerable: Homilies on the* Gospel, 2 vols., (transl. M. Lawrence and D. Hurst) (Kalamazoo, MI, 1991), vol. 2, pp. 36–7.
[65] Carruthers, *Craft of Thought,* p. 2.
[66] *Ibid.,* pp. 100–3; Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion,* p. 166.
[67] Recent scholarship on the theme of Christ's suffering and the use of Christ's blood pertains mostly to the later medieval period and includes the following works: C. Bynum Walker, 'Violence Occluded: The Wound in Christ's Side in Late Medieval Devotion', in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, eds., B. Tuten and T. Billado (Burlington, VT, 2010) pp. 95–116; *Ibid.*, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007); *Ibid.*, 'Violent Imagery in Late Medieval Piety', *Bulletin of the*

Christ sought to remind the supplicant of the cost of the sacrifice and provoke empathy and compassion through extended meditation on Christ's actions.[68] Visual images, in particular, sought to give legitimacy to the Crucifixion, making the event a reality through visualisation.[69] A profound devotion towards the wounded man developed.[70] These texts and images focused on the details of the Crucifixion and more specifically the violent aspects.

In the Insular period (c. 600–900) representations of Christ's body concentrated on the body's sacramental and salvific properties, which were recalled every day in the Mass through the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. In manuscript images, Christ does not discernibly appear to suffer (e.g. The Durham Gospels (Durham, Cathedral Library, MS A. II. 17, s. vii^{ex}/viii^{i}, fol. 38v)); these representations stress that while he was crucified on the criminals' gallows, Jesus is a God who condescended to take on human form; this portrayal of Christ is mirrored in contemporary texts. Though crucifixion is a violent act, the resulting blood is not necessarily treated as a negative thing as Christ's blood is salvific (1 Peter I.18-9).[71] Medieval depictions of Christ on the cross became increasingly graphic as the period progressed: images,

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German Historical Institute 30 (Spring, 2002), 3–36; *ibid.*, 'The Blood of Christ in the Later Middle Ages', *Church History* 71 (2002), 685–715; W. Witalisz, '"The blood I souke of his feet": The Christocentric Heritage of Medieval Affective Piety - A Historical Overview', in *Global Perspectives on Medieval English Literature, Language, and Culture,* eds. N. Kaylor, Jr. and R. Scott Nokes (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007), pp. 59–91; S. Lipton, '"The Sweet Lean of His Head": Writing About Looking at the Crucifix in the High Middle Ages', *Speculum* 80 (2005), 1172–208; M. Villalobos Hennessy, 'Passion Devotion, Penitential Reading, and The Manuscript Page: "The Hours of The Cross" in London, British Library Additional 307049', *Mediaeval Studies* 66 (2004), 213–52. Bynum Walker summarises the three predominant interest of this scholarship: blood (of Christ) as Eucharist, blood and violence, blood and structural dichotomies, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 9–10.

[68] See Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*, p. 154.

[69] Ross, *The Grief of God*, pp. 5–6 and p. 18.

[70] This culminated on the continent in types of works such as those of Johannes de Caulibus (*Meditaciones Vitae Christi*, formally Pseudo-Bonaventure), and in England in visual works such as the Crucifixion miniature in the translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's *The Pilgrimage of the Soul* (London, British Library, Egerton 615, fol. 63 (after 1413)) besides texts such as Nicholas Love's *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* (based on de Caulibus's *Meditaciones*).

[71] Bynum Walker, *Wonderful Blood*, p. 10.

poetic meditations and prayers, emphasised the reality of the Incarnation by presenting a wounded Christ that recalled the physicality of the suffering body. These often-grotesque portrayals - which are frequently described as having an "affective" quality - encouraged an intimate and personal relationship with the wounded Christ. In Chapter 5 in particular, I will demonstrate how the prayers of the Royal Abecedarian and Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle anticipate many of the affective concerns of the later medieval period

2

ANGLO-SAXON PRAYER: THE MANUSCRIPTS

Though many pre-Conquest manuscripts preserve prayers, just six are considered prayer books. These are the Book of Nunnaminster; the Royal Prayer Book; the Book of Cerne; the Harleian Prayer Book; the Ælfwine Prayer Book and the Galba-Nero Prayer Book.[1] The Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Book of Cerne, and Harleian Prayer Book originate in Mercia and are the earliest examples of private prayer books in Europe.[2] The six manuscripts do not identify themselves as "prayer books", nor did the Anglo-Saxons describe the manuscripts as such. Modern scholars give these manuscripts the nomenclature "prayer books".[3] Prayer books were used to direct individuals in public worship and private devotion.[4]

This chapter describes the key manuscripts to this thesis (contents, possible use, structure, influences, ownership and their interrelationship), as the manuscript context of the prayers is as important as the text themselves. While this chapter describes all six of the manuscripts termed prayer books, other types

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[1] Helmut Gneuss does not consider the so-called Ælfwine Prayer Book a "prayer book" but rather a "collectar": 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 91–141, at pp. 112–3.

[2] P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 276–7; Sims-Williams calls the Royal and Harleian Prayer Books 'possibly the earliest of their kind in Europe', p. 279. Sims-Williams states that there is nothing comparable until the ninth century and then 'initially in areas under English influence', giving the example of the Fleury Prayer Book. I will later demonstrate the differences between the Carolingian *libelli precum* and these Early Anglo-Saxon prayer books. Neither can Gneuss find any continental models for these prayer books, 'Liturgical books', p. 137. I refer to these four manuscripts as either Mercian or Insular: Mercian, referring to their provenance or, Insular, referring to their dating and artwork.

[3] Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', pp. 137–8. The description "prayer book" is ascribed to them as the texts contained in the manuscript are predominately prayers which do not pertain to the mass in the manner of a missal (e.g. the Stowe Missal (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D. ii. 3, c. 792-803) or a *hymnorum* (such as the Durham Hymnal (Durham, Cathedral Library, B. iii. 32, s. xi[1]). Gneuss theorises that a complete prayer book may have comprised many different elements, including gospel readings, psalms, hymns, antiphons but mostly prayers.

[4] The overlap between "public" worship and "private" devotion is discussed in Chapter 4.

of manuscript contain prayer and these are listed elsewhere.[5] This chapter also describes three other manuscripts with prayers pertinent to the rest of the thesis: Arundel 155 Psalter, Winchcombe Psalter (Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1. 23, s. xi^{med} /s. xi^{2}) and Portiforium of Wulfstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391, s. xi$^{3/4}$). The chapter furthermore shows how the prayer books changed throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, essentially in areas such as formality and increased use of the vernacular. The four earlier prayer books are not rigorously structured and the uses of many of the prayers are currently undetermined. All of the prayers are written in Latin. The Book of Cerne is the latest of these four prayer books (c. 818-30) and the next Anglo-Saxon prayer book is the Ælfwine Prayer Book, which is dated c. 1032-5. There is thus a gap of approximately two hundred years between the early and later prayer books. While there are no Anglo-Saxon examples from this time, the continental Carolingian *libelli precum* flourished.[6] These *libelli precum* are more organised than the earlier Anglo-Saxon prayer books. This "structured" approach probably influenced later Anglo-Saxon prayer since later prayer books and psalters contain more liturgical material and Old English prayers. This chapter finds that much of the current scholarship about the prayer books (in particular the earlier manuscripts) is outdated, especially in relation to the "origins" of the early prayer books and the probability of female ownership and consequently, this chapter is a corrective to this.

[5] Bestul, 'Continental Sources', pp. 124–6.
[6] See pp. 81–5.

Personal books

The prayer books are personal books, in the sense that they are manuscripts used by an individual but not necessarily owned by that individual. Personalization of the prayer books in most cases is undeterminable, unless a name is specified (e.g. Ælfwine Prayer Book). I will now account for the use of books used by an individual to direct devotion in Anglo-Saxon England. There is documented proof of books used to direct personal devotion contemporary with the Insular prayer books. It has also been suggested that Alfred the Great's (d. 899) *handboc* was used for personal devotion.[7]

In the *Vita S. Columbae*, Adomnán (d. 704) mentions two portable books that were perhaps used for private devotion. Luigbe moccu Min was able to tuck the book that he was using underneath his arm while he was doing his duties, 'libellus quem sub ascella neglegentius inclusit subito in ydriam aqua repletam cicidit'.[8] Later Gemmán - an old teacher of Columba (d. 597) - read *in campo* ('on the plain') and he was able to shout to Columba who was also reading outside.[9] These books were most likely religious texts.

The most famous Anglo-Saxon example of a personal book is Asser's (d. 908) account of Alfred's *handboc* which Alfred himself called *enchiridion* because 'nominari voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque solertissime habebat'.[10] The enchiridion contained a wide variety of texts but mostly religious material: 'in

[7] Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', p. 137; S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, transl. and intro., *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources* (Harmondsworth, 1984), p. 268, n. 208.
[8] Adomnán, *Vita Columba*, I.24 (ed. M. Orr Anderson and A. Ogilvie Anderson, (London, 1961, repr. Oxford, 1991), p. 50; transl. R. Sharpe (London, 1985), p. 130), ' . . . he casually tucked the book under his arm, but it slipped and fell into a butt of water'.
[9] *Ibid.*, II.25 (ed. M. Orr Anderson and A. Ogilvie Anderson, p. 131; transl. Sharpe, p. 174).
[10] Asser, *Vita Aelfrdi regis*, ch. 89 (ed. W. Stevenson, (Oxford, 1904, rept. 1954) p. 75; transl. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, p. 100), ' . . . because he most conscientiously kept it to hand by day and by night'. The *handboc* is mentioned in chs. 24, 88 and 89.

quo diurnus cursus et psalmi quidam atque orationes quaedam, quas ille in iuventute sua legerat, scripti habebantur, imperavit, quod illud testimonium in eodem libello litteris mandarem'.[11] Asser further remarks that the *flosculos* ('little flowers') of the book were all mixed up, which means that they were written down as they were found interesting; that the book was compiled piecemeal as opposed to planned.[12] The content of the book therefore was determined by the needs and wants of Alfred and the resulting book expanded to the size of a psalter.[13]

The most important information that Asser gives us about the book is where it was used. Asser records, 'secum inseparabiliter, orationis gratia, inter omnia praesentis vitae curricula ubique circumducebat'.[14] While containing religious texts, Alfred used the book where and when the need arose; the *enchiridion* demonstrates the importance of devotion and religious meditation. The Ælfwine Prayer Book is another later and concrete example of this personal type of book as it was compiled around the needs of the abbot of New Minister, Ælfwine (d. 1057), as will be discussed below.

That many of the prayers in the Anglo-Saxon prayer books and psalters are devotional and that they are possibly personal can be deduced from the number of personal pronouns, first person singular verbs, and general appropriateness of the prayers in specific situations. A few of the prayers can be tied to certain times of the day such as the *Oratio matutina* (Royal Prayer Book, fol. 22v; Harleian Prayer

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[11] *Ibid.*, ch. 88 (ed. W. Stevenson, p. 73; transl. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, p. 99), ' . . . in which were written the day-time offices and some psalms and certain prayers which he had learned in his youth . . . '.

[12] 'Quos flosculos undecunque collectos a quibuslibet magistris discere et in corpore unius libelli, mixitim quamuis, sicut tunc suppetebat, redigere' ('These flowers collected here and there from various masters and to assemble them within the body of one little book (even though they were all mixed up) as the occasion demanded'), *Ibid.*, ch. 89 (ed. W. Stevenson, p. 75; transl. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, p. 100).

[13] *Ibid.*, ch. 89 (ed. Stevenson, p. 75; transl. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 100).

[14] '. . . amid all the affairs of the present life he took it around with him everywhere for the sake of prayer, and was inseparable from it', Asser, *Vita Aelfrdi regis*, ch. 24 (ed. Stevenson, p. 21; transl. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 75).

Book, fol. 2v; Book of Cerne 45r-v). The majority of the prayers in the four early books are not structured in a way to aid daily prayer at specific hours, nor tied to the liturgy.[15] It is difficult to tie prayers to the hours as no service books survive.[16] In Chapter 4, the concepts of 'personal', 'private', and 'public' devotion are explored further and demonstrates that the distinction between "private" and "public" prayer is nebulous.

Origins: Hiberno-Mercian devotional tradition

Northumbria has become synonymous with early Anglo-Saxon spirituality as influential monastic centres were located there (e.g. Lindisfarne, Wearmouth-Jarrow, Iona). The major extant artefacts of the Anglo-Saxon golden age such as the Lindisfarne Gospel book (London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. iv, s. viii$^{1/4}$) and Cuthbert's Cross, all originate in Northumbria as did the influential Anglo-Saxon theologian, Bede (d. 732). Surprisingly, then, the four early Anglo-Saxon prayer books, possibly the earliest surviving devotional prayer books in Europe, were produced south of the river Humber during the Mercian Hegemony (which coincides with the dates for the Insular period, c. 600–900). This is not to say, however, that the manuscripts are not based on earlier Northumbrian examples. That the only surviving examples of this type of prayer book (devotional as opposed to liturgical) are Mercian can be accounted for by destruction over time due to multiple factors or loss of popularity. It is less likely that this devotional

[15] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 284–5.
[16] S. Foot, *Monastic Life: in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 192.

type of prayer book was only produced in Mercia as three prayers found in the Book of Cerne (17, 46 and 47) are ascribed to a Northumbrian Alchfrið (c. 780).[17]

A prevailing theme in the study of these prayer books has been their Insular nature. The early monastic culture of Anglo-Saxon England was strongly intertwined with that of Ireland, to the extent that the style of the artwork from this period (c. 600–900 AD) is often referred to as Hiberno-Saxon or Insular. There are many similarities between these prayer books, particularly the Book of Cerne's evangelist miniatures and Irish illuminated manuscripts.[18] Irish influence was strong in Mercia, a fact which has been often overlooked.[19] The principal source for early Mercian spirituality is Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica,* in which the author demonstrates a Northumbrian bias.[20] A Northumbrian bias is also discernible in modern scholarship. When Dumville says of the Breviate Psalter in the Book of Cerne that 'it was without doubt a personal work which would have surely been more at home in eighth-century Northumbria than ninth-century Mercia', he is not taking into account direct Mercian connections with Ireland.[21] Northumbria need not have been the only stronghold of Anglo-Saxon culture. The early studies of these prayer books were affected by ethnographical examinations of the prayers,

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[17] Brown, *The Book of Cerne: Prayer, Patronage and Power in Ninth-Century England* (London, 1991), p. 141; Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin,* p. 102; Hughes 'Aspect of Early English Prayer', p. 59. The letter is printed in W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1947, repr. 1998), at pp. 295–302.

[18] See Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 87–103 and especially Brown, 'Echoes: the Book of Kells and Southern English Manuscript Production', in F. O'Mahony, ed., *The Book of Kells: Proceedings of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin, 1992* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 333–43.

[19] For evidence of material interaction between Mercia and Ireland, see E. Bhreathnach, 'Abbesses, Minor Dynasties and Kings' in M. Brown and C. Farr, eds., *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Leicester, 2002), pp. 113–25, pp. 124–5.

[20] Perhaps on account of recurring conflict between the kings of Northumbria and Mercia, particularly during the reign of Penda where the *hostiles Merciorum* reached as far as Bamburgh. In fact, the hostility between the two peoples was such that when the Mercian queen Osthryth wanted to bury Oswald at Bardney, the Mercian monks refused to allow his burial within their monastery and only an intervention from God changed their minds. Bede, *HE* III. 9 (ed. and transl. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1959; repr. 1991) pp. 240/3).

[21] D. Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama and Panegyric Responsory from the Eighth Century? A Re-examination of the Origin and Contents of the Ninth-Century Section of the Book of Cerne', *Journal of Theological Studies* (1972) 23, 374–406, at p. 396.

as discussed in Chapter 1, which saw the effusiveness of the prayers as a manifestation of a Celtic temperament.

Though Mercia converted to Christianity later than Northumbria, in Mercia, as in Northumbria, there appears to be a situation in which Irish-trained monks taught the Mercians. Bede describes the *omni Merciorum gente* ('whole Mercian race') as *idolis deditus et Christiani . . . nominis ignarus* ('idolaters and ignorant of the name of Christ') and as *pagana gente* ('pagan people') in the mid seventh century.[22] As in Kent, the Christian conversion of Mercia was born of a political marriage. Peada, the son of pagan Penda (d. 655), requested the hand of Ahlflæd, daughter of Oswiu (c. 653); as Bede records, 'inpetrare potuit, nisi fidem Christi ac baptisma cum gente, cui praeerat, acciperet'.[23] Peada was baptised by the Irish bishop Finan. Finan brought four priests back to Mercia with him – Adda, Betti, Cedd and Diuma – Diuma, who is described as *natione Scottus* ('an Irishman'), became the first Mercian bishop.[24] Diuma was succeeded by a line of Irish or Irish-educated bishops: Finn, Ceollach and Trumhere.[25] The picture Bede paints of Mercia is very similar to Northumbria, where there was a fusion of Irish and Anglo-Saxon culture, to the extent that they become difficult to differentiate and the broader term 'Insular culture' is preferred. Irish and Anglo-Saxon elements are hard to differentiate as is evident even in the names of scripts given by modern scholars such as Insular uncial. It is in this Irish-English milieu that the four early Anglo-Saxon prayer books were produced.

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[22] Bede, *HE* II.20 (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Maynor, p. 202/3).
[23] 'But his request was granted only on the condition that he and his nation accept the Christian faith and baptism', *Ibid.*, III.21 (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Maynor, p. 278/9). Bede similarly describes Cædwalla of Gwynedd, a British king.
[24] *Ibid.*, III.20, (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Maynor, p. 278/9). Previously Diuma had been bishop of the Middle Angles and, more significantly, of Lindisfarne.
[25] Bede, *HE* III.24 (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Maynor, pp. 292/3); also see *HE* III.21.

While these manuscripts were undoubtedly a product of a Hiberno-Mercian culture, scholars identify the texts of the prayers as Irish, based on the early twentieth century categorisation of 'Celtic' and 'Roman' prayers and are unspecific as to which quality of the prayers makes them Irish. In Brown's analysis of the Book of Cerne prayers, she lists several prayers in which scholars have detected Irish influence including Book of Cerne 16, 32, 67, 68, 72, and 74. However, these prayers have not yet been located in 'Irish' manuscripts.[26] Brown describes other prayers such as Book of Cerne nos. 14, 15, 17, as having, ' ... no affinity to the genuine parts of the earliest Roman liturgical books, but … a general affinity with material of Irish origin', but does not give criteria for Irish affinity.[27] This tendency to use the work of earlier scholars such as Kuypers without scrutinizing their cultural biases has led to an overestimation of 'Irish' influence on the manuscripts, sidelining a probable Anglo-Saxon contribution; however, separating Anglo-Saxon from Irish, is a methodological impracticality.

While not particularly scientific, scholars have attempted to formulate methodologies for isolating Irish qualities of a text, for example Bischoff's influential article *Wendepunkte*.[28] In this article Bischoff developed a system of Irish Symptoms (an *Irische Schriftprovinz*); these "symptoms" are not unproblematic. The term "Irish Symptom" is probably one of the most contentious terms in Hiberno-Saxon manuscript studies. When the term 'symptom' is replaced by 'influence', there is much less contention. What do we mean when we say Irish influence/symptoms? What is characteristic of Irish texts?

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[26] Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 137–8
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 136.
[28] 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Sacris Erudiri* 6 (1959), 189–279, this is translated in *Biblical Studies: the Medieval Irish Contribution* ed. M. McNamra (Dublin, 1976), pp. 74–160.

The ideological assumptions upon which such distinctions are based have been called into question as the concept of 'influence' is confused. Characteristics included the presence of the *tres lingua* (Hebrew, Latin and Greek); *locus tempus* and *persona*; *senus* vs. *Historia*; *non dificile* vs. *ní anse*; comparisons of animate and inanimate objects with the use of *more;* enumeration; *pauca* contained in the title. Here I will not go into the full counterarguments of Bischoff's article but I will note that current scholarship seems to be of the trend that while one or two characteristics do not make an Irish symptom, several seem to be highly indicative of an Irish origin. Stancliffe raised some caveats.[29] She established a criterion akin to Bischoff for determining whether Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 49 (s. x^{ex}) is of Irish origin.[30] Stancliffe's main criteria include:

1. Uses Latin phrases that are distinctly Celtic/Irish.[31]
2. Beliefs and practices that are peculiarly those of the Irish and Celtic Churches.
3. Evidence of the sources which the author used.

Even though quantifying the Irish influence in a text is problematic, it is still prevalent in scholarship and particularly in relation to Brown's analysis of the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books.

Charles Wright has defined Irish influence as:

[29] C. Stancliffe, 'Red, White and Blue Martyrdom', in *Ireland in Early Mediaeval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 21–46, at p. 21 n. 3.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–5.
[31] She particularly notes the use of *sinistralis* and *dextralis* for north and south and *princeps* is used in place of *abbas*

> . . . the direct or indirect transmission of specific themes and rhetorical formulations from Irish or Hiberno-Latin writing, not to an infusion of a transcendental Celtic spirit or *mentalité*. The simplest manifestation of such influence are Old English texts that translate or adapt passages from identifiable Irish sources, but many other Old English texts include material which can be identified as characteristically Irish in formulation and dissemination, even if the source cannot be traced to a specific Irish or Hiberno-Irish text.[32]

This is probably the best working definition of Irish influence on a text, but not one used by Brown or by earlier scholars who base their investigations on mentality. Best practice for finding an Irish influence on a text would be to isolate a distinctive and identifiable theology or spirituality within Irish prayers and religious text and see whether this is present in these Mercian examples; this, however, is outside the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient, therefore, to note that while not Irish, these prayer books come from a cultural heritage influenced by Irish monasticism. This is most strongly demonstrated in the decoration of the prayer books.

EARLY ANGLO-SAXON PRAYER BOOKS

This section describes the physical attributes of the manuscripts and briefly gives an overview of their contents.

The early prayer books: the manuscripts

[32] Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, p. 11.

Book of Nunnaminster (London, British Library, Harley 2965, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1} or ix^{1})[33]

Ker, no. 237; Alexander, no. 41; Gneuss, no. 432.

The Book of Nunnaminster is a prayer book of Mercian (Southumbrian) origin and is dated to s. viii^{ex}/ix^{1} or ix^{1}.[34] The manuscript measures 21.5 x 16 cm, commensurate with personal use. The text is written in Latin in an Insular hybrid minuscule.[35] The manuscript currently consists of 41 leaves, but is mutilated. Incomplete at the beginning, it opens with Passion extracts from the Gospel of Mark and continues with Passion extracts from Luke and John. The gospel readings are followed by a series of forty-seven prayers, notably a prayer cycle on the Ministry and Passion of Christ, the *Lorica of Laidcenn*, and an apocryphal prayer to St John. There are later additions to the manuscript on fols. 40v–41r. These include boundaries of the land in Winchester written in Old English (fol. 40v, s. ix/x) and two further confessional prayers which were added s. x^{1}.[36] The boundaries are written in Anglo-Saxon majuscule.[37] The manuscript is associated with Alfred's queen, Ealhswið (d. 909).[38] The book passed into the care of the Roscarrock family (emblem, fol. 37v), before passing to the collector Edward Harley, and was eventually acquired by the British Museum in 1753.[39] The prayer book is

[33] The manuscript is edited by W. de Gray Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century Formerly Belonging to St. Mary's Abbey or Nunnaminster, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society* (n. p., 1889); this edition with be referred to below when referring to as the Book of Nunnaminster.
[34] Gneuss, no. 432.
[35]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8827&CollID=8&NStart=2965 last accessed 27/02/2012.
[36] Ker, no. 237; Gneuss, no. 432.
[37] Ker, no. 237. Boundaries are Sawyer, S1560.
[38] Ker, no. 237.
[39]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8827&CollID=8&NStart=2965 last accessed 27/02/2012.

decorated with *litterae notabiliores* throughout and has four fine zoomorphic initials: fol. 4v (A) (fig. 2); fol. 16r (D) (fig. 3); fol. 11r (fig. 4), (H); 37v, (d) and(s).[40]

Royal Prayer Book (London, British Library, Royal 2 A. xx, s. viii^{2} or ix$^{1/4}$)[41]

Ker, no. 248; Alexander, no. 35; Gneuss, no. 450.

The Royal Prayer Book is a Mercian (Southumbrian) production, measuring 23.3 x 17 cm and consisting of ff. 52.[42] The manuscript has been dated s. viii^{2}.[43] During the tenth century, extensive marginalia was added in Worcester throughout the manuscript (s. x^{1}).[44] The final folio contains three charms copied in the twelfth century. The main prayers, in Latin, are written in an Insular hybrid minuscule.[45] The Royal Prayer Book contains a wide variety of other material including items associated with popular religion such as charms and apocryphal material such as the Letter to Christ.[46] The British Museum acquired the manuscript in 1757. The

[40]Alexander, Pls. 135, 137, 138, 139. Also see, L. Webster and J. Backhouse, eds. *The Making of England*: *Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600–900* (London, 1991), no. 164.
[41] A full edition of the Royal Prayer Book encompassing the glosses, marginalia, and eighth-century text is yet to be published. The entire eighth-century text of Royal Prayer Book has been edited in its entirety twice but as appendices to illuminate other texts such as the Book of Cerne and Antiphonary of Bangor, and the Book of Cerne edition is diplomatic: *Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. F. E. Warren, 2 vols., HBS 4 and 10 (London, 1983–5), II, pp. 97–112; *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop: Commonly Called the Book of Cerne,* ed. A. B. Kuypers (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 200–25.
[42] Ker also hypothesised that three leaves once contained in British Library, Cotton Otho A. viii might have belong to this prayer book. Ker, Catalogue, no. 169; Sims-Williams and Morrish disagree: Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 280; J. Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts Copied in England During the 9th Century: A Preliminary List', *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988), 512–38, p. 526.
[43] Ker, no. 248; Gneuss, no. 450.
[44] Ker, no. 248. These prayers are edited and localised in A. Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses', in *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. Brookes and C. Cubitt (Oxford, 1996), pp. 285–324, at pp. 331–8; J. Crowley, 'Latin Prayers Added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2. A. XX at the Beginnings of the Monastic Reform in Worchester', *Sacris Erudiri* 45 (2006), 223–303, pp. 255–92.
[45]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8821&CollID=16&NStart=20120 last accessed 27/02/2012.
[46] On this see C. Cain, 'Sacred Words Anglo-Saxon Piety, and the Origins of the Epistola salvatoris in London, British Library, Royal 2.A.xx', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 108 (2009), 168–

Royal Prayer Book is richly decorated: fol. 1r has an illuminated *Liber* decorated with gold and silver and fol. 17v contains a fine example of an animal cross bar (fig. 5).[47]

Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 10, c. 820 – 840)[48]

Ker, no. 27; Alexander, no. 41; Gneuss, no. 28.

The Book of Cerne is a prayer book which has a suspected provenance of Worcester and measures 23 x 18.4 cm.[49] The Book of Cerne has the largest number of folios (98) and the script of the manuscript is cursive minuscule.[50] While the prayer book is written in Latin, the prefatory *Exhortation to Prayer* is written in Old English and the *Lorica of Laidcenn* is glossed throughout in English.[51] Based on copying errors in the acrostic poem and the *Harrowing of Hell*, Dumville has hypothesised that this manuscript is a 'mere copy; moreover, the exemplar was itself probably not the original home of the acrostic and its associated pieces - the gospel-extracts, the hymns, the Breviate Psalter and the Harrowing of hell drama.[52] The Harrowing of Hell text is one of the earliest examples of liturgical drama, demonstrating the inventiveness of the Book of Cerne.[53] The Book of Cerne is the most elaborately decorated of the prayer books with four full-page evangelist miniatures in zoomorphic form, Matthew (fol. 2v); Mark, (fol. 12v); Luke, (fol. 21v);

89.
[47] Webster and Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England*, no. 163.
[48] The only edition of the Book of Cerne is that by A. B. Kuypers, *The Prayer Book of Aedeluald the Bishop: Commonly Called the Book of Cerne*, (Cambridge, 1902). Dumville has pointed to many inaccuracies in the edition, 'Liturgical Drama', pp. 399–400.
[49] Ker, no. 27; Alexander, no. 41; Gneuss, no. 28. Also see Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 18–21.
[50] *Ibid.*, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 18–21.
[51] *The Exhortation to Prayer* is an editorial title.
[52] Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama', p. 393.
[53] See M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 146–50.

and John, (fol. 31v); the manuscript also contains numerous illuminated letters, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. [54]

Harleian Prayer Book (London, British Library, Harley 7653, s. viii^{ex}/ix^{i})[55]

Ker, no. 244; Gneuss, no. 443.

The Harley or Harleian Prayer Book is made up of a single quire (ff. 7). It is of Mercian origin.[56] This prayer book measures 22.5 x 15 cm. The text is written in Anglo-Saxon majuscule in Latin with a few Old English glosses.[57] The prayer book opens imperfectly on a litany and continues with six prayers before ending abruptly. Decoration of the manuscript consists of *litterae notabiliores* such as those on fol. 2v.

Size of the manuscripts

Unlike the later tenth-century psalters, the size of the prayer books implies that they were for personal use since they are light and easily fit into the hand. In terms of size, the Irish Pocket Gospels are a good comparison for books of a personal use.[58] Though not strictly listed by McGurk as an Irish Pocket Gospel, the St Cuthbert Gospel of St John or Stoneyhurst Gospel book, recently bought by the

[54] Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 68–128.
[55] Harleian Prayer Book has only been edited as an auxiliary to Book of Nunnaminster and the Antiphonary of Bangor. As was previously said, early scholarship misrepresented supposed Irish elements in these prayer books. This issue is evident in Warren's suggestion that an Irish nun owned the Harleian Prayer Book. *Antiphonary of Bangor* II, ed. F. E. Warren, (London, 1883-5), pp. 83–97; *An Ancient Manuscript of Eighth or Ninth Cenuty: Formerly Belonging to Mary's Abbey or Nunnaminster, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society,* ed. W. de Gray Birch*,* pp. 101–13.
[56] Ker, no. 244; Gneuss, no. 443.
[57]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7731&CollID=8&NStart=7653 last accessed 27/02/2012
[58] On these Gospel books see P. McGurk 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book', *Sacris Eudiri* 8 (1956), 249-69, repr. and cited in his *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1998), no. I.

British Library (Add 89000, Wearmouth/Jarrow (c. 698)) is a good comparsion for size.[59] The Gospel book is associated with St Cuthbert (d. 687), supposedly personally owned by him. The St Cuthbert Gospel of John is 13.5 x 9 cm and was buried in his coffin. Whether actually owned by Cuthbert or not, such a small book is only suitable for individual use.

Latinity

The main language of the early prayer books is Latin and Old English glosses are only added by later scribes, perhaps indicating a decreased Latinity. Vernacular prayers are generally far more prevalent in the later prayer books (such as Galba-Nero Prayer Book). Sims-Williams hypothesised that these early Insular prayer books represented a 'specifically English or at least Insular innovation intended to meet the needs of people for whom Latin was a foreign language, and who could not pray spontaneously as the Fathers had urged'.[60] This is not to assume that the users of the prayer books were badly educated which might be implied by a higher level of glossing.

Bede, in his letter to Egbert, Bishop of York (d. 766), prescribes translated prayers for those without adequate Latin. Bede also includes his own translations of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer for Egbert; these have not survived.[61] There are no Old English prayers in the early prayer books and only two Old English texts (Cerne's *The Exhortation to Prayer* and Nunnaminster's land grant) but two have been augmented by later glossing (principally in the Royal Prayer Book, scattered

[59] This manuscript has also been digitised by the British Library and is viewable online http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=add_ms_89000 last accessed 02/May/2012.
[60] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 277.
[61] *Letter of Bede to Egbert, archbishop of York (5 November 734)*, in *English Historical Documents: c. 500–1042*, vol. 1, ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1979), pp. 799–810.

instances in the Book of Cerne (fol. 57v and the *Lorica of Laidcenn*). That prayers are written in Latin with no gloss would indicate that these books were used by people with a higher standard of learning than the later user of a manuscript like the Royal Prayer Book, or as we will see later in the chapter, users of the prayer psalters. Fol. 1r of the Harleian Prayer Book has two glosses: *nærfr*e and *abbod*. Comparatively, the Royal Prayer Book was extensively glossed and rubricated during the tenth century with Old English as each of the letter sections of the Abecedarian is rubricated with a line indicating what the prayer is about. The use of these rubrics as devotional aids is discussed in Chapter 3.

Decoration

The decoration of the prayer books implies that these are high status productions, the Book of Nunnaminter and Book of Cerne in particular. [62] Michelle Brown places the prayer books in the "Tiberius Group" because of their decoration. This group is named after the opening initial of the Tiberius Bede (British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C. Ii, s. ix[1]), which is a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[63] The Tiberius Group is stylistically Hiberno-Saxon (other examples of which would be the Book of Kells (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS A. I. 58, c. 800) or Lindisfarne Gospel Book). While many of the later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing private prayer have full-page miniatures (Winchcombe Psalter, Arundel 155 Psalter, Ælfwine Prayer Book), of the four early prayer books, only the Book of

[62] See Alexander's entries on the manuscripts in his catalogue for the many correspondences between the decoration of Cerne and other Insular manuscripts. Also Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, especially pp. 68–128, and 'Mercian Manuscripts? The 'Tiberius' Group and its Historical Context', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Leicester, 2002), eds. M. Brown and C. Farr, pp. 278–291.
[63] Brown lists the members of this group, 'Mercian Manuscripts?', p. 282.

Cerne has full-page miniatures. All four prayer books nonetheless contain numerous instances of *litterae notabiliores*, major and minor initials.[64]

The Royal Prayer Book possesses a single zoomorphic initial on fol. 17v which is an *IN* initial (fig. 5), signalling the beginning of a prayer. Royal also contains on fol. 1r the word *Liber* illuminated with gold and silver. The decorated *Liber* is a common convention in Insular artwork and often marks Matt. I.18 (the beginning of Christ's human genealogy).[65] The Book of Nunnaminster contains three zoomorphic initials and one major initial. The A (fol. 4v) and H (fol. 11r) both mark the beginning of a new gospel section; a zoomorphic D (fol. 16v) marks the beginning of the *Oratio sancti Geogorius Papae Urbis in Romae* (Plates 2–4). The Book of Cerne has many decorated initials.[66]

There are four evangelist miniatures in the Book of Cerne: Matthew (fol. 2v); Mark (fol. 12v), Luke (fol. 21v), John (fol. 31v).[67] Each miniature contains two images of the evangelist: the human evangelist in a circle below and in an arch above the respective symbol of the evangelist (human, lion, bull, eagle).[68] Each of the four symbols represents an aspect of Christ, namely his humanity, divinity, priesthood, and Resurrection.[69]

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[64] Harleian Prayer Book minor/major initials: fols. 2v; 4r; 4v; 6v; 7r; 7v.
[65] On the *Liber initial see* J. O'Reilly, 'Gospel Harmony and the Name of Christ: Insular Images of a Patristic Theme', in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, eds., J. Sharpe and K. Van Kampen, (London, 1998), pp. 73–88.
[66] Book of Cerne zoomorphic elements are discussed by Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 115–22.
[67] The Cerne Evangelist miniatures are discussed in detail by Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 73–14. The analysis of the Insular depictions of the four evangelist is again vast but especially see J. O'Reilly, 'The Art of Authority' in *After Rome*, ed. T. Charles-Edwards (Oxford, 2003), pp. 141–90, at pp. 168–73.
[68] See Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pls. II(a); III(a); I(a); IV(a).
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 103–109; See chapter 4 in the context of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te cruce' prayer.

Dating and thematic development

There is no critical consensus on the chronology of the prayer books other than that the Book of Cerne is the latest. The texts are not useful for dating the manuscripts as the texts can substantially predate the manuscripts: Cerne 70, for example is found in the seventh-century Antiphonary of Bangor. The Book of Cerne is dated c. 818–30.[70] The name Aedeluald Episcopus is found in Cerne's acrostic (fol. 21r) and he is thought to be the Mercian bishop, Aedelwaldus of Lichfield (d. 830).[71] Paleographical evidence dates the manuscript to the early ninth century but the inclusion of the name Aedeluald Episcopus in the acrostic poem is used by Brown and others to give specificity to the date.[72] The inclusion of this name means that the *terminus a quem* can be established as 818. The dates for the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book and Harleian Prayer Book cannot be pinpointed by the same method.

Brown concludes that the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster represent an equally intermediate stage.[73] On the other hand, Sims-Williams dates Royal as earlier than Nunnaminster.[74] Jennifer Morrish also supposes that the Royal Prayer Book is later than Nunnaminster.[75] Morrish has ordered the early prayer books in terms of "evolution". She has argued that Book of Nunnaminster is earlier than Royal Prayer Book, and both Nunnaminster and Royal are earlier than Cerne, as she views them as "less developed" in terms of their content and their

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–9; Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts', pp. 517–8.
[71] Ker, no. 27.
[72] Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 182–4; 131–6.
[73] *Ibid.,* p. 153.
[74] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Litreature*, p. 275.
[75] Morrish, 'An Examination of Literacy and Learning', p. 213; *Ibid.*, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts', pp. 517–21.

"controlling theme" than Cerne.[76] There is no absolute method of telling whether Nunnaminster or Royal is older. The close dating of Nunnaminster and Royal will become an important issue in the discussion of the Royal Abecedarian in Chapter 3.

Morrish and Brown predicate this perceived development on how sophisticated they deem the "theme" of the prayer book. Morrish and Brown extrapolated a theme for three of the prayer books (based on gospel readings and certain prayers) around which compilers allegedly chose the texts.[77] While it is less likely that these prayer books were put together arbitrarily, the selections do not adhere rigidly to the themes put forward by Morrish and Brown.

For Morrish, items in the Book of Cerne,

> . . . illustrate the theme that God the Father and the Son are the defence of sinners in this life and their salvation, should they seek it, for the world to come. Texts in Royal 2. A. xx play on the image that equates the members of the Godhead with the physician or *medicus* of man, for whom corporeal disease is the emblem of his sinful nature. By contrast, texts in the 'Book of Nunnaminster' lack strict organization, for while many of them relate to a theme of thanksgiving for Christ's Passion, others occur which are extraneous to the central idea, repetitive, or out of logical order.[78]

Morrish unfortunately does not establish or demonstrate the order that she sees in the Book of Cerne and Royal but concludes that this perceived organization in the Book of Cerne and Royal Prayer Book makes these prayer books a more developed

[76] Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, p. 21.
[77] As little of Harleian Prayer Book survives, it is impossible to discern a theme, particularly given the range of prayers extant (H1-7).
[78] Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts', p. 519.

product than what she sees as the disorganization of the Book of Nunnaminster.[79] The fragility of suggesting a "controlling theme" is demonstrated by three separate (modern) scholars perceiving three different themes around which the Book of Cerne might have been compiled. Brown considers the theme of Book of Cerne to be a 'meditation' on the *communio sanctorum* – the communion of saints - where the *communio* is defined as 'the spiritual union existing between each Christian and Christ, and so between each Christian, whether in Heaven (the Church Triumphant), in Purgatory (the Church Expectant), or on Earth (the Church Militant)'.[80] Muir has viewed the Book of Cerne's theme as the Passion of Christ.

Connecting themes to the prayer books is nebulous as separate scholars assign different themes to the prayer books and each view is defendable. The perceived theme is somewhat in the eye of the beholder. Morrish has theorised that the theme of the Royal Prayer Book is Christ as *medicus* because there is a description of Christ as a doctor-healer in its text.[81] There are also two charms in the prayer book that could have been used for healing. Morrish draws mainly upon the 'S' unit from the Royal Abecedarian (fols. 35v – 36r) that corresponds to the Book of Nunnaminster prayer *De latere domini* (fols. 30r-v). In this prayer, it is less that Christ is healer but more that the blood of Christ has medicinal properties.

Brown has extended Morrish's argument by combining Morrish's view with evidence from the manuscript supporting female ownership to hypothesise that a

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 519.
[80] Brown, *The Book of Cerne,* pp. 129; 147–51.
[81] 'Now the extracts from the gospels in Royal 2 A. xx, unlike those in the 'Book of Cerne' and the 'Book of Nunnaminster' which focus on Christ's Passion, concentrate upon Christ curing the sick. Prayers in the Royal manuscript regularly compare Christ to the sinner's doctor. One of the most explicit expressions of the metaphor occurs in a long abecedarial prayer in the section beginning with S . . .', Morrish, 'Dated and Datable Manuscripts', p. 520.

female physician owned the Royal Prayer Book.[82] Seven of the twenty-four gospel selections in the Royal Prayer Book pertain to Christ's healing miracles. It also has selections from the opening chapters of each gospel: the Matthew extract highlighting Christ's human descent; Mark and Luke pertaining to John the Baptist and John to the realisation of the Word. Other selections seek to stress that Christ has come to bring salvation. Three further selections concern Christ's ascension. While the theme could be seen as Christ as *medicus*, the theme could equally be Christ as *salvator*, as Christ healed the sins of the blind man and the paralyzed man, bringing the sinners salvation. The only direct reference in the Royal Prayer Book prayers to Christ as healer is in the 'S' prayer. References to Christ and blood and healing in the Abecedarian are in the context of the Passion, what Christ suffered and how this aids the supplicant and are not directly related to Christ as *medicus*.

In terms of the remaining prayers in the Royal Prayer Book, there are no direct references to Christ as healer though in a tenuous sense Christ is always a healer in that he heals the breach between God and man; this theme is common to all the prayer books.[83] However, there are charms in the prayer book that may have had medico-magic uses. The prayer beginning 'Obsecro te Ihesus Christi filius dei uiui per crucem tuam' (fol. 45v) seeks protection for different parts of the body by invoking Christ on the cross. Beronice, the woman whom Christ healed, is mentioned in a prayer to stop bleeding (fols. 49r-v). So, the evidence for the theme of Christ as *medicus* is found in two charms, a few Gospel extracts about Christ's

[82] M. Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks', in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Papers in Honour* of *Jane Roberts*, eds. C. Kay and L. Sylvester, (Amsterdam, 2001), pp. 45–68, pp. 56–7 at p. 57. Sims-Williams also states that, '. . . although the masculine gender is used in R, the prominence of charms to ease bleeding that refer to Christ's healing of Beronice (the woman afflicted by the flux of blood) suggests that some of its material was drawn from a compilation made for female use. A double monastery would be an obvious context . . . ', *Religion and Literature*, pp. 282–3.

[83] D. Pratt draws on Morrish's definition of Christ as *medicus* in his analysis of King Alfred's illness, 'The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 30 (2001), 39–90 at p. 65. Also see P. Kershaw, 'Illness, Power and Prayer in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*', *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001), 201–24.

ministry and one prayer which directly references Christ as *medicus* – the same prayer which is found in the Book of Nunnaminster. The Book of Nunnaminster has as many medicinal charms as the Royal Prayer Book (N65–8), and Christ's wounds healing the supplicant is also a theme of the prayer *De latere domini*; does it then follow that the theme of Nunnaminster is also Christ as *medicus*?

Morrish and Brown disagree on the perceived thematic structure of the Book of Cerne, though Brown allows for more than one reading of the theme.[84] Morrish sees the central thematic structure as the Godhead being a defender against sin and the means of salvation while Brown sees the thread as *communio sanctorum*, with ' . . . the prayers of the user serving to invoke the intercession of all the faithful on his behalf and in turn contributing to the common good of all'. Muir, in turn, has argued for the theme as Passion and Resurrection of Christ.[85] Again, these are rather general themes and applicable to all three prayer books; the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster both have multiple prayers seeking intercession through Mary and the saints.

If the *communio sanctorum* is seen as the 'theme' of the Book of Cerne, then there is more concrete evidence for the theme of the Book of Nunnaminster as the Life of Christ as it is compiled mainly from prayers about the birth, ministry, Passion and Resurrection of Christ. The Prayers in Book of Nunnaminster have a definite interest in the Life of Christ. There are prayers pertaining to his birth (*Oratio de natale domini* fol. 20r-v), ministry (the miracle at Cana – *De aqua in uinum conuersa* fol. 23r), Passion, harrowing, resurrection and ascension; overall

[84] 'I shall suggest that the central theme (although not the exclusive one) of the Book of Cerne focuses upon the *communio sanctorum*, emphasizing the role of Christ as its head, the participation of the individual within this communion and its function as a vehicle of salvation', Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, p. 109. On how Brown sees the Book of Cerne in light of the *communio sanctorum* see *ibid.,* pp. 148–51.
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

forty-eight of the sixty-eight prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster relate to these events.

As Morrish sees the Royal Prayer Book as compiled around the theme of Christ as *medicus* and in Nunnaminster she perceives no theme, she therefore views the Royal Prayer Book as a more "developed" prayer book than the Book of Nunnaminster. Despite Morrish's aspersions on the Book of Nunnaminster's disorganisation, the compiler seems to have held an express interest in the Ministry, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ.[86] Raw believes the line 'Deus formator reformatorque humanae naturae qui incondidisti, qui caelum extendisti' (N7), anchors the focus of the prayer series on God incarnate.[87] Certainly, a prayer book centred on Christ as *medicus* would be more nuanced than a prayer book based on no theme or a more straightforward concept such as the life of Christ. However, having worked with both the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster, it is evident that there is a clear sense of order within the Book of Nunnaminster. The Book of Nunnaminster fols. 1v–30r (gospel extracts and prayers) are concerned with the birth, Passion and Resurrection of Christ and the remaining third of the manuscript is more heterogeneous. The compiler's interest lies in Christ's life. On the other hand, I have found the Royal Prayer Book much harder to decode. The contents are far more eclectic than the Book of Nunnaminster and if the theme of the prayer book is Christ as *medicus*, it is not obvious. In Nunnaminster, the first 33 folios centre upon a specific theme. This is followed by twelve prayers (predominantly dedicated to the saints) and then is again followed by a series of healing prayers. In the Royal Prayer Book there are

[86] Brown describes the Book of Nunnaminster theme as 'less symbolic and metaphorical' than the Book of Cerne or Royal Prayer Book, *ibid.*, p. 154.
[87] Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 59.

various gospel readings, followed by the Apostles Creed, which is then followed by a mixture of prayers (multiple to the saints, two charms, and three abecedarian texts). How to use the manuscript is not obvious. It is difficult to perceive a theme in the Royal Prayer Book, unless someone is looking for one. Scholars cannot agree on a theme for the Book of Cerne and each scholar sees a separate theme. It is possible that the prayer books are not actually compiled around themes and the need to order or find reason for the presentation of the text is simply a feature of modern scholarship.

The contents of the early prayer books

This section gives a brief overview of the more notable contents of the early prayer books that are not discussed later on in the thesis, to demonstrate their scope. The Book of Cerne contains a wider range of elements than the Book of Nunnaminster and Royal Prayer Book. It stands out as more formalised type of prayer book than Book of Nunnaminster and Royal Prayer Book. Since only a small sample of Insular prayer books survive, it is difficult to hypothesise what the components of a typical ninth-century Anglo-Saxon prayer book consisted of, even if such a thing existed. However, we can make some observations on what the manuscripts share.

The Book of Cerne is also the only one of the Insular prayer books with prefatory material, beginning with an Old English passage known as *The Exhortation to Prayer* (fol. 2r).[88] I have been unable to view the manuscript and scholars are undecided whether this text is an addition or contemporaneous.[89] The

[88] *The Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, p. 3. *The Exhortation to Prayer* is not an item numbered by Kuypers. Translation provided by Kuypers is that of H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (EETS 1885, OS 83), p. 174.
[89] Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 129–30; Ker, no. 27.

macaronic text is the only Old English text in the four early prayer books (not including glosses). The prefatory directions give the book's user instructions on how to use the prayers: [90]

7 ðe georne gebide gece 7 miltse fore alra his haligra gewyrhtum 7 ge earningum 7 boenum b . . . num ða ðe *domino deo* gelicedon from fruman middangeardes . ðonne gehereð he ðec ðorh hiora ðingunge . Do ðonne fiorðan siðe ðin hleor ðriga to iorðan . fore alle godes cirican . 7 sing ðas fers . *Domini est salus saluum fac populum tuum domine praetende misericordiam tuam* sing ðonne *Pater noster* gebide ðonne fore alle geleaffulle menn *In mundo* ðonne bistu ðone deg dælniomende ðorh dryhtnes gefe alra ðeara goda ðe ænig monn for his noman gedoeð 7 ðec alle soðfeste foreðingiað . *in caelo et in terra* . Amen	. . . and earnestly pray for assistance and mercy for all his holy Saints' deeds and deserts and prayers concerning the men who to the *Domino Deo* have been well-pleasing from the beginning of the world; then will He hear thee through their intercession. Put then for the fourth time thy face thrice to the earth before all God's Church, and sing this verse: *Domini est salus, saluum fac populum tuum domine praetende misericordiam tuam*. Then sing the *Pater noster*. Pray then for all true men *in mundo.* Then shalt thou be that day partaker through the Lord's grace of all those good things that any man for His Name's sake doeth. And for thee all true men shall intercede in *caelo et in terra*. Amen.

The Ælfwine Prayer Book has a similarly instructive text with directions for prayer also written in Old English (Günzel, no. 46). These instructive texts may have been

[90] *The Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, p. 3. Translation provided by Kuypers is that of H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts* (EETS 1885, OS 83), p. 174.

composed in Old English as opposed to Latin so that the reader could understand the instructions. The surviving passage of *The Exhortation to Prayer* begins by directing the supplicant to plead his case with saints, the saints in turn intercede on behalf of the supplicant with the Godhead; God then hears the pleas of the supplicant through the saints. The supplicant is then told to sing Ps. XXVII, for the fourth time, before all of God's church. This could imply that the Book of Cerne is a prayer book less inclined towards personal use than the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book or Harleian Prayer Book. If *The Exhortation to Prayer* is meant to be directions for the prayer book, then the surviving element suggests that the text is part of a ritual since the Exhortation calls 'for the fourth time'.

Ker describes *The Exhortation to Prayer* as an addition to the manuscript (s. ix in.) but follows this by saying that the hand of the text is the main hand. Brown does not question the inclusion or dating of *The Exhortation to Prayer* as she views it as part of the original manuscript and integral to interpretation of the theme of the prayer book as *Communio sanctorum* and therefore contemporary with the rest of the manuscript.[91] If contemporary, the date of the manuscript would make the text an especially early manuscript example of Old English text, as the majority of prose and poetry extant are in tenth-century manuscripts; these prayer texts are pre-Alfredian. If the text is concurrent with the original compilation of the manuscript then this makes Cerne the only early prayer book with a contemporaneous vernacular text and the only early prayer book with an 'instructive' text.

The first leaf of the Book of Cerne is missing and therefore the beginning of *The Exhortation to Prayer* is incomplete and the purpose of the text is open to

[91] Ker, no. 27; Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 146–51.

conjecture. Was it direct instruction on how to use the prayers in the prayer book? Does the text even pertain to the prayer book? Is this the only Old English text in the prayer book because the compiler wanted to make sure that the text was understood? Is it nothing to do with the use of the manuscript and was it simply added to a blank page meant for something else, perhaps another miniature? Contextually, the inclusion of *The Exhortation to Prayer* is strange; given that it would be an especially early Old English text and that it would be the only early prayer book with an Old English text.

The decoration of the Book of Cerne has more in common with the Irish Pocket Gospel books than with the other Insular prayer books as it includes miniatures of the four evangelists analogous with Irish manuscripts. Unlike the other three books, the Book of Cerne also contains an abbreviate psalter and Harrowing of Hell tract which is recognised as one of the earliest known examples of liturgical drama.[92] The Book of Cerne, therefore, is constructed differently than the other three prayer books as it contains different types of texts.

The Book of Nunnaminster and the Royal Prayer Book begin with gospel texts and gospel extracts immediately follow *The Exhortation to Prayer* in the Book of Cerne. The Harleian Prayer Book begins with a litany (fol. 1r), but because of its now fragmentary state, it is possible that it too once began with gospel texts. The gospel texts chosen by the Book of Nunnaminster and Cerne compilers are similar. In the case of Book of Nunnaminster, the gospel accounts relate to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. Given that three of the evangelists' accounts of the Passion and Resurrection are present in the Book of Nunnaminster and that the

[92] On the Breviate Psalter see Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 143–5. On the Harrowing of Hell text see Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 146–50; Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, pp. 145–6; Dumville, 'Liturgical Drama', pp. 374–88.

manuscript opens abruptly on Mark XIV.61, it is likely that the manuscript would once have contained the extracts from the Gospel of Matthew pertaining to the same gospel events. The Book of Cerne includes the same gospel extracts as they pertain to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. The Royal Prayer Book contains a selection of different gospel readings. The opening of the prayer book on Matt. I.18 is reminiscent of the larger illuminated gospel books such as the Lindisfarne Gospel book, as the opening word *Liber* is decorated in silver. The gospel readings in the Royal Prayer Book are shorter selections than those in Book of Nunnaminster and Book of Cerne, implying that they are not perhaps meant as full readings.

Loricae-style prayers are a feature of the prayer books. The *loricae* illustrate the role of the Bible as prototypical for prayer since Dan. III.52-90 is the archetype for the *lorica* genre of prayer.[93] The *Lorica of Laidcenn* is found in the Book of Cerne (Cerne 4) and Book of Nunnaminster (N66).[94] The prayer calls for protection for every part of the body. The *loricae* describe a spiritual battle, with the forces of God protecting the supplicant against the forces of the devil (Eph. VI. 11-7). The Book of Nunnaminster also contains what Morrish terms a *lorica* "style" prayer composed by the Welsh monk Moucan (fols. 42 r – v).[95] The *Lorica of Laidcenn* is dated c. 661 by Michael Herren, though the witnesses are later; in the Book of Cerne and Book of Nunnaminster, the *lorica* represents an 'English' as opposed to

[93] M. Herren, *The Hisperica Famina II: Related Poems* (Toronto, 1987), p. 25. The Book of Daniel records a hymn of thanks to Yahweh for his protection of three children consigned to the flames on the command of King Nabuchodonosor, as the children refused to worship a gold statue; the children were unhurt as Yahweh sent one of His angels to protect them and so began a hymn of thanks to Yahweh for their protection (this is also a popular theme on Irish High Crosses). Other biblical *loricae* are seen in Thess. V.8; Eph. VI.11-18; Is. LIX, 16-19.
[94] *Book of Cerne*, ed. Kuypers, pp. 84–8.
[95] Morrish, 'An Examination of Literacy and Learning in England in the Ninth Century', p. 205; Hughes, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence', pp. 58–61.

'Irish' tradition of the prayer; Herren argues that there is a separated Anglo-Saxon and Irish tradition of the *lorica*, both stemming from a common source.[96]

Kathleen Hughes has said that the *loricae* have magical properties and has connected them to exorcism (i.e. expelling devils from people).[97] It is quite possible that the prayer is connected to spiritual health as in the Book of Nunnaminster the prayer is found between prayers for physical health: counteracting venom (*Conta ueneum*) (N65) and curing eyes (*Pro dolore oculorum*) (N67). The wider tradition does connect the *Lorica of Laidcenn* to health as the text is found in *Bald's Leechbook* (London, British Library, Royal 12, D xvii, s. x^{med}).[98] There was a fine line in Anglo-Saxon England between medicine, magic and the performance of Christianity.[99] This relationship is demonstrated most obviously by the contents of Anglo-Saxon medical collections such as *Bald's Leechbook* and the *Lacnunga* (London, British Library, Harley 585, s. $x^{ex}/xi^{1/4}$). These manuscripts contain prayers, charms and medical instructions, demonstrating the importance of prayer as part of Anglo-Saxon health care. Pratt has even stated 'The transition from leechbook to prayerbook would have been particularly smooth and seamless'; however, the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Harleian Prayer Book and the Book of Cerne pre-date *Bald's Leechbook*.[100]

The Book of Cerne is comparatively a more formalised book than Nunnaminster, Royal or Harleian Prayer Books. The decoration of the Book of Cerne has more in common with the Irish pocket gospel group than the other

[96] *Ibid.*, p. 56.
[97] *Ibid.,* pp. 52–3.
[98] See *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585*, ed. E. Pettit; *Bald's Leechbook (British Museum Royal manuscript 12 D. xvii)*, ed. C. E. Wright; *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. O. Cockayne.
[99] M. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 130–58. Cameron concludes that 'magical remedies were most commonly prescribed for conditions which were intractable to rational treatments; this implies that they were resorted to for conditions where rational remedies had proved ineffective', p. 130.
[100] Pratt, 'The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great', p. 64.

Anglo-Saxon prayer books and unlike the other prayer books has prefatory material. The Book of Cerne also contains the Harrowing of Hell and a Breviate Psalter.

Female literacy in the Insular prayer books

The Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book and Harleian Prayer Book all contain evidence of possible female ownership or at least anticipated female use. Connecting the early prayer books to female literacy is an attractive prospect; however, the association with women is somewhat over-stated. Female literacy during the Anglo-Saxon period was more common than might be expected since many Latin texts such as Aldhelm's *Carmina de virginitate* were written for women (nuns of Barking Abbey) and other texts such as eighth-century letters between Egburga and Winfred, Eangyth, Bugga and Boniface, demonstrate the literary accomplishments of nuns.[101] Their depth of learning is seen in a letter between Eangyth and Boniface, as Eangyth includes her own composition, a verse in accordance with the 'rules of poetic art' that she had studied.[102] There is evidence of female literacy in both Latin and the vernacular.[103] Female convents on the continent produced books (the nunneries of Chelles and Jouarre). It is eminently possible that nunneries in Anglo-Saxon England could have also produced their own manuscripts.[104]

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[101] The *Carmina virginitate* is translated by M. Lapidge and J. Rosier in *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Cambridge, 1985).
[102] E. Emerton, transl., *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York, 1976), VI. 14 (pp. 14–17).
[103] P. Sims-Williams, 'Cuthswith, Seventh-Century Abbess of Inkberrow, near Worcester and the Wurzberg Manuscript of Jermone on Ecclesiastes', *ASE* 5 (1976), 1–21, at pp. 1–2. The manuscript bears the simple inscription: 'Cuthsuuithae. Boec. Thaerae abbatissan'.
[104] Bede, *HE* III.8 demonstrates the close relationship between Anglo-Saxon and Continental convents. On the possibility of nuns' scriptoria in England see R. McKitterick, 'Nuns' Scriptoria in England and Francia in the Eighth Century', *Francia* 19 (1989), 1–35, in R. McKitterick *Books, Scribes and Learning in the Frankish Kingdoms, 6th-9th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994), Essay VII, especially pp. 25–7. Also see P. Sims-Williams, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery', *ASE* 4

The only example of a prayer written for a female voice in the Book of Cerne is prayer 41, which is also contained in the Book of Nunnaminster (N21), but in Nunnaminster the prayer is found in the masculine form. Since this is the only prayer in Cerne written in the feminine form, it is most likely that the gender of the prayer is a product of a mechanical copying error by the scribe.[105] The implication of the scribe's mistake is more interesting than the error, as it infers that prayers were written down, and in circulation, for female readers. How the other manuscripts came to possess evidence of female use is open to conjecture. Some prayers may have been copied mechanically and therefore have the wrong endings; the women could have changed the endings themselves; or the manuscripts could have been compiled or patronised by nuns. The answer to all these questions is of course open.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was accepted that the Harleian Prayer Book might have been written for a (Irish) nun.[106] The Harleian Prayer Book is fragmented and now opens with a litany (fol. 1r-v). This litany contains a high number of female virgin saints (twenty one of thirty six), which would be of special interest to Anglo-Saxon nuns as these female saints were the models upon which they based their lives. Since the litany is fragmentary, it is possible that only the "virgins" portion survives but the litany contains the line, 'ut pro me dei famula oretis' (fol. 1r) which anticipates female recitation of the litany; the penultimate prayer in the Harleian Prayer Book (H6) contains the phrase

(1975), 1–10. On the Nunnaminster scriptoria see M. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the *Chronicle*, Laws and Sedulius and historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *ASE* 5 (1976), 149–71 and P. Robinson, 'A Twelfth-Century Scriptrix from Nunnaminster' in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, eds. P. Robinson and R. Zivkah (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 74–93.

[105] Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership', p. 57.

[106] *Antiphonary of Bangor* II, ed. F. E. Warren, p. 87, an 'Irish lady, probably a nun'.

famula tue. *Tuum* as opposed to *tue* is, however, the form used in the rest of the manuscript.[107]

The most interesting case of female 'ownership' is the Book of Nunnaminster, which is associated with Queen Ealhswið. This attribution comes quite late in the life of the manuscript as fol. 40v contains a declaration in Old English about the boundaries of the convent that names Ealhswið as the founder of Nunnaminster (St Mary's Abbey).[108] Brown has suggested that the prayer book could have been given to the Abbey as part of its foundation.[109] While the note on the land grant has been taken as evidence to associate the book with possible ownership of Ealhswið, it is more likely evidence for the provenance of the manuscript at St Mary's Abbey. Otherwise, there is no further evidence that Ealhswið owned the manuscript. There are, however, vague indications that the book was originally intended for a woman, since feminine endings are used throughout the book. In the Book of Nunnaminster, apart from the later addition on fols. 41r-v, there are only two examples of endings that feminize the noun, *inconcusam* (fol. 23v) and *peccatrici* (fol. 25v).[110] De Gray Birch argued that the *Oratio de natale domini* (fols. 20r-v) could especially be used to prove that this book was compiled for an abbess, but unhelpfully does not say why he thinks so.[111]

Evidence for female ownership or usage of the Royal Prayer Book is far more tenuous as use by a female is surmised from the presence of three healing stories involving women and the mention of Beronice. Brown hypothesised that a female physician may have owned the manuscript:

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[107] Ker, 244; Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production', p. 58.
[108] See S. Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 2000), vol. 2, pp. 243–52.
[109] Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production', p. 54.
[110] See De Grey, *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century*, pp. 15–7 for a list of gender specific words used in the Book of Nunnaminster and for an early analysis of female "ownership". Also see see Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production', p. 56.
[111] *Antiphonary of Bangor* II, ed. F. E. Warren, p. 83.

> A specific concern with hemorrhage (or perhaps the problems of menstruation or conception) is displayed by the inclusion of the Gospel extract relating to the women with the flow of blood (fol. 9r), and of charm-like prayers against bleeding, two within the text (ff. 16v and 49r) and one added in a twelfth century-hand on a flyleaf (fol. 52v) . . . The interest apparent in the section of the texts in the Royal Prayerbook have led to the suggestion that it might have functioned as a devotional, and practical, tool for a physician. The inclusion of material relating to women, and the preoccupation with bleeding, might even imply that our hypothetical doctor was a woman. It is possible that it was used by a male physician whose patients included women, but the concept of ownership by a female physician is not untenable: monasteries counted physicians amongst their inhabitants, presumably nunneries did too.[112]

The only other indication of female – or more accurately, familia-ownership is on fol. 13v where an inscription reads: 'maere Berhtelm and Ælfwynne and Brynhild his dohtor'.[113]

Most of the evidence for female ownership and anticipated use in the prayer books is circumstantial. The grammatical endings could be deliberate but, due to the proclivity of the scribes, they could also be mechanical errors.

Textual interrelationship

It is impossible to discern any firm line of development from Royal Prayer Book, Book of Nunnaminster or Harleian Prayer Book to the Book of Cerne, given that

[112] Brown, 'Female Book-Ownership and Production', p. 57.
[113] These names cannot be read with the naked eye; on their inclusion see *ibid.*, p. 52, where she reminds us the names could equally be benefactors as opposed to users or owners of the prayer book.

there is such a wide range of texts, and only a small amount of overlap (see Table 2. 1). It is even harder to hypothesise what the archetypes were – even if there was a single archetype – considering that while the manuscripts are datable to the late eighth and ninth centuries, their texts can be dated much earlier.[114] One theory on how these manuscripts were transmitted is drawn from the Harleian Prayer Book, now preserved as a single quire. The Harleian Prayer Book is much clearer to read than the Book of Nunnaminster or Royal Prayer Book; the prayers and words are well spaced (an average of five words to a line) and the script is clear. The manuscript begins with an incomplete litany and only contains seven prayers. The *Making of England* catalogue raises the possibility that the manuscript is representative of a booklet of prayers that would have been used as a source for more, as they see it, developed prayer books.[115] Since the manuscript is fragmentary, this is undeterminable. While the Ælfwine Prayer Book was compiled according to the needs of Ælfwine, one can only speculate about the compilation of the four early prayer books. That the manuscripts are some type of devotional *florilegium* is clear but why certain texts were chosen is less obvious.

There does appear to be some kind of grouping of prayers in the Book of Cerne and at the beginning of the Book of Nunnaminster. In the Book of Cerne, for example, three confessional prayers are found following each other:

BoC*	**Rubric**	**Incipit**
8	Confessio sancta penitentis	Domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne Deus . . .
9	Sancta confessio	Ante oculos tuos Domine . . .
10	Alma confessio	Deus Deus omipotens ego humiliter . . .

[114] D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age', in *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (New York, 1991), pp. 161–240 at p. 168.
[115] Webster and Backhouse, eds., *The Making of England*, p. 208.

*Book of Cerne

A much longer example of this is found towards the end of the prayer book where the compiler groups together the prayers to the Archangels, Mary, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and St Peter:

BoC*	Rubric	Incipit
53	Oratio ad archangel Michaheli	Sanctus michahel archangelus Domini Nostri Iesu Christi . . .
54	Item alia oratio ad eodem	In nomine Patris et Filii et Spritus Sancti, Gabrihel esto mihi lurica . . .
55	Item Alia	Angeli et archangeli uirtutes et postestates . . .
56	Oratio ad sanctam Mariam	Sancta Dei Genetrix semper uirgo beata . . .
57	Item alia	Sancta Maria gloriosa Dei Genetrix . . . salutem et lucem mundi . . .
58	Oratio Alchfriðo ad Sanctam Mariam	Sancta Maria gloriosa Dei Genetrix. . . salutem Exaudi me
59	Oratio ad Sanctum Iohannem Baptistam	Sancte Iohannis Baptista qui meruisti . . .
60	Item Oratio Sancti Iohannis Euangelistae	Aperi mihi pulsanti ianuam . . .
61	Item alia oratio	Tunc beatus iohannis iacentibus mortuis . . .
62	Oratio sancti a Petri Apostoli	Domine Deus omnipotens qui sedis . . .
63	Oratio ad Sanctum Petrum	Sancte Petre apostole te supplex . . .

*Book of Cerne

The order of Cerne 55, 56-8, 59 is replicated in the Book of Nunnaminster 58, 59, 60, prayers to angels, followed by prayers to the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist. The Nunnaminster Marian prayer itself precedes the prayer 'Oratio ad sanctum michaelem', which is also found in Cerne. It is possible that certain sets of prayers would generally be found together.

Though the four prayer books have multiple texts in common (see Table 2. 1), the texts are treated differently by each of the compilers. The most substantial

similarities are found between the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster, which contain series of prayers, the Royal Abecedarian Prayer and the Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle, which are substantively the same, though the framing of the series is different, and there are minor variations in the wording of the individual prayers (see Chapter 3). Though it is difficult to determine with certainty in which direction the influence occurs, that they are related in some way seems clear. While Raw listed some of the correspondences between Book of Nunnaminster, Book of Cerne and Royal Prayer Book, she did not include the Harleian Prayer Book; therefore, Table 2.1 is the first thorough list of correspondences between the four early prayer books:[116]

[116] B. Raw, 'Alfredian Piety: the Book of Nunnaminster', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. J. Roberts, J. L. Nelson and M. Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 145–53, at pp. 151–3.

Table 2.1. Shared material in the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Harleian Prayer Book and the Book of Cerne.			
Key			
Match	X	**Royal Abecedarian / Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle**	**A**
Royal Prayer Book,	**RPb**	**Book of Nunnaminster**	**BoN**
Harleian Prayer Book	**HPb**	**Book of Cerne**	**BoC**

Incipit	**RPb**	**BoN**	**HPb**	**BoC**
Ambulemus in prosperis . . .	X			X
Aperi mihi pulsanti ianuam . . .			X	X
Auxiliatrix esto mihi sancta trinitas . . .	X			X
Christum peto, Christum preco . . .		X		X
Deus dilecti et benedicti filii tui Ihesu Christi . . .	X	X		
Deus formator reformatorque humani generis . . .		X		X
Deus inmortali praesidium omnium . . .		X		X
Deus iudex iustus . . .	X	X		
Deus iustitiae te deprecor . . .	X			X
Deus qui humanae substantiae . . .	A	A		
Deus refugium papuperum spes humilium . . .		X		X
Dominator dominus Deus omnipotenes qui es trinitas . . .		X		X
Domine Deus iesu uia uita ac ueritas . . .		X		X
Domine Deus meus ego servus tuus . . .	A	A		
Domine Deus meus et saluator meus quare me dereliquisti . . .		X		X
Domine Deus qui non habes dominum . . .		X		X
Domine Deus virtutum . . .	A	A		
Deus Deus omipotes ego humiliter . . .		X		X

En omnipotens astrorum conditor . . .		X		X
In nomine Patris et Filii et spritus sancti Gabriel esto mihi lurica . . .			X	X
In primis obsecro supplex obnixis precibus . . .	X			X
Mecum esto (domine Deus) sabaoth	X		X	X
O celsitudo humilim . . .	A	A		
O clementissime pater . . .	A	A		
O dei dextera donatorque salutis . . .	A	A		
O Deus dominator meus . . .	A	A		
O domine Deus exercitum . . .	A	A		
O fons ominis innocentiae . . .	A	A		
O fons omnium bonorum . . .	A	A		
O immensa maiestas . . .	A	A		
O medicinae divinae mirabilis dispensator . . .	A	A		
O meus unicas proxima misericoria . . .	A	A		
O misericordia simul et potential . . .	A	A		
O singularis incarnata clementia . . .	A	A		
O te oro omnium clementissime pater . . .	A	A		
O tu summa singularisque pietas . . .	A	A		
O uia beatitudinis auctor atque aeternae . . .		X		X
O via cunctis. . .	A	A		
O vita morientium. . .	A	A		
Omnipotens et misericors Deus propter honorem . . .		X		X
Sancta maria gloriosa dei genetrix. . . salutem et lucem mundi . . .		X		X
Sancta maria gloriosa dei genetrix . . . salutem exaudi me. . .				X
Sanctam ergo uitatem trinitatis . . .	X			X
Sancte iohannis baptista qui meruisti . .		X		X
Sanctus michahel archangelus domini nostri iesu Christi . . .		X		X
Sufragare trinitati unitas unitatis miserere trinitas . . .		X		X

Te deum laudamus te dominum confitemum . . .			X	X
Tu Deus misericors adiutor meus . . .	A	A		
Tu Deus protector meus . . .	A	A		
Tu omnium equissimus iudex . . .	A	A		
Tu unigenitus almi genitoris . . .	A	A		
Tunc beatus iohannis iacentibus mortuis . . .		X		X
Verus largitor vitae perptuae . . .	A	A		

The four Insular prayer books were produced in the same region (Southumbria - Mercia) at roughly the same time, during the late eighth to early ninth century. There is no direct relationship between the four manuscripts. However, it is possible that the Harleian Prayer Book and the Royal Prayer Book were held together as both manuscripts contain a dotted runic 'Y'.[117] Sims-Williams surmises that the Harleian may have formed a "stray gathering" of the Royal Prayer Book, where the Harleian Prayer Book represents a quire written by another scribe (other than the main hands of the Royal Prayer Book).[118] Nevertheless, Sims-Williams cannot substantiate this.[119]

There is little overlap between the textual content of the prayer books. There are only a few correspondences between the prayers, apart from the Royal Abecedarian and Christ Life Cycle, which is a special case and will be discussed later (see Table 2. 1). No single prayer is found in all four manuscripts. The prayer 'Mecum esto domine Deus sabaoth' is the only of the prayers to be found in three manuscripts: Book of Cerne (fols. 45r-v; Cerne 6); Harleian Prayer Book (fols. 2v-3r); and Royal Prayer Book (fols. 22r-v). In Book of Cerne it is entitled *Oratio in*

[117] Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, p. 168; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 281. Sims-Williams also identifies an Old English gloss in similar hand.
[118] Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 281. Equally correct is the thesis that they are two separate prayer books once housed in the same monastery.
[119] Brown, *The Book of Cerne*, p. 168; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, p. 281.

mane sancti hieronimi presbiteri; in Royal Prayer Book as *Oratio Matutina* and in the Harleian Prayer it is not titled. The prayer in Harleian Prayer Book and Royal Prayer Book differs slightly from that of the Book of Cerne, where it begins 'Mane cum surrexero intende ad me domine' as oppossed to 'Mecum esto (domine Deus) sabaoth mane cum resurrexerom intende ad me domine'. While these four early prayer books are contemporaneous with each other and are from the same region and probably have the same purpose, they are different so they are not copies of each other. It is likely that there would have been many more prayer books with similar prayers, so no stemma can be drawn. This is developed in Chapter 3.

THE CAROLINGIAN LIBELLI PRECUM

The Carolingian prayer books - the *libelli precum* - are a potential chronological bridge between the earlier and late Anglo-Saxon prayer books and psalters containing prayer (e.g. the Galba-Nero Prayer Book and Arundel 155 Psalter), as the *libelli precum* are more formalised than the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books and heavily rely on the psalter.[120] The Carolingian examples appear more formally structured and are liturgically inclined rather than devotional. *Libelli precum* surviving from the ninth-century include but are not limited to the following:

- *De psalmorum usu* (*PL* 101, cols. 465-508).
- *Fleury Prayer Book* (Orleans, Bibl. Mun. MS 184): *PL* 221, cols. 101. 509–612.

[120] On the *libelli precum* see R. Constantinescu, 'Alcuin et les "libelli precum"de de l'époque Carolingienne', *Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité* 50 (1974), 17–56; P. Salmon, 'Livrets de Prières de l'époque Carolingienne', *Revue bénédictine* 86 (1976), 218–34. On the *libelli precum* of the eleventh- and twelfth-century see Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance'.

- *Libellus Coloniensis* (Cologne, Dombibliothek, 106): *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), pp. 49–59.
- *Libellus Parisinus* (Paris, B N, lat. 5596, fols. 119v – 134v): *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), pp. 33–44.
- *Libellus Trecensis* (Troyes Bibl. Mun. MS 1742, fols. 52v – 80r): *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), pp. 9–30.
- *Libellus Turonesis* (Paris, Bibl. MS Nat., Lat. 13388): *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), pp. 63–166.
- *Officia per ferias* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS Lat. 1153): *PL* 101, 509–612
- Orleans, Bibl. Mun. MS 116, fols. 21v – 28r.

There are also examples of illustrated *libelli precum*; the most famous examples being two prayer books patronised by kings: the Charles the Bald Prayer Book (Munich, Schatzkammer der Residenz, s. n. c. 860) and a later tenth-century Ottonian example, the Otto III Prayer Book (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 30111).[121] Scholarship connects Alcuin of Northumbria (d. 804) with the Carolingian tradition of *libelli precum*.[122] It is possible that the *libelli precum* derive inspiration from the early Insular prayer books as they are older than the surviving Carolingian prayer books, however, this thesis needs further investigation. Bullough comments, 'The continental manuscript context of prayers found earlier in insular manuscripts – whether 'Celtic' or 'Roman' in Bishop's

[121] R. Deshman, 'The Exalted Servant the Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald', *Viator* 11 (1980), 385–417; S. Hamilton, '"Most Illustrious King of Kings": Evidence for Ottonian Kingship in the Otto III Prayerbook (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30111)', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 257–88; for a later example again see, J. Hamburger, 'A Liber Precum in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany', *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991), 209–36 and also C. Chazelle, *Carolingian God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 155–7.
[122] On Alcuin's contribution to the *libelli precum* tradition, see S. Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Großen* (Munster, 2003).

formulation – leave little doubt that in their wider dissemination Alcuin played a major part, with immeasurable and subtle effect on the hearts and minds of generations of readers'.[123]

The psalter and psalms are more important to the Carolingian prayer books than to the earliest of the Anglo-Saxon prayer books (Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book) as there is lots of call for the repetition of the psalms and an inclusion of an abbreviated psalter attributed to Bede.[124] In this regards, Cerne is slightly similar as the prefatory text *The Exhortation to Prayer* calls for psalm repetition besides including an abbreviated psalter; both of these elements are absent from the Book of Nunnaminster and Royal Prayer Book.[125] The compilation and use of psalter manuscripts is an area that has been understudied by scholars.[126]

One of Alcuin's major contributions to early medieval spirituality was his emphasis on the psalter (*De psalmorum usu liber*) and consequently the psalms are more central to the *libelli precum* than Royal or Nunnaminster. The psalter is not important to the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books, but to the Book of Cerne and the later Anglo-Saxon psalters containing prayer. The Book of Cerne can be viewed as a prayer book mediating between the less regimented Insular prayer books and the stricter Carolingian *libelli precum*.

The *libelli precum* reproduce several prayer texts found in the Insular prayer books, which demonstrates the dissemination of prayer in the early Middle

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[123] Bullough, 'Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven', p. 169.
[124] *Precum libelli quattuor aevi Karolini*, ed. A. Wilmart (Rome, 1940), pp. 141–64.
[125] On this see J. Black, 'Psalm uses in Carolingian Prayer books: Alcuin's *Confessio peccatorum pura*', *Mediaeval Studies* 65 (2003), 1–56 and *ibid.*, 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmorum usu*', *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002), 1–60.
[126] Susan Boynton's recent article 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters' is a notable exception.

Ages.[127] Prayers – and religious texts in general – were dispersed through contact via trade and travel (pilgrimage, etc.). Certain prayers are of course common because of defined liturgical practice (e.g. *Pater Noster*). A prayer in the Galba-Nero Prayer Book (Muir, no. 24) requests intercession from the patriarchs and demonstrates the wide dissemination of prayers in the early medieval period. The prayer is found in the Portiforium of Wulfstan (pp. 15–17), the earlier Book of Cerne (15), the Book of Nunnaminster (fols. 16v – 18v), and in the Carolingian *Libellus trecensis* (pp. 11–13).[128] This indicates that the prayer was in use in the eighth to tenth century in Anglo-Saxon England but that it was also in use on the continent.

The Carolingian prayer books are more formally structured than the earlier Anglo-Saxon prayer books and liturgical and ceremonial use of their prayers is more obvious. The *libelli precum* are divided into clear sections with defined uses unlike Royal or Nunnaminster. The *Libellus trecensis* begins with prayers (addressing first the saints, then the Trinity (Father, Son and Spirit) then various others), followed by prayers for the hours, and finally the penitential psalms. The *Libellus turonesis* has twenty-nine separate sections and is again more liturgically minded as it includes items such as *In laude dei oratio pura* each section of which comprises a psalm, prayer and collect.

The *libelli precum* bridge the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books and the later manuscripts containing prayer where the psalter and psalms are increasingly important. The *libelli precum* have a formality that is lacking in the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnmainster but is seen emerging in the Book of Cerne. I will

[127] For example, see the prayers listed by Kuypers in the introduction to his edition of the Book of Cerne, which Cerne has in common with other manuscripts, pp. xxxii-xxxiv.
[128] See Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer Book,* pp. 56–60, especially p. 56, n. 1, for other witnesses.

return to the links between the Anglo-Saxon prayer books and *libelli precum* in the context of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer in Chapter 4 and I will also highlight some avenues for further research on this topic.

LATER ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PRAYER

There are only two "prayer books" in the later Anglo-Saxon period and as will be discussed below the use of the term in one of those cases has been contested. Psalters are the main manuscripts containing "private" prayer that survive from this period. There is a shift from the prayer book type manuscripts to psalters; these psalters are the basis for the later Books of Hours.[129]

Manuscript descriptions

Prayer books

Ælfwine Prayer Book (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi and London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, c. 1023-35)[130]

Gneuss, no. 380; Ker, no. 202; Temple, no. 77[131]

This manuscript was the made for Ælfwine when he was the deacon of New Minister. His name is mentioned many times and the prayer book contains the *obit*

[129] M. J. Toswell, 'The Late Anglo-Saxon Psalter: Ancestor of the Book of Hours?', *Florilegium* 14 (1995-6), 1–24; Muir, 'The Early Insular Prayer Book Tradition and the Development of the Book of Hours', in *The Art of the Book*: *Its Place in Medieval Worship,* eds., M. Manion and B. Muir (Exeter, 1998) pp. 9–20.
[130] Edition, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook,* ed. B. Günzel (London, 1993).
[131] J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster, eds.*, The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art* (London, 1984), no. 61.

of his sister (fol. 4r).[132] Written at New Minister, the manuscript measures 13 x 9.5 cm and is dateable 1023-35.[133] There are many hands in the manuscript, including that of Ælsinus who copied part of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, Stowe 944, c. 1031). This manuscript is the most extensively decorated of the later prayer books as it contains three miniatures: Crucifixion, fol. 64v; Quinity, fol. 75v; and St Peter with Ælfwine, fol. 19v.[134] The prayer book contains a range of material such as computistical material, calendars, litanies, and prayer but also three offices to the Virgin, the cross and to the Trinity.

Ælfwine "Prayer Book": Collectar or Prayer Book?

The classification 'prayer book' for the Ælfwine Prayer Book is somewhat contentious as Pulsiano and Gneuss believe that *collectar* is the more correct description. Gneuss defines a collectar as '[a] service-book contains the chapters (capitula), that is short lessons taken from scripture and the collects, read at each hour of the divine service except Nocturns'. The Galba-Nero Prayer Book, which Gnuess does describe as a 'prayer book', also contains collects, computistical and calendarial material.[135] The Ælfwine Prayer does contain a collectar (Günzel, nos. 74-5).[136] As mentioned above, there is a wide range of material in the manuscript, including computistical material (Günzel, nos. 1–42). The remainder of the manuscript – the majority – is made of up prayers. Considering that most of the

[132] 'Hic obit Leofgyfu soror Alfwini', Günzel, no. 4.
[133] Gneuss, no. 380; Ker, no. 202.
[134] Temple, no. 77.
[135] Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', p. 138.
[136] *Ibid.*, pp. 112 –3. Pulsiano, 'Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries' in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature,* eds., P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 209–30, at p. 209; *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. Günzel, p. 59

material consists of prayers, 'prayer book' is probably as good of a description as any.[137]

Galba-Nero Prayer Book (London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. ii, fols. 1 – 13 and London, British Library Cotton Galba A. xiv, s. xi$^{1/2}$)[138]

Gneuss, nos. 342 and 333; Ker. no. 157.[139]

This prayer book is badly damaged and now spread over two separate manuscripts, totalling 165 folios. The manuscripts are dated s. xi$^{1/2}$.[140] The manuscript originates in Winchester and measures 13.8 x 10.3 cm.[141] It is the work of multiple scribes, writing late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Caroline minuscule and contains prayers in Latin and Old English.[142] The content of the prayer book is varied including computistical material, gospel fragments, litanies, collects and, many prayers but there is no noteworthy decoration. Ker and Muir surmised that in the prayer book many of the prayers were for female use.[143]

Psalters

There are a higher number of psalters than prayer books. This implies that the early "type" of prayer book such as Nunnaminster and Royal fell out of use as they

[137] *Ibid.,* p. 59.
[138] Edition, *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book (British Library MSS Cotton Galna A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3–13))*, ed. B. Muir (Woodbridge, 1988).
[139] Though Gneuss numbers the manuscript in two separate parts, this is not his usual practice for manuscripts rebound post reformation.
[140] Ker, no. 157.
[141] Muir, ed., *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book*, p. xiv.
[142] *Ibid.*; Ker, no. 157
[143] Muir, ed., *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book*, p. xiv.

were either unpopular or needed reform. Many of these psalters contain devotional prayers that could be considered private. Prayers were even added to earlier psalters.[144]

Winchcombe Psalter (Cambridge, University Library Ff. 1. 23, s. xi^{med} or s. xi^{2})[145]

Ker, no. 13; Temple, no. 80; Gnuess, no. 4.[146]

Measuring 27 x 16 cm, the manuscript is dated s. xi^{med} or s. xi^{2} and somewhat harshly described as "crude" but "nevertheless lively and colourful".[147] The manuscript has a suspected origin of Winchcombe because of the prominence of St Kenelm.[148] The manuscript has an interlinear Old English gloss. The psalter book (Roman Psalter) consists of psalms, canticles, a litany and prayers.[149] The manuscript also contains a full-page Crucifixion miniature (fol. 88r).

Arundel 155 Psalter (London, British Library, Arundel 155, fols. 1-135; 171-191, c. 1012 x 1023)[150]

Ker, no. 135; Temple, no. 66; Gnuess, no. 306[151]

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[144] London, British Library Vespasian A. I - Gneuss, no. 381; Ker, no. 203
[145] The prayers of this manuscript are currently unedited but the interlinear psalter gloss was printed by K. Wildhagen in 1910, *Der Cambridger zum Ersten Male Herausgegeben mit Besonderer Berucksichtigung des Lateinischen Textes* (Hamburg, 1910, repr. 1964).
[146] *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, eds. Backhouse, Turner, and Webster, no. 64.
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[148] *Ibid*.
[149] *Ibid*.
[150] Edition, F. Holthausen, 'Altenglische Interlinearversionen lateinischer Gebete und Beichten', *Anglia* 65 (1941) (incomplete edition), 230–54; J. J. Campbell, 'Prayers from MS Arundel 155', *Anglia* 81 (1963), 82–117.
[151] *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, eds. Backhouse, Turner, and Webster, no. 57.

The Eadui Psalter, measuring 29.2 cm x 17 cm, is named after Eadui Basan who is associated with writing the manuscript, probably at Canterbury.[152] This manuscript can be dated 1012 x 1023.[153] It is a Roman psalter, corrected to a Gallican psalter.[154] The manuscript has an interlinear Old English gloss. The manuscript also contains computistical material, canticles and prayers. The psalter contains one miniature of St Benedict (fol. 133r) but it also contains framed initials and two smaller line drawings (fols. 9v-10v).[155]

Other liturgical books

Portiforium of Wulfstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, s. xi$^{3/4}$)[156]

Ker: 67; Gnuess, no. 104.

This manuscript is associated with Wulfstan II (d. 1023). The provenance of this manuscript is Worcester and it is dated s. xi$^{3/4}$. It is a large manuscript, consisting of 362 leaves. Its content is a Gallican Psalter; canticles, hymns, collects and a litany of the saints and there is both Latin and Old English content. A personal book, the manuscript measures 22.5 x 13. 5 cm.

[152] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[153] Ker, no. 135.
[154] Gneuss, *Handlist*, p. 61.
[155] http://prodigi.bl.uk/illcat/record.asp?MSID=86&CollID=20&NStart=155 last last accessed 27/02/2012.
[156] While the manuscript is referred to as The Portiforium of Wulfstan the edition of the text is *The Portiforium of Wulstan*, ed. A. Hughes (London, 1958-60).

The prayers in the early prayer books are all in Latin.[157] In the Book of Cerne, the only Old English text is *The Exhortation to Prayer* and there are also interlinear glosses (both s. ix and s. x) to the *Lorica of Laidcenn* and a small amount of glossing on fol. 57r (Cerne 19).[158] Old English rubrics were added to the Royal Abecedarian and a few of the marginal prayers and two words are glossed in the Harleian Prayer. None of the Old English material in these prayer books is contemporary with the original manuscript production, apart from possibly *The Exhortation to Prayer*. However, the later prayer books – the Ælfwine Prayer Book and the Galba-Nero Prayer Book – do contain Old English texts and many of the psalter prayers are interlinear (Arundel 155).

The Old English texts in the Ælfwine Prayer Book pertain to computistical and prognostic material (Günzel, nos: 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42); directions for private devotion (Günzel, no. 53); an instructive rubric (Günzel, no. 69); a medicinal charm (Günzel, no. 70); the outcome of a synod for bishops (Günzel, no. 71).[159] None of the Old English texts are prayers but all are instructive, for example the rubric for no. 69 reads, 'Þis ðu scealt singan þonne ðu wylt ðwean þine handa 7 þine eagan', reminding the priest to ensure that his hands and eyes are clean before mass. The Galba-Nero Prayer Book also has translation of the prayer 'Domine Deus omnipotens rex regum' (Muir, no. 11/12); medicinal charms (Muir, no. 34; 70); unidentifiable fragments with Old English (Muir, no. 37); translation of the Veneration of the Cross ceremony (Muir, no. 68). The Galba-Nero Prayer also has

[157] Pulsiano's article 'Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries' discusses the use of Old English glosses.
[158] Ker, no. 27.
[159] These texts in the Ælfwine Prayer Book are listed by Günzel, pp. 60–70.

the distinction of beginning the only Anglo-Saxon prayer book with prayers that are not translations of other prayers in the manuscript or continuous gloss. They are: prayers in Old English, being 'In naman þaere halgan þrynesse þæt is fæder and sunu and se halga gast' (Muir, no. 64) and Old English prayers to the hours (Muir, no. 65). Muir has found no analogue for either nos. 64 or 65 and while he can also find no analogue for the no. 68, there are similar examples of Veneration of the Cross ceremonies in Old English, including one in the Portiforium of Wulfstan.[160] Muir no. 64 has a simple vocabulary and a repetitive rhythm; it is a passionate and affective plea for protection and forgiveness, similar to the *lorica* tradition. The supplicant pleads with God and for protection for all parts of himself, body and mind: ' . . . ic bibiode minre sawle gehealdnesse and mines lichoman, min word and weorc and mine geþohtas, mine heortan and mine hyge, min leomu and mine lioðu, min fell and flæs, min blod and ban, min mod and gemynd . . .' (Muir, no. 64).[161]

The prayers in the Arundel 155 Psalter have a continuous Old English gloss, in which each Latin lemma is glossed. While there are no prayers written in Old English, all the Latin prayers are glossed. In the Portiforium of Wulfstan, Latin prayers have Old English translations and glosses. Pulsiano has listed all manuscripts that contain prayers with Old English glosses.[162] There are only a few Old English prayers in the manuscript that are neither a gloss nor a translation of a prayer.[163] Vernacular prayers (interlinear, translations, or free standing) were far

[160] Muir ed., *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book*, p. 136, n. 1; on the Veneration of the Cross ceremony in Old English see chapter 4.
[161] 'I pray with my whole soul and my body, my word, and my work, my thoughts, my heart, my mind, my limbs and my body, my skin and flesh, my blood and bone, my heart and my mind . . . '.
[162] Pulsiano, 'Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries', p. 220.
[163] From Pulsiano's list only the following manuscripts contain prayers in Old English which are not translations of another prayer in the manuscript or interlinear glosses: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201;

more prominent in the later liturgical books than in the early prayer books. This is possibly because of declining Latinity and consequent educational reform. In the letter to Egbert mentioned earlier, Bede tells Egbert to teach in the vernacular certain prayers so that the laity and the clergy understand what it is they are saying. During the Benedictine Reform, education was advocated for the clergy. Manuscript evidence has shown that this meant that the vernacular became important for improving educational (Latin) standards as there are more manuscripts with Old English texts and glosses after the Reform than before, and earlier manuscripts (such as the Royal Prayer Book) were even amended with the vernacular, as instructive lines are put in and words are glossed. This then translated into the private prayer tradition where prayers were glossed continuously (Arundel 155 Psalter) or very infrequently (Book of Cerne, Harleian Prayer Book, none at all in the case of the Book of Nunnaminster) to help the users of the manuscript understand the texts. Old English appears to be used in a directional capacity.

Decoration

The decoration of the later psalters and prayer books is more literal than the earlier manuscripts as the scribes include full-page miniatures. The Ælfwine Prayer Book and the psalters are far more elaborate than the earlier prayer books as they contain full-page miniatures, and in the case of the psalters, elaborately illuminated initials. The Ælfwine Prayer Book has three miniatures; all three are

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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421; London, BL, Cotton Julius A. ii; London, British Library, Cotton Gabla A. xiv and Nero A. ii (ff. 3–13)); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii; London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. I; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xx; London, British Library, Vitellius A. xv, part ii (The Southwick Codex); London, British Library, Royal 2 B. v; London, Lambeth Palace 427; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 180; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 482.

line drawings: St Peter with Ælfwine, fol. 19; Crucifixion, fol. 64v; and Quinity, fol. 75v. The inscription above the cross in the Crucifixion miniature reads 'Hec crux consignet Ælfwinum corpore mente, in qua suspendens traxit Deus omnia secum', implying that the image might have been used as a meditative device (see Chapter 5).[164] Ælfwine himself is depicted in the St Peter miniature. The Winchcombe Psalter contains a line drawing of the Crucifixion scene (fol. 52r). Arundel 155 Psalter includes one miniature. The drawing is of St Benedict (fol. 133r) but is not connected to the prayer section of the manuscripts as it is found between the psalter section and the canticles.[165]

Compilation and content

The later prayer books are not compiled around a discernible theme. The later prayer books are based around need (either liturgical or devotional). The psalters have prayers added to them and older psalters are supplemented to contain prayer; these are a type of psalter-prayer book.

Prayer books

The Ælfwine Prayer Book and Galba-Nero Prayer were put together according to the presumed prerequisites of the people that the manuscripts were made to serve.[166] These later prayer books are smaller than the earlier four prayer books and their content more useful in secular situations (such as in medicinal matters

[164] 'Hanging on this cross, God draws all things to him and this is sealed into the mind and body of Ælfwine'.
[165] *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, eds. Backhouse, Turner, and Webster, no. 57.
[166] *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, ed. Günzel, pp. 1–4; Muir ed., *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book*, p. xvi–xvii.

like blood-letting for the ill) than the earlier Insular prayer books, making these prayer books more hand books. The Ælfwine Prayer Book was put together to serve the needs of Ælfwine, the abbot of New Minster, who is named as the owner of the manuscript (Günzel, no. 14) and whose relatives are commemorated in the calendar ('Hic obit Leofgyfu soror Alfwini', Günzel, no. 4). An inscription surmounting the cross in the Crucifixion miniature also mentions Ælfwine (fol. 65v).[167] Whether Ælfwine personally chose the texts to put into the manuscript is open to speculation. Ælfwine certainly did not copy the manuscript personally as the scribe - Ælsinus – is mentioned on fol. 14v. Items in the manuscript serve both Ælfwine's personal and public (practical and temporal) needs and therefore one can infer that the prayer book was compiled with his needs in mind (table for limits of Easter (Günzel, no. 9); charms for boils (to help the infirm) (Günzel, no. 70); series of private prayers, fols. 56v–79r (Günzel, no. 76). The compilation of the Portiforium of Wulfstan is similar to that of Ælfwine's Prayer Book as there is a high mixture of liturgical, devotional and practical material which would have helped Wulfstan to perform his pastoral duties. Muir has argued that the Galba-Nero Prayer Book was produced from a blank book; a book was prepared into which texts were entered when deemed necessary (by many different hands) and dictated to by the requirements of the community.[168] There is no order to the manuscript.

The luxurious Books of Hours from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries followed the earlier illuminated, psalter books that were perhaps preceded by the prayer books. Psalter books were important because the monastic rules called for

[167] 'This is the orbit Leofgyfu, sister of Ælfwine'. The inscription above the Crucifixion miniature is discussed in Chapter 5.
[168] *A Pre-conquest English Prayer Book*, ed. Muir, p. xvi.

the recitation of the psalms throughout the day. These books were elaborately illuminated and as they became more developed other devotional material was added such as prayers; this could be the result of Carolingian influence as the Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster are not concerned with the recitation of psalms while the slightly later Book of Cerne contains an abbreviated psalter. The contents of later prayer books are far more varied then that of the earlier Insular manuscripts. The material contained is often for express liturgical uses: the Ælfwine Prayer, for example contains three Offices (Muir, nos. 48–50) and the Galba-Nero Prayer Book contains texts for ceremonies such as the Veneration of the Cross (Muir, no. 68) and collects for feast days (Muir, nos. 77, 86–100). Prayers in these manuscripts are assigned to specific liturgical practice unlike the majority of the prayers in the earlier examples.

The Ælfwine Prayer Book opens with computistical material, more specifically a *luminarium* (Günzel, no. 1); the Galba-Nero Prayer Book also begins with computistical material (Muir, nos. 1-4, 9-10). Both prayer books possess healing material (Muir, 70, Günzel, no. 70). The medical prayers are in Old English. The inclusion of computistical matter makes the manuscripts useful "handbooks", as they contain everything that the user requires to conduct his practical duties as well as his spiritual, from calculating Easter to lancing a boil.[169]

[169] The Royal Prayer Book and Book of Nunnaminster open with Gospel readings, similarly the Ælfwine Prayer Book contains a single gospel lection, St John's Passion, which precedes the devotional section to the cross and the Crucifixion miniature (Günzel: no. 43). The Gospel of John is somewhat more mystical than the other three gospel books, and contains elements in the Crucifixion such as the side wound which underlines Christ's divinty. The Crucifixion image stresses Christ's divine kingship. John's Passion may have been chosen to complement this theme.

Psalters

The Benedictine Reform movment brought education to the fore and the psalter was the instrument of choice for the oblate, as it always had been important to education (principally learning to read and write). It is possible that in some instances that the short prayers such as those continuously glossed in Arundel 155 Psalter, were used in teaching with their simple straightforward vocabularies that echoed the psalms and their familiar formulae and rhythmic patterns. The psalters have far fewer prayers than the prayer books, sometimes only having a handful (Winchcombe Psalter) (Table 2.2).

If one examines the lists of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that include private prayers above, it becomes noticeable that most of the manuscripts happen to be psalters and that an actual prayer book is a rarity; the Galba-Nero Prayer Book has been described as the only genuine prayer book from the later period.[170] These psalters are less personal books than the earlier prayer books and increasingly formal and liturgical in function, yet they contain prayers associated with paraliturgical or devotional practices. The prayers in the Arundel 155 Psalter are not assigned to an occasion (Holthausen, nos. 1–28; Campbell, nos. 28 (continued)-44). Though not a psalter, in the Wulfstan Portiforium there are prayers assigned for liturgical practice but there are also many prayers which as are denoted as private prayer (*orationes private*).[171]

Psalters demonstrate the difficulty in attempting to classify prayer as either liturgical or devotional as there is a blurring between what can be used in the

[170] *Ælfwine's Prayerbook,*ed. Günzel, p. 59
[171] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan,* ed. Hughes, II, pp. 1–24.

performance of the liturgy and devotional practice (discussed further in Chapter Four). Some of these psalters such as Arundel 60 Psalter and the Winchcombe Psalter are magnificently decorated as they include full-page Crucifixion miniatures and major initials so it would seem likely that some of these psalters were important high-grade manuscripts and the images would have been aids to meditation. While prayers were included to "new" psalters, old psalters were also amended to contain private prayer as is the case with London, British Library Vespasian A. I (s. viii, prayers added c. 1020).[172]

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EARLY PRAYER BOOKS

There is no direct relationship between the earlier four prayer books and the later prayer books and psalters. There is minimal overlap between the prayers of the earlier and later manuscripts. The difference between the treatments of some of these prayers, largely the *Oratio Alchfriðo ad sanctam mariam* and the 'Domine Ihesu Christi adoro te cruce', will be discussed in the case study chapters.

[172] Gneuss, no. 381; Ker, no. 203. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, mentions that cross prayers were added to folios 155r – 160v in the 1020s, p. 218.

Table 2.2. Collation of the common prayers in the early and later prayer books

KEY			
Book of Nunnaminster	BoN	**Arundel 155 Psalter**	A155
Book of Cerne	BoC	**Winchcombe Psalter**	WP
Ælfwine Prayer Book	APb	**Wulfstan Portiforium**	WuP
Gabla-Nero Prayer Book	GNPb	**Royal Prayer Book**	RPb

Incipit	APB	BoN	A155	GNPb	WuP	BoC	Wpb	RPB
Ante oculos tuos Domine . . .	X					X		
Confitebor tibi pater domine caeli . . .			X			X		
Dominator domine deus omnipotens, qui trinitas una . . .		X		X		X		
Domine deus meus omnipotens ego humilier . . .		X		X		X		
Domine deus qui non habes dominum . . .			X			X		
Domine Ihesu Christe qui dedisti potestatem . . .			X	X		X		
Domine Ihesu Christe qui in hunc mundo . . .			X	X	X	X		
Domine Ihesu Chiste qui in hunc mundum . . .				X		X	X	
Domine Ihesu Christe Adoro te . . .				X	X	X		X
Domine Ihesu Christe qui de hoc mundo transisti ad patrem . . .				X				X
Incipit epistola saluatoris domini nostri Ihesu Christi ad Abagarum regem . . .				X				X
Obsecro te, Domine Iesu Christe . . .	X							X
Omnipotens dilectissime deus	X		X			X		

sanctissime . . .								
Peccaui domine peccaui coram te . . .			X			X		
Sancta et Gloiosa Dei Genitix . . .	X		X		X	X	X	
Sancta maria gloriosa dei genetrix . . . salutem exaudi me	X	X	X			X		
Sancte Iohannis baptista qui meruisti . . .		X	X			X	X	
Sancte Petre apostole te supplex . . .				X		X		
Sanctus michahel archangelus domini nostri Ihesu Christi . . .		X	X	X		X		
Succurre mihi domine ante quam moriar . . .			X			X		
Salue sancta crux quae in christi dedicate . . .	X					X		
Domine Ihesu Christe qui dedisti potestatem . . .			X			X		
* This table does not include the Royal Abecedarian and Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle, as these correspondences are recorded in the appendices (A-D).								

Amendments to early prayer books

Royal Prayer Book

Extensive additions, comprising of thirty-five prayers, were made to the Royal Prayer Book in the margins in the mid tenth century.[173] Alicia Corrêa and Joseph

[173] These are discussed extensively in A. Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses' and Crowley, 'Latin Prayers Added into the Margins of the Prayerbook British Library, Royal 2. A. xx', both of whom edit these prayers, pp. 311–8 and pp. 255–92.

Crowley have both commented on the poor Latinity of these additions.[174] These additional prayers were intended for public liturgical practice: multiple prayers on fols. 10v and 13v for the mass of St Benedict, others for the mass of St Lawrence and St Andreas. Some of the other additions could be used for the performance of private devotion (e.g. beginning. 'Domine fons misericordiam in quae cuncta lauantur contagia delictorum' (fol. 16r)), ostensibly because a liturgical use cannot be assigned to the texts.[175] The later additions seem outwardly to go against the earlier ethos of the manuscript, where the "original" text is apparently a devotional compilation with little to tie it to the liturgy or formal practice. This could mean that in the middle of the tenth century, the user(s) were still using the prayer book as a devotional guide but also decided to include the liturgical material for convenience sake.[176]

The rubric *Gebiddan for Missa de sancte Benedicte* (fol. 10v) over a series of prayers for the St Benedict mass is typical of the additions as it combines a rubric in Old English with a prayer text written in Latin.[177] Later rubrics were inserted over each prayer unit of the Royal Abecedarian, giving an indication as to what the prayers are about. The rubrics to the prayers in the Book of Nunnaminster are contemporary eighth-century red Latin rubrics. The Nunnaminster rubrics are much shorter and in Latin, for example, *De veste eiusdem* (fol. 26v) or *Oratio de lacrimis domini* (fol. 23v).

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[174] Crowley, 'Latin Prayers', pp. 236–41;
[175] Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts', pp. 288–90; Crowley, 'Latin Prayers', pp. 241–2 and pp. 245–6.
[176] Crowley, 'Latin Prayers' comments, 'It is not likely that the Old English interlinear were made to teach Latin. More likely they made for individual practice at glossing or to give pious laypeople access, in recognizable Old English phrasing, to Latin prayers important in regular liturgy and Office', p. 244.
[177] Prayer edited in Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts' pp. 311–2; Crowley, 'Latin Prayers', p. 261.

Book of Nunnaminster

Three additions to the Book of Nunnaminster were made in the tenth century (fols. 40v – 41r). Unlike the Royal Prayer Book these were not marginal addition but added to the end of the manuscript. The additions comprise four prayers (two charms on fol. 40v and two confessional prayers fol. 41r) and the passage on the boundaries of the Nunnaminster. The prayers include two charms for the eyes, a formula for confession, a formula for absolution and a prayer beginning, 'Adesto supplicationibus nostris omnipotens Deus'.[178] A cross was drawn beside two charms and the confessional prayer, perhaps to remind the user to bless themselves or as a *nota bene* mark. The confessional prayer is notable for two things: firstly, the tenth-century prayer speaks of a *peccatrice* (a female sinner) and secondly in a s. xii hand *frater* (brother) is glossed with *vel soror* (or sister) but also in the conclusion of the prayer *peccatrice, vel peccatori* is added again in a later hand.

CONCLUSION

The early Anglo-Saxon prayer books, the Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Harleian Prayer Book and Book of Cerne, are the earliest extant devotional prayer books in Europe, suitable for personal use, demonstrating the ingenuity and originality of devotional prayer practice in Anglo-Saxon England. The Book of Cerne is a different type of prayer book than Royal or Nunnaminster (this could just be a product of its later creation) as it includes a psalter; other major differences include the inclusion of full-page miniatures, prefatory material and the Harrowing of Hell text.

[178] These prayers and boundary tract are edited in *An Ancient Manuscript of the Eighth or Ninth Century*, ed. De Gray Birch, pp. 96–7.

The texts of these prayers have their roots in a *shared* Anglo-Saxon and Irish culture. The heritage of the texts was an Insular milieu, with a combined culture. A distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Irish texts cannot be based on a mentality, in the same way that the gender of a scribe cannot be told by the writing. There is no direct relationship between the early Insular prayer books nor between these four manuscripts and the two surviving later prayer books (the Ælfwine Prayer Book and Galba-Nero Prayer Book).

The prayer books from the earlier period (eighth and ninth century), largely contain only prayer. Practical material is added later prayer books. Psalters are the main form of prayer book in the tenth century and in fact, early psalters were edited to contain devotional prayer. The later prayer books contain more formal liturgical texts than the early prayer books, perhaps a consequence of Alcuin's teachings on the psalter, and a wider variety of texts too (for example, computistical texts).

These later prayer books are not copies of the early Anglo-Saxon examples as their compilation appears to centre around need and their structure. Their formalization might have been impacted by the Carolingian examples. While the prayers of the early prayer books are written in Latin, in the subsequent centuries the manuscripts were modified as Old English glosses are added to them. The later manuscripts contain Old English prayers and have planned interlinear glosses.

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March, K. T., 2012. *Performance, transmission and devotion: understanding the Anglo-Saxon prayer books, c.800-1050*. PhD Thesis, University College Cork.

Please note that Chapter 3 (pp. 101-136) are currently unavailable due to a restriction requested by the author.

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4

CROSS PRAYERS: PUBLIC, PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame blíðe mode,
elne mycle, þær ic ana wæs
mæte werede. Wæs modsefa
afysed on forðwege; feala ealra gebad
langung-hwila. Is me nu lifes hyht
þæt ic þone sigebeam secan mote
ana oftor þonne ealle men,
well weorþian. Me is willa to ðam
mycel on mode, ond min mundbyrd is
geriht to þære rode.[1]

The vision of the cross in *The Dream of the Rood* inspires the Dreamer to pray to the cross alone and with greater frequency. Anglo-Saxons performed prayers to the cross as part of public worship and private devotion.[2] The cross was a multivalent symbol in Anglo-Saxon England, standing for Christ himself and representing his sacrifice. A familiar sign, the cross represents Christ without his visual presence. Christ's sacrifice changed the meaning of the cross, raising the cross from its base associations and transforming it into the symbol of salvation.[3]

This chapter shows that cross prayers can transgress the intersection between public liturgy and personal devotion and demonstrates the ambiguity and overlap between concepts such public, private and personal, while questioning the validity

[1] 'I prayed then to the cross, /with a happy and eager heart, there I was alone / without friends. My soul / wanted a journey, great desires/pulled at me. Now my life's hope / is that I can turn to that tree of victory /alone, more often than all other men /and honour it fully. These longings fill /my heart and mind, and my support comes /from the cross', *The Dream of the Rood,* ll. 122-31a (ed. Swanton, p. 100).

[2] The role of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England has recently been the subject of a major international collaborative project: *Sancta Crux/Halig Rod*: The Cross in Anglo-Saxon England http://www2.hawaii.edu/~kjolly/cross/cross.html last accessed 15/02/2012. This project produced three collected volumes: *Cross and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Morgantown, WV, 2008), *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2006) and *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World* (Morgantown, WV, 2010), all edited by K. Jolly, C. Karkov and S. Larratt Keefer. Cross prayers are the subject of three major articles, Larratt Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross', in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 219–72, Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 273–323, and Wilmart, 'Prières médiévale pour l'Adoration de la Croix', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 46 (1932), 22-65.

[3] In *The Dream of the Rood*, ll. 14–23 (ed. M. Swanton, p. 93) (Manchester, 1977; repr. Exeter, 1996), the lines express this idea in visual terms as the cross alternates between being bloody and golden.

of such categorisation. Furthermore, this chapter uses the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer to corroborate this.

The cross, its shape and symbolism, is not just the subject of prayer but important to the performance of prayer. Signing the cross initiates prayer: the hand traces the transept and shaft of the cross by touching the shoulders, forehead, and stomach, a more discreet sign on the forehead, or a blessing in the air.[4] Signing the cross properly involves thoughtful and deliberate action. The cross was a potent symbol when the sign was performed properly. Ælfric describes how to form the sign in the *Lives of Saints* and explains the meaning of the movements: 'Þæh þe man wafige wundorlice mid handa ne bið hit þeah bletsung buta he wyrce tacn þære halgan rode . . . mid þrym fingrum man sceall senian. and blestain . for þære halgan þrynnysse. þe is þrim-wealdend God'.[5] The sign must be performed with exactly three fingers and the shape fully drawn. The number three signifies the Trinity. Prayer positions mimicked the shape of Christ on the cross. Christ's prone body was nailed to the cross and his arms are outstretched in the *orans* position. There are examples in the monastic rules, and indeed in hagiography, that call for prayer to be performed horizontally on the floor with arms outstretched humbly as Christ on the cross, 'Seque ad patibulum dominicae crucis erigens in indicium supplicis deprecationis extentis palmis . . . '.[6]

The Ælfwine Prayer Book (46.12) gives specific reasons (*causae*) for adoring and honouring the cross. 'Prima causa est, qui in una die septem cruces adit, aut

[4] U. Lenker, 'Signifying Christ in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, pp. 233–75 at pp. 235–42.
[5] 'Even though a man waves wonderfully with his hand, it is not a blessing unless he makes the sign of the holy cross . . . A man must sign with three fingers and bless because of the Holy Trinity who is a glory ruling God', *Ælfric's Lives of Saints,* II. 154–5.
[6] '. . . with arms outstretched in the form of the cross of our Lord and with palms extended in token of humble prayer . . .', *Felix's life of Saint Guthlac,* ch. XLVIII (ed. and transl. Colgrave, p. 146/7); Colgrave notes that 'patibulum dominicae crucis erigens' is a reference to 'an attitude of prayer common especially among the Irish', p. 191.

septies unam crucem adorat, septem porte inferni clauduntur illi, et septem porte paradise aperiuntur ei'; best practice for cross devotions is to perform the prayers multiple times a day. Prayer draws the supplicant closer to God since it is through constant prayer that the supplicant's mind is closed to evil.[7] 'Secunda causa est, si primum opus tuum tibi sit ad crucem, omnes demones si fuissent circa te, non potuissent nocere tibi'; the second reason demonstrates the protective attributes of the cross, as demonstrated in saints' lives.[8] Adoring the cross, following the instructions of Christ and living a good Christian life, protects against demons. Venerating the cross commemorates the sacrifice of Christ: 'Tertia causa est, qui non declinat ad crucem non recipit pro se passionem Christi; qui autem declinat recepit eam et liberabitur'.[9] The final reason is similar to the second: the supplicant reaps what he or she sows, and whatever space the supplicant gives in their heart to Christ and the cross is equal to the space given to them in heaven: 'Quarta causa est, quantum terrae pergis ad crucem, quasi tantum de hereditate propia offeras domino'.[10]

The cross symbolises the victory and sacrifice of Christ. The Ælfwine Prayer Book prayer beginning 'Aue alma crux, qui mundi pretium portasti . . .' (Günzel, no. 44) refers to the cross as the *uexilla regis* ('banner of the King').[11] The cross is Christ's triumphant banner in his victory over death and the devil and becomes the

[7] 'The first reason is that if a man recites seven prayers to the cross in one day or venerates a cross seven times a day then the seven doors of hell will be closed to him and the seven doors of paradise will be opened to him', translated in Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 64.
[8] 'The second reason is that if your first duty is to the cross and if all the demons are around you then they cannot harm you', translated in *ibid*.
[9] 'The third reason is he who does not bow before the cross does not receive the Passion of the Christ for himself; the man who bows receives it and is freed', translated *Ibid*.
[10] 'The fourth reason is that whatever land you give to the cross, it is as if you offer to the Lord that much for your own inheritance', translated in Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 64.
[11] 'Vexilla regis prodeunt' is also the title of a popular hymn by Venantius Fortunatus. Milful traces the use of this the hymn in 'Hymns to the Cross: Contexts for the Reception of *Vexilla regis prodeunt*' in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 43–57.

standard of Christianity in its fight for conversion.[12] Ælfric frequently ascribes the word *tacn* ('banner') to the cross; it is Christ's banner in his quest against the devil and in *The Dream of the Rood* the cross is referred to as a *sigebeacen* ('a victory banner').[13] As human, Jesus should have died on the cross but as God, he overturned death.[14] The cross is the symbol of victory over eternal death and the reversal of the Fall. Ælfric emphasises the apposition of the Fall and the Crucifixion in the homily *Dominica .v. in quadragesime* as Christ reverses the sins of Adam and the cross undoes the actions of the *lignum scientae* ('Tree of Knowledge'), 'þurh treow us com deað. Þa ða adam geæt þone forbodenan æppel. and ðurh treow us com eft lif. and alysednyss. ða ða crist hangode on rode for ure alysednysse'.[15] The cross is simultaneously the tree from Eden, the instrument of the Crucifixion and the throne of the Lamb. This is manifest in Anglo-Saxon depictions of the cross as the Tree of Life where the images explicitly correlate the wood of the gibbet with the Edenic tree.[16] The transept of the Winchcombe Crucifixion miniature demonstrates this unequivocally as it is inscribed with the words *lignum vitae* ('Tree of Life'). This directly identifies the physical wood of the cross as that of the Tree of Life, reversing the effects of the *lignum scientae*. The relationship between the cross and the throne of Revelation is shown in the Durham Crucifixion scene. In

[12] Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339) in the *Vita Constantini* recounts that at the Battle of Milvian Bridge (312) the prospective emperor Constantine (d. 337) received divine inspiration in a dream and took up the *chi-rho* monogram cross as his *labarum* (imperial banner). Under the cross as his *labarum*, Constantine was victorious in the battle against Maxentius. Subsequently, the cross became a symbol of spiritual and military victory, physical in that it is the symbol of Constantine's victory over Maxentius but at the same time, it is the symbol of Christ.
[13] Ælfric, *CH* II.xiii, l. 93 (ed. Godden, p. 136); *The Dream of the Rood,* ll. 13 and 127 (ed. Swanton, p. 93 and p. 100).
[14] As *The Dream of the Rood* says that Christ 'ond he hine ðær hwile reste', 'he rested there awhile', l. 64 (ed. Swanton, p. 97).
[15] 'Death came to us through a tree, when Adam ate the forbidden apple; life and redemption came to us through a tree, when Christ hung on the rood for our redemption', Ælfric, *CH* II.xiii, ll. 288–93 (ed. Godden, p. 136).
[16] For a full account of the Tree of Life in Anglo-Saxon art see J. O'Reilly 'The Trees of Eden in Mediaeval Iconography', in *Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden* ed. P. Morris and D. Sawyer, (Sheffield, 1992), pp. 167–204.

the Durham Gospels, the inscriptions around the image are the most definite connections to eschatology.[17] Henderson argues that the badly faded miniature simultaneously denotes the Last Judgement and the Crucifixion.[18] On the literal level, the image is a representation of John XIX.37, Longinus opening Christ's side with a spear. However, this is a multivalent image as the miniature represents all time not just one moment. The Crucifixion is framed by a simple oblong green box, outside of which an inscription reads, 'Auctorem mortis deiecens, uitam nostrum restituens, si tamen compatiamur . . . surrexit a mortuis, [sedat ad] dexteram patris; ut nos resuscitatos et regnare faciat'.[19] Above Christ's head is a second inscription, a quotation from the Revelation I.8. So the cross is an eschatological symbol representing the tree from Eden and the Throne from Revelation.

[17] See in particular J. O'Reilly, '"Know who and what he is": the Context and Inscriptions of the Durham Gospels Crucifixion Image' in *Making and meaning in Insular Art: Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Insular Art held at Trinity College Dublin, 25-28 August 2005*, ed. R. Morris (Dublin, 2005), pp. 301–16.

[18] 'He rose from the dead and sits at the right hand of the father so that when we have been restored to life, we may reign with him', Henderson**,** *From Durrow to Kells* (London, 1987), pp. 82–3.

[19] Henderson, *From Durrow to Kells*, pp. 82–3; Also see J. O'Reilly, 'Early Medieval Text and Image: the Wounded and Exalted Christ', *Peritia* 6–7 (1987–8), 72–118, pp. 89–91.

Diagram 4.1: Interaction between private, public, personal and communal

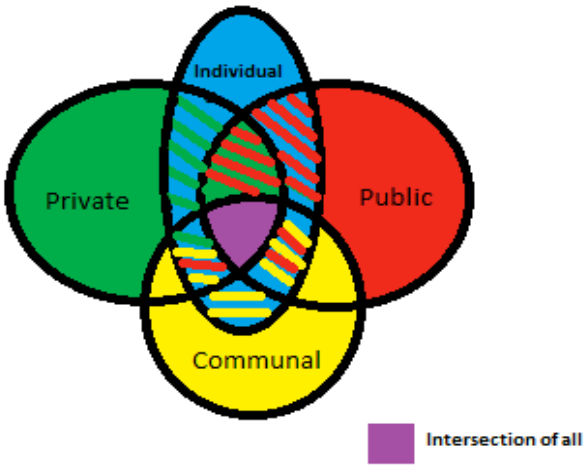


Diagram 4.1 illustrates the interrelation between the ideas of 'individual', 'private', 'communal' and 'public'. The intersection makes these concepts near impossible to separate. Cross prayers are uniquely suitable for the exploration of concepts such as 'public' and 'private' as the prayers traverse the spheres of public and private and the idea of private and personal. Without scrutiny or explanation, the Anglo-Saxon prayer books are described as books for 'private' devotion and some psalters as 'containing private prayer'.[20] While these ascriptions might be correct, terms such as 'public' 'private' and even 'personal' do not carry the same meaning for all scholars and so the terms are used without consideration of their connotations; consequently, the terms are often incorrectly conflated.

[20] Bestul, 'Continental Sources', p. 279; *Ælfwine's Prayer Book*, ed. Günzel, pp. 205–6; Corrêa, says that Royal Prayer Book consists of 'private prayers', 'Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses', p. 289. Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin* says that the prayers in the early prayer books were 'explicitly composed for private devotion', p. 95.

Private and public

'Public' and 'private' were fluctuating states for early medieval devotees; Boynton summarises this ambiguity, 'An individual could experience the liturgy as a personal devotion, and prayers were that were evidently intended for individuals to recite can be liturgically structured. Particularly when studying medieval monastic communities, in which daily life was articulated around prayer, boundaries between categories of "public" liturgical worship and "private" devotion were in constant flux'.[21]

Restriction and access are the indicative factors in defining private and public; private implies a spatial restriction and limited access, while public implies open access. 'Public' and 'private' are not binary choices since certain prayers could be selected for both private and public ceremonial use, in a communal rite or by an individual.[22] Public devotion/worship is often a formal communal act, perhaps a prescribed part of the liturgy, presided over by a member of the clergy in a 'public' setting with multiple witnesses, such as a mass.[23] The intent of the performance is open. Personal acts of devotion such as penance may also be 'performed' in a public space (before witnesses) so the individual is acting before others. Bowes defines private worship as, 'the practice of ritual outside the space and/or supervision of the institutional church and/or its bishops'; in short, private devotion does not necessarily need supervision.[24] Performance of the liturgy is a communal act that could be performed in private; the performance of the liturgy

[21] Boynton, 'Prayer as Liturgical Performance', p. 897; also see Larratt Keefer, 'Performance of the Cross', p. 124.
[22] K. Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious: Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2008) p. 14.
[23] Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages', pp. 54–5.
[24] Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values*, p. 14.

traditionally would need a community and someone to direct the proceedings. Prayers could equally have been used in a 'public' ceremony as equally as in a communal ceremony held in private.

Liuzza, compiling his list of Anglo-Saxon cross prayers, worked through Bestul's list of 'manuscripts containing private prayer' and gives some indications as to what a private prayer might be: 'prayers not prescribed for a particular occasion and which may be, though they need not have been, spoken by only one person'.[25] A private prayer, therefore, is one for which we cannot assign a liturgical performance.[26] 'Private' and 'paraliturgical' have become catch-all phrases for prayers that are unassigned in manuscripts. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are not strict on such categorisation as liturgical and paraliturgical (unassigned) prayers are placed beside each other.

The Royal Prayer Book is a manuscript that could have been used privately and to direct devotion. Usage of the early prayer books is very difficult to ascertain as the prayer books give no instruction on how the prayers that they contain should be used; whether they would have been part of a liturgical service or whether they prayers for personal use. Extensive marginalia were added to the prayer book during the tenth century at Worcester.[27] These additions are predominantly liturgical (for masses and ceremonies).[28] The "new" prayer book therefore combined material for private and public worship and for possible personal devotion.

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[25] Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', p. 279.
[26] Bennett, 'Belonging to the second but non-litugrical category are private prayers, as in the *libelli precum,* or prayerbooks, since the early medieval period, in psalters since the ninth century, and in psalter hours and books of hours from the twelfth to sixteenth century. They may be in Latin or in vernacular . . . ', p. 54.
[27] See Chapter 2.
[28] Liturgical marginalia are listed by Crowley, 'Latin Prayers', pp. 245–6.

Personal

Further ambiguities arise between personal and private.[29] The individual is under-theorised in an Anglo-Saxon context and - to my knowledge - Larratt Keefer's article ''Ic' and 'We'', is the fullest exploration of selfhood in Anglo-Saxon texts. 'Personal' does not necessarily mean that the prayers express the feeling or mood of a historical single person; medieval commentators describe the psalms as perfect prayers because there are a variety of themes that a supplicant can choose from to match a mood. In public ceremonies, prayers would be said as part of a collective but individuals comprise the collective. The nature of prayer means that the speaker of the prayer must put something of themselves into the words; consequently, all prayers are personal to a degree.

The role of the individual differentiates the concepts of 'private' and 'personal'. Interiority or individualism is often credited as a twelfth-century discovery (Abelard's *Historia calamitatum*), where interiority or individualism means self-examination is demonstrable on a scale not seen since Augustine's *Confessiones*.[30]

The individuality, interiority or personal quality of a prayer is difficult to determine. The use of the pronoun 'I' does not mean that a prayer is personal as it may be a convention rather than a 'private articulation'.[31] Both of these options are certainly true for prayer, as it can be formulaic and a private articulation, for

[29] See for example Larratt Keefer, ''Ic' and 'We'' in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, eds. M. C. Amodio and K. O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto, 2003), pp. 123–46, at pp. 123–5.
[30] For example Karnes, 'Of course, inward piety prospered in late antiquity and the earlier Middle Ages, both inside monasteries and outside of them, and its regular affective engagement with Christ's suffering dates back to at least the eleventh and twelfth centuries', 'Nicholas Love', pp. 380–3 at p. 381. The best genre for disproving this is that of confessional texts which by their nature demand self-examination. The growth of confession following the Fourth Lateran Council (1216) is credited with this "new" sense of self. However, Anglo-Saxon poetry and prayers call upon the individual to use the sacrament of confession.
[31] Larratt Keefer, ''Ic' and 'We'', p. 123.

example the psalms. Manuscript context and directive rubrics are the only way we have of gauging whether a prayer is "personal" and neither is unproblematic as directive rubrics are not common in the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books. A supplicant praying for their own intention personalises the prayer, but this is unquantifiable since there are no recorded responses to the prayers.

Later texts and images invite supplicants to imagine themselves at the crucifixion, to visualise that they are present; this is evident in the Crucifixion miniature in the Evesham Psalter (London, British Library, Add. MS 44874, s. xiii, fol. 6r), and in Anselmian text *Oratio ad Christum*, quoted in Chapter 1.[32] In the Judith of Flanders Crucifixion miniature (fol. 1v), Judith is imposed at the foot of the cross making her historically present at the Crucifixion; the prayers in the Royal Abecedarian and Book of Nunnaminster describe the events of the Passion without the feeling of time lapse. In the dramatic reenactment of the Good Friday ceremony, the participant is present, transported back to the day of the Crucifixion, 33 CE, as a witness to the great sacrifice. The events are also personalised, as the supplicants are directly responsible for the death of Jesus and the humiliation of Christ.

Public or private and individual or communal devotion, as distinct concepts, would have been alien ideas to the Anglo-Saxons. The prayers of the supplicant traverse these boundaries. Cross prayers – and in particular the 'Domine Ihesu Christi, adoro te cruce' – demonstrate the flexibility of these concepts. Imperfect a methodology though it is, rubrication and manuscript context is the most scientific methodology we can use to determine whether a prayer could be considered personal.

[32] See Binski, *Becket's Crown*, fig. 170.

There are three types of cross prayers. Prayers directly calling upon the cross, such as the Ælfwine Prayer Book-prayer beginning 'Ave alma crux . . .' (Günzel, no. 44), are most the recognizable 'cross prayers' (type 1). These are prayers that directly invoke or address the cross. In type 2 cross prayers the cross is part of the narrative of the prayer. These are concerned with the role of the cross in salvation history, such as the prayer beginning 'Domine Ihesu Christi, qui per crucem passionis tue nos redemisti' from the Wulfstan Portiforium (type 2).[33] Finally prayers which form part of a series of devotions to the cross or Office to the Holy Cross, such as the devotional series in the Ælfwine Prayer Book (Günzel, nos. 46 and 50) may also be described as cross prayers.

Power of Christ

There is a symbiotic relationship between the cross and Christ; prayers (and indeed other texts) use Christ and the cross interchangeably since the cross was viewed as a symbol directly representing Christ. These texts give characteristics or descriptions of one to the other. The Wulfstan Portiforium for example reads '. . . tu qui es lignum vitae paradisique reparator, omnibus in te credentibus dira serpentis uenena extinguas'.[34] The prayer identifies Christ as the Tree of Life. This would be an equally suitable epithet for the cross.

Prayers to the saints were effective because the saints were thought to intervene between the Godhead and the supplicant: the saints do not have

[33] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, ed. Hughes, II, p. 19.
[34] 'You who are the tree of life and the restorer of paradise, you extinguish the dire venom of the snake for those that believe in you . . .', *Portiforium of Wulfstan*, ed. Hughes, II, p. 19.

miraculous powers themselves, only when God chooses; saints only have powers of intercession.[35] Unlike the saints, the cross does not necessarily need to exercise intercessory powers because the supplicant is praying directly to Christ without the need of an intermediary, 'and to ðære rode we us gebiddað. na swa ðeah to ðam treowe, ac to ðam ælmihtigum drihtne'.[36] Ælfric tells his brethren that they pray not to the cross but to Christ who 'on ðære halgan rode for us hangode', that though the supplicant is praying to the cross they are in fact invoking Christ.[37] Supplicants also prayed to the cross because it is a commemoration of Christ's suffering. In a later homily for the *Inventio sanctae crucis* Ælfric states 'seo rod is gemynd. his maeran þrowunge', the cross represents the sacrifice and is a constant reminder of the passion.[38] In *The Dream of the Rood* the violent experience of Christ is also that of the cross as the cross is described as co-suffering with Christ; both are scarred from the experience (ll. 46–9).

Iconographically the cross is used to suggest Christ without his presence. The cross image is not a literal representation of Christ but symbolic. This synergy between Christ and the cross is evident in the carpet pages of the illuminated gospel books, where the cross represents an absent Christ.[39] Herren and Brown surmise that these cross carpet pages developed from a reluctance to depict Christ in human image form because of concerns expressed during the Iconoclastic controversy (that an image contains only one nature of Christ as it is unable to represent his divinity); consequently artists used a symbol to depict Christ instead

[35] See Book of Cerne prayers 62–9 and indeed any prayers centreing on saints.
[36] Ælfric, *CH* II.xiii, ll. 288–93 (ed. Godden, p. 136). '. . . and to the rood we pray, though not to the tree, but to the Almighty Lord, who for us hung on the holy rood'.
[37] '. . . who hung on the holy rood for us', Ælfric, *CH* II.xiii, ll. 288–93 (ed. Godden, p. 136).
[38] '. . . the cross is a reminder of his great Passion', Ælfric, *CH* II.xviii, ll. 153-58 (ed. Godden, pp. 175–6).
[39] Examples include: The Book of Kells, fol. 33r and The Lindisfarne Gospels, fols. 26r. 210v.

of a portrait.[40] In symbolic representations, Christ is still present. Though Christ's corporal body is physically not present on the fol. 2v carpet-page of the Lindisfarne Gospel book, he is not actually absent as through the symbol of the cross and through the design of the carpet page Christ is present through suggestion. While he is not visually depicted neither is he absent because of the figure of the cross.

The cross possessed the power of Christ, as is demonstrated in exorcism formulas and charms that call upon the cross's apotropaic powers. One of the main themes in the cross prayers is the use of this power to protect the supplicant. In the *Vita Guthlaci*, Guthlac is able to repel the devil with the symbol of the cross, 'armato corde signo salutari'.[41] The Book of Nunnaminster prayer 'Contra uenenum' (N65) is based on the apocryphal story of St John and the poisoned chalice. The sign of the cross is used to protect the supplicant as the supplicant is armed with the sign of the cross before drinking from the poisoned chalice.[42] A prayer in the Ælfwine Prayer Book asks for Christ's help seven times through Christ's cross, 'ut me defendas' ('so that you defend me') (Günzel, no. 13). Each request ascribes a different adjective to the cross: sancta, benedicta, beata,

[40] M. Herren and S. Brown, *Christ in Celtic Christianity*: *Britain and Ireland from the Fifth to the Tenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 250–1; M. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto, 2003), pp. 323–5 especially p. 324. One of the primary issues in the Iconoclastic Controversy (c. 730–87) was the representation of Christ; it was argued that an icon or image only shows Christ's outside shell and therefore only his human nature. A visual image of the crucified Christ depicts a human form, since the divine matter and substance that creates Christ cannot be captured on the page; this meant that a complex iconography had to be developed to capture both Christ's divinity and humanity in an image. Michelle Brown notes that during the Iconoclastic Controversy images of Christ were torn from palace gates and replaced with the symbol of the Cross. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, p. 324.

[41] ' . . . having armed his breast with the sign of salvation' . . .', *Felix's life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and transl. Cosgrave, p. 114/5.

[42] 'Et cum hoc dixisset totum semet ipsum armuait crucis signo, et bibet totum quod erat in calice'. See Jolly, 'Cross Anglo–Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: the Sign of the Cross as Ritual and Protection' in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo–Saxon Church,* pp. 213–243, especially pp. 216–28; Jolly, 'Prayers from the Field: Practical Protection and Demonic Defense in Anglo–Saxon England', *Traditio* 61 (2006), 95–147; D. Johnson, 'The *Crux usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo–Saxon England' in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo–Saxon England,* pp. 80–95.

gloriosa, ueneranda, laudanda, magnifica.[43] The cross was a powerful symbol. Through invoking the cross, supplicants could directly invoke Christ. The cross was a symbol of God's protection, often called upon in prayer. The sign of the cross initialised and closed prayers.

Early prayer

Few prayers directly invoke the cross in the early prayer books (Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book or Book of Cerne), even though the cult of the cross was growing at this time.[44] The Nunnaminster Life Cycle and Abecedarian are more interested in Christ and subsequently to do not directly invoke the cross. In the Gospel accounts of the Crucifixion the cross is incidental; the cross only forms part of the narrative as it does in the early prayer books.[45] Exegetes give the cross greater symbolic weight.

A Nunnaminster prayer is rubricated *De cruce domini* (N30) (Royal 'H'), however, the prayer is addressed to Christ, 'O tu summa singularisque pietas qui crucis bonus subire sustinendo portandoque non negasti' ('H': 'Humilis excelsa sancta singularisque pietas . . .'). [46] The later Old English rubric to the Royal 'H' prayer also identifies it as a Christ as opposed to cross prayer, 'Be cristes byrþenne þa he seolfa his rodde ber'.[47] The main image in *De cruce domine* is Christ as the Lamb of God, here described as the *agnus inmaculatus* ('spotless lamb'). The cross elevates the lamb (Christ). There is no meditation on the role of the cross; the focus is upon Christ who chose to carry the cross which is human sin 'per quod peccata humani generis tamque graue onus ut agnus, inmaculatus humeris eleuasti

[43] Holy, blessed, glorious, venerable, lauded, magnificent.
[44] The Harleian Prayer Book is fragmentary so it may once have contained a "cross prayer".
[45] *Oratio de collo,* N32, *De brachis et manibus,* N33; *De tenebris*, N36.
[46] 'Oh you of the single and highest piety, did not refuse to support or carry the burden of the cross'.
[47] Cameron no: B. 12. 4. 10. 5. 7.

propriis'.[48] There is some ambiguity in this line, as the cross physically lifts Christ and Christ metaphorically represents sin; and this could be a reference to the cross-Christ motif.[49]

A second Nunnaminster prayer rubricated *Item de passione crucis* (N35) is similar as the main visual image is Christ, but this time he is represented as the shepherd and again there is little elaboration on the cross's role at the Crucifixion. This prayer forms the second part of the Royal 'I' prayer.[50] In this prayer, the emphasis is on Christ's humility (incarnation and mode of death). The idea of lifting and rising is used repeatedly in the prayer. The weight of the cross is equated with the burden of sin, 'iacentem mundum erexisti' and Christ is elevated onto the cross by dirty hands ('cruce eleuare manibus pullutis peccatorum permisisti').[51] Christ on the cross represents human sin. The emphasis is on Christ's Passion and the cross only forms part of the narrative. The cross is used predominantly in Royal Prayer 'K' a part of the narrative and plays a passive role in the prayer (Nunnaminster, *De brachis et manibus* (N31)) as Christ extends his arms on the cross, 'Karitatis auctor castatis doctor et amator hominum, benignissime Deus Christe qui brachia tua extendisti crucis in ligno . . .'. [52] The later rubric identifies the prayer as being about Christ's hands on the cross ('Be cristes earma þenninge 7 his honda on rode').[53] The Royal rubric matches the Nunnaminster ascription that the prayer is about Christ's hands (*honda*/*manibus*) and arms (*earma*/*branchis*).

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[48] 'Through you like a spotless lamb with your own arms lifted the sins of the human race as a great burden'.
[49] 'With your own arms lifted the sins of the human race as a great burden'.
[50] Nunnaminster prayer *De ueste eiusdem* (N31) forms the opening of the Abecedarian 'I' prayer.
[51] *De cruce domini*, *The Book of Nunnaminster*, ed. De Gray Birch, p. 71. 'You permitted [yourself] to be raised upon the cross by unclean hands'. Unclean hands meaning sinners.
[52] 'O author of charity, teacher of chastity, and lover of men, most kind God, O Christ who extended you arms on the wood of the cross'.
[53] 'About Christ's arms and his hands on the cross'. B12.4.10.5.7.

Two further prayers in the Royal Prayer Book elucidate the role of the cross in Anglo-Saxon society. The first is a prayer beginning, 'Obsecro te Ihesu Christe fili dei uiui per sanctam crucem tuam' (fol. 45r) (R35) and the second is only a line long, 'Crux Christi Ihesu Domini dei nostri ingeritur mihi' (R39).[54] The cross, as discussed earlier, is a protective symbol and these prayers call upon the cross for protection. Drawn crosses are also important in the *mise-en-page* of the Royal Prayer Book. As discussed in chapter 3, cross shapes appear at the tops of many pages. These function as either *nota bene* marks or as reminders for the readers to bless themselves.[55]

The Book of Cerne contains the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer which later became synonymous with the Veneration of the Cross ceremony. It is questionable whether the prayer in its Cerne form is a cross prayer as most of the prayer's matter is concerned with the life of Christ as will be discussed in Chapter 5. Only four of the fifteen invocations address the role of the cross and even the rubric denotes the prayer as a 'Christ/God' prayer (*Oratio sancta ad Dominum*). The Royal Prayer Book also contains a version of the prayer. Tenth-century additions to the margins include three verses of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' in the bottom margin of fol. 16v (discussed below).

The later prayers

The place of the cross is formalised in the later texts as more prayers directly invoke the cross and there are more ceremonies concerning the cross (Veneration Ceremony, Office of the Holy Cross). The Ælfwine Prayer Book contains the most

[54] 'The cross of our Lord Jesus Christ is [put] on me', *The Book of Cerne,* ed. Kuypers, p. 223.
[55] See Chapter 2 .

extensive selection of cross devotions from Anglo-Saxon England.[56] The prayer book even enumerates reasons for prayer to the cross (Günzel, no. 46.12). The tone of the prayers differs from that of the earlier prayers and the later prayers are more concerned about the cross's role in bearing the redemption of the world (*mundi pretium portasti*). Many of the prayers invoke the cross directly, commemorating the role of the cross in the history of salvation: 'Aue alma crux' (Günzel, no. 44), 'O crux uiride ligno' (Günzel, no. 46.7), 'O crux splendidior' (Günzel, no. 46.1).

The manuscript contains three drawings; one of these miniatures is a depiction of the Crucifixion (fol. 64v). This miniature sits directly before a devotional section concerned with the Crucifixion, connecting the text to the image.[57] The cross's importance is also denoted through its size in the Crucifixion miniature. Karkov describes the image as the focal point for the prayers where the image is a meditative aid for the prayers.[58] The cross is depicted as touching all four sides of the page and the figures of Mary and John flank the cross. The cross is unembellished.

The Ælfwine Prayer Book is a manuscript that was designed for personal devotions considering that it has prayers suitable for that purpose and it contains instructions for self-direction. Certainly it is a personal book in that it was created for the needs of one man – Ælfwine: the abbot himself is pictured in one of the book's three miniatures kneeling at the feet of St Peter and his name is used

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[56] *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, contains the Devotion of the Cross on fols. 64v–73v (ed. Günzel, pp. 122–8) and the Office of the Holy cross on fols. 80r–81v (ed. Günzel, pp. 131–3). The Passion according to John as contained in the *Ælfwine Prayerbook* is not edited by Günzel.
[57] C. Karkov, 'Abbott Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform*, pp. 103–32, at p. 105; in a separate article Karkov adds that the image was designed 'specifically for its role in this prayer book', 'The Power of Words, Text as Image in the Ælfwine Prayer Book', in *Anglo-Saxon Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honor of Donald G. Scragg*, eds. H. Magennis and J. Wilcox (Morgantown, WV, 2006), pp. 95–114, at p. 98.
[58] *Ibid.*

repeatedly throughout the prayer book. We cannot know if Ælfwine selected each of the texts himself or if they were chosen by the compiler, but it is eminently possible that the texts (prayers, computational material etc.) were selected because they were important to Ælfwine.[59]

There are three votive offices recorded in the Ælfwine Prayer Book: these are to the Trinity (Günzel, no. 49), the cross (Günzel, no. 50) and the Virgin (Günzel, no. 51). These are followed by a series of private prayers (Günzel, no. 52) and preceded by the Quinity miniature (Günzel, no. 48). Since each Office is for an hour, Günzel surmises that they are 'intended only for private devotion' as opposed to liturgical worship.[60] The Ælfwine Prayer Book Office of the Holy Cross contains four prayers (Günzel, nos. 50.2-5). The appearance of the cross in so many prayers in the Ælfwine Prayer Book denotes the importance of the cross.

While the prayers in the prayer book are not ostensibly about the cross, the cross still features. Prayer 46.1 invokes some of the same wording as Fortunatus's *Pange lingua.* The prayer reads: 'Dulce lignum. Dulces claui. Dulcia ferens pondera' which is based on Fortunatus's *Pange lingua* which reads 'dulce lignum dulce clauo dulce pondus sustines'.[61] Prayer 46.5 is concerned with Christ overturning death (*Victor mortis*) through the wood of the cross.[62] Prayer 46.7 describes the cross as precious because from it hung Christ: 'O crux viride lingo, quia super te pependit redemptor Israelis. O quam pretiosum lignum, quam pretiosa gemma, que Christum meruit portare, per quem salus mundi facta est'.[63] Prayers 46.1-7 appear

[59] *Abbatis* (abbot) was added to the calendar material at a later date, so it would appear that the prayer book was compiled before Ælfwine's appointment as abbot at New Minster. *The Ælfwine Prayer Book* ed. Günzel*, Introduction*, p. 1.
[60] The Ælfwine Prayer Book, ed. Günzel*, Introduction*, p. 53.
[61] 'Sweet wood that upon a sweet nail bears a sweet burden'.
[62] 'adoro te per lignum sancte crucis, per quod tu uiceras hostem crudelissimum principem mundi. Victor mortis existens, exoro te piissime cum lacrimis'.
[63] 'O green cross because upon you hung the redemption of Israel, so precious wood so precious bud who deserved to carry Christ, through you the health of the world was made'.

to be more personal prayers than 46.11 as they are written in the first person (Günzel, no. 46.11) ('salue, crux sanctifica, in quia in te affixa est Gloria et sanctification nostra').

The Galba-Nero Prayer Book contains prayers traditionally associated with the Veneration of the Cross Ceremony in both Old English and Latin. Muir has noted two more possible cross prayers (fols. 154r–v), but because of the extensive damage to the manuscript, they are unintelligible.[64]

The first cross prayer in the Wulfstan Portiforium, 'Oratio ad sanctam crucem', is a direct address to the cross by the supplicant and is separate from the other cross prayers.[65] The prayer contains many epithets celebrating the cross. In this prayer, the supplicant describes his or her lowly state and asks the cross to intercede, given the role that the cross played in the redemption of mankind.[66] The Veneration of the cross prayers appear in three separate occasions in the Portiforium. In the first instance, is a verse of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', alone in Latin; the second has six invocations where the Latin verses are abridged and the Old English verses are presented in full and a second Veneration of the Cross prayer; the final appearance is an archaic verse of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' (discussed below). Other prayers describe the cross as the *vexillum*, the banner of Christ (Günzel, no. 44). Prayer 52.4 compares the cross to the Tree of Life in paradise, demonstrating the complexities of the prayers. The Tree of Life reverses the death brought about through the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. This is also alluded to in the fourth prayer where the supplicant calls upon the cross for help in the fight against temptation.

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[64] *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-book*, ed. Muir, p. 214.
[65] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan*, ed. Hughes, II, p. 8.
[66] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan,* ed. Hughes, II, p. 19.

The Winchcombe Psalter contains two cross prayers both of which address Christ.[67] This manuscript also contains a Crucifixion miniature (fol. 88r) with the words *lignum vitae* inscribed on the transept of the cross. The Arundel 155 Psalter has a mixture of cross prayers with an interlinear gloss. These prayers are all found in other manuscripts. The Psalter also has the three Veneration of the Cross prayers.

The prayers from the Veneration of the Cross ceremony are the most common extant cross prayers. Only one prayer, the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', overlaps between the early and later prayer books. As we noted above, there were very few cross prayers in the earlier period so it would seem that supplicants became more interested in the role of the cross (or that other cross prayers did not survive). However, in the case of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', the later witnesses are dramatically different to the earlier Book of Cerne witness (described below). There is no shared cross prayer in the earlier prayer books. There is shared wording in Nunnaminster *De cruce domini* prayer and the Royal Abecedarian 'H' prayer but this is because of the complex relationship existing between the two manuscripts. There are more texts in common in the later prayer books and psalters. Increased standardization through the Benedictine Reform and Alfred's educational efforts may have had this effect.

[67] Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', p. 282.

PUBLIC CROSS PRAYERS

Veneration Ceremony

The tenth-century *Regularis Concordia* contains the Latin *ordo* for the Cross Ceremony.[68] The Veneration of the Cross ceremony occurred on Good Friday as part of the Easter Liturgy. It originated in Jerusalem with Helena's discovery of the True Cross (c. 320) which is celebrated in the Old English poem *Elene*, and the ceremony is witnessed and record by the pilgrim Egeria c. 381-4.[69] Chapters 43–7 of the *Regularis Concordia* portray the ceremony as a dramatic performance.[70] Elsewhere, the *Regularis Concordia* records, ' . . . animarum compuctionem spiritualis rei indicium exorsum est'.[71] Dramatizing the liturgy was a means of eliciting compunction from the audience. The visual dramatic quality was used to affect a response in the devotees as the audience imagined it was historically present and therefore a participant at the events.

During Prime, in the dark, the brethren walked barefoot (*discalciati*) to adore the cross. At None, the monks returned to the Church; there they prayed awhile and the abbot went before the altar to pray. After this the subdeacon read from Isaiah and Habakkuk, and the abbot read a collect 'Deus a quo et Iudas', while the

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[68] *Regularis Concordia*, VI.43–7 (ed. and transl. T. Symons (London, 1953), pp. 41–7); the Veneration is also synopsised by Ælfric in his Letter to the Monks at Eynsham**;** the letter is edited by C. A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge, 1998) and the Veneration ceremony can be found on pp. 130–33.

[69] *Elene* is edited by G. Krapp in *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records II: The Vercelli Book* (New York, 1932), pp. 66–102. Marcelle Thiébaux includes Egeria's experience of the adoration of the cross in Jerusalem in: *The Writings of Medieval Women: An Anthology*, 2nd edition (London, 1994), pp. 40–2. On the Veneration of the ceremony and its development in western liturgy see L. van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Leuven, 2000).

[70] Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 123–30; Larratt Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 203–7.

[71]' . . . a practice has grown up whereby compunction of the soul is aroused by means of the outward representation of what is spiritual . . .', *Regularis Concordia*, ch. IV.37 (ed. and transl. Symons, p. 36/7).

monks genuflected. A second reading from Exodus (XII.10-12), a psalm (CXXXIX) and the Passion narrative from the Gospel of John followed this. The usually responses *Gloria tibi Domini* ('thanks be to God') and *Dominus uobiscum* ('Lord hear us') were not made, reflecting the somber and reflective mood of the ceremony. During the Gospel reading, when the words *partiti sunt uestimenta mea* (John XIX.24) were spoken, *statim* ('at once') two deacons were to remove the altar cloth (*nudent altare sindone*) in the manner of thieves (*in modum furantis*). This was followed by the prayers of intercession (*Orationes sollemnes*) which were, apart from *Oremus dilectissimi nobis pro sancta ecclesia Dei*, to be sung.

The cross was positioned (*praeparetur*) upright in front of the altar, with two deacons flanking the cross to support it.[72] This cross could have been similar to the Brussels Cross.[73] The shaft of the Brussels Cross measures 54.9 cm and the transepts 27.7 cm. The cross has a slot for a relic, probably a fragment of the True Cross and is engraved with texts related to *The Dream of the Rood*. The *Populeˊ meus* was sung; several voices performed the responses in Greek and Latin. The cross was borne (*levantes*) before altar and laid upon a cushion. The cross was then unveiled and the antiphons *Ecce lignum crucis, Crucem tuam adoramus Domine, Dum Fabricator mundi* and *Pange lingua* were sung. The *Pange lingua* antiphon is from a poem by Venantius Fortunatus. Fortunatus's poetry – particularly his poems concerning the cross – had a marked effect on cross devotion, as some of his poetry such as *Pange lingua* and *Vexilla regis* became part of the Church Liturgy.[74] Themes found in Fortunatus's poetry resonate with the

[72] *Regularis Concordia*, ch. VI.43 (ed. and transl. Symons, p. 41/2).
[73] *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, no. 75, pp. 90–2.
[74] The poems of Venantius Fortunatus, *Vexilla regis*, *Pange lingua*, and *Crux benedicta*, were created on the occasion of Julius II's presentation of relics to Abbess Radegunde of Poitiers (d. c. 587). For the reception of the cross hymns in Anglo-Saxon England see Larratt Keffer, 'Performance of the cross' and Milfull 'Hymns to the cross: Vexilla Regis Prodeunt'. There were cross poems and hymns

later cross devotions; however, Fortunatus's poems are particularly important as they are among the first and most widely diffused to deal with the cross. With its stylistic trochaic tetrameter, *Pange lingua* presents the Crucifixion as a victorious battle.[75] The cross was unveiled and the abbot prostrated himself three times before it *cum magno cordis suspirio* ('with a great sigh of the heart'). The supplicant was then to say the seven penitential psalms and three cross prayers. Prayers were interspersed with psalms. The abbot then kissed the cross and stood.

The venerated cross was symbolically buried upon the altar, 'ac si Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi corpore sepulto'. The wood of the cross represented the flesh and blood of Christ, and the space that this cross was buried in represented the sepulchre in Jerusalem. This 'burial' is precisely described. The deacons veiled the cross and the cross was carried to its sepulchre while they sang the antiphons of Ps. IV. 9, Ps. XIV.1, Ps. XV.9. When the body/cross had been placed in the sepulchre, the sepulchre was given a guard of honour until the third day. The removal of the cross from the 'sepulchre' represented Christ's resurrection.

Prayers venerating the cross

The *Regularis Concordia* prescribes three prayers to be said during the Veneration Ceremony. The rest of the *Concordia* prescribes prayers for other occasions but unlike in the Veneration Ceremony, it does not provide the full texts of these other

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before Fortunatus, for example Ambrose's (d. 397) 'Iam surgit hora tertia'. On this and Fortunatus see van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*, pp. 229–52. Fortunatus's poetry was subsumed at an early stage into Old English literature, and was a formative influence on Aldhelm. M. Lapidge, 'Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Early Anglo-Saxon England', in *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899* (London, 1996), pp. 399–408; Orchard, *Poetic Art of Aldhem* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 19–5.

[75] 'Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis et super crucis tropaeo dic triumphum nobilem, qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus uicerit' 'Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle/ and sing a triumphal song about the trophy of the cross, / telling how man's Redeemer offered His life and thus won the day', text and transl. in van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross*, p. 236.

prayers. Texts prescribed in the *Regularis Concordia* derived from earlier traditions. The *ordo* contains an antiphon from the sixth-century poem, *Pange lingua* and one of the prayers - 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' – is contained in the ninth-century Book of Cerne. Symons has stated that 'there is no parallel in, or which cannot satisfactorily be assigned to, contemporary foreign monasticism' for the three Veneration of the cross prayers and that they therefore form part of the 'native customs'.[76] That is to say, similar examples do not survive on the continent. The *Regularis Concordia* is a tenth-century codification of monastic rules and was influenced by Anglo-Saxon and continental practices but it is very difficult to differentiate the two, and the direction of the intellectual traffic. We know that many of the changes of the Benedictine Reform movement were influenced by Fluery.[77] While the earliest extant version of the *Adoro te* prayer is contained in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, the earliest versions of the second prayer ('Domine Ihesu Christe, gloriosissime conditor mundi') is found in the Carolingian *Liber precum*, the *Libellus Trecensis*.[78] However, the final prayer ('Deus omnipotens, Ihesu Christe, qui tuas manus mundas'), is not found outside of the *Regularis Concordia* which is an Anglo-Saxon not continental collation of monastic practice. This implies that the final *Regularis Concordia*, Veneration of the Cross prayer, is Anglo-Saxon. Later we shall examine the manuscript groupings of these prayers.

The three prayers are addressed to Christ. Rich in liturgical and exegetical meaning the three prayers emphasise that Christ through his humility was sacrificed on the cross as opposed to celebrating the cross. 'Domine Ihesu Christe, Adoro te in Cruce' is a popular European cross prayer; its popularity will be

[76] *Regularis Concordia* ed. and transl. Symons, *intro*., p. xlvi.
[77] On the continental influences, see Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses'.
[78] L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (Oslo, 1961), pp. 21–2.

discussed later on. This contracted version of the prayer focuses on the events of the Passion and they give thanks (*adoro te* ('I adore you')) to Christ for his actions and then ask (*deprecor te* ('I ask you')) a favour from Christ. 'Domine Ihesu Christe gloriosissime conditor mundi' celebrates Christ's incarnation.[79]

Domine Ihesu Christe gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor gloriae coaeternus Patri Sanctoque Spiritui, ideoque dignatus es carnem ex imaculata uirgine sumere et gloriosas palmas tuas in crucis patibulo permisisti configere, ut claustra dissipares inferni et humanum genus liberares de morte; respice et miserere mihi misero, oppresso facinorum pondere multarumque nequitiarum labe polluto; non me digneris derelinquere, piissime Pater, sed indulge quod impie gessi. Exaudi me prostratum coram adoranda gloriosissma cruce tua, ut merear tibi mundus assistere et placere conspectui	Lord Jesus Christ, most glorious Creator of the world, splendor of the Father's glory, co-eternal with Him and the Holy Ghost; Who therefore didst deign to take the flesh of a spotless virgin and didst allow the glorious hands to be fixed to the gibbet of the cross that thou mightest overthrow the gates of hell and free the human race from death; look down and have mercy on me, a wretch born down by the weight of sin and polluted by the stains of my many misdeeds: in thy mercy forsake me not, most loving Father , but forgive that in which I have sinned most impiously. Hear me, prostrate before thy adorable and most glorious cross that I may

[79] *Regularis Concordia,* ch. XLV (ed. and transl. Symons p. 43).

tui. Qui cum Patre. [80]	deserve to stand before thee pure and pleasing in thy sight, who is with the Father.

Here the cross is described as *crucis patibulo* ('gibbet of the cross'), highlighting the humiliation of Christ's death. The supplicant describes himself as a wretch in language similar to that used by Anselm, who described the supplicant as, 'Very wretched ... he who is continually afraid of the filthy horror of himself'.[81] The supplicant here is so sinful that he is not worthy of standing. The supplicant is a wretch and dirty, contrasting himself with the spotless Virgin and Christ. The person praying adopts a supplicatory position, prostrating himself before the cross. The cross is also Christ, and so on an allegorical level, the supplicant is prostrating himself before Christ. Venerating the cross is to give thanks to Christ for his suffering upon it. 'Deus omnipotens Ihesu Christe qui tuas manus mundas' is the shortest of the three.

Deus omnipotens, Ihesu Christe, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti et de tuo sancto sanguine pretioso nos redemisti; mitte in me sensum et intellegentiam quomodo habeam ueram paenitentiam et habeam bonam perseuerantiam omibus diebus uitae meae. Amen. [82]	Almighty God, Lord Jesus Christ, who for our sakes didst stretch out thy pure hands on the cross and didst redeem us with thy holy and precious blood, grant me so to feel and understand that I may have true repentance and good perseverance all the days of my life. Amen.

[80] *Ibid*.
[81] Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations* (transl. Ward), p. 131.
[82] *Regularis Concordia*, ch. XLIV (ed. and transl. Symons p. 43).

The central image is Christ nailed to the cross. The nails released Christ's blood hastening Christ's death. Christ's death was the means of redemption. In this prayer the supplicant wishes to understand Christ's sacrifice so that they might atone for his or her part.

Though these prayers may have been performed in a communal setting, first person pronouns are prevalent in the first and second prayer, almost as if the prayers are a personal conversation – a personal plea - between the supplicant and the Godhead. In the third prayer, there is a move from the first person plural (*nos* - we) to the first (*me*); the section written in the first person plural is a statement of fact, while the first person section contains the request. Prayers are personal even though they are in public because of the personal requests of the supplicant to the Godhead.

Manuscript groupings of the Veneration prayers

While these prayers formed part of the performance of the public liturgy at Easter, cross devotions of this type are part of the core of private prayer, as Larratt Keefer states ' . . . (the prayers) were apparently retained as part of the body of private prayer for personal use'.[83] These prayers are found in three separate situations: firstly in manuscripts as part of the Veneration of the Cross ceremony, secondly in 'versions' of the Veneration ceremony and thirdly out of context as part of series of personal prayer. Table 4.1 collates the groupings of the three Veneration prayers in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

[83] Larratt Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross', p. 149.

The Royal Prayer Book and Book of Cerne contain only the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' of the three Veneration ceremony prayers. All the witnesses to this prayer will be discussed below but we can note here that the prayers are indeed 'out of contex', meaning that the prayer is found alone and not definitively assigned to a liturgical ceremony. For example, the prayers are found in a ceremonial context in London, British Library, Faustina B. iii and London, British Library, Tiberius A. iii (both s. xi^{med}), which witnesses to the *Regularis Concordia*, as the parts are described in the context of the Veneration of the Cross ceremony on Good Friday.

The Egbert Pontifical has (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 10575) only two of the three prayers and a scribe has rubricated the two prayers, *Orationes dicende cum adoratur sancta crux*, prayers to be used adoring the cross.[84] Preceding these prayers is a prayer with the rubric *Pro oculorum infirmitate* and following a prayer beginning *Auge fidem in te sperantium Deus*.[85] So here, the prayers are not actually part of a ceremony. The text Rouen A. 44 is again not found in a definite ceremonial context and only is a witness of two prayers. These prayers are also found "out of context" in the *libells precum* in the Galba Psalter, a liturgical manuscript brought to England in the tenth century.[86]

The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer occurs three times in the Wulfstan Portiforium, all in a section identified by Anselm Hughes as 'orationes privatae'.[87] The prayers are found as part of a series of cross prayers but are not part of a ceremony. In the first instance it is just the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro

[84] Egbert Pontifical is edited in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals: the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontifical,* ed. H. Banting (London, 1989), p. 141.
[85] Egbert Pontifical, *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, pp. 141–2.
[86] Larratt Keefer, 'The Veneration of the Cross', p. 150. The Galba Psalter is discussed by R. Deshman, 'The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook', *ASE* 26 (1997), 109–38, Deshman discusses the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer at pp. 123–5.
[87] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan,* ed. Hughes, II, pp. 1–24.

te cruce' in Latin (ed. Hughes, pp. 18–9); second, it occurs in a series rubricated *Item aliae orationes latine et anglice* (ed. Hughes, pp. 20–21) and is followed by the other Good Friday prayers. In the last instance, it is a third copy of the 'adoro te cruce' again in *latine et anglice* (ed. Hughes, p. 22). The question, then, is whether these are different "versions" of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer, as will be discussed below.

In the Galba-Nero Prayer Book, the three prayers are preceded by psalms and separated by a further psalm (68). The only rubric separates the 'Domine Ihesu Christi, adoro te cruce' and the 'Domine Ihesu Christe gloriosissime conditor mundi', and reads: 'In secunda duos medioximos / sequente oratione'.[88] We cannot deduce the likely use of prayers from this rubric but though this manuscript is post Benedictine Reform, the psalms combined with the three prayers are not those of the *Regularis Concordia.* This may indicate that there was another version of the Good Friday ceremony in use in Anglo-Saxon England.

The Arundel 155 Psalter has the three Veneration prayers prescribed in the *Regularis Concordia* ('Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', Holthausen, Nos. 4-9; 10; 11). In Holthausen's edition of Arundel's 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce', prayer, the verses are separated as if each verse may be an individual prayer, since each verse/prayer carries the rubric *Alia.* The text of the prayer is an older form than the *Concordia* version. Unlike the Galba-Nero prayer book, the Arundel prayers are not interspersed with psalms. The use of the prayers in Arundel is not defined in the manuscript and the prayers are not particularly ordered, with the Veneration prayers positioned amongst other cross prayers. It is possible that

[88] 'In the second two middlemost, the following prayers'.

these prayers as found in Arundel could be used paraliturgically, as opposed to being part of the Good Friday ritual.[89]

Table 4.1 below demonstrates the frequency with which the three prayers are found together. The table shows that when all three of the prayers prescribed in the *Regularis Concordia* are found together, the text of the prayers ('Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'), is not strictly the text prescribed in the *Concordia.*

Table 4.1, table describing the frequency of when the three prayers are found together			
Key			
R: Regularis Concordia version of the text		**C: Common form of the text** **X: Present**	
Arundel 155 Psalter (A155)		**Pontifical of Egbert (PE)**	
BL, MS Cotton Faustina B. iii (FBIII)		**Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs1)**	
BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (TA)		**Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs2)**	
Book of Cerne (BoC)		**Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs3)**	
Galba-Nero Prayer Book (GNPB)		**Royal Prayer Book (RPb)**	
Ms Rouen A. 44 (RA44)			
Incipit	**Domine Ihesu Christe, Adoro te . . . (1)**	**Domine Ihesu Christe gloriosissime conditor mundi . . .(2)**	**Deus omnipotens, Ihesu Christe, qui tuas manus mundas propter nos in cruce posuisti . . .(3)**
BoC	**C**		
PE	**C**	**X**	
RPb	**R**		
RA44	**R**		
A155	**C**	**X**	**X**
GNPB	**R**	**X**	**X**
PWs1	**X**	**X**	**X**
PWs2	**X**		
PWs3	**C**		
RPb	**R**	**X**	**X**
TA	**R**	**X**	**X**

[89] Liuzza has wondered whether the three prayers in Arundel 155 may represent a 'separate textual tradition', in 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', p. 284.

PERSONALISING THE CROSS

The supplicant and the cross

The early prayer books do not script the response of the supplicant to the cross as they narrate the action of the implied supplicant rather than their reactions. However, in some of the later prayers we are given some insight into the implied supplicant as they record the emotional response towards the cross rather than narrate actions.

In the Wulfstan Portiforium prayer beginning 'Deus qui crucem tuam ueneror et sanctam resurrectionem', [90] we learn a lot about the supplicant, as the supplicant describes the tone of the prayer, 'confitentem in cruce lacrimabiliter passionemque tuam recollentem'.[91] The cross is scripting a voice for an implied supplicant. The cross and its symbolism affect the supplicant to confess to Christ in a tearful manner. In the present time, the supplicant is remembering but is also present at the Crucifixion (*hodie*). He or she is there with Christ at his passing and this gives a powerful intimacy and connection between the supplicant and Christ. The remembered violence of Christ's Passion and the magnitude of the sacrifice cause the supplicant to weep, especially as he or she remembers their sins.[92] Even the *Regularis Concordia* records that tears are part of the proper observance of prayer, as it means that the supplicant is raising their thoughts to God and reflecting upon their own sinfulness, 'Mala sua praeterita cum lacrimis vel gemitu cotidie in

[90] *The Portiforium of St. Wulstan,* ed. Hughes, II, p. 22.
[91] 'Confessing tearfully [to you] on the cross and recollecting your passion', Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 166.
[92] 'pendens hodie in cruce' 'hanging today on the cross', Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 166.

oratione Deo confiteri'.[93] Here there is an emotional response; the prayer affects the supplicant.

The cross was important to personal health and it was important for Anglo-Saxon medical practice. In the *Vita Guthlaci*, crosses were used as protection to ward off evil and expel demons. However, cross prayers were also important in the magico-medico genre as prayers invoke the cross as a healing emblem. This is demonstrated from an early period in Anglo-Saxon England. According to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica,* Oswald erected a cross at Heavenfield, which contributed to his victory. Even after the battle the cross possessed miraculous properties: 'Nam et usque hodie multi de ipso lingo sacrosanctae cruces astulas excidere solent, quas cum in aquas miserint, eis que languentes homines aut pecudes potauerint siue asperserint, mox sanitati restituuntur'.[94] The site later became a place of pilgrimage and splinters of the cross became protective tokens. Devotees literally subsumed the cross into themselves as they drank water in which it had been submerged.[95]

The Ælfwine Prayer Book contains prayers seeking protection by the cross, the *Oratio ad crucem cum spetem petititonibu*s (Günzel, no. 46.13) and the prayer beginning 'Obsecro te, Domine Ihesu Christe' (hereafter *Obsecro te*) (Günzel, no. 46.21). The *Obsecro te* is also found in the Tiberius A.iii and in the Royal Prayer Book (R35).[96] This prayer calls for protection and is similar to *lorica* style prayers

[93] 'Every day with tears and sighs confess your past sins to God in prayer', *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, iv.57 (ed. and transl. Fry, pp. 184/5).
[94] 'And even to this day many people are in the habit of cutting off splinters from the wood of this holy cross and putting them in water which they then give to sick men or beasts or else they sprinkle them with it; and they are quickly restored to health', Bede, *HE* III.2 (transl. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 214/5–6/7). On Oswald's cross see D. Mac Lean, 'King Oswald's cross at Heavenfield in Context', in *The Insular Tradition,* ed. C. Karkov, M. Ryan and T. Farrell (Albany, NJ, 1997), pp. 79–98.
[95] Even the moss growing on this cross had healing properties. Bede, *HE* III.2 (ed. and transl. Colgrave and Maynors, p. 218/9).
[96] See table below. Also see Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', pp. 294–8.

such as the *Lorica of Laidcenn* contained in the Book of Cerne and Nunnamister, which calls for protection for every part of the body.[97] Repetition is an important feature of the prayer. The *lorica* prayers often present a battle, with the forces of God protecting the supplicant against the forces of the devil (Eph. VI. 11-7). Kathleen Hughes has said that the *lorica* have magical properties and has connected them to exorcism. The Ælfwine version of the *Obsecro te* (21) is more detailed than the Royal Prayer Book, including references not just to *manus* but *manus et brachia* likewise *per crucem tuam et per sanctam passionem tuam* not simply *per crucem tuam.*[98] The Ælfwine Prayer Book prayer personalises the relationship between the supplicant and Christ by replacing Christ with *tuo* ('you') found in the Royal Prayer Book and Tiberius A.iii, meaning that the supplicant is talking Christ directly. The conclusion of the Royal Prayer Book prayer is much longer than in the Ælfwine Prayer Book as it concludes with an exorcism in Greek.[99]

DOMINE IHESU CHRISTE, ADORO TE CRUCE

The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer oscillate between public and private space and are used communally and personally (both within a religious community and without it); a study of this prayer demonstrates that there is a blurred distinction between prayers used for public worship and private devotion

[97] Liuzza, 'Prayers and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', pp. 245–6.
[98] 'hand'/ 'hands and arms'; 'through your cross'/ 'through your cross and your holy passion'.
[99] A. Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of Belief, Health, Gender and Identity* (Woodbridge, 2007) pp. 71–3

during the Anglo-Saxon period.[100] This is most tangibly seen in relation to the cross prayers from the Veneration ceremony. The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' is a widely diffused prayer in Anglo-Saxon England, and indeed on the continent. It is the most popular and adapted prayer of the three prayers prescribed for the Veneration of the Cross ceremony, perhaps because its repetition makes it easy for rote performance. Lilli Gjerløw conducted a major investigation of the Veneration prayers during the early sixties, listing all of the witnesses of the prayers. This is still the standard study of the prayers, though some of her conclusions need to be updated and I have elucidated and expanded upon them here.[101]

Transmission history: witnesses of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'

Book of Cerne

The earliest extant witness to the prayer is the ninth-century Mercian prayer book, the Book of Cerne. The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' as found in the Book of Cerne (Cerne 19) is a prayer concerning the entire life of Christ, culminating in the Passion, Resurrection and Last Judgement. The cross is only mentioned in two of the invocations. Cerne places the Crucifixion in an historical and typological context with references to both Old and New Testament events: beginning with the separation of light and dark (Gen, I.3); God calling Adam (Gen,

[100] See comments by Keefer 'apparently retained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period as part of the body of private prayers for personal use, while being employed in the public Veneration [of the Cross] service as well': Keefer, 'The Performance of the Cross', p. 211.
[101] L. Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis* (Oslo, 1961).

II.8-9); it moves to the virgin birth; circumcision; and ministry, concluding with the Second Coming. The prayer is sandwiched between two prayers to Christ, both with the non-descriptive rubric *Oratio ad dominum* (Cerne nos. 18 and 20). The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' is itself rubricated as a prayer to Christ (*Oratio ad Sanctam Domini*), not as a cross prayer.[102] Furthermore, the Carolingian *Libellus Parisinus* (which is the second earliest witness) has thirteen verses which also do not converge on the cross but Christ's life.[103] This would imply that the use of the earliest witness of this prayer was not strongly cross related, but intended as a panegyric to Christ.

Gjerløw states that 'The Insular character of language and phraseology' indicates 'an Insular, or Irish-Northumbrian, origin of the text', but does not qualify what phraseology or language characters would lead her to believe that this is an Irish-Northumbrian or Insular text.[104] In Chapter 2, I discussed how scholars' use of terms such as "Irish influence" is somewhat anachronistic. The prayer could be Insular in that it may have originated in England or Ireland ca. 600–900, but equally it could be Carolingian given the number of Carolingian ninth-century witnesses (discussed below). Just because the Cerne text is the earliest, it does not mean that the text is Insular in origin. If Gjerløw is relying on the Book of Cerne as an example of Irish or Celtic spirituality, this is again problematic. Determining an 'Irish' quality in a text - as I have earlier noted - is a methodological quandary and must be treated with caution.

Later, regarding the *Regularis Concordia* tradition Symons states that this prayer is a remnant of the 'native customs' belonging to Anglo-Saxon England as opposed to those imported by the reformers, but does not give criteria on which

[102] It is considered a prayer on Christ's life by Raw, 'Alfredian Piety', p. 145.
[103] *Libellus Parisinus*, ed. Wilmart in *Precum libelli avei karolini*, pp. 44–5.
[104] Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis,* p. 16.

this can be determined.[105] It is part of the 'native' customs because it is found in the Book of Cerne, a ninth-century manuscript, but not as part of a formal cross ritual. Though there is one Anglo-Saxon witness to the prayer before the Benedictine Reform, three survive from Carolingian France: the Metz Gospel Book (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 268) fol. 154v, Charles the Bald Prayer Book and *Libellus Parisinus*. It is possible that the text is "Insular" and then travelled to Francia, subsequently becoming popular and returning to England, but it may also be a continental prayer.[106] If the prayer travelled from England to Francia, only to return in the tenth century, the pattern fits with Lapidge's theory about the effects of the Viking invasion upon English libraries.[107] The *Regularis concordia* form of the prayer could also be a "new" prayer created from the older, longer version. [108]

Continental witnesses

Ninth-century continental manuscripts containing the prayer include the *Libellus Parisinus*: a Carolingian *liber precum*. The prayer is also found in the Metz Gospel, the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald and the Italian Nonantola Prayer Book (Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS Sessorian, s. ix), fol. 71.[109] The *Libellus Parisinus* version contains thirteen invocations (to the Book of Cerne's fifteen), with the verses relating to the Second Coming and Last Judgement omitted.[110] The prayer book has other prayers in common with the Insular prayer books, (3) *Oracio*

[105] *Regularis Concordia* ed. Symons, *intro.*, pp. xlv–xlvi.
[106] Banting even admits that is difficult to say whether they are part of the 'native customs', in *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, *intro.*, pp. xxxi–xxxii.
[107] M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2006).
[108] *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, *intro.*, p. xxxi.
[109] The witnesses are listed by Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis*, pp. 18–21. For some reason she leaves out the *Libellus Parinius.* On the Nonantola Prayer Book see Wilmart, 'Prières Médiévales', pp. 28 – 30.
[110] Edited by Wilmart in *Precum libelli avei karolini*, pp. 44–5.

matutinalis (R15, Cerne 7, H2); (7) beginning 'Auxiliatrix mihi es tu sancta exaudi me domine' (Cerne 22, R36), (9) beginning 'Spiritum mihi queso domine tue caritatis infunde' (R14).[111] In the *Libellus Parisinus*, as in the Book of Cerne, the prayer is not explicitly a prayer to the cross. Whether this is demonstrative of intellectual traffic between the continent and the Anglo-Saxons (via Alcuin?) is outside the scope of this thesis. We can conclude from the two earliest witnesses that in its earliest usage the prayer was a prayer to Christ, not to the cross.

Reform – Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce

The later Anglo-Saxon witnesses to the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' are:

1. Pontifical of Egbert (*Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. Banting, p. 144)
2. London, British Library, Arundel 155 (ed. Holthausen, pp. 232–33)
3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391 (*The Portiforium of Wulstan,* ed. *Hughes*, pp. 18-19)
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391
5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391 (*The Portiforium of Wulstan*, ed. Hughes, pp. 22-3)
6. Ms Rouen A. 44 (ed. Gjerlow, pp. 143)
7. London, British Library, Cotton Faustina B. iii, (*Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, p. 43/4)
8. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii. (*Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, p. 43/4)
9. London, British Library Galba-Nero Prayer Book (*A Preconquest Prayer-book* ed. Muir no. 68, pp. 143–4)
10. London, British Library, Royal 2. A. xx (tenth-century addition) (ed. Crowley, no. 27 pp. 275–7)

Earlier in the chapter, it was mentioned that 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' transgresses the boundaries of public worship and private devotion. Many of the later witnesses connect the prayer to a formal ceremony, the Veneration of the

[111] *Precum libelli avei karolini* ed. Wilmart, pp. 37–45.

cross on Good Friday. The formal and undetermined (paraliturgical?) uses of the prayer are summarised in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Uses of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer		
Veneration of the Cross ceremonies	**Ceremonial?**	**Other (paraliturgical?)**
BL, MS Cotton Faustina B. iii	Arundel 155 Psalter	Royal Prayer Book*
BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii	Galba-Nero Prayer Book	Ms Rouen A. 44
		Book of Cerne
		Pontifical of Egbert
		Portiforium of Wulfstan
*Tenth-century marginal addition		

The co-relationship between the prayer and the Veneration of the cross ceremony occurs in England probably between the 818 x 830 Book of Cerne and the c. 1000 Pontifical of Egbert, the next earliest Anglo-Saxon witness after Cerne.

In Tiberius A. iii and Faustina B. iii, the use of the prayer is clear: the prayer is prescribed in the *Regularis Concordia* as part of the Veneration of the Cross ceremony. In the *Regularis Concordia* the three veneration prayers are the only prayers given in full; other prayers are mentioned only by incipit. This could be an attempt to standardise the text of the prayers or it could imply that the prayers were less familiar than others.

The intended usage of the prayers is less clear in the other witnesses, as they do not contain instructive rubrics. In the Galba-Nero Prayer Book the prayer is found amongst a series of psalms but not those prescribed by the *Regularis Concordia*; similarly, in the Arundel 155 Psalter, the prayer is found in a series of possibly non-liturgical prayers used as part of the performance of private

devotion.[112] The usage of the prayer in the Egbert Pontifical is again uncertain, since it is placed after a remedy/protection prayer and is found with only one other Veneration prayer. The 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' appears three times in the Wulfstan Portiforium. In the first occurrence, the Latin prayer follows the penitential psalms and is the first of a series of prayers. In the second later example, the prayer is written in Latin and in Old English, but the Latin is an abridged version, acting as a cue, while the Old English contains the full verse. The abridged Latin implies that the supplicant is expected to know the text of the prayer and the Old English might explain the meaning of the prayer to somebody who does not fully understand the Latin. The *Kyrie* breaks the invocations so it is likely that in the second instance, the prayer has a more ceremonial value as it is followed by other Veneration prayers. The third occurrence of the prayer is a repetition of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, Adoro te in cruce ascendentem' verse, with the Latin and Old English texts of the prayer unabridged. In the Royal Prayer Book, the prayer is part of the marginalia, placing the possibly liturgical material next to the devotional.

Differences

Number of innovations

The substantial difference between Cerne and the later texts is the number of invocations, with Cerne having the highest number of invocations (fifteen). The tenth-century manuscripts only possess the verses from the Crucifixion to the Last Judgement, in total six of Cerne's fifteen innovations. Table 4.3 below shows which

[112] Liuzza, 'Prayer and/or Charms Addressed to the Cross', pp. 283–4.

innovations are contained in each of the witnesses.[113] The invocations are numbered according to their order in the Book of Cerne.

[113] The text has been taken from the Kuypers's edition of The Book of Cerne, no. 19.

Table 4.3. Invocations of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer

Key	
Royal Prayer Book (RPb)	Galba-Nero Prayer Book (GNPB)
Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs3)	Book of Cerne (BoC)
Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs2)	BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (TA.III)
Portiforium of Wulfstan (PWs1)	BL, MS Cotton Faustina B. iii (FBIII)
Pontifical of Egbert (PE)	Arundel 155 Psalter (A155)
Ms Rouen A. 44 (RA44)	

Manuscripts **Invocations**		BoC	PE	RPb	RA44	A155	GNPb	PWs1	PWs2	PWs3	FBIII	TA.III
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te quando dixisti ante saecula fiat, lux et facta est lux, lumen tuum fiat in me salus.	**1**	**X**										
Domine Ihesu Christe ad oro te quando meridie uocasti Adam, et dixisti ubi es Adam; depraecor clementiam tuam ut ego ambulare merear in meridie sed non in umbra mortis.	2	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te quando diluuium transmisisti et delesti omne genus et Noe iustum reseruasti propter iustitiam; depraecor maiestatem tuam ut me impium non deleas de memoria tua pro impietatibus meis.	3	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te quando faraonem mersisti et filios israhel liberasti; depraecor magnitudinem ut liberes me a peccatis meis.	4	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in utero uirginis descendentem et ex uirgine natum et in praesepe positum et	5	X										

circumcisum; depraecor te qui humilis uenisti ad recreandos nos firma in me humilitatem ueram.												
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te baptizatum quando aquas in uinum mutasti; depraecor potentiam tuam ut in me impleas scientiam tuam.	6	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te quando extra portam unius uiduae filium reddidisti uiuum; depraecor clementiam tuam ut me uiuifices.	7	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te mirabilia facientem innumerabiles caecos inluminantem, leprosos mundantem paralitycos curantem, demones effugantem; depraecor potentiam tuam ut sicut illos emendasti a uariis infirmitatibus, ita me emendare digneris ab sceleribus meis.	8	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe Adoro te lazarum suscitantem et lacrimantem; depraecor te ut me resuscites ad uitam aeternatnet fiat in me fons aquae uiuae salientis in nitam aeternam .	9	X										
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in crucem ascendentem et spiniam coronam portantem in capite; depraecor ut ipsa crux liberet me de angelo percutiente	10	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in cruce uulneratum felle et aceto potatum; depreacor te ut tua uulnera remedium siut animae meae.	11	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X

Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te in sepulchre positum; depraecor te ut tua mors fiat mihi uita.	12	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te descendentem ad inferos liberantem captious; depraecor te ut me non dimittas introire ubi Adam tibi dixit, ecce manus quae me plasmauerunt et dixerunt alii quis est iste rex gloriae, Dominus uirtutum, scio quia ultra non hic discenderis.	13	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro te ascendentem in caelos sedentem ad dexteram patris; depraecor miserere mei.	14	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	
Domine Ihesu Christe adoro uenturum iudicaturum te; depraecor ut in tuo aduentu non intres in iudicium cum me peccante, sed depraecor ante demittea.	15	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X

In its later incarnation, the prayer is decidedly about the Crucifixion and Resurrection as opposed to Christ's life: firstly, because of the popularity of certain verses (10–15) and secondly, because of its use in the Veneration Ceremony. Even in the witnesses where the use of the prayer is not decidedly connected to the Veneration Ceremony, the witnesses use the same invocations, meaning that the emphasis of the prayer has shifted in general.

Forms

Gjerløw divided the Anglo-Saxon witnesses into two families: the common form and the *Regularis Concordia* form.[114] Her distinction is still followed by scholars. Gjerløw's "common form" is marked by the use of the phrase *ab angelo percutiente* in verse 10, while the "Concordia" form uses the formula *de diabolo percutiente*.

Table 4.4. Summary of the manuscript forms of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'

Key	
Royal Prayer Book (RPb)	Galba-Nero Prayer Book (GNPB)
Portiforium of Wulfstan (WP)	Book of Cerne (BoC)
Pontifical of Egbert (PE)	BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii (TA.III)
Arundel 155 Psalter (A155)	BL, Cotton Faustina B. iii (FBIII)

Manuscripts	**BoC**	**EP**	**RPb**	**AP155**	**WP**	**GNPb**	**F B. iii**	**Tib A. iii**
ab angelo percutiente	X	X		X	X			
de diabolo percutiente			X			X	X	X

The Egbert Pontifical, Arundel 155 Psalter and Wulfstan Portiforium do not contain the standardised form nor is the performance of the prayer in these witnesses decidedly that prescribed in the *Regularis Concordia*, it would seem that the "older" form survived as it is perhaps the common form that the scribes remember. The switch from *ab angelo percutiente* ('saving from an angel') to *de diabolo percutiente* ('saving from a devil') is an example of *lectio difficilior*: textual corruption through simplification, the supplicant saved from the devil is an easier concept than being saved from avenging angels.

[114] Gjerløw, *Adoratio Crucis,* pp. 16–20.

Faustina B. iii and Tiberius A. iii are witnesses of the *Regularis Concordia*, so it is not surprising that these manuscripts contain the *de diabolo percutiente* form of the prayer. One of the purposes of the reform was to standardise the liturgy of the Anglo-Saxon Church, yet, more Anglo-Saxon witnesses to the earlier form survive. The Royal Prayer Book and Galba-Nero Prayer Book also contain the *Regularis Concordia* form of the text. The prayer is included in the Royal Prayer Book as part of the tenth-century marginalia. Crowley interprets the additions to the manuscript as demonstrating the beginning of the reform movement in Worcester. Since the scribe uses *de diabolo*, it would appear that he learned this version as part of the educational reforms during the Benedictine revival. The Galba-Nero Prayer Book is early eleventh-century and either the scribe was taught the *Concordia* version or he was copying the prayer from a *Concordia* influenced examplar.

The Book of Cerne version of the prayer is more detailed than the later versions. For example, in verse ten Cerne incorporates the detail *et spinam coronam portantem in capite* and in verse eleven Cerne includes *felle et aceto potatum*, which is absent from the other Anglo-Saxon witnesses. This implies that there is an intermediary model between the Book of Cerne and the later witnesses. The Wulfstan Portiforium has three versions of the prayer, which itself is strange, but like Cerne the third version has the phrase *spinam coronam in capite portatem*.[115] The private prayers in the Wulfstan Poriforium are rather eclectic and there is no sense of order to them, particularly since there are three separate instances of the same prayer. The scribe may have recorded this version of the verse as a different prayer from the standard prayer, since the more common

[115] *The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan,* ed. Hughes, II, p. 22.

version of this first is found in the second instance of the prayer in the Wulfstan Portiforium. The Cerne invocations may have survived in some form as a similar version of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' text has been recorded in the Wulfstan Portiforium.

I will just briefly note here that there are some Old English witnesses to the prayer. The prayer has an Old English gloss or translation in three manuscripts: in the Wulfstan Portiforium, the Galba-Nero Prayer Book and Arundel 155 Psalter.

Table 4.5. Summary of the Old English Witnesses to the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce'

Key	
Royal Prayer Book (RPb)	Galba-Nero Prayer Book (GNPB)
Portiforium of Wulfstan (WP)	Book of Cerne (BoC)
Ms Rouen A. 44 (RA44)	BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A. iii (TA.III)
Arundel 155 Psalter (A155)	BL, MS Cotton Faustina B. iii (FBIII)
Pontifical of Egbert (PE)	
	Translated or glossed in Old English

Manuscripts	**BoC**	**EP**	**RPb**	***AP155***	***WP***	***GNPb***	**F B. iii**	**Tib A. iii**

There are surprisingly few variants between the Old English text in the Wulfstan Portiforium and the Galba-Nero Prayer Book and none are significant.[116] *Gebidde* is used in the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te' clause (*bidde* in the 'deprecor te') Galba-Nero as opposed to *bidde* in Wulfstan; *astigendne* is used in Galba – *astigende* in Wulfstan; *upstigendne* – *stigende*. A minor insertion is made as *God* is added in the line 'Þu ðe leofast and rixast mid god fæder in annysse haliges gastes a in worlda worulda'. These most likely demonstrate *ad hoc* transmissions of the texts.

[116] These are all listed in *A Pre-conquest Prayer Book*, ed. Muir, pp. 143–5, but compare Muir 68 with *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan,* ed. Hughes, II, pp. 20–2.

CONCLUSION

The emphasis of 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer changed over time. In the earliest witnesses - the *Parinisus Libellus* and Book of Cerne - the prayer was not obviously a "cross prayer" nor connected to the Veneration of the Cross ceremony. The prayer was concerned with the life of Christ, with verses on his birth and ministry, besides his Passion and Resurrection. The lack of interest in the cross is also evident in the prayers of the four Insular prayer books rubricated as cross prayers which do not concern themselves with the role of the cross but with Christ, this is in contrast to the later prayers which are effusive about the cross. This co-relationship between the prayer and the Veneration of the cross ceremony happens between the 820 x 840 Book of Cerne and the c. 1000 Pontifical of Egbert. Interest in the cross would have grown during the ninth century with the arrival of a true cross relic. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions that true cross relics were given to Alfred the Great in 884 by Pope Marinus: 'AN.dccclxxxiiii. Her . . . 7 Marinus papa sende þa lignum domini Aelfrede cinge'. A second true cross relic was brought into Anglo-Saxon England in 926 when the Duke of the Franks gave a relic to King Athelstan.[117] The full text of the prayer was the added to the *Regularis Concordia* in the tenth century and the prayer became part of the Veneration of the Cross ceremony.

Cross prayers were used in both the public and private spheres, so public and private are false binaries during this period. The concepts of public, private and personal are often conflated and misused by scholars. Distinguishing separate public and private traditions of prayer in the earlier and later Anglo-Saxon prayer books is nearly impossible as liturgical and "devotional" texts are found side by

[117] *The Dream of the Rood,* ed. Swanton, p. 48. Swanton's source is William of Malmesbury, *PL clxxix* 1102–3.

side in manuscripts. This chapter used the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer to investigate this issue. The prayer has a clear formal ceremonial use in the Veneration of the Cross ceremony but it is also found outside of this. Prayers can cross over between public, private, liturgical and devotion uses. This implies that texts had fluid uses. There is no distinction between public and private in the manuscripts. Imperfect a methodology though it is, rubrication and manuscript context are the best method of determining whether a prayer can be considered as personal since we cannot garner reader reception. Illustrating this are the monumental stone crosses such as the Ruthwell Cross or indeed the Bewcastle Cross. These monumental crosses perhaps had a role in public displays of veneration and devotion, but could also have been used by an individual personally.

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Please note that Chapters 5-6 (pp. 185-259) are currently unavailable due to a restriction requested by the author.

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CONCLUSION

The Book of Nunnaminster, Royal Prayer Book, Harleian Prayer Book and Book of Cerne are hand-sized manuscripts for individual use. These manuscripts – especially the Royal Prayer Book – were still used at least two centuries after their compilation, demonstrating the endurance of the texts. Their prayers are liturgical and devotional, suitable for performance in both private and public settings. The texts of the Book of Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle and Royal Prayer Book Abecedarian are prodigious as they preempt common tropes of the later Middle Ages in their meditation upon the wounded body of Christ. Previously, the unique devotional flavour of the prayer books has been credited an Irish influence, in somewhat of an injustice to the Anglo-Saxons. However, this thesis has established that the background of the prayer book is a fused Hiberno-Saxon culture.

The later prayer books – Galba-Nero and Ælfwine – were personalised for their users. These differ from the early prayer books as they contain practical texts such as computistical and medicinal texts in addition to prayers. Psalter manuscripts were the main prayer books in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England. Prayers were added to (often interlinear) psalters. The new emphasis on the vernacular is a major difference between the earlier and later manuscripts.

The manuscript transmission of prayer texts has implications for prayer performance. This thesis has concentrated on the reality of prayer performance as opposed to the pronouncements of Bede or Ælfric about how prayer should be carried out. Amendments such as changing genders or glossing the texts gives an insight into the users of the manuscripts; whether they had a high standard of Latin or whether the implied user was male or female. The complicated

transmission processes between prayers such as Cerne 57 and Cerne 58 and between the Royal Abecedarian Prayer and Nunnaminster Christ Cycle demonstrate how prayers were composed and utilised, with prayers created from other prayers and used verbatim or for extemporalisation. Anselm's instructions to Mathilda bear this process out. Texts were created from a variety of sources and one of these was possibly the memory of the scribe.

The categorisation of prayer was not fixed. The earlier manuscripts do not make the distinction between public, private, personal, communal, liturgical and nonliturgical (devotional or paraliturgical). The varied manuscript contexts of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' prayer bear this out. The prayer in its earliest form is devotional (Book of Cerne) but later has a ritual use in the Veneration of the Cross ceremony.

The wounded Christ and Mary's grief at the crucifixion are two predominant themes in later medieval religiosity. Anselm's *Orationes* are often seen as the beginning of affective piety. In Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the thesis showed the seeds of the affective piety in Anglo-Saxon approaches to the Virgin and wounded Christ, demonstrating that an emotional affective spirituality was not created in the twelfth century but was part of a process in which the Anglo-Saxon were involved. The main contribution of this thesis has been to work through and clarify particular terms used in study of medieval devotion.

As seen in both Chapter 5 and 6, the Marian prayers and the Passion prayers in the tenth-century prayer books can be more conservative than visual art. Artistic modes, such as images and poetry, can go beyond prayer. Poetry is another form of devotion as meditative poems have similar functions to prayer. [1]

[1] Homilies also contain prayer and performative texts. Homilies are useful as they indicate when a prayer is to take place; homilists exhort their brethren to pray and they indicate or summaries the

Prayers are not just stand alone texts found in missals and prayer books but are also found as part of the narrative in the saints' lives, either spoken by the saints.[2] Certain Old English poems (such as *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer*) are considered to have a meditative quality and therefore have a similar purpose to prayers as they encourage the meditant to think about their relationship with God.[3] This thesis has demonstrated the roots of affective piety lie in the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition but Old English poetry is able to reach beyond this and, perhaps more strongly than prayer, foreshadows the Passion meditations of the later Middle Ages.

MEDITATIVE POETRY AND PRAYER

Cædmon's Hymn is the best example of the relationship between Anglo-Saxon poetry and prayer as *Cædmon's Hymn* is effectively a sung prayer praising God. Old

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content of the prayers to follow the homily. There is not an obvious relationship between the prayer book texts and the homiletic tradition. Mary Clayton has noted that many of Ælfric's Marian homilies conclude with a 'prayer' to the Virgin, *The Cult of the Virgin*, pp. 258–60. Ælfric in his homily *Natale innocentium infantum*, deliberately breaks the narrative flow of the homily to begin the prayer. Many Anglo-Saxon homilies contain a type of prayer: either remarks encouraging the listeners to pray, summations of what the longer prayer may contain or, occasionally (particularly in the case of the Ælfrician Marian prayers), a vocative prayer. The exhortation to pray concluding the homily, often invokes the prowess of the person to whom the homily is dedicated and calls upon the saint to help, to protect and to intercede on behalf of the supplicants. This form of prayer does not necessarily directly address the deity and uses the directive *uton* ('Let'). The beginning of the prayer in the *Nativitas Sancti Iohannis Baptistae* homily is signaled by the phrase *uton gebiddan* ('Let us pray'): 'Uton biddan þone wealdendan hælend'. This concluding prayer/exhortation to pray is prevalent in Ælfrican homilies composed for Mariocentric feasts. Ælfric, *CH* I.xxv, ll. 223–6 (ed. Clemoes, p. 387).

[2] In Chapter two we discussed how saints' lives might be viewed as models for prayer but also saints' lives contain prayers as the saints address the Godhead. The prayers in the saints' life give the audience an insight into the emotional turmoil of the supplicant as the supplicant describes herself as wretched and unworthy. The prayers add a dramatic quality to the Life. Bzdyl, 'Prayer in Old English Narratives' discusses prayer in the lives of saints and particularly Ælfric's Lives of Saints at length, see p. 25. For an example of this type of prayer see *The Old English Life of Saint Mary of Egypt* ll. 490–520 (ed. and transl. Magennis, pp. 90/1 - 92/3).

[3] On Old English meditative poetry see E. Anderson, *Cynewulf: Structure, Style and Theme in His Poetry* (Rutherford, NJ, 1983); Savage, 'The Place of Old English Poetry in the English Meditative Tradition'.

English poems contain speeches to God which are principally prayers.[4] Some Old English poems are meditative and in this mode, the poems are comparable to prayers. The line between meditative poetry and prayer is fine not in terms of form but function, particularly as both genres have performative qualities. Anglo-Saxon religious poetry and prayers have many similar uses: they can lift the penitent's mind to God; be used as reflections or meditations to explore the relationship between God and humankind; and provoke a physical or emotional response. To do this, poetry and prayer employ imagery to trigger a reaction in the meditant.[5] In this way, poems like *The Dream of the Rood* and *Andreas* bridge the gap between the Anglo-Saxon prayer tradition and the more effusive prayers of the later medieval period. In *The Dream of the Rood*, scholars are treated to an insight of private cross devotion,

Anderson defines meditative poetry as, 'poems in which a narrative is present or at least implied, but in which, also the development of ideas is of greater interest to the poet than is the narration of events; poems in which narrative events seem to function primarily as contexts from which to develop ideas'. Anderson, furthermore, divides meditative poetry into two categories: reflective (based on a narrative) and illuminative (largely allegorical).[6] I would add two more clauses: meditative poetry can be used to lead the reader to a realisation or greater understanding, and it can be used to invoke a response in the reader through the use of graphic imagery. Ultimately, the process of meditating and thinking leads the penitent to a better understanding of their relationship with God.

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[4] *Andreas*, ll. 1398–1428; Bzdyl, 'Prayer in Old English Narratives', pp. 143–4.
[5] Carrthuers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 2.
[6] Anderson, *Cynewulf,* pp. 45–6. Anderson counts *The Advent lyrics, Guthlac*. *The Phoenix, The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* as meditative poems. Anne Savage also includes *The Dream of the Rood, Soul and Body I and II, Judgement Day I and II* and *Resignation* (prayer for mercy from the Exeter Book), pp. 108–9.

Based on Anderson's definition, I understand *Andreas* and *Elene* as meditative poetry since there are elements of reflection. *The Dream of the Rood* and *Andreas* vividly describe Christ's body with the aim of affecting the audience.[7] In *Andreas* - which relates the struggles of the heroic St Andrew with the cannibals of Mermedonia - and *The Dream of the Rood* – a dreamlike narration of the Crucifixion - Christ's body is reflected in the cross and in the body of St Andrew. Both poems linger on the wounds inflicted upon Christ. *The Dream of the Rood* and *Andreas* are linked with Cynewulf's *Elene* in a manuscript context as they are all found in the tenth-century Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Cathedral Library, CXVII).[8] Also *Elene* and *The Dream of the Rood* are thematically tied as *The Dream of the Rood* narrates the cross's account of the Crucifixion, while *Elene* explores the Finding of the True cross by Helena, the mother of Constantine in 326.[9]

Violence in The Dream of the Rood

The images of Christ on the cross in *The Dream of the Rood* are graphic. Grotesque imagery is often used to affect the audience, to brand in their minds the image of the wounded Christ and to remember why he is wounded. The cross is a multivalent symbol and in *The Dream of the Rood*, the transepts and shaft of the cross represent the arms, legs, and trunk of Christ. *The Dream of the Rood* uses the wounds and blood to heighten the drama of the Passion. The poem uses graphic imagery lingering on the wounds inflicted upon both Christ and the cross revealing the soteriological consequences of the Crucifixion. *The Dream of the Rood*

[7] The text of *Andreas* is found in *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles*, ed. G. Krapp (London, 1906).
[8] On the Vercelli Book see the seminal work of D. Scragg, 'The Compilation of the Vercelli Book', *ASE* 2 (1987), 189–207, for a more recent analysis see S. Zacher and A. Orchard eds. *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, (Toronto, 2009).
[9] Given the dates and provenance for the early prayer books, it is interesting that Cynewulf is thought to have been a ninth-century Mercian.

demonstrates that the body and blood of Christ, which the poem recalls in historic and eternal visions, is the vehicle for salvation. The purpose of the Crucifixion is to shed Christ's blood so that salvation is attainable; the poem stresses that it is only through the violent act of crucifying Christ and the shedding of his blood that the way to salvation can be opened, 'ær þan ic him lifes weg / Rihtne gerymde reordberendum'.[10] Though the crucifixion is violent, it is necessary.

There are dramatic instances of violence committed against the body of Christ (and the cross) in this poem. Each instance graphically and dramatically describes Christ's suffering (ll. 14–23, 46–9). The centre point of lines 14–23 is a reference to John XIX.34, the solider opening Christ's side. These lines reinforce to the audience the magnitude of Christ's sacrifice and the torments his body was subjected to. The cross alternates between the beautiful jewelled cross and the bloody cross, contrasting beauty with horror. This reminds the reader that the jewelled cross could only be reached through the sacrifice of Christ and salvation only attained through Christ undergoing the Passion. Lines 46–9 contain the most graphic image as the cross recalls the nails as they are driven into his branches (and therefore Christ's body) and his sap soaking into his wood: again, it recalls the wound made by Longinus and the water and blood spilling from his side after his death. Blood and water are inextricably combined throughout the poem, as the properties of water are applied to blood and a similar vocabulary is applied to both. The cross is made wet with blood 'Eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed'.[11] The soldiers *þurhdrifan* ('pierce') the wood of the cross and therefore the skin of Christ; the skin and wood break, opening up the veins and bark and releasing blood and sap, creating the wounds and scars of the stigmata that later act as an identifying marks to

[10] *The Dream of the Rood*, ll. 88–9 (ed. Swanton, p. 98), 'I opened up right way of life'.
[11] *Ibid.*, ll. 48–9 (ed. Swanton, p. 97), 'All was wet with blood'.

believers. The nails are distinctly described as *deorcan* ('dark') as if to accentuate their harmfulness. Though these actions are carried out upon Christ's body, the body remains luminous, fulfilling his role as Light of the World, as the rest of the world descends into the darkness of mourning.[12] All creation mourns Christ's passing with tears, 'Weop eal gesceaft, cwiðdon Cyninges fyell'.[13] Christ's body is inviolable though the wounds inflicted upon Christ are numerous and bloody.

The Christ in this poem is presented as a young and brave warrior entering battle; the poet greatly emphasises Christ's divinity by avoiding the awkward question of his suffering. There is no mention made of the agony of Christ and as Swanton has pointed out, the poem avoids completely any questions as to whether Christ suffered.[14] Instead, the cross suffers as the cross speaks of the violence of the actions committed upon him and the agony of inaction. Though the actions are carried out on Christ – and simultaneously the cross - the cross does not mention Christ suffering. The poem has four lines revolving around the Virgin, these relate the experience of the cross to that of the Virgin; apart from that, the poet makes little effort to speak of Christ's humanity. The poet avoids the humanity-divinity problems by giving Christ's humanity to the cross, meaning that the cross suffers and feels humiliated in place of Christ.

Andreas and reflecting Christ's body

St Andrew is presented as a 'battle strong hero' in his spiritual and physical battle with the cannibals and devils (like Christ in *The Dream of the Rood*).[15] The violence inflicted upon Christ's body at the Crucifixion is mirrored in *Andreas* by the

[12] *Ibid.*, ll. 51–4 (ed. Swanton, p. 97).
[13] *Ibid.*, ll. 55–6 (ed. Swanton, p. 97), 'All creation wept, mourned the death of the King'.
[14] *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Swanton, p. 84.
[15] *Andreas*, ll. 982–3.

suffering that the devils inflict upon Andrew. Before he reaches Mermedonia, Christ appears to Andrew and Christ relates to him the horrors that are about to befall Andrew. Christ describes a sensational picture of gore and violence. Christ parallels the Crucifixion to the torments Andrew will endure.[16] Christ instructs Andrew to remember the events of the Crucifixion and the violence carried out against Christ himself. Christ describes the violence in sensual detail, particularly his description of the side wound as the blood falls to the ground. Christ encourages Andrew to behave as he did at the Crucifixion, largely to accept his fate and have faith in God and then God will protect him. The goal of the monastic life is *imitatio Christi* – to imitate the living Christ, but to be martyred is to imitate the death of Christ.

As Christ predicted, Andrew's body was tortured. The effusion of blood is emphasised by the poet when he describes the body of Andrew as sodden wet with blood.[17] Andrew in speech compares his torment to that suffered by Christ, while he reminds God that he has suffered three days torment to Christ's one. Andrew's body is completely broken; Andrew is unable to endure anymore. Andrew recalls the words of Christ at the Crucifixion, calling upon the father to release them from the pain and torment as he seeks to give up his ghost. Christ rewards Andrew's faith by restoring the wholeness of his body, where his blood fell to the ground, flowers appear.[18]

Andreas goes beyond the ability of the early Anglo-Saxon prayers. Fulton states that, 'The primary devotional purpose of these prayers was not to provoke empathic suffering with Christ but, rather, to remind pious Christians of the great

[16] *Ibid.*, ll. 954-78.
[17] *Ibid.*, ll. 1238–44; ll. 1275–80.
[18] *Ibid.*, ll. 1447–8.

debt they owed Christ for their redemption',[19] however, in *Andreas*, Andrew's experience mirrors that of Christ; Andrew's torments reflect that of Christ at the Crucifixion. There is certainly empathy between Andrew and Christ and empathy is indeed apparent in *The Dream of the Rood*.

Responses to the wounded body

The texts in the Anglo-Saxon prayer books do not describe the responses of the supplicant but the affect is described in the poetry genre. There are four responses to the Crucifixion in *The Dream of the Rood*, that of the cross, the people and nature who witness the Crucifixion and finally that of the Dreamer. The response of the cross is predominantly one of frustration and shame of inaction. The people and nature that witness the Crucifixion mourn Christ's death as they recognise his divine kingship and the truth of his word. Here, tears shed by the people are tears of regret and of repentance, the first step in reaching the higher form of compunction. The reaction of the Dreamer is complex. Aided through the vision by the cross, the listener is taken through a process. At the beginning the listener is 'synnum fah, forwunded mid wommum' and is 'mid sorgum gedrefed / forht for þære fægran gesyhðe'.[20] The vision of the bloody cross and the tale it has to tell affect the listener, as towards the end of the poem he is no longer afraid. He tells us that 'Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame bliðe mode' and now looks forward to the day that he sees the cross again at the Last Judgement.[21] The listener's heart is turned from fear to love. We also see the change that comes through meditation from fear to love. As the vision affected the listener, so he tells other listeners so that it may have the same effect upon them. It is the vision of the violent actions carried out at

[19] Fulton, *From Judgement to Passion*, p. 154.
[20] *The Dream of the Rood*, ll. 20–1 (ed. Swanton, p. 93).
[21] *Ibid.*, l. 122 (ed. Swanton, p. 100), 'I prayed to the cross with a happy heart' / ll. 12 –46 (ed. Swanton, p. 100)

the Crucifixion and reflecting on their meaning that provokes a change in the dreamer.

In the poem *Elene*, the audience witnesses a reaction to tokens that recall the Crucifixion. Cynewulf describes Helena's reaction to the finding of the cross thus: 'Cwen weorces gefeah on ferhðsefan'.[22] However, Helena has a much fuller reaction to the discovery of the nails as hot tears course down her face. These nails were driven into the hands and feet of Christ to affix him to the cross, drawing blood, wounding him and aiding his human death. The nails represent the suffering endured by Christ to cleanse the world of sin, a symbol of the love for which he was willing to act as the sacrificial lamb. At the same time, the nails are also a joyous symbol, for by acting as instruments of Christ's death they denote man's salvation.

AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This is the first thesis to examine the manuscript transmission of Anglo-Saxon prayers from the early prayer books and to use the prayer books to theorise how the prayer texts were used in actuality. In doing so, this thesis has probably opened more questions than it is able to answer. Consequently, here I outline some of the ways in which this research can be taken forward.

A longer study of the Royal Abecedarian and Nunnaminster Christ Life Cycle would yield more information about medieval memory and the creative process. The digital edition accompanying this thesis should be the starting point for any further studies on these prayer series. A fuller source of the two series would

[22] *Elene*, l. 848b – 849a, 'the Queen had joy of accomplishment in her heart'.

provide more information about the intellectual environment of the composer and perhaps give scholars an insight into textual composition.

A survey of the relationship between the Carolingian *Precum libelli* and the early Anglo-Saxon prayer books needs to undertaken. Tracking continental transmission patterns of the 'Domine Ihesu Christe, adoro te cruce' and the *Oratio ad Sanctam Mariam* would tell scholars more about the cultural and intellectual traffic between Anglo-Saxon England and the continent. Theories of prayer transmission could be used over across a wider sample of texts to identify patterns, providing more information about the cultural exchange between Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland and the continent.

To me, the Judith of Flanders Crucifixion scene is as beautiful and evocative as any of the later medieval crucifixion scenes. When I began my research, naively, all I wanted to do was to explain this image; what was the environ that created this miniature? During my research on Christ's side wound, I came across a mention of the Book of Nunnaminster prayer *De latere Domini*. After more research, I found out that this prayer was part of an entire prayer series on Christ's Life; to my further joy I came across mentions of its "correspondence" and "relation" to an abecedarian prayer series in the Royal Prayer Book. Subsequently, these "correspondences" have intrigued, frustrated and perplexed me, and any future research I carry out will firmly be based upon them. This thesis provides a valuable base for the further study of Anglo-Saxon prayers and the manuscripts that contain them.



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Please note that Appendices A-E (pp. 271-298) are currently unavailable due to a restriction requested by the author.

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