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In nomine lesu omne genu flectatur: the late medieval mass and office of the holy name of Jesus; sources, development and practice

Aveling, Judith

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In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur

The Late Medieval Mass and Office

of the Holy Name of Jesus:

Sources, Development and Practice

Judith Anne Aveling

Bangor University

July 2015

Submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

Emerging from a joint AHRC/ESRC-funded project, *The Experience of Worship in late medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* (2009–13), this doctoral thesis offers a chronological trajectory of the liturgical development of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus, and in so doing, seeks to provide fresh perspectives on the significance of the name ‘Jesus’.

Jesus Mass was one of a number of liturgies chosen by the project research team to enact as worship, with the texts, chants, spaces, ritual artefacts, vestments and furniture appropriate for the 1530s. My brief was to collaborate with other members of the research team in preparing the Jesus Mass texts and other textual resources for enactments in two different spaces, to participate as a singer in the enactment itself, and to reflect upon the experience after its last iteration. As a result of this high degree of involvement, a possible direction for research presented itself, as summarised below.

Section I addresses the wider contextual issues of the devotion to the Holy Name, beginning with a study of the origins and occurrences of the Holy Name in the New Testament. It then traces the later development of the Name as the object of devotion in the West and more specifically in England during the Middle Ages, until it attains an officially recognised liturgical expression in the late fifteenth century.

Section II of the thesis then focuses on the emerging Sarum Feast of the Holy Name (7 August) more specifically, with reference to the associated Mass and Office. It offers a survey of the evolution of the observance through manuscript and printed liturgical sources of Sarum and other Uses, and of the extent of guild activity and musical provision during the period 1480–1530, both indicative of the extent of its practice nationwide.

Section III provides an analysis of the emerging themes in both Mass and Office Propers, drawn from a variety of associated sources – scriptural, devotional and theological, which help construct an understanding of the significance of the Name. This is further enriched in Section IV by an exploration of the Feast of the Transfiguration (6 August), celebrated the day before the Holy Name, according to the Sarum Kalendar.

In the final section the focus returns to the enactment, and explains the process whereby the Mass texts were transformed into a working edition with text, notation and rubrics, ready to be animated into an act of worship taking place as if in the late Middle Ages, but in 2011.

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Participation in this project has provided me with the luxury of studying the medieval world of worship, about which I knew little before embarking upon this research. I have particularly enjoyed its inter-disciplinary dimension, and the opportunities for becoming better acquainted with a landmark period in the history of Christianity in England. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the other members of the *EoW* research team, those both close and more peripheral to what the project was seeking to achieve. My encounters with the participants of the liturgical enactments often resulted in stimulating discussions on history, liturgy, theology and Christianity generally. Discussions with Dr Elizabeth New and Dr Robert Lutton, both leading academics in the field of Holy Name of Jesus studies, have also been fruitful.

I am indebted to various institutions who have supported my intellectual endeavours: the staff at the British Library in London, at the Bodleian in Oxford, the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, and the University Library in Cambridge have often been as interested as I was in a source I was seeking to lay my hands on. The efficiency of the archivist at St John's College Cambridge in sending me copies of the Papal Bull and transcript was much appreciated, as well as her permission to use Fig. 3.1. The University of Liverpool's library staff have been particularly helpful, in spite of my not being one of their registered students. Their generosity of spirit has been matched by the History Department of this same university, and to Dr Martin Heale in particular, who in the early days allowed me to sit in on first and second year history lectures. Finally, the library of Bangor University has been a very useful resource, not least for accessing inter-library loans.

During the course of this thesis I have taken up the study of Latin in order to engage more fully with liturgical texts, and crucially in order to translate the Office of the Holy Name. In the early days, the monks of Ealing Abbey were helpful in inspiring an interest in the structure and language of the most commonly known Latin prayers of the Church. Professor Rex Smith of Bangor University and Dr Bill Flynn of Leeds University, who was also a member of the *EoW* research team, have both helped me with more intricate syntactical issues. Discussions during choir rehearsal breaks with Mrs Kathleen Zimak, a fellow singer and former classics teacher, have also helped elucidate a couple of tricky passages. Dr Philip Pattenden, my former tutor at Peterhouse, Cambridge has been particularly generous with his time and expertise while helping me decipher the more obscure sections of the Lectons of the Octave.

Friends and family have also been supportive, especially during the last few months and weeks. I am particularly grateful to Leisle Chippington, Charlotte Mistry, Sarah Bell and Misty who have looked after our one year old son Luke while I could focus on my studies. My mother-in-law Jackie has been ‘legendary’ in the assistance she has provided with feeding, changing and entertaining him, thus enabling me to make more significant progress during the daytime.

My husband, Rob, whom I met shortly after I embarked upon this doctoral thesis, has been untiring in his interest, encouragement and enthusiasm over the last few years, and is possibly wondering what a ‘thesisless’ life together will look like. His support and sympathy have been invaluable in recent months in particular. Our son, Luke, decided a couple of months ago to start sleeping through the night, and I am grateful to him for his ability to play alone during my occasional daytime absences in the study. His little sibling, who waits to be born, has also had to endure my pre-natal stress during the last few weeks. Many thanks go to my little family for their kindness.

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of study, and was of valuable support by sitting with Luke in the mornings of the Viva preparation days. Finally, my father, who sadly died in 2013, instilled in me from a very young age a fascination with church and the Church. In the early days of this doctoral research he showed much interest in the theological and liturgical aspects of the *EoW* Project and in this study, and it is a source of sadness that he will not have seen the latter completed. It is to him, therefore, that I dedicate this thesis.

For James Julian Aveling
(3 April 1931–19 July 2013)

List of Abbreviations

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AM</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>CCCM</i>	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
<i>DS</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire</i> , fondé par M. Viller ... [et al.] ; continué par A. Derville, P. Lamarche et A. Solignac avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs. (Paris, 1995)
<i>EEBO</i>	Early English Books on Line < http://eebo.chadwyk.com/ >
<i>EECM</i>	Early English Church Music, ed. F. Ll. Harrison et al. (London, 1963–)
<i>EETS (o.s.)</i>	Early English Text Society (original series)
<i>EETS (e.s.)</i>	Early English Text Society (extra series)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>JBAA</i>	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
<i>ML</i>	<i>Music and Letters</i>
<i>HBS</i>	<i>Henry Bradshaw Society</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols in 222 (Paris, 1857–1866).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus ... series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols in 222 (Paris, 1844–1900)
<i>ONDB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. C. Matthew, B. Harrison et al. 60 vols (Oxford, 2004; also online at < http://www.oxforddnb.com/ >)
<i>RMARC</i>	<i>Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle</i>
<i>SCO</i>	Sarum Customary Online (< http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/ >)
<i>SS</i>	Surtees Society
<i>STC</i>	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, <i>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640</i> , 2nd edn revised and enlarged by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson and Katharine F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London, 1986–91)

Library Sigla

These follow the system operated by *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, used in both RISM-Bibliothekssigel (Kassel, 1999), and NG2.

Great Britain (the prefix *GB* is omitted throughout)

<i>Ccc</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi
<i>Cfm</i>	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
<i>Cgc</i>	Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College
<i>Cjc</i>	Cambridge, St John's College
<i>Ckc</i>	Cambridge, King's College
<i>Cmc</i>	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys Library
<i>Ctc</i>	Cambridge, Trinity College
<i>Cul</i>	Cambridge University Library

<i>CHIhc</i>	Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre
<i>Eul</i>	Edinburgh, University Library
<i>Lbl</i>	London, British Library
<i>Llp</i>	London, Lambeth Palace
<i>NOp</i>	Nottingham, University Library
<i>Ob</i>	Oxford, Bodleian Library
<i>Oas</i>	Oxford, All Souls College
<i>Ojc</i>	Oxford, St John's College
<i>Occc</i>	Oxford, Corpus Christi College
<i>Omc</i>	Oxford, Magdalen College
<i>Onc</i>	Oxford, New College
<i>Otc</i>	Oxford, Trinity College
<i>Ouc</i>	Oxford, University College
<i>SB</i>	Salisbury Cathedral Library
F BN	France, Bibliothèque Nationale

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¹ I am grateful to Karen Whiteside and Andy Brice of the Creative Work Place in Llandovery, Wales, for this photograph.

Introduction

This thesis is a direct outcome of a major research project jointly funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Economic and Social Research Council as part of the UK-wide research programme *Religion and Society*. This was a £12m research initiative operational between 2007 and 2013, that funded 75 different research projects.² The project in question, entitled *The Experience of Worship in late medieval Cathedral and Parish Church* (hereafter *EoW*), ran from 2009 to 2013. It was managed and led by Professor John Harper with Dr Sally Harper, of the School of Music, Bangor University, with Dr Paul Barnwell (Oxford University) and Dr Magnus Williamson (Newcastle University) as co-researchers, and a wider international research group comprising scholars from a number of different disciplines. As project research student, I was part of the key core research team, together with Dr Keith Beasley (project administrator), and had a specific brief, discussed below. This thesis is by now just one of a number of significant outcomes of the *EoW* project. These include the main project website,³ a complementary web resource on the Sarum Customary,⁴ two associated DVDs,⁵ and a collaborative book entitled *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*, to be published within Ashgate's *Music and Material Culture* series in February 2016.⁶

The Experience of Worship Project

In brief, the *EoW* project set out to investigate through innovative research methods the experience of late medieval worship, exploring the interrelationship of texts, spaces, rituals and objects, through enactment of a small group of late medieval rituals. Little attention has been paid to the study of late medieval liturgy in recent

² <http://www.religionandsociety.org.uk/>

³ <http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/>

⁴ <http://www.sarumcustomary.org.uk/>

⁵ *Worship in Late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church: Eight enactments of liturgies from the late medieval Use of Sarum at Salisbury Cathedral and the Parish Church of St Teilo* (Bangor University, 2012); *Exploring & Investigating Late Medieval Worship: An introduction to three late medieval liturgies & the process of their enactment* (Bangor University, 2012/2013).

⁶ Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, Magnus Williamson (eds), *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church*, Ch.16 (Aldershot, 2016, forthcoming; hereafter *LMLE*). See also <http://www.ashgate.com/isbn/9781472441379>.

years, and a key aim of the project was to animate the texts, chants and rubrics into acts of worship, led by clergy and their assistants, accompanied by musicians, and witnessed by a group of laity. All four groups of people were to engage with and experience these liturgies in ways commensurate with their roles, beliefs (or non-beliefs), age, knowledge and previous encounters of liturgy and ritual in their churches today. Particularly revelatory was the interdependence between texts, music, ritual, space and people, and how the ‘liturgical heterophony’⁷ impacted on their experience. While all the participants could read, few had any knowledge of Latin, and the absence of service books forced them to find different methods of engagement during the enactments. This modern congregation therefore had certain characteristics in common with their forebears 500 years earlier, and their feedback is recorded in detail both on the main project website and in *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*.

My own role within the *EoW* Project was to work with other members of the research team on one of the two main liturgies chosen for exploration: the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus according to the late medieval Use of Salisbury (Sarum Use). The same Mass was to be enacted in a Votive context in two very different spaces. The first was the small rural church of St Teilo, Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, a cosy two-cell establishment with whitewashed walls alternating with boldly coloured murals, now re-erected as it might have been *c.*1520 within the grounds of St Fagans National Museum of Wales, just outside Cardiff. This church – located within the great southern province of Canterbury, like all other parish churches and secular institutions in Wales – would also have followed Sarum Use. The second was Salisbury Cathedral (for which Sarum Use was originally conceived), focusing on the spacious (but dark) Holy Trinity Chapel. The starting point for the enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name was therefore material associated with Sarum Use itself, most notably the Missal, the Gradual and the Customary. However, going beyond the liturgical texts themselves involved the researching, commissioning, and later engagement with the spatial configuration, ritual artefacts, furniture and vestments contemporaneous with the 1530s, the decade during which the project was set.

⁷ Harper, ‘Enactment and the Study of Late Medieval Liturgy’, *LMLE*, Ch. 19.



Fig. 0.1: The church of St Teilo, Llandeilo Tal-y-bont, now re-erected within the grounds of St Fagans National Museum of Wales



Fig 0.2: St Teilo's: south aisle and Jesus altar

The Holy Name of Jesus was a late Feast that marked a new trend in devotion and spirituality at the end of the Middle Ages. It also occasioned new observances in both monastic and cathedral churches (where, in some cases, special liturgical and musical provision was made) and in parish churches (in some of which funds were set aside or new fraternities established). The Jesus Mass was a particularly apposite choice with respect to St Teilo's Church, where the altar in the south aisle appears to have been adopted as a Jesus altar in the early sixteenth century. The Mass was a weekly ritual, most often celebrated on Fridays, and in some places there was also a Jesus Antiphon ceremony (comparable with the 'Salve' ceremony in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary).

The original brief for the project research student began as a relatively wide one, and inevitably my main role at the outset focused on the enactments themselves. Initially this required engagement with a wide variety of texts, ritual, space and visual decoration, with a view to exploring the historical, cultural, social and spiritual background of the cult of the Holy Name. It also involved working collaboratively with other members of the research team to prepare enactment editions, performance scripts and translations for the Mass of the Holy Name in both institutions, and these materials form an integral part of this thesis submission, included as Appendices IV.1 to IV.4.

The working editions of the Mass for the enactment set out notated text and rubrics for the priest and his assistant, and associated chant melodies for the singers. My part in compiling these multi-functional editions involved the selection, from already identified source material, of the appropriate Latin texts, both Ordinary and Proper; the acknowledgement of variants between versions; the application of a policy on orthography, capitalisation, accentuation and punctuation. Having collated a definitive Mass text, which was spelt and presented to ease comprehension and pronunciation, I focused on the chants: these required transcription from a medieval format into modern notation and presentation – why this was necessary is further explained in Chapter 9. The words were then appropriately set out beneath the notes, again with a view to producing a clear performance script. Lastly, inserting the correct rubrics in between said and sung texts was the most challenging task, due to an absence of extant guidance on how a low Mass with priest and assistant was

conducted: as a result, establishing who did what when was completed very much in collaboration with my supervisors Professor John Harper and Dr Sally Harper, with whom most of the liturgical and musicological expertise lay.

Materials for the lay congregation present at the enactments required a different approach. The laity would not have service books, but as it has been claimed that ‘virtually every town in England had had its Jesus Mass on Fridays [...] well attended and often a major focus of establishment piety’,⁸ it was important that they (and in fact all the participants) were made familiar with the historical background and the culture pertaining to the devotion. To this end I helped identify and edit complementary materials to assist with the ‘inculturation’ of those participating in the Jesus Mass at St Teilo’s whether as clergy, musicians or lay congregation. These were provided before and during the week of the St Teilo’s enactments, in the form of contemporary texts and images, and they too form part of the thesis submission (Appendix IV.4). They ensured that the significance of the Holy Name of Jesus, its perceived benefits such as the promise of salvific powers for those who invoked and worshipped it, the affective dimension to the cult,⁹ and the associated ritual of bowing one’s head at its mention, were concepts which the participants could engage with during the iterations of the Mass.¹⁰

I also took an active role in all of the St Teilo’s enactments, notably as one of a small group of ‘boy choristers’ singing under the direction of a Master at the Jesus Mass (September 2011), and as a high-status pilgrim worshipping in the nave of the church at the Lady Mass (June 2011). Alongside this direct practical engagement with the enactments on a series of levels (including retrospective reflection on the experience),¹¹ the terms of the research project also invited me to research the wider phenomenon of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus. A number of different strands

⁸ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (London and New Haven, 1992, 2nd rev edn, 2005), 465.

⁹ See P. S. Barnwell, ‘How to do Without Rubrics: Experiments in Reconstructing Medieval Lay Experience’, *LMLE*, Ch. 15. Ann M. Hutchinson, ‘Reflections on the Spiritual Impact of St Birgitta ...’ *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII*, papers edited by Edward Alexander Jones (Cambridge: Boydell, 2004), 77-78; Duffy, *The Stripping*, 45.

¹⁰ A full list of the ‘Inculturation Materials’ used is given in P. S. Barnwell, ‘How to do Without Rubrics: Experiments in Reconstructing Medieval Lay Experience’, *LMLE*, Ch. 15.

¹¹ Some of my observations appear in Keith Beasley, Judith Aveling and John Francis Moss, ‘Reflections on the Enactments: Voices from the Nave’, *LMLE*, Ch. 16.

emerged: the background to the liturgical Rite (both Mass and Office) and the gradual emergence of a Kalendar Feast of the Holy Name (7 August); the context of the observance within medieval culture and society in Britain, including associated patronage; and the wider theological implications underpinning the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus itself.

The emergence of the thesis and its research questions

My own background is not in Musicology, and this has inevitably shaped the trajectory of this doctoral thesis. I came to the research project with a rather different education from the other members of the core team: a degree in Modern Languages and Ancient Greek from Peterhouse, Cambridge, a Masters degree in Slavonic and East European Studies from London University, and a Diploma Licentiate in Theology and Religious Studies from Liverpool Hope and Lampeter Universities. My main contribution to the project has therefore been distinct, drawing on different but also complementary aspects. The resulting thesis includes a significant section on the theological aspect of late medieval devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, with a deep textual analysis of both its scriptural roots, and those of the associated Mass and Office. Translations of the complete Mass and Office (much of the latter my own work) are given in Appendices II.1 and II.2. It should be emphasised that the thesis does not set out to analyse the *musical* characteristics of the Mass and Office, although some of the materials provided here will greatly facilitate such a study.

During the process of investigation and preparation for the enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, it became apparent which aspects of the devotion had been extensively researched at the expense of others, and which were the opportunities for a valuable contribution to Holy Name of Jesus studies to be made.

It seemed that the subject has attracted interest from scholars in a wide range of disciplines. Much has been written about the history of the cult of the Name of Jesus in the West and in England, and who the key proponents were, Bernard of Clairvaux and Aelred of Rievaulx among them. The association of the observance with Lollardy, the role of preaching in the promotion of the cult, and the role of patronage, not least through the piety of high profile figures who became famous for their devotion, in particular Lady Margaret Beaufort, have also been researched. The

writings and spirituality of the Hermit of Hampole, Richard Rolle, who did much to promote the observance in England, together with Walter Hilton and the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, have been topics of substantial exploration for scholars of English, as has the extensive corpus of para-liturgical texts (hymns, prayers, verses) devoted to the Holy Name. The material culture which sprang up around it, centred on the holy monogram IHS, has also been well documented. In theology, some research, albeit limited, has been undertaken on the differences of approach to the Name of Jesus between the eastern and western Churches; Dionysius the Aeropagite and Thomas Aquinas, who have both written treatises on the divine names in general, have received scholarly attention. Finally, aspects of the Holy Name of Jesus as an incipient Feast, and the appearances of its Mass and Office in liturgical books have been charted in Richard Pfaff's monograph.¹²

Yet less interest has focused on the significance of the name Jesus itself, as expressed in the Scriptures and in the Mass and Office texts. Much of the above-mentioned scholarship relies on the notion that the devotion to the Name of Jesus is rooted in the New Testament, yet there appears to be little textual analysis of the treatment of the name Jesus in Scripture. Also, scholars erroneously speak of the cult being 'Christocentric', even though it is much more about Jesus the man than Jesus the 'Christos'. It seemed therefore that my own background in modern languages and ancient Greek could be brought to bear on a deeper textual analysis of the scriptural, Mass and Office texts of the Holy Name.

My contribution to 'Holy Name of Jesus' Studies

As a result of this textual focus on the name Jesus in the New Testament, certain themes began to emerge, found later to be reinforced in the Mass, and an analysis of the Sarum Office of the Holy Name, incompletely translated until now, introduced new ones, thereby permitting a richer understanding of the Name. For this reason, the Appendices in which the Mass and Office Propers are set out in Latin with parallel translations are an integral part of this thesis. Scholarship on the liturgical development of the Holy Name has been updated with more recent information

¹² Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970).

concerning the musical provision in parish and cathedral churches, supported by guilds, thus completing the picture of the extent of the practice. Comparisons drawn with the emerging Sarum Feast of the Transfiguration (6 August), a much under-explored Feast generally in the Western Church, have been found to reinforce aspects of the devotion to the Holy Name, celebrated festally on 7 August, as well as offering fresh interpretations of its significance. Finally, the enactments of the Mass of the Holy Name in Salisbury Cathedral and St Teilo's Church in 2011 raised issues of sources, rubrics and uniformity of practice, and brought about a closer engagement with the texts. As a whole, this thesis therefore aims to offer new perspectives on the Holy Name of Jesus, namely its significance, its liturgical development, and the forms its worship took.

It is nevertheless beyond the scope of the thesis to discuss many other related themes. As noted above, I do not attempt to address all aspects of the preparation and execution of the liturgical enactments, including the accompanying musical materials, although a great deal of information is available on the project website and other materials cited in the first paragraph of this Introduction.

There are also other deliberate omissions. Given its scriptural pedigree, and its focus on the person of Jesus specifically, the cult has been labelled as one which was proto-Protestant on the Eve of the Reformation, heralding the new wave of religious faith about to sweep across Britain and change the beliefs and practices of the majority of its people. This thesis cannot include the impact of this vast topic on the liturgical landscape, even though the reader needs to be aware of its shadow looming over the period studied. Nor does the thesis address the devotion on the Continent, promulgated by Heinrich Suso in the Low Countries and Bernardino of Siena in Italy, who are said to have invested the Holy Name with a different kind of spirituality. Its treatment by the Catholic Church and its celebration coinciding with the Feast of the Circumcision is another topic which has to be left aside.

One of the many challenges of writing this thesis has been the constant reassessment of the need for capitalisation of the word 'name' in its various uses and contexts. After much consideration, it has been decided that the word should be capitalised when referring to the Name of Jesus as an entity and concept, and when the Name

refers to Jesus or his name. However, in all other cases, when the name of Jesus is referred to explicitly, or when names are discussed generally, lower case is used. Another dimension of this policy is explained at the start of Chapter 1, where a distinction is drawn between the ‘the Name of Jesus’ and the name ‘Jesus’.

Ordering of the thesis

This doctoral thesis therefore investigates the development, both chronologically and thematically, of the Feast of the Holy Name: Section I, ‘Early Beginnings and Medieval Context’ explores its origins in Scripture, and then from the first century, its expression as the focus of a devotion in the West and more specifically in England. Section II, ‘The Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus: Emergence and Adoption of a Liturgy’ surveys its evolution into an officially recognized liturgical Feast from 1350–1550, and assesses the extent of the practice of the observance across the country. This investigation is followed in Section III, ‘The Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus in the Sixteenth Century: Sources and Significance’, by an analysis of the sources, scriptural and theological, of the Mass and Office Proper texts. Section IV, ‘The Feast of the Transfiguration: a Contrasting Feast?’ considers the role of an adjacent Feast in the Kalendar, the Transfiguration, in the celebration and dating of the Holy Name. Section V, ‘Animating Medieval Liturgical Texts into Worship’ examines the process of creating a working edition of a Mass text, so that it can be enacted as worship.

In more detail, Chapter 1 explores the roots and the significance of the name ‘Jesus’ and ‘the Name of Jesus’ in the New Testament, confining itself to the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles and Pauline Epistles. Two approaches are employed for this analysis. A more lengthy and literal investigation of how Jesus is addressed face to face in the texts, and of how his Name is later invoked by his Apostles, leads to a conclusion which is at odds with the veneration and adoration the Name has elicited, ever since the New Testament was written. A broader exegetical method, borrowing from the Old Testament treatment of the Name, explains the disparity and offers an alternative interpretation, which is more familiar to scholars of Holy Name of Jesus studies.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the spread of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus in the West and in England: it is for the most part chronological, beginning with a summary of the writings of the early Church Fathers who took over from the Apostles and continuing with early Medieval English theologians who helped promote the observance, and in so doing, influenced the Propers of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name. This chapter also serves as an introduction to the range of scholarship which has focused on the study of the Holy Name of Jesus, undertaken by historians, art historians, musicologists, students of English Literature, to name but a few.

Part II constitutes the largest component of the thesis, as it investigates the Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus. Chapter 3 traces the liturgical development of the Mass (and Office) in service books, with the majority pertaining to Sarum Use. Relying heavily but not exclusively on the expert scholarship of Richard Pfaff, the chapter presents in tabulated form how the textual evolution of the Mass indicates its progression from the status of a Votive Mass to that of a Feast, first through manuscript then printed sources. Chapter 4, which follows, seeks to ascertain the extent of actual liturgical practice in England, in the decades preceding and succeeding the Convocations of 1488/89: this is done through a survey of guild activity across the country, in provincial and London churches, and in bigger secular and monastic foundations. The extent of musical provision in the form of sung polyphonic settings for the Mass and organ accompaniment also relates how and where the Mass was being observed. Specific reference is made to the Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's, considered to be the biggest and wealthiest guild of its time. The holy monogram for liturgical use is also discussed, along with the extent of royal patronage and its influence on the liturgical development of the cult, another emerging theme.

Chapter 5 examines the origins and characteristics of the Propers of the Mass, namely the sung chants and intoned items. The most prominent theme is the saving dimension of the Name of Jesus, i.e. its potential to effect Salvation. Yet as well as being capable of saving, the Name also represents his humanity and his person, to the extent that the name Jesus becomes Jesus. The Sequence is one of many devotional texts which express the notion of the sweetness of the Name.

The final chapter of this section, Chapter 6, examines the Propers of the Office, where I have provided new translations of the Lections appended as Appendix II.2. The now familiar themes of Salvation and sweetness, associated with the Name, are borne out in the Psalms, Hymns, Chapters and Lections. In addition, new themes emerge, such as the ancient heritage of the Name and the cooperation between God, the Angel and his human parents Joseph and Mary in naming him Jesus. Reference is made to the Circumcision of Jesus Christ, an occasion when his name was at the forefront of an event. The influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, encountered in the Mass, is of more significance in the Office. Generally, the Office Propers enhance our understanding not only of the meaning of the Name but also of the Mass Propers.

The next two chapters constitute Section IV and concern the Feast of the Transfiguration, celebrated on 6 August in the liturgical Kalendar. Chapter 7 examines the theological significance of the Feast, firstly as interpreted in Scripture and secondly in the Mass and Office texts. Two versions of each are considered. A first set, written by Peter the Venerable (d. 1156), who was responsible for the introduction of the Feast into Cluniac houses in England, is compared with those found in Sarum liturgical books, and leads to some interesting conclusions about the complementarity of the two Feasts. Chapter 8 addresses the questions of whether the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus was dated to the 7 August with this complementarity in mind. The chapter also investigates any credible evidence that the two Feasts, in spite of developing in opposite ways, were actually observed as a pair after the Convocations of Canterbury (Transfiguration, 1487; Holy Name of Jesus, 1488) and York (both Feasts, 1489).

The final chapter of this thesis relates to the *EoW* Project, of which this doctoral thesis is an outcome. It addresses the challenges of compiling one working edition from the available and varied sources, including the associated Propers and the Ordinary chants, and most importantly, providing clear rubrics for the celebrant and his assistant. This was the most demanding task, as the sources offer no guidance for the ritual involved in a Votive Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, celebrated by one priest, assisted by one server and musicians. There was the added complication of making

the Mass practicable within two very different spaces, the small church of St Teilo's and the Holy Trinity chapel of Salisbury Cathedral.

The Appendices represent an integral part of this thesis. They are organised into an order which mirrors the progression of the Sections: Appendix I includes the relevant pages of the 1532 Missal (Holy Name and Transfiguration), the 1527 and the 1532 Graduals, the latter in particular constituting the lead source for the compilation of the working edition of the Jesus Mass. Appendix II is a crucial accompaniment to Section III and includes the Propers of the Mass and Office, set out in Latin and English. Appendix III provides a copy of the Papal Bull ratified by Pope Alexander VI in 1494, accompanied by a Latin transcription. Appendix IV supplements Section V which explores the *EoW* Enactments: it contains the Service Booklets for priest and clerk at both St Teilo's (September 2011) and Salisbury (October 2011); the Service Booklets used by the Singers during both enactments; and finally, a collection of 'Inculturation Materials' which were distributed to the participants. These Appendices are designed to be read alongside the chapters of the thesis.

Section I

The Name of Jesus:

Early Beginnings and Medieval
Context

Chapter 1

The Holy Name of Jesus in Scripture

This chapter explores the treatment of ‘the Name of Jesus’ in Scripture. Its occurrence and gradually developing significance in the books of the New Testament come under close literal scrutiny. Because ‘The Holy Name of Jesus’ is the dedication of the Mass and Office explored in this doctoral thesis, researching its roots and importance in the Gospels, the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the Pauline Epistles, in the order as found in the Bible is a crucial part of this study.

Several distinctions need to be brought to the attention of the reader: first, between the name ‘Jesus’ – i.e. the personal name by which Jesus is designated, and ‘the Name of Jesus’, which is an aspect of Jesus’ personality and the object of a medieval cult. Second, there is the concept of the ‘Holy Name of Jesus’, which paradoxically requires reference to the Old Testament for an appreciation of its meaning.

An English biblical concordance,¹³ cross-referenced against an online New Testament Greek version,¹⁴ provides a useful if surprising starting point: a search under the word ‘name’ produces 173 entries listed for the books of the New Testament. However, if for the purposes of our study, the search is limited to those entries which contain precisely the words ‘the Name of Jesus’, thus discounting ‘the Name of the Lord’, or ‘in His Name’, or again ‘the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ’, these amount to eleven only. Their distribution across the books of the New Testament is also thought-provoking: the Evangelists, contrary to expectations, make little mention of it as a separate entity. ‘The Name of Jesus’ is found more frequently in the later writings, particularly in the *Acts* of the Apostles, in other words after Jesus’ Resurrection and Ascension have taken place; yet even here it is more usually mentioned alongside his other titles: Jesus is invoked ‘in the Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ’. Finally, Paul, in his Epistles, makes much of ‘the Name of Jesus’, although he also favours the use of the other Christological names, like Lord and Christ.

¹³ Edward W. Goodrick and John R. Kohlenberger (eds), *The NIV Complete Concordance* (London, 1983), 753–756.

¹⁴ Anthony J. Fisher, *Greek New Testament* [website] < <http://www.kimmitt.co.uk/gnt/gnt.html/> > accessed 18 May 2012.

The Name of Jesus in the Gospels

The first important observation is that ‘the Name of Jesus’ is very rarely mentioned by the four Evangelists. In the synoptic Gospels ‘the Name of Jesus’ occurs only four times: twice in the Gospel of Matthew, when the angel Gabriel instructs Joseph in a dream to call his son by ‘the Name Jesus’ (*Matt.1:21*), and two verses later when Joseph gives him that very name (*Matt.1:25*); once in the Gospel of Mark, when the reader is told ‘the Name of Jesus’ had become well known to Herod and his entourage (*Mk 6:14*); and once in the Gospel of Luke when Gabriel instructs Mary to give him ‘the Name Jesus’ (*Lk 1:31*).

Of the four Evangelists it is Matthew who treats the Name with the most veneration: ‘She will bear a son, and you are to name him Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins’ (*Matt.1:21*).¹⁵ To some readers, this sentence would appear as a non-sequitur; but *Jesus* (Ἰησοῦς) is the (anglicised) New Testament Greek for *Jeshua*, which is itself a contraction of *Jehoshua*, translated as ‘Yahweh is salvation’.¹⁶ A reader of Hebrew would therefore have understood why the statement concludes in this way, especially as Matthew is appealing to an Old Testament tradition, found for example in the book of *Genesis*, whereby God instructs his people to name their children according to the roles they shall fulfil in the History of Salvation. In *Genesis* 16:11 Hagar is requested to name her son Ishmael (‘God who hears’) and in *Genesis* 17:19 Abraham is told that Sarah should call their son Isaac (‘He who laughs’). Jesus is another of these chosen people, who will, however, become a Saviour, as predicted by the name bestowed upon him. Thus, the meaning of the Name as Salvation is forcefully made in this passage, and the Name itself is treated with importance. It is worth pointing out at this stage that this very passage is the appointed Gospel for the late medieval Mass and Office of the Holy Name, of which the Propers are analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Mark and Luke place less significance upon the ‘Name of Jesus’. Mark does not relate the birth of Jesus or the giving of his Name. His Gospel begins with the baptism of Christ (*Mk 1:9-11*), an event which confirms Jesus, through the appearance of the

¹⁵ The New Revised Standard Version of the Bible will be the version referred to throughout this chapter: <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew+1.21&version=NRSV>.

¹⁶ D. A. Deissmann, ‘The Names of Jesus’ in G.K.A. Bell and D.A. Deissmann (eds), *Mysterium Christi. Christological Studies by British and German Theologians*, (London, 1930) 12.

Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, as ‘My Son, the Beloved’ (*Mk* 1:11). Luke’s account of the Annunciation differs from Matthew’s in that it focuses more on his divinity, as confirmed by the French priest and archivist Irénée Noye,¹⁷ than on the significance of his name:

Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found favour with God. And now, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you will name him Jesus. He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David. He will reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end. (*Lk* 1:30–33)

Luke mentions the name ‘Jesus’ almost in passing, and places the emphasis on the greatness, kingship and holiness conferred upon him by God.¹⁸

Finally, John writes in reference to the signs and sayings of Jesus Christ: ‘But these are written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name’ (*Jn* 20:31). It is doubtful, however, that John is here specifically referring to ‘the Name of Jesus’, since unlike Matthew and Luke he makes no mention of the events surrounding the giving of his Name.

Matthew’s account is the only one of the four that makes mention of the angel’s annunciation to Joseph and explains ‘the Name of Jesus’ as the Name which saves. A view held in the early Church is that Matthew wrote his Gospel for the Jewish people. In recent scholarship, it is claimed that he wrote for the Pharisees in particular, as they were the largest surviving party after 70 CE, the date of the loss of the Temple.¹⁹ In the light of this interpretation it becomes clearer why Matthew, a Christian Jew, introduces Jesus to his readership in a language and syntax familiar to the Jews, and reminiscent of the book of *Genesis*.

¹⁷ I. Noye, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, fondé par M. Viller ... [et al.] ; continué par A. Derville, P. Lamarche et A. Solignac avec le concours d’un grand nombre de collaborateurs. (Paris, 1995), Tome viii (1974), (hereafter *DS*), col. 1109.

¹⁸ This passage is nevertheless referred to in the Office of the Holy Name (Matins Lectures 2 and 7 of the Feast Day and in Respond 7; in the first Antiphon for Lauds; in Lecture 2 of the Sunday within the Octave). Thanks to the Angel’s appearance to Mary, there are two human witnesses (with Joseph) of their son’s naming as Saviour.

¹⁹ Ian Boxall, *SCM Study Guide to the Books of the New Testament*, (London, 2007), 107.

This analysis of the naming of Jesus, existent or not in the Gospels, is reflected in the Propers of the medieval Mass and Office: Matthew's account is the appointed Gospel passage for the Mass, the subject of Origen's homily as Lection 7 at Matins on the Feast itself, referred to in Lections 8 and 9, and provides the text for antiphons at Lauds and Second Vespers on the Feast.

How Jesus is addressed in direct speech

This lack of attention given to 'the Name of Jesus' is matched by the infrequency of the name 'Jesus' in the vocative case. In fact, it would be fair to say that all four Evangelists often seek to avoid any kind of address for him, and practise a 'remarkable degree of objectivity'.²⁰ A brief study of his appellations in the Gospels not only provides an interesting contrast, but highlights some of the limitations of the name 'Jesus'.

Four categories of interlocutors can be identified: first, those who are close to him; second, those who question his teachings; third, those who may wish him wrong, and fourth, those who need him. Among the first category are included his family, his disciples, and the others to whom he preaches.

1.1. Those who are close to him

The disciples address him alternatively as 'Lord' (*Matt.* 8:25; 14:28), (*Lk* 11:1; 12:41), (*Jn* 7:68; 13:36; 14:5; 14:8); 'Teacher' (*Mk* 10:35; 13:1); 'Master' (*Lk* 5:5) and 'Rabbi' (*Matt.* 26:25), (*Mk* 9:5; 14:45), (*Jn* 1:38; 9:2). Martha addresses him as 'Lord' at the raising of Lazarus (*Jn* 11:21); his mother as 'Child' when she discovers him teaching in the temple (*Lk* 2:48); and Mary Magdalene as 'Rabboni' when she recognizes him in the garden after his Resurrection (*Jn* 20:16). The French Jesuit priest and professor of Eastern Spirituality Irénée Hausherr (1891-1978), claims that the disciples did not dare address him by his personal name, and Jesus approves, saying to them, 'You call me "Master" and "Lord", and rightly so, for that is what I am' (*Jn* 13:13).²¹ Significantly, when Thomas recognizes Jesus after his Resurrection, he cries out 'My Lord and my God!' (*Jn* 20:28) The name 'Jesus' appears to be

²⁰ Vincent Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, (London, 1953), 6.

²¹ Irénée Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, tr. Charles Cummings (Kalamazoo, 1978), 6.

carefully avoided by those who love him or who appear among his circle of friends and acquaintances.

1.2. *Those who question his teachings*

Unsurprisingly, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, address him by the respectful and less Christological title of ‘Teacher’ (*Matt.* 12:38), (*Mk* 12:18), (*Lk* 7:40; 19:39). Nicodemus, one of the Pharisees, proves to be the exception when in *John* 3:2 he says to Jesus: ‘Rabbi, we know that you are a teacher who has come from God; for no one can do these signs that you do apart from in the presence of God.’ Yet, generally, a distinction in the terms of address can be drawn between those who belong to his inner circle of followers and those who challenge his teachings and seek to uphold the Old Law.

1.3. *Those who wish him wrong*

Those who wish him wrong address Jesus by his personal name, and as a result there is almost the suggestion that the Name carries pejorative connotations. This is exemplified by a man possessed by an evil spirit, who taunts him and calls out his name (*Lk* 4:33). In Gethsemane, Judas, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers and officials from the chief priests and Pharisees, asks for ‘Jesus of Nazareth’ (*Jn* 18:5-7). There is much to read into the use of the Name here: it is used by people who feel hostility towards him, and merely to identify him, not to represent him, as in the appellations ‘Son’, ‘Teacher’, ‘Rabbi’, and ‘Lord’, which carry an implicit acknowledgement of love, wisdom or power. His personal name, reduces him to someone ordinary and male. There is also a tacit refusal on the part of those who address him as ‘Jesus’ to acknowledge him as the Messiah.

1.4. *Those who need him*

The fourth category, those who seek his curative powers, such as the Canaanite woman (*Matt.* 15:21-28), the Gerasene demoniac or Legion (*Matt.* 8:28; *Mk* 5:1-20; *Lk* 8:26-39), Lazarus (*Jn* 11:1-44), the blind, and the lame, are the most interesting category of people in this analysis. In the Gospel of Mark (*Mk* 5:7), Legion possessed by an evil spirit, and so-called because there are many of him, calls out, ‘What have you to do with me, Jesus, Son of the Most High God?’ When Jesus cures him he instructs Legion to go home to his family and tell them what the ‘Lord’ has done (*Mk*

5:19). Legion is changed, but he is also encouraged to speak of Jesus in a different way. Luke (*Lk* 18:37-38) tells a tale, in which a blind man sitting by the side of the road, is told that Jesus of Nazareth is passing by. However, it is when he calls out to Jesus by a different name, ‘Son of David, have mercy on me’, that he is cured. Thus, ‘the Name of Jesus’ does not at this stage have any healing powers, whereas acknowledging him as the Son of God or having recourse to his ancestry, brings about miracles.

The above analysis enables three points to be made: first, invoking ‘the Name of Jesus’ in good faith does not bring about any divine powers; second, those who have received Jesus’ divine powers address him by a title (Lord, Son of David) which implicitly acknowledges the divine authority which is upon him; third, those who address Jesus by his name tend to be foreign, in need of healing, or possessed by demons. These are the outcast, who are not acquainted with the Good News about Jesus being the Son of God.

How Jesus is referred to in indirect speech

How Jesus is referred to in indirect speech, tallies to some extent with the ways in which he is addressed in direct speech. The Evangelists speak of him as ‘Jesus’, or sometimes as ‘Jesus of Nazareth’, in order to lend historical objectivity to their narrative. Alternatively, they refer to him as ‘the Lord’. For example, ‘the Lord appointed a further seventy-two and sent them on ahead in pairs....’ (*Lk* 10:1). In Luke’s eyes Jesus sent them out in his role as ‘the Lord’.²² According to Hausherr, the form of address ‘Lord’, or *Kyrios* in the Greek, would have been a loaded term for the early Christians, one that conveyed far more than the superiority and authority exercised by one human being over others: *Kyrios* was the translation for the Hebrew *Adonai* and *Yahweh* in the Septuagint. ‘What is said of the *Kyrios* (Yahweh) in the Old Testament is said of the *Kyrios Iesus Christos* in the New Testament.’²³ In other words, the Evangelists were continuing the tradition started by their forebears: they wrote about Jesus as if he were God.

²² Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, 8.

²³ K. L. Schmidt, ‘Epikaleo’, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, G. Kittel, G. W. Bromiley, G. Friedrich, (eds) vol.3, 500, quoted in Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, 11.

Other characters help reinforce that the earthly and historical name 'Jesus' is little more than a means of identification: Pilate has the name 'Jesus of Nazareth' inscribed above his cross in order to distinguish him from Jesus Barabbas.²⁴ Upon the discovery of the empty tomb the angel tells the women that the man they seek, Jesus (of Nazareth), has risen (*Matt.* 27:54; *Mk* 16:6). On the road to Emmaus in answer to Jesus' enquiry, Cleopas refers to the events surrounding Jesus of Nazareth: once again, his name is used factually to identify him to a man they think is a stranger (*Lk* 24:19). On the other hand, after recognizing the gardener as Jesus, Mary tells the others that she has seen 'the Lord' (*Jn* 20:18).

Thus the Evangelists and Jesus' followers speak *to* and *of* Jesus in a way which expresses their belief in Jesus as the Messiah: this involves employing a range of titles, in particular the title 'Lord' which implicitly acknowledges Jesus as divine. The name 'Jesus' in some ways does the opposite, since it marks him out as another Jewish human being, at best a wise teacher, at worst a man from Nazareth who deserves to be executed.

To conclude this section on the Gospels, apart from the emphasis Matthew places upon the significance of the name 'Jesus', little acknowledgement of the saving dimension of the name 'Jesus' is expressed, across the four accounts of Jesus' life. As a result, the 'Name of Jesus' is of limited significance for the time being, while the name 'Jesus' stresses the fully human aspect of his person.

The human dimension of his personal name is not to be overlooked as it will be a distinctive feature of the liturgical texts of the Holy Name. In addition it will be highlighted by the contrasting celebration of his title 'Christos' observed the day before in the Kalendar, (6 August) at the Feast of the Transfiguration, discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

The Name of Jesus in the *Acts of the Apostles*

The *Acts of the Apostles* provides the most instances of 'the Name of Jesus' in one single book, five in total, which is more than were found in all four Gospels taken

²⁴ Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, 5.

together. However, in spite of its increased frequency, 'Jesus' is not the name invoked to cure the sick, baptize converts and drive out demons. If in counting up the occurrences of 'the Name of Jesus' are included 'the Name of the Lord,' 'the Name of Jesus Christ', 'the Name of the Lord Jesus', and 'the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ', then as many as seventeen instances can be found. This would give credence to the opinion held by the Methodist minister and biblical scholar Vincent Taylor, that *Acts* marks an important transitional phase for the other Christological names of Jesus,²⁵ namely *Kyrios* which was frequently used by his followers in the Gospels, and now the term *Christos*, 'the Anointed One'. Both are frequently used to address, invoke or refer to Jesus.

Also known as the 'Book of Signs', the Book of *Acts* is where Peter cures a cripple 'in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth', (*Acts* 3:6) and where Paul drives the devil out of a possessed slave-girl 'in the Name of Jesus Christ' (*Acts* 16:18). Both these invocations are creedal, in that they acknowledge that Jesus was both human and divine: the use of the personal name in the formula contains the human nature of his person, whereas the word Christ, from the Greek *Christos* to mean 'The Anointed One', implies that he is sent from God. Similarly, Gentiles are converted to the new faith and baptized 'in the Name of Jesus Christ,' (*Acts* 2:38; 10:48): the continuation of the use of 'Lord' (*Acts* 19:5) but also the more frequent use of 'Christ' confirms Jesus' status as the risen Christ.

A close look at the five occurrences of the 'Name of Jesus' in *Acts* confirms the need for a Christological title for Salvation to take place. For example, in *Acts* 3:16, Peter explains to astonished onlookers how 'the Name of Jesus' has awoken the faith of the cripple whom he has cured; he says this however, after he has cured him, which he did 'in the Name of Jesus Christ' (*Acts* 3:6). The 'Name of Jesus' appears to have little salvific power, unless it is accompanied by another title like Lord or Christ. To prove the point further, an incident reported in *Acts* 19:13 shows the impotence of the name 'Jesus' when it is invoked on its own: some Jewish exorcists decide to try their hand at using the Name on those possessed by evil spirits, to no avail. They say, 'I

²⁵ Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, 6.

adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul proclaims'. Because the invocation does not acknowledge that Jesus is the Christ, their attempt at performing a miracle fails.

How Jesus is addressed in direct speech

Because Jesus figures only briefly at the beginning of the *Acts* before he ascends into heaven, very few examples of him being addressed face to face can be found. In the first chapter Jesus is called 'Lord' by his disciples. Later, when he appears to a reluctant Ananias to instruct him to go and find Paul, he is also addressed as 'Lord' (*Acts* 9:10-16), a term which, as already been noted, implicitly expresses his divinity as well as his kingship and authority.

How Jesus is referred to in indirect speech

In his book on the history and development of the Jesus Prayer, Hausherr, in order to consider the variety of ways in which Jesus is referred to in *Acts*, distinguishes three categories of speakers: non-believers (i.e. Jews), Apostles trying to convert non-believers, and the faithful in general, including the Apostles.²⁶ The Jews refer to Jesus by his personal name (*Acts* 4:2; 6:14); Peter and Paul use their own vocabulary – for example Paul explains that Jesus is 'the Son of God' (*Acts* 9:10); finally, the 'faithful almost always show their convictions by completing the name 'Jesus' with a title expressing faith and respect', which means adding the title 'Christ',²⁷ (*Acts* 2:36), as Peter does at Pentecost. Hausherr infers that the earthly and historical name is used when it is necessary to distinguish Jesus from his fellow human beings; whereas for those who wish to convey who Jesus really was, his personal name is insufficient. 'Kyrios was the divine name, Christos the messianic name, and Jesus a fairly ordinary name in the Judeo-Christian milieu – it can be said that the first Christians "used the name Christ more often than the name Jesus"'.²⁸ As if to exemplify this point, when Peter and John are arrested for their teachings about Jesus being the Messiah and are called before the Sanhedrin to account for themselves, they employ a Christological title: filled with the Holy Spirit, Peter responds, 'There is Salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among mortals by which we must be

²⁶ Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁸ Rt. Rev. J. Holzner, *Paul of Tarsus*, tr. F.C. Eckhoff (St Louis, 1944), 91, cited in Hausherr, *Ibid.*, 11.

saved'²⁹ (*Acts* 4:12). The frequency of this creedal invocation can be explained by the need for Luke the Evangelist and acknowledged author of *Acts* to promulgate Jesus as the Messiah and the Son of God, in a world where the events surrounding Jesus' Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension are still fairly recent, and relatively unknown.

In the *Acts* of the Apostles, the name 'Jesus' is rarely mentioned alone, but takes on salvific powers when it is pronounced together with another Christological title, namely 'Lord' and especially 'Christ', which after the events of the Resurrection, occurs with increased frequency.

The Name of Jesus in the Pauline Epistles

In the corpus of Pauline Epistles to the Gentile communities of the ancient world, only one reference to 'the Name of Jesus' can be found; yet it would have a huge significance in the Mass and Office Propers and play an influential role in Christian worship for centuries to come.

Paul's Epistles are not only a different literary genre from the Gospel narratives and the *Acts* of the Apostles, but their author has a very different agenda from the Evangelists: here, Paul is not trying to represent the God-man Jesus, who lived, taught, performed miracles, and defied death, nor is he attempting to show through a narrative that he was the Son of God. He is also not bearing witness to all the miracles, which happened in Jesus' name after the Resurrection. While these features of Jesus' life may get a mention, the letters are primarily written with the aim of instructing and encouraging the faithful, from one believer to other believers. Thus, while in *Acts* the invocation of 'the Name of Jesus Christ' allowed a miraculous act to take place, be that a baptism, a conversion, or a healing, Paul calls upon it as a means of encouraging and upholding the faith in others. Their main uses are summarized below.

The name is invoked to remind these communities of the new faith. Paul's first *Epistle to the Corinthians* opens with an address to the Church of God in Corinth, 'together with all those everywhere who call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ'

²⁹ The name referred to is 'the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth' (*Acts* 4:10).

(1Cor. 1:2). What is apparent from this is that Christians are identified as people who invoke this creedal formulation. ‘Calling on the Name of the Lord understood as Jesus Christ is an unmistakable sign of faith in him as Messiah and Son of God’.³⁰ Thus Paul calls upon the Name to exhort his audience to acknowledge Jesus as their Lord; in so doing he instils a sense of community and identity, since those who follow his teachings adhere to the same belief and are distinctive in doing so.

The Name of the Lord Jesus Christ is also efficacious for the believer’s sanctification and justification: Paul makes this point succinctly in 1 *Corinthians* 6:11, and this passage is referred to in Matins Lection 4 on the Sunday within the Octave of the Feast.

In his *Epistle to the Ephesians*, Paul beseeches them to speak to one another with psalms and Hymns, to make music to the Lord, ‘giving thanks to God the Father at all times and for everything in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ’ (*Eph.* 5:20). In his *Epistle to the Colossians* he entreats them to do everything, word or deed, ‘in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him’ (*Col.* 3:17).

The *Epistle to the Philippians*, which he wrote relatively late in his ministry, marks an unusual turning point in Paul’s theology of the Holy Name: appearing between his *Epistles to the Ephesians* and to the *Colossians*, this Letter is of particular interest to this thesis, given the pride of place that Paul accords ‘the Name of Jesus’ specifically. As this passage is chosen for the Introit to the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, discussed in Chapter 5, it will be quoted here in full:

Therefore God also highly exalted him and gave him the name that is above every name so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. (*Phil.* 2: 9-11)

Here, Paul’s words confer ultimate majesty, power, and authority upon ‘the Name of Jesus’: majesty because all things are to bow down and worship it; power because believers are asked to bow down at the mention of ‘the Name of Jesus’, the implication being that uttering his name brings Jesus into their presence, which in turn

³⁰ Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, 11.

requires an attitude of worship; finally, authority because the faithful are asked to declare that they believe in the lordship of Jesus. *Philippians 2:9-11* is a decisive moment in the development of the cult of ‘the Name of Jesus’: not only is the Name given such an important significance for worship, but also, it is now the name of Jesus alone, without the addition of any of the Christological titles, which is a divine name. It is not surprising that this passage provides the words for the Introit of the Mass to the Holy Name of Jesus, as it attributes a special place to his name, invoked alone.

Two further important factors support the case for this passage acting as a watershed moment in the cult of the Name of Jesus. First of all, in response to the rapid development of the cult of the Name, the name Jehoshua – Jeshua – Jesus gradually disappeared among Jewish communities. Once a popular personal name in the Diaspora of about the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, it became increasingly scarce as there developed an understandable fear of profaning the Holy Name.³¹ This loss of popularity of the personal name Jesus in the world at large might have had the positive effect of distinguishing the divine person of Jesus among all people. Gradually, there would only be one man so named, and everyone would know who the name Jesus referred to, and what he represented. Therefore, invoking ‘Jesus’ might have become synonymous with calling out ‘Jesus Christ is Lord’.

Second, it is perhaps to be expected that after the Ascension, ‘the Name of Jesus’ would take on a different meaning: this is now the name of the man who according to Christian teachings, was God incarnate, who died for the sins of mankind, and who rose from the dead so that all who believed in him should have eternal life. There is a neat progression of the cult of the Holy Name in the course of the New Testament, from the Gospels where he is addressed by his followers as ‘Lord’ and ‘Master’, to the *Acts* where he is invoked as ‘Lord’ and ‘Christ’ by the Apostles in their performance of miracles, to the Pauline Epistles where he is invoked by their author as ‘Lord’, ‘Christ’, and eventually ‘Jesus’. In this case the reverence paid to the names of Jesus, and eventually to ‘the Name of Jesus’ alone goes hand in hand with

³¹ Deismann, ‘The Names of Jesus’, 12.

the growing importance of the person of Jesus, and the spread of Christianity generally.

Yet Taylor claims that *Matthew* 1:21 is the only instance where the name is suggested as a cult name,³² and attributes no importance to *Philippians* 2:9-11. This is an opinion also shared by Noye: he claims that even here, ‘the Name of Jesus’ is always mentioned in relation to his other salvific titles, and that ‘the name that is above every name’ is actually that of ‘Lord’, not that of ‘Jesus’. He also argues that even in *Philippians* there is a long way to go before seeing a cult to ‘the Name of Jesus’, as such.³³ These two scriptural passages certainly pale into insignificance next to the frequency of all the other invocations of Jesus’ Christological titles. How is it possible to reconcile this relative absence of respect for ‘the Name of Jesus’ in the Scriptures, with a cult based on the veneration of this very name, both in the West and in England more specifically?

An alternative exegesis

This literal and summary analysis of the occurrences of the name Jesus in the New Testament needs to be considered in conjunction with another, more contextual method of hermeneutical exegesis: the French Benedictine scholar André Cabassut, whose article on the devotion to ‘the Name of Jesus’ in the West has become a seminal work for the study of the cult, refers to the Hebrew understanding of what a name is. This is very tightly linked to the person who bears the name.³⁴ He claims that *Acts* 9:15-16 is confirmation that the name is the person.³⁵ This passage relates Jesus’ apparition to Ananias and his instruction to him to pay the newly-converted Saul a visit:

But the Lord said to him, ‘Go, for he is an instrument whom I have chosen to bring my name before Gentiles and kings and before the people of Israel; I myself will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name.’

³² Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, 6.

³³ Noye, *DS*, col. 1109.

³⁴ André Cabassut, ‘La Dévotion au Nom de Jésus dans l’Eglise d’Occident’, *La Vie Spirituelle*, No 86, 01/06 (1952), 46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

Within this Hebrew interpretation, ‘in my name’ can be interpreted as ‘me’. The name is the person of Jesus. This is particularly significant given the occurrence of this passage in Matins Lection 3 on the Feast Day of the Office of the Holy Name.

Quoting *Mark* 16:17, ‘by using my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in new tongues’, Cabassut reiterates this idea and claims that the Name is more than a sign: it actually represents Jesus, and makes him present to the one who utters his name or holds it in his thought.³⁶ This alternative interpretation helps explain the importance Jesus places upon his own name: the authors of all three synoptic Gospels report these words, uttered by Jesus to his disciples: ‘Whoever welcomes one such child in my name welcomes me’ (*Matt.* 18:5; *Mk* 9:37 and *Lk* 9:48). The repetition of these words by three of the Evangelists would suggest that they constitute one of Jesus Christ’s fundamental teachings.

Noye also suggests, that ‘in my name’ can be interpreted more liberally to mean ‘because of me’,³⁷ or as the Orthodox monk Lev Gillet suggests, ‘by my authority’ or ‘by virtue of me’.³⁸ This understanding certainly confirms the New Testament definitions of the Greek word ‘*onoma*’ which as well as the more predictable meanings such as name and title, also gets defined as person, authority, power, and reputation.³⁹

Cabassut’s scholarship on the Old Testament encourages a less literal interpretation of ‘the Name of Jesus’, as if ‘Name’, ‘Name of Jesus’, and even ‘Jesus’ are interchangeable. It helps explain why invoking the Name has come to be synonymous with invoking the bearer himself, a tradition carried down from the *Psalms*, where the Name provided comfort to those who called upon it, as shown by the extensive psalmody selected by the compiler of the medieval Office of the Holy Name of Jesus. It also sheds some light of the notion of the *Holy* Name of Jesus, the full title of the observance.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁷ Noye, *DS*, col. 1110.

³⁸ Lev Gillet, or A Monk of the Eastern Church, *The Jesus Prayer*, (New York, 1987), 27.

³⁹ Barclay M. Jr. Newman, *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament*, in Aland, Kurt, Matthew Black, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger, and Allen Wikgren (eds), *The Greek New Testament*, (3rd edn., Stuttgart, 1983), 126.

Conclusion

While not untrue, the claim that the roots of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus can be found in Scripture needs some careful qualification. In the Gospels, ‘the Name of Jesus’ appears infrequently as an invocation, and ‘Jesus’ is only addressed as such by the outcast, foreigners, and demons. The Evangelists and his followers address him directly by a more deferential title, such as ‘Rabbi’, ‘Master’ or ‘Teacher’, and usually refer to Jesus in the third person by a designation, such as ‘Lord’. The name Jesus is used in the New Testament where there is a desire to emphasize the humanity of Jesus Christ.⁴⁰ Only Matthew makes much of the name Jesus and the comfort it will bring to believers: he appeals to the Jewish tradition whereby chosen people are granted names, which they become: Jesus is named ‘Jesus’ because his name means Salvation and he will become a Saviour.

In the *Acts* of the Apostles, miracles are performed when the Name is invoked, but even though this book contains the most references to ‘the Name of Jesus’ specifically, it is the mention of ‘Jesus’ together with ‘Lord’ or ‘Christ’ which drives out demons, cures the lame, or persuades the Jews and Gentiles to convert and be baptised. This is because the faithful have to implicitly profess their belief in Jesus as Christ before their petition is taken seriously by on high.

In his Epistles, Paul invokes ‘the Name of Jesus’ to rouse and encourage his audiences in the new faith, also in a creedal form. However, nearing the end of his ministry when he writes to the Philippians, he gives ‘the Name of Jesus’ alone the title of ‘name above all names’, thus proclaiming it as a title of even more importance than his Christological titles: it is as if the significance of ‘the Name of Jesus’ has come full circle. It is a name which means Salvation in the first Gospel, before Jesus is born, and it is a name which demands the ultimate reverence in a late Epistle, written by one of the adult Jesus’ Apostles. This literal analysis gives importance to the human dimension of ‘the Name of Jesus’, and therefore to that of his person.

When this literal and summary analysis of the occurrences of the name Jesus in the New Testament is considered within the broader framework of the Scriptures taken all

⁴⁰ Taylor, *The Names of Jesus*, 8.

together, the Name takes on a more symbolic meaning. In the Old Testament, among the books of the Prophets and the Psalmists, because Yahweh was inaccessible, the Name signified God himself. Similarly, in the New Testament, when Jesus speaks of actions which will later be performed ‘in my name’, he is referring to his authority, reputation, and power, in other words to himself. The precise name he is referring to is ambiguous, but by virtue of its ambiguity, it is all encompassing, and acknowledges both his divinity as well as his humanity.

Christian theologians, and more relevantly the late medieval compiler(s) of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus have drawn on both methods of interpretation. On the one hand they have given prominence to the two passages of the New Testament (*Matt.* 1:21 and *Phil.* 2:9-11) where the ‘Name of Jesus’ is accorded its full significance as a name providing Salvation and deserving of worship. These figure prominently in the Mass, and are explored more fully in the Lections of the Office. The Sequence of the Mass *Dulcis Iesus Nazareus*, and the Office Hymns *Iesu dulcis memoria* and *Exultet cor precordiis* illustrate the human aspect of Jesus. On the other hand, the extensive psalmody in both liturgies, and the frequent references to the prophet Isaiah and to the *Song of Songs*, together with other passages from the New Testament, refer to a broader understanding of a Holy Name, whereby the ‘Name’ not just provides succour when invoked, but provides sanctification and justification to all believers, and is worthy of praise. In this respect, the Mass and Office Propers are rooted in Scripture.

Chapter 2

Devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus in the West and in England: An Overview

The cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in late medieval England has received attention from scholars active within a wide range of disciplines of academic research.⁴¹ As one of the most popular observances of the pre-Reformation period, it has awoken the curiosity of not just historians and theologians, but also liturgists, musicians, art historians, archaeologists, scholars of English and Latin. All have taken an interest in the origins, manifestations, and impact of this observance, which became widespread in England from the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴² This chapter will provide an overview of the development of the devotion, first in the West, and then more specifically in England, up to the 1530s, the decade in which the Experience of Worship enactments of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus were set.⁴³

The first section traces the chronological development of the devotion and focuses on the interest paid to the Name of Jesus by the Church Fathers of the Patristic and Medieval periods: special attention is paid to those devotional writings selected by the compiler(s) of the Office of the Holy Name. The next section explores how the cult emerged and developed in England from the lifetime of the Venerable Bede (672/673–735) up until the Reformation, and identifies the key figures who promoted it, namely Richard Rolle (c.1300–49) and Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509). Its liturgical development, both on the Continent and in England, will be discussed next, although its appearance in English liturgical books is analysed more fully in a later chapter (Chapter 3).

Henceforward the chapter will focus on English expressions of the devotion: a short analysis of the part played by guilds in the spread of the cult, the music associated

⁴¹ The term ‘Cult’ is not unproblematic, but for the purposes of this chapter, will be used to signify an established pattern of formal worship.

⁴² Elizabeth A. New, ‘Christological Personal Seals and Christocentric Devotion in Later Medieval England and Wales’, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 47–68 (60).

⁴³ Sally Harper and John Harper, ‘How did they do Liturgy?’ in Sally Harper, P.S. Barnwell, Magnus Williamson (eds), *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church* (Aldershot, 2015, forthcoming; hereafter *LMLE*), 3.

with the observance, the ubiquitous use of the sacred monogram IHS (or IHC), will follow, although all three of these topics are discussed in further detail in connection with the liturgical development of the observance, in Chapters 3 and 4. Last, the appeal of the devotion to the Lollards, and the role of preaching in the cult will be considered, before a closing section on the exploration of its literate dimension.

The spread of the devotion in the West

Because the name of Jesus is as old as Jesus himself, the history of Christianity is peopled by theologians and saints who have left written exegeses on the Holy Name. Inspired by the New Testament, many notable early Church Fathers all over the Christian world, such as Ignatius of Antioch (c.35–c.107), Justin Martyr (c.100–c.165), Origen (c.185–c.254), St Ambrose (c.340–397), St John Chrysostom (c.347–407), St Augustine of Hippo (354–430), Paulinus of Nola (c.354–431), St Peter Chrysologus (c.400–450), and St John Climacus (c.570–c.649), were interested in the meaning and the powers of the Name.⁴⁴ A few of these theologians deserve particular attention for their relevance to the Mass and Office of the Holy Name.

According to a legend cited in the *Legenda Aurea*, and indeed many other collections of tales,⁴⁵ when Ignatius of Antioch died, his heart was cut open and there was found inscribed the name of Jesus in golden letters.⁴⁶ Many other claims about his devotion to the Holy Name place him as ‘one of the greatest devotees of the Holy Name’.⁴⁷ His influence certainly found its way into the late medieval liturgy. Ignatius’ example is indeed cited in Matins Lection 5 of the Sunday during the Octave of the Holy Name (see Appendix II.2). Reference is also made to him in the Sequence of the Mass, *Dulcis Iesus Nazarenus*: ‘Ignatius hoc docuit,/illud passus insonuit/cor eius scissum paruit/inscriptum Iesu calico’ (see Appendix II.1).

⁴⁴ Irénée Noye, ‘Nom de Jésus’, *DS*, viii (1974), col. 1110; Bishop Kallistos of Diokleia (Timothy Ware), ‘The Holy Name of Jesus in East and West: the Hesychasts and Richard Rolle’, *Sobornost, incorporating Eastern Churches Review*, vol. 4 no 2 (1982), 172; Peter R. Biasiotto, O.F.M., *History of the Development of the Devotion to the Holy Name*, (New York, St Bonaventure Seminary, 1943), 12–34 It has been remarked that few of the Greek theologians of the fourth and fifth centuries gave any special attention to the significance of the Name. See Lev Gillet, or A Monk of the Eastern Church, *The Jesus Prayer*, (New York, 1987), 29.

⁴⁵ This version of the legend which tells of the monogram being found carved in his heart, as opposed to the cross, is found in *Speculum Laicorum*, no. 29, in several manuscript versions of Cheriton’s Fables, and in the *Anecdotes Historiques*. See Biasiotto, *History of the Development*, 45.

⁴⁶ Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: vulgo historia Lombardica dicta ad optimorum librorum*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, 2nd edn. (Lipsiae, 1850), 157.

⁴⁷ Biasiotto, *History of the Development*, 15.

Origen's contribution to the interpretation of the Holy Name likewise deserves some attention. His own observation was that 'A name is a term which summarizes and expresses the specific quality of the thing named.'⁴⁸ Applied to the name Jesus, his philosophy suggests that it means Salvation because Jesus is the Saviour, and affirms the angel's announcement in the Scriptures (*Matt.* 1:21), as noted above in Chapter 1. His homily on this Gospel passage constitutes Matins Lection 7 from the Feast of the Holy Name. Moreover, in his *First Homily on the Canticle of Canticles*, he claims that the Name of Jesus is called an ointment that is 'poured out,' and has been broadcast far and wide, just like the odour of the ointment.⁴⁹ This analogy drawn between the name of Jesus and the 'Oleum effusum', or the 'oil poured forth',⁵⁰ derived from the *Song of Songs* (*S. of S.* 1:3), will later be developed by St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) in his Sermon XV on the Exposition of the Song of Songs (*Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*), often mentioned in the Lections of the medieval Office (see Appendix II.2).

Paulinus of Nola is not directly quoted in the Mass or Office, and yet his poem 'De nomine Iesu' appears to be another source of inspiration for Bernard's Sermon XV, and indeed the meditation *Iesu dulcis memoria*, both of which provide the compiler of the Office with Hymn and Lection material. This name is a 'nectar in the mouth, honey on the tongue [...] a living ambrosia [...] If you have tasted it but once, you cannot endure to be parted from it[...] It is] For the eyes a serene light, in the ears the sound of life'.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Irénée Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus*, tr. Charles Cummings (Kalamazoo, 1978), 3, citing Origen, *De Oratione*, Chap. 24; *Patrologia Graeca* (hereafter PG), 11: 494B.

⁴⁹ Biasiotto, *History of the Development*, 17 citing Origen, PG, 13: 41.

⁵⁰ *Cantica Canticorum: Eighty Six Sermons on the Song of Solomon by Saint Bernard*, translated and edited, with Notes, by Samuel J. Eales (London, 1895), 82.

⁵¹ Translated in Lev Gillet, *The Jesus Prayer*, 29; 'In ore Christus nectar, in lingua favus./Ambrosia viva in gutture/Lotus beata in pectore, a qua nescias/ Abire gustata semel./ Mel in medullis, lux serena pupullis,/In auribus vitae sonus.' *Patrologica cursus completus ... series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1900) (hereafter PL), Vol. 61 (1861), col. 741A.

St Peter Chrysologus is the author of the following passage, taken from one of his sermons on the Annunciation, a very popular text during the Middle Ages,⁵² and cited in Lection 3 of Matins of the Holy Name:

Hoc est nomen quod cecis contulit visum, surdis auditum, claudis gressum, sermonem mutis, vitam mortuis: totamque dyaboli potestatem de obsessis corporibus virtus huius nominis effugavit.

This is the name, which gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, steps to the lame, speech to the dumb, life to the dead. The virtue of this name expelled from the bodies of the possessed the whole power of Satan.

Finally, the devotion of St Bernard of Clairvaux to the Holy Name is corroborated by many scholars:⁵³ Bernard's Sermon XV from the collection *Sermones in Cantica Canticatorum* (see above), has placed him among the leading advocates of the cult,⁵⁴ as it was such a well-known text; the Hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* ('Jesu the very thought of thee is sweet'), is often, if erroneously, attributed to him for this reason.⁵⁵ The centos provide an alternative Sequence in the Mass of the Holy Name and the Hymns for Matins and Lauds in the Office; his Sermons XV and XXII from the same collection, as well as his sermon 'On the Circumcision' form the basis of some of the Lectons (3-6 on the Feast Day; 7-8 On the Octave).

The spread of the devotion in England

In England, the Venerable Bede (c. 673–735), in his tenth homily for the Feast of Circumcision (1 January), invited the faithful to seek Salvation through participation in the Name of Jesus,⁵⁶ and at the end of the eighth century, the homily was incorporated into that by the Carolingian author, Paul the Deacon (c.720–799),⁵⁷ whose work is cited in the medieval Office.

⁵² H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*, (New York/London, 1927) 75.

⁵³ Elizabeth A. New, *The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c.1450–1558*' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1999), 18; Catherine A. Carsley, *Devotion to the Holy Name: Late Medieval Piety in England*, Princeton University Library Chronicle, Vol LIII, (1991-1992), 160; C. Thompson in *English Devotion to the Most Holy Name of Jesus*, Buckfast Abbey Chronicle, 13.2 (1943), 43.

⁵⁴ Cabassut, André, 'La Dévotion au Nom de Jésus dans l'Eglise d'Occident', *La Vie Spirituelle*, No 86, 01/06 (1952), 54.

⁵⁵ Thompson, *English Devotion*, 43.

⁵⁶ Bede, *Homiliarium Evangelii libri II*, in *Beda Venerabilis Opera pars III*, ed. by D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum, 122 (Turnhout, 1955), bk. 1 no. 11, 76.

⁵⁷ Paul the Deacon, *Homiliarius*, in *PL*, 95, cols 1159–1581, *Homiliae de tempore*, XLV, col. 1186.

In his ‘Meditation to stir up fear’, Anselm of Canterbury (c.1033–1109) expressed the anguish experienced by the sinner who before his judge makes a pathetic plea to Jesus to appeal to his tender mercy:

IESU, IESU, obliviscere superbum provocantem, respice miserum invocantem. Nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem et beatæ spei! Quid enim est IESUS nisi salvator?

Jesus, Jesus, forget the pride which provoked you, see only the wretchedness that invokes you. Dear name, name of delight, name of comfort to the sinner, name of blessed hope. For what is Jesus except to say Saviour?⁵⁸

The above-quoted passage is cited in Lection 3 of Matins of the Holy Name. St Anselm is credited with composing the ‘O Bone Iesu’ (‘O kind Jesus’) prayer⁵⁹ which was to become very popular at the apogee of the observance in pre-Reformation England,⁶⁰ although there is some debate as to who gave it its final form.⁶¹

Two more English names deserve a mention: Aelred of Rievaulx (1110-1167) wrote in his book *On Spiritual Friendship*, that ‘he could relish nothing in which he did not meet the adorable Name of Jesus’,⁶² a sentiment found in Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermon XV on the Exposition of the Song of Songs,⁶³ and cited in the medieval Office. Adam of Dryburgh (c.1140–c.1212), wrote a lengthy sermon for the Feast of the Circumcision in a conscious effort to pay tribute to the Name of Jesus, bestowed on the eighth day after the Saviour’s birth.⁶⁴

Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton

Other widely circulating texts on the Holy Name were those written by the hermit Richard Rolle of Hampole (c.1300–49), the literary figure most usually associated

⁵⁸ Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, Volumen Tertium* (Edinburgh, 1946), 79.

⁵⁹ New, *The Cult*, 18.

⁶⁰ Biasiotto, *History of the Development*, 37.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 37; Robert Lutton claims it is an adaptation by an unknown author of the latter part of the Second Meditation of St Anselm. “‘Love this Name that is IHC’: Vernacular Prayers, Hymns and Lyrics to the Holy Name of Jesus in Pre-Reformation England”, *Vernacularity in England and Wales, c.1300–1550*, ed. Elisabeth Salter and Helen Wicker, *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, 17 (Turnhout, 2011), 122.

⁶² Beati Aelredi, Abbatis Rievallensis, ‘De Spirituali Amicitia’, *PL*, 195 (1855), col. 660: ‘Jam tunc enim nihil, quod non dulcissimi Jesu fuisset melle mellitum...’

⁶³ Sancti Bernardi, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, Sermo XV, *PL*, 183 (1879), col. 847.

⁶⁴ Adami Præmonstratensis, ‘Sermo XLI: In Die Circumcisionis Domini’, *PL* 198 (1855), cols 572-82.

with the devotion. It must be stressed that he was not responsible for the inception of the cult in England,⁶⁵ as extracts and translations of the works by Sts Augustine, Anselm, and Bernard had helped the devotion to take root. However, he played an important part in promulgating it.⁶⁶ A prolific author, he wrote in Latin and English, and his work ranged from theological commentaries on Scripture to didactic treatises and more accessible lyrics. Scholars have found it hard to ascribe a coherent system to his mysticism,⁶⁷ and his spirituality has even been called ‘immature’⁶⁸ by comparison with that of Walter Hilton or the author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* (which flourished second half of the fourteenth century). However, what can be affirmed with certainty is that the Holy Name was a constantly recurring theme in Rolle’s writings, even in poems which purport by their titles to devote themselves to other aspects of the Person of Christ, like ‘Ihesu Christ, Saint Mary’s Son’, ‘Ihesu, God’s Son, Lord of Majesty’, as well as ‘Hail, Ihesu, my Creator’. All these praise the Name of Jesus.⁶⁹

Rolle’s twelve-step guide to living a good life, ‘The Form of Living’, is not unrealistic, and his ninth piece of advice would have been reinforced by other devotional texts in circulation at the time: ‘If you wish to be on good terms with God, and have his grace direct your life, and come to the joy of love, then fix this name Jesus so firmly in your heart that it never leaves your thought.’⁷⁰ What these lyrics and didactic treatise have in common is that they both encourage a fixation upon the Name of Jesus, be it through repeated invocation, or through concentrated mental focus. Perhaps it is precisely the simplicity of his theology which made him ‘an influential force in his own time and long afterward’.⁷¹

The best-known example of Rolle's ‘praise of the Holy Name of Jesus’ is the exposition of the Verse *Oleum effusum nomen tuum*, ‘Thy name is oil poured forth’ (S.

⁶⁵ Frances M. M. Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle, together with an Edition of his English Lyrics*, (Dent and Sons, 1928), 141-2.

⁶⁶ Cabassut, *La Dévotion*, 57; Lutton, *Love this Name*, 125; New, *The Cult*, 23.

⁶⁷ Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle*, 86; Denis Renevey, ‘Name above Names: The Devotion to the Name of Jesus from Richard Rolle to Walter Hilton’s Scale of Perfection I’, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition: England, Ireland and Wales*, ed. M. Glasscoe (Cambridge and Rochester, NY, 1999), 110.

⁶⁸ Eric Colledge, *The Mediaeval Mystics of England*, (Murray, 1962), 60.

⁶⁹ Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle*, 284.

⁷⁰ Richard Rolle, *The English Writings*, translated, edited and introduced by Rosamund S. Allen, (SPCK, 1989), 173.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

of S. 1:3), in his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*.⁷² The following passage is cited for the visible influences of Bernard of Clairvaux, St Anselm of Canterbury, and Aelred of Rievaulx:

O nomen admirabile. O nomen delectabile. Hoc est nomen super omne nomen. Nomen altissimum, sine quo non operat quis salutem. Hoc est nomen suave et iocundum, humano cordi verum prebens solacium. Est autem Ihesus in mente mea cantus iubileus, in aure mea sonus celicus, in ore meo, dulcor mellifluus. Unde non mirum si illud nomen diligam, quod michi in omni angustia prestat solamen. Nescio orare, nescio meditari nisi resonante nomine Ihesus. Non sapio gaudium quod non est Ihesu mixtum. Quocumque fuero, ubicumque sedero, quicquid egero, memoria nominis Ihesu a mente mea non recedit. Posui illud ut signaculum super cor meum, ut signaculum super brachium meum...

Ah! Ah! that wonderful Name! Ah! that delectable Name! This is the Name that is above all names, the Name that is highest of all, without which no man hopes for Salvation. This Name is sweet and joyful, giving veritable comfort to the heart of man. Verily the Name of Jesus is in my mind a joyous song and heavenly music in mine ear, and in my mouth a honeyed sweetness. Wherefore no wonder I love that Name which gives comfort to me in all my anguish. I cannot pray, I cannot meditate, but in sounding the Name of Jesus. I savour no joy that is not mingled with Jesus. Wheresoever I be, wheresoever I sit, whatsoever I do, the thought of the savour of the Name of Jesus never leaves my mind. I have set it in my mind, I have set it as a token upon my heart...⁷³

As for his style, his readily-scanning prose and his ‘catchy versified Rollean nuggets’⁷⁴ seem to have contributed to the popularity and accessibility of his writing style, and provide a possible explanation for the passage of his theology into popular culture. The tone of his writing is affective and tender, especially concerning the subject of the Holy Name, and his treatise *Melos Amoris* is a lyrical outpouring of his love for Jesus.⁷⁵ This effusiveness might explain his particular popularity with women, to whom most of his early works seem to be addressed.⁷⁶

Another author and mystic associated with the Holy Name is Walter Hilton (d. 1396), who differed from Rolle in that he advocated a more temperate attitude to the

⁷² Bishop Kallistos, ‘The Holy Name of Jesus in East and West: the Hesychasts and Richard Rolle’, 173.

⁷³ Latin cited in André Wilmart, O.S.B., ‘Le “Jubilus” dit de Saint Bernard (Etude avec textes)’ in A. Schiaffini and G. De Luca, *Edizioni di ‘Storia e Letteratura,’* (Roma, 1944), 275; English (modernised) in G. L. Heseltine, *Selected Works of Richard Rolle, Hermit* (London, 1930), 81-3.

⁷⁴ Lutton, ‘Love this Name’, 125-6.

⁷⁵ Allen, *Richard Rolle*, 27.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

devotion, as Denis Renevey persuasively argues.⁷⁷ In Hilton's most well-known work, 'The Scale of Perfection', he was careful to not put too much emphasis on the powers of the Name, with the expression 'Ihesu' being more prominent than the 'name Ihesu'.⁷⁸ Hilton warned against Rolle's affective spirituality,⁷⁹ and against the dangers to which the devotion could lead.⁸⁰ Both these medieval mystics however attest to the fact that the Holy Name found one of its expressions in devotional writings, and that these were widely read, even if misunderstood.

Other devotional texts

While it is likely that only the learned were familiar with the writings discussed above, Robert Lutton cites the variety and accessibility of shorter and less sophisticated texts as possible causes for the popularity of the devotion both before and during the liturgical dissemination of the cult.⁸¹ There was indeed, in circulation by the fifteenth century, a wealth of vernacular religious texts, such as verse and prose prayers, hymns and lyrics, which celebrated the various powers of the Holy Name (see Appendix IV.4). These included protection from evil, moral reform and a growth in intimacy with Jesus Christ.

Prayers in particular form an interesting category: 'Jesu for thy holy name—And for thy bitter passion—Save us from sin and shame—And from endless damnation...' (text modernised) has been described as an example of a prayer which constituted 'the nucleus of the stock English extra-liturgical devotions'.⁸² The brevity, the simplicity of language and the rhyming couplets may have made this prayer easy to memorize, not just to the contemplative layperson, but to the averagely pious and not necessarily literate. Lutton makes particular mention of holy monogram prayers, such as 'The Interpretation of the high name of IHC', dated to the close of the fourteenth century, where each letter is given a meaning;⁸³ these prayers show how the monogram, discussed in more detail below, was used as a devotional tool, and simultaneously

⁷⁷ Renevey, 'Name above Names', 120.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 117.

⁷⁹ C. Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers*, vol. I, (London, 1895) 182.

⁸⁰ Renevey, 'Name above Names', 120.

⁸¹ Lutton, 'Love this Name', 144.

⁸² R. H. Robbins, 'Private prayers in Middle English Verse', *Studies in Philology* 36 (1939) 466-75, quoted in Lutton, 'Love this Name', 131.

⁸³ Lutton, 'Love this Name', 137-40.

combine attention to symbols and words. More common however were short invocatory prayers, in which the Holy Name was repeatedly uttered, such as those formalised in the ‘Jesus Psalter’. The authorship of this text is uncertain,⁸⁴ but an early version instructs the suppliant to invoke in English the Holy Name in a three-fold petition, after which he is to say a short prayer, an *Ave* and a *Pater Noster*, and to repeat this process eight times, and to say the *Credo* after the eighth petition. The whole cycle of prayer is framed by *Philippians 2:8* at the start and *Philippians 2:10–11* at the end,⁸⁵ the latter passage being the Introit for the Mass of the Holy Name: ‘so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bend, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.’ A longer and more elaborate version of the Jesus Psalter existed by the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries in manuscript and in print, and involved the invocation of the fifteen threefold petitions ten times: full recitation would have involved invoking the name 450 times.⁸⁶ *The Pomander of Prayer*, printed in four separate editions between 1528 and 1532, was another collection of short invocatory prayers. Once learnt, these short texts could easily be remembered, and there is much evidence to suggest that the people of the late Middle Ages relied extensively on their memory.⁸⁷ These examples of literate expressions of the devotion did not therefore exclude the non-literate.

Lady Margaret Beaufort

Another figure with a deeply influential role in promoting the devotion to the Holy Name in England is Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII. She became the official patron of the devotion,⁸⁸ when in 1494 she obtained the Papal Bull (transcribed in Appendix III), ratifying the Kalendar Feast of the Holy Name. When St John Fisher (1469–1535), bishop of Rochester and later martyr, who became her confessor in 1498 or later,⁸⁹ preached at her month’s mind in 1509, he made special

⁸⁴ Authorship has been ascribed to the Bridgettine Richard Whitford, Monk of Syon, by Thompson in *English Devotion*, 44, but Lutton disputes this in ‘Love this Name’, 141.

⁸⁵ Lutton, ‘Love this Name’, 141.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁸⁷ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory – A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 2008), 9. Carruthers claims that ‘medieval culture was fundamentally memorial’.

⁸⁸ New, *The Cult*, 70.

⁸⁹ M. G. Underwood, ‘Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January, 39.

mention of her devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus.⁹⁰ It was also Lady Margaret who was a driving force behind the composition of the Office of the Holy Name, whose authorship is usually ascribed to Dr Henry Horn[e]by, at one time dean of her chapel.⁹¹ There is little doubt that her high status at court, if nothing else, played a significant part in the promotion and diffusion of the cult.

The liturgical development of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name

On the Continent, the Dominicans played a significant part in the spread of the devotion, via the German mystic Heinrich Suso (c.1295-1366). Suso's writings seem to have been influential in the Rhineland, especially within convents, and in the Low Countries. Most notably he composed a Mass for the Feast, although this bears no similarity to the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name⁹² (discussed in Chapter 5). This suggests that observances could sometimes develop entirely independently. The Mass Propers of Salisbury Use were apparently composed before Suso's texts were known in England.⁹³ Suso also wrote a 'little' or Votive Office in 1328, which in spite of occurring in translation in many English Books of Hours, does not appear to have influenced the composition of the main Sarum Office discussed in Chapter 6.⁹⁴

The Franciscan Order also seems to have explicitly championed the devotion.⁹⁵ While St Francis himself and St Anthony of Padua were both keen devotees, and the lesser-known Gilbert of Tournai (c.1200–84) wrote a tract containing ten sermons on the Holy Name, it is St Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) who merits the title of 'Apostle of the Holy Name'.⁹⁶ It was allegedly Bernardino's custom to enter the city in which he was about to preach carrying before him a painted board depicting the holy monogram IHS, an abbreviation of the Greek for the name Jesus. Moreover, he would have it leaning against the pulpit during the sermon and on conclusion would hold it up for the congregation to venerate the Name.⁹⁷ Unsurprisingly he was accused of heresy and subjected to an inquisition by Pope Martin IV (c.1210/1220–1285;

⁹⁰ Ibid., 47.

⁹¹ R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England*, (Oxford, 1970), 83.

⁹² Biasiotto, *History*, 58 and Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 68.

⁹³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 69.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 69.

⁹⁵ Biasiotto, *History*, 70–92.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 89.

⁹⁷ Cabassut, *La Dévotion*, 62.

papacy 1281–5).⁹⁸ St Bernardino of Siena’s zeal for the Holy Name was propagated by many of his Franciscan followers, including St John of Capistrano (1386–1456) who was charged by Pope Callistus III (1378–1458; papacy 1455–58), to accompany the crusade to defend Belgrade against the Turks. In spite of being outnumbered, they routed the enemy in July 1456,⁹⁹ a victory attributed to the powers of the Holy Name,¹⁰⁰ which he encouraged his troops to invoke at all moments. Pope Callistus, as a token of his thanksgiving for their victory, declared the Feast of the Transfiguration universal in 1457, and ordered that it should be observed as a Double Feast on 6 August.¹⁰¹ The links between the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Transfiguration, which succeed each other in the liturgical calendar, are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

Lastly, the Franciscan Bernardino of Bustis (c.1450-1513) is thought to have written a liturgy of the Holy Name c.1480: *Incipit devotissimum officium gloriosissimi nominis domini nostri Iesu Christi*.¹⁰² Briefly, it comprises an Office of nine Lectons and a Mass:¹⁰³ centos from the Hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria* are used at First Vespers, Matins, Lauds and Second Vespers.¹⁰⁴ The observance did not gain papal approval from Clement VII (1478–1534; papacy 1523–34) until 1530.¹⁰⁵ Eventually, Pope Pius X (1835–1914; papacy 1903–14) fixed the date of the Feast of the Holy Name in the Latin Church to the Sunday between the Circumcision (1 January) and the Epiphany (6 January); in a year when there was no such Sunday, the Feast fell on 2 January.¹⁰⁶

Yet in spite of the contributions of Heinrich Suso and Bernardino da Bustis, it seems that England led the way concerning the liturgical expression of the devotion. The Mass and Office of the Holy Name, observed in both Votive and Kalendar form, become a staple feature of the secular Uses (most notably Sarum), as confirmed by the rigorous and comprehensive scholarship of Richard Pfaff.¹⁰⁷ Proper texts for the

⁹⁸ Biasiotto, *History*, 93.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 108-9; Cabassut, *La Dévotion*, 64.

¹⁰⁰ Cabassut, *La Dévotion*, 64.

¹⁰¹ Pfaff, ‘The Feast of the Transfiguration’, in *New Liturgical Feasts*, 29.

¹⁰² Sbaralea-Wadding, *Supplementum* (1908), col. 133.

¹⁰³ Inc. 654 (435), septième partie (ff. 171-178) located in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, in Paris.

¹⁰⁴ Wilmart, ‘Le “Jubilus” dit de St Bernard’, 103-104.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fn 1.

¹⁰⁶ F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, (London, 1957), 937.

¹⁰⁷ Pfaff, ‘The Feast of the Name of Jesus’, in *New Liturgical Feasts*, 62–83.

Mass of the Holy Name first appeared as a Votive Mass in the appendix of a Missal written c.1388 for the Beauchamp de Bergavenny family,¹⁰⁸ and the gradual proliferation of the observance was undoubtedly influenced by an associated indulgence from at least the beginning of the fifteenth century. The terms of this varied widely, from 3,000 years of deliverance from the pains of Purgatory for anyone who celebrated or caused to celebrate the Mass,¹⁰⁹ to a more modest 40 days, as prescribed in a mid-fifteenth century Sarum Missal.¹¹⁰ Pfaff attributes this latter indulgence to Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury (1407–17), who would have issued it in 1411.¹¹¹ The liturgical development of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name are discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

Guilds and Musical Provision

Devotion to the Holy Name was also expressed through participation in the activities of dedicated guilds, which around the 1450s began to proliferate,¹¹² all the more so after the 1480s, once the feast was officially sanctioned. Jesus guild certificates have survived from Ware (Hertfordshire, 1496), Islington (Middlesex, 1497), Grantham (Lincolnshire, 1502) and Princes Risborough (Buckinghamshire, 1520).¹¹³ Elizabeth New has explored the short yet rich life of the Guild or Fraternity of the Holy Name attached to St Paul's Cathedral (1450–1558). It seems that no expense was spared to ensure that the guild's services were enhanced by service books, musical Mass settings and singers, vestments, liturgical plate, statues, vessels, bells and a beautifully decorated space in which to celebrate the devotion.¹¹⁴ In the chapel of Jesus in the crypt, the Fraternity of the Holy Name would have worshipped amidst painted inscriptions, patterned tiles, richly ornamented altars and statues, and during the appropriate season, woven hangings and garlands of flowers; limewash, glass windows, candles and torches, would have ensured that this subterranean chapel was brightly lit.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸ *Otc MS.* 8, f. 286, cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

¹⁰⁹ *Ob MS.* Hatton I, f. 219, cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 63.

¹¹⁰ *Ob MS.* Rawl. C. 142, f. 267, cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 65.

¹¹¹ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 65.

¹¹² New, *The Cult*, 36.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 43

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 245–93

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 292.

While the St Paul's guild may not have been typical of other Holy Name guilds – it drew its membership mostly from literate and wealthy Londoners¹¹⁶ – its active life nevertheless demonstrates a willingness on the part of its members to spend money and time on the enrichment of its formal liturgy to the Holy Name. The beauty of worship and the dedication of the guild were clearly important to them. Even if behind their zeal there existed a hidden agenda of deriving social, financial and professional advantages for this life, and of procuring the Salvation of one's soul for the hereafter, it nevertheless became a context for active devotion to the Holy Name.

Finally, and significantly in terms of this thesis, the devotion to the Holy Name is also associated with the composition of new polyphonic music. This aspect is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, but it is worth pointing out now that the devotion inspired enthusiastic musical responses. Music was important for the members of the Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's: six London waits were employed to proclaim the Feasts of the Transfiguration and of the Holy Name (6 and 7 August respectively), dressed in livery and bearing a banner embroidered with the monogram, and to then entertain the guests of the guild dinner with their music.¹¹⁷ Moreover, it would seem that generously paid singers provided sung services with polyphony to the Holy Name at the annual feast.¹¹⁸ The guild's accounts also show among its expenditures the purchase of a pair of organs and all their subsequent repairs. Significantly, the composer Robert Fayrfax, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal,¹¹⁹ wrote a setting for the Mass of the Holy Name, 'O Bone Jesu', which he donated to the guild, and which was still being sung eight years after his death in 1521.¹²⁰ Outside London, the Antiphon of Jesus, often called the Jesus Anthem or *Salve*, appears to have been particularly celebrated in cathedrals and by guilds. The Antiphon was sung by cathedral choristers before the Jesus altar in Durham and Lichfield as well as at St Paul's, and the Salve of Jesus was celebrated in St Leonard Eastcheap, London, by the 1480s.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 156.

¹¹⁷ D. Mateer and E. New, " 'In Nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral," downloaded from <http://ml.oxfordjournals.org> at University of Wales Bangor on July 24, 2010, 511.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 512.

¹¹⁹ New, *The Cult*, 283.

¹²⁰ Mateer and New, *In Nomine*, 514.

¹²¹ New, *The Cult*, 48.

Images—the sacred monogram

Another way the non-literate could express their devotion was through images. As far as the Holy Name of Jesus is concerned, the sacred monogram, or trigram, was its visual representation: the letters IHS stood for the first three letters of Jesus' name in Greek, with IHC being more common in England.¹²² A bar across the stem of the letter H, known as a tittle, helped depict the cross on which the bearer of the Name was crucified. Thus the monogram was both an image and a word, and did two things: it cleverly represented a word via the means of another word, and it also told the story of human Salvation. New demonstrates the widespread use of this symbol in a collaborative article on the material culture associated with the devotion.¹²³ Over 500 objects, designed for both liturgical and secular usage, marked with invocations to the Holy Name, narrate the spread and development of the devotion in England during the period 1450–1550, and are witnesses to the widespread popularity of this symbol for devotees all over England.

¹²² Elizabeth A. New, 'Christological Personal Seals and Christocentric Devotion in Later Medieval England and Wales', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 82 (2002), 60.

¹²³ H. Blake, G. Egan, J. Hurst and E. New, 'From Popular Devotion to Resistance and Revival in England: The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Reformation', *The Archeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, eds, (Maney, 2003) 177.



Fig. 2.1: The Sacred Monogram, as depicted on the walls of the south Aisle of St Teilo's church

There are many possible explanations for the frequent occurrences of the monogram. The conciseness and cleverness of the depiction may have been sufficient to make this apposite representation attractive. It is not difficult to see how it would have become a fashionable symbol worthy of display. In her analysis of Christological personal seals, New claims that as sacred monogram seals were inexpensive, not made of precious metals, and widely available, not just the wealthy were able to afford them and to

show support for the devotion to the Holy Name.¹²⁴ Thus, the frequent occurrence of IHC on sacred and secular objects provides some evidence that the image was widespread in England and favoured by rich and poor alike.

The Holy Name and Lollardy

More infamous for their literacy were the Lollards, whose affinity to the devotion is emphasised in Lutton's fine study (to which this paragraph is indebted).¹²⁵ Lutton has investigated the appeal of the devotion in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries among the inhabitants of Tenterden, in the Weald of Kent. His examinations of the surviving wills left by a cross-section of families from the surrounding parishes show that their patronage of the devotion to the Holy Name increased, whereas bequests for chantries, the mention of pilgrimages, and the loyalty to particular saints, in other words more traditional expressions of piety, were on the decline by the 1520s. Interestingly, the more frugal will-makers made arrangements which focused on the Jesus Mass, the sacrament of the altar, provision for their funerals, and subsequent commemorations. Such was the enthusiasm for the Holy Name that it eclipsed previously popular devotions, such as that to Our Lady of Pity. In exploring why these Kentish families felt such an affinity for the devotion, Lutton suggests that one of the reasons is that the Weald of Kent was home to many Lollards, or Wycliffites. One of the defining characteristics of the movement was the renewed interest in the meaning of the Scriptures, and the need to make them accessible in vernacular translations. Unlike a cycle of Propers which celebrated the martyrdom of a particular saint, or an event in the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the devotion to the Holy Name put the person of Jesus Christ at the centre of the devotion. With the Lollards' Humanist emphasis on the importance and clear communication of Scripture, it is no surprise that the devotion appealed to them.

The Holy Name and Preaching

Another form of literate engagement was via sermons, as evidenced by Susan Wabuda, who, while investigating the role of preaching in the vernacular within the observance of the Holy Name, argues that the florescence of the observance, which

¹²⁴ New, 'Christological Seals', 60.

¹²⁵ Robert Lutton, *Lollardy and Orthodox Religion in Pre-Reformation England*, (Woodbridge, 2006), 37, 57, 85, 138.

she also places in the first decades of the sixteenth century, coincided with the addition of preaching as one of the duties of a chantry priest.¹²⁶ Jesus altars, Jesus chapels, and side aisles dedicated to Jesus were becoming increasingly common over England, and at the same time, any institution involved in the intercession of souls, such as a college, a church, a cathedral, a college, a parish guild or a religious order, might have expected its cantarists to preach. More interestingly, she goes on to claim that, in practice, preaching chantries ‘predominated at institutions that had a particular devotion to the Holy Name, or whose founders were especially interested in the cult’; that the greatest of the late medieval preaching chantries was the Jesus College of Rotherham; and that the archbishop of York, Thomas Rotherham (1423–1500), did much to develop the preaching dimension, ‘making it one of the centrepieces of the devotion’. It would seem, therefore, that preaching was, during the first decades of the sixteenth century, another form of showing reverence to the Holy Name of Jesus. As a means of expounding the word, sermons offer another example confirming the observance as a ‘literate cult’. However, it must be borne in mind that the chantries and colleges mentioned above were probably, on the whole, a rarefied milieu, and attended by the wealthy and literate. While they flourished in cathedral towns, such as Chichester, Coventry, and Exeter, and preachers regularly appeared in big public spaces like St Paul’s Cross or the Spital in London, chantry priests were often attached to an educational institution like a university college or grammar school, and were invited to preach in some of the most prestigious pulpits of the land. However, irrespective of the type of audience to which the sermon was delivered, the Name of Jesus seems to have been associated with the rise of preaching as a means of expounding upon the Word.

Unlike Lutton, however, Wabuda does not emphasize the polyvalency of the cult, rather the opposite: she focuses on how it became a problematic object of worship for the early reformers, who, uneasy about the talismanic qualities of the monogram, feared abuses of the Holy Name. Prominent figures such as Bishop Hugh Latimer (c.1487-1555), for example, considered ‘all vocall prayer’ to be ‘lippe labour’,¹²⁷ and may have felt similarly about endless invocations to Jesus.

¹²⁶ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002), 163–7.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 171.

The Holy Name of Jesus – East and West

In the previous Chapter (1), it was noted how generally, apart from two passages in the New Testament, (*Matt.* 1:21) and (*Phil.* 2:10–11), which figure prominently in the Mass of the Holy Name, ‘Jesus’ is very rarely used by comparison with his Messianic or Christological titles. This reluctance to address him as ‘Jesus’ seems to have continued in the Eastern Church,¹²⁸ of which the Jesus Prayer, ‘Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner’, is a key expression of faith, and the commonest form.¹²⁹ The French Jesuit, Irénée Hausherr (1891–1978), in his search for the origins of the Jesus Prayer, confirms that the name ‘Jesus’ had no particular significance in the early years of Christianity: since it was a fairly common personal name in the Judeo-Christian milieu, the early Christians used Christ’s titles, such as *Kyrios* or *Christos*, to express their faith in him as the Son of God.¹³⁰ While in the East Christians continued to refer to him by less personal titles,¹³¹ in the West they developed a habit of addressing him by the more familiar and intimate ‘Jesus’.¹³² This use of the name ‘Jesus’ on its own also stresses the closeness to Christ in his humanity, which increasingly dominates Western medieval spirituality from the eleventh-twelfth centuries onwards.¹³³ It would seem then that East and West differed in their approach to the name of Jesus.¹³⁴ When and how this emerged would make an interesting subject for further research; suffice it to say that invoking the name of Jesus, without any additions, seems to have become specific to western Christianity.

¹²⁸ Irénée Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus* (Cistercian Publications Kalamazoo, 1978), 64.

¹²⁹ See *On the Invocation of the Name of Jesus*, by a Monk of the Eastern Church, published by the Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, (London, 1950), 4.

¹³⁰ Hausherr, *The Name*, 11.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 97.

¹³³ Bishop Kallistos, ‘The Holy Name of Jesus in East and West: the Hesychasts and Richard Rolle’, 172: Bishop Kallistos draws a further distinction beyond East and West, claiming that addressing the Lord simply as ‘Jesus’ is a later development in Western Christianity: ‘In Anselm, Bernard and the *Jubilus*, as Wilmart notes, our Lord is often addressed simply as “Jesus”.’ Within the earlier Latin tradition, for example in St Augustine or St Gregory the Great, as likewise in the Greek *hesychast* tradition, he is almost always addressed as ‘Jesus Christ’. *Ibid.*, 172.

¹³⁴ See John A. Goodall, F.S.A., ‘The Invocation of the Name of Jesus in the English XIVth Century Spiritual Writers,’ *Chrysostom*, Vol III No. 5 (Autumn 1972), 113, for an article in which the author finds parallels between both approaches.

The Holy Name of Jesus: a literate cult?

The ‘literate’¹³⁵ dimension of the devotion to the Holy Name has already been hinted at: its roots in Scripture gave the cult a particular pedigree, and devotional or homiletic texts written by the Fathers of the Church, as well as liturgical books played an important role in its development in England. Moreover, the writings of widely read mystics, such as Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, played a key role in promulgating the observance in England, whereas wealthy people with power and influence, such as Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, and Dean John Colet of St Paul’s, who was one of the devotion’s greatest publicists and patrons,¹³⁶ were able to promote the cult further among their own learned circles. To give an idea of the King’s mother’s formidable intellect, she translated the fourth book of *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis from the French,¹³⁷ kept up to date with scholarship by expanding her own extensive book collection and founded Christ’s College and St John’s College in Cambridge.¹³⁸ It was also Lady Margaret, as discussed above, who was a driving force behind the composition of the Office of the Holy Name.

In addition, the growth of literacy within society in general and the increased ownership of printed books such as Primers or Books of Hours made for easier access to liturgical and para-liturgical writings on the theme of the Holy Name.¹³⁹ However, the non-literate laity were by no means excluded from this devotion. The sacred monogram, IHS or IHC, a symbol which represented the word ‘Jesus’ in Greek, became as ubiquitous a devotional image as statues of the Virgin Mary, in and outside church buildings. For the many who relied upon the collective ritual of the Mass to act out their belief (or unbelief), attendance at Jesus Mass fulfilled that particular need, and music, sometimes specially composed for the occasion, provided other forms of engagement during that Mass. Finally, in keeping with late medieval piety, guilds founded in honour of the Holy Name provided the laity with

¹³⁵ New, *The Cult*, 283.

¹³⁶ Lutton, *Lollardy*, 193.

¹³⁷ Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), 183.

¹³⁸ Susan Powell, *Lady Margaret and her Books*, *The Library*, Sixth Series, Vol. XX, 3 (1998) 238-9.

¹³⁹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400 - 1580*, (Yale, 2002), 212. Duffy claims that 57000 printed Latin *Horae* were in circulation in the two generations before the Reformation.

opportunities to become involved with the planning and preparation of celebrations of the Name.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter on the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus has sought to summarise the origins of the cult in the West and its spread in England until the last decades before the Reformation. This chronological exploration has been accompanied by an endeavour to understand the range of devotional writings underpinning the observance and the roles played by key figures in England, like Richard Rolle, and Lady Margaret Beaufort; and to explore the main issues pertaining to its development.

While the Jesus Prayer is the mainstay of the prayer life of the Eastern Church, the tender familiarity of addressing Jesus only by this name seems to have been characteristic of Western spirituality. Yet the devotion's development on the Continent generally does not seem to have kept up with the zeal and enthusiasm for the cult in England, where it was widespread and popular all over the country and earning it the title of 'peculiarly English'.¹⁴⁰ That the Holy Name of Jesus was a literate cult is incontestable: its scriptural origins and the extensive range of theological and devotional writings underpinning the observance must be part of the explanation for its spread in England and its appeal to the wealthy and learned laity during the period of 1450–1550. Distinguished and influential figures such as the king's mother were able to promote the cult further and advance its liturgical development.

This strong literate dimension did not, however, exclude those who were unable to read or write. Short, easily-memorable, and formulaic prayers in English enabled the more non-literate to engage with the devotion through repeated invocations to the Name, in and outside church. Attendance at Jesus Mass provided many opportunities to pay reverence to his name, as 'Iesu' was spoken or chanted frequently by the clergy and choir, and because the laity responded to this through a corporate ritual. During Jesus Mass the layperson would be further reminded of the intention of the Mass by

¹⁴⁰ Evelyn Underhill, ed., 'Introduction', in Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection* (London, J. M. Watkins, 1923), xxvii.

the sacred monogram depicted on a wall, an altar frontal or chasuble. Finally, guild membership enabled a degree of control and ownership over the planning and preparation of the worship. It is not difficult to understand why this observance appealed to so many on so many levels, and why it spread widely in England in the first decades of the sixteenth century.

Section II

The Mass and Office
of the Holy Name of Jesus:
Emergence and Adoption
of a Liturgy

Chapter 3

Formation and Evolution of a Feast: Manuscript and Printed Sources

This chapter and the one following seek to provide a general overview of where liturgical expression of the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus was taking place in England in the decades leading up to the Reformation, and what forms this liturgy took. Three main sources of evidence are available and help understand the development of the associated liturgical observance from its beginnings as an informal Votive Mass to an official Feast with a new Kalendar date on 7 August, and an associated complete Proper Office. As noted in Chapter 2, it was an observance that served as a focus for numerous Guilds and Fraternities and came to be celebrated with significant elaboration, including polyphony. Chapters 3 and 4 both look at the escalation of this liturgical expression in England, with the greater part of the present chapter focusing on the appearance of associated liturgical texts in manuscript and printed sources. Particular attention is paid to the formation and evolution of the Mass of the Holy Name, with a shorter second section on the appearance of the associated Office.

Establishment of the Feast of the Holy Name

The roots of the Feast of the Holy Name as an officially sanctioned liturgy in England date back to the late 1480s. Its inclusion within the Sarum Kalendar was first confirmed officially in the southern province at the Canterbury Convocation of 1488:

quendam quaternum papyri, continentem in se festum de nomine Jesu' ...
statuit et ordinavit fore observandum singulis perpetuis annis futuris, per
modum et formam in huius modi quaterno content[um].¹⁴¹

He decreed a quire¹⁴² of paper containing within it the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus and ordained laws for this observance every year in the future in perpetuity according to the manner and form contained in this quire.

¹⁴¹ D. Wilkins, *Conciliae Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, 4 vols (London, 1737), iii. 626, taken from Reg. Norton, f. 41; cited in Richard W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 77.

¹⁴² This is to say 8 pages – compare the early 8-page supplements containing the Mass and Office of the Holy Name printed by Richard Pynson in c.1493 and 1497 (*STC* 15851–2).

Similar ratification of the Feast within the northern province was confirmed at the York Convocation on 27 February 1489, this time in conjunction with the Feast of the Transfiguration (6 August). This is significant, and even though the Feast of the Transfiguration originates far earlier than that of the Holy Name, their liturgical inter-relationship has extremely important implications, which are discussed more fully in Chapters 7 and 8.

As shown in Chapter 2, there is no doubt that the cult of the Holy Name was greatly stimulated by the patronage of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII. The possibility that a newly-compiled Office of the Holy Name emanated from her household around the time of the Convocations is as discussed further below, while the Papal Bull that she succeeded in obtaining from Pope Alexander VI in 1494 had a far-reaching significance. The Bull, transcribed in Appendix III, confirms the existence of the Kalendar Feast of the Holy Name, together with its associated full Office and Mass, with material for the Octave.

Both the Convocations and the Papal Bull were undoubtedly vital in propagating liturgical expression of the Feast of the Holy Name in both provinces during the last decade of the fifteenth century. However, this was by no means the beginning of that expression. As shown below (see Tables 3.3–3.4), the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name (often with a generous associated indulgence) had already been circulating in manuscript form from at least the end of the fourteenth century. The Mass first appears in print within the Votive section of a Sarum Missal produced in Basel in 1489, and is found in most printed Missals of Sarum Use thereafter. Its position within the Missal was nevertheless changing: by the later 1490s it is increasingly found in the Sanctorale (as in a Sarum Missal printed in Rouen in 1497) rather than with other Votives or among a separate section of *Nova Festa*.

A complete nine Lection Sarum Office (‘A solis ortu’) also came into being towards the end of the fifteenth century. It possibly dates from the later 1480s, and was being copied into manuscript Breviaries well before 1500. It made its earliest appearance in print in an independent supplement containing both Mass and Office produced by Richard Pynson in 1493. Inclusion of the Feast of the Holy Name as a Principle Double within the Kalendar was also becoming commonplace in printed books at the

same time; sometimes it was added in by hand, though it appears in the main text of a Sarum Breviary printed in Paris in 1494.

Though this study is primarily based on the verbal text of the Mass and the Office of the Holy Name rather than on the associated melodic tradition, it is noted that the Mass appears complete with music in the Sanctorale of the first printed Sarum Gradual of 1509/10 (and in all three subsequent editions: 1525, 1528, and 1532), while the full notated Office is included in Byrkman's printed Sarum Antiphoner of 1520.

Sources for the Mass of the Holy Name

Three types of evidence are useful in analysing the gradual formation of the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name.

- i. Liturgical books, first in manuscript then in printed form, bear witness to its trajectory from its status as a Votive Mass to that of an annual Festal celebration, even though it continued to be observed as the former; yet this information is partial in that it does not necessarily reflect the extent and variety of practice. As with many observances, the majority of extant liturgical sources containing the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus are of Sarum Use. This Use is clearly dominant in terms of the extant materials, although the Feast of the Holy Name does make a later appearance in the Uses of both York and Hereford.
- ii. Certificates awarded to guilds dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus give an indication that some form of liturgical observance, weekly or annual, was taking place.
- iii. Surviving parish church and cathedral records suggest the extent to which a liturgical observance of the Holy Name was actually practised in England, and the frequency, number of personnel, and the musical provision involved in the celebration of the Jesus Mass.

The first of these themes (i) dealing with the appearance of the observance in the liturgical sources, will be addressed in this chapter, while parts (ii) and (iii), addressing documentary and archival evidence, will form part of the following

Chapter 4. Because this study focuses on liturgical practice, it will only briefly address the prevalence of more informal expressions of devotion, such as Latin and vernacular prayers addressed to the Holy Name and the use of the sacred monogram on non-liturgical objects, such as purses or rings. While these may have been taken into church by the laity and employed during the liturgy as devotional aids, this chapter will limit itself primarily to the more formal manifestations of the observance.

Liturgical sources for the Mass Propers

Richard Pfaff's thorough and comprehensive study of new liturgical Feasts, completed in 1970,¹⁴³ provides a most useful starting point in tracing the development of the Mass of the Holy Name in liturgical sources.

The Beauchamp Missal (Otc, MS 8)

Pfaff suggests that the Mass Propers for the Holy Name first appear in a Sarum Missal,¹⁴⁴ 'with good and interesting illuminations'¹⁴⁵ written for the family of Beauchamp de [A]bergavenny. He argues that the compilation of the Mass Propers for the Holy Name can be dated to the late fourteenth century and before 1388,¹⁴⁶ although more recent analysis suggests these texts may be slightly later. Dating of the Missal itself is based on several factors. In the lower margins of the Kalendar, inscriptions added in more than one later hand include the birthdays of Alinora (1 April 1388), Thomas (19 March 1403) and Richard (3 June 1397), 'the children of William of Bello Campo, brother of the Earl of Warwick, lord of [A]bergevenny'¹⁴⁷. The inclusion of the Feasts of St Anne and St Hugh in the Kalendar (f. 3), both promulgated in England from 1383, confirms a likely compilation date of post-1383.¹⁴⁸ Lucy Freeman Sandler also supports this, but notes that the Missal lacks Masses for St David and St Chad, both of whom officially entered the Sarum Kalendar in 1415. She argues that the main body of the Missal text is therefore most

¹⁴³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*.

¹⁴⁴ *Otc* MS 8, f. 286.

¹⁴⁵ Walter Howard Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: A descriptive handlist of the Musical and Latin-Liturgical MSS. of the Middle Ages, preserved in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Hildesheim, 1967) Vol I, 153.

¹⁴⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

¹⁴⁷ S. J. P. Van Dijk, *The Handlist of Latin Liturgical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (1957–60), Vol I, 156.

¹⁴⁸ J. I. Catto, 'Sir William Beauchamp between Chivalry and Lollardy', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, eds C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, (Woodbridge, 1990), 46.

likely based on a post-1383 and pre-1415 model, with the Kalendar annotations suggesting that the Missal itself was completed by 1403 or even by 1397.¹⁴⁹ Since the texts for the Mass of the Holy Name were added at the end of the Missal (albeit in the main hand), they perhaps post-date the main body of the text, although it still seems likely that they were complete by 1403.

The ownership of the Missal by Sir William Beauchamp (d. c.1421) may also help date the Missal. As an Oxford theology graduate and a former canon of Salisbury Cathedral in Minor orders,¹⁵⁰ he may well have been interested in new Feasts emerging at that time. There is much evidence that this well-connected nobleman and former knight developed some strong associations with Lollard sympathisers such as Sir John Clanvowe, between 1375 and 1391,¹⁵¹ and it has been suggested that they may have influenced his interest in the devotion to the Holy Name.¹⁵²

While the authorship of the Mass is uncertain, Pfaff posits that the compiler was English.¹⁵³ It has been suggested that the text of the Mass was written by Richard Rolle (c.1300–49),¹⁵⁴ who was instrumental in the growth of the observance in England through his own well-known and ardent personal devotion to the Holy Name,¹⁵⁵ discussed in Chapter 2. While this is not impossible, this liturgical composition would nevertheless stand at odds with the style of the rest of his writings, which are non-liturgical, exuberant about his love for the name Jesus, and which Walter Hilton (d. 1396), a later mystic, tried to moderate so as to avoid popular misinterpretation of what the Church taught to be the meaning of the Holy Name.¹⁵⁶ At the very least, it may have been compiled by one of Rolle's imitators and admirers of the 1380s: J. I. Catto posits that there was a sensitive relationship between the latter

¹⁴⁹ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 5 (London and Oxford, 1986), vol. 2: Catalogue, no145.

¹⁵⁰ Catto, 'Sir William Beauchamp', 40.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 46 The Beauchamp family were devoted to the Franciscan Order. A. G. Little, *Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art*, British Society of Franciscan Studies, 19 (Manchester, 1937), 51.

¹⁵³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

¹⁵⁴ *Cul MS. Kk. vi. 20*, a theological miscellany of the fifteenth century, attributes the entire Office and Suso's Mass to Rolle. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 68, fn 3.

¹⁵⁵ Rosamund S. Allen, *Richard Rolle - The English Writings*, (London, 1989), 40.

¹⁵⁶ Allen, *Richard Rolle*, 40; Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988), 270.

and the entourage of Sir William Beauchamp,¹⁵⁷ thus implying that the author of the Mass may have moved in these gentrified circles. Finally, Rolle's use of the simple device of continuously repeating the name Jesus in order to concentrate the attention, can be found in the Sequence, where most of the lines begin with 'Iesu'. However, that Rolle was influential without necessarily being the author seems a fair assessment.

The Beauchamp Missal may therefore be the earliest extant text of English provenance to contain the Mass of the Holy Name. It begins on f. 286 of the manuscript, among the later additions of Votive Masses, following the Masses of the Dead written in the same hand, and is followed by the Passion of St John. The Feast itself is not mentioned in the Sanctorale or in the Kalendar, thus confirming its apparent status as an added Votive observance.

This earliest redaction is nevertheless incomplete: there is clearly a leaf wanting, as the opening rubric, Introit, and Collect, are missing. The first words are taken from *Acts*, but not from the conventional 'standard' Epistle text (*Acts* 4: 8–12) found in later versions of the Mass. The text begins half way through Verse 16 of Chapter 3, i.e. the previous chapter. It lacks the opening formula 'In diebus illis', but includes snippets of earlier verses of Chapter 4, and the majority of the verses from 8 to 12. The end selection reads as in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Text of the earliest redaction

Epistle found in Beauchamp Missal	English translation
3: 16 (...) nomen eius: et fides, quae per eum est, dedit integram sanitatem istam in conspectus omnium vestrum.	3: 16 (...) and the faith that is through Jesus has given him this perfect health in the presence of all of you.
4: 1 Loquentibus autem illis ad populum, supervenerunt sacerdotes (...)	4: 1 While Peter and John were speaking to the people, the priests (...)
4: 3 et iniecerunt in eos manus, et posuerunt eos in custodiam (...)	4: 3 So they arrested them and put them in custody (...)
4: 5 Factum est autem in crastinum, ut congregarentur principes eorum, et seniors, et scribae in Ierusalem.	4: 5 The next day their rulers, elders, and scribes assembled in Jerusalem.
4: 6 (...) et quotquot erant de genere sacerdotali.	4: 6 (...) and all who were of the high-priestly family.
4: 7 Et statuentes eos in medio,	4: 7 When they had made the prisoners stand in their midst, they inquired, "By

¹⁵⁷ Catto, 'Sir William Beauchamp', 47.

<p>interrogabant: In qua virtute, aut in quo nomine fecistis hoc vos? Start of ‘Standard’ Epistle 4: 8 Tunc repletus Spiritu sancto Petrus, dixit ad eos: Principes populi, et seniores, audite: 4: 10 notum sit omnibus vobis, et omni plebi Israel: quia in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Nazareni, quem vos crucifixistis, quem Deus suscitavit a mortuis, in hoc iste astat coram vobis sanus. 4:12 et non est in alio aliquo salus. Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.</p>	<p>what power or by what name did you do this?" Start of ‘Standard’ Epistle 4: 8 Then Peter, filled with the Holy Spirit, said to them, "Rulers of the people and elders, 4: 10 let it be known to all of you, and to all the people of Israel, that this man is standing before you in good health by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead. 4: 12 There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among mortals by which we must be saved."</p>
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Unlike the later ‘standard’ version of the Epistle, this early selection of verses provides an (albeit interrupted) context for Peter’s speech, which refers back to his arrest on the previous day for healing a man, and the public interrogation which ensued. As discussed in Chapter 1, the miracle was performed ‘in the Name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth’, and not ‘in the Name of Jesus’, on its own. A broader and more allegorical understanding of the Scriptures, therefore, influenced by the Old Testament approach to the significance of the Name, requires some leniency on the part of the over-literal scholar. Peter’s response, in spite of the absence of verses 9 and 11, ‘This Jesus is “the stone that was rejected by you, the builders; it has become the cornerstone,”’ expresses the same key idea that there is no other name to bring Salvation but the name of Jesus.

The Beauchamp text follows on with the Gradual and the Alleluya, which are the same as their later versions, except for the word order in the Verse, which has ‘nomen’ preceding ‘cordi.’ There is no Tract, and the Sequence *Dulcis Iesus Nazarenius* follows on: a few differences from later redactions are detectable here (i.e. the words ‘fovet eos’ instead of ‘fovet justos’ found in later versions, ‘hoc passus’ instead of ‘illud passus’ and ‘O quid’ instead of ‘Ut quid’). None of these changes, however, seems to alter the meaning of the passage.

There is no illumination for the text of the Mass, and because of the missing page, it is not known whether a rubric once indicated the indulgence.

Establishing a ‘standard text’ for the Mass of the Holy Name

Before assessing the development of the text of the Mass of the Holy Name within Sarum Use a standard version of the text of the Mass of the Holy Name can usefully be established as a reference point. The ‘norm’ in this case will be the most complete version of the text, found in Henry Dickinson’s edition of the Sarum Missal compiled between 1861–83 from a wide selection of late medieval printed sources.¹⁵⁸ This ‘standard text’ is summarized in the table below.

Table 3.2: Proper texts for the Mass of the Holy Name in Sarum Use

Item	Incipit	Source
Introit	<i>In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur Alleluya in Eastertide</i>	<i>Phil</i> 2:10-11
Introit Verse	<i>Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus Dominus</i>	<i>Ps.</i> 135:3
Collect	<i>Deus, qui gloriosissimum nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi unigeniti Filii tui</i>	Authorship unknown
Epistle	<i>In diebus illis, Petrus repletus Spiritu Sancto dixit</i>	<i>Acts</i> 4:8-12
Gradual	<i>Constituit Deus Pater ad dexteram</i>	<i>Eph.</i> 1:20-22
Gradual Verse	<i>Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster</i>	<i>Ps.</i> 79:9
Alleluya	<i>Alleluya V. Dulce cordi nomen Iesu</i>	Bernard of Clairvaux, Sermon XV ¹⁵⁹
Alleluya in Eastertide	<i>Alleluya V. Surgens Iesus Dominus noster: stetit in medio</i>	<i>Lk</i> 24:36
Tract (Septuagesima till Easter)	<i>Dulce nomen Iesu Christi</i>	Source unknown ¹⁶⁰
Sequence	<i>Dulcis Iesus Nazarenus After Divisio: Iesus pulcher in decore</i>	Source unknown
Alternative Sequence	<i>Dulcis Iesu memoria</i> ¹⁶¹	Source unknown ¹⁶²
Gospel	<i>Angelus domini apparuit</i>	<i>Matt.</i> 1:20-23
Offertory	<i>In nomine meo demonia</i>	<i>Mk</i> 16:17-18
Secret	<i>In veneratione nominis</i>	Authorship unknown

¹⁵⁸ Francis H. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclaræ ecclesiae Sarum* (Burntisland, 1861–83), cols 846-52.

¹⁵⁹ Adapted from Sermon XV, in Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claræ-Vallensis, ‘Sermones in Cantica Cantorum’, in *PL*, 183 (1879), Vol. II, col. 847.

¹⁶⁰ The claim has been made that Bernardino da Bustis wrote the Sequence and Tract; Pfaff considers this impossible, given that he was not born until 1450. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 68, fn 1.

¹⁶¹ Occurs in the Sarum Graduals of 1508, 1527, 1528 and 1532.

¹⁶² See Chapter 6 of this thesis for a discussion of this Hymn’s authorship.

	<i>dilectissimi</i>	
Preface	<i>Quia per incarnati Verbi</i>	Preface for Christmastide
Communion	<i>Vincenti dabo manna</i>	<i>Rev. 2:17</i>
Postcommunion	<i>Sacrosancta mysteria que sumpsimus</i>	Authorship unknown

Thus the ‘standard text’ includes both Propers for the main Feast (where celebrated), seasonal alternatives (including Lent and Eastertide) and the ‘Divisio’ clearly indicated either halfway through the text of the Sequence, or in a rubric at the end of the Mass.

An alternative Sequence, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*, verses of which make up the Office Hymns for Matins and Lauds of the Holy Name, is also known, but to date it has only been located to the printed Sarum Gradual (where it appears in all four editions of 1508, 1527, 1528, and 1532). The indulgence is also missing from this standard version, although the Mass seems to have acquired it at an early stage, since two early fifteenth-century Sarum missals¹⁶³ state that whoever celebrates or causes to celebrate the Mass for 30 days will not die ‘sine vera contricione et digna satisfactione et sacrosancta communione et sancti olei unctione et infra triginta dies post obitum suum ad gaudia sempiterna perveniet’, or ‘without true contrition and due satisfaction and holy communion and divine unction will for 30 days after his death attain eternal joy’. An additional 3,000 years’ indulgence from Pope Boniface is granted for each Mass celebrated,¹⁶⁴ this time in a York Missal.¹⁶⁵ A near-identical rubric appears in a fourteenth-century manuscript Missal of Hereford Use, where the Propers for the Holy Name are added as later additions. Its more usual omission from printed editions of the Mass means that it cannot be regarded as a constituent part of the ‘typical’ text.

The Position of the Mass of the Holy Name in the Liturgical Sources

Confirmation of an official Kalendar Feast of the Holy Name is accompanied in many sources by the Mass moving from its earlier position among the Votive texts into the Sanctorale. Indeed, in its first stage the Mass is usually placed within a separate group

¹⁶³ *Ob MS Hatton I*, f. 219^v, but as Pfaff specifies, not all Norwich missals contain the indulgence; it is also crossed out in this Missal. Appears in *Ob MS Laud. Misc. 302*, f. 232^v.

¹⁶⁴ ‘Et habebit pro qualibet Miss atria millia annorum indulgentiae a Domino papa Bonifacio in veneratione summi Nominis Jesu’.

¹⁶⁵ *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ed. Henderson, Surtees Society, vol. ii. 216.

of Votive Masses, and usually follows ancient Votive formulae such as ‘de Angelis’ and ‘Salus Populi’. In some instances it was apparently offered as an alternative to the long-standing Votive Mass of the Holy Cross on a Friday, and is frequently followed in the sources by the Mass of the Five Wounds and ‘Pro Mortalitate Evitanda’.¹⁶⁶ However, in the earliest sources, the Feast is not mentioned in the Kalendar, and the Mass therefore appears only as a non-Festal Votive observance, alongside other Votive Masses.

When the Feast of the Holy Name (generally with an Octave) appears in the Sanctorale alongside equally new but important Feasts such as the Transfiguration (1489)¹⁶⁷ or the Visitation (1480),¹⁶⁸ otherwise known as the Nova Festa, the Mass may officially be acknowledged as having acquired Festal status. Further indications of this are the presence of a ‘Divisio’ section noted half way through the Sequence or indicated in its final rubric;¹⁶⁹ and a rubric at the end of the Mass as a whole, instructing that it be said ‘per totas octavas’, i.e. for the duration of the next eight days. However, the exact status of the Holy Name material is often ambivalent. It may appear among later additions to a source that includes both Festal Propers (e.g. the Transfiguration) and Votive materials without an associated Feast (e.g. the Five Wounds). In this case, the earliest manifestations are perhaps best labelled ‘Transitional’. As Table 3.3 below shows, acknowledgement of the Feast of the Holy Name either within the Sanctorale or the Kalendar (or both) takes place earlier in some Missals than in others.

¹⁶⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁶⁹ The *Divisio* is not marked in the Sarum Missals of 1492, 1494, 1497, 1498, and 1557: see Dickinson, *Missale*, cols 849-850.

Table 3.3: Manuscript Missals containing the Mass of the Holy Name

Date	Book	Position	Status
Missals of the Use of Sarum			
Main Missal text based on a post-1383 and pre-1415 model; later additions up to 1403 ¹⁷⁰	Missal written for William Beauchamp, Lord of [A]Bergavenny <i>Otc</i> MS 8, f. 286 ^v	Mass Propers (imperfect at beginning; starts part way through Epistle) Appended in original hand, after the Votives of the Dead and before the Passion of John XXII	Votive
s.xv, early ¹⁷¹	Missal from the Diocese of Durham <i>Ob</i> MS. Laud. Misc. 302, f. 232	As an alternative to the Mass of the Holy Cross, appearing after ‘de Angelis’, ‘Salus Populi’, etc. and before the Five Wounds and the ‘Pro Mortalitate Evitanda’ (Recordare) Each of these Masses preceded by a long rubric, and in the case of the Jesus Mass, by the standard indulgence Text complete, with Tract but no <i>Divisio</i>	Votive
s.xv, early ¹⁷²	Missal for the Diocese of Norwich <i>Ob</i> MS. Hatton I, f. 221	Appended to the main text, following Propers for Visitation and Transfiguration Feasts, and before Five Wounds and ‘Recordare’ (both Votives) The rubric about the indulgence granted if the Mass is celebrated over thirty days crossed out Not in Kalendar	Transitional – among the appended Nova Festa
s.xv, early ¹⁷³	Missal <i>Cul</i> MS. Gg. v.24, f. 296	Same arrangement as <i>Ob</i> MS. Hatton I No indulgence	Transitional – among the appended Nova Festa

¹⁷⁰ Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, vol. 2, no145.

¹⁷¹ Van Dijk, *The Handlist*, 161. W.H. Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica: a descriptive handlist of the musical latin liturgical manuscripts in the Middle Ages, preserved in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland (1901-1932)*, (Hildesheim, 1967), Vol. I, 92: ‘of the 15th cent., perhaps from the diocese of Durham’.

¹⁷² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 66.

s.xv, early ¹⁷⁴	Missal from the Diocese of Worcester <i>Ob</i> MS. Rawl. Liturg. C.3, f. 257	Appended between the Five Wounds and the Visitation. Text complete with alternative Sequence given, <i>Iesu Dulcis memoria</i> . Gospel erroneously introduced as being from John; no Sequence <i>Divisio</i> No mention of the Transfiguration Feast	Transitional
s.xv ¹⁷⁵	Portable Missal written for Diocese of Norwich, ¹⁷⁶ or north of England ¹⁷⁷ <i>Ob</i> MS. Jones 47, f. 368	Added as one of three Nova Festa at the end of the main text, preceded by Visitation and Transfiguration Added in the margin near the end of the Sanctorale, on f. 259 ^v are the following instructions directing attention to the additions: 'Festum transfigurationis domini et de nomine Jesu. Require in fine libri.' ¹⁷⁸ Text of Mass complete, except for absence of Tract, with Sequence. <i>Divisio</i> on f. 367	Liturgical feast
s.xv	Missal from the Diocese of Lincoln? <i>Cgc</i> MS. 146 (196), f. 725	Appended by a later hand, together with the Mass of the Five Wounds	Votive
s.xv ¹⁷⁹	Missal from the Diocese of Worcester, written by Alexander de Pulesdon, f. 177 <i>Ob</i> MS Barlow 5, f. 271	Added (after 1415) together with Feasts of David, Chad and Winifred after Alexander's colophon Mass of Five Wounds follows Sequence <i>Divisio</i> added by hand	Transitional
s.xv, towards end ¹⁸⁰	Missal written for the Carew family <i>Ob</i> MS. Laud misc. 253, f. 121	Inserted on blank leaf, i.e. after the Ordo Missae section	Transitional

¹⁷⁴ Van Dijk, *The Handlist*, 161. Frere disagrees and dates the manuscript to the 14th Cent. in *Bibliotheca*, Vol. I, 88.

¹⁷⁵ Van Dijk, *The Handlist*, 165. The date of this Missal is problematic, as neither Frere nor Pfaff provide a date, and the presence of the *Divisio*, inclusion of the Transfiguration, and instructions to observe this Feast together with the Feast of the Holy Name would suggest a later date.

¹⁷⁶ Frere, *Bibliotheca*, Vol. I, 91.

¹⁷⁷ Van Dijk *The Handlist*, 165.

¹⁷⁸ *Ob* MS Jones 47, f. 259.

¹⁷⁹ Pfaff, in *New Liturgical Feasts*, 67, claims it is a 14th-cent. Missal. Both Frere in *Bibliotheca*, Vol. I, 90 and Van Dijk in *The Handlist*, 163, say it is a 15th-cent. book. The feasts of Sts David, Chad and Winifred were made official at the Convocation of Canterbury (1415-1416).

¹⁸⁰ *Ob* MS Laud misc. 253: the birthdays and obits of the members of the family (1485-1510) are added to the Kalendar.

Missal of the Use of Hereford			
s.xiv; additions in later hand. ¹⁸¹	Hereford Missal <i>Ouc</i> MS 78A, f. 226v	Added in later hand; follows the Five Wounds and Proper incipits for St Dubricius Not in main Kalendar No rubric concerning <i>Divisio</i> (though it is there) or observance of the Octave Same rubric about indulgence found in MS Hatton I	Transitional
Missal of the Use of York			
s.xiv with later additions ¹⁸²	The York Cuckney Missal <i>Ouc</i> MS. 78B, f. 154 ^v	Later addition, following Mass of the Transfiguration No rubric about indulgence No mention in Kalendar or Sanctorale Rubric instructing to say the Mass 'per totas octavas' Addition of word ' <i>Divisio</i> ' half way through the Sequence	Liturgical feast
Other – Use of Scotland			
1491	The Arbuthnott Missal, in the Paisley Museum (modelled on Sarum Use) Copied by the priest Sybald and used in the Diocese of St Andrews	Not included in the Kalendar Appended in supplement, after the 'Benedictio Salis' and before the 'Gospel of John XXII' and the 'Mass of the Five Wounds'	Votive

Pfaff acknowledges that the inclusion of the Mass of the Holy Name, even as a Votive, was not uniform in the various extant manuscript sources. He notes its absence in a Norwich Missal of 1397¹⁸³ and a London Missal of c.1425,¹⁸⁴ although the first contains the Mass of the Five Wounds, and the second six Nova Festa, including John of Beverley, the Visitation, and Erkenwald.¹⁸⁵

The adoption of the observance, whether in its Votive or Festal context, was evidently gradual and very variable across different geographical areas; some regions may well

¹⁸¹ Transcribed by W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis* (Leeds, 1874), 453-7.

¹⁸² John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse University Press, 1995), 248. Pfaff does not offer a date for this manuscript.

¹⁸³ *Cul* MS Ff. ii. 31.

¹⁸⁴ *Lbl* MS Arundel 109.

¹⁸⁵ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 67.

have cultivated it more actively than others. The Diocese of Norwich, for instance, seems to have become a popular centre for observance of the cult: according to Table 3.3, two of nine known extant manuscript Missals were written for the Diocese, where the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus was celebrated daily in Norwich Cathedral in the chapel of Jesus, and weekly at an altar under the rood loft.¹⁸⁶

Material for The Holy Name of Jesus (H NJ) in the Printed Liturgical Sources

Printed liturgical books likely to contain an observance of the Holy Name are often easier to locate than their manuscript counterparts, thanks to the comprehensive listings of the *Short-Title Catalogue* and the resources of Early English Books Online.¹⁸⁷ In printed Missals of the late fifteenth century the Mass of the Holy Name initially appears among the Votive Masses. In the 1489 Sarum Missal printed in Basel, for example, it is placed between the Holy Cross and the Five Wounds, and is not mentioned in the Kalendar, thus confirming its status as a Votive Mass,¹⁸⁸ in keeping with the manuscript tradition of offering it as an alternative for a Friday observance. Eventually, from around 1497 it begins to appear within the Sanctorale in its rightful position after the Transfiguration. At this point it also begins to be mentioned in the Kalendar, and sometimes appears with an instruction to observe the Octave.¹⁸⁹

However, this trend seems to be much more apparent within the Use of Sarum than in those of York and Hereford (though far fewer books were printed for these Rites), and some Missals printed after 1500 continue to treat the Mass as a Votive. Even though the Holy Name had been declared a Feast in the province of York in 1489, the printed York Missals do not contain any ‘Nova Festa’ in the Kalendar. The Hereford printed Missal of 1502 also omits the Mass, though it was added by a later hand to a

¹⁸⁶ Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547*, (Cambridge, 2011), 124, citing E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, ‘Jesus Mass and Anthem,’ in *Transactions of St Paul’s Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. V (London, 1905), 166.

¹⁸⁷ *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640* / first compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave (London, 1976 –91; 2nd ed. rev. & enl., begun by W. A. Jackson & F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer. [3 vols] [hereafter *STC*].

¹⁸⁸ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 73.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 74.

manuscript version copied in the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁰ More significantly, its status as a Major Double with ruled choir was also confirmed in the York Breviary of 1505, printed at the expense of Margaret Beaufort herself.¹⁹¹

Table 3.4: Printed Missals

Date	Book	Position	Status
Missals of the Use of Sarum			
1489 ¹⁹²	Missal printed in Basel, by M. Wensler STC 16165	Among weekly Votives, between Holy Cross and Five wounds Not in Kalendar (unlike the Transfiguration) Bodleian copy of this Missal contains written note in Sanctorale next to feast day of St Donatus, referring reader to the HNJ in the Votives' section	Votive
1492	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin STC 16166	Among weekly Votives, between Holy Cross and Five wounds	Votive
1494	Missal printed in Venice, by J. Hertzog de Landoia STC 16168	Among weekly Votives, between Holy Cross and Five Wounds; but now figuring in the Kalendar in red	Votive
1497	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin STC 16171	In the Sanctorale after the Transfiguration, but no <i>Divisio</i> marked in the Sequence during the Octave	Official feast
	St Catherine's College, Cambridge copy	<i>Divisio</i> marked by hand	Official feast
1498	Missal printed in England, by W. de Worde in London Westminster STC 16172	In the Sanctorale after the Transfiguration No <i>Divisio</i> Features in the Kalendar after the Transfiguration as a Major Double with 9 Lections Text complete	Official feast
1500	Missal printed in Paris, by J. de Prato (Dupré) STC 16175	In the Sanctorale after the Transfiguration Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle <i>Divisio</i> (D) mentioned in Sequence and explained at end of the Mass	Official feast

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 74.

¹⁹¹ STC 15793.

¹⁹² Pfaff dates it to 1488, but this must be a mistake.

		Rubric instructing to say the Mass throughout the Octave without Creed Absence of Kalendar	
1500	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson STC 16173	In Kalendar and in Sanctorale after the Transfiguration Features in the Kalendar Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle <i>Divisio</i> explained at end of Mass in print Rubric instructing to say the Mass throughout the Octave without Creed	Official feast
1507	Breviary printed expressly for Lady Margaret Beaufort, by R. Pynson STC 15806a	Mass of the Holy Name included with Votive Masses of the BVM Text complete with Tract and <i>Divisio</i> Provides for the Octave of the Feast	Transitional
1508	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin STC 16183	In Kalendar and Sanctorale Text complete with Tract, but no mention of <i>Divisio</i> and no rubric instructing to say the Mass throughout the Octave	Official feast
1512	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson STC 16190	In Kalendar and Sanctorale Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle <i>Divisio</i> mentioned in text of Sequence and explained at end of Mass, both in print Rubric instructing to say the Mass throughout the Octave without Creed	Official feast
1520	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson STC 16202	In Kalendar and Sanctorale Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle <i>Divisio</i> mentioned in text of Sequence and explained at end of Mass, both in print Rubric instructing to say the Mass throughout the Octave without Creed	Official feast
Missal of the Use of Hereford			
1502	Missal printed in Rouen, by J. Richard STC 16163	Not in Sanctorale, Kalendar, or among Votive Masses.	

Missals of the Use of York			
1509	Missal printed in Rouen, by P. Violette STC 16220	Among Votive Masses at very end of Missal, after Transfiguration and immediately after Visitation Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle, but no <i>Divisio</i> or rubric about observance during the Octave	Votive
1516	Missal printed in Rouen, by P. Olivier STC 16221	Among Votive Masses at very end of Missal, after Transfiguration and immediately after Visitation Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle, but no <i>Divisio</i> , or rubric about observance during the Octave Not in Kalendar	Votive
1517	Missal printed in Rouen, by P. Olivier STC 16222	Among Votive Masses at very end of Missal, after Transfiguration and immediately after Visitation Text complete with Tract and introduction to Epistle, but no <i>Divisio</i> or rubric about observance during the Octave Not in Kalendar	Votive

Table 3.5: Printed Graduals of the Use of Sarum

Date	Book	Position	Status
1508	Printed in Paris, by W. Hopyl at the expense of W. Breton STC 15862	In the Kalendar (9 Lections) and in the Sanctorale. No additional Proper material for the Octave Includes Tract and variants for Eastertide No <i>Divisio</i> rubric explicitly marked for the Sequence, even though the second half is included Provision of an alternative Sequence, 'Alia sequentia'	Official Feast
1527	Printed in Paris/London, by N. Prevost and W. de Worde STC 15863	As above	Official Feast
1528	Printed in Paris/London, by N. Prevost and F. Byrckman	As above	Feast

	STC 15864		
1532	Printed in Paris/London by N. Prevost and F. Regnault / R. Redman STC 15865	As above	Official Feast

Three main observations arise from this tabulation of selected manuscript and printed sources of the Mass of the Holy Name. First, it is significant that no discernible pattern emerges: the move of the Mass from an appended section (generally at the end of the book) into the Sanctorale is far from uniform, as it takes place in some early fifteenth-century manuscripts but not in later ones. Second, the shortage of extant manuscript and printed sources from the other two Uses of Hereford and York in relation to the comparative wealth of Sarum liturgical books is striking but also misleading, as is the relatively late acknowledgment of the Mass in the Sanctorale in the Use of York. One must caution against making hasty assumptions: that it was not acknowledged in the Missals as a Feast does not mean that it was not celebrated as such. This is indeed corroborated by its inclusion as a Feast in the 1505 Hereford Breviary, where it figures in the Sanctorale as a Major Double with ruling of choir. Third, the proliferation of printed books does not seem to accelerate, as one would expect, the acknowledgement of the Holy Name as an official Feast in liturgical books. Indeed, over a decade elapses after the Convocations of Canterbury (1488) and York (1489), which declare the devotion as Festal, before the Mass appears in the Sanctorale of the 1498 Sarum Missal printed in England by W. De Worde. Indeed, the Basel printed edition of 1489 still treats the Mass as a Votive. It is possible that the Papal Bull, granted in 1494, which sanctioned the observance of the Feast by Lady Margaret Beaufort and her pious entourage, and which granted an associated indulgence, held more sway over the change of status of the Mass in books than the Convocation.

The Office of the Holy Name

Pfaff claims that the Office is ‘almost certainly an English production’,¹⁹³ although he argues that it would not have been influenced by Suso’s Office of the Holy Name (dated 1328) found in many English Books of Hours.¹⁹⁴ Suso’s Office ‘In honore

¹⁹³Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 69.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., 69.

nominis Jesu decantande,' Pfaff sees as more in the style of a Votive or 'Little' Office, to be recited as a private devotion rather than as a communal observance in choir. An early example of the Suso Office was added to a fifteenth-century Book of Hours written for the Hale family,¹⁹⁵ though without the Feast of the Holy Name being mentioned in the Kalendar. It is also included in a book of private devotions belonging to one John Leche,¹⁹⁶ which also contains an Office of the Visitation (one of the other Nova Festa, as noted above), written in a different hand.

The Sarum Office of the Holy Name therefore seems to have developed independently from the Suso version. The associated Propers are discussed in full in Chapter 6, and translated into English in Appendix II.2. As noted above, the Feast of the Holy Name ranked as a Major Double in Sarum Use, with nine Lectons at Matins. It is significant that substantial Proper materials were also provided for the Octave: three more Lectons each are given for the second day (of the Constitution of the Holy Name), third day (of the Sanctification), fifth day (of the Description) and sixth day (of the Pronunciation), each thus celebrating a different aspect of the Holy Name.¹⁹⁷ A further six Lectons are then provided for the Sunday within the Octave and a final nine for the Octave itself. The Office in totality therefore comprised a great deal of unique Proper material. The Lectons are often declamatory in tone, and drawn from both the Scriptures and sermons written by the Church Fathers, both Greek (Origen) and Latin (Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter of Ravenna). The Office appears in a shortened version in some liturgical books, while others provide the Lectons for the Octave.

The date and authorship of the Office are uncertain, although it has been suggested that Henry Horneby (c.1457–1518), who was serving as dean of the chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort by 1499, is the most likely candidate for authorship.¹⁹⁸ Horneby's first recorded living was the vicarage of St James, East Deeping, Lincolnshire, which he vacated in 1481; his father was apparently the George Hornby recorded as keeper of horses to Lady Margaret Beaufort and Thomas, Lord Stanley in West Deeping in

¹⁹⁵ *Ob* MS Dugdale 47, f. 116.

¹⁹⁶ *Otc* MS 13, f. 98.

¹⁹⁷ The fourth and seventh days are the Feast days of St Laurence and St Hippolytus, respectively.

¹⁹⁸ Malcolm G. Underwood, 'Politics and Piety in the Household of Lady Margaret Beaufort' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 38, No 1 (January 1987), 47.

1483. As a young man Horneby studied theology, graduating Bachelor of Arts of the University of Cambridge in 1479 and Master of Arts in 1481; his doctorate was awarded in 1495 or 1496. In 1494 Lady Margaret presented him to the rectory of Trefdreyr in Cardigan, and at some point, possibly in 1499,¹⁹⁹ after his doctorate was awarded, his position within her own household was confirmed, where he advanced from Dean of chapel and Secretary to become Chancellor from 1504 to 1509.²⁰⁰

It was the controversial historian and polemicist John Bale (1495–1563) who claimed Horneby as author of the Office of the Holy Name, indicating that he wrote (or perhaps edited – ‘edidisse’) an ‘*Historia nominis Iesu*’, which Bale refers to explicitly as ‘*A solis ortu*’ (see below), together with an ‘*Historia visitationis beatae Mariae virginis*’ (Office for the Visitation), beginning ‘*Aeterni patris filius Mariam*’.²⁰¹ However, the evidence is not entirely convincing for either Office, and Pfaff thinks it particularly unlikely that Horneby wrote the Visitation Office.²⁰² What is known is that Margaret Beaufort herself petitioned for the Papal Bull of the Feast, granted in 1494, whose text, transcribed in Appendix III.1, sanctions an indulgence associated with observance of the Feast, namely through a Mass and ‘*officium cum capitulis, lectionibus, antiphonis, versiculis et responsoriis congruentibus*’.²⁰³ Two further assumptions need to be made in order to ascribe to Horneby the authorship of the Office and confirm a viable compilation date: first, that the Office mentioned in the Bull is the same as that presented to the Canterbury Convocation in 1488; secondly, that in his late twenties, and perhaps yet barely established within Lady Margaret Beaufort’s entourage, Horneby was capable of such mature liturgical composition.

As with some other late medieval observances, devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus (HNJ) seems to have begun principally with a Mass with its own set of Propers. As

¹⁹⁹ Household accounts would suggest that he was her Secretary, Dean of Chapel and later Chancellor from 1499–1509. See Susan Powell, “Lady Margaret Beaufort: ‘Of singuler wysedome 4 ferre passynge the comyn rate of women’”, in Carolyn Carr, ed., *Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford. The Brown Book: A Commemorative Edition for the 500th Anniversary of the Death of Lady Margaret Beaufort*, (Oxford, 2009), 6.

²⁰⁰ Malcolm Underwood; ‘Henry Horneby’, ODNB; idem, *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), 276.

²⁰¹ J. Bale, *Scriptorium illustrium Maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: catalogus*, 2 vols. in 1 (Basel, 1557–9); facs. edn (1971), ii, 72. See also Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 48–9, 52, 82–3.

²⁰² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 83, fn3.

²⁰³ *Cjc*, Drawer 56, no. 184; printed in the college magazine of St John’s College, Cambridge, *The Eagle*, XX (1899).

shown above, this started out as a Votive observance and progressed to Festal status by stages. The Proper Office (particularly in English secular Use) is evidently a rather later composition, and makes a later appearance in the liturgical sources. Table 3.5 lists a selection of the few books in which it occurs. The Sarum Office is designated here ‘A solis ortu’, as these are the first three words of the first Antiphon of First Vespers.

Table 3.5: Manuscript Breviaries and Antiphonals

Date	Book	Position	Status
Breviaries and Antiphonals of the Use of Sarum			
s.xiv with later additions ²⁰⁴	Noted Breviary <i>Eul</i> MS 27	HNJ and Transfiguration added to Kalendar (in a later hand)	
s.xiv with later additions ²⁰⁵	Breviary, Stonyhurst MS 52 London?	Proper Lections and Collects for HNJ and other Nova Festa added at end of Sanctorale No Kalendar	
Late 14 th Cent. with additions in 15 th Cent. hand ²⁰⁶	Breviary <i>Cul</i> MS Add. 4500	Offices of HNJ with Octave and Transfiguration, added at end of book and to Kalendar (later hand)	‘A solis ortu’
1435 with later additions ²⁰⁷	Breviary <i>Cul</i> MS Dd.X.66	Offices of HNJ with Octave, Visitation and Transfiguration added at end of book and to Kalendar (later hand)	‘A solis ortu’
c. 1460 ²⁰⁸	The Arlingham Breviary Noted Breviary, privately commissioned for the Diocese of Worcester; later at St Mary’s Arlingham, Glos (SB MS 152)	Office of the HNJ not included in Sanctorale nor appended with the Nova Festa, though added in a later hand to the Kalendar	
s.xv ²⁰⁹	Breviary, Norwich? <i>Lbl</i> MS Add. 17002	HNJ and Transfiguration added to the Kalendar (though not to the Sanctorale)	

²⁰⁴ Matthew Cheung Salisbury, ‘The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England’ (DPhil, Oxford, 2011), II, 338.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 416.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 322.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 324.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 412.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 342.

s.xv ²¹⁰	Breviary, Norwich <i>Lbl</i> MS Add 59862	HNJ and Transfiguration added to the Kalendar (though not to the Sanctorale)	
s.xv (1415x1458) ²¹¹	‘The Wollaton Antiphonal’ Nottingham, East Anglia & St Leonard’s Wollaton <i>NOp</i> MS 250	HNJ and Transfiguration added to the Kalendar (though not to the Sanctorale)	
s.xv ²¹²	The ‘Launton’ Breviary Noted Breviary, used at Launton, Oxon <i>Ob</i> MS Laud misc. 299	Supplement at back including HNJ (f. 486), ²¹³ in same hand as Transfiguration and 2 nd of two Offices of the Visitation (without music) Added to Kalendar	‘A solis ortu’
s.xv (before 1478) ²¹⁴	‘The Ranworth Antiphoner’ St Helen’s Ranworth	HNJ and Transfiguration added to the Kalendar (though not to the Sanctorale)	

Table 3.6: Other Manuscript service books

s.xiii with later additions ²¹⁵	Monastic Antiphonal, Peterborough Abbey <i>Cmc</i> MS F.4.10	Later addition, following Offices for other Nova Festa (Corpus Christi, St Anne, Transfiguration), all placed between the Kalendar and Sanctorale	
s.xiv with later additions ²¹⁶	Antiphonal and Missal, Guisborough Priory, Yorks <i>Lbl</i> MS Add. 35285	HNJ and Transfiguration added to Kalendar in a later hand	
Post 1415 14 th -16 th Centuries ²¹⁷	The Peterborough Diurnal (Benedictine) <i>Ob</i> MS Gough liturg. 17 (now Gough Missals 47)	Included in Sanctorale Added to the Kalendar in same hand as Visitation	Many textual variations (see below)

²¹⁰ Ibid., II, 357.

²¹¹ Ibid., II, 383.

²¹² Ibid., II, 403.

²¹³ Pfaff notes that a gap of two blank pages is left between the Office of the Transfiguration and that of the HNJ, suggesting that the latter was added later, or that another Office was intended for the gap. See *New Liturgical Feasts*, 71.

²¹⁴ Salisbury, ‘The Secular Liturgical Office, II, 411.

²¹⁵ Ibid., II, 310.

²¹⁶ Ibid., II, 349.

²¹⁷ This manuscript has been compiled at different dates: Van Dijk dates it post 1415, Frere, beginning of sixteenth century; Ker, fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 71, fn 4.

After 1383 English	Book of Miscellaneous Offices <i>Ob</i> MS e Mus.193, f.47 ^v	Office of HNJ following on from Office for Richard Rolle and Office for the Compassion of the Virgin	Many textual variations (see below) Absence of ' <i>Iesu dulcis memoria</i> '
s.xv, possibly after 1489 ²¹⁸	Noted Breviary, Use of York York Minster MS Add. 69	Office of HNJ added after Sanctorale (f. 351 ^v) and noted within Sanctorale as 'in fine libri' Feast also present in Kalendar in main hand	
c.1490, written and decorated in Italy at the order of Giovanni Gigli	Illuminated prayer book commissioned for Lady Margaret Beaufort ²¹⁹ <i>Lbl</i> MS Add. 33772	Contains Office of the HNJ, followed by the Mass	'A solis ortu' with Lections for the Octave

The Office contained in the Peterborough Diurnal differs from the Sarum version, mainly in its choices of Antiphons at First and Second Vespers. Also, an Octave is not mentioned. In a Book of Miscellaneous Offices, the text begins with Matins and breaks off in the middle of None. The Lections are not always the same, and the Hymns are divided up differently. It is noteworthy that the meditation *Iesu dulcis memoria* does not make an appearance.

Table 3.7: Printed Breviaries

Date	Book	Position	Status
Supplements, Breviaries, and Antiphonal of the Use of Sarum			
1493, repr 1497	Printed in London, by R. Pynson STC 15851/2	Supplement containing the Mass and Office of the HNJ	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave
1494	Printed in Paris, by P. Levet STC 15799	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar as Feast of 9 Lections with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave
1495[?]	Printed in Venice, by J. Hertzog of Landoia STC 15801	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar as Feast of 9 Lections with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave. No mention of the indulgences
1496	Printed in Rouen,	Office incorporated into	

²¹⁸ Salisbury, 'The Secular Liturgical Office, II, 422.

²¹⁹ Janet Backhouse, 'A Further Illuminated Devotional Book for the Use of Lady Margaret Beaufort', *Essays on Medieval And Renaissance Art and Patronage in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*. Edited by Bernard J. Muir, (University of Exeter Press, 2002), 221-35.

	by J Richard STC 15802	Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	
1497	Printed in London, by R. Pynson STC 15852	Supplement containing the Office of the HNJ	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave However, no mention of the indulgences
1499	Printed in Paris, by J. Dupré STC 15804	Office mentioned in Kalendar, and included in Sanctorale, but at the end only, together with Translation of St Osmund	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave However, no mention of the indulgences
All editions after 1500		Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar as Feast of 9 Lections with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave However, no mention of the indulgences
1506	Printed in Paris / London, by T. Kerver and W. de Worde / M. Morin STC 15808.5	Office included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	
1507	Printed expressly for Lady Margaret Beaufort, by R. Pynson STC 15806a	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'. Also contains the Mass of the HNJ	
1509	Printed in London, by W. de Worde STC 15808	Office included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave However, no mention of the indulgences
1520	Sarum Antiphonal (Pars Aestivalis) Printed in London, by F. Byrckman STC 15790a	Notated Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu;' Major Double Feast with Octave and ruled choir
Breviary of the Use of Hereford			
1505	Printed in Rouen, by P. Olivier and J. Mauditier; printed in London by J. Haghe at the expense of Lady	HNJ not mentioned in Kalendar but Office incorporated into Sanctorale as a Major Double with ruling of choir	'A solis ortu' but no Lections of the Octave given, in spite of rubric 'Festum maius

	Margaret Beaufort, with dedication to her STC 15793		duplex' Still no mention of the indulgences
Breviaries of the Use of York			
1493	Printed in Venice / London by J. Hertzog of Landoia Hertzog / F. Egmundt STC 15856	Office of HNJ not included	
1507	Printed in Rouen, by P. Violette STC 15857	No information about the HNJ is educible ²²⁰	
1526	Printed in Paris, by F. Regnault STC 15858	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa' without mention of Lections	'A solis ortu'
1555? [Another edition]	Printed in Rouen, printer unknown STC 15860	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave However, no mention of the Indulgences
1509/1510	The Aberdeen Breviary, Scots Sarum Use Printed in Edinburgh, by W. Chapman STC 15791	Office incorporated into Sanctorale as a 'Minor Double' and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa' Mass of the HNJ following on from the Office	'A solis ortu,' with Lections for the Octave, with the six Sarum Lections of the Sunday of the Octave condensed into three
c. 1535	St Albans Abbey, Benedictine Breviary, printed by J. Herford STC 15793.5	Office incorporated into Sanctorale and included in Kalendar with other 'Nova Festa'	Some textual variations (see below) No provision for the Octave

The Office contained in the St Albans Abbey Breviary does not begin with 'A solis ortu', even though this Antiphon is found later in the text. As it shares First Vespers of the Holy Name of Jesus with Second Vespers of the Transfiguration, it begins with the Vespers Chapter, *Phil.* 2:8. Because the book was written for a Monastic community, there is a different selection of psalms at Matins.

²²⁰ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 75.

This tabulated presentation of manuscript and printed sources containing the Office confirms that the ‘A Solis Ortu’ version was compiled by the 1490s, and was included as such, with or without provision of the Octave, in nearly all the printed sources mentioned above. The earliest known datable version was printed in London by Richard Pynson as a liturgical supplement containing both Mass and Office in 1493, which makes provision for both Votive and Festal use, containing all the Lectons for the Octave, together with indications for memorials for other saints. However, doubt may still be cast over its authorship.

The Sarum version of the Office, complete with Lectons for the Octave, seems to have been adopted fairly promptly and, with a few exceptions, relatively uniformly after the Papal Bull of 1494. This reinforces the possibility, that as for the Mass, this Papal Bull, which was obtained in part thanks to Lady Margaret’s petition, held much sway over the acknowledgement of the Holy Name of Jesus as Festal in liturgical books.

Inclusion of the Office appears to have occurred at a later date in books pertaining to the Use of Hereford, which raises the question about Lady Margaret resolving to remedy this situation by commissioning the Hereford 1505 Breviary herself. It is noteworthy that in this book the Office does not include the Lectons for the Octave.

Last, there is the puzzling question about the indulgences outlined in Lection II of Festal Matins. The Papal Bull, ratified in 1494 by Pope Alexander VI (1431–1503; papacy 1492–1503) states that the Feast carries the same indulgence as that of Corpus Christi.²²¹ The text of the Lection provides the same information, but in much greater detail, with the number of days granted for each Hour of the Feast and Octave attended (see Appendix II.2). However, nowhere in the above versions of the Office, printed after 1494, does this information appear, prompting the question why it makes its appearance in the 1531 Sarum Breviary,²²² and indeed why not before.

²²¹ See *Cjc*, Drawer 56, no. 184; *The Eagle*, xx (1899), 20-21

²²² *Breviarium seu horarium domesticum*: 1531, printed by C. Chevallon and F. Regnault in Paris (*STC* 15830). This forms the basis for F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, 3 vols (Canterbury, 1879-86).

It is all the more surprising as it is not included in the printed Hereford Breviary of 1505, commissioned by Lady Margaret herself.²²³ By contrast, a supplement printed by Pynson in 1495 containing the Sarum Office of the Visitation does say something about its associated indulgence, appended at the end of the text. Yet it does not figure in the 1497 Supplement for the Holy Name (see Table 3.7). There is clearly some significant research to be undertaken on the Office's Lections and their variants.



Fig. 3.1: Lady Margaret Beaufort at prayer

Following on from this chapter on the development of both the Mass and Office in the liturgical sources, attention will now be focused on the Mass more specifically. Pfaff argues that in spite of the conservatism found in printed books, observance of the

²²³ It remains unclear why she chose to subsidize this edition. See Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), 547.

Mass of the Holy Name was nevertheless popular,²²⁴ and that as a result of the Papal Bull, the Feast spread widely in the last decades of the fifteenth century.²²⁵ This is borne out in the following chapter on guild activity, which reveals when and where the observance of the Holy Name of Jesus was actually practised within a liturgical context.

²²⁴ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 77.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 83.

Chapter 4

The Developing Cult of the Holy Name : Guilds and Musical Provision

Guild activity

If the delayed confirmation of the Festal observance of the Holy Name of Jesus in liturgical books raises any doubt as to the popularity of the cult of the Holy Name, this is allayed by evidence for widespread participation in guild activity across the country and especially in London. This area has recently been addressed by Elizabeth New, whose doctoral study focuses on the Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's, London and extends into regional guilds.²²⁶ It reveals that the Votive Mass of the Holy Name, celebrated weekly on Friday, was already part of the religious culture in many parishes and cathedrals throughout England before the Feast was made official, as the tables below show. The oldest known associated guild on record, 'the Fraternity of Christ Jesus', was founded in 1387 on the Norfolk coast, in Sheringham, where it is thought that new ideas from the Low Countries would have been incepted.²²⁷ Little is known about the form the devotions took, except that a Mass was celebrated there annually, candles dedicated to the Holy Name were lit on a weekly basis, and the guild was named after Christ Jesus, as opposed to Jesus, the latter becoming more usual later in the century.²²⁸

The Fraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus at St Paul's Cathedral, on the other hand, was established in the early 1450s, and from 1459 had as its patron King Henry VI.²²⁹ Because the royal letters confirm an unambiguous and specific dedication to the Name of Jesus, this guild may have been the first to promote the cult of the Holy Name of Jesus so clearly.²³⁰ The fraternity was wealthy,²³¹ and could count among its possessions many liturgical books, polyphonic Mass settings, ornate vestments, liturgical plate, statues and bells. Services were often enhanced by music and took place in the richly decorated space, which was the chapel of Jesus in the crypt of the cathedral. The Dean of St Paul's sang High Mass on the Feast day

²²⁶ Elisabeth A. New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c.1450–1558' (Ph.D, London, 1999) The use of the terms 'fraternity' and 'guild' are used interchangeably in New's study, as here.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 30.

²²⁹ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1452-61*, 480, cited in New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 38.

²³⁰ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 39.

²³¹ David Mateer and Elizabeth New, "'In Nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the Fraternity of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral', *Music and Letters*, 81 (2000), 510.

itself (7 August), vested in a grey ‘amess’ [amice].²³² New has argued that this fraternity was the most prominent manifestation of the cult in England: its location at St Paul’s, and its proximity to the printing press on Fleet Street would have drawn Londoners and non-Londoners alike. The Dean of the cathedral was always one of its officers, and the intellect of Dean John Colet (1467–1519), a high profile clergyman and humanist scholar, who supervised the reorganization of the Fraternity and revised the liturgy in 1507²³³ would also have drawn people in.

The tables below, while representative rather than exhaustive, list a selection of guilds in chronological order.²³⁴ Generally, it is supposed that where there is a guild dedicated to the Holy Name, or the establishment of a Jesus altar, a Mass was celebrated; moreover, the purchase and acquisition of lights as part of the guild’s expenditures are worth considering as possible evidence of practice, as they may have been used for the Elevation during the celebration of a Jesus Mass. Last but not least, a guild certificate confirms the existence rather than the foundation date of a guild: as noted above, for example, the Fraternity of St Paul’s was granted royal letters patent by Henry VI in 1459, yet the Fraternity may have been active and prospering since 1450 when the Jesus chapel in the crypt of the cathedral was established.²³⁵ Likewise, the absence of a guild certificate does not preclude the existence of a guild or fraternity. Holy Trinity Church, Long Melford, for example does not appear in Table 4.1, yet there was a Jesus aisle, a Jesus image, a ‘Jesus priest’ and a ‘Jesus mass book’ within the church.²³⁶

²³² E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, ‘Jesus Mass and Anthem,’ in *Transactions of St Paul’s Ecclesiological Society*, Vol. V (London, 1905), 163-4.

²³³ New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 170.

²³⁴ The scholarship of E. New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, M. Williamson, and E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley provide the data. Magnus Williamson, ‘Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church: a Provisional List and Commentary’, in Jonathan P. Wainwright (ed.), *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, vol. 38 (London, 2005), 1-43; Atchley, ‘Jesus Mass and Anthem’.

²³⁵ New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 38.

²³⁶ Atchley, ‘Jesus Mass and Anthem,’ 167.

Table 4.1: Guilds and Fraternities of the Holy Name in Provincial Parish Churches

Location	Date of Guild Certificate	Devotions and Practices
All Saints, Sheringham Norfolk	1387 'Fraternity of Christ Jesus'	Annual solemn Mass 3 candles to burn every Sunday
St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds Norfolk	1457	Mass celebrated: John Baret (d. 1463) left bequest for bells to be rung at Consecration during Jesus Mass
St Peter Mancroft, Norwich Norfolk	1458	Possible celebration of Jesus Mass at newly established altar
St Mary Magdalene, Baldock Hertfordshire	1459	
All Saints, Bristol Avon	1464 Fraternity founded by Harry and Alson Chestyr ²³⁷ to support Jesus Mass already being celebrated	By s.xv ² Mass of Jesus being celebrated Jesus aisle and Jesus altar Daily <i>Salves</i> sung to Statue of Jesus
St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol Avon	1467 establishment of chantry chapel by William Canynge	Friday Jesus Mass said by chaplains
St Thomas, Salisbury Wiltshire	1465 Guild of Jesus	
St Mary's, Sandwich Kent	1466	Mass of Jesus
All Saints, Lydd Kent	1467	
Church of Holy Cross, Canterbury Kent	1470	
St Giles, Reading Berkshire	c. 1470 Guild of the Holy Name	
St. Laurence, Reading Berkshire	c. 1480 Fraternity of the Mass of Jesus	
Wycombe Parish Church, Buckinghamshire	1475	Jesus altar
Prittlewell, Essex	1477	Received royal licence ²³⁸

²³⁷ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 164.

²³⁸ A. Sparvel-Bayly, 'Records Relating to the Guild or Fraternity of Jesus in Prittlewell' in *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, n.s. 2, 1884, 153-64.

Ashford, Kent	1479	Jesus altar; light; statue of Jesus
Eastbourne, Sussex	1480 Guild	
Richmond, Yorkshire	1484	Jesus Mass

Convocation of Canterbury, 1488 – Convocation of York, 1489²³⁹		
Faversham Kent	1494	Jesus altar
Lachford Oxfordshire	1495	Jesus Mass
Ware Hertfordshire	1496	Jesus guild
Islington Middlesex	1497	Jesus guild
St Mary, Dover Kent	1498	Jesus Mass
Cranbrook Kent	1501 1503 1527	Bequest of Jesus Mass; Jesus light Jesus taper; Jesus altar
Bodmin Cornwall	1501/1502	Jesus lights
Grantham Lincolnshire	1502	Jesus guild
The Parish church of Yeovil, Devon	1506	Jesus Mass
Rotherham Parish Church	1505	Jesus chantry
Moulton Northamptonshire	1507	Jesus Mass
Pontefract Yorkshire	1515 1529	Guild mentioned in two parishioners' wills
Everdon Northamptonshire	1517	Jesus lights
Princes Risborough Buckinghamshire	1520	Jesus guild
Sutton Cheshire	1524	Jesus Mass

²³⁹ The dates of the Convocations are inserted not just as a reference point, but to suggest that guild foundations proliferated after the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus was made official in both provinces.

Table 4.2: Guilds and Fraternities of the Holy Name in London Parish Churches

Location	Date of Guild Certificate	Devotions and Practices
St Leonard, Eastcheap	1480	Jesus guild: Mass and <i>Salve</i>
St Dunstan in the East	1481	Jesus guild
St Peter Cornhill	1482	Jesus guild
St Mary Queenhithe	1485	Jesus guild
St Bride Fleet Street	1487	Jesus guild
St Michael Cornhill	1513	Jesus guild

Table 4.3: Guilds and Fraternities of the Holy Name in Cathedrals, Priors and Other Institutions

Location	Date of Guild Certificate	Devotions and Practices
Monastic foundations (Benedictine)		
Durham Cathedral	By 1416	Earliest known Jesus altar ²⁴⁰
Norwich Cathedral	Early 1460s	Mass celebrated Chantry later established to help support this Mass
Canterbury Cathedral	1487 Guild of Holy Name	Jesus Mass
Peterborough Abbey	Early s.xvi	Introduction of devotion to the Holy Name by Abbot Robert Kirton
Rochester Cathedral	By early s.xvi	Guild Altar of Jesus and St Ursula by 1501
Worcester Cathedral	s.xvi 1520 1522	Jesus chapel Payments made for anthem 'Nominis Jesu' Two great candlesticks bought for Jesus altar ²⁴¹
Other orders		
Augustinian Priory of SS. Peter and Paul, Ipswich Suffolk	1455	
Franciscan House, York	1487	Jesus Mass

²⁴⁰ 'In the body of y^e church betwixt two y^e Lanterne ou against y^e quere dore, ther was an alter called Jesus alter where Jh'us mess was song euy fridaie thorowe out y^e whole yere.' J. T. Fowler (ed.), *Rites of Durham; being a Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression, written 1593*, SS, 107 (1902), 32.

²⁴¹ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 166.

Secular foundations		
St Paul's Cathedral, London	1450 Guild dedication and liturgy reorganized by Dean Colet in 1507	Fraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus Jesus chapel, statues, etc.
Lichfield Cathedral	1468 Chantry chapel dedicated to Jesus and St Anne 1487 Fraternity of Jesus and St Anne established	Founded by Thomas Heywood, Dean of Lichfield (1457–92); in it a 'glorious image' of Jesus Christ ²⁴² Friday sung Jesus Mass at high altar; after Compline, a suitable Anthem of the Name of Jesus sung by 6 vicars choral and 4 choristers, with prostrations and genuflections to the image of Jesus, and with organ playing; great bell sounded twice to invite the people. In 1482, Heywood gave a new pair of organs for use at Friday Jesus Mass. ²⁴³
Salisbury Cathedral	1471	Jesus chantry chapel for Lady Hungerford Jesus Mass celebrated on a Monday
Lincoln Cathedral	By early s.xvi	Jesus Guild with Friday Jesus Mass
York Minster	By early s.xvi	Jesus Guild

²⁴² Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 164

²⁴³ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 164. Heywood bequeathed a book to his chantry, *Liber confectus de missis et cantibus et ad honorem Jesu in missis et Antiphonis Jesu omni septimana decantandis solenniter cum versiculis et collectis antiquitus devote usitatis*. This book could be the object of a future research project and may shed some light on the Mass Sequences and the Office Hymns.

Collegiate institutions		
Middleham College, Yorkshire	1478	Patron Richard, Duke of Gloucester, ordained that Jesus Mass was to be sung every Friday, followed by Anthem 'Per signum Tau [i.e. crucis]' and Collects; every Friday between five and six o'clock, 'antheme of Jhesu' sung by master, clerks, and choristers. ²⁴⁴
Jesus College, Rotherham, West Riding ²⁴⁵	1484 ²⁴⁶	Jesus chantry founded by Archbishop Thomas Rotherham
Rotherham Parish Church	1505	Jesus chantry
Manchester Collegiate Church	Early s.xvi	Jesus chantry
Southwell Collegiate Church	s.xvi	Daily 'missa nominis Jhesu'

Before analysing the above tables, it is worth explaining some of the liturgical manifestations mentioned in them. The 'masse of Jhesu,' 'Jesus Mass' or Mass 'in honore beatissimi nominis Ihesu' generally signifies a Votive Mass in this context, with Propers identical to those of the Mass for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus on 7 August, as discussed in the next chapter; the *Salve* or Anthem is an independent Antiphon addressed to Jesus, typically following Vespers or Compline, and echoing the long established tradition of independent Marian Antiphons, including *Salve Regina*. It has been suggested that *Salve rex*, found in a few sixteenth-century Primers, was the most common form of the Jesus Anthem.²⁴⁷ It is included among the 'Inculturation Materials', in Appendix IV.4.

While Table 4.1 provides merely a snapshot of where in England guild activity was taking place,²⁴⁸ it brings to light many valuable observations regarding the influence of liturgical books on practice, the geographical spread of the observance, and the impact of the Convocations of Canterbury and York and the Papal Bull on its popularity.

²⁴⁴ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 165.

²⁴⁵ 'The most famous northern foundation to the Holy Name.' See John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse University Press, 1995), 188.

²⁴⁶ Atchley claims the foundation date is 1500, but E. New's more recent study dates the foundation of the college to 1484, and cites W. Page (ed.), *The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc. in the County of York*, Part 1, SS 91, 1892, 200-204 in support of her claim.

²⁴⁷ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 168.

²⁴⁸ Atchley lists many other churches in Somerset and Gloucestershire where a Mass of the Name of Jesus was celebrated, often sustained by a guild (undated), 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 167.

The guild certificate for All Saints Parish Church, Sheringham is issued many years earlier than the proposed compilation of the Beauchamp Missal, completed possibly by 1397, at the latest by 1403.²⁴⁹ It is possible, however, that this guild is misleading in our understanding of the development of the cult, since it was dedicated to the Name of Christ and not to the Name of Jesus, and twenty years separate the Sheringham guild and the next earliest known guild, founded in Durham Cathedral. Either way, it is significant that a guild loosely related to the cult, and a Missal containing the first version of the Mass, come into existence as early as the late fourteenth century, in other words a hundred years before the observance is made official at the Canterbury and York Convocations (1488/1489).

In the previous chapter, Table 3.3 showed that the earliest extant Missals containing the Mass of the Holy Name tend to date from the first half of the fifteenth century, whereas guild activity really begins in the second half of that century, suggesting that time was needed for the liturgy of the Mass of the Holy Name to become known. Once again the county of Norfolk stands out, with regards to the dissemination of liturgical books: in this table were listed two manuscript Missals²⁵⁰ compiled for the Diocese of Norwich in the first half of the fifteenth century, in other words before the dates of the guild certificates returned for St Mary's in Bury St Edmunds and St Peter Mancroft in Norwich. It is possible that members of these guilds, located in important market towns, celebrated the Mass in accordance with the form prescribed in these books.

Table 4.1 also shows the geographical extent of the devotion, ranging from Bodmin in Cornwall to Richmond in Yorkshire, Dover in Kent to Sutton in Cheshire. It also reveals the variety of parish contexts in which a guild could be founded and therefore where the observance took place: All Saints and St Mary's Redcliffe in Bristol are examples of urban interest, and perhaps for this reason the former church attracted the employment of Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521), of whom more will be said later in this chapter. Guilds also sprang up in small remote villages, such as Baldock in Herefordshire and Everdon in Northamptonshire, which suggests the influence of a nearby urban parish or the nearest cathedral or college, or even a particular patron.

²⁴⁹ Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 5 (London and Oxford, 1986), vol. 2: Catalogue, no.145.

²⁵⁰ *Ob* MS. Hatton I and *Ob* MS. Jones 47.

Yet in spite of this far reaching geographical spread there is nevertheless a relative scarcity of guilds in the west and far north of England, or at least a paucity of information regarding guilds in places which followed the Uses of Hereford and York.²⁵¹

Another observation arising from table 4.1 is that while the Canterbury/York Convocations of 1488/1489 and five years later the Papal Bull of 1494 helped increase the number of guilds dedicated to the Holy Name, there were already many in existence throughout the fifteenth century. In other words, Jesus Mass was being celebrated in a Votive context a long time before the Holy Name was made an official Feast. This observation may call into question the idea that Lady Margaret Beaufort, (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII, was so instrumental in the propagation of the observance in England, although there is no doubt that her patronage changed the pattern of observance and accelerated its official Festal status. According to Elizabeth New, guilds dedicated to the Holy Name proliferated after the Papal Bull of 1494 was issued, together with its associated generous indulgence. The role of Beaufort as a driving force behind the composition of the Office of the Holy Name, perhaps with the assistance of her chaplain, Henry Horneby (c.1457–1518), was discussed in Chapter 3. She also requested that the family chapel at Wimborne Minster be dedicated to ‘Blessed Jesus’ and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.²⁵² Yet the presence of guild activity in Yorkshire, Cornwall, Norfolk and Cheshire during the first half of the fifteenth century would suggest that the observance was already gaining momentum, and that Lady Margaret may have been more of a publicist for the cult than an instigator.

Table 4.2 concerns London church guilds, and it is significant that these were all founded, apart from St Michael Cornhill, within the same decade. New has argued that the foundation of the Fraternity of St Paul’s in 1450 caused other churches in the city to follow suit,²⁵³ and she cites other parts of the country where an influential guild in one town or village encouraged a neighbouring church to do the same. Yet while guild certificates denote the existence rather than the beginning of activity, the guilds of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich (1458), the Holy Cross, Canterbury (1470) and St Thomas, Salisbury (1465) would appear to

²⁵¹ See Fn. 21, above. Atchley lists churches with Jesus Guilds existing in Gloucestershire and Somerset, but does not provide dates for their foundation: ‘Jesus Mass and Anthem’, 167.

²⁵² New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 69.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 81.

have been founded before those at their nearby diocesan cathedral: Norwich (early 1460s), Canterbury (1487) and Salisbury (1471).

Perhaps then more influential is the strengthening of the status of the observance in the liturgical books and the declaration at the 1488 Canterbury Convocation that observance of the Holy Name as an official Kalendar Feast was to take place before the end of the decade. It is also worth noting that in the case of St Michael's Cornhill, as table 4.2 shows, there is evidence by 1509 of musical provision for a weekly Mass of the Holy Name, even though a guild is not founded there until four years later. Here is an example of a weekly observance, which is unsupported by a guild, and perhaps more influenced by an awareness of current liturgical practice.

Table 4.3 lists the cathedrals (monastic and secular) and other religious institutions in which the Jesus Mass was being celebrated. These bigger places of worship played a significant role in the promulgation of the observance: St Paul's, Salisbury, Lichfield and Durham had the wealth to provide more elaborate music for the celebration of the Jesus Mass. More will be said about this later in the chapter, but it needs to be made clear at this stage that the inclusion of organ playing and polyphonic singing were an integral part of the worship.

The earliest cathedral guild appears to have been founded in Durham Cathedral, (by 1416), which coincides with the period during which a Missal containing the Mass as a Votive was compiled for the diocese. One of the last guilds to be founded, according to the table, is York Minster, perhaps echoing the slightly later 'official' appearance of the Mass of the Holy Name in the printed York Missal (1509).

Table 4.3 reveals little difference between the monastic and secular foundations, as both supported guilds in equal numbers. Perhaps it is expected that secular foundations, which were more accessible to both men and women, would outnumber the monastic ones, and in this respect it is significant that St Paul's, which hosted an important and wealthy fraternity was a secular foundation. Generally however, the monastic foundations were just as enthusiastic in promoting the observance, as the richness of the liturgical and musical provision at Durham for example testifies.

A few words need to be said about the non-Benedictine religious orders, who all seemed to

have had an association with the cult, albeit limited: the Carthusians were rarely asked to celebrate Mass of the Holy Name,²⁵⁴ even if one of their houses was founded by Henry V (1387-1422) as ‘The House of Jesus of Bethlehem.’²⁵⁵ The devotion was not being observed at the Augustinian Abbey at Leicester in 1528,²⁵⁶ although one of the earliest Jesus guilds was housed by the Ipswich priory, an Augustinian house, and Jesus lights were established in two other foundations of the Order in Kent, Harbledown Hospital and Bilsington Priory.²⁵⁷ Given that Walter Hilton was a member of the Austin canons, it is possible that he encouraged devotion to the Holy Name.²⁵⁸

Even the mendicant order of the Franciscans, who could count among their membership Bernardino of Siena (1380-1444) and Heinrich Suso (1295-1361), both keen devotees, publicists for the cult on the Continent, and compilers of their own Masses and Offices, as discussed in Chapter 2, exerted little influence over the liturgical texts in use in England.

The Premonstratensians seem to have included an observance of the cult into their liturgical practices: they were instructed by a provincial chapter, dated to c.1483,²⁵⁹ to bow their heads at the name Jesus.²⁶⁰ At Beeleigh Abbey, near Maldon, Essex, a twelfth-century foundation belonging to the order, the Holy Name was observed, as testified by the existence of a Jesus Chapel,²⁶¹ and by the will of a certain William Malb, in which he sought a Papal Bull granting pardon to those who heard ‘Jhesus masse’ every Friday.²⁶² Richard Redman, (d. 1505), Bishop of Exeter and commissary-general for the Abbot of Prémontré between 1459 and his death, sought to increase devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus within his diocese by granting an indulgence of forty days to anyone who went to confession, showed contrition and provided assistance to the Guild of the Holy Name of Jesus in London.²⁶³

²⁵⁴ New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 72.

²⁵⁵ Neil Beckett, ‘St. Bridget, Henry V and Syon Abbey’, *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order, Analecta Cartusiana XXXV*:19, 2 vols (Salzburg, 1993), II, 130.

²⁵⁶ Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln, ii. 189.

²⁵⁷ D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, (London, 1971) pp. 148, 322, cited in New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 72.

²⁵⁸ New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 72-3.

²⁵⁹ Joseph A. Gribbin *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001), 127.

²⁶⁰ *Ob* MS Ashmole 1519 (Richard Redman’s Premonstratensian Visitation Register, late 15th–early 16th cent., f. 59); *Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia*, I, 86; *Ob* MS Rawlinson Letters 108, fol. 33, cited in Gribbin, *The Premonstratensian Order*, 127.

²⁶¹ Gribbin, *The Premonstratensian Order*, 127.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 127.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 200.

Finally, the Bridgettines of Syon Abbey (the only Bridgettine house in England) did much to promote the observance of the Holy Name.²⁶⁴ Possibly encouraged by their patrons Henry Fitzhugh, third Baron Fitzhugh (1363?–1425), and Lady Margaret de Hungerford (d.1478), who were great devotees of the cult in their own right, the abbey actively promoted the writings of Hilton and Rolle,²⁶⁵ together with the devotion of the ‘pardon beads’. This was a string of five beads, on the first of which one uttered the opening line of the verse prayer ‘Ihu for thy holy name’; each Verse contained thirty-three words, representing Jesus’ life on earth, and the prayer finished with ‘Swete Ihu amen’.²⁶⁶

As a result of this tabulated presentation of guild activity, some important questions about the location and extent of the observance of the Jesus Mass arise. Was it more prevalent in London than in the rest of the country, in the towns more than in the countryside, in the south more than in the north of the land? It is true that London seems to have been a centre for devotion to the Holy Name from the fifteenth century, thanks to the fame and grandeur of the celebrations at St Paul’s and the proliferation of guilds across the city. However, Table 4.1 demonstrates that East Anglia, Northamptonshire and Kent can also be indentified as pockets of the country where liturgical practice was popular: Jesus guilds were established at early dates in Norfolk and Suffolk, where in the Deanery of Dunwich, a study of wills surviving from 1370-1547 reveals that the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus was the most requested celebration.²⁶⁷ Likewise, between 1440 and 1532 a total of 76 Norwich testators made bequests for a Jesus Mass, by comparison with the 47 who made bequests for the Trental of St Gregory – where a recapitulation of the liturgical year takes place over thirty Masses²⁶⁸ – in the same period.²⁶⁹ In Kent, the earliest guild was founded as early as 1467, and six fraternities dedicated to the Holy Name came into existence between 1470 and 1547. Robert Lutton’s research (see Chapter 2) on the links between the devotion to the Holy Name and Lollardy accounts for much of the popularity of the devotion in the Weald of

²⁶⁴ Ann M. Hutchinson, ‘Reflections on the Spiritual Impact of St Birgitta, the *Revelations* and the Bridgettine Order in Late Medieval England’, *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII*, papers edited by Edward Alexander Jones (Cambridge, 2004), 77.

²⁶⁵ New, ‘The Cult of the Holy Name...’, 73.

²⁶⁶ Hutchinson, ‘Reflections on the Spiritual Impact...’, 77.

²⁶⁷ Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547*, (Cambridge, 2011), 136.

²⁶⁸ Pfaff, ‘The English Devotion of St. Gregory’s Trental’, *Speculum*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Jan.1974), 75-90.

Published by: Medieval Academy of America Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2856554>.

Accessed: 14/11/2013 05:01. A trental is ten masses celebrating the Nativity, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Assumption and Nativity of the BVM, of which each mass is to be repeated three times, within the Octaves of the respective Feasts, 76.

²⁶⁹ N.P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370 - 1532*, Toronto, 1984, Appendix 11, 221.

Kent. Finally, while not obvious from Table 4.1, Jesus Masses with lights and supported by fraternities, took place in sixteen separate towns and villages in Northamptonshire.²⁷⁰

On the other hand, it would seem that the devotion established itself later in the north of England,²⁷¹ where there seem to have been fewer guilds in parish churches, and this in spite of the enthusiasm for the cult displayed at Rotherham and Durham. The guild at York Minster was a surprisingly late foundation, given the prominence of the archbishopric. However, it was an archbishop of York who founded the Jesus College at Rotherham, and New rightly cautions against overgeneralization.²⁷²

Musical Provision

As has already been suggested in the above paragraphs and by Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, one of the distinguishing features of the liturgical manifestation of the Holy Name was the attention paid to the associated music. For the purposes of the Friday celebration of the Jesus Mass, polyphonic music was commissioned by the wealthier guilds and parishes; in some cathedrals and many parish churches, Jesus Antiphons or the above-mentioned *Salve* Antiphons were sung, the musicians being financially supported by guild funds. At the church of St Edmund, Salisbury, for example, the Fraternity of Jesus and the Holy Cross would pay the clergy and singing men (and from 1540, 'quyrysters')²⁷³ to sing Jesus Mass and *Salve de Jhesu* on Fridays during Lent. Finally, while in the early sixteenth century only wealthy churches could afford to house an organ, alternatim organ repertory was increasingly providing an integral part of the liturgical practice. Even in some of the more modest churches, testators requested a weekly sung Jesus Mass.²⁷⁴

Magnus Williamson's inventory of polyphonic music within the English parish church,²⁷⁵ based on the surviving records left by parish priests, church masters, churchwardens, confraternities, chantry overseers, testators and their executors and episcopal visitors, provides a useful starting point.²⁷⁶ While these sources provide varying details of musical detail (if any at all), it is nevertheless possible to create a representative picture of the

²⁷⁰ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 78.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 81.

²⁷² Ibid., 78.

²⁷³ Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church', 39; Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem,' 165.

²⁷⁴ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 163-169.

²⁷⁵ Williamson, 'Liturgical Polyphony in the Pre-Reformation English Parish Church', 1-43.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 5.

musical provision for the Jesus Mass, before, during and just after the Reformation. Table 4.4 draws mainly on Williamson’s findings, with some reference to the scholarship of New and Atchley.

Table 4.4: Provision of polyphonic music for Jesus Observances in parishes

Location (London)	Dates	Musical provision
St Margaret Pattens	1470 1516 - 1522	Inventory listing loose quires of chants for Jesus Mass Clerk paid for singing <i>Salve</i> and for singing Jesus Mass
St Dionys, Backchurch	1474 - 1494	Bequest to maintain Jesus Mass and <i>Salve</i> of Jesus every Friday for 20 years, (set up in the will of Dame Alice Wiche, wife of former Lord Mayor of London)
St Michael, Cornhill	1509	Henry Orlow, contracted as choirmaster of St Michael’s, to conduct children in singing of Jesus Mass every Friday at 3 o’clock
St Margaret’s Westminster	1526/1527	Jesus Mass celebrated with polyphony, as a Friday Mass and on the Feast Day ²⁷⁷
St Dunstan in the West	1532 - 1533	Purchase of book for Jesus Mass paid
St Vedast Foster Lane	1548	Endowment for Jesus Mass and for <i>Salve</i>

²⁷⁷ J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester University Press, 2005), 21.

Location (provinces)	Dates	Musical provision
St Stephen's, Bristol	1473, Mass in honore beatissimi nominis Ihesu, founded by John Shipward ²⁷⁸	Mass sung every Friday at high altar by the chantry chaplain
St Edmund, Salisbury, Wiltshire	1476 - 1547 1553 - 1558	Men and boys from cathedral paid to sing Jesus Mass and <i>Salve de Jhesu</i> each Friday in Lent: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • supported by the Jesus Guild • supported by the churchwardens
St James, Louth, Lincolnshire	1499 - 1500	Much polyphony copied, including an anthem <i>Nomen ihesu</i> .
Holy Trinity, King's Court, York	1515	Tenement left to church to endow a Jesus Mass to be sung every Friday; if testator died without heirs, estate to fund identical endowment at St Michael Spurriergate
All Saints, Bristol	1524 and 1536	Inventories listing Mass <i>O Bone Jesu</i> by Robert Fairfax
Parish church of Parva Sandall, South Yorkshire	1530	Will of Nicholas Ricard requests weekly sung Mass of <i>de Nomine Jhesu</i> ²⁷⁹
Convent of the Greyfriars, York	1531	The will of Sir John Rocliff requests that the <i>Antiphone of Jhesu</i> is sung every Friday about his grave, and every Tuesday around his father's. ²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 164.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.,165.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.,165.

St Mary Magdalene, Taunton, Somerset	1535	Eight cantarists, of BVM, St Nicholas, Jesus, St Andrew, Holy Trinity, St Etheldreda and one without dedication
St Hartland, Devon	c.1545 - 1550	Guild of Jesus sponsored singing of weekly Friday Jesus Mass
Macclesfield, Cheshire	1548	Chantry service lists 'Jesus seruyce'

Table 4.4 reiterates many of the findings of tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3. Although it is based on limited extant evidence, it confirms the spread in England of the cult of the Holy Name, extending from Devon in the South up to Macclesfield in the north-west. Generally (and perhaps unsurprisingly) musical activity is often supported by guilds, as in the case of St Edmund's, Salisbury and St Hartland's, Devon. Yet the case for two London churches, St Dunstan and St Michael Cornhill, is puzzling. Records pertaining to St Dunstan's suggest that a guild was established in 1481, a good fifty years before the acquisition of music; at St Michael's there is evidence of a polyphonic Mass being sung here from 1509, but the guild certificate for that church is dated to 1513. However, this table greatly differs from tables 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 in that the extant records suggest that the composition of polyphonic music for Jesus observances seems to have taken place relatively late. Most of the references cited postdate the Canterbury and York convocations of 1488/1489, and follow on a century or so after the Mass had begun to be celebrated as a Friday observance and many guilds of the Holy Name were being founded.

Organs and organ music

Here most of the data seems to be limited to cathedral churches, although it is fair to assume the existence of an organ at each of the churches listed in Table 4.4. Understandably larger foundations had the money and expertise to house and use such an instrument, and shortly before the Reformation Durham Cathedral had several organs in different parts of the building. The weekly Jesus Mass, celebrated at 'an altar called Jesus altar where Jesus Mass was sung every Friday throughout the whole

year',²⁸¹ had its own organ, located in a loft on the north side of the Jesus altar. Here the choristers and their master gathered to sing.²⁸² A Friday 'Jesus Anthem' was also sung at the Jesus altar after Vespers. The three organs within the choir are also described in some detail, the finest reserved only for principal Feasts:

There was 3 paire of organs belonginge to the said quire for maintenance of gods seruice, and the better selebratinge therof one of the fairest paire of the 3 did stand ouer the quire dore only opened and playd upon at principall Feastes, the pipes beinge all of most fine wood, and workmanship uerye faire partly gilted uppon the inside and the outside of the leaues and couers up to the topp with branches and flowers finely gilted with the name of Jesus [J H S., H. 44] gilted with gold there was but 2 paire more of them in all England of the same makinge, one paire in Yorke and another in Paules.²⁸³

What is particularly interesting about this organ is the visual role it played, as if it was more than the music it produced which enhanced the liturgy; instead of being discreetly hidden, it flanked both sides of the already impressive Jesus altar, thus forming part of the Eucharistic furniture, and was juxtaposed to the painted and gilded retable of the Passion resting on the altar. Furthermore, the organ displayed the name Jesus embossed in gold, thereby not only promoting the devotion but also encouraging people to associate the Holy Name with the sound of the organ. There were apparently comparable instruments at York Minster and St Paul's, London.

There is further evidence from other foundations. As noted above, in 1468 Dean Heywood of Lichfield Cathedral founded a chantry chapel dedicated to Jesus and St Anne, where an Antiphon was sung at the Friday Jesus Mass by six vicars choral and four choristers. This ceremony was announced by the ringing of a great bell and observed with organ music.²⁸⁴ The Jesus chapel of Westminster Abbey, founded by Abbot John Islip in the early sixteenth century, could also boast a pair of organs,²⁸⁵ and at Lincoln Cathedral, by c. 1520, it would apparently be quite usual for the Jesus Mass to be observed with organ alone.²⁸⁶ Last but not least, the accounts for the

²⁸¹ J. T. Fowler (ed), *Rites of Durham; being a Description or Brief Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs belonging or being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression, written 1593*, SS, 107 (1902), 16, 32-35.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 34.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 34. It is perhaps worth pointing out that a 'pair of organs' is what we now call an organ. I am grateful for the notes on p. 207 for this clarification.

²⁸⁴ Atchley, 'Jesus Mass and Anthem', 164.

²⁸⁵ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name', 46.

²⁸⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 79.

Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's show that a pair of organs and organ desk were purchased in 1514-15 and that numerous payments were made for tuning and repairs over the succeeding years.²⁸⁷ Because of the musical splendour of the celebration of Jesus observances at St Paul's, this institution deserves to be treated in isolation.

Music and the Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's

The 1507 Ordinances of St Paul's,²⁸⁸ reorganized by Dean Colet, set out the requirements for the celebrations of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Name of Jesus (6 and 7 August respectively). These were observed together, and six of the London Waites, each dressed in livery embroidered with the IHS monogram and carrying a banner, would walk around the city proclaiming the forthcoming Feasts.²⁸⁹ Sometimes they were also expected to provide musical entertainment at the guild's dinner.²⁹⁰

After 'divine service ordinary' on 5 August, the cathedral clergy and musicians, namely six vicars choral and ten choristers, would make their way to the crypt where the Jesus chapel was located, and sing FirstVespers of the Vigil of the Transfiguration. On the Feast of the Transfiguration itself (6 August), they would sing Matins and High Mass of the Transfiguration, followed by FirstVespers of the Holy Name and a solemn memorial of the Transfiguration. The following day (7 August), they would attend Matins, High Mass and Second Vespers of the Holy Name, where they sang 'the divine service *de Nomine Jesu* solemnly by note.' After Second Vespers, the choir sang the Office of the Dead (*Placebo* and *Dirige*) to commemorate the souls of dead members of the guild.²⁹¹ It is clear from the ordinances that the organ was used, since the bell-ringers, who were required to operate the bellows and light the candles, as well as ring the bells, were paid extra on these two days.

In addition to these two annual Feasts, the cathedral choir provided embellishment for the weekly and daily observances of the devotion to the Holy Name. A cardinal (one

²⁸⁷ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name', 268.

²⁸⁸ Ob MS. Tanner 221, f.7v; The entry in the 1518/19 account records payment for *Salves* sung before the images of Jesus, Our Lady and St. Sebastian, *Ibid.*, f.55r

²⁸⁹ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name', 47.

²⁹⁰ Mateer and New, "*In Nomine Jesu*", 511.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 511; New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 47.

of the two senior clergy granted this title) a minor canon, the six vicars choral and ten choristers mentioned above were paid to attend Jesus Mass every Friday throughout the year. Every day after Compline, the choir would descend to the Jesus Chapel and sing three *Salves* before the images of Jesus, the Blessed Virgin and St Sebastian.²⁹² Every year, newly made gowns were ordered for the choristers to wear at the Festal celebrations.²⁹³ The ordinances also show that as well as these expenses, books of plainsong and polyphony were purchased between 1514-15 and 1521-4.²⁹⁴

Not only was the practice of music frequent and generously endowed, but it was also of a high quality: many eminent musicians were associated with the Fraternity of the Holy Name, the most notable being the composer Robert Fayrfax, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal from at least 1497.²⁹⁵ The statutes reveal that he bequeathed a Mass for the Jesus Chapel in 1528-9. This Mass was probably his setting of *O bone Jesu* which he composed in 1507²⁹⁶ and which shares many characteristics with his Votive Antiphon *O bone Jesu* and Magnificat. It is likely that the Mass setting would have been sung at the Friday Jesus Mass, the Magnificat at Vespers on the same day and the Antiphon daily after Compline.

The sacred monogram for liturgical use

A few words remain to be said about the monogram, because it manifests itself in the liturgical context of a Mass. It makes its appearance in the late fourteenth century on the vestments in the private chapel of the Duke of Gloucester (d.1397) at Pleshy Castle in Essex²⁹⁷ (so perhaps around the same time as the compilation of the Beauchamp Missal). It also figures on liturgical plate used by the Guild of St Paul's, and on the organs in Durham Cathedral; on the walls of the chapel of St John the Baptist in Ewelme, the parish church of Long Melford,²⁹⁸ and on numerous examples

²⁹² *Ob* MS Tanner 221, f 55^r, cited in New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 300.

²⁹³ Mateer and New, "'In Nomine Jesu'...", 512.

²⁹⁴ *Ob* MS Tanner 221, f.7^{r-v}, cited in Mateer and New, "'In Nomine Jesu'...", 512.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 514.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 515.

²⁹⁷ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 29.

²⁹⁸ H. Blake, G. Egan, J. Hurst and E. New, From Popular Devotion to Resistance and Revival in England: The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Reformation, *The Archeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, (Maney, 2003), 177.

of church fabric and fixtures, burial tombs, furniture, some surviving textiles, and church metalware.²⁹⁹

There is little doubt that the symbol contributed to the liturgical development of the cult. For one thing, because it was also found on non-ecclesiastical objects, such as tableware, cutlery, leather purses, bells, vases, jugs, jewellery, written documents and seals,³⁰⁰ it transcended the divide between sacred and secular and thus became a point of reference with anyone new to the devotion, who sought a way to engage with the notion that the Holy Name was worthy of focused attention. In fact, the symbol was believed by some to hold talismanic properties, and Walter Hilton (d. 1396) cautioned against misuse of the monogram as it became an object of idolatry, rather than a devotional aid:

This word is ‘Jesus’: I mean not this word ‘Jesus’ painted upon the wall, as written in letters on the book, or formed by lips in sound of the mouth, or framed in your mind by imagination - for in this wise may a man that void of charity find him - but I mean Jesus Christ, that blessed Person, God and Man, Son of the Virgin Mary, whom this name betokens: that is, all goodness, endless wisdom, love and sweetness, our joy, your glory, and your everlasting bliss, your God, your Lord, and your salvation.³⁰¹

Holy monogram prayers were briefly mentioned in Chapter 1: these were prayers addressed to the Holy Name of Jesus, which relied upon imagery to complete their meaning. The manuscript *Lbl MS Additional 37049*, a Carthusian miscellany of poems, chronicles and treatises dated to 1460-1500, contains many such devotions, which depend upon pictures as much as words. It is claimed that as a result the name Jesus becomes as much picture as word,³⁰² even if the Lectons of the Octave of the Holy Name focus on the Constitution, Sanctification, Description and Pronunciation of the word itself (See Appendix II.2.) The abundance of manuscript evidence of popular devotions to the Holy Name in the fifteenth century is evidence that while liturgical observance of the Holy Name was becoming increasingly formalized as it progressed towards the status of a Major Double Feast, private devotional prayers

²⁹⁹ Blake et al, ‘From Popular Devotion’, 177–86.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 177– 86.

³⁰¹ W. Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection – Scala Perfectionis*, (Vancouver, 2010), 47.

³⁰² Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago, 2008), 179 fn 44.

continued alongside liturgical ones, even within one and the same spiritual community.³⁰³

Royal Patronage

While examining the liturgical development of the Mass of the Holy Name other aspects of the observance have come to light: the devotion is unusual in its universal appeal. At first, one is struck by the degree of royal and aristocratic patronage the devotion attracted. A hundred years before Lady Margaret Beaufort began to exert her influence, the Duke of Gloucester's monogrammed vestments at Pleshy Castle suggest a Jesus Mass may have been celebrated there. In 1478, his successor Richard of Gloucester (1452-85), later to become Richard III, decreed that a Jesus Mass and anthem should be sung every Friday at Middleham College in Yorkshire.³⁰⁴ Henry VI (1421-71) and his connection with the Fraternity of St Paul's has already been mentioned. Robert de Hungerford (d.1470) endowed a Jesus Mass to be celebrated in the Hungerford Chapel in Salisbury Cathedral from at least 1459.³⁰⁵ Mass was to be celebrated in his chantry chapel each morning at eight o'clock by one of the two chaplains appointed to serve there, and each Friday the same chaplain was directed to offer Mass in honour of the Five Wounds of Jesus. Similarly, at a rather earlier period, the earliest extant Missal, discussed in Chapter 3, and owned by Sir William Beauchamp (d. c.1421), was presumably used in the latter's private chapel where Jesus Mass would have taken place for a limited circle of noblemen.³⁰⁶ The suggestion has been made that this is the first context in which a Jesus Mass would have been celebrated: in a small space for a small number of people.³⁰⁷

Senior clergy such as Dean Colet of St Paul's (1467-1519), Dean Heywood of Lichfield (Dean 1457-1492), and the Archbishop of York Thomas Rotherham (1423-1500) also showed enthusiasm for the liturgical observance of the Holy Name, thus lending the devotion some ecclesiastical authority. Their predecessors are easily forgotten: the earliest known chantry dedicated to the Holy Name is thought to have been established by Richard Scrope (d.1405) while he was bishop of Coventry and

³⁰³ Ibid. 180 fn 51.

³⁰⁴ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 68.

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 42.

³⁰⁶ Catto, 'Sir William Beauchamp', 47.

³⁰⁷ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 29.

Lichfield, possibly as early as 1388, but an absence of concrete supporting evidence restricts the assignment of an exact year: New prefers to date it to within the bishop's episcopate (1385–1397).³⁰⁸ New also posits that Bishop Skirlaw may have established the earliest known Jesus altar, which stood before the rood screen in Durham Cathedral, and was in place before 1416.³⁰⁹

Yet the *Book* of the visionary Margery Kempe (c.1373–1438) reminds us that one did not have to belong to aristocratic circles or even to have orthodox Christian beliefs to take an interest in the devotion.³¹⁰ In fact, she dedicates her spiritual autobiography of the 1430s to the Holy Name: 'And therefore, by the leave of our merciful Lord Christ Jesus, to the magnifying of his holy name, Jesus, this little treatise shall treat in part of his wonderful works...' ³¹¹ There is no mention in her writings of her attendance at Jesus Mass, yet it is known that she attended liturgies and was acutely aware of the observance. While there are many factors explaining her devotion, such as her frequent contacts with clergy, her German daughter-in-law, her extraordinary piety, and her interest in all things religious, Margery Kempe's awareness of the observance is a reminder that the Jesus Mass was not the preserve of the educated and wealthy elite. The range of guild activity in all parts of the country, in rural as well as urban contexts suggests that the practice appealed to all levels of society. The use of the monogram, which was an apposite, affordable and easily accessible devotional tool, as well as the repetition of memorable prayers addressed to the Holy Name, will no doubt have encouraged the less wealthy and literate to engage with the observance and participate in more formal liturgical manifestations of the cult.

Conclusion

What emerges then from these three main sets of sources, is a development of a liturgical practice, which has been remarkably steady and fast-growing over the course of 150 years, supported by members of all levels of society in different ways.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 30 and fn 79, 92; New cites Jonathan Hughes, who she acknowledges provides no explanation as to why it could have been founded in 1388. J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988), 267.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 32.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 33-6. I am grateful to Elizabeth New for bringing my attention to Margery's Kempe's devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus.

³¹¹ B.A. Windeatt, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe*, (London, 1985), 33.

The existence of numerous guilds before the Convocations of 1488 and 1489 shows that the Jesus Mass was already being celebrated, primarily in a Votive context, throughout the fifteenth century, and this with the approval of the aristocracy and high-ranking clergy. Jesus chapels, Jesus altars, Jesus lights, and Jesus statues were already part of the church furniture: bearing the sacred monogram, these helped to promote the observance further in the religious lives of the people.

Running parallel with this burgeoning liturgical practice of the observance is the appearance and continued inclusion of the text of the Mass in liturgical books, and the gradual acceleration of the status of the Kalendar Feast. All of this suggests a new impetus for the liturgical celebration of the cult, especially in the wealthier parishes of England, even if the compilers of liturgical books varied in their response to acknowledge the Holy Name as an official Feast. It is not until the first decade of the sixteenth century that it begins to appear regularly in printed books of the Use of Sarum.

On the other hand, guilds proliferated after the Convocations and some, like the Fraternity of St Paul's, became more exuberant in their celebrations. Where afforded, music, namely the composition of polyphonic settings, the purchase of organs and the increased role played by singers during the liturgy of the Mass, became more prevalent in cathedrals and wealthy parishes, and a feature of the devotion.

The sources would suggest therefore that if liturgical practice of the devotion to the Holy Name was not universal, it was nevertheless becoming widespread in England during the final decades of the fifteenth century. It continued to grow steadily in the first decades of the sixteenth, supported by its existence in printed liturgical books and the embellishment of polyphonic and organ music. Thus the form the celebrations took may have differed greatly from parish to parish, but there is no question that on the eve of the Reformation, the Holy Name was at least regarded, if not always celebrated, as a Major Double Feast of the Church.

Section III

The Mass and Office
of the Holy Name of Jesus:
Sources and Significance

Chapter 5

The Propers of the Mass of the Holy Name

This chapter offers a close reading of the origins and characteristics of the Proper texts of the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus, exploring both the sung choir chants and the intoned items (prayers and readings), as listed in Table 5.1 below. The origins of the Proper texts, and in the case of scriptural borrowings, the broader literary and historical context, offer some insight into the mind of the compiler(s) of the Mass, namely the sort of message about the Holy Name he or they wished to convey. Several theological themes emerge from an analysis of these texts, but among the most prominent is the soteriological aspect of the Holy Name (i.e. its potential to effect Salvation). In order to express these themes, the compiler(s) drew on many kinds of sources, including Holy Scripture for the Epistle and Gospel and some of the sung Propers; rhymed, metrical verse for the Sequence; devotional texts for the Alleluia; and conventional liturgical formulae for prayers (Collect, Secret, Postcommunion).

Table 5.1: Items of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus (Festal and Votive form)³¹²

Ordinary	Proper
	INTROIT
KYRIE ELEISON	
GLORIA IN EXCELSIS	
	Collect(s)
	Epistle
	GRADUAL
	ALLELUYA
	SEQUENCE
	Gospel
CREDO IN UNUM DEUM	
	OFFERTORY
	Secret (doxology heard)
<i>Sursum corda</i>	
Preface (with Proper interpolations)	
SANCTUS with	
BENEDICTUS	
Conclusion of Canon of the Mass	
Pater noster	
<i>Pax domini</i>	
AGNUS DEI	
	COMMUNION
	Postcommunion prayer
<i>Ite missa est</i>	

IN UPPER CASE ARE THE CHANTS SUNG BY THOSE IN CHOIR; in lower case are the texts intoned by the celebrant or an assisting minister; *in italics are the dialogues between celebrant (or his assisting minister) and those in choir.*

³¹² Taken from John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1991), 115.

This Chapter analyses the Propers in the order in which they arise and is intended to be read in conjunction with Appendix II.1, which presents the complete texts with parallel translation.³¹³ The items discussed in detail include only those which were used for the enactments of the Mass of the Holy Name in 2011; space precludes close analysis of the other texts associated with the Mass (the second Alleluia appointed for Eastertide, the Tract, and alternative Sequence texts), though these are also included in Appendix II.1.

Introit

The Introit Antiphon is taken from *Philippians* 2:10-11. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this is one of the few occurrences in the New Testament where attention is paid to the Name of Jesus in particular: it is therefore most appropriate that it should have been selected to open the Mass. It is worth discussing the literary context of this passage, as it appears at the end of what is considered by many scholars to be an excerpt that can be treated independently from the rest of the Epistle. Because of its content, *Philippians* 2:5-11 is thought to be based on a pre-existing Christian Hymn, not composed by Paul at all.³¹⁴ On the other hand, it has been argued just as strongly that Paul, in spite of borrowing already circulating ideas, re-phrased them and made them his own.³¹⁵ Either way, the ‘Hymn’ celebrates the lordship of Jesus, a concept which Christian missionaries had been keen to impress upon the Gentiles from the first.

As the American Jesuit biblical scholar J. J. Muller notes, ‘*Philippians* 2:5-11 is the locus classicus for the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ and His twofold state of humiliation and exaltation.’³¹⁶ The passage comes at the end of a hymnic description of Jesus’ ministry: he was made in the form of God, like Adam;³¹⁷ he then laid no claim to equality with God, but instead assumed the likeness of a slave and humbled himself to the point of dying on the cross; yet after this self-emptying or *kenosis* God raised him up. Such is the adoration owed to Jesus that the whole of creation, including the heavenly beings, (i.e. the angels or the world

³¹³ Frederick E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English, Parts I and II*, (London, 1913).

³¹⁴ Howard Marshall, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, (London, 1991), 47.

³¹⁵ Marshall, *The Epistle*, 48.

³¹⁶ J. J. Muller, *The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon* (Michigan, 1970), 21.

³¹⁷ Marshall, *The Epistle*, 50.

of the spirits), the inhabitants of the earth, and finally the deceased are to bow down in worship at the sound of his Name.³¹⁸

The Introit Verse is *Psalms* 135:3.³¹⁹ What is significant about this psalm as a whole is that it is a Hymn of praise celebrating the lordship of God.³²⁰ Verse 3 occurs within the call to the ‘Servants of the Lord’ to praise and worship him, and seems a particularly fitting response to the entreaty of the Introit text. It also imparts a reminder that in God, Salvation is to be found, if he is worshipped and adored.

The verses of *Philippians* 2:10-11, which make up the Antiphon section of the Introit are not only an appropriate selection for the Mass because they place importance upon the name ‘Jesus’; they have a theological pedigree in that they date from the very early days of Christianity. Moreover, the literary context for these two verses introduces what will become recurring themes in the Mass, namely the lordship of Jesus Christ and his powers of Salvation. The choice of verses 10 and 11 for the Introit of the Mass, rather than Verse 9 is thought provoking: ‘Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name.’ This is quite a superlative recommendation for the Holy Name. Verse 9 is however more effective at communicating the adoration and veneration owed to his human name. ‘It is remarkable that the Name at which every knee will have to bow is the name Jesus and no other, the appellation which denotes His earthly life and human nature, in which He came in the form of a servant for the salvation of the world.’³²¹

It is noteworthy that *Philippians* 2 provides the texts for related Mass Propers: verses 8-11 constitute the Epistle (‘Christus factus est pro nobis’) for the Sarum Votive Mass of the Holy Cross, which developed earlier than the Jesus Mass, while verses 8-9 make up the Introit (‘Humilitavit semetipsum Dominus noster’) for the Sarum Votive Mass of the Five Wounds, which may have been compiled around the same time as the Jesus Mass. In both these extracts, the emphasis, unsurprisingly, is placed upon Jesus’ suffering on the cross. Similarly,

³¹⁸ It is worth noting that the phrase ‘At the name of Jesus’, found in Warren’s translation, is an incorrect translation. The Greek Text, ‘εν τω ονοματι’ and the Vulgate, ‘In nomine Jesu’ should both be translated as ‘In the name of Jesus’, thereby conveying the notion that the Name is the purpose and the intention to be borne in mind during worship, rather than the words which when pronounced, elicit veneration.

³¹⁹ Verse 3 of the Psalm (135) is also the Offertory text at Mass for the 4th Sunday in Lent.

³²⁰ A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, Vol I, Psalms (1-72) (London, 1972), 35. Anderson claims that Psalms which praise God can be divided into three categories: Hymns, Declarative Praises of the Individual and of the Nation.

³²¹ Muller, *The Epistles of Paul*, 88.

verses 10, 8 and 11, in that order, are used as the Introit ('In nomine Domini') for the Wednesday Mass of Holy Week stressing Jesus' obedience unto death, which later makes him Lord.

Different combinations and selections from the same chapter of Scripture are typically used to highlight a particular aspect of Jesus Christ. These two Sarum Votive Masses of the Holy Cross and the Five Wounds, like the Holy Name, place significance on the more human aspects of the person of Jesus Christ, namely his suffering upon the cross and the wounds he incurred. The Mass of the Holy Name focuses on the human name of Jesus specifically, and one of the ways in which this is achieved is through the careful selection of *Philippians 2:10-11*, and not the preceding Verse 9, as its Introit.

Collect

The Collect was quite possibly written earlier than the sung Propers. (In a number of cases, compilation of a new Proper cycle appears to begin with the 'priestly' prayers – Collect, Secret and Postcommunion – with other items added later). It follows the usual structure of a Collect, in that it is introduced by an address to God, followed by a request to him, and ends with a doxology.

In the address, which makes up a third of the prayer, God, the addressee, is briefly mentioned first, but the focus then gives way to the qualities of the Name.

Deus, qui gloriosissimum nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti Filii tui
fecisti fidelibus tuis summo suavitatis affectu amabile; et malignis spiritibus
tremendum atque terribile;

O God, who hast made the most glorious name of thy only-begotten Son our Lord
Jesus Christ to be loved with the greatest and sweetest affection by thy faithful
people, and to be fearful and terrible to evil spirits;

The Collect stresses the notion of divine Salvation attained through worship of the Holy Name: by making God the addressee, it reminds the devout that the name Jesus has God's blessing since He made it what it is, namely 'summo suavitatis affectu amabile' (to be loved with the greatest and sweetest affection); it sings the praises of the Name by claiming that no other is comparable - the Latin text employs a series of superlatives to emphasize the extreme goodness of the Name, like 'gloriosissimum' (most glorious) and 'suavitatis' (most sweet). Finally, the petition seeks on behalf of all those present, divine blessings in this life and the next for those who treat it as holy. The focus of this prayer is appropriately directed at the

Name itself, ‘hoc nomen Iesu’ (this name of Jesus), as opposed to God. Because of the important position of this prayer, whereby it brings together the people under a joint intention at the start of the Mass, the salvific quality of the Holy Name is promoted early on as a key theme of this celebration.

Lesson

Chapter 4 of the Book of *Acts* concerns the arrest, cross-examination and release of the Apostles. They are arrested ostensibly for breaching the peace in the precincts of the Temple in Jerusalem. However, the real cause for concern for the authorities is the growing popularity and spread of a movement, which they had sought to curtail by executing its leader. In chapter 4, because no action can be taken against the Apostles, they are released with a caution.³²² The passage selected for the Lesson relates how Peter stands up to address the Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish court.

Verse 8 is a reminder of the promise Jesus made in *Luke* 21:15,³²³ that he would give the disciples the Holy Spirit when they came face to face with their adversaries.³²⁴ Thus a simple fisherman such as Peter is transformed into an orator, and it is during his speech, which is divinely inspired, that he proclaims the powers of the Holy Name. Verses 9 and 10 refer to a miracle recently performed ‘in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Nazareni’ (‘in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth’), through which a well-known cripple was cured. A reminder of Jesus’ dual nature is made through the words that he was crucified like a human being by the Sanhedrin, but raised from the dead by God. Verse 11 uses the imagery of the cornerstone, which was a popular metaphor in the early Church, and as discussed later in Chapter 6, is one of the names of Jesus Christ.³²⁵ It has its roots in the Psalms (*Ps*.118:22)³²⁶ and was used by Jesus with reference to himself (*Lk* 20:17).³²⁷ Here Peter reminds the elders that they were the builders who destroyed the ‘lapis’ (‘stone’), in the same way that they crucified Jesus; but because he has risen again, he has become the ‘caput anguli’ (‘head of the corner’), in other words the most important stone, which holds the walls of a building together. Verse 12

³²² William Neil, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1973), 87.

³²³ *Lk* 21:15 ‘for I will give you words and a wisdom that none of your opponents will be able to withstand or contradict’. (NRSV)

³²⁴ C.S.C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (London, 1971), 83.

³²⁵ Neil, *The Acts*, 90.

³²⁶ *Ps* 118:22 ‘The stone that the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone.’ (NRSV)

³²⁷ *Lk* 20:17 ‘But he looked at them and said, “What then does this text mean: The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone?”’ (NRSV)

proclaims the salvific powers of the Name, and here Peter uses the term Salvation in all the senses of deliverance, forgiveness, wholeness, health of body, mind and spirit.³²⁸

Two themes run through this passage. On the one hand, Peter proclaims the saving power of the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth: its invocation has already brought about a miracle which many have witnessed; in addition, the Name not only saves, but there is no other name which does. On the other hand, Peter is proclaiming the new law, which supersedes that of the Old Testament. By conquering death, Christ has become the new cornerstone: he is now the new foundation, on which mankind can build its new life.

As discussed more fully in Chapter 1, the *Acts of the Apostles* does little to promote the human name of Jesus, and when the Name saves it is usually accompanied by one of his more Christological titles. Yet this passage is appropriate for the needs of the compiler(s) of the Mass, since Peter's exhortation to worship the Name contains the word 'Jesus', and more significantly, he presents its invocation as the means to Salvation.

Gradual

The Gradual, an extract from *Ephesians* 1:20-22, in some ways does not refer to the name of Jesus at all. Rather it confirms the majesty of Jesus Christ, as established by God the Father himself. It is an unusual choice, because Christ is placed 'super... omne nomen quod nominatur,' or far above every name that is named. This is an unexpected message for a Mass celebrating the Name of Jesus. Even in the Verse (*Ps.* 79:9), it is not the name of Jesus but the name of God which is entreated and which has authority: 'Aduva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui', (Help us, O God of our salvation, and for the glory of thy name).

It is therefore difficult to see how the role of the Gradual Antiphon and its Verse might be seen to promote the Name of Jesus specifically, since the former concerns the person of Jesus and the latter was addressed to God. On the other hand, what the words of the Antiphon do quite effectively, is to promulgate the Lordship of Jesus Christ, since he is placed 'ad dexteram suam Iesum Christum in celestibus super omnem principatum, potestatem et

³²⁸ Neil, *The Acts*, 90.

virtutem et dominationem,’ (‘at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion’).

Alleluya

The themes of this rhymed Alleluya Verse can be traced back to Western devotional writings of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.³²⁹ In particular, Bernard of Clairvaux, (1090-1153), abbot and founder of the reformed Cistercian order, extols in his fifteenth sermon on *The Song of Songs* ‘the name’s invigorating savour’.³³⁰ According to Catherine Carsley, this sermon, in which Bernard coined the phrase, ‘your Name is oil poured out,’ became a ‘spiritual classic’.³³¹

Aridum est omnis animae cibus, si non oleo isto infunditur; insipidus est, si non hoc sale conditur. Si scribas, non sapit mihi, nisi legero ibi Iesum. Si disputes aut conferas, non sapit mihi, nisi sonuerit ibi Iesus. Iesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde iubilus.

All the food of the soul is dry if not soaked with that oil; it is tasteless, if not seasoned with that salt. If you write, it has no savor for me unless I read Jesus there. If you argue or converse, it has no savor for me unless Jesus resonates there. Jesus is honey in the mouth, music to the ear, rejoicing in the heart.³³²

In this passage the Holy Name is described in terms of its impact on the senses. The passage concludes that the name Jesus brings sweetness of taste and of sound, and a stirring of the heart. These themes are very clearly expressed in the Alleluya Verse:

Dulci cordi nomen Jesu,
Melos auri, mel in esu,
Cor vertit in iubilum
Et fugat mundi sibilum.

Sweet to the heart is the name of Jesus Christ,
Melody to the ear, honey to the taste.
It turneth the heart to shouts of joy,
And scattereth the hissings of the world.

This association of the name Jesus with sweetness of heart, sound and taste will prove to be long lasting. It is most famously taken up in a medieval meditation, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*, which for a long time was also attributed to St Bernard, a fact scholars now call into

³²⁹ Catherine A. Carsley, *Devotion to the Holy Name: Late Medieval Piety in England*, Princeton University Library Chronicle, Volume LIII, no 2, Winter 1992, 161.

³³⁰ Carsley, *Devotion to the Holy Name...*, 160.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 160.

³³² Adapted from Sermo XV, in Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claræ-Vallensis, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, in *PL*, 183, (1879), Vol. II, col. 847; cited in Carsley, *Devotion to the Holy Name...*, 160.

question.³³³ Carsley posits that it was written by an English Cistercian monk.³³⁴ In spite of the mystery surrounding its exact authorship, its popularity is attested by its frequent use in liturgies and literary compositions.³³⁵ Most relevant to this study, it is offered as the alternative nine-Verse Sequence for the Mass of the Holy Name, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*,³³⁶ in the four editions of the printed Sarum Gradual (1509, 1527, 1528, 1528);³³⁷ other strophes from the meditation make up the Hymns for Lauds and Matins of the Office of the Holy Name, as discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

Secondly, it is the hallmark of the devotion to the Holy Name of Jesus, as expressed by the hermit Richard Rolle of Hampole (c.1300–49), discussed earlier in Chapter 2. While he did not instigate the devotion, he was instrumental in its steady growth in England,³³⁸ by making it a recurring leitmotif in his widely read writings. In an early mystical piece called the *Incendium Amoris*, he comments on his devotion to the Holy Name, saying that it triggers the mystical phenomena *canor*, *calor* and *dulcor*, (melody, heat and sweetness).³³⁹ Thus this notion of sweetness, triggered by the mention of the Name, can be traced back to the writings of Bernard and his contemporaries in the early twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they are reiterated by Richard Rolle in the fourteenth century, and eventually find their way into the official Sarum liturgies of the Mass of the Holy Name, composed it would seem during the last decade of the fourteenth century,³⁴⁰ and into its Office, compiled during the late fifteenth century, as discussed in Chapter 3.³⁴¹

Leaving the textual analysis to one side, an investigation into the Alleluia melody (*Dulce lignum, dulce clavos*) for the Mass of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3 May) reveals that there is a resemblance between this melody and that used for the Holy Name, which suggests that the compilers of the Jesus Mass drew on other, earlier, Mass melodies, which pertained to

³³³ Comper, in *The Life of Richard Rolle, 142*, argues it could not have been written by St Bernard of Clairvaux on the grounds that it appears in a manuscript composed before his birth.

³³⁴ F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian - Latin Poetry from the Beginnings of the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953), 329; André Wilmart, O.S.B., 'Le "Jubilus" dit de Saint Bernard (Etude avec textes)' in A. Schiaffini and G. De Luca, *Edizioni di 'Storia e Letteratura'*, (Roma, 1944), 225-6.

³³⁵ Carsley, *Devotion to the Holy Name...*, 161.

³³⁶ See Appendix II.1, where the alternative Sequence is included alongside the one which was used for the enactments.

³³⁷ *Graduale ad usum ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, (Paris, Provost and Regnault, 1532), Image 244.

³³⁸ Frances M. M. Comper, *The Life of Richard Rolle, together with an Edition of his English Lyrics*, (London, 1928), 141-2.

³³⁹ Richard Rolle, 'The Fire of Love', 66–67 in Frances M. M. Comper, ed., *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life*, translated by Richard Misyn, (London, 1914).

³⁴⁰ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

Christological Votive Masses.³⁴² The text and the melody of the Alleluya are, therefore, borrowings from earlier sources, which in their own way emphasize the very human nature of Jesus, be it the rush of affection one feels at the mention of his name, or the suffering he endured as the Son of God. The Alleluya, together with the Sequence, analysed below, contrast sharply with the other Propers examined so far, in that they draw on more popular sacred writings, dating from a thousand years later than those based on Scripture.

Sequence (*Divisio* section)

This text, *Iesu pulcher in decore*, is the second half of the Sequence *Dulcis Iesus Nazareus*, marked ‘*Divisio*’, which appears in most editions of the Sarum Missal.³⁴³ A Tract, *Dulce nomen Iesu Christi* was prescribed when the Mass was celebrated in Lent, and an alternative Sequence, *Dulcis Iesu memoria*, mentioned earlier, is offered in the printed Gradual, though not in the main editions of the Missal.³⁴⁴

An associated rubric given in several Missals, including most of the printed texts (see Table 3.4) indicates that during the Octave of the Feast the Creed was omitted and only the second half of the Sequence, the ‘*Divisio*’, was sung.³⁴⁵ (This also affirms that the Mass was being used in both a Votive and a Festal capacity). The *Divisio* section was selected and sung in the 2011 Jesus Mass enactments partly on account of its more manageable length and range, though also because of its frequent reiteration of the name, ‘Jesus’, as noted below.

In the *Divisio*, Jesus has human qualities and virtues, yet his name is worthy of the reverence we pay a king or a god, and holds the promise of Salvation. Interestingly, a recurring tension of the person of Jesus versus the name of Jesus is particularly present in this text: ‘Jesus’ is mentioned 14 times, in a text which is 36 lines long. In four of the verses, the word ‘Jesus’ begins three out of the four lines, creating an impression of ceaselessly invoking his name. It is unclear, and perhaps deliberately so, whether it is his person being described, or his name:

³⁴² Walter H. Frere (ed.), *Graduale Sarisburiense*, (London, 1894), 235; a look at the text of the first of the two Alleluya verses reveals a similarity of rhythm: *Dulce lignum, dulces clavos, dulcia ferens pondera: que sola fuistis digna sustinere regem celorum et dominum*. See H. Dickinson (ed.), *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, (Burntisland, 1861-1883), col.743, (Sweet the wood, sweet the nails, thou that art bearing a sweet burden, which alone wast found worthy to sustain the king and lord of heaven.) See Warren, *The Sarum Missal Part II*, 336. NB phrases from the Hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*: ‘Tell it out among the heathen, that the Lord hath reigned from the tree.(Ps. 96:10).

³⁴³ Dickinson, *Missale*, col. 850. Dickinson notes that it is omitted in the editions of 1492, 1494, 1487, 1498, and 1557: col. 849.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix III.1

³⁴⁵ ‘Per totas octavas dicatur Missa predicta, quando de octavis agitur; sed sine Credo. Et cum Sequentia, Iesus pulcher in decore, ut supra in divisione’. Dickinson, *Missale*, 852.

in stanza 1 the focus is on his beauty, gentleness and sweetness; in stanza 2, on his kingship; in stanza 3, on his courage and boldness; in stanza 4, on his compassion; in stanza 5, on his glory and the comfort he provides. Sometimes he has what would be considered more feminine attributes, since he is described in terms of beauty most fair, gentle sweetness and comeliness divine: ‘Iesus pulcher in decore (...) mitis lenis cum dulcore (...) Iesus forma speciosus’. At other times, it is the opposite, as he is called ‘pugil’ (gladiator), ‘rex’ (king), or ‘ductor’ (leader).

Verses 6 and 7 of the *Divisio* summarize what precedes them by claiming he surpasses all mankind in all the virtues hereunto mentioned, namely by representing the ultimate example of might, knowledge and love. However, in the last two verses, there is no ambivalence and the attention is focused on the *name* of Jesus. It is mentioned twice, or six times if we include the words ‘title’ and ‘this’. This name is sweet-sounding, worthy of reverence and must be kept close to one’s heart; finally, the last Verse seeks Salvation in the form of forgiveness of sin, through worship and prayer.

Thus the Sequence *Divisio* concerns both Jesus and his name, as the praises refer both to the person of Jesus and the name ‘Jesus’ which is invoked at the start: the compiler(s) chooses to conclude with a focus on the saving powers of the Name, which would suggest that honouring Jesus takes place through honouring the Name itself. Generally, the non-scriptural text of a Sequence, as well as being structured in paired versicles, offered an elaborate theological commentary on either the wider theme of the Mass or the virtues of a particular saint.³⁴⁶ The Sequence *Divisio* within the Mass of the Holy Name is the only item in the liturgy to offer an explicit treatise on ‘the Name of Jesus’.

Gospel

The appointed Gospel for the Mass is Matthew’s narrative of the angel’s apparition to Joseph prior to the birth of Jesus. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, this is one of the few instances in Scripture where the name ‘Jesus’ is mentioned positively, with veneration, for its own sake, and without an accompanying Christological title, like Lord or Christ. A strong soteriological dimension to the Name is present in Verse 21, which is of particular relevance to this study.

³⁴⁶ Jeanne E. Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, *Manuscripts of the Liturgy*, in the Liturgy of the Medieval Church, ed. Hefferman and Matter, (Kalamazoo, 2001), 459.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the text is quite explicit about why he is to be called Jesus: as a brief reminder, his name is Jesus *because* he will save people from their sins, and the name Jesus means Saviour.³⁴⁷ For those familiar with the Old Testament, this Verse preserves the language, syntax and structure of *Genesis* 16:11 when an angel appears to the fugitive slave Hagar, and says to her, ‘Now you have conceived and shall bear a son; you shall call him Ishmael, for the Lord has given heed to your affliction.’³⁴⁸ Ishmael means ‘God who hears’. The compiler(s) of the Mass has drawn upon a biblical tradition whereby God, either as himself or in the form of an angel, decrees what a child shall be called, based on the role ascribed to that person: this Gospel passage has an authority, which can be traced back to before the time when it was written by Matthew. It also relies upon the more ancient heritage of Judaism to convey the part Jesus will play in Salvation history.

The appointed Gospel passage for the Mass is, therefore, a particularly apt choice. First, it places an importance on his human name Jesus, and shows how this name is part of his role as Saviour of mankind. Second, it appeals to a broader tradition, whereby names given by God transform the person into the name itself. Abram does indeed become Abraham, (*Genesis* 17: 5) i.e. the Father of many when God ensures that his two sons, Ishmael and Isaac, father many children, and the Apostle Peter (Kephias), renamed as such from his original name Simon, does become the foundation stone of the Church in the West.³⁴⁹ By being named ‘Saviour’, Jesus becomes a ‘Saviour’.

The Italian friar, priest and theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) takes the point further by claiming in his analysis of this very passage, that the Christological title ‘Emmanuel’ in Verse 23 also denotes the idea of Salvation. In his view, Emmanuel and Jesus have the same meaning, in that ‘God with us’ means ‘God saves us’³⁵⁰. Thus the theme of the saving powers of the name of Jesus comes to the fore in the appointed Gospel.

Offertory

The Offertory is drawn from the very end of Mark’s Gospel, *Mark* 16:17-18: here Jesus appears to the eleven disciples who are gathered. He instructs them to go out into all parts of

³⁴⁷ David Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, (London, 1972), 79. It is the Greek form of the Hebrew Jehoshua, which means ‘Yahweh is salvation’.

³⁴⁸ NSRV

³⁴⁹ Henk J.M. Schoot, *Christ the ‘Name’ of God*, (Leuven, 1993), 83.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

the world and proclaim the good news: those who believe it will be saved while those who do not will be damned. Faith will bring with it many miracles, as those listed, if they are performed ‘in nomine meo’ (in my name). The Offertory provides a reminder that the Name brings with it certain powers: it can conquer evil, it can aid communication, it offers protection, and it can heal. What is not clear from this passage is exactly which name the speaker, i.e. Jesus, is referring to, and the Greek original text of Mark’s Gospel cannot provide any further clarification as to whether it is his human name ‘Jesus’ or his Messianic title ‘Jesus Christ.’ A point worth remembering is that the Offertory coincides with the presentation of the elements at the altar to be consecrated. Perhaps this ambiguity of human or divine name reflects accurately the leap of faith facing the Christian worshipper during the miracle of transubstantiation, where something tangible and visible is about to be transformed into something ethereal and apprehended only through faith. Is Jesus human or divine? Is his name human or divine?

Secret

The compiler(s) of the Mass probably composed this prayer also: here, as in the Collect, the Name is mentioned with the utmost affection (in veneratione nominis dilectissimi) and to that extent the two prayers are similar in tone. The Name is also established at the beginning of the Secret as the intention behind this particular Mass. The salvific quality of the Name is what stands out in this passage, since it is through the enjoyment thereof that Salvation may be obtained: ‘ut in eodem nomine delectantes, salutarem sui propositi consequantur effectum,’ (‘so that delighting in the same name they may obtain to their own salvation the performance of their desire’).

Preface

The appointed Preface in Sarum Use is borrowed, rather than being strictly Proper to the Holy Name: it duplicates the Preface used for all three Masses on Christmas Day and is used though the Octave of the Nativity up to the Circumcision (1 January). It is also prescribed for the Purification (2 February) and Corpus Christi.³⁵¹ While a more strictly ‘Proper’ Preface is found in manuscript missals for other Rites, even this is almost identical to the Preface of the Palm Sunday ‘fore-Mass’ in the (old) Roman rite.³⁵²

³⁵¹ Dickinson, *Missale*, 596-7; Translation in Warren I, 34.

³⁵² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 68 According to Pfaff, the Proper Preface can be found in *Ob MS.* Barlow I, f. 389; *Ob MS.* Laud misc. 164, f. 183; *Oas MS.* 11; *Llp MS.* 213; in the ‘Arbuthnott Missal’ (ed. Forbes, xcix).

It is perhaps surprising that the Sarum Mass has no Proper preface for the Holy Name. However, this text offers a comment on the ability to see things spiritual through seeing things visible: the incarnate Word, Jesus Christ, became visible to our senses so that we could see God, and in turn see things which were divine but invisible. It is possible that this prayer celebrates all the tangible aspects of the mystery of the Incarnation, not just the person of Jesus Christ himself, but also his Name, which became synonymous with the person.³⁵³

Communion

This text is taken from *Revelation 2:17*, a book rich in symbolism and open to many interpretations. It occurs in the Letter to Pergamum, which is the third of the seven messages destined for the churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, and transcribed by John, or his scribe, as they were expressed from the lips of the risen Christ.³⁵⁴ All seven messages follow the same format,³⁵⁵ and what is particularly relevant for this study of the Propers of the Jesus Mass is that every message, after opening with an address to the angel of a particular congregation, is announced as coming from Jesus, the person whose name the Mass is celebrating. The Verse which has been selected for the Mass of the Holy Name occurs at the end of the third message, and constitutes a promise to those who remain true to the Christian faith: they shall be given of the hidden manna, which according to Rabbinic legend was given to the Israelites in the Book of Exodus, preserved in a golden jar in the Holy of Holies, and hidden by Jeremiah at the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C.³⁵⁶ Alternatively it is possible that the manna is a Eucharistic reference, given the symbolism of ‘the true manna’ expressed by John in chapter 6 of his Gospel.³⁵⁷ Either way, manna here represents divine nourishment in which the conqueror can partake to attain Salvation, in the present or in the future. As for the white stone, many suggestions can be made as to its meaning: it could refer to a vote of acquittal, and emphasize the notion that the conqueror is among the victors.³⁵⁸ White stones were also used to show admission to a public event,³⁵⁹ with ‘the event’ being the heavenly banquet. Ian Boxall further argues that white

³⁵³ André Cabassut, *La Dévotion au Nom de Jesus Christ*, Revue Editions du Cerf, (1952) 01/06, No 86, La Vie Spirituelle, 46.

³⁵⁴ Boxall, I., *The Revelation of Saint John*, (London, 2006), 45.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁵⁶ G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London: 1966), 42.

³⁵⁷ Boxall, *The Revelation of St John*, 60.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

elsewhere in the *Book of Revelation* symbolizes heaven and victory.³⁶⁰ Finally, on the stone is inscribed the secret name of Christ, which no one can learn without experiencing the suffering he went through. This is also referred to in *Revelation* 3:12 and 14:3.³⁶¹

It is fitting that the Communion refers to the bread given to God's chosen people in the Book of Exodus, since in it is held the promise of Salvation. This Salvation comes at a cost, which is to participate in Christ's passion by suffering for his Name.

Postcommunion

The Postcommunion brings together many of the themes and meanings previously associated with the Name. It is not only mentioned affectionately as 'complacentissimi nominis', or 'the most sweet name', but also is presented as the reason for the celebration of this Mass. Most emphatically, it is mentioned as 'salutiferum nomen Jesu' or a 'saving name', which will help joyfully call to mind Jesus who is himself our Saviour. The affective and salvific dimensions of the Name are prominent in the first half of this prayer. The text ends with a request to 'stir us up' to rejoice in 'Jesu salvatore nostro dulcissimo' (Jesus our saviour most sweet). This time, Salvation and the affective descriptor 'most sweet' refer to Jesus, not the Name. There is therefore a clever and subtle reminder that the Name *is* Jesus, since the same things can be said of both.

Conclusion

As noted at the outset, the Propers of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus are drawn from scriptural, liturgical, devotional, and other sacred sources, combining nevertheless to form a cohesive liturgy, and bringing together a number of theological themes and textual styles. The Mass opens with the Introit, which sets a tone of authority and tradition by being derived from an ancient Hymn of the early Church. Great emphasis is placed upon his human name 'Jesus', which worshippers are called upon to honour and celebrate. The Collect announces emphatically the intention of the service, the salvific quality of the name 'Jesus': this is the most prominent theme of the Mass. The idea that the human name of the Saviour can bring about Salvation, in the sense of being saved from sin, continues to be more or less explicit in the majority of the texts of the Mass, namely the Epistle, Alleluya, Sequence, Gospel,

³⁶⁰Ibid., 61.

³⁶¹ Caird, *The Revelation of St John the Divine*, 42; Boxall, *The Revelation of St John*, 61.

Offertory, Secret, and Communion, in other words, in a range of sacred, ancient and medieval texts.

Beside the soteriological dimension of the human name of Jesus are held in tension the human and divine aspect of the person of Jesus Christ: the choice of the Preface, which is that of Christmas, in other words a major feast celebrating the Incarnation and God's will to become man, is a reminder of Jesus' humanity; while his lordship, hinted at in the Gradual, which celebrates God's name, and the Offertory, which appeals to any of his possible names, Christological or human, suggest at his divinity. Nevertheless, these allusions to this other aspect of his person pale into insignificance next to the overwhelming emphasis on the humanity of Jesus Christ: for this Mass concerns Salvation through worship of Jesus' human name. This will be shown to be in sharp contrast with the Mass of the Transfiguration, discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8, where the divinity of Jesus is at the focus of the prayers, scriptural passages and Sequence.

The salvific dimension of the Holy Name emerges through distinct modes of expression, and as a result allows for a variety of forms of engagement: in the Epistle and Gospel, for example, the notion that the Name saves is given credibility through the choice of spokesman: in the Epistle it is the Apostle Peter, who interestingly was one of the three witnesses of the Transfiguration, celebrated the day before the Holy Name of Jesus; in the appointed Gospel it is none other than an angel sent from God: the scriptural passages chosen to convey the salvific powers of the Name carry the weight of the authority and longevity of the Christian faith.

The texts of the Collect, Communion and Postcommunion are concise if a little obscure at times, and require close reading for a full appreciation of their content. On the other hand, the Alleluya and Sequence are in many ways more accessible because they encourage connections to be made through the senses: the Alleluya reminds the worshipper of the sweetness of sound, taste, feeling aroused by the utterance of the Name; the Sequence takes up this theme by encouraging the worshipper to utter the Name continually. The French Benedictine scholar André Cabassut claims that uttering the Holy Name was believed to bring the worshipper into His presence.³⁶² An uneasy closeness to magic and superstition is

³⁶² Cabassut, *La Dévotion au Nom de Jesus Christ*, 46.

suggested by this practice of repetition of the Name in order to bring about the person of Jesus himself; yet at its heart, is the more acceptable idea that constant repetition enables the worshipper not only to focus on something outside himself, but to focus on the person of Jesus through his Name. It follows from this that by thinking about the Holy Name of Jesus, one thinks about Jesus, which in turns induces good, pleasant thoughts. In this respect, the Name of Jesus becomes synonymous with the Person of Jesus.

The Mass of the Holy Name expresses the ancient message, borne out in Matthew's Gospel, that the name 'Jesus' means Salvation, and that Salvation might be attained through worship of the Name: it does this through a selection of texts, scriptural, liturgical, and popular, which spanning the centuries, are tailored to meet the compiler's needs to express the salvific dimension of the name 'Jesus'.

Chapter 6

The Propers of the Office of the Holy Name of Jesus

This chapter concerns the sources and characteristics of the Office of the Holy Name of Jesus, with particular reference to its devotional and theological features. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Office is thought to be closely associated with Lady Margaret Beaufort and to date from c.1488, given that an Office of the Holy Name was ratified by the Canterbury Convocation of that year. During the 1550s the historian John Bale retrospectively attributed authorship of an ‘*Historia nominis Iesu*’ (referred to as ‘*A solis ortu*’) to Henry Horneby (c.1457–1518), known to have been associated in some capacity with the Beaufort household from the 1480s, and employed as dean of the household by 1499 or earlier. Bale’s ‘*Historia*’ is surely the Sarum Office discussed here, though whether Horneby (in the later 1480s still a young and inexperienced clergyman) would have been sufficiently mature to compile such a full liturgy, is discussed later.³⁶³

As with the discussion of the Mass Propers given in Chapter 5, this detailed analysis of the Office Propers of the Holy Name is designed to be read in conjunction with Appendix II.2 (which provides full texts with parallel translations). The component texts include Hymns, Psalms with Antiphons, scriptural readings, and Lections with Responds, all specially appointed or written for the Office. (Indeed, the Lections make specific reference to the new Feast of the Holy Name on 7 August and its associated indulgence). Table 6.1 (derived from John Harper) summarizes in simplified form the shape of the typical daily Office within a secular community.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Bale, *Scriptorium illustrium Maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vocant: catalogus*, 2 vols. in 1 (Basel, 1557–9); facs. edn (1971), ii, 72. See also Pfaff, Richard W., *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 83; Malcolm Underwood; ‘Henry Horneby’, ODNB; idem, *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge, 1992), 276.

³⁶⁴ Taken from John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1991), 76-7.

Table 6.1: The Order of the Medieval Office

<p>Matins <i>Opening versicles</i> INTRODUCTORY PSALM(S) HYMN First Nocturn: PSALMS <i>Prayer and Blessing</i> Readings with <i>Responds</i> Second Nocturn: PSALMS <i>Prayer and Blessing</i> Readings with <i>Responds</i> Third Nocturn: PSALMS <i>Prayer and Blessing</i> Readings with <i>Responds</i> TE DEUM LAUDAMUS</p>	<p>Lauds <i>Opening versicle</i> PSALMS AND CANTICLE Sentence from Scripture HYMN <i>Versicle</i> CANTICLE (BENEDICTUS) Prayer <i>Blessing</i></p>	<p>Prime, Terce, Sext, None <i>Opening versicle</i> HYMN PSALMS Sentence from Scripture Respond <i>Versicle</i> Preces (Prime only) Prayer <i>Blessing</i></p>
<p>Vespers <i>Opening versicle</i> PSALMS Sentence from Scripture <i>Respond</i> (not always included) HYMN <i>Versicle</i> CANTICLE (MAGNIFICAT) Prayer <i>Blessing</i></p>	<p>Compline <i>Opening versicle</i> PSALMS Sentence from Scripture <i>Respond</i> HYMN <i>Versicle</i> CANTICLE (NUNC DIMITTIS) <i>Preces</i> Prayer <i>Blessing</i></p>	

IN UPPER CASE ARE THE CHANTS SUNG BY THE COMMUNITY; in lower case are the chants or recitations intoned by the minister; *in italics are the dialogues between the minister or cantor(s), or soloists, and those in choir.*

In structural terms the Office of the Holy Name is entirely representative of a Sarum Office, though it has some interesting features. Matins follows the usual three-Nocturn form with nine Lections, in line with other Double Feasts in secular Use; a pattern of five Proper Antiphons is adopted at both Vespers and Lauds and nine at Matins; and there are also Proper Canticle Antiphons for Benedictus and Magnificat, with distinct texts for First and Second Vespers.³⁶⁵ Table 6.1 reveals the overall dominance of the recitation of Psalms within the Office as a whole, and these were conceived to be sung by the community.³⁶⁶ Although there was a regular daily pattern of ferial Psalms (with set Psalms prescribed for each weekday) in both secular and monastic Uses, this was sometimes overridden by Festal observances, where a special cycle of Proper Psalms might be recited at Matins and Vespers. These were often

³⁶⁵ The monastic Office contained in the St Albans Abbey Breviary is a case in point: it shares First Vespers of the Holy Name of Jesus with Second Vespers of the Transfiguration, begins with the Vespers Chapter, *Phil.* 2:8; the text contains twelve Lections and a different selection of Psalms at Matins.

³⁶⁶ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 74.

conceived in groups (with the same cycle being used for Apostles, Confessors, Virgins, or Feasts of the Virgin Mary).³⁶⁷ Much more rarely, however, an Office will have its own unique set of Psalms, and significantly, this is the case for the Office of the Holy Name, celebrated as a double Feast in Sarum, York and Hereford Use. Here the sequence of Psalms for both First Vespers and Matins deviates from the ‘standard’ Psalm patterns employed for Feast days in Sarum Use;³⁶⁸ indeed, it is not duplicated anywhere else in the Sarum Breviary.³⁶⁹

The four Hymns in honour of the Holy Name (for First Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds) are also Proper to the Office, though in stylistic terms typical of the repertory: they are non-scriptural, stanzaic, metrical, and sung to a repeated melody. The Matins Hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria*, a meditation composed in the twelfth century, also reappears as an alternative Sequence for the Mass of the Holy Name in the four printed Sarum Graduals (1509, 1528, 1529, 1532). The Lections are also typical in their general organization: the first group (Nocturn I) is scriptural; the second Patristic (in some other Offices it would be hagiographical); and the third based on a Homily on the Gospel appointed for the day (in this case Origen’s Homily on *Matthew* 1: 20-23). The Chapters (capitula) are equally representative, often comprising one or two verses from Scripture.

Unsurprisingly, themes encountered within the Propers of the Mass also recur in the Office: the theme of Salvation is prominent, as is the sweetness of the Name experienced by all those who utter it. However, what the Office does more successfully than the Mass is reinforce the human aspect of the name ‘Jesus’, and in so doing the human aspect of the person Jesus. It is noteworthy that the Gospel passage (*Matt.* 1: 20-23), the same as the appointed Gospel for the Mass, is followed by a homily written by Origen, which paraphrases the scriptural passage, but which is then followed by a Respond and Verse treating the same subject but taken from Luke’s Gospel (*Luke* I: 31). While the two Gospel passages are not contradictory, and concern the naming of Jesus, it seems that the compiler sought to include both angelic

³⁶⁷ Ibid., 260. Groups vary somewhat from Use to Use; monastic and secular differ somewhat, and York and Hereford may both be distinct from Sarum Use.

³⁶⁸ See Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 260 for some of the standard patterns.

³⁶⁹ Within the Sarum Breviary, a comparison was made between the Office of the Holy Name of Jesus and those of the Invention and Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and of other Major Double Feasts from the Temporale, such as the Nativity, the Circumcision, Easter, Corpus Christi: no duplication was found.

messages made to Joseph and to Mary. As shall be discussed in the Lections, an important theme in the Office is that while the Name of Jesus was prophesied long ago before Jesus' conception, and was God-given, it was also bestowed by two human beings, who were to be the first two witnesses of the naming of Jesus.

The following analysis explores the items in discrete groups and focuses on the themes and sources of the following components: Psalms with their associated Antiphons; Hymns; Capitula; and Lections,³⁷⁰ which form the largest section as they constitute newly-translated material. The Proper Lections used within the Octave of the Holy Name and on the Octave Day itself are also considered.

Psalmody and Antiphons

The unique Psalms of the Office are inevitably chosen for their relevance to the Name of Jesus, and their framing Antiphons are often drawn from the associated Psalm too (or else taken from a scriptural passage equally apposite to the Holy Name).³⁷¹ First Vespers is a case in point. All six Antiphons (including the Magnificat Antiphon) contain the word 'nomen', and invite the faithful to praise, invoke or give thanks to the Name. This pattern continues into the Psalmody at the other Hours of prayer, where mercy is granted upon those who call upon the Name (Compline), where the Name, like Jesus, reaches to the ends of the earth (Matins), where young men and maidens, old men and children praise the Name (Lauds – although here the Psalms are the conventional ones). The words of the Psalms and their associated Antiphons (as also the Versicles and Responds after the Hymns) reinforce the importance of the Holy Name, while more prominently, the theme of Salvation through worship of the Name emerges at each one of the component Hours of Prayer. The source for each Antiphon is shown below: in each case these are scriptural, and in most cases psalmodic. Translations are taken from the King James Version of the Bible.

³⁷⁰ Timescale precludes detailed consideration of all the items, including the Responds. The majority of the focus is given to the Lections, which have hitherto been incompletely translated.

³⁷¹ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 71.

Table 6.2: Derivation of Antiphon Material in the Office of the Holy Name

Ad Primas Vesperas

Ant. Omnis enim quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit, alleluia. (Rom. 10:13)

First Vespers

Ant. Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord: shall be saved, alleluya.

Ad Completorium

Ant. Miserere michi Domine secundum iudicium diligentium nomen tuum. (Ps. 118: 132)

Compline

Ant. Have mercy upon me, O Lord: like as thou usest to do unto those that love thy Name.

Ad Matudinas, secundo et tertio nocturn

Ant. Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac, et in virtute tua iudica me, Domine. (Ps. 53:3)

Matins, Second and Third Nocturns

Ant. Save me, O God, by your Name, and vindicate me by your might, O Lord.

Ant. Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propicius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. (Ps. 78:9)

Ant. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of your Name; deliver us, and forgive our sins, for your Name's sake.

Ad Laudes

Ant. Ioseph fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est: pariet autem filium et vocabis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. (Matt. 1:21)

Lauds

Ant. Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost: and she shall bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call his Name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

The sweetness and loveliness of the Name, another recurring *leitmotif* in the Lections and the Hymns, finds its place in the first Lauds Antiphon:

Ant. Laudate nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi quoniam suavis est ipse: et in eternum misericordia eius, alleluia. (Ps. 99: 4-5)

Ant. O praise the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for it is lovely: and his mercy endureth for ever, alleluya.

This Antiphon recalls the Introit Verse of the Mass (*Ps.135:3*), discussed in Chapter 5:

Psalmus: Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus Dominus: psallite nomini eius quoniam suave.

Verse: O praise the Lord, for the Lord is gracious: O sing praises unto his Name, for it is lovely.

The above-cited Lauds Antiphon is one of many examples in this Office of a Psalm-derived text adapted to incorporate the name of Jesus: the original version of *Psalms* 99: 4-5, as an Old Testament text, inevitably does not include the name of the

Saviour: ‘Laudate nomen eius, quoniam suavis est Dominus; In aeternum misericordia eius.’ Two more Antiphon texts, which have been Christianized and which contain the name of Jesus are given here:

Location in Office with Psalm source	Psalm from which Antiphon is derived	Adapted Psalm Antiphon
Matins, Nocturn I, Antiphon 3 (Ps. 47:11)	<i>Secundum nomen tuum, Deus, Sic et laus tua in fines terre.</i>	<i>Secundum nomen tuum, Iesu Domine: sic et laus tua in fines terre</i>
Lauds, Antiphon 3 (Ps. 62:5)	<i>Sic benedicam te in vita mea; Et in nomine tuo levabo manus meas.</i>	<i>Benedicam te, Domine Iesu, in vita mea: et in nomine tuo levabo manus meas, alleluia.¹</i>

The compiler of the Office also adds an ‘Alleluia’ to *Luke* 1:49 in the last Antiphon of First Vespers, and a ‘Domine’ to a text derived from *Psalms* 119:132 in the Verse of Respond 6 at Matins. Most notably, in the Respond section of this same item, he borrows something altogether new, where the first words are derived from the acronym written over the cross (*John* 19:19) and Luke’s account of Jesus healing a blind man (*Lk* 18:37-8), followed by a psalmodic borrowing (from ‘Ut videam’, *Ps.* 26:4).

Matins, Respond 6 (Respond section)	<i>Iesus Nazarenus, rex Iudeorum, Fili Dei vivi, miserere mei, Iesu fili David miserere mei. Ut videam voluntatem Dei. Et visitem templum eius.</i>	R. 6. Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews, living Son of God, have mercy on me, Jesus Son of David, have mercy on me. So that I may behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple.
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Not only are the Psalms themselves selected in order to be apposite to the Holy Name of Jesus, and to express the now familiar themes of Salvation and sweetness, but sometimes the wording itself is adapted to make them more relevant within a Psalm-derived text, like an Antiphon.

Hymnody

The four Hymns within the Office of the Holy Name vary in interest and originality. Like some of the Proper Psalms and psalmodic-borrowings discussed above, they are

chosen for their relevance to the Name and its salvific powers. *Exultet cor precordiis* (First Vespers) is discussed first, while *Iesu dulcis memoria* (Matins) and *Iesu auctor clemencie* (Lauds) will be considered together as they are drawn from the same text. *Alma chorus domini* (Compline) thus follows out of sequence, but being the most unusual choice in the Office, it will be discussed last.

Exultet cor precordiis

This is the appointed Hymn for both First and Second Vespers of the Holy Name and is anonymous.³⁷² Little seems to be known about it, except that Pfaff claims that it is independent (rather than borrowing from other Hymn texts) and is known only in English (and Irish Sarum) Breviaries.³⁷³ Its appearance in the early printed Sarum Breviaries of 1494 (Paris) and 1495 (Venice), as well as those pertaining to the Use of Hereford (1505) and Scots Sarum (Aberdeen, 1509/10), would suggest that it was in use in both provinces and was familiar throughout the land, although the Hymn does not seem to appear elsewhere in the Breviary.

The text is reminiscent of the language of the Mass Propers: the Name has a sweet sound, since it is the Name which is ‘sonans suaviter’ and which provides comfort as the ‘Nomen confortans miseros’; however, the most prominent theme is the healing ability of the Name in a spiritual rather than a physical sense. The Name heals from sin (‘qui sanat scelera’, ‘deterrens inferos’, ‘Ut sanet omne vicium’), and is the ‘salus peccantium’. The penultimate Verse summarizes the main message of the Hymn before leading into an exhortation to worship the Name and the doxology: ‘may the Name help us, protect us from danger, and make us good people by taking away our sins’. The Hymn expresses the salvific qualities of the Name while calling upon the faithful to sing it with heart and soul.

A distinctive characteristic is that the Name is mentioned in every Verse except one, where Jesus is called upon to hear the prayers of the faithful. In that sense the Hymn really is ‘Proper’ to the Office of the Holy Name, and may well have been written especially for it: the text is not known in any earlier context. This would be corroborated by the contents of the penultimate Verse, which seems to recall the

³⁷² John Julian (ed.), *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, Vol. I (New York, 1907), 361.

³⁷³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 70.

festivities of the day before, the Transfiguration: Jesus is referred to as ‘Christe’, and ‘Domine’ and ‘fulgens’ or resplendent/brilliant (white).

Iesu, dulcis memoria / Iesu, auctor clemencie

Both of these Hymns originate from much earlier material that evidently predates the Office of the Holy Name by a significant period. They are taken from a longer meditation or poem, described by John Julian as the ‘sweetest and most evangelical Hymn of the Middle Ages:’³⁷⁴ it comprises, in its earliest and most authentic version (*Ob MS Laud misc. 668*, copied in the twelfth century), 42 stanzas of four lines each.³⁷⁵ Different combinations of stanzas make up the respective texts for Matins (*Iesu dulcis memoria*) and Lauds (*Iesus auctor clemencie*). As noted in Chapter 5, *Iesu dulcis memoria* was also offered as an alternative Sequence of the Holy Name in the printed Sarum Graduals.

Authorship of the meditation has sometimes been ascribed to Bernard of Clairvaux, on the grounds that there are close stylistic parallels with his prose works, and that its composition date could easily coincide with the time Bernard retired in 1150, weary with the world.³⁷⁶ However, in his seminal work on the meditation, ‘Le “Jubilus” dit de St Bernard’, André Wilmart argues the case quite strongly that while Bernard could have written some of the verses, the work being imbued with his spirit,³⁷⁷ the meditation is more likely to have been written by an Englishman well versed in the Scriptures,³⁷⁸ namely the *Song of Songs*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Psalms* and the Gospels, which he claims pervade the poem. In the first and eighteenth stanzas some key themes favoured by Bernard are recognizable: the memory and presence of Jesus for those who desire it and the sweetness of the Name to the ear, mouth and heart. Wilmart posits that the author was a fellow Cistercian, such as Aelred of Rievaulx.³⁷⁹ If this conclusion is to be trusted, the authorship of the meditation shows that the

³⁷⁴ Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 588.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 585.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 585.

³⁷⁷ André Wilmart, OSB., ‘Le “Jubilus” dit de Saint Bernard (Etude avec textes)’ in A. Schiaffini and G. De Luca, *Edizioni di ‘Storia e Letteratura’*, (Roma, 1944), 224.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 221. Wilmart bases himself on the patterns of source survival. 10 out of 20 manuscripts dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are English. See Helen Deeming, Music and Contemplation in the Twelfth-Century *Dulcis Jesu Memoria*, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 139 (2014), Nos 1, 3.

³⁷⁹ Wilmart, ‘Le “Jubilus”...’, 225-6.

compiler of the Office chose authentic English source material for the non-scriptural texts of the Office.

The meditation seems to have been known under a variety of titles, such as the *Commemorationem dominicae passionis*, or the *Jubilus* because of the joyful repetition of the name Jesus.³⁸⁰ This title, which was very popular on the Continent, seems to have been unknown in England,³⁸¹ where the oldest and most reliable manuscripts were copied before being taken abroad.³⁸² The 88 known examples of the poem reveal many discrepancies in the number of stanzas, their overall ordering, and order of lines within the stanza. Wilmart attempts to produce an authoritative version of 42 stanzas, supported by 32 manuscripts.³⁸³

The version of *Iesu dulcis memoria* selected as the Lauds Hymn for the Holy Name is made up of seven stanzas and partly tallies with Wilmart's version: the first five stanzas are identical; the following three stanzas are omitted, and then the same order resumes. However, the Lauds Hymn differs greatly from what is claimed to be the authoritative version. The seven stanzas do not appear either in the same sequence or the same order as in Wilmart's version. Yet, what is important here is that all the stanzas, which make up both Hymns belong to a version which is based on authentic manuscripts dating back to the twelfth century. This would suggest that the compiler was not influenced by more recent and possibly more popular versions of the text.

This poem warrants attention in thematic terms because of its emphasis on Jesus the man. In sharp contrast with *Alma chorus domini*, the Hymn for Compline, which celebrates the multitude of names and roles Jesus takes on in his ministry, these two Hymns sing of the love of the Saviour in his human form. As they belong to the same meditation it makes sense to consider them together. Three themes stand out:

(i) As discussed in Chapter 5, the meditation calls upon the use of the senses and the feelings of the heart to appreciate Jesus, both the person and the Name, as typified by the second stanza of *Iesu dulcis memoria*: 'Nil canitur suavius/auditur nil jocundius/nil cogitatur dulcius/quam Iesus Dei Filius', (Nor voices can sing, nor heart

³⁸⁰ Ibid., 61.

³⁸¹ Ibid., 63.

³⁸² Ibid., 221.

³⁸³ Ibid., 69.

can frame/Nor can the memory find/A sweeter sound than Thy blest Name/O Saviour of mankind!) The second stanza of *Iesu auctor clemencie* calls for similar sentiments: ‘Iesu, decus angelicum/In aure dulce canticum/In ore mel mirificum/In corde nectar celicum’, (Jesu, the Beauty angels see/The ears’ ecstatic minstrelsy/The nectar of the heavenly home/The lips’ delicious honey-comb).

(ii) The theme of sweetness is also prominent, as the word ‘dulcis’ in various forms (dulcis, dulcius, dulcedo, dulcedine) occurs five times in the space of the seven stanzas of *Iesu dulcis memoria*, and four times (dulce, dulcedinis, dulcore, dulcior) in the seven stanzas of *Iesu auctor clemencie*. These mentions of sweetness are supplemented by similar imagery, conveyed by words such as nectar, honeycomb and balm. The author could not make the point more strongly: ‘Omni dulcore dulcior’, or (Sweeter than sweetness’ self can be). This notion of sweetness contrasts sharply with the ideas of suffering and pain often associated with the more visual depictions of Jesus Christ, such as the Five Wounds and the Cross.

(iii) The humanity of Jesus is persuasively communicated in both Hymns. While Jesus is referred to as ‘Filius Dei’ he is also likened to a king and conqueror. The first person imperative is used to entreat him in an intimate and personal way to stay with us: ‘Mane nobiscum, Domine’. Crucially, Jesus is the mediator between us and God by residing on earth among other fellow humans: ‘Iesus orbem letificat/Et nos Deo pacificat’ or (Jesus on joyful earth hath smiled/And us with God hath reconciled).

This Hymn is also an effective tool of Christian piety, in the sense that its rather unsophisticated form lends itself to easy memorization. The constancy of the rhythm, namely the monotonous octosyllable, aided by the simplicity of the rhyme and the repetition of ‘Iesu’ make the poem similar to an incantation,³⁸⁴ whereby the reader or listener is lulled as if by a wave.

Alma chorus domini

This Hymn, unlike the others appointed for the Office, does not focus on the Name ‘Jesus’ specifically, but celebrates the gamut of different appellations for Jesus Christ. It also occurs as a Sequence with a slightly different text, and it doubles as the Sarum

³⁸⁴ Wilmart, ‘Le “Jubilus” dit de Saint Bernard, 234.

Sequence for both Whitsun Thursday,³⁸⁵ and the Nuptial Mass.³⁸⁶ However, it is not unique to Sarum Use, and Pfaff notes that its roots date back to at least the tenth century.³⁸⁷ It is strikingly similar to a poem written by Pope Damasus (c.305–384; papacy 366–384), which points to a long tradition of expressing the names of Jesus Christ in verse.³⁸⁸

While mostly in Latin, the Hymn *Alma chorus domini* lists a number of attributes in Hebrew, such as ‘Emmanuel, Sabaoth Adonai’ and in Greek, such as ‘Athanasos, Kyrios, Theon, Pantokrator’ and ‘Homousyon’. The choice of languages – those of the Church, the Old and the New Testament – serve to illustrate the universality of the names of Jesus, and lends a tone of authority to the text.

The names range from those found very commonly in the Bible, to those which are only found in one book. Examples of the former would be ‘Messias’, which in spite of only occurring in the New Testament, appears there 69 times; ‘Sothor’, which is used to refer to Jesus 25 times; and ‘Sabaoth Adonay’, which occurs 271 times in the Old Testament.³⁸⁹ The appellation ‘Alpha and Omega’, on the other hand, occurs only three times, in the Book of *Revelation*; ‘Emmanuel’ is only found in Matthew’s Gospel; and ‘Unigenitus’, which apart from appearances in 2 *Esdras* and *Hebrews*, is mostly a Johannine term (*Jn* 1:14; *Jn* 1:18; *Jn* 3:16; *Jn* 3:18; *Jn* 4:9). Jesus as the ‘Vitis’ or True Vine and ‘Ianua’ or the Gate for the Sheep, also only occurs in John’s Gospel (*Jn* 10:9). Thus while some names are widespread across the books of a testament, others are much more constrained.

The most important observation to be made is the range of Scripture referred to, and in particular the rootedness of this Hymn in the Old Testament. Indeed, names

³⁸⁵ Warren, Frederick E., *The Sarum Missal in English*, 2 vols (London, 1911), I, 351.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.* II, 153.

³⁸⁷ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 71, citing *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. 53, 152.

³⁸⁸ *De cognomentis Salvatoris*

Spes, Vita, Salus, Ratio, Sapientia, Lumen,
Judex, Porta, Gigas, Rex, Gemma, Propheta, Sacerdos,
Messias, Sabaoth, Rabbi, Sponsus, Mediator,
Virga, Columna, Manus, Petra, Filius Emmanuelque,
Vinea, Pastor, Ovis, Pax, Radix, Vitis, Oliva,
Fons, Paries, Agnus, Vitulus, Leo, Propitiator,
Verbum, Homo, Rete, Lapis, Domus, Omnia, Christus, Jesus.

Carmina Sancti Damasi Papae, *PL*, Vol. 13 (Paris, 1845), col. 378.

³⁸⁹ Data obtained from the online concordance, www.biblegateway.com.

designated by the Old Testament prophets occur frequently, such as ‘primogenitus’ (firstborn), as in *Psalms* 89:27, ‘I will make him the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth’; ‘fons et origo boni’ (fountain of goodness), as in *Zechariah* 13:1, ‘On that day a fountain shall be opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to cleanse them from sin and impurity’. Or again ‘os’ (mouth) in *Isaiah* 62:2, ‘The nations shall see your vindication, and all the kings your glory; and you shall be called by a new Name that the mouth of the Lord will give.’ While names specific to the New Testament figure just as prominently, the background of most can be traced back to the Old Testament or the literature of the intertestamental period.³⁹⁰ A good example of such a name is ‘lapis’ (cornerstone) which occurs in *Psalms* 118:22 and is quoted in *Matthew* 21:42, *Mark* 12:10, *Luke* 20:17 and *Acts* 4:11. ‘Whoever studies these names today travels the same road that the writers of the New Testament took when they searched for words for this unique person. All names indicate the fulfilment of the promise.’³⁹¹

The Hymn begins with five lines of names, which could be considered familiar (Messiah, Alpha and Omega), or at least self-explanatory (Fountain of Goodness, Wisdom). Then follows a line beginning with a list of sacrificial animals, all in the Old Testament (lamb, sheep, calf, and ram), but completed by animals denoting some of the more glorious attributes of the Saviour. The serpens (dragon) refers to the Leviathan, which in *Job* 41: 33-34 is described as a fearless creature; the leo (lion) is the lion of the Tribe of Judah which conquers all in *Revelation* (*Rev.* 5:5); the vernis (worm), mentioned in *Psalms* 22: 6-8 recalls the humility of Jesus Christ shown upon the cross: ‘But I am a worm, and not human; scorned by others, and despised by the people. All who see me mock at me; they make mouths at me, they shake their heads’.

The Hymn continues with names involving the senses of sound (os, verbum) and sight (splendor, sol, Gloria, lux, imago); ‘Sol Iusticie’ seems to be a well-known designation for Jesus and denotes a prophecy in *Malachi* 4:2, ‘But for you who revere

³⁹⁰ Henk J. M. Schoot, *Christ the ‘Name’ of God, Thomas Aquinas on naming Christ* (Leuven, 1993), 78.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

my Name the sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in its wings'.³⁹² Likewise, light is prophesied in *Isaiah* 42:6 as a light to the Gentiles, and later declared by Simeon in *Luke* 2:32.

The next line contains a list of natural phenomena (flos, vitis, mons, petra) or man-made objects (panis, janua, lapisque). Two of these names are particularly interesting. Flos (bud) is considered to be one of Christ's ten definitive appellations by the Spanish Augustinian friar, Fray Luis de León (1528–91) whose three-tome treatise on the Names of Christ is considered a seminal work on the treatment of names in Scripture.³⁹³ In this book, three men, Sabino, Marcelo and Juliano, decide in their discussion that ten names are more 'substantial', and all other names can be reduced to these ten:³⁹⁴ Bud, Face of God, Way, Shepherd, Mountain, Everlasting Father, Arm of God, King of God, Prince of Peace, Husband, Son of God, Lamb, Beloved and Jesus. 'Flos' symbolizes new life, which brings with it healing powers.³⁹⁵ Jesus is also compared to a bud because he was conceived without a man.³⁹⁶ 'Mons' is also noteworthy.

Mountains are often the scenes of major events in the life of Jesus, including many of his miracles, the Sermon on the Mount, the Beatitudes, the Transfiguration, and the calling and commissioning of the Disciples; they are also a place of prayer. For Fray León, Jesus is called mountain because he is our protection and fortress.³⁹⁷ The idea of Jesus being a gate is pertinent to the theme of Salvation, since the gate opens the way there (*Jn* 10:9).

The penultimate line of the list denotes the different personages Jesus has been compared to (Angelus et sponsus, pastorque propheta, sacerdos). He is the messenger of the covenant (*Mal.* 3:1) or the bridegroom (*Matt.* 9:15), as mentioned in the *Song of Songs*, and the Shepherd (*Jn* 10:11, *Heb.* 13:20; *1 Pet.* 5:4). Fray León's

³⁹² Ibid., 109 .

³⁹³ Ibid., 75.

³⁹⁴ Fray Luis de León, *De los nombres de Christo*, (1583/1585, Salamanca), ed. de Cristóbal Cuevas, (Madrid, 1977). English translation: Manuel Durán and William Kluback, *The Names of Christ*, (Ramsey/London, 1984), 53.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., 350.

³⁹⁶ Ibid., 67.

³⁹⁷ Ibid., 351.

interlocutors claim that he is a good shepherd because unlike others he was born to be one. He made his flock like him, he died for it, and gave it nourishment at all times, both on earth and in heaven;³⁹⁸ he is also a prophet (*Deut.* 18:15 and *Lk.* 24:19) and a priest (*Heb.* 4:14 and 7:17). Finally, the last line (Athantos, kyrios, theos, pantokrator) is a list of attributes, which pertain to God, and ends with the name Jesus, as if it is the final word on the matter.

The list of names in *Alma chorus domini* addresses many aspects of Jesus' person and work, and the Hymn therefore seeks to express what he represents in his multitude of personae. Yet there is also a strong soteriological dimension to this representation. While only a handful of the designations listed would be considered strictly soteriological (Mediator, Sacerdos, Agnus, Paracletus)³⁹⁹ it is no coincidence that the last name mentioned in the Hymn is 'Jesus': ultimately, the name is synonymous with the notion of Salvation. The scholastic theologian and philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1224/5–1274), discusses the names of Christ in his great work, the *Summa Theologiae*, and examines their fittingness, their meaning, and their associations with specific aspects of the person and work of Jesus Christ. In the 'Tertia Pars', headed under the name 'Salvator', Aquinas draws on the Aristotelian semantic law, which decrees that words signify concepts, and that a concept is similar to that which is conceived.⁴⁰⁰ Because Jesus saved mankind through his death and resurrection, the Name means Salvation, and is therefore a fitting name.⁴⁰¹ As mentioned in Chapter 5, Aquinas further argues that the name Immanuel ('God with us') by extension must mean 'God saves us' and therefore has a similar meaning to 'Jesus'.⁴⁰² Finally, Aquinas claims that all the names mentioned in the Old Testament share a meaning with the notion of Saviour.⁴⁰³ Aquinas' thinking is corroborated by Fray Luis de León: his ten definitive names, mentioned earlier, are all interlinked, and 'Jesus' itself sums them all up in one name,⁴⁰⁴ the meaning of which is health and Salvation.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁸Ibid., 102.

³⁹⁹This is a categorization made by Vincent Taylor, in *The Names of Jesus*, (London, 1953).

⁴⁰⁰Schoot, *Chris the 'Name' of God*, 83.

⁴⁰¹Ibid., 83.

⁴⁰²Ibid., 83.

⁴⁰³Ibid., 84.

⁴⁰⁴Durán and Kluback, *The Names of Christ*, 352.

⁴⁰⁵Durán and Kluback, *The Names of Christ*, 349.

Bernard of Clairvaux (d.1153) similarly corroborates that the name ‘Jesus’ sums up all the other names and their meanings in his sermon, ‘On the Circumcision’.

Exsultavit Isaias, ut videret diem hunc; et vidit, et gravisus est. Denique et loquebatur gratulabundus et laudans Deum: *Puer natus est nobis, filius datus est nobis, et factus est principatus super humerum ejus; et vocabitur nomen ejus Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis, Pater futuri saeculi, Princeps pacis* (Isa. 9:6) Magna quidem nomina; sed ubi est nomen quod est super omne nomen, nomen Jesu, in quo omne genu flectatur? Forte in his omnibus unum illud invenies, sed expressum quodammodo et effusum. Nempe ipsum est de quo sponsa in Cantico amoris: *Oleum, inquit, effusum nomen tuum* (Cantic. 1:2). Habes ergo unum in his omnibus appellationibus Jesum; nec omnino aut vocari posset aut esse Salvator, si forte quidpiam horum defuisset.⁴⁰⁶

Isaiah exulted, that he might see Christ’s day. He too saw it and was glad. Rejoicing and praising God, he says: ‘A child is born to us, a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace (Is. IX. 6). These are indeed great names, but where is the name which is above all names, the name of Jesus at which every knee should bow? Perhaps we may find that one name expressed, or poured out in all, for it is the same that was spoken of by the Spouse in the canticle of love, ‘Thy name is as oil poured out.’ Therefore, from and in all these names and titles we have but the one name of Jesus. His office of Saviour includes all. If one had been wanting, He could neither have been called nor have been the Saviour.⁴⁰⁷

To sum up, *Alma chorus domini* stands alone among the Office Hymns as an almost creedal declaration of who Jesus Christ was: research into the significance of all the appellations shows that they each impart an aspect of who Jesus was. Yet the message of the Hymn is in keeping with the Mass and Office Propers in that there is a strong soteriological dimension. In spite of the worthiness of the many names of Jesus Christ, only one is sufficient as it sums up all the others, and means Salvation: Jesus. This is the name, which is mentioned last in the Hymn, and it is therefore appropriate that this Hymn should be selected for the Office of the Holy Name of Jesus. What is puzzling is that the final line occurring in some of the earlier sources, which speaks of Salvation, ‘*Salvificet nos, sit cui saec[u]la per omnia doxa*’, is in the Sarum version replaced by another, ‘*Nominibus his Signatur Jesus. Sint Domino laudes. Amen*’.

⁴⁰⁶ Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claræ-Vallensis, *In circumcissione Domini, Sermo II*, in *PL.*, Vol. 183, 136.

⁴⁰⁷ Translation taken from *Sermons of St. Bernard on Advent and Christmas: including the famous treatise on the Incarnation called "Missus est,"* Compiled and translated at St Mary’s Convent, York, from the Edition (1508), in block-letters, of St Bernard’s Sermons and Letters, (London, 1909), 142.

Perhaps the compiler of the Office wanted a more jubilant tone to the end of the Hymn: either way, while *Alma chorus domini* celebrates the many designations of Jesus Christ, it concludes on the name of Jesus.

The Chapters

In spite of being short, the appointed Chapter passages also merit attention. Nearly all are Proper to the Office and pertinent to the Holy Name.

Table 6.3 Chapter Readings for the Office of the Holy Name

Office Hour	Scriptural passage
First Vespers	<i>Philippians 2:8-10</i>
Compline [ferial Chapter]	<i>Jeremiah 14:9</i>
Lauds	<i>1 Corinthians 1:2-3</i>
Prime	<i>1 Timothy 1:17</i>
Terce [duplicates Lauds]	<i>1 Corinthians 1:2-3</i>
Sext	<i>Colossians 3:17</i>
None	<i>2 Thessalonians 3:6</i>
Second Vespers [duplicates Lauds]	<i>1 Corinthians 1:2-3</i>

The Chapter at First Vespers (*Phil 2:8-10*) gives much importance to the name of Jesus, here proclaimed as ‘the name above all names’; indeed, Chapter 5 signalled Verse 9 as a surprising omission from the Mass Introit (*Phil 2:10-11*). The Vespers Chapter is not entirely unique to the Holy Name Office; *Philippians 2:8* also serves as the Chapter at Sext on Monday of Holy Week.

Jeremiah 14:9 is the appointed Chapter for Compline on a ferial Saturday. It suggests that all Christians are called by His Name, and pleads Jesus not to forsake them. In spite of not being Proper to the Office, it is therefore apposite to the Feast day.

The same Chapter (*1 Cor 1:2-3*) is appointed for Lauds, Terce and Second Vespers, but is otherwise Proper to the Office. Here the Apostle Paul prays that grace and peace might be bestowed upon those who call upon our Lord Jesus Christ. As explored in Chapter 1, this is a credal formulation; it departs from the human name of Jesus in that within those three words Jesus is proclaimed both as Lord and as the Anointed One. It is a nod, deliberate or unintentional, to the Feast day celebrated the day before, where Jesus was proclaimed, through the Transfiguration, as the Son of God.

The Chapter for Prime (1 *Tim.*1:17) is similar to the above in that it proclaims the lordship of Jesus Christ, in naming him the ‘King of all ages’, and assimilates him to God by calling him immortal, invisible and unique. In itself it is of little relevance to the celebration of the name of Jesus: like the rest of this component Hour it duplicates Prime for the Feast of the Nativity, and it is possible that links might have been made with the Incarnation, in particular the giving of his human name.

The appointed Chapter for Sext, (*Col.* 3:17), on the other hand, could not be more appropriate to the Holy Name: Christians are entreated to do everything ‘in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him’. The emphasis is on the human name, and Jesus is differentiated from his Father: as a result, Jesus the Son, the other person of the Trinity which he represents, and the human aspect of God, stand out.

Finally, the Chapter for None, (*2 Thess.* 3:6), while Proper to the Office, makes more of the divinity of Jesus than of his human name by entreating worshippers to stay away from bad influences in the name of ‘our Lord Jesus Christ’. This means that when the Chapter passages are viewed as a whole, there is a healthy i.e. orthodox balance between the celebration of his human name and a reminder of the previous day’s festivities of Jesus being Christ.

The Matins Lectons

Of all the Proper texts associated with the Office of the Holy Name, the lengthy Matins Lectons tell us the most about the significance of the Feast, since more words in prose means more opportunities for the compiler to express what he understands that to be. Some of the Lectons appear to be written by the compiler himself, while others draw on other sources, mainly the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux, Patristic homilies and the Scriptures. Although some references to influential sources will be mentioned here, full details of borrowings are provided in Appendix II.2.

As the Feast of the Holy Name is ranked as a Major Double with its own Octave in Sarum Use, Matins (as noted above) has nine Lectons, with a further three Proper Lectons on each of the second, third, fifth, sixth days within the Octave and nine

Proper Lections on the Sunday (although the final three duplicate Lections 7-9 of the Feast). Matins on the Octave day itself (14 August) again comprises nine Lections, although the middle three are devoted to St Eusebius, whose Feast falls on the same day.

Lections for The Feast Day (7 August)

Nocturn I (Lections 1-3)

The first Lection makes much of the contrast between the Transfiguration, celebrated yesterday ('heri') on 6 August, and the Holy Name, celebrated today ('hodie'). The former celebrates his divinity in that he was 'with the father' ('qualis apud Patrem Jesus erat'), and the latter, his humanity, in that he operates 'under the humility of our nature' (nostra sub humili natura'). Another distinction is made between the idealistic theme of yesterday's Feast and the more realistic aspect of today's: yesterday's festivities concerned hope, gaining a prize, God's love in Heaven, and glory; today's celebrations concern how we should live in the present, good works, the love we receive on the way to Heaven, and working through Grace: the theme of Salvation is already prominent, since yesterday's rewards will be gained through today's methods. In the Sarum 'Great Breviary' of 1531, printed by Chevallon, the Lection is extended, and concludes with the approval granted to the Feast by Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503), in office from 1492 to his death, including its official establishment within the Kalendar on 7 August.⁴⁰⁸

The second Lection again appears in extended form in the 1531 Great Breviary. An added opening passage lists in order of importance the indulgences granted to those who observe the festivities of the Holy Name, beginning with the observance of Matins, the Mass or Vespers on the Feast day itself, continuing with the lesser Hours and Compline of the day, then Matins, Mass or Vespers throughout the Octave, with the other Offices coming last in the list. The benefits of the Feast are likened to those granted at Corpus Christi, instituted in 1246. This was another Major Double in Sarum Use celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

⁴⁰⁸ The printer mistakenly identifies the Pope as Alexander IV (1199-1261).

There is much rejoicing in Heaven as the celebration of the Name means Salvation can be effected. The comparison of the Name with the sweetness of honey, a simile coined by St Bernard in his Sermon XV from his *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, and encountered in the Office Hymns *Iesu dulcis memoria* and *Iesu auctor clemencie* discussed above, is first mentioned here. The Lection ends with the assertion that this festivity has been long awaited by the prophets: this theme rises to prominence in the Lectons. The narrative of the event, which signified that the wait was over, closes the Lection: ‘Quod ex te nascetur sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei: et nomen eius Iesus’ (*Lk* 1:35).

The compiler of the Office seems to have written at least parts of the first two Lectons himself, even if he occasionally draws on familiar phrases, such as ‘Iesu nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium’ which is taken from the Office Hymn for Compline on the Feast of the Ascension.⁴⁰⁹ The third Lection, on the other hand, draws heavily on Scripture (*Corinthians* and *Acts*); St Bernard (*Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles* (XXII and XV), his *Book of Sentences* and his sermon ‘On the Circumcision’) and the writings of other Church Fathers, such as Anselm of Canterbury (c.1033-1109); Peter Chrysologus (c.380–c.450), and Guibert de Nogent (c.1055–1124). As a result this Lection is rich in content, even if it appears like an incoherent list of credentials for the Name: Jesus is wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption (*Cor.* 1:30), and his name leads to confession, contrition and compunction (Bernard, Sermon XXII). The Name was entrusted by God unto Paul to carry forth to the Gentiles and to Kings (*Acts* 9:15). As noted above, the Name is sweetness itself (Bernard, Sermon XV) and to sinners it brings strength and hope (Anselm, ‘Meditation I’). The Name has healing properties and most importantly drives out demons (Peter Chrysologus, ‘Sermon 144’). This wonderful name ‘Jesus’ was hidden in the past but is now made known to all in the present: it means Salvation, since it was bestowed upon him by God who saves; by the angel, who decreed his salvific powers at his conception; and by his father Joseph, whose humanity was that of his son, and this is what brought about our Salvation (Bernard, Sermon II, ‘On the Circumcision’). In spite of the absence of connection between the references, this list summarizes the salvific powers of the Name, and

⁴⁰⁹ F. Proctor and C. Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, 3 vols, (Canterbury, 1879-86), II, col. 235.

serves as an appropriate introduction to the subject at the start of Matins and indeed to the Feast itself, as these themes will occur frequently throughout the Office.

Nocturn II (Lections 4-6)

Except for an excerpt from the *Epistle to the Ephesians*, Lections 4 and 5 are lifted almost verbatim from Bernard's Sermon XV, and express the notion (already encountered in the third Respond at the end of the Nocturn I) of the Name being 'oleum effusum' or like 'oil poured out,' with all of its inherent properties, namely the potential to shed light, provide nourishment and act as a medicine. As God called the Gentiles out of darkness into faith in Jesus Christ, the Name has turned out to be a light, and in the same way that food is restorative to the body, the Name strengthens the faith of the believer. Another familiar phrase, 'Iesus est mel in ore/ in aure melos/ in corde iubilus', encountered implicitly in the Office Hymn *Exultet cor precordiis* closes the Lection. Lection 5, which follows, is devoted to the idea that the Name is a spiritual medicine, as it brings serenity, prevents crime, drives out fear and produces fortitude. The cited Psalm, (*Ps.* 49: 15) acts as a reminder that the Name, when invoked, will bring Salvation. 'Jesus' also curbs the temptation to commit the Seven Deadly Sins, since through invocation of the same one calls to mind a man who presents none of these weaknesses, but in fact all their opposite virtues. Thus the name of Jesus is the ultimate succour, and there is no other medicine as effective or powerful. Lection 6, which draws on Bernard's Sermons XV and XLV, exhorts the worshipper to correct his sins, but is really a eulogy of the Name, begotten before the devil, always wonderful and always victorious.

Nocturn III (Lections 7-9)

Lection 7 is a homily written by Origen and serves as an exegesis of the preceding Gospel passage (*Matt.* 1: 20-22) that customarily began Nocturn III: here it describes Joseph's very human hesitation when faced with the instruction to take Mary as his wife. God's response to his predicament is to remind him through a vision that it is the Holy Spirit acting through him, and that it is not for him to decide how to act; instead he is to name him 'Jesus' and in so doing to act as a witness that he is the Saviour. The following Respond echoes the theme in drawing on the angel's announcement to Mary, a reminder that there were two human witnesses to Jesus' assigination of his name.

Lectios 8 and 9, drawn from Sermon XVII ‘On the Vigil of the Nativity of Our Lord’ by Paul the Deacon (c.720–c.799), is a summary of the coming of Jesus and the bestowing of his Name to effect Salvation: he is an ancient Saviour, and is like God in that he can save men from their sins, as shall be shown through his death and Resurrection. Everything has been deliberately set in motion by God for this to happen, namely the appearances of the angels, the Incarnation through the virgin birth and the exaltation of the Name. Jesus’ birth atones for the sins of Adam, for Eve’s disobedience, and for the sins of the succeeding generations. Lection 9 discusses the notion that Jesus is called Emmanuel, or ‘God is with us’: as in the preceding Lection, the Name was given to him a long time ago, but now the author leaps forward to the time of the Apostles, Christian martyrs and believers, as living examples of God being with us. As ‘God with us’ Jesus lived thirty years on earth among us and died for men’s sins. After his death, ‘God with us’ has been revealed through the preaching of the Evangelists and Apostles, through the sacrament of his body, through the sign of the cross and the exaltation of the Holy Name. Nocturn III in general embroiders the theme of Jesus meaning ‘God with us’. The opening and closing Antiphons at Lauds, the Office that follows, concern Jesus’ naming as Jesus, first in *Luke* 1: 31, then *Matthew* 1:21.

Observance of the Holy Name in the past, present, and future is the theme which imbues these nine Lectios: the powers of the Name were prophesied a long time ago, and came into force before the birth of Jesus Christ, through the message of an angel. Since the death of Jesus Christ his name has continued to effect Salvation, as testified by the Apostles and numerous martyrs. Today, the Name, which is sweetness itself when recalled, brings strength to all believers. By contrast with the celebrations of the Transfiguration the day before, which celebrated the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Holy Name offers a means of Salvation for the rest of humanity and the rest of time.

The Lectios of the Octave, unlike those of the Feast Day itself, appear to draw far less on external sources. Apart from the third day (‘the sanctification of the name’), the Lectios concern the more tangible aspects of the name of Jesus, namely its composition, its description and its pronunciation.

Day 2 of the Octave, of the Constitution of the Holy Name of Jesus (Lections 1-3)

Lecture 1 concerns the formation of ‘de incomprehensibili huius sacratissimi nominis’, i.e. this most incomprehensible and most sacred Name, and extols the wisdom and divine knowledge contained within so few letters. The name of Jesus which is full of glory, contains everything man seeks until Jesus is to come again; it is perfect like all of God’s creation. Lecture 2 continues in the same vein, claiming that none of the three Hebrew letters, which make up the Name, is superfluous: the Name is a pictographic representation of the beginning and the end of life, thanks to the title. The word of his name is likened to The Word, Jesus himself according to *John* 1:1, which was there in the beginning, when God created heaven and earth (*Gen.* 1:1). Because the ‘Word became Flesh’ through the Incarnation, and Jesus died on the cross, uttering his last words, ‘Consummatum est’ (*Jn* 19:30), Jesus is also the end. Lecture 3 reiterates the notion that Jesus was a Saviour before he was even conceived: ‘he is the first and most recent Saviour.’ Jacob is cited as an example of someone who took on the mantle of Saviour; but only temporarily, as it was prophesied that Salvation would come through the name of Jesus. The Lecture entreats the faithful to worship the Name, and like the Apostle Paul, to know nothing other than Jesus (*1 Cor.* 2:2).

Day 3 of the Octave, of the Sanctification of the Name of Jesus (Lections 1-3)

In Lecture 1 the sweetness and richness of the Name may serve as a reminder to those who are not sufficiently mindful of the name of Jesus. The Name sanctifies the worshipper, who in return should sanctify the Name above all things. Salvation comes from Jesus, who effects Salvation across all lands and all generations (those of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob). Lecture 2 opens with a subtle reminder of *John* 1:1, namely that Jesus is the Word (*verbum*), and reiterates the healing properties of the Name; but while it may be glorified by the righteous it can also be blasphemed by the ungodly. Just like one tries not to soil a shiny garment, one seeks not to contaminate the Name. Lecture 3 provides a reminder of the great sacrifice Jesus made on the cross and how this enabled our Salvation: we are called upon to be worthy of this sacrifice, and to pray continuously for his grace, through which we may obtain this Salvation.

Day 5 of the Octave, of the Description of the Name of Jesus (Lections 1-3)

Lecture 1 refers to the reverence paid in Hebrew society to the Tetragrammaton, which means the beginning of life, in other words, the Saviour. Jesus is likened to the ladder reaching up to heaven in Jacob's dream (*Gen. 28:10-17*). In Lecture 2 the name of Jesus is the sign of the cross given during baptism as it also brings grace and transforms the character. As is said in *Revelation 22:4*, when they see his face his Name shall be written on their foreheads. This Lecture exhorts the chosen generation, as mentioned in *1 Peter 2:9*, to show forth the power of the Name, and to rejoice because their own names are written in heaven. Lecture 3 refers to Pilate's inscription of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross (*Jn 19:19-22*), how it insulted the Jews but proclaimed Salvation across the earth. John's vision of the New Jerusalem (*Rev. 21:9-21*), where Jesus Christ is the Lamb of God, is the place to which all worshippers should strive.

Day 6 of the Octave, of the Pronunciation of the Name of Jesus (Lections 1-3)

Lecture 1 refers to a series of prophecies, which announced this 'amenissimum nomen.' The first is contained in the 2nd Book of *Esdras*, otherwise known as the 4th Book of *Ezra* in the Apocrypha, and predicts that God's son Jesus shall be revealed to all believers, shall die, and by his death the world will be converted. The second prophet, Habakkuk, predicts that he will rejoice in Jesus (*Hab. 3:18*). This is the text of the Introit of the Mass of John the Baptist, who also foretold the coming of Jesus the Saviour. Thirdly, Isaiah foresees Jesus' calling (*Is.49:1*). These three prophets show that the Name was known from the beginning. Lecture 2 mentions the other men named 'Jesus' in the Old Testament; but none of them would save people from their sins like the Jesus we know, and to whom we should bend the knee (*Phil. 2:10*). There were many candidates for the position of Saviour, until Jesus was born. This Lecture, like many others, exhorts the worshipper to pronounce the name of Jesus, to anyone, so that the word may remain in speech and in action, as it is 'Verbum Dei manans ex corde' or the word of God flowing from the heart. The Lecture ends with a reminder that Jesus is the Word of God, because the Word of God 'was made flesh and dwelt among us' (*Jn 1:14*).

Lecture 3 is rich in content: Jesus has three titles, Son of God, Christ and Jesus, the last being the name which unites him to his humanity. The text continues with a

passage adapted from Bernard's Sermon for the Vigil of the Nativity, in which he claims that the Lord comes with Salvation, anointing and glory. Quoting Books VI and VII of *On the Trinity* by Hilary of Poitiers (c.300–c.368), the compiler then argues that we know Jesus by his name, nature, birth, power and by his declaration. The Lection ends asking for impiety to be silenced, for those who deny Jesus, such as Jews, to depart, and for believers to confess the sacred name of Jesus and to glory in his Name for centuries to come.

Sunday of the Octave (Lections 1-6)

Lection 1 is very hortatory in tone, reminding the faithful that God has been merciful towards them not only by coming down to earth but also by revealing himself through his Name. The patriarchs believed and foretold the coming of Christ, even if this was not always expressed clearly, the example given being that of Jacob's prophecy (*Gen.* 49:10). In Lection 2, this name that was once hidden is now to be venerated by the faithful: it is a name most sweet and glorious, above every other name (*Phil.* 2:9) and brought into this world by an angel (*Lk* 1:31) who is a messenger from God (*Is.* 62:2). Lections 3 and 4 recall the declaration of God to Moses that he is unable to see his face and live, and therefore can only see his back (*Ex.* 33:20). The faithful have seen the back parts, not only through the Incarnation, the Circumcision, the Passion, the Ascension, but also through the revelation of his name Jesus. Salvation could only be effected when Jesus was named on earth. Contrast is drawn between the name of the unknown God (revealed to Moses, 'I am who I am', *Ex.* 3:14) which is of fear; and the name Jesus, which is of love and is accessible to all. According to the Apostle Paul, the faithful were washed, sanctified and justified in Jesus Christ (*1 Cor.* 6:11), and it is through this Name that they will be saved. Lection 5 calls upon Paul once more to exhort the faithful to venerate the Name and do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus (*Col.* 3:17). Ignatius, who is mentioned in the Jesus Mass Sequence, is cited as an example of a martyr who overcame the pain of his passion by invoking the name of Jesus, and who was rewarded posthumously by having this name inscribed in golden letters on his heart. Lection 6 lists a series of miracles performed in the name of Jesus by Dionysius the Athenian, John the Evangelist, Peter and John, concluding with the efficaciousness of the Name.

These first six Lections of the Sunday of the Octave (the final three repeating those of the Feast itself, as noted above) provide a summary of the History of Salvation: prophecies, Moses' encounter with God, the revelation of the Name through the Incarnation and the life of Jesus Christ; Paul's promises of the salvific powers of the Name, the example of Ignatius and miracles performed in the Name. They form a coherent whole, and it seems likely that they were written by the same person.

Lections for the Octave Day

Nocturn I (Lections 1-3)

Lecture 1 claims that rewards await those who confess the name of Jesus; those who deny it are worse than infidels. The Name is therefore to be venerated in heart, voice and deed. The example of Paul regaining his sight after he had been baptized in the name of Jesus is cited: the faithful are invited to join him, as he was the chosen vessel to carry the Name (*Acts 9:15*). Jesus can be with us through his name, if we ponder it, hear it, utter it, read it, and see it. The title of 'name above all names' is not undeserved, and because all protection comes from it, it should be venerated as the most devout of names. Lecture 2 speaks of Jesus as the sweetest name, and how sweet it is to weep for Jesus in this world, and even more so in the next. Lecture 3 is very hortatory in tone, exhorting the worshipper to join together with all the angels, Church and people in venerating the Name, with all his heart, soul and strength: 'Hunc diligere ex toto corde teneris, tota anima, et omnibus viribus tuis.'

Nocturn II (Lections 7-9)

Lections 7 to 9 are taken from Bernard's second then first sermons 'On the Circumcision'. Lecture 7 recalls some of the previously mentioned attributes of his name, namely that it was granted to Jesus while he was still in the womb (the theme of the Lauds Antiphon) and that the Name came from God, as is fitting for a name destined for a Saviour. Jesus has many names, 'admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis, pater future seculi, princeps pacis' (*Is. 20:6*); these names are great, but Jesus is the name which is above every name (*Phil. 2:11*). Perhaps the name Jesus is found in all the other names poured out, as it is said in the *Song of Songs* (*Can. 1:2*), 'Oleum effusum nomen tuum'. Lecture 8 explains in what way he is wonderful, a counsellor, God, the Everlasting Father, and the Prince of Peace. Salvation will be truly revealed when the name Jesus is invoked. Lecture 9 asks about the link between the fact that

Jesus was circumcised and called Jesus, and continues to answer the question raised at the beginning of Lection 7, why Jesus was circumcised in the first place: is it not the predicament of those in need of Salvation, rather than the Saviour himself? He is on the one hand the mediator between God and men, and so his birth unites both the divine and the human: on the one hand he was circumcised as a human, as a ‘*verus Abrahae filius*’; on the other hand he was called Jesus, the name which is above every other name (*Phil. 2:9*), a name assigned to him from Heaven, as the Son of God. The Lection recalls the divinity of Jesus celebrated the day before: he is a Saviour of angels as well as of men, because he was given the name Jesus by the angel before his birth, and named Jesus by men after his birth. The final message of the final Lection makes clear that although Jesus did not require any witnesses, three were provided for mankind, in the form of the angel, Mary and Joseph, so that we might not fail in our beliefs. The compiler adapts Bernard’s words, substituting the name ‘Christus’ for ‘Jesus’.

This remarkably complete set of Lections for the Office of the Holy Name of Jesus explore many of the themes already encountered in the Mass; they are also prevalent elsewhere in the Hymnody, Psalmody and Chapters of the Office. The name Jesus means Salvation, and invocation of the same, if done with heart, mind and soul, brings healing, remission of sins, strength and hope, as well as a place in the world to come. The sweetness of the Name, as explored in the meditation *Iesu dulcis memoria* is another recurring theme across the Lections. Related to, but nevertheless separate from, the sweetness, is the idea rooted in the *Song of Songs*, that the Name is like oil poured out, with all the properties of oil, namely the potential for giving light, restoring and healing. The Lections draw heavily on Bernard’s sermons, although it is not just those on the *Song of Songs*, which interest the compiler: Bernard’s sermons on the Nativity and the Circumcision also provide material for the Lections. This must in part be because both these events are intrinsically linked with the naming of Jesus.

Yet the Lections also raise themes, which were made less explicit in the Mass, to the extent that the Office offers a new perspective on the Holy Name. Matthew’s and Luke’s accounts of the naming of Jesus occupy a prominent place in the Lections, as they not only illustrate the meaning of his name as ‘Saviour’, but they also draw attention to the tension explained in the final Lection of the Office: the Name was

bestowed upon Jesus before he was born, and thus came from God; however, it was ultimately given to him by human beings, his parents Mary and Joseph, who became the witnesses and executors of God's instructions. The cooperation of God, angel and human parents to complete the naming of Jesus is overlooked in the Mass, as it is the meaning of the name 'Jesus' which takes centre stage.

That the Name was long foretold and awaited by the Old Testament prophets is another aspect of the Holy Name made very explicit in the Lections, and the compiler relies heavily on Scripture, namely the *Psalms* and *Isaiah* to certify this. Other Old Testament saviours are cited as predecessors of Jesus, but these were biding their time as the Holy Name was prophesied to come one day, which it eventually did in the form of Jesus Christ. The role of prophecy adds a dimension to the Office not encountered in the Mass, whose Propers draw more obviously on the New Testament. With quotations taken from the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the *Psalms*, the Lections provide a more comprehensive exegesis of the Holy Name.

The Anonymous Compiler of the Office

The variety of scriptural sources (Pentateuch, Prophets, Psalms, Gospels, Epistles, Revelation and Apocrypha) and the wide range of homiletics spanning at least a thousand years of thought all suggest that the compiler adopted a scholarly approach to writing the Office. Doubt has already been cast over Bale's claim for the authorship of Henry Horneby, partly on the grounds that in his late twenties and as a recent ordinand he may not have had the maturity to write an Office.⁴¹⁰

Signs of immaturity may indeed be discerned in the Office. It is true that in some Lections coherence is a casualty of too many citations, a sign of inexperienced scholarship (Lecture 3 of the Feast Day being a case in point). Moreover, the compiler draws heavily on Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons, to the exclusion of those such as Paul of Nola, The Venerable Bede and Thomas Aquinas, all significant figures who wrote comprehensively on the subject. On the other hand, the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux was already felt in the Mass of the Holy Name, evidently compiled a good deal earlier than the Office, and it has been noted that the Hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria*

⁴¹⁰ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 83.

was offered as an alternative Sequence. While Bernard's authorship of the meditation is also disputed, his influence over the liturgical practice of devotion to the Holy Name is nevertheless unquestionable. The compiler may have cannily decided that citing Bernard was a means of ensuring the Office would remain a popular set of devotions.

While some Lections are more obscure than others, the overall Office shows cohesion in so far as its integral components all interlink thematically and refer back to one another. Sometimes, the chosen Psalms and psalmodic borrowings introduce or reinforce the contents of the Chapter readings. For example, at Lauds, the Antiphon, derived from *Psalms* 148:12-13, 'Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the Name of the Lord [...] precedes the Chapter (1 *Corinth.* 1:2) 'Unto all that in every place call on the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ [...]' Links can also be made between the Hymns and the Lections: the sweetness of the name, for example, the central theme of the Hymns *Iesu dulcis memoria*, as well as a peripheral one in *Exultet cor precordiis*, is mentioned on Octave Day 3 Lection 1, the Sunday within the Octave Lection 2, and on the Octave Day Lection 1. Many of Jesus' designations discussed in the hymn *Alma chorus domini* occur in the Lections: Bridegroom/sponsus (Feast Day Lection 4), Sun of righteousness/sol iusticie (Feast Day Lection 6) Fount of life /Fons vite (Feast Day Lection 3), Lamb/agnus (Fifth Day Lection 3), Cornerstone/Lapis (Octave Day Lection 3), just to mention a few. The compiler of the Office of the Holy Name has consciously sought to achieve a sequence of devotions, which promote and constantly reiterate the same themes, thus producing a coherent Office.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the puzzling existence of an Indulgence, explained in detail in Lections 1 and 2 of the 1531 Breviary, yet omitted from those liturgical books printed after 1494 (the date of the Papal Bull) and listed in Table 3.7 of Chapter 3, offers the possibility that the Office underwent a stage of revisions. Yet as this same table revealed, the Lections for the Octave had already been written and included in the Office by 1493/1494, or even earlier.

Conclusion

As has been shown, the salvific dimension of the Name, the most prominent theme of both Mass and Office, pervades the Office as a whole. Slightly more peripheral is the theme of the sweetness of the Name so prominent in the Collect, in which the faithful are called to worship it with the ‘sweetest affection’ in order to receive the ‘sweetness of holy consolation’, which also echoes throughout the Lections and some of the other items.

As a collection of texts on a far greater scale than the Mass, the Office provides scope to explore some of these themes more fully, and offer new perspectives on the salvific powers in particular. Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermon XV on the *Song of Songs*, from which Lections 4-6 of the Feast Day derive, shows how the Holy Name is like an oil, in that it nourishes, sheds light and acts as a medicine: this is Salvation in a practical day-to-day sense. Similarly, the references to the Old Testament prophecies in the Lections also provide another degree of significance to the origins and history of the Holy Name: much anticipated, the name of Jesus was promised long ago, and has therefore been in existence since the beginning of Salvation itself. This notion is reinforced by the Psalmody (and items derived from the *Psalms*, often adapted for purpose), which entreat the faithful to worship the Name, and the Hymn *Alma chorus domini* which celebrates the different designations for Jesus. Finally, the frequent reference to Matthew’s and Luke’s accounts of the angel’s apparition to Joseph and Mary respectively, emphasize that there were human witnesses to God’s bestowal of the salvific name. The Office provides a richer understanding of the Mass of the Holy Name.

Section IV

The Feast of the Transfiguration: a Contrasting Feast?

Chapter 7

The Feast of the Transfiguration: Scripture and liturgical texts

The close relationship of the Kalendar Feasts of the Holy Name (7 August) and the Transfiguration (6 August), in England falling on successive days in the summer, was noted in Chapter 3. This relationship is made explicit in more than one medieval source, and it is one that demands proper exploration. Chapter 6 made mention of the lengthy reference to the Feast of the Transfiguration in the first Lection of Festal Matins of the Holy Name (given below), which confirms that the proximity of the two Feasts in the Kalendar was not a coincidence. Indeed, it appears that there was even a deliberate attempt on the part of the Church to present the two Feasts as a pair so that they might be observed as such. One expression of this pairing at St Paul's Cathedral London was discussed in Chapter 4.⁴¹¹

To explore the inter-relationship of the two adjacent Feasts further, this chapter and the one following are both devoted to the Feast of the Transfiguration. To some extent their structure parallels that of the earlier comparative chapters on the Holy Name. Chapter 7 (see Chapters 1 and 5) examines the theological significance of the Feast as gleaned from both Scripture and from a standard version of the liturgical texts of the Mass and Office of the Transfiguration. This exploration will help explain why it makes sense to observe the two Feasts on consecutive days. Chapter 8 (see Chapter 3) will then elucidate the spread of the adoption of the Feast as traced through its appearance in liturgical books. This survey will show the extent of the practice of the devotion to the Transfiguration in England during the pre-Reformation period, and will shed light on the extent to which this Feast and that of the Holy Name were celebrated together at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

The first Matins Lection of the Sarum Office of the Holy Name not only makes reference to the Feast of the Transfiguration the day before, but also contrasts their respective significance as if they are complementary and to be understood together:

Heri celebravimus Iesum in celso montis vertice transfiguratum: hodie in ymis terris humiliatum. Heri qualis apud Patrem Jesus erat prodebat sui corporis candore : hodie celebramus quomodo latens divinitas operatur nostra sub humili natura sacramenta salutis. Heri quales erimus secundum spem suo ostendit splendore: hodie quales

⁴¹¹ Elisabeth A. New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c.1450–1558' (Ph.D, London, 1999), 321.

secundum fidem beato debemus vivere more. Heri suam nobis charitatem commendavit ad præmium: hodie ministratur sua charitas ad meritum. Illa in patria: ista in via. Illa in gloria consummante: ista in doctrina cum gratia misericorditer cooperante.

Yesterday we celebrated Jesus transfigured at the top of the high mountain: today we celebrate him humbled upon the lowly earth. Yesterday, how Jesus showed by the splendour of his body what sort he was with the father. Today, we celebrate how the hidden divinity operates under the humility of our nature the grace of Salvation. Yesterday, he showed by his own splendour what sort we will be in hope: today of what sort we must be to live according to faith in a blessed fashion. Yesterday he entrusted his love to us for the gain of a prize: today his love is supplied for good works. The former love in the ancestral land (heaven); the latter love on the way there. The former is consuming glory; the other in teaching, working mercifully, in grace.⁴¹²

The first four sentences begin with ‘Heri’ (yesterday) and are followed by another clause beginning with ‘hodie’ (today), as if the Holy Name can only be understood in relation to the Transfiguration. The lexis of contrast continues with ‘Illa’ (the former) and ‘ista’ (the latter). Because these sentences have a prominent position in the first of the Matins Lectures, it seems clear that the compiler was seeking to highlight the differences between the two Feasts. The comparison continues with the words that the day before Jesus ‘was with the Father’ (‘qualis apud Patrem Jesus erat prodebat’), whereas today we celebrate him ‘under the humility of our nature’, or ‘sub humili natura’, albeit under the cloak of divinity. The contrast is therefore drawn between Christ’s divinity celebrated on 6 August, and his humanity observed on 7 August. It is rare to find an Office making such direct reference to its Kalendar precursor, and significant that the worshipper is here explicitly invited to be mindful of the associated theology. The Sarum Office of the Holy Name therefore provides direct evidence that the Feasts were to be observed as a pair.

The Transfiguration in Scripture

The Feast of the Transfiguration commemorates the occasion related in all three Synoptic Gospels,⁴¹³ where Jesus takes Peter, James and his brother John up a mountain. He is transfigured before them: his face shines like the sun and his clothes are white as light. Then Moses and Elijah appear alongside. Suddenly a bright cloud overshadows them and a voice proclaims, ‘This is my Son, my Beloved, on whom my favour rests; listen to him.’⁴¹⁴ When the disciples hear this, they are afraid and fall on their faces. On the way down from the

⁴¹² Translated by Judith Aveling.

⁴¹³ *Matt.* 17:1-9; *Mk* 9: 2-8; *Lk* 9:28-36.

⁴¹⁴ *Matt.* 17:5-6.

mountain (in the accounts recorded by Mark and Matthew), Jesus asks the disciples not to mention to anyone what they have witnessed, until the Son of Man has risen from the dead.

Much theological significance can be drawn from this incident: firstly, Jesus' identity as the Son of God, the Anointed One, is confirmed by God himself, who instructs the disciples to listen to him. God here presents him as his mouthpiece and messenger.⁴¹⁵ Secondly, God makes clear that Jesus' laws now surpass those of Moses and the Prophets, represented by Elijah. *2 Peter* 1:16-18 echoes this: in referring to this incident Peter writes, 'We saw him with our own eyes in majesty, when at the hands of God the Father he was invested with honour and glory...' The Transfiguration confirms that Jesus is the Christ, and the one God has chosen to proclaim the kingdom of heaven on earth, in the process reaffirming the filial relationship between him and the Father. Thirdly, Jesus, in appearing in glory during his earthly life, becomes a connecting point between the temporal and the eternal, between earth and heaven.⁴¹⁶

In the light of this interpretation, the juxtaposition of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name becomes significant: a Feast celebrating the deification of Jesus is observed the day before a Feast celebrating his earthly name, 'Jesus'. Thus the two aspects of Jesus' person, his divinity on the one hand, and his humanity on the other, are observed on two consecutive days. In more prosaic terms, his special status as 'Anointed One' contrasts with his ordinary status of a human being with a name.

The associated Liturgical texts for Office and Mass

As noted earlier, the Feast of the Transfiguration has much earlier roots than that of the Holy Name, and once again Richard Pfaff provides a thorough survey of its development.⁴¹⁷ Its origins can be traced back to Patristic times, and it seems always to have been observed on 6 August in the East.⁴¹⁸ In the West, the earliest use of Matthew's Gospel account of the

⁴¹⁵ Andreas Andreopoulos, *Metamorphosis: the Transfiguration in Byzantine theology and iconography* (New York, 2005), 47–9.

⁴¹⁶ Dorothy A. Lee, *Transfiguration* (London, 2004), 2.

⁴¹⁷ Other recent studies of note, particularly with regard to the emergence of the feast in the West, include Kenneth Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny', in Melanie Ross and Simon Jones (eds), *The Serious Business of Worship* (London, Continuum, 2010), 78-87, and Charles Caspers, 'Wandering between Transubstantiation and Transfiguration: Images of the Prophet Elijah in Western Christianity', in Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua J. Schwartz (ed.), *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* (Jewish & Christian Perspectives Series), (Leiden, 2004), 335-67.

⁴¹⁸ Richard W. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 13.

Transfiguration (*Matt.* 17: 1-9) was in the fifth century, when it was the appointed Gospel for Ember Saturday before the second Sunday in Lent (a practice that continued after confirmation of the Feast itself), and when Pope Leo the Great (d. 461) preached a sermon on the text.⁴¹⁹ Two early medieval sources, namely the Spanish *Sacramentarium Vicennense* (Vich Sacramentary) of 1038,⁴²⁰ and liturgical fragments from south Italy dating to c.1000, found at Peterling, Switzerland (later a Cluniac house)⁴²¹ witness to an incipient observance of the Feast in Europe in the eleventh century. The Feast is also mentioned in liturgical books from France and Italy, dating back to the eleventh and in more cases to the twelfth centuries.⁴²²

However, it is Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) who seems to have been the main promulgator of the observance on both the Continent and in England from the mid twelfth century.⁴²³ As Abbot of Cluny, he called for all Cluniac houses to observe the Feast in 1132,⁴²⁴ as dictated in his fifth statute:

Statutum est, ut per omnia monasteria vel ecclesias, quae ad Cluniacum pertinent, Transfiguratio Domini eo more quo Purificatio sanctae Mariae, excepta processione, cum lectionibus, responsoriis, et officiis ad diem pertinentibus celebretur. Causa instituti huius fuit, ipsa admirabilis post natiuitatem vel resurrectionem Christi, transfigurationis eius, nulli alii diei solemnitati inferior dignitas, et antiquus atque modernus multarum per orbem ecclesiarum usus, quae non minore quam Epiphaniam vel Ascensionem Domini honore iam dictae transfigurationis memoriam recolunt.⁴²⁵

The statute requires that in all monasteries and churches of the Cluniac Order, be celebrated the Transfiguration of our Lord, in the same manner as that of the Purification of Holy Mary, except that it has no Procession, with Lections, Respons and Offices Proper to the day.

The cause of this institution is two-fold: on the one hand, the dignity of the Feast of the Transfiguration is in no way inferior to that of the Nativity or the Resurrection of Christ, and on the other hand, the ancient and modern usage in many churches, of

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 13.

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 15.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 15. It has also been suggested that the Feast arrived from the East via Spain before passing into France, even if the early evidence in the West is relatively slender: Dom Jean Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Abbaye de St Wandrille, 1946), 380.

⁴²² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 16

⁴²³ See Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable*, particularly Appendix III, 'L'Office de la Transfiguration', 379-90. A partial transcription of Peter's Transfiguration Office and Mass (without notation) is included at pp. 382-90.

⁴²⁴ Robert Folz, 'Pierre le Vénérable et la liturgie', in *Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XIIIe siècle (abbaye de Cluny, 2 au 9 juillet 1972)*, ed. Jean Chatillon, Jean Jolivet, and Rene Louis, Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 546 (Paris, 1975), 143-61. Folz maintains that the statutes are difficult to date; 1132 is usual as it follows a series of innovations Peter introduced after summoning the great chapter, 152.

⁴²⁵ Statute 5 *Statuta Petra Venerabilis*, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, Tomus VI, *Consuetudines Benedictinae Variarum*, ed. Giles Constable (Siegburg 1975), 45-6.

commemorating the Transfiguration with honours similar to those of the Epiphany or Ascension of our Lord.⁴²⁶

Peter the Venerable also compiled Proper texts for a new Office⁴²⁷ (comprising both Antiphons and Responds with notation, and Lections that draw on both his own sermon on the Transfiguration and that of Leo the Great).⁴²⁸ He compiled additional Propers for the Mass of the Transfiguration, although the Preface, parts of the Canon and other prayers are adaptations of existing material found in the Vich Sacramentary and Peterling fragments.⁴²⁹ Even though Pope Callistus III (1378-1458) also had a new Transfiguration Mass and Office composed much later in order to present the Feast as entirely new,⁴³⁰ it is surprisingly the framework of Peter the Venerable's version of the Mass and Office which later became absorbed into the printed Sarum liturgical books.

As Leclercq points out regarding the Office, two of the Hymns Peter specifies predate the twelfth century, and therefore Pope Callistus' version, together with many of the formulae he draws upon were already in existence.⁴³¹ However, to these Peter added his own Responds, Hymns, and Prayers, and the result is a compilation of his own creation, inspired by Biblical material. Leclercq calls the Office '*prolix*' because of its abundance and variety of texts: unusually, Sext and None have their own Proper Collects for example.⁴³² Table 7.1 below compares Peter the Venerable's version of the Office,⁴³³ with that found in the printed Sarum Breviary.⁴³⁴ The initial similarities are evident, though bold type indicates the presence of items particular to the latter. Orthography follows the original source.

⁴²⁶ Paraphrased by Judith Aveling

⁴²⁷ The following edition is attributed to Peter the Venerable: *F-BN MS lat. 17716*, XIth century, from Saint-Martin-des-Champs, ff. 7v-24v; It is confirmed in *F-BN MS lat. 942*, ff. 208-213.

⁴²⁸ The source for Lessons 1-8 (Peter's sermon) is found in Petri Venerabilis, Abbatiss Cluniacensis Noni, 'Sermo Primus De Transfiguratione Domini,' *PL*, (Paris, 1890) vol. 189, cols 953-72, and for Lections 9-12 (Leo the Great) in Sancti Leonis Magni, Sermo LI, *PL*, (1846), Vol. 54, cols 308-13. Pfaff thinks it unlikely that the Lections were inserted into the Office during Peter the Venerable's lifetime. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, fn 3, 17.

⁴²⁹ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 22.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴³¹ Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable*, 381.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 381.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 381.

⁴³⁴ F Procter and C Wordsworth (eds.), *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum*, (3 vols, Cambridge, 1879-86, reprinted 1970) Volume 3 <https://archive.org/details/breviarium03cath>

Table 7.1: The Office of the Transfiguration: Cluniac and Sarum forms

	Peter the Venerable	Sarum Office
Vespers I	<p>R: Assumens Iesus V: Ne videntes H: O nata lux V: Adoramus patrem/ R: Regnantem Mag: Visionem quam</p>	<p>A1: Assumpsit Iesus A2: Dum transfiguraretur A3: Tunc Petrus dixit A4: Adhuc eo A5: De qua vox</p> <p>Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil.</i> 3: 20)</p> <p>R: Assumens Iesus V: Ne videntes H: Celestis formam glorie V: Adoremus patrem/ R: Regnantem Mag: Visionem quam Or: Deus qui nos sacrum</p>
Matins <i>Nocturn I</i>	<p>H: O sator rerum</p> <p>A1: Assumpsit discipulos A2: Hodie Dominus Iesus A3: Ecce nubes A4: Petrus et qui cum illo A5: Respondens Petrus A6: Accedentes discipuli V: Celi aperti sunt / R: Et vox facta est</p> <p>[Lectons 1-4 from Peter's sermon on the Transfiguration (omitted by Leclercq)] R1: Assumptis hodie V: Ut autem R2: Coram tribus V: Ut in ore R3: Assumens Iesus V: Ne videntes R4: Primogenitus prodii V: Priusquam montes</p>	<p>Inv: Christum regem Ps: Venite exultemus H: O sator rerum</p> <p>A1: Hodie Dominus Iesus (A2) A2: Ecce nubes (A3) A3: Petrus et qui cum illo (A4)</p> <p>V: Celi aperti sunt / R: Et vox paterna est</p> <p>[Lectons 1 -3 (different source)]</p> <p>R1: Assumptis hodie V: Ut autem R2: Coram tribus V: Ut in ore R3: Primogenitus prodii V: Priusquam montes</p>
<i>Nocturn II</i>	<p>A7: Ante duos vates A8: Celi aperti sunt A9: Quam discipuli A10: Vox de celo A11: Domine, bonum est nos A12: Visionem quam vidistis V: Adorate Dominum / R: In aula sancta [Lectons 5-8 from Peter's sermon (omitted by Leclercq)]</p> <p>R5: Claruit magnitudo V: Assumpsit Iesus R6: Hodie in monte V: Intonuit de celo R7: Discipuli Christi V: Tante tamque R8: Sicut unius Dei V: Moyses et Elias</p>	<p>A4: Respondens Petrus (Matins A5) A5: Accedentes discipuli (Matins A6) A6: Ante duos vates</p> <p>V: Adorate Dominum / R: In aula sancta [Lectons 4-6 (different source)]</p> <p>R4: Claruit magnitudo V: Assumpsit Iesus R5: Hodie in monte V: Intonuit de celo R6: Discipuli Christi V: Tante tamque</p>
<i>Nocturn III</i>	<p>A13: Iesus ad discipulos</p> <p>V: Adorate Dominum / R: Omnes angeli eius</p> <p>Ev: In illo tempore (<i>Matt.</i> 17: 1-9)</p> <p>[Lectons 9-12, from homily of Leo the Great (omitted by Leclercq)]</p>	<p>A7: Celi aperti sunt (Matins A8) A8: Vox de celis (Matins A 10 = <i>celo</i>) A9: Visionem quam vidistis (Matins A12) V. Domine miserere / R: Intonuit</p> <p>Ev: In illo tempore (<i>Matt.</i> 17:1-9)</p> <p>[Lectons 7-9, from homily of Leo the Great]</p>

	R9: Ecce nubes V: Et audientes R10: Hodie Pater V: Celi aperti sunt R11: Descendentibus V: Ne mors eius R12: Videns Petrus Moysen V: Petrus vero / R: Videns Petrus	R7: Hodie Pater V: Celi aperti sunt R8: Descendentibus V: Ne mors eius R9: Videns Petrus Moysen V: Petrus vero V: Adoremus / R: Regnantem
Lauds	A1: Accessit Iesus A2: Ut testimonium A3: Lex per Moysen A4: Descendentibus A5: Celi aperti sunt Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 3: 20</i>) R: Confirmandis et ad veri V: Quoniam Christi H: O nata lux V: Sit nomen Domini/ R: Ex hoc Ben: Tribus discipulis Or: Deus qui superno	A1: Accessit Iesus A2: Iesus ad discipulos (Matins A13) A3: Ut testimonium A4: Lex per Moysen A5: Descendentibus Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 3: 20</i>) H: O nata lux V: Sit nomen Domini/ R: Ex hoc Ben: Tribus discipulis Or: Deus qui Unigenitum tuum hodierna
Prime		A: Accessit Iesus (Lauds A1)
Terce	Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 3: 20</i>)	A: Iesus ad discipulos (Lauds A2) Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 3: 20</i>) R: Adoremus Patrem V: Regnantem V: Dies sanctificatus [/ V: Venite gentes]
Sext	Cap: Notam fecimus vobis (2 <i>Peter</i> 1:16-17) Or: Concede nobis Domine	A: Ut testimonium (Lauds A2) Cap: Notum fecimus vobis (2 <i>Peter</i> 1:16-17) R: Dies sanctificatus V: Venite gentes
None	Cap: Hanc vocem (2 <i>Peter</i> 1:18-19) Or: Fac nos quesumus Domine	A: Descendentibus (Lauds A4) Cap: Accepit Dominus (2 <i>Peter</i> 1:17) R: Adoremus V: In aula V: Adorate Deum / R: Omnes angeli
Vespers II	A1: Assumpsit Iesus A2: Hodie Dominus Iesus A3: Ecce nubes A4: Petrus et qui cum illo Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 4: 20</i>) R: Descendentibus V: Ne mors eius Alleluia V: Dies sanctificatus illuxit V: Venite gentes H: O nata lux V: Adoremus Patrem [/R: Regnantem] Mag: Hodie ad Patris A: Ave stella matutina [part of a memorial to the Virgin following Vespers?]	A1 Accessit Iesus (Lauds A1) Cap: Salvatorem expectamus (<i>Phil. 4: 20</i>) R: Confirmandis V: Quoniam H: O nata lux V: Adoremus Patrem / R: Regnantem Mag: Hodie ad Patris Or: Deus qui Unigenitum tuum hodierna

Key:

A: Antiphon

Ben: Benedictus Antiphon

Cap: Capitulum

Ev: Gospel Verse at Matins

H: Hymn

Inv: Invitatory

Pss: Psalms

R: Responsory

V/R Versicle & Respond

Mag: Magnificat Antiphon

O: Oratio

L: Lection

Structurally the two Offices are slightly different, in accordance with expectations: both are Festal forms with three Nocturns at Matins, but the Sarum version represents secular usage and the Petrus version – compiled for the Cluniac Order – is monastic. The most obvious distinction is that the monastic Office is fuller. Matins has twelve rather than nine Lections and Responds, thirteen rather than nine Antiphons, and six rather than three Psalms in the first two Nocturns. Similarly, only monastic Lauds provides a Respond after the Chapter reading, although the reverse is true for Prime, Terce, Sext and None, where only the secular version of each Office includes a short Respond after the reading. Monastic and secular forms of Festal Vespers are also distinct, with the monastic form providing only four Psalm Antiphons, and the secular form providing five.⁴³⁵ All of these features are reflected in the two respective versions of the Transfiguration Office. Peter also includes an extra Collect, providing for a Proper text for the Little Hours of Sext and None as well as for Lauds, although no Collect is specified for either First or Second Vespers. In contrast the Sarum Office follows convention in providing Proper Collects for just Vespers and Lauds, although neither of these concord with the Cluniac text. Some of the Antiphons included in the Sarum version are also peculiar to that Use, as is the Hymn for First Vespers, ‘*Celestis formam glorie.*’

In terms of content, both versions follow the synoptic Gospels closely (*Matt.* 17:1-9, *Mk* 9:2-8, *Lk* 9:28-36), with each Antiphon relating part of the narrative. This is particularly striking in the Petrus version, which is more copious in its provision of Antiphons and Responds: for example in Nocturn I of Matins in Peter’s version, six Antiphons respectively express the ascent of the mount and Transfiguration itself; Jesus standing resplendent in his clothes; the voice from above confirming Jesus as Son of God; the disciples beholding the glory of God; the offer of construction of the three tabernacles; and the disciples in fear of the voice turning to their Lord Jesus. The Responds reiterate the themes raised. Moreover, where Christ is made to speak, as in the fourth Respond of Nocturn I, the words are borrowed from Scripture.⁴³⁶ In the Sarum Office, the Antiphons of First Vespers also convey the Gospel account: the Transfiguration is an event that lends itself well to being divided up into single

⁴³⁵ As reflected in First Vespers of the Sarum Transfiguration Office, and Second Vespers of Peter the Venerable’s Office.

⁴³⁶ Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable*, 381.

phrases that summarize the narrative. In this respect, the Office of the Transfiguration is very different from that of the Holy Name, where the Antiphons for First Vespers celebrate and praise the Name, drawing mainly from the Psalms of the Old Testament.

In both the Cluniac and Sarum versions of the Transfiguration Office, the choice of Scripture for the Chapters is broadly the same in both versions. *Philippians* 3:20 occurs at Lauds, Terce, and Second Vespers, and additionally in First Vespers in the Sarum Office. This Verse addresses the notion that all Christians shall share in Jesus Christ's Salvation: 'But our citizenship is in heaven, and it is from there that we are expecting a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ.'⁴³⁷ This is a particularly apt choice in the Sarum version given the meaning of the name Jesus as 'Saviour', a focus of devotion for the Feast of the following day. Whether deliberate or coincidental, this reading makes a link to the celebrations of 7 August, and would suggest an invitation to observe the two Feasts as a pair. Matthew's account of the Transfiguration is predictably the text selected for the associated Mass, given its use as the appointed Gospel for Ember Saturday in Lent during the fifth century.⁴³⁸ Its location, occurring at Matins of Nocturn III in both Offices, is conventional.

Finally, a selection of verses from Peter's second Epistle (2 *Peter* 1:16-19) is used in the Little Hours of the Cluniac Office, where Peter relates his eyewitness account of the Transfiguration, with the voice from above confirming Jesus as the Son of God. Thus, the choice of scriptural passages enables in both versions a clear progression to take place over the course of the Office: first the promise made by the Apostle Paul of Salvation for Christian believers; next, the narrative of the events of the Transfiguration; and lastly, an eyewitness account of the Transfiguration which authenticates Christ's glorification by God the Father. Jesus as Saviour and Jesus as the Christ are at the forefront of the themes raised by the choice of Scripture.

There is some overlap between the Hymns in the two Offices. Both versions contain *O nata lux* and *O sator rerum*, while the Sarum Office contains in addition *Celestis formam glorie*. Even though the Collects are different, both sets commemorate the

⁴³⁷ 'Nostra autem conversatio in celis est: unde etiam Salvatorem expectamus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum', *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementiam*, Alberto Colunga, O.P. et Laurentio Turrado, Octava Editio, (Matriti, 1985), 1140.

⁴³⁸ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 13.

Transfiguration. However, where the two versions differ is in the choice of source for the Lections, even if in both Offices the deification of Jesus is a focus. The Matins Lections in Nocturns II and III of the Petrus version are drawn from his own sermon on the Transfiguration: this is ‘relentlessly theological’,⁴³⁹ draws on all three synoptic versions,⁴⁴⁰ and provides an explication of the significance of the Feast, both intellectual and practical. For Peter the Venerable, the Transfiguration is likened to a manifestation of God as a Trinity, ‘with the Father appearing in the voice, the Son in glorified flesh, and the Spirit in the cloud.’⁴⁴¹ This assimilation of the Transfiguration to the Trinity is not unique to Peter’s understanding: it would seem that the Mass forms of the Transfiguration used in the Holy Land in the middle of the twelfth century used the same chants as those celebrating the Trinity.⁴⁴² Another focus of the sermon is that Christ is revealed to the disciples as God, and Peter achieves this by employing the term ‘deificio’ three times:⁴⁴³ the Transfiguration enables God to reveal the ‘deified body’ of Christ, the disciples to behold the ‘deified body’, and finally for the Father to show the ‘deified body’ to all who are ready, undivided and unseparated.

At a more practical level, Peter the Venerable explains the choice of the three disciples, Peter, James and John, as the three aspects of the Christian life, namely the importance of recognizing the Lord, recognizing vices, and recognizing divine grace.⁴⁴⁴ Peter reflects on the meaning of the word ‘dilectio’ which he stresses differs from possessive, passing and worldly love, but contains the depth of the relationship between the Father and the Son.⁴⁴⁵ In brief, Peter’s sermon is Trinitarian and Christological, and offers some practical steps for self-improvement to its monastic audience.

⁴³⁹ Kenneth Stevenson, ‘The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny’, 80.

⁴⁴⁰ Petri Venerabilis, ‘Sermo Primus De Transfiguratione Domini,’ *PL*, Vol.189, 954-958.

⁴⁴¹ ‘Apparuit quippe ibi Pater in voce, Filius in glorificata carne, Spiritus sanctus in lucida nube:’ Petri Venerabilis, ‘Sermo...’ *PL*, 189, col. 954; K Stevenson, ‘The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny’, 81.

⁴⁴² Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 16.

⁴⁴³ K. Stevenson, ‘The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny’, 81; Petri Venerabilis, ‘Sermo...’ *PL*, 189, cols 959, 965, 968.

⁴⁴⁴ Petri Venerabilis, ‘Sermo...’ *PL*, Vol.189, cols 954-958.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 967-72.

The Sarum Office, in contrast, takes its Lections from different sources, namely from commentaries on the Gospels by Jerome and Bede.⁴⁴⁶ The first chapter of Leo the Great's 51st homily, which was aimed at a more general rather than a monastic audience,⁴⁴⁷ makes up Lections 7 to 9. Basing himself solely on Matthew's account, Leo sets out his stall at the start by establishing that it was necessary for God to teach the disciples that Jesus Christ was neither God without being man, nor man without being God;⁴⁴⁸ moreover, in anticipation of the crucifixion, the disciples had to behold his divine glory in order to face courageously the brutality and sorrow of the Passion.⁴⁴⁹ This dual, undivided and unseparated, nature of Jesus Christ remains the emphasis of Leo's sermon, which towards the end makes the point:

*Hic est Filius meus, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo factum est nihil (Jn I: 3): quia omnia quae facio similiter facit, et quid-quid operor, inseparabiliter mecum atque indifferenter operatur. In Patre enim est Filius, et in Filio Pater (Jn 5:,19), nec umquam unitas nostra dividitur. Et cum alius ego sim qui genui, alius ille quem genui, non aliud tamen de illo vobis cogitare fas est, quam de me sentire possibile est.*⁴⁵⁰

*'This is My Son, through Whom all things were made, and without Whom was nothing made' (Jn 1:3) because all things that I do He does in like manner: and whatever I perform, He performs with Me inseparably and without difference: for the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son, and Our Unity is never divided: and though I am One Who begot, and He the Other Whom I begot, yet is it wrong for you to think anything of Him which is not possible of Me.*⁴⁵¹

The sermons of both Peter the Venerable and Leo stress the divine nature of Jesus, even if their approaches are different: a *leitmotiv* in Peter's sermon is that the Trinity is the form through which God chooses to reveal himself and his work. In Leo's sermon, it is the dual nature of Jesus, which takes center stage. Thus both Offices, in spite of the difference in texts, are similar if not the same: they are conscientiously biblical, (the Petrus version especially), keep relating back to the events of the Transfiguration and reiterate the theme of Jesus' divinity. Both versions of the Mass

⁴⁴⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 33.

⁴⁴⁷ K. Stevenson, 'The Transfiguration Sermon of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny', 79.

⁴⁴⁸ Sancti Leonis Magni, Sermo LI, *PL*, (Paris, 1846), Vol. 54, col. 309; translation found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf212.ii.v.xxvi.html>, accessed on 19/06/2015.

⁴⁴⁹ Sancti Leonis Magni, Sermo LI, *PL*, col. 313.

⁴⁵⁰ Sancti Leonis Magni, Sermo LI, *PL*, col. 312.

⁴⁵¹ Leo's sermon, 196 translation found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf212.ii.v.xxvi.html>, accessed on 19/06/2015.

of the Transfiguration are also worthy of comparison, as set out in Table 7.2. Text highlighted in bold denotes items particular to the Sarum version.

Table 7.2: The Mass of the Transfiguration: Cluniac and Sarum forms

Peter the Venerable	Later Sarum Sources
Int: [not specified]	Int: [1] Veni et ostende nobis Ps. Qui regis Israel OR Int: [2] In excelso throno Ps. Jubilate Deo
Coll: Deus qui hodierna die	Coll: Deus qui hodierna die
Ep: Notam vobis fecimus (2 <i>Pet.</i> 1: 16-19)	Ep: Non enim ... notam vobis fecimus (2 <i>Pet.</i> 1:16-19)
Gr: Tecum principium V. Dixit Dominus	Gr: Tecum principium V. Dixit Dominus
All: Alleluia V. Dies sanctificatus	All: Alleluia V. Dies sanctificatus
Seq: Fulget mundo celebris lux	Seq: [1] Benedicta semper sit OR Seq: [2] Laudes Salvatori
Ev: Assumpsit Dominus Jesus (<i>Matt.</i> 17: 1-9)	Ev: Assumpsit Dominus Jesus (<i>Matt.</i> 17: 1-9)
Sec: Suscipe quesumus Domine munera que	Sec: Suscipe quesumus Domine ... munera que
Pref. Quia per transfigurati verbi mysterium nova	Pref. Quia per incarnati [borrowed from Nativity]
Com: In splendoribus sanctorum	Com: In splendoribus sanctorum
PC: Salvatorem expectamus dominum nostrum Jesum	PC: Deus qui hunc diem incarnati verbum ...
Or Deus qui superno transfigurati [as Lauds collect]	
Proper troped versions of Kyrie, Sanctus and Agnus Dei (two version of each) are also supplied	

Key:

Int: Introit
Coll: Collect
Ep: Epistle
Gr: Gradual
All: Alleluia
Seq; Sequence
Ev: Gospel
Off: Offertory
Pr: Preface

Sec: Secret
Com: Communion
PC: Postcommunion

As with the two versions of the Office, both versions of the Mass are similar, with the Epistle in both being Peter's eyewitness account, and Matthew's lengthy text as the appointed Gospel. The two versions differ, however, in that Peter's version of the Mass is more 'Transfiguration-specific', whereas the Sarum version borrows from other major Feasts.

Peter the Venerable's Sequence, *Fulget mundo celebris lux*, concerns the distinguished light shining on the world and is unquestionably about the Transfiguration. Meanwhile, in some of the Sarum sources (including the four printed Graduals, and the Missals of 1504, 1514 and 1557) the prescribed Sequence (*Laudes Salvatori*) was borrowed from the Sunday within the Octave of Easter. This, or as in the case of the 'new' Proper Sequence *Benedicta semper sit beata*, seems very clearly modelled on the Sequence for Trinity Sunday (whose melody it may have borrowed). Another divergence concerns the Introids. There is no Introit in Peter's version, but two options appear in the Sarum printed books: 'In excelso throno V. Jubilate' is taken from the first Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany, and 'Veni et ostende nobis V. Qui regis Israel' is taken from Ember Saturday in Advent. Peter's Preface 'per transfigurati' refers to the Transfiguration, whereas the Sarum Preface, 'per incarnati' is borrowed from the Nativity. The post-communion Prayers are also different: in Peter's version, one alternative recalls the words of Paul's Epistle, while the other option is specific to the Transfiguration. In the Sarum Mass, the Prayer once again makes reference to the Incarnation. Perhaps not insignificantly, in both versions is to be found the collect 'Deus, qui hodierna', common to both Lauds and Second Vespers: this affirms Jesus' identity as God's son and recalls God's pleasure with him.

Thus a comparison of the two Mass forms brings to light some interesting findings. It would seem that Peter's version of the Mass pertains more exclusively to the Transfiguration itself, whereas the Sarum version borrows heavily from two other Major Feasts - no less important than the Nativity and the Resurrection. In other words, these are Feasts central to the Christian faith and liturgical year, which convey a powerful message about God becoming flesh on the one hand, and then rising from the dead on the other. Nevertheless, through making connections with the two most

important feasts of the Christian year, the Mass of the Transfiguration asserts quite powerfully the notion of Jesus being God.

As was reported in Chapters 5 and 6, the Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus stressed the notion that Salvation could be attained through worship of the Holy Name, namely the 'Jesus' part of his appellation. This turns out to be in sharp contrast with the Mass and Office of the Transfiguration, which concern the idea that he is the 'Christ', the 'Anointed One'. There is therefore a neat complementarity about the two Feasts, which call to mind in turn the divine and human aspects of his name and therefore his person. Ultimately however, both are about Salvation: on 6 August, Christians celebrate the promise which God made and which Peter witnessed, that Christ will come again. On 7 August, Christians celebrate the properties of the Name which saves, the Name which he was given by God through the message of an angel. Both Scriptural and liturgical texts convey this strong connection between the two Feasts.

It is through worship of the person of Jesus through the Name that the Christian can come close to the divinity celebrated the day before. For this reason it makes theological sense to observe the two Feasts one after another, and to be mindful during one Feast of the other. It could even be argued that it would be heretical to observe one without the other, such is the significance of the stress laid upon one aspect of Jesus Christ's person in each Feast.

Chapter 8

Dating the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name

Chapter 7 established that the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name are complementary, in that both celebrate the promise of Salvation while stressing the two aspects of the person of Jesus Christ. On 6 August, this is articulated through the belief that Jesus was divine and came to save; on 7 August, that he was human and has a name which saves. This chapter therefore explores two questions. First, was confirmation of the two Feasts on adjacent days in the Kalendar made with this complementarity in mind? Second, what evidence is there from the final decades of the fifteenth century that the two Feasts were consciously observed as a pair?

The first stage in this exploration is to trace the adoption of the Transfiguration Feast in England, as witnessed primarily in liturgical manuscripts and prints of both monastic and secular Use. Of particular interest is the liturgical development of the Feast during the period 1487 to 1507, since it is during these years that both the Transfiguration and the Holy Name of Jesus were sanctioned officially, and as a result became more widespread in both English provinces. It was noted in Chapter 3 that the Canterbury and York Convocations of 1487 and 1488 ratifying the Feast of the Holy Name coincide with (or slightly precede) the earliest printed liturgies for that observance; this chapter now extends this evidence to consider the parallel impact on the Transfiguration Feast. Table 8.1 summarizes the key dates involved.

Table 8.1: Key dates for Adoption of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name

14 March 1487	Canterbury Convocation: Transfiguration declared official in southern province.
1488	Canterbury Convocation: Holy Name declared official in southern province.
1488	Machlinia prints the Sarum Mass and Office of the Transfiguration as a supplement (<i>STC</i> 15853).
27 February 1489	York Convocation: Transfiguration and Holy Name declared official in northern province; Feast of Holy Name established as 7 August.
1493	Pynson prints the Sarum Mass and Office of the Holy Name as a supplement (<i>STC</i> 15851).

1494	Lady Margaret Beaufort obtains Papal Bull for the Holy Name.
1497	Morin prints the Mass for both Feasts within the Sanctorale of the Sarum Missal (<i>STC</i> 16169).

Both provinces legislated for both Feasts at more or less the same time,⁴⁵² and these two decades in particular produce informative evidence concerning the dating of the Feasts and the liturgical practice within certain institutions. Artistic expressions of the Transfiguration are also an area of exploration in this chapter.

Evidence of adoption of the Feast of the Transfiguration in England

As already mentioned the Transfiguration differs from the Holy Name in that it has been observed as a Feast since Antiquity. Table 8.2 shows the development of the Feast in a selection of extant liturgical manuscripts associated with monastic houses, and Table 8.3 in those of the Uses of Sarum, Hereford and York. Again these draw primarily on Pfaff's scholarship, and complement the same investigation from Chapter 3. Inclusion of the Transfiguration in the Kalendar of a manuscript suggests that the Feast was being observed in the house from which the book originates. Unlike the Feast of the Holy Name, a higher proportion of the extant books seem to have been primarily for monastic or regular Use, and although the pattern of survivals can inevitably skew the evidence, the earliest manifestation of the Feast does indeed seem to have been in monastic institutions. Appearance of the Feast in the Kalendar in blue or green suggests a high liturgical rank, as do the words 'in capis' (i.e. with clergy vested in copes). It may also appear above the Feast of Sts Sixtus, Felicitas and Agaptus, martyrs, who shared the same Feast day.⁴⁵³ As witnessed with the materials for the Holy Name, at a later stage the complete Proper Office or Mass of the Transfiguration may be included as a supplement at the end of the book in question, or within the Sanctorale itself. However, it must be remembered that the Transfiguration differs from the Holy Name in that while it may have been included before or after the Votive Masses as one of the *Nova Festa*, it was never observed in a Votive context since it commemorates a specific event, and was therefore celebrated on one day only during the liturgical year.

⁴⁵²The Feast of the Visitation (2 July), the third of the commonly referred to 'Nova Festa', had been declared official much earlier, in 1480. See Richard W. Pfaff, *New liturgical feasts in later medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), 40-61.

⁴⁵³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 24.

Table 8.2: Occurrence of the Transfiguration (Tr.) in liturgical MSS owned by monastic houses

Monastic House	Date	Source	Location
Cluniac	1299-1315	Pontefract Breviary <i>Ouc</i> MS 101	Tr. in blue in Kalendar Office of 12 Lections ⁴⁵⁴
	Early s.xiv	'The Bromholm Psalter', Norfolk <i>Ob</i> MS Ashmole 1523	Tr. in red in Kalendar, without ornate capitals
	Between 1262 and 1315	Lewes Breviary <i>Cfm</i> MS 369	Tr. in gold in Kalendar Contains Office followed by Mass with Proper preface
	s.xv	Pontefract Missal <i>Ckc</i> MS 31	Tr. in red in Kalendar, followed by Mass ⁴⁵⁵
Benedictine	3 rd quarter of s.xii	St Albans Sacramentary ⁴⁵⁶ <i>Ob</i> MS Rawl. Liturg. C. I.	Mentioned in margin of Sanctorale Mass at end of text
	1235-1260	St Albans [?] Kalendars <i>Lbl</i> MS Roy. 2.B. VI <i>Onc</i> MS 358 <i>Lbl</i> MS Roy. 14. C. VII <i>Lbl</i> MS Cott. Claud. D. VI <i>Ccc</i> MS 26	Tr. important grade in St Albans [?] Abbey, 'in capis' ⁴⁵⁷
	1308-1326	St Albans Missal <i>Ob</i> MS Laud misc. 279	Tr. in red in Kalendar Feast in Proper place in Sanctorale Full set of Mass forms
[Recognition of Feast passed to cells of St Albans] ⁴⁵⁸	Late s.xiii/ early s.xiv	Belvoir Martyrology <i>Ctc</i> MS 1437	Inclusion of Tr. at the beginning of entry for 6 August
	s.xv ¹	Kalendars of Tynemouth <i>Ob</i> MS Gough liturg. 18 and Wymondham <i>Ob</i> MS Lat. Liturg. g. 8	'In cappis'
	3 rd quarter of s.xiii	Evesham Breviary <i>Ob</i> MS Barlow 41	Tr. in red in Kalendar No extant Office
	s.xi. with additions of s.xiii/s.xiv	Worcester 'Portiforium Oswaldi' <i>Ccc</i> MS 391	3 Hymns for Tr. added in 13 th or 14 th Cent. by hand

⁴⁵⁴ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 20.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁵⁸ Pfaff claims that observance of the feast does not seem to have been common in other Benedictine houses. Evidence suggests that there was little recognition at Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Hyde, Norwich, Westminster or Winchester. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 23-4.

	s.xiv	St Mary's Abbey, York <i>Ob</i> MS Lat. liturg. g. I	Tr. in red in Kalendar
Benedictine nuns	s.xii	Shaftesbury Psalter ⁴⁵⁹ <i>Lbl</i> MS Lansdowne 383	Tr. in Kalendar
	c. 1220	Amesbury Psalter <i>Ob</i> MS liturg. 407	Tr. in Kalendar in blue of Psalter
	s. xiii ²	Wilton? Processional ⁴⁶⁰	Chants from Peter the Venerable's Office
	s.xiv	Book of Hours, belonging to the nuns of Amesbury <i>Cul</i> MS Ee. VI. 16	Tr. in Kalendar
	s.xiv?	St Swithin's psalter, Shaftesbury (from Winchester) <i>Lbl</i> MS Cott. Nero C. IV	Tr. added in later hand (14 th Cent.) in red to Kalendar
	1394-1404	Barking Ordinal ⁴⁶¹ <i>Ouc</i> MS 169	Tr. in red and marked 'duplex' in sanctorale
	End of s.xiv	Barking Kalendar <i>Lbl</i> MS Cott. Otho A. V.	Tr. in red
Augustinian canons	3 rd quarter of s.xii	Martyrology of St Osyth's, Essex ⁴⁶² <i>Ob</i> MS Laud misc. 240	Tr. in Kalendar, at the end of entry for 6 August
	s.xii	Bourne Kalendar, Lincs <i>Lbl</i> MS Add. 38819	Tr. in green, as first entry for 6 August
	1250 onwards	Barnwell Kalendar, Cambs <i>Lbl</i> MS Harl. 3601	Feast celebrated as a Double
	s.xiii	Southwark Kalendar <i>Lbl</i> MS Cott. Faust A. VIII.	Tr. in the original hand
	1374-1379	'Derby Psalter,' written for Stephen Derby, prior of Dublin Priory <i>Ob</i> MS Rawl. G. 185	Tr. in gold letters, but follows St Sixtus for 6 August entry in Kalendar
Carmelite	1375-1393	Cambridge? Breviary-Missal <i>Ouc</i> MS 9	Tr. in red in the Kalendar in original hand Office in Sanctorale based on that of the Trinity, compiled around 1312 by Sibert de Beka ⁴⁶³
Cistercian	1 st quarter of s.xv	Calder, Cumberland <i>Ob</i> MS Ashmole 6	Appears in black in Kalendar after Sixtus

⁴⁵⁹ Pfaff suggests the influence of St Albans here. *New Liturgical Feasts*, 25.

⁴⁶⁰ G. Benoit-Castelli, 'Un Processional Anglais du XIV^{ème} Siècle', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 75 (1961), 318.

⁴⁶¹ This book provides much information about how the feast was observed before it was made official. See Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 25.

⁴⁶² The Feast is not included in a 13th-century Psalter, 14th-century Kalendar, and 15th-century Processional of the same house. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 26.

⁴⁶³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 28.

Even allowing for the uneven pattern of manuscript survivals, Table 8.2 suggests that generally the Transfiguration was being observed liturgically in monastic houses earlier than the Holy Name was by the guilds, given the preponderance of liturgical books dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Of most interest are the books which contain more than a mention of the Feast in the Kalendar: indeed the inclusion of the Office or the Mass would suggest that the Feast was being observed in those institutions according to its Proper form, rather than ‘borrowing’ from another Feast, such as the Trinity. This is the case for the Pontefract, Lewes (Cluniac) and St Albans (Benedictine) liturgical books.

Thus, the earliest witnesses of the Feast, all in the twelfth century, are to be found, as expected, within the Cluniac order, but also within the Benedictine Order and among the Augustinian canons. The Benedictine Abbey of St Albans seems to have played an important role in its propagation: not only did they own a Sacramentary evidencing Proper observance of the Feast, but their Missal contained a full set of Mass forms. Moreover, 1430 saw the consecration of a new altar within the Abbey dedicated to the Transfiguration and Visitation (one of the other two *Nova Festa*). The Augustinians also owned a number of books testifying to the observance in the twelfth century.

Adoption of the Transfiguration was nevertheless not universal in religious houses. It is absent from books used by the Syon Bridgettines, founded in 1415, and the English Premonstratensians (or White Canons). A Processional (from Syon itself?) dated 1419-26⁴⁶⁴ does not include the Feast, and there are no extant references to its observance by the White Canons.⁴⁶⁵ Generally, however, Table 8.2 suggests that the Feast was relatively widespread in English monastic houses. It was observed in all of the Cluniac and in some of the Benedictine and Augustinian houses from which books survive, and this as early as the twelfth century, a hundred years or so before liturgical material for the Holy Name began to spread.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ojc* MS 167.

⁴⁶⁵ Joseph A. Gribbin, *The Premonstratensian Order in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001), 127.

Aside from monastic communities, some parish churches or individuals owned a manuscript version of the Office or Mass. Table 8.3 surveys the existence of the Feast in secular manuscripts.

Table 8.3: Occurrence of the Transfiguration (Tr.) in liturgical MSS owned by parish churches or individuals

Location	Date	Source	Position
St James, Denchworth Berkshire ⁴⁶⁶	After 1383	Sarum Antiphonal <i>Ob</i> MS Lat. Liturg. B. 14	In margin of Kalendar
?	Early s.xv breviary	Sarum Breviary <i>Cu</i> MS Add. 4500	Mass added on blank leaf in middle of book; Office added at end with other Nova Festa
Arlingham, Gloucestershire	1502	Breviary <i>SB</i> MS 152	Added to Kalendar in same hand as Holy Name; Office of Tr. and Mass added in same hand as Visitation and Osmund
Gloucestershire	s.xv	Sarum Gradual <i>Lbl</i> MS Add. 17001	Mass?
	1415/1416 or later	Missal <i>Ob</i> MS Jones 47	Notices for the Masses of the Tr. and Holy Name added in margins of Sanctorale for 6 and 7 Aug next to already existing Masses
	After 1457?	Missal <i>Ob</i> MS Laud misc. 164	Feast added in Kalendar in red; Mass inserted after canon
	s.xv	Sarum Missal <i>Ob</i> Barlow 1	Later additions of the Tr. and St Osmund before the Kalendar on f.1 ^v
	End s.xv	Sarum Processional <i>Ob</i> Rawl liturg. E.45	Includes Visitation, Tr. and HNJ ⁴⁶⁷

Two important points can be inferred from Table 8.3: firstly, the number of extant manuscripts in which the Feast appears is surprisingly low, which would suggest that the Transfiguration, unlike the Holy Name, was observed predominantly within monastic communities until the late fifteenth century. Secondly, and more interestingly, where the Transfiguration appears, the Holy Name (and also the Visitation) figures alongside, thus reinforcing the possibility both Feasts were

⁴⁶⁶ Matthew Cheung Salisbury, 'The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England' (D.Phil., Oxford, 2011), 395-6.

⁴⁶⁷ W. H. Frere, *Bibliotheca musico-liturgica, a descriptive handlist of the musical and Latin-liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages*, I, nos 258, 303.

emerging as a pair to be observed together. As the books represented here pertain to the Use of Sarum and were therefore more likely to be in circulation in the southern Province, there is little evidence of representative practice in the northern province, although Archbishop Thomas Rotherham’s enthusiasm for both Feasts is noted below.

Appearance of the Feast of the Transfiguration after Convocations (1487/1489)

As mentioned earlier, two key dates in the history of both feasts in England are 1487 and 1489, when the Feast was declared official in Canterbury and York respectively. Table 8.4 lists the occurrence of the Feast of the Transfiguration in printed books, most dated later than the Archbishop of Canterbury’s 1487 mandate for the southern province. These range from pamphlet supplements to Missals and Breviaries compiled according to the Sarum, York and Hereford Uses.

Table 8.4: Occurrence of the Transfiguration (Tr.) in English Printed Sources

8.4.1 Pamphlet supplements: Sarum Use⁴⁶⁸		
c.1488	Printed in London, by W. de Machlinia <i>STC 15853</i>	[Festum transfigurationis Jesu Christi]
1491?	Printed in London, by Caxton <i>STC 15854</i>	[Another edition]
1496	Printed in London, by Pynson <i>STC 15855</i>	[Another edition]

⁴⁶⁸ The editions of 1491 and 1496 seem to have been reprints of de Machlinia’s original edition: Pynson and Caxton printed exactly the same text, although Pynson expanded Caxton’s abbreviations. See Jenifer Raub, ‘Sarum Liturgical Printing in Tudor London’ (PhD, London, Royal Holloway, 2011), 197-200.

8.4.2 Missals: Sarum Use		
Date	Source	Position
1489 ⁴⁶⁹	Missal printed in Basel, by M. Wensler <i>STC 16165</i>	In Kalendar (unlike the HNJ), but not in red, as a 'duplex festum' In Sanctorale immediately before Feast day of St Donatus, Bishop Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Sequence: <i>Benedicta semper sit</i>
1492	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin <i>STC 16166</i>	In Sanctorale immediately before Feast day of St Donatus, Bishop Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Sequence: <i>Benedicta semper sit</i>
1494	Missal printed in Venice, by J. Hertzog de Landoia <i>STC 16168</i>	Now figures in the Kalendar in red as a 'duplex festum' In Sanctorale immediately before Feast day of St Donatus, Bishop Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Sequence: <i>Benedicta semper sit</i>
1497	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin <i>STC 16171</i>	In Sanctorale immediately before Feast day of St Donatus, Bishop Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Sequence: <i>Benedicta semper sit</i>
1498 ⁴⁷⁰	Missal printed in London, by W. de Worde (Westminster) <i>STC 16172</i>	Now figures in the Kalendar in red as a 'duplex festum' In Sanctorale immediately before Feast day of Sts Sixtus, Felicitas and Agaptus, martyrs Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Sequence: <i>Benedicta semper sit</i>
1500	Missal printed in Paris, by Johannis de Prato (Dupré) <i>STC 16175</i>	Absence of Kalendar In Sanctorale immediately before the Feast day of Sts Sixtus, Felicitas and Agaptus, martyrs Introit: <i>In excelso throno</i> Sequence: <i>Laudes salvatori</i>
1500	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson <i>STC 16173</i>	In the Kalendar in red as a 'duplex festum' In Sanctorale immediately before the Feast of the HNJ Introit: <i>In excelso throno</i> Sequence: <i>Laudes salvatori</i>
1508	Missal printed in Rouen, by M. Morin <i>STC 16183</i>	In the Kalendar in red as a 'duplex festum' In Sanctorale immediately before the Feast of the HNJ; begins unannounced Introit: <i>Veni et ostende</i> Both sequences are offered
1512	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson <i>STC 16190</i>	In the Kalendar in red as a 'minus duplex' In Sanctorale immediately before the Feast day of Sts Sixtus, Felicitas and Agaptus, martyrs Introit: <i>In excelso throno</i> Sequence: <i>Laudes salvatori</i>
1520	Missal printed in London, by R. Pynson <i>STC 16202</i>	In Sanctorale immediately before the Feast day of Sts Sixtus, Felicitas and Agaptus, martyrs Introit: <i>In excelso throno</i> Sequence: <i>Laudes salvatori</i>

⁴⁶⁹ Pfaff dates it to 1488, but this must be a error.

⁴⁷⁰ If the Introit is *In excelso throno*, then the Sequence is *Laudes Salvatori*. After 1498 edition, if the Introit is *Veni et ostende*, then both Sequences are offered. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 33.

8.4.3 Missals, Hereford Use		
1502	Missal printed in Rouen, by J. Richard <i>STC</i> 16163	Absent
8.4.4 Missals, York Use		
1509?- 1533	Rouen, P. Violette (1509?) and four others editions of 1516, 1517, 1533 <i>STC</i> 16220-16224 ⁴⁷¹	Tr., HNJ and Visitation in the Kalendar and included at the end of the book, after colophon

8.5 Graduals, Sarum Use		
1508/ 1509	Printed in Paris, by W Hopyl <i>STC</i> 15862	In the Kalendar, as Feast of nine Lectons
1527	Printed in Paris, by Wynkyn de Worde and others <i>STC</i> 15863	In Sanctorale
(1528)	Printed in Paris, by N. Prevost <i>STC</i> 15864	Introit: <i>In excelso throno</i>
(1532)	Printed in Paris, by N. Prevost and F. Regnault <i>STC</i> 15865	Sequence: <i>Laudes salvatori</i>

8.6 Breviaries: Sarum Use		
1483	Printed in Venice, by R. de Novimagio <i>STC</i> 15797	Contains no Nova Festa
1494	Printed in Paris, by P. Levet <i>STC</i> 15800	All three in Kalendar in red and in Sanctorale
1495 onwards		Tr. included like any other lesser Double Feast
1499	Paris, J. Dupré <i>STC</i> 15804	Tr. included
1531		Office is complete
8.7 Breviaries: Hereford Use		
1505	Printed in London, by P. Olivier and J. Mauditier <i>STC</i> 15793	Office included in the Sanctorale ⁴⁷² Does not feature in Kalendar

⁴⁷¹ Henderson's edition is made from a collation of manuscript missals known to exist, and from the five printed editions: Henderson, W. (ed.), *Missale ad Usam Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Vol. II, Surtees Society, 60 (1872).

⁴⁷² It is worth noting that there is no Mass of the Transfiguration in Hereford Use

8.8 Breviaries: York Use		
1493 ⁴⁷³	Printed in Venice, by J. Hamman <i>STC</i> 15856	No Nova Festa
	Printed in Rouen, by P. Violette <i>STC</i> 15857	No Kalendar
1507	Printed in Paris, by F. Regnault for J. Gaschet	Contains Tr. and HNJ ⁴⁷⁴
1526	<i>STC</i> 15858 Printed in Paris, by F. Regnault <i>STC</i> 15859	No Kalendar, but contains Tr. and HNJ
1533	Printed in Rouen? <i>STC</i> 158560	Contains Tr. and HNJ
8.9 Breviaries: Scotland (Scots Sarum)		
1509/ 1510	Aberdeen Breviary, printed in Edinburgh, by Chapman and Miller ⁴⁷⁵ <i>STC</i> 15791	Contains both Tr. and HNJ in Kalendar
8.10 Breviaries: Monastic		
1528	Abingdon Breviary <i>STC</i> 15791	Office included with different Hymns, <i>Celestis formam glorie</i> as third Office Hymn, rather than <i>Deus manens primordium</i> Follows the Sarum Use
c.1535	St Albans Breviary, printed by J. Herford <i>STC</i> 15793.5	Office of 12 Lections, included in Sanctoriale Hymns include <i>O nata lux</i> , <i>O sator rerum</i> , and <i>Deus manens primordium</i>

By the time printed books make their appearance, the Sarum Mass and Office of the Transfiguration are largely standardized, even if there are some variations in the choice of Hymns for the Office. The Propers of the Mass are modelled on those of Peter the Venerable, even if the Introit and Sequence do not follow a consistent pattern. The Feast is mentioned in the Kalendar of all Sarum Missals surveyed by Pfaff, with 1494 being the first edition to present it in red.⁴⁷⁶

What emerges from a reading of Table 8.4 is that Sarum liturgical books (rather predictably) are always ahead of York and Hereford in presenting the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name together as a pair. The earliest known Sarum

⁴⁷³ See Andrew Hughes, Matthew Cheung Salisbury, & Heather Robbins, *Cataloguing Discrepancies: The Printed York Breviary of 1493* (Toronto, 2010), 57.

⁴⁷⁴ These are not in the MS versions of the York Breviary. See Lawley, (ed.), *Breviarium ad Usam Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*. Vol. I, Surtees Society, 71 (1879), xviii.

⁴⁷⁵ *Breviarium Aberdonense: Pars Hiemalis & Pars Estiva* (vols 1-2), (facsimile edition, Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1808-94), printed in Edinburgh, by Chapman and Miller, 1509/10, compiled by Bishop William Elphinstone.

⁴⁷⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 33.

Missal to do this dates from 1500, York from 1509, and Hereford not at all. A similar pattern emerges for the Breviaries: Sarum presents the Offices of all three *Nova Festa* as early as 1494, York from 1507, and the Aberdeen Breviary (Scots Sarum) from 1509 onwards. The Hereford Breviary of 1505 presents the Transfiguration Office without including it in the Kalendar, which would suggest an ambivalent attitude towards the Feast.

However, what is striking is that the Transfiguration observance seems to have been included in the Kalendar and Sanctorale of printed books from 1489, the year of the York Convocation. It even appears as early as c.1488 in pamphlets designed as a supplement to existing books of Sarum Use. Given that the Canterbury mandate was issued in 1487 it would seem that the official status of the Transfiguration was quickly credited in print. This cannot be said for the Holy Name, which technically remained Votive until an official supplement was printed by Richard Pynson in c.1493:⁴⁷⁷ this contained the Propers and specified 7 August as the Feast day. It was followed by a Missal from Martin Morin in Rouen in 1497: in this version, in spite of being incorporated into the Sanctorale, the Mass did not have all the features of an official Feast, as shown by the absence of the *Divisio* in the Sequence. Not until 1500 in another of Pynson's Missals printed in London is it found in its complete final Festal form.

Thus the southern province apparently took a lead in presenting the two Feasts together both in the Kalendar on 6 and 7 August, and in the Sanctorale, with the associated Propers in their complete form. But while the Sarum liturgical books encouraged an association between the Feasts of the Holy Name and the Transfiguration, they are granted very different and even paradoxical treatments. As is by now well established, the Mass of the Holy Name started out as an informal Votive observance, which was already widespread in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, before becoming an official Feast included in the Kalendar of printed books at the start of the sixteenth century. Full treatment of the Holy Name as a Feast of the Church came a long time after it was declared official, and yet in spite of its later recognition as Festal in printed books, it was granted the higher status of a Major

⁴⁷⁷ *STC* 15851, Printed in London by Pynson, and same version as 1497 edition.

Double while the Transfiguration evolved into a Lesser Double Feast. This liturgical ranking is evident in a Breviary printed in Paris in 1494, where a rubric states that Second Vespers of the Transfiguration gives way to First Vespers of the Holy Name of Jesus, unless the church is dedicated to the Transfiguration. Typical practice was most likely that First Vespers of the Holy Name was followed by a solemn memorial of the Transfiguration (in lieu of Second Vespers) consisting (as is typical of memorials) of Magnificat Antiphon, Versicle and Respond, and Collect.

In contrast, the Transfiguration had apparently already been adopted as a Feast in some English monastic houses from the twelfth century, as Kalendars and some manuscript sources attest. Its development seems rather more steady and conventional than that of the Holy Name, as suggested by its appearance in Pynson's supplement of c.1488, the same year the Feast was declared official by the Canterbury Convocation. Yet puzzlingly the Transfiguration, in spite of its antiquity, its theological significance and its rootedness in Scripture – attributes which also pertain, albeit to a lesser extent to the Holy Name – was considered an inferior Feast. This interesting question has to be put to one side so that the main purpose of this chapter can be explored.

Dating of the Feasts

The matter of the dating of the two Feasts is a complex one. Unlike the Holy Name, the Transfiguration had been observed as a Feast on 6 August since as early as the eighth century,⁴⁷⁸ and was celebrated on this date in many dioceses of the Latin Church for the next centuries. In spite of being called one of the *Nova Festa* in medieval England, it had ancient origins on the Continent. In the twelfth century, John of Wurzburg's visit to the Holy Land includes a description of the Mass of the Transfiguration, celebrated annually on Mount Tabor on 6 August. Pope Callistus III (1378-1458; papacy 1455-58), in declaring the Feast universal in 1457 as a token of his thanksgiving for the defeat over the Turks at the Battle of Belgrade, ordered that it should be observed as a Double Feast on 6 August, and thus affirmed the Feast's ascription to that date.

⁴⁷⁸ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 14, fn 1 and fn 2.

In England, a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Martyrology from Belvoir (*Ctc MS O. 9. 25*), a cell of St Albans, includes the Transfiguration, also on 6 August,⁴⁷⁹ while John Morton (1420-1500), Archbishop of Canterbury (1486-1500) ordered in a mandate dated 19 March 1487 that it be kept as a Feast of nine Lections on 7 August (recte 6 August).⁴⁸⁰ Similarly, on 27 February 1489 it was decided at the northern Convocation that the Transfiguration should be celebrated on 6 August, supposedly at the instigation of Thomas Rotherham (1423-1500), Archbishop of York (1480-1500). Finally, as discussed below, Rotherham's will of 1498 requests that the Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name be observed on 6 and 7 August respectively, throughout the northern province. In conclusion, the position of the Transfiguration on 6 August in the Kalendar seems not only to have been established early on in the Western liturgical calendar, but was also re-established with this same date on numerous occasions, both on the Continent and in England. Again, it differs greatly from the Holy Name in that it has both an auspicious pedigree and a well-established Kalendar date.

Information regarding the choice of date for the Holy Name on 7 August is less straightforward. The Votive origins of the Feast are now well established, so it is interesting to consider how and when the decision was taken that the Holy Name should succeed the Transfiguration in the Kalendar. As noted in Chapter 7, one key source mentioning the ascription of the Feast to this date is the Sarum Office of the Holy Name itself. An explicit reference occurs in Lection 1 of Festal Matins, in the Great Breviary of 1531:

Romanus igitur pontifex Alexander quartus [recte sextus], hujus sacratissimi nominis affectu, suave ipsius officium comprobavit, et auctoritate apostolica confirmavit, statuendo diem dulcissime solennitatis, septimo ydus Augusti, per singulos annos celebrandum, largiens atque concedens piis hujus devotissimi festi cultoribus copiosas indulgentias perpetuis temporibus duraturas. Tu autem, Domine miserere nostri.

Therefore the pontiff of Rome, Alexander IV [recte VI], from affection for this most sacred name, himself graciously approved this Office and confirmed by apostolic authority by establishing that the appointed day of this most sweet commemoration is the seventh day of August, to be celebrated every year, being bountiful and conceding grants upon this holy and most devout of feasts plenteous indulgences which are to endure for all time. But you Lord have mercy upon us.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁴⁸⁰ Evidently a scribal error in the original document: Records of Northern Convocation (Reg. Rotherham Ebor., f. 246), 203; cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 30.

The reference to Alexander IV (papacy 1254-61) as the Pope who ratified the Feast and endowed it with generous indulgences is evidently erroneous; ‘quartus’ is surely a printing error for ‘sixtus’, which would signify Alexander VI (papacy 1492-1503), coinciding with the 1494 Papal Bull obtained through the efforts of Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII. However, this again brings into question the appearance of the Office of the Holy Name in liturgical sources from at least the later 1480s (albeit with a much shorter version of the Matins Lection in question). John Bale’s claim that the Office was the work of Henry Horneby, later to become Lady Margaret’s chaplain, has already been questioned, though it may be that Horneby had a hand in expanding the Office at a later stage to include reference to the papal dispensation.

The status of the two Convocation documents of 1488 and 1489 was discussed in Chapter 3, with specific reference to the Holy Name. The York convocation of 1489 is especially significant in that it refers to both of the Feasts discussed here, confirming that the Holy Name was to be celebrated on 7 August and the Transfiguration on 6 August. Another reliable source is Archbishop Thomas Rotherham’s will of 1498, mentioned above, which also requested that both Feasts were to be observed on 6 and 7 August throughout the province:

Ego Thomas Rotherham, Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, sanus mente, laus Deo, sexto die mensis Augusti, in festo Translationis Jhesu, et festo Nominis Ejusdem, quae festa in provincia mea ex decreto meo, et cleri mei assensu, pro perpetua statuuntur celebranda, anno Domini millesimo quadingentesimo nonagesimo octavo condo testamentum meum, prout inferius scribitur per capitula.⁴⁸¹

I Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, of sane mind, and in praise of God, on the sixth day of the month of August, on the Feast of the Transfiguration of Jesus, and on the Feast of His Name, which Feasts are to be established celebrations for eternity in my province according to my decree with the agreement of my clergy, compose my will in 1498, just as it is written in the chapters below.⁴⁸²

It would seem that Thomas Rotherham had a particular fondness for these two Feasts, perhaps deliberately awaiting their occurrence in order to compose his will: it seems

⁴⁸¹ Arthur Francis Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools*, ii (1903, reproduced for CUP 2013), 149. Pfaff notes in *New Liturgical Feasts*, 30, that the use of the word ‘translacio’ for ‘transfiguratio’ is also found in a Kalendar of a 1500 Sarum Book of Hours, *Ob* MS Gough lit. 3.

⁴⁸² Translated by Judith Aveling

evident that he wished to be remembered for their establishment.⁴⁸³ This document, written by a high-ranking clergyman, provides further evidence that the feasts were understood together.

The role of Lady Margaret Beaufort

Lady Margaret Beaufort herself must also have played a crucial role in ensuring that the Holy Name and the Transfiguration were understood together as a pair. She commissioned many printed editions of the two Feasts: it has been suggested that Pynson's printed editions in the form of pamphlets of the Holy Name in c.1493 (*STC* 15851) and 1497 (*STC* 15852) and of the Transfiguration in 1496 (*STC* 15855) were at her instigation;⁴⁸⁴ and it is thought that she engaged him again in 1504, to print further editions of the two Feasts.⁴⁸⁵ In 1507 Pynson printed a Sarum Breviary (*STC* 15806a) also under her auspices. It is moreover of some significance that books printed before the Papal Bull of 1494 do not always present the Holy Name and the Transfiguration together. In the printed Sarum Missals of 1488, 1492 and 1494 the Mass of the Holy Name appears among the Votives, between the Holy Cross and the Five Wounds; yet in the Missals of 1497, 1498 and 1500, it appears in the Sanctorale on 7 August following the Transfiguration.

It is possible that the pairing of the Feasts was a consideration before Lady Margaret exerted any influence, or even before the Convocations. As noted in the previous chapter, a portable Missal⁴⁸⁶ from the first half of the fifteenth century, written possibly for the Diocese of Norwich, provides instructions in a later hand in the margin of the Sanctorale to observe both feasts: 'Festum transfigurationis domini et de nomine Jesu. Require in fine libri.'⁴⁸⁷ 1494 nevertheless seems to have been the year in which the status and date of the Feasts were confirmed, and even if the Holy Name is not presented in its full Festal form until a Missal printed in 1500, a Breviary printed that same year in Paris (*STC* 15800), contains all three Nova Festa in the Kalendar in red and in the Sanctorale, and more significantly (as noted above), a rubric stating that Second Vespers of the Transfiguration ceded to First Vespers of the

⁴⁸³ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 77.

⁴⁸⁴ Susan Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her books', *The Library*, 6th series, 20 (1998), 223, fn 169; also, in Jenifer Raub, 'Sarum Liturgical Printing in Tudor London' 184, fn 24.

⁴⁸⁵ Powell, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort and her books', 223.

⁴⁸⁶ *Ob* MS Jones 47, f. 368.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ob* MS Jones 47, f. 259.

Holy Name of Jesus, unless the church was dedicated to the Transfiguration. Lady Margaret's role in raising the status of the Feast of the Holy Name and associating it with the Transfiguration is therefore not to be overlooked.

Further evidence of the pairing of the two Feasts

There are other references to the liturgical pairing of the Feasts after the Papal Bull of 1494. On 24 January 1498/9, John Pullan of Knaresborough, writing from Lincoln's Inn, sent to Sir Robert Plumpton, chaplain at Idell to the Plumpton family of Yorkshire, a copy of the Feast of the Holy Name with Octave and the Feast of the Transfiguration; the price was still to be settled.⁴⁸⁸ Even when, much later in 1530 a visitation of Eton College revealed that the two Feasts were being ignored, they were ignored together.⁴⁸⁹ Most significantly, as was noted in Chapter 4, the Fraternity of the Holy Name at St Paul's, the largest and wealthiest guild dedicated to the devotion, certainly promoted this association of the two Feasts by ensuring that they were both observed as part of the same festival. On the eve of 6 August, the Waites of London would process around the city announcing the imminent celebration of both Feasts.⁴⁹⁰ The 1507 regulations of the Fraternity reinforce this pairing: the minor canons were paid twenty shillings for attending all the services of both the Transfiguration and the Holy Name;⁴⁹¹ likewise, eight chantry priests were expected to be present at all the Fraternity's services on both Feast days.⁴⁹² On the other hand, donations were made to poor men if they attended all the celebrations of both Feasts, including the guild dinner.⁴⁹³ Perhaps it is no coincidence that a painting of the Transfiguration used to hang above the entrance leading down to the Jesus Chapel in the crypt of old St Paul's.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁸ 'the fest of Nomen Jesu with Utas [octavas] and also the fest of the Transfiguration, that ye desired me to send you. As for the price of them, ye and I shall agree at our next cominge together', *Plumpton Correspondence: A Series of Letters, Chiefly Domestick, Written in the Reigns of Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII* (Camden Society, o.s. IV, 1839), 130-2. See also Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 38.

⁴⁸⁹ Visitations of the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-31, ii (Lincoln Record Society xxxv, 1944), 137; cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 38.

⁴⁹⁰ Elisabeth A. New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus in Late Medieval England, with special reference to the Fraternity in St Paul's Cathedral, London, c.1450-1558' (Ph.D, London, 1999) 47.

⁴⁹¹ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 222.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 321.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 228.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

Pairing of the two Feasts also seems to have operated on the Continent. The monogram of the Holy Name was used in the victory over the Turks in the Battle of Belgrade in 1456,⁴⁹⁵ the victory which prompted Pope Callistus to proclaim the Transfiguration as an official Feast. This would perhaps explain the argument that papal sanction for the Holy Name was granted in 1457 at the same time as the Transfiguration, which Pfaff claims is 'surely an error'.⁴⁹⁶ Nevertheless, it constitutes an interesting suggestion that the two Feasts were already being associated with one another in the mid fifteenth century. Pope Callistus' Papal Bull *Inter divinae dispositionis arcana* is interesting for another reason; it orders that the Transfiguration be celebrated on 6 August as a Double Feast, with similar indulgences to those for the Feast of Corpus Christi.⁴⁹⁷ It has been argued that by connecting the Transfiguration with Corpus Christi, Pope Callistus encouraged an association between the Transfiguration and the sacrament, the former showing the divine nature of Jesus Christ, and the latter being instituted to show that God became human flesh and blood.⁴⁹⁸ However, this association was not to be adopted in England, where the Transfiguration became juxtaposed in the Kalendar with the Holy Name. It is nevertheless interesting that there was a concerted desire on this occasion to create an association between two Feasts emphasizing the two aspects of the person of Jesus Christ. Another point of interest is that Pope Callistus was the uncle of Pope Alexander VI, who granted Lady Margaret's request.

Many reasons contribute to the notion that the Church authorities and other people of influence conceived of the two Feasts as a pair, and expressed this understanding in their worship. Yet, many associations can also be made between the Holy Name and other devotions, which are often Christological, or which more generally stress the humanity of Christ: in its early stages the Mass was offered as an alternative to the Holy Cross and is frequently followed by the Five Wounds;⁴⁹⁹ as mentioned above, the Holy Name shared the same indulgence as the Feast of Corpus Christi. Elizabeth

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁴⁹⁶ Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church*, (London, 1910), 193; cited in Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 77, fn 2.

⁴⁹⁷ Charles Caspers, 'Wandering between Transubstantiation and Transfiguration: Images of the Prophet Elijah in Western Christianity, 1200-1500 CE', in Marcel Poorthuis, *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, 346.

⁴⁹⁸ Caspers, 'Wandering between Transubstantiation and Transfiguration', 349.

⁴⁹⁹ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 66.

New claims that other saints from the extended family of Jesus were popular for their implicit reminder that he was also a human being. The Jesus Guild at St Paul's cathedral supported an altar of St Anne, and the Lichfield chapel and fraternity had the dual dedication of Jesus and St Anne; moreover, dedications to both Jesus and the Blessed Virgin were common,⁵⁰⁰ and the celebration of the Assumption falling within the Octave of the Holy Name, if only coincidental, may have encouraged the laity to make associations between the two.

The Holy Name was therefore associated with many Feasts, and it is to be expected that throughout England there should be anything but a uniformity of observance among its Christian people. However, it seems that in the eyes of the clerical hierarchy and in the liturgical books, it was paired with the Transfiguration.

Artistic expressions of the devotion to the Transfiguration

The range and volume of artistic expressions of the associated devotions also separates the two Feasts: the proliferation of polyphonic music for the Feast of the Holy Name, the ubiquity of the sacred monogram and the prevalence of guilds dedicated to the Name of Jesus, provide some indication as to how widespread the observance was. Unfortunately for the Transfiguration, similar information is lacking, not least because of the completely different nature of the Feast, i.e. one which recalled a particular event in the life of Jesus Christ, rather than one of his inherent characteristics which could be observed and celebrated all year round.

This is not to say that the Transfiguration did not inspire its own range, albeit much more limited, of artistic expressions, even if it could not be appositely represented by a symbol.⁵⁰¹ In Suffolk at St Andrew's Westhall, a wealthy parishioner donated in his will, proved in 1512, four rood screen panels depicting the Transfiguration, identified by Moses, horned and carrying his tablets, Christ, Saviour of the world, Elijah and Anthony Abbot, accompanied by his pig, its bell at its throat.⁵⁰² This representation is thought to be unique in England. In Devon in Ashton, the Chudleigh family had texts

⁵⁰⁰ New, 'The Cult of the Holy Name...', 76.

⁵⁰¹ For the general context, see Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, tr. Janet Seligman (New York, 2nd edn, 1971), and Leslie Ross, *Medieval Art: A Topical Dictionary* (Westport, CT, 1996), 248.

⁵⁰² Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547*, (Cambridge, 2011), 227.

from the Office of the Transfiguration painted on the walls of their chapel,⁵⁰³ while windows depicting the Transfiguration were commissioned for Thuxton, in Norfolk.⁵⁰⁴ In addition to the two-dimensional depictions, the Transfiguration also lent itself to drama, as it was enacted in a spectacular pageant in the cycle of plays, the York *Ordo Paginarum* of 1415, presented by the Curriers Guild (responsible for dressing and colouring of leather), who made full use of gilding techniques in their presentation of a gold-faced Jesus as an emblem of his divinity. The play begins with Jesus, Peter, James and John approaching the pageant wagon from the street, and depicts the astonishment of the disciples at the ‘marvellous transfiguring of his body’ that follows.⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰³ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (London and New Haven, 1992, 2nd rev edn, 2005), 45.

⁵⁰⁴ *Medieval Norwich*, ed. Carole Rawcliffe, Richard Wilson (Continuum, 2006), 132.

⁵⁰⁵ Andrea Stevens, *Inventions of the Skin: The Painted Body in Early English Drama* (Edinburgh, 2013), 14, 27.



Fig. 8.1: Rood screen panels of St Andrew's Westhall, Suffolk, depicting from left to right, Moses, Christ Transfigured, Elijah the Prophet and Abbot St Anthony

As far as polyphony is concerned, the first two verses of *O Nata Lux*, the Hymn prescribed for Lauds and Second Vespers in Sarum Use, were set as a motet by Thomas Tallis (c.1505-85), probably in the latter part of his life. Its popularity continues, to the extent that the musical legacy of the Feast may be put on a par with

that of the Holy Name, although the polyphonic repertory for the Holy Name (not least settings of *O bone Jesu*) is much wider than that of the Transfiguration.

While the two Feasts evolved during the same centuries and were pronounced official at the same Convocation, they developed into very different observances. The Holy Name seems to have been a popular observance in secular institutions, whether parish church, cathedral or college; a material culture in the form of the monogram and statues accompanied the devotion, and music enriched it in many institutions, as discussed in Chapter 4. The Transfiguration, in spite of its literally uplifting message of prefiguring the Resurrection, does not seem to have inspired the same range of artistic expressions of the devotion.

Conclusion

The Feasts of the Transfiguration and the Holy Name of Jesus evolved in divergent ways to become two very different observances. Related in detail in the three synoptic Gospels, the Transfiguration was an ancient Feast and had been celebrated liturgically on 6 August since the eighth century in the East.⁵⁰⁶ In the West it developed within a monastic context, and in twelfth-century England it is from the Cluniac monasteries that the Feast spread, even though there is evidence that it was being observed simultaneously in Benedictine institutions at this time. Although a Mass and Office of the Transfiguration were composed in the same century the observance seems to have sparked few artistic expressions, perhaps because of the difficulty of appositely representing such an event in Jesus Christ's life. On the other hand, its recognition as a Minor Double Feast by the York Convocation of 1489 was soon to be acknowledged in printed books, which testifies to its enthusiastic reception.

The Holy Name is almost opposite in its trajectory. The concept of the Holy Name of Jesus, as seen in Chapter 1, was treated with little importance in the Gospels, but developed into a concept worthy of devotion in *Acts* and the Pauline Epistles. While it was much written about during the intervening centuries by Paul of Nola and Bede, it did not gain importance as an object of devotion until the early Middle Ages, thanks to Bernard of Clairvaux, and in England to Richard Rolle in particular. Its first liturgical expression was not until the fourteenth century, as a Votive Mass. Yet once

⁵⁰⁶ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, 13.

it became known its popularity spread quickly: guilds proliferated, its apposite representation could be seen in a multitude of sacred and secular contexts, and music became an associated feature of the devotion. The Mass was said or sung in churches, cathedrals, colleges, chantry chapels, as well as in monasteries. In spite of its appeal to all levels of English society, its development from a Votive Mass to an official Feast of the Church was a slow process, helped not by its appearance in printed sources, but by certain key figures who elevated the observance through their patronage, namely Lady Margaret Beaufort and her household, and Archbishop Rotherham, who declared the date of 7 August as the annual commemoration date. Finally, its status as a Major Double testified to the importance with which it was eventually treated.

Yet in spite of these divergent paths the Feasts came to be seen as a pair. The most compelling reason for this is the complementarity of their meanings, the former stressing the divinity of Jesus Christ, the latter, his humanity. That this is referred to in the first Lection of the Office of the Holy Name from 1531, if not earlier, suggests that the laity were encouraged to perceive these two Feasts as two contrasting parts of a unit, and there is indeed evidence in England in the sixteenth century of celebrations treating the two Feasts with the same degree of attention. Liturgical printed books appearing during the final decades of the fifteenth century also begin to present the Feasts together, thus reinforcing the intended association of the two Feasts. Lady Margaret Beaufort, the Archbishop of York Thomas Rotherham, and possibly Henry Horneby, may have also had a role to play in their pairing. It is not to be dismissed that such a high profile institution as St Paul's Cathedral not only perceived them as a pair but also observed them as such.

The Papal Bull of Callistus III provides an interesting insight here: he was keen for the Transfiguration to be associated with the Feast of Corpus Christi, by granting it the same indulgence. While this association did not last, it is nevertheless significant that he thought in terms of the two Feasts stressing in turn the divine and human aspects of the Saviour. The date of 7 August for the Holy Name is therefore significant, as its juxtaposition with the Transfiguration helps emphasize the more Christological aspect of the observance, namely the duality of the person of Jesus Christ.

Section V

Animating Medieval Liturgical Texts into Worship

Chapter 9

The Mass of the Holy Name in Practice: Creating a Working Edition

While the previous sections of this thesis have examined the sources, texts and development of the liturgy of the Holy Name of Jesus, this chapter returns to the practical aspect of the research project of which this thesis is an outcome: the creation of a working edition of the Mass of the Holy Name according to Sarum Use. This was enacted in the form of a sung Votive Mass, as it would have been celebrated on a weekday in the later Middle Ages with single priest and assistant (perhaps a clerk; perhaps a boy server). As noted in earlier chapters, by the fifteenth century the Mass had become a weekly ritual in many institutions, most often celebrated on Friday. The challenging task of compiling a comprehensive text for enactment, accompanied by notation and rubrics, is explained below. The main working edition took the form of a booklet for use by the priest and his assistant (Appendix IV.1 and IV.3), while a supplementary booklet with fully notated Proper and Ordinary items was compiled for the singers and their Master (Appendix IV.2, together with relevant pages from the Sarum Gradual). Simple resources were produced for a group of laity worshipping in the Church of St Teilo and then in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity of Salisbury Cathedral (see Appendix IV.4). The two versions of the Mass for St Teilo's and Salisbury were inevitably slightly different.

General principles, considerations and challenges

It was noted in the Introduction that the project enactments were set around the decade beginning 1530. This was for several reasons – in part to complement the internal decoration of St Teilo's; in part to allow us to draw on printed liturgical sources and related late Tudor polyphony; in part to enable us to operate within the parameters of *Ecclesia Anglicana* (a term in use from 1533 with respect to Henry VIII's notion of an independent 'Church of England').⁵⁰⁷ By then the Feast of the

⁵⁰⁷ Sally Harper and John Harper, 'How did they do Liturgy?' in Sally Harper, P. S. Barnwell, Magnus Williamson (eds), *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted: The Experience of Worship in Cathedral and Parish Church* (Aldershot, 2015, forthcoming; hereafter *LMLE*), Ch. 7. The term *Ecclesia Anglicana* occurs in both the Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and the Act of Supremacy (1534), declaring Henry 'the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, called *Ecclesia Anglicana* to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same.'

Holy Name would have been well established. The gradual evolution of the observance, confirmed by the Papal Bull issued in 1494, was traced in Chapter 3, where it was established that the associated Mass had been appearing in its ‘mature form’ in printed liturgical books from at least 1512. A Missal of this date printed in London by Richard Pynson (*STC* 16190),⁵⁰⁸ contains the text, complete with Tract and full text of the Epistle, properly introduced; the Sequence is presented with separate *Divisio*, whose use is explained at the end of the Mass; and a fuller rubric states that the Mass should be said throughout the Octave without the Credo. By this period the Feast of the Holy Name is also mentioned in the Kalendar of most English sources under 7 August. All these features indicate that the observance had attained both the status of official Feast and weekly devotion, and was therefore well established as such by the 1530s.

This nominal date of the enactments around this decade therefore justified the consultation of many Sarum sources produced in the preceding twenty years or so, including manuscript and printed liturgical books (Missal and Gradual), and books of instruction and direction (Customary and Ordinal). Some of these have benefitted from much scholarly attention in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵⁰⁹ Because 1535 was also a period when even small parish churches such as St Teilo’s may have possessed an organ and been blessed with a small choir⁵¹⁰ – there had been an organ in Salisbury Cathedral for at least three centuries⁵¹¹ – the decisions to use the organ and to adapt some simple polyphony for the singers were also deemed fitting and in keeping with the integrity of the project.

The two spaces chosen for the enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name were the Trinity Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral, and the Jesus Chapel of St Teilo’s church. As noted in the Introduction, this was a small rural parish church originally located at Llandeilo Talybont, in the diocese of St David’s, where the Use of Sarum had been adopted at least in part since 1224.⁵¹² Both spaces observed the same Rite, yet were

⁵⁰⁸ *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie Sarum*, (London: Richard Pynson, 1512) [*STC* 16190].

⁵⁰⁹ Harper and Harper, ‘How did ...?’, *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹¹ Roger Bowers, ‘The Reform of the Choir of Salisbury Cathedral, c.1450–1549’, *LMLE*, Ch. 9.

⁵¹² Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: A Study of the Principal Sources* (Aldershot, 2007), 199–216.

very different: the Trinity Chapel was bigger, and being located in the northern end of the cathedral, was half a length away from the sacristy, unlike the cosy Jesus Chapel of St Teilo's, which was almost adjacent to its vestry. This was particularly noticeable at the preparation of the altar before the Mass: at Salisbury the clerk and server had further to go on their journeys to fetch pyx and cruets, then pax board and chalice, and the faithful had longer to wait before the liturgy could begin.

A significant challenge which presented itself in the preparation of the edition was that the Votive Mass of the Holy Name seems to have been celebrated in the Use of Salisbury by a single priest, without deacon or sub-deacon. In churches and chapels with only one incumbent he may have been assisted by a server or perhaps parish clerk, as the iconography found in manuscript and stained-glass windows bears out.⁵¹³ However, no instructions are provided in the liturgical books for this situation, possibly because it was normative. Adapting the texts of the Mass to these circumstances for worship was not in itself problematic, as the celebrant took on the role of reciting all the texts, including those usually allocated to a deacon (Gospel and Dismissal) and sub-deacon (Epistle).⁵¹⁴ Adapting the ritual, on the other hand, was more challenging, since a single priest could not be everywhere at once, and therefore many rubrics for celebrant and assisting server had to be devised in order to make the Mass practicable. But where does one turn for guidance on this matter? In the end, texts of lay instruction, such as Langford's *Meditations ... for the time of Mass*,⁵¹⁵ 'job descriptions' for parish clerks, such as those found in *The Clerk's Book of 1549*,⁵¹⁶ inventories, rubrics at the beginning of the *Missale Romanum* (1570)⁵¹⁷ issued after the Council of Trent, and Anglican ritual guides of the nineteenth century or later, were informative, if not always definitive in the guidance they provided.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹³ 'Harper and Harper, 'How did ...?', *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

⁵¹⁴ At the St Teilo's enactment a slightly different solution was adopted, with the parish clerk (adult and assumed to be literate) reading the Epistle.

⁵¹⁵ 'Meditatyon for goostly exercise. In the tyme of the masse ... Langforde: Preiste', in *Ob MS Wood 17* (probably copied mid or late fifteenth century), ed. and transc. J. Wickam Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, HBS, 27 (1904), 17–29.

⁵¹⁶ J. Wickham Legg (ed.), *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, HBS, 25 (London, 1903), 57ff.

⁵¹⁷ *Missale Romanum: Editio princeps* (1570), ed. M. Soldi and A. M. Triacca, *Monumenta Liturgica Concilii Tridentini*, 2 (Rome 1998).

⁵¹⁸ 'Harper and Harper, 'How did ...?', *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

Last but not least, the composition of the personnel involved in the enactments to some extent shaped the nature of the materials required. Had the participants all been familiar with the medieval Mass, fluent in Latin, and in the habit of singing plainchant on a daily basis while reading neumes from four-line staves, the task of preparing enactment booklets would have been much less complex. However, as there was a range of familiarity with the period, ritual, language and music among the participants, the enactment booklets had to be accessible, so that the Mass could be not only practicable, but also capable of being experienced as an act of worship. The booklets therefore contained sequentially all the words, chants and instructions, thus merging the text, music and rubrics from all of the liturgical books consulted into one. The Latin was accentuated in order to aid the pronunciation of the texts, and rubrics were all translated into English. All the intoned and recited material was given in full, like the Epistle, Gospel and terminations of prayers, as these are mentioned only in abbreviated forms in the original sources. The clergy had master booklets (see Appendix IV.1; IV.3), containing all their instructions for the ritual (although only such notated material as was necessary), while the singers' booklets (Appendix IV.2) gave prominence to the chants. Both types were divided into subsections in order to help demystify this already complex liturgy, as even the experienced and ordained clergy among the participants were faced with new rituals needing to be absorbed before they could be executed. Instructions for priest and server were presented in different colours for clarity, with location diagrams as visual aids. The project therefore departed from historical authenticity insofar as in the 1530s only the priest would have held a Mass book. However, to make the project work with the personnel available, the above accommodation and concessions had to be made. These principles, considerations and challenges having been broadly introduced, the finer minutiae of establishing a working edition of the text, with musical accompaniment and rubrication, are explained below.

The Text

The first stage towards creating a working edition involved producing a 'base' text. Because the Feast of the Holy Name had been official since 1494, as noted above, there was a variety of Missals (for the priest) and four printed Graduals (for the singers) to choose from. Partly for reasons of legibility, the Missal eventually selected

was the 1526 *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie [Sarum]*,⁵¹⁹ printed in Paris by Francis Regnault [*STC* 16205], and as this formed the basis for Dickinson's *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum* (1883),⁵²⁰ the latter was a useful supplementary source. For the English translation (not least for the complex rubrics), reference was made to Warren's *Sarum Missal in English* (1913).⁵²¹ Most of the unchanging texts (Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, *Sursum Corda*, Sanctus, Benedictus, Conclusion of the Canon, Pater Noster, *Pax domini*, Agnus Dei, *Ite Missa est*) were found in the Ordinary and Canon sections of the Missal, while the Proper texts (Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Gospel, Offertory, Secret, Communion and Postcommunion) were located within the Sanctorale. Other rubrics were gleaned from the First Sunday in Advent.

The Gradual was also an essential source for establishing the Propers, both melody and verbal text (see Table 9.1 below); here the Feast of the Holy Name appears in its expected Sanctorale position. The 1532 edition of the *Graduale Sarisburiense* was selected,⁵²² printed in Paris by Nickolaus Prevost and Francis Regnault, and sold in Paris by Regnault and in London by Robert Redman (*STC*, 15865). As the latest edition of the four printed Sarum Graduals, this was technically closest in date to the notional date of the enactments, but the 1527 edition was occasionally consulted to establish variant readings.⁵²³

Finally, a secondary source of much use was Nick Sandon's *The Use of Salisbury: The Ordinary of the Mass*, (1990).⁵²⁴ Sandon's scholarship draws on a wide range of printed and manuscript sources including Missal, Gradual, Customary and pointed Epistle and Gospel books, and extends to reconstructing the *Ordinarium Misse*, with original Latin text, rubrics in translation, and transcriptions of the associated chants. Although not always clear in its identification of primary sources, this proved a very useful tool for checking and corroborating, as for example for comparing the Preface

⁵¹⁹ In some cases reference was made to the more legible 1527 reprint by Petit [*STC* 16202.5] and the 1532 Missal printed by Regnault [*STC* 16212.5].

⁵²⁰ *Missale ad usum insignis ac praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson (Burntisland, 1861–83).

⁵²¹ F. E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English, Vol. II* (London and Oxford, c. 1913).

⁵²² *Graduale Sarisburiense*, (1527), printed in Paris by Nicolas Prévost [*STC* 15864].

⁵²³ 'Harper and Harper, 'How did ...?', *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

⁵²⁴ Nick Sandon, *The Use of Salisbury*, currently running to six volumes. Vol. I, *The Ordinary of the Mass* (Newton Abbot, 2nd rev. edn, Antico, 1990).

with Proper interpolations, and other prayer terminations. Other sources were consulted and will be mentioned below, but these four mentioned provided the basis for the research.

The sources having been determined, decisions as to the inclusion of certain texts had to be made when a choice arose. For some of these, guidance was provided in the rubrication. Since the enacted Mass was celebrated as for a Low Mass taking place in September, the overall ordering was as for the lengthy ‘per annum’ season of the medieval Church. There was therefore no requirement for the second Alleluia (Alleluia V. Surgens Iesus) provided in the sources, nor for the Alleluia appended to Introit, Offertory and Communion (these were prescribed only in Eastertide);⁵²⁵ the Credo was omitted (the rubrics indicated that it was included on the Feast day but omitted during the Octave; a situation also true for Votive celebration, where the Gloria was similarly omitted),⁵²⁶ and the Tract, *Dulce nomen Iesu Christi* was prescribed only during Lent.⁵²⁷ There was more flexibility in terms of the Sequence, since the Sarum Gradual offers more than one choice. One alternative is *Dulcis Iesu memoria*, which as noted above in Chapter 5, comes from a twelfth-century meditation in 42 stanzas,⁵²⁸ some of which form the centos for the Office Hymns at Matins and Lauds of the Holy Name. Having been in circulation for at least 350 years, it is likely to have been a very familiar text. However, although it is offered in the printed Gradual as an alternative, it is not in the main editions of the Missal, and partly for this reason the second half of the other prescribed Sequence, *Dulcis Iesus Nazareus*, was chosen. This is the *Divisio* section *Iesu pulcher in decore*, mentioned several times in earlier chapters. This appears in most editions of the Sarum Missal,⁵²⁹ and a rubric at the end of the Mass of the Holy Name in the 1526 Missal indicates that during the Octave of the Feast, only the second half of the Sequence, or the Sequence after the *Divisio* was to be sung.⁵³⁰ Because of its frequent reiteration of the name,

⁵²⁵ ‘Secundum Alleluia in commemoratione in tempore Paschali.’ (*Missale*, ed. Dickinson, col. 848).

⁵²⁶ ‘Credo ‘in die tantum’; ‘Per totas octavas dicatur Missa praedicta, quando de octavis agitur; sed sine Credo.’ (*Missale*, ed. Dickinson, col. 851–2).

⁵²⁷ ‘In commemoratione a Septuagesima usque ad Pascha.’ (*Missale*, ed. Dickinson, col. 848).

⁵²⁸ John Julian (ed.), *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, (New York, 1957) 585.

⁵²⁹ *Missale*, ed. Dickinson, col. 850. Dickinson notes that it is omitted in the editions of 1492, 1494, 1487, 1498, and 1557: col. 849.

⁵³⁰ 1526 *Missale ad usum insignis ac preclare ecclesie [Sarum]*, printed in Paris by Francis Regnault, [STC 16205].

‘Jesus’, as noted below; *Iesu pulcher in decore* turned out to be a particularly apt choice of Sequence for the enactment.

A further exercise was to identify variants in the Latin text between the printed editions of the Missal and the 1532 Gradual. Generally, few differences were found. Table 9.1 summarizes the findings, with variants highlighted in bold. In practice, however, the enacted liturgies tended to incorporate the disjuncture that surely occurred in the medieval Rite, with the celebrant reading from the Missal text and the singers that of the Gradual.⁵³¹

Table 9.1 Textual Variants in the Sarum Missal and Gradual

Sarum Missal (printed sources)	1532 Sarum Gradual
Introit: Dominus noster Jesus Christus in Gloria est Dei Patris.	Introit: Dominus Iesus Christus in Gloria est Dei Patris.
Gradual: Super omnem principatum, potestatem	Gradual: Super omnem principatum et potestatem
Alleluia: V: Dulce cordi nomen Iesu.... Et fugat mundi sibilum . <i>Secundum Alleluia in commemoratione tempore Paschali</i> V: Surgens...: stetit in medio discipulorum suorum et dixit: Pax vobis.	Alleluia: V: Dulce nostri nomen Iesu... Et fugat mundi dibilitum <i>Secundum Alleluia in commemoratione tempore Paschali</i> V: Surgens...: stetit in medio discipulorum suorum dixit: Pax vobis.
<i>In commemoratione a Septuagesima usque ad Pascha</i>	<i>In commemoratione a Septuagesima usque ad Pascha</i>
Sequence: Dulcis Iesus Nazareus 1) section before <i>Divisio</i> (no variants) 2) <i>Divisio</i> section, Jesus pulcher in decore ...mitis, lenis cum dulcore ... summus potens in vigore ...In sciendo summe sapit, Ambiando cuncta capit, Diligendo corda rapit, Et illata detinet. Eya nobis nomen gratum, Jesus dulcis appellatum, Sit in corde sic firmatum, Ut non posit erui	Sequence: Dulcis Iesus Nazareus 1) section before <i>Divisio</i> (no variants) 2) <i>Divisio</i> section, Iesus pulcher in decore ...mitis, lenis in dulcore ... sume potens in vigore rapit ... retinet . Eya nomen nobis gratum Dulcis Iesus appellatum, Sit in corde sic firmatum, Quod non posit erui

⁵³¹The 1532 Gradual was the driving source for the spellings of the sung Propers. It must be acknowledged that since the September 2011 enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name, some discrepancies between the source and the actual texts which were chanted, and apparent in the edition, have been identified. It is hoped that these oversights have since been rectified.

Odas sede	Odas sed et
Offertory : In nomine meo daemonia ejicient Linguis	Offertory: In nomine meo demonia eiicient Liguis

A policy on orthography, capitalization and punctuation had to be determined also. Generally, what governed these decisions was the accessibility of the language to the singers who might be unfamiliar with Latin. The medieval orthography was also consistently restored where the nineteenth-century sources opt for Classical spellings: thus, [ae] was simplified to [e]; [j] as in ejus, and Jesus, became [i], thus eius and Iesus. Addition of some light punctuation was helpful to both clergy and musicians (not least to assist with breathing), so this was employed where appropriate (in some instances following Dickinson's edition).

The 1532 Gradual and printed Missals do not provide full texts for all Proper items. For example, no more than the incipit is provided for the appointed passage for the Epistle and Gospel, so that the complete text had to be located in the Vulgate Bible and transcribed using the same orthographical policies applied to the rest of the Propers. 'Common texts' also needed to be sought in other parts of the Missal: the Preface (borrowed from the Nativity, as was noted in Chapter 5) is an example. A final task involved inserting diacritics to assist both clergy and singers with accentuation and the pointing of both Epistle and Gospel for intonation. In most cases this presented few problems, although other books were consulted for comparative purposes, including The *Liber Usualis*,⁵³² first edited by the monks of Solesmes in 1896, the *Liber Pontificalis*,⁵³³ and online resources from the community of the St Benedict Tridentine Catholic Community at Windsor, Ontario, where Latin Masses are still sung regularly.

The Chants

The second stage of the process was transcription of the associated melodies, which was done in close association with other members of the research team. Although chants intoned by the celebrant or in dialogue (e.g. *Sursum Corda*, Preface, Pater

⁵³² *The Liber Usualis, with Introduction and Rubrics in English, Edited by the Benedictines of Solesmes*, printed by the Desclee Company, (Tournai / New York, 1961).

⁵³³ <http://www.windsorlatinmass.org/latin/chant.htm>

noster) were all transcribed from the Missal, as mentioned earlier, the 1532 Gradual, together with the 1527 version when ambiguity occurred, provided the chants for most of the Propers. Some reference was also made to the Tonary, Customary and Ordinal for supplementary information.⁵³⁴ Gospel and Epistle intonations, provided under the first Sunday of Advent in the Gradual, were also compared with additional material in Nick Sandon's *The Use of Salisbury*: this helpfully provides guidance on the four possible inflexions which occur after a short clause or where there is a moderate pause in the text, i.e. after a full stop, after an interrogation, and finally at the conclusion of the text.⁵³⁵

Occasionally, scribal anomalies or mistakes were found in the Gradual. For example in the 1532 version the last note of the Introit Antiphon was a G, and the Verse ended on an F, even though both ended with the same melisma. Here reference was made to the 1527 version where it ended 'correctly' in an F. In the Sequence, there was an inconsistent use of a B flat, where an identical phrase was being repeated and where the same note was natural in the first iteration, (although it seems to have been normal scribal practice to omit a B flat in medieval sources). Such errors, or inconsistencies, were corrected silently in the enactment edition. All melodies were presented as clearly as possible, with indication of ruler versus full choir sections, and entries. The Sequence was laid out in such a way as to reflect its metrical paired lines.

For practical reasons associated with the singers taking part in the enactments (no doubt mirroring the practice of the medieval Church), notated pitch was not treated rigidly. The Introit and Alleluya were transposed down a third; the Gradual, Sequence and Offertory,⁵³⁶ down a tone and the Communion, down a fourth. Items from the Mass Ordinary were also treated with some flexibility. At the St Teilo's enactment, the Kyrie was sung to the Square melody for *feria vi* (Friday) from the cycle of daily Lady Masses by Nicholas Ludford (c.1485-c. 1557) in *Lbl MSS Roy. App. 45-48*; the Mass of the Holy Name has no prescribed Kyrie melody and the Square, adapted from a transcription by Hugh Baillie,⁵³⁷ was deemed appropriate for a small group of 'boy choristers'. The Sanctus, Benedictus and Agnus Dei were polyphonic settings for the

⁵³⁴ Harper and Harper, 'How did ...?', *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

⁵³⁵ Sandon, *The Ordinary of the Mass*, 19.

⁵³⁶ The Sequence was transposed down a tone from 'Summe potens'.

⁵³⁷ Hugh Baillie, 'Squares', *Acta Musicologica*, 32 (1960), 179-93, K6.

organ, taken from the Organ Mass by Philip ap Rhys (d. 1566) in *Lbl* MS Add. 29996. This was partly to celebrate the project's medieval organ and also to reflect the Welsh context: ap Rhys evidently had Welsh roots, even though his career was in London. He was paid to play the organ at St Mary-at-Hill in 1540, and later became vicar choral and master of the choristers at St Paul's Cathedral, probably in 1547. The organ itself alternated with simple sung faburden conceived by the project director, Professor John Harper (incorporated into the choir booklet, Appendix IV.2).

At Salisbury Cathedral the polyphonic repertory chosen was rather different, to reflect the different resource of the medieval institution. The lay vicars, representing the earlier vicars choral, sang the Introit Antiphon from an anonymous partial setting of the Jesus Mass Propers in the sixteenth-century Gyffard partbooks (*Lbl* MSS Add. 17802–5, now thought to have been compiled during the 1570s and early 1580s), and the polyphonic Kyrie from a Mass on the Square by William Mundy (c.1528–c.1591), Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and also Clerk of the parish church of St Mary-at-Hill in the city of London. The Sanctus, Benedictus, and Agnus Dei were again sung to the *alternatim* settings by Philip ap Rhys.

Rubrics

Once the texts and chants were established, the final stage of the process was to set out who did what, when and how. Relevant rubrics, as noted above, are spread throughout the Missal: not only within the Sanctorale, but also for the first Sunday of Advent, in the Votive section, and in the Ordinary and Canon. F. E. Warren's *The Sarum Missal in English* and Nick Sandon's *The Use of Salisbury* as invaluable points of reference has already been emphasised.

However, as mentioned earlier, the Votive version of the Mass of the Holy Name chosen for the enactments was celebrated as a Low Mass by a single priest, without assisting deacon and subdeacon, and the liturgical books provide almost no guidance for such celebrations.⁵³⁸ The handful of relevant instructions located sometimes come from service books pertaining to other Uses. For example, the Hereford Missal asks that the Gospel be appropriately blessed, in the absence of a deacon, from the centre

⁵³⁸ 'Harper and Harper, 'How did ...?', *LMLE*, Ch. 7.

of the altar,⁵³⁹ processed and then read from the north side of the altar.⁵⁴⁰ For other aspects of the ritual, the liturgical books are silent. Other sources had to be consulted, and particularly useful were the appendices of *The Clerk's Book of 1549*, which provided an exhaustive list of all his duties. This informed which rituals to assign to whom. At St Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, for instance, the clerk was to assist any priest celebrating at a side altar, while at St Mary's Faversham he was to bring to the altar the chalice, Mass book and cruets with water and wine, and put fresh water into the cruets daily for the priest 'that sings'. At Coventry it was the clerk's job to ensure that a torch was lit for every Mass in the church, and elsewhere, clerks had responsibility for ensuring that books were brought to the altar and secured properly afterwards. The Faversham accounts also imply considerable musical competence on the part of its clerk, for at least one clerk was always to be available to assist the vicar or his deputy as necessary, singing the Gradual at the upper desk in choir and the Epistle at any Mass 'by note'. In the event of the chant failing, he was also to leave the faburden and sing the plainsong 'unto the time the choir be set again'.

Nevertheless, there were still questions as to when and where some practices were to take place. For example, where was the priest to vest? An inventory of Abraham of Winchester, canon treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral, compiled around 1214,⁵⁴¹ shows that the vestments, linen, books and vessels were kept apart from the high altar, presumably in the treasury or the sacristy, which would suggest that the celebrant would vest before appearing before his congregation. On the other hand, the same inventory states that these sacred objects were kept at the other altars around the cathedral, which somewhat confuses the issue. Langford's *Meditations ... for the time of Mass*,⁵⁴² directs people in their devotions as they see their priest vest himself with each ritual garment, which indicates that he was visible when he did this, and

⁵³⁹ 'Si sacerdos per se celebravit, dicat privatim stans in medio altaris: dominus sit in corde et in ore meo, et cetera ut supra.' *Missale ad Usum Percelebris Ecclesiae Herefordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson (Leeds, 1874), 117.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Cetera omnia in medio altaris expelantur, nisi forte diaconus defuerit. Tunc enim in sinister cornu Altaris legatur Evangelium.' (*Missale*, ed. Dickinson, col. 589; Ordinary of the Mass).

⁵⁴¹ Inventory of Abraham of Winchester, canon treasurer, compiled 1214, with later revisions in 1222, preserved in the Old Register (CHIhc D1/1/1), 167–72 (incomplete: four pages now missing from the manuscript). Transcriptions in W. Rich Jones, *The Register of St Osmund*, 2 vols (London 1884), II, 127–42, and Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions*, 169–82.

⁵⁴² 'Meditatyon for goostly exercise. In the tyme of the masse ... Langforde: Preiste', in *Ob Ms Wood 17* (probably copied mid or late fifteenth century), ed. and trans. J. Wickam Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, HBS, 27 (1904), 17–29.

therefore in front of them at the altar. This practice was not actually followed in the enactments where at both St Teilo's and Salisbury, it was deemed more appropriate that the celebrant vest in the sacristy.

One of the most complex questions in animating a Low Mass according to Sarum Use concerns the preparation of the chalice and paten, and their placing on the altar before the consecration of the elements takes place. In a High Mass with a full clerical team, it would usually have been the subdeacon's task to prepare chalice and paten, together with the bread and the wine. The rubrics indicate that this occurred away from the altar during the Gradual, prior to the Acolyte bringing the prepared vessels to the high altar at the Offertory. However, at a Low Mass, because the vessels were apparently already located at the altar and because the priest needed to be present to recite Gradual, Offertory and all other texts, it is impossible for priest and server alone to follow the prescribed rubrics. Other sources nevertheless prove informative. A theologian from the period, Thomas Becon (1512/1513–1567), suggests that this ritual takes place at the beginning of the Mass; 'First ye come solemnly forth in your gay, gallant, game-player's garments ... whereas the Latin church customably mingle the water with wine, which was also pope Alexander's device.'⁵⁴³ In contrast, another contemporary source claimed it happened at the Offertory:

Then followeth the Offertory ... at which time the minister laying the bread upon the altar, maketh the chalice mixing the water with the wine, signifying thereby how that blood and water ran out of Christ's side in his passion, and admonisheth us of the inseparable coupling and joining of Christ and his church together.⁵⁴⁴

Later, in the nineteenth century, the priest and liturgist Percy Dearmer (1867 – 1936),⁵⁴⁵ whose *Parson's Handbook* was an attempt to re-establish in the Anglican Church liturgical practices based on the traditions of pre-Reformation English Use, interpreted the rubric in agreement with Thomas Becon. However, as there was no clear solution to this question in terms of the project enactments, a solution was found

⁵⁴³ Thomas Becon, 'The Displaying of the Popish Mass,' in *Prayers and Other Pieces of Thomas Becon, S.T.P.*, (Cambridge, 1844), 262.

⁵⁴⁴ Cyril S. Cobb (ed.), *Book Concerning Ceremonies to be used in the Church of England, c. 1539, The Rationale of Ceremonial*, ACC, 18 (London 1910), 15–28.

⁵⁴⁵ Percy Dearmer, *The Parson's Handbook* (London, Edinburgh, 1931), 299; also in A. Harford Pearson, 'Low Mass in the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries', *The Sarum Missal done into English* (London, 1884), lviii–lxiii.

that seemed to be in accordance with both the personnel involved and the space: the vessels were prepared by the priest and his server up at the altar, immediately after they had processed from the sacristy to the Jesus Chapel.

The role of the assistant for the two enactments was interpreted slightly differently. At St Teilo's the celebrant was assisted by a literate clerk, and at Salisbury by a boy server. The clerk helped with the preparation of the vessels and altar, the appropriate placing of the Missal (whether on or off the altar) throughout the Mass, and the priest's Ablutions. He also read the Epistle and held the priest's chasuble during the Elevation. In terms of the enactments he also had what turned out to be a particularly significant role: the taking of the Pax board down from the altar to the people, for them to kiss. This was a particularly reverent ritual since the Pax-Board was kissed by the priest's lips, and was effectively the nearest the people came to the sacrament itself. At the Salisbury enactment, virtually all of these same were performed by a boy server, although since his medieval counterpart was probably illiterate, he did not read the Epistle.

Conclusion

With chants and rubrics incorporated into the text, a working edition of the Mass was ready for the priest, singers and people to enact the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus. As with all performance texts, the next challenge concerned realizing the Mass as if this was a regular devotion with which all the participants were familiar. This involved watching and listening for cues which would trigger the next set of utterances, chants or ritual actions: for example, the celebrant began his confession while the choir sang the Kyrie; they in turn bowed their heads at the mention of the name of Jesus as they sang the Sequence (following the directive from the 1274 Council of Lyons, namely that genuflection or bowing of heads should take place at the mention of the name),⁵⁴⁶ and together with the rest of the worshippers, kissed the floor at the 'Et Verbum caro factum est' (John 1. 1–14, 'And the Word was made flesh').⁵⁴⁷ The actual experience of the worship comes across most vividly in the associated Audio-Visual materials on the project website,

⁵⁴⁶ Cited in Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, (Cambridge, 2002), 153.

⁵⁴⁷ See the poem 'On Kissing at Verbum Caro Factum Est', by John Lydgate, among his 'Poems on the Mass' in H. N. MacCracken, (ed.), *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, EETS (e.s.), 107 (1911), 84–117.

(<http://www.experienceofworship.org.uk/enactments/jesus-mass/>); this also has fuller descriptions of all aspects of the project. These and other areas are also explored in the forthcoming study *Late Medieval Liturgies Enacted*, already cited several times in this chapter. In essence all of these resources attempt to address the opportunities and challenges of enacting a medieval Mass in a medieval context but with modern-thinking people.



Fig. 9.1: Enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name, St Teilo's, September 2011—
Bowling at the name of Jesus

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to explore the liturgical sources, development, and practice of the Mass and Office of the Holy Name of Jesus, both chronologically and thematically. The various stages of this process have constituted the five different sections of this thesis: the first section has addressed the trajectory of the devotion from its biblical sources to the English medieval context in which it flourished; the middle sections have charted the growth and emergence of a Votive Jesus Mass as appearing in liturgical books, to a widely-observed officially recognised Feast of the Holy Name, with its own full set of Mass and Office Propers, elaborate musical accompaniment (often supported by guilds), and last but not least, a not insignificant date in the Kalendar (7 August), following the Feast of the Transfiguration. The culmination of this investigation into the sources and development, considered in the final section, has focused on liturgy in practice: the process of preparing an enactment of the Mass, designed to animate the Proper texts into worship, with words, chants, and rubrics for clergy, assistants, musicians, and worshipping laity.

In the process of tracing this liturgical trajectory, it has been the intention of this doctoral thesis to provide fresh and original perspectives on the significance of the Holy Name. In Section I, the claim that the devotion is rooted in Scripture has been challenged and to some extent re-defined. A literal analysis of the occurrences of the name 'Jesus' in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles revealed that its use stresses the human aspect of Jesus' person. Equally significantly, the analysis showed that the 'Name of Jesus', i.e. the Name as a separate entity, is treated as holy and with the potential to effect Salvation, on two occasions only: *Matthew 1: 20–23* and *Philippians 2: 10-11*. Given the paucity of references unambiguously treating the Name of Jesus as sacred, it is not surprising that these texts feature so prominently in the Mass and Office Propers.

It is the broader context of the Old Testament which provides the Name with the status of one worthy of veneration. The Prophets and Psalms in particular foretell the

coming of a Holy Name, one which will supersede the nameless God of Exodus. This is made particularly explicit in the Lections of the liturgical Office. Paradoxically, the devotion to the Name of Jesus is rooted in the Old Testament.

Yet this ambivalent treatment of the Holy Name of Jesus in the New Testament did not prevent theologians from extolling the virtues, powers, and benefits of the Name, thus enabling it to flourish into the object of a medieval cult, both in England and on the Continent. More recent scholarship on manuscript and printed liturgical sources, presented in Section II, has permitted a clearer picture of the transitional stages of its progress from Votive to Major Double Feast in Sarum Use during the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries. These studies variously explore which churches, cathedrals, colleges, and monasteries in England observed the devotion; which had the support of Jesus guilds; and finally, which amongst these institutions had the means to celebrate the Jesus Mass with elaborate musical enhancement.

A more noteworthy contribution to Holy Name of Jesus studies, however, has been a detailed study of the associated Sarum Office. It is clear that Lady Margaret Beaufort (1443–1509), mother of Henry VII, had an important role to play in its swift adoption: she petitioned Pope Alexander VI, who at her request, in 1494 issued the Papal Bull ratifying the Feast with an Office, containing Chapters, Lections, Antiphons, Versicles and Responds (See Appendix III). There remain questions to be answered, however, about the puzzling absence of the full version of the Holy Name Office in the Hereford Breviary (1505), which she commissioned, especially when the authorship has been variously, albeit without any certainty, ascribed to her Secretary, Dean, and Chancellor, Henry Horneby (c.1457–1518). Mystery also surrounds the appearance of an associated indulgence in the Matins Lections of the 1531 Sarum Breviary, since it is apparently not included in earlier editions of the Breviary, nor in any of the known sources printed shortly after the 1494 Bull.

More significantly still, however, has been the investigation of the Office Proper texts, alongside those of the Mass. Complete English translations of all the Lections of the Office, that is to say for the Feast Day, Octave, Sunday within the Octave, and Octave Day (included in Appendix II.2) have provided new insights into the meaning

of the Name. In particular, longer texts such as the Hymns and the Lections have enabled their author to expand more amply on three main themes, outlined here.

The name of Jesus brings Salvation, as foretold in the Old Testament, confirmed by Matthew in his Gospel, Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians, and notable theologians since. Indeed, as was shown in Chapter 1, the salvific powers of the Holy Name of Jesus have to be traced back to the Old Testament, and understood within this broader exegetical context. This Salvation also operates on a more day-to-day practical level. The Name is the ‘Oleum Effusum’ of St Bernard’s Sermon XV of the *Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, which sheds light, nourishes, and soothes. Bernard’s works are frequently cited throughout the Lections, as are other Church Fathers. The name Jesus represents his humanity: while all three Office Hymns convey this theme in their own distinctive ways, the Lections introduce the powerful notion that it was necessary for him to be given his human name by his human parents Mary and Joseph, so that the giving of his name was not just God-given, i.e. divine, but also human. The sweetness of the Name is also a recurring theme, figuring most prominently in the two Hymns *Exultet cor precordiis*, and *Iesu dulcis memoria*, in which Jesus is addressed in a familiar and intimate manner. While these themes were also found to be prominent in the Propers of the Mass, they are explored more explicitly, thanks to the discursive genre of the Lections. As a result, the Office enhances and enriches our understanding of the significance of the Holy Name in the Mass.

My new translation of the Lections offers a useful resource for further scholarship. While this thesis has sought to trace the sources of the Lektion material, as footnoted in Appendix II.2, there are still many opportunities for further consolidation of some of these derivations. Subject for future research could include the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux on the composition of the Office; an examination of the variations between the Office Propers of the three Uses of York, Hereford and Salisbury; a comparative study of the Sarum ‘A solis ortu’ Office and those written by Heinrich Suso, and Bernardino Bustis. There is also scope for a detailed analytical study of the associated chants.

Section 4 examines the Feast of the Transfiguration: once again, a close study of the scriptural and liturgical Sources for this ancient Feast has offered new perspectives on

the interpretation of the Holy Name of Jesus. It has been posited that because the Transfiguration Feast celebrated the divine aspect of Jesus' person, unlike the Feast of the Holy Name, it was theologically appropriate for both Feasts to be celebrated together, as was found to be the case at St Paul's Cathedral. Within this reasoning, the Feast of the Holy Name was dated to the 7 August as part of a deliberate choice to succeed it to the Transfiguration, which complemented it in meaning. Comparisons with the Feast of the Transfiguration have also highlighted the rapid and exponential spread of the Feast of the Holy Name.

The final section of this thesis returns to its starting point, namely the *Experience of Worship* research project. Within it are addressed the complexities and challenges of adapting a medieval liturgical Mass text into an act of worship, through the intermediary stage of creating another text: a working edition which includes words, chants and ritual, adapted to the experience, knowledge, and limitations of modern minds. This new and under-explored approach to studying liturgy in the form of historically-informed enactments has encouraged a deeper understanding of the liturgical texts pertaining to the Holy Name, both Ordinary and Proper. As these were not designed to be read, but to be heard, or for the literate, uttered and reflected upon, new ways of engagement during the worship were sought, often through more physical or sensory involvement. Most relevantly to this thesis, the enactments provided a series of contexts, visual, auditory, sensory, physical and even spiritual, in which these texts could be appreciated.

Appendices

Appendix I
Photographic Images from Primary
Sources

Appendix I.1

The Sarum Mass for the Feasts of
the Holy Name of Jesus and the
Transfiguration:

*Missale ad usum insignis ac
preclare ecclesie [Sarum],*

Paris: Francis Regnault,

1532 [STC 16212.5]

Osvaldi regis. August.

accipe spiritum meum alla. Secreta.

Accipium tibi dñe fidelium tuorum votis oblatu serenus intende: vt qđ dilecto martyri tuo stephano / nicodemo / gamalieli / atq; abibon hodiernā inuictionis eorum cōtulit gloriā: nobis ad redēptionē prosit et grām. Per. C. Oio.

Act. vñ. & video celos apertos et iesum stantem a dextris virtutis dei: dñe iesu accipe spiritum meum: & ne statuas illis hoc peccatū quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Postcōio.

Enati te hūiliter rogam⁹ dñe de⁹ nos: vt bñi martyris tui stephani / nicomedi / gamalielis / atq; abibon meritis nos vbiq; adiuues: quoz hodie reuelationis solē nitatē celebamus. Per. C. Sacti osvaldi regis & marty. Officiū.

p. viij.



Oria et honore coronasti eū: & cōstituisti eum sup opera manū tuarum. ps. Domine dñs n̄r: & admirabile est nōmē tuū i vniuersa tra. Op.

Op̄s sempitne deus q̄ hui⁹ diei iocundā sanctāq; letitiā in sc̄i serui tui osvaldi passiōe cōsecrasti: da cordibus n̄ris tui amoris charitatilq; augmētū: vt cui⁹ in terris sc̄i sāguis effusione celebrā⁹ / illi⁹ i celo collata p̄ocinia sentiam⁹. p. Ep̄la. Stūsbir q̄ iuf.

pl. xx.

in cōi. fo. iij. G. P. Potuisti dñe sup caput ei⁹ coronā de lapide p̄cioso. V. Desideriū aie ei⁹ tribuisti ei⁹ & volūtatē tabio-

rū eius nō fraudasti eū. Flā. d. vñ. vir q̄ suffert tentationē: qm̄ cū p̄p̄tē r̄it / accipiet coronā vite. Euāg. Si q̄s vēit ad me. i cōi. fo. v. D. Et. et honore coronasti eū: & cōstitui eum sup opera manū tuarū dñe. Secreta.

Osvaldi regis et martyris tui cōmōratiōe tue maiestati offerimus / pp̄tiam assūme: & illā q̄ tui flagrauit fonte dilectionē / nobis ipsa benign⁹. p. C. Oio. Magna dñe decore impone sup eti dñe. Postcōio.

Utali altimonia recreati sum⁹ / op̄s deus: vt beati osvaldi martyris tui precib⁹ tuā nobis iustitiā placari sentiam⁹ / cui⁹ glōsa certamina solēni deuotē veneramur. Per. C. In transfiguratione domini. C. B. dicitio dñe.

Benedic dñe & hos fructus tue bue: quos tu dñe reple / & inundatiōe pluuiaz / & tepore serenitate atq; tranquillitate ad maturitatē perducere dignatus es: & dedisti eos ad v̄sus nostros cū gratiarū actione percipere. In noie dñi n̄ri Iesu xpi: p̄ quē oia dñe semp̄ bona creas. Qui tecū. C. In transfiguratione dñi. Ad nullam. Om̄.



Deus q̄ hodierna die vultū n̄rū tui mirabiliter transfiguratu / celitus virtutis testamēti patribus reuelasti: da nobis q̄s bñplacitis tibi actib⁹ ad ei⁹ semp̄ cōtēplādā p̄tingere grām: in quo te paternitati optime cōplacuisse testatus es. Per eundē dñm. Ec.

Deus q̄ hodierna die vultū n̄rū tui mirabiliter transfiguratu / celitus virtutis testamēti patribus reuelasti: da nobis q̄s bñplacitis tibi actib⁹ ad ei⁹ semp̄ cōtēplādā p̄tingere grām: in quo te paternitati optime cōplacuisse testatus es. Per eundē dñm. Ec.

In transfiguratione dñi. Jo. xliij.

Act. vñ. & video celos apertos et iesum stantem a dextris virtutis dei: dñe iesu accipe spiritum meum: & ne statuas illis hoc peccatū quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Postcōio.

Charissime. Non enim indotas fabulas secuti / notam serimus vobis dñi nostri iesu xpi virtutem & p̄sc̄tiam: sed speculatores facti illius magnitudinis. Accipies em̄ a deo patre honorem et gloriā: voce ad eū delap̄a huiusmodi a magnifica gloriā. Hic est filius meus dilectus / in quo mihi bene complacui: ipsum audite. Et hāc vocē nos audiuim⁹ de celo allatā: cū essem⁹ cū illo in mōte sc̄o. Et habem⁹ firmiorē propheciā sermōnē / cui benefacitis attēdētes: quasi lucerne lucētī i caliginoso loco. Donec dies illucescat: et lucifer oriatur in cordib⁹ vestris.

Act. vñ. & video celos apertos et iesum stantem a dextris virtutis dei: dñe iesu accipe spiritum meum: & ne statuas illis hoc peccatū quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Postcōio.

Benedicta semper sit beata trinitas deitas: sed vnitas coequalis gloriā. Pater filius sanctus spūs tria sūt nomina: oia eadem substantia. Deus genitor / deus genitus: in vtroq; sacer spūs deitate sociā. Non tres tamen dii sūt: deus ver⁹ vnus est: sic pater dñs filius spūs dñs. Ipse tamen dñs.

Act. vñ. & video celos apertos et iesum stantem a dextris virtutis dei: dñe iesu accipe spiritum meum: & ne statuas illis hoc peccatū quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Postcōio.

In illo tpe. Assumpsit iesus petrum & dixit illos in mōte excelsum seorsū: & transfiguratus est ante eos. Et respēdit facies ei⁹ sicut sol: vestimēta autē eius facta sunt alba sicut nix. Et ecce apparuerūt illis moyses et helias: cum eo loquentes. R̄spondens autē petrus: dixit ad iesum. Dñe: bonum est nos hic esse. Si vis faciam⁹ hic tria tabernacula: tibi vnū / moysi vnū / et helie vnū. Adhuc eo loquēte: ecce nubes lucida obd̄rauit eos. Et ecce vox de nube dicens. Hic est filius meus dilectus / in quo mihi bene cōplacui: ip̄m audite. Et audientes discipuli / ceciderunt in facie suā: & timuerūt valde. Et accelsit iesus et tetigit eos: dixitq; eis. J ij.

Sixti & so. De noie iesu. August.

Surgite: et nolite timere. Leuan- tes autē oculos suos: neminē vide- rūt nisi solū iesū. Et descēdentib⁹ illis de mōte: p̄cepit eis ies⁹ dicēs. Memini dixeritis visionem: donec filius hominis a mortuis resurgat.

p. r. ii. Credo. Dicit. Deus enī firmavit or- bem terre q̄ non cōmouebit: parata sedes tua de⁹ ex tūc / a seculo tu es. Secreta.

Ascipe q̄s dñe sancte pater op̄s eterne de⁹ / munerā q̄ p̄ gratiosa filij tui trāsfiguratione de- ferimus: & concede pp̄iti⁹ vt p̄ hec a t̄p̄alib⁹ liberemur incōmodis: & gaudijs cōnectamur eternis. Per eūdē. P̄esa. de natū. Dicit p̄ incar- nati. Cōto. In splendoribus sc̄ptū er- uero ante luciferū genui te. Post cōto.

p. r. iii. Deus q̄ hunc diē incarnati uerbi tui trāsfiguratione / tūq; ad eū missa paternitatē uoce cōsecrasti: tribue q̄s vt diuinis pa- tri alimonijs i er⁹ mereamur mē- b̄ia trāsferri / q̄ hec in sui memoriā fieri p̄cepit: iesus x̄p̄s filius tuus dñs n̄r. Qui te. Cōto. Sixti / fe- licissimi / & agapiti. Marty. Dñi.

Alus asit iustoz a dño: et p̄ceptor eoz est in t̄p̄e tribulationis. ps. Noli emulari in malignantibus: neq; zelaueris faciētes iniquitatē. Dicit. Deus q̄ nos cecidit sanctorū martyū tuoz Sixti / felicissimi / & agapiti natalitia colere: da nobis in eterna beatitudine de eorū societate gaudere. Per. Ep̄la. B̄ndictus deus in cōi. so. iij. C. D.

p. r. i. Iustoz aie in manu dei sunt: & nō tanget illos tormentū malitię. B. Et isti sunt oculi insipientium mori: illi autem sunt in pace. A. I. I. B. Reddet deus merce- dem laborū sanctorū tuoz: & deducet illos

in uia mirabili. Euang. C. Sande- tis. in cōi. so. viii. Dicit. Gloriamur in te oēs qui diligunt nomen tuum: qui in benedices iusto: domine ut sc̄to boni- lumatis tue coronasti nos. Secreta. Una domie tue maie- rum tuoz Sixti / felicissimi / & agapiti quesumus interuentu: nobis ad salutē proficere sentiamur me- nam. Per dñm. Cōto. Ep̄la. Dicit. In- gi de mundo: ut eatis & fructū altissimi & c. fructus uelut maneat. Post cōto.

B. Felicitissimi / & agapiti dñi in- tercessione placat⁹: p̄da q̄s vt im- steria sc̄ta q̄ t̄p̄ali celebrant⁹ actio- ne / p̄petua saluatione capiamus. Per. C. In festo nois iesu. Dñi. Nōmine iesu oēs qui in- uertatur. relictū ferre. In- strū et infernoz: q̄ dñs lingua consistat q̄ dñs noster iesus christus in ḡtia est dei patris. In tempore paschali. Ps. Laudate dñm quoniam bonus de⁹: ps. psallite nōmī eius quoniam suauis. Dicit. C. D.

Deus qui gloriosissimū nō- men dñi nostri iesu christi unigeniti filij tui / fecisti fidelibus tuis summo suauitatē / affectu ama- bile: & malignis spiritibus tremē- dū atq; terribile: concede pp̄iti⁹ vt oēs q̄ hoc nomē iesu deuote de- nerātur in terris: sc̄te solationis dulcedinē in p̄senti p̄cipiant: & in futuro gaudiū exultationis & inter- minabilis iubilationis obtineant. Per eūdē. C. Cōto actū aplōm. In dieb⁹ illis. Petrus replet⁹ in spū sancto / dixit. P̄cipites populi et seniores / audite. Si nos hodie diiudicamur in beneficio

De nomine iesu. Jo. xliij.

hois infirmi in quo iste saluus fa- ctus est. Potū sit oib⁹ uobis et oi- plebi israel: quia in noie dñi nostri iesu x̄pi nazareni quē uos crucifi- xistis / quē deus suscitauit a mo- tuis: in hoc iste asat coram uobis san⁹. Hic est lapis q̄ reprobat⁹ est a uobis edificatib⁹: q̄ fact⁹ est in ca- put anguli. Et nō est i aliquo alio salus. Hec enī aliud nomē est sub- cōto dātū hoibus: in quo oporteat

nos saluos fieri. C. D. Constituit de⁹ pater ad dexteram suā iesum x̄p̄m in cele- stibus / sup oēm principatū & potestatē et uirtutē & dñationē / & oē nomen qd̄ noiat nō solū in hoc seculo sed etiā in futuro: et

oia subiecit sub pedibus eius. B. Adiuua nos deus salutaris n̄r: & pp̄t gloriā nois tui dñe libera nos / & propitius esto p̄ctis n̄ris / pp̄ter nomē eū. A. I. I. B. Dulce cordi nomen iesu / melos auri mei in edu: cor conuertit in iudicium & fugat mundi ci- uium. Secundū A. I. I. in cōmō. in t̄p̄e pasch. A. I. I. B. Surgens iesus dñs noster stetit in medio discipulorum / suoz & dixit: pax uobis. In cōmemo- ratione a. l. x. vsq; ad pasch. Tract.

Dulce nomen iesu x̄pi: felix omen ferens tristi: iocundans mentem iudilo. B. Collit luctum affert fructum: et obductum & seductum purgat cor a nu- bilo. B. Nominatum inuocatum / honora- tum predicatum / temp̄ sonat dulciter. B. C. A peccatū q̄ reatum: condonatu expur- gatu / reddit mulcens leniter. B. Hostes ferit / mores crit: mala terit / graues ge- rit / plenum est p̄cediū. B. Nos defendit nos accendit: nos intendit & extendit / hoc nomen in gaudium. Sequentia.

Dulcis iesus nazarenus / in- deozū rex amen⁹: pius pul- cher florid⁹. Pro salute tue gētis / subit moxē cū tormentis: factus

pallens liuidus. Dulce nomen et cognomē / hoc transcendēs est pre- nomē: oib⁹ noib⁹. Dulcet reos sa- nauat eos / fouet iustos munit eos: seruās ab insultibus. Iustus regis sub uerillo / statu degis in trāquil- lo: hostes tui fugiūt. Nomen eius meditatū / belli fugat apparatus: hostes uicti rugiūt. Hoc est nomen recolēdū / qd̄ sic temp̄ est tremēdū malignis spiritib⁹. Hoc est nomen salutare / & solamen singularē: qd̄ succurrit tristibus. Hoc nos decet honorare: arca cordis inserare: co- gitare / peramare / amare sed he- roico. Ignatius hoc docuit / illud passus insonuit: cor ei⁹ sc̄ssum pa- tuit / inscriptū iesu celico. At quid maiora cupim⁹ / q̄ quod iesus sit intimus: q̄ est p̄amātissimus / et querit nos amare. Amat feruētū sine / amat cōstantissime: amat si delissime / & suos uult inuare. No- men suum fecit tale / vt sit cunctis cordiale: capitale principale dile- ctū et intimus. Habēt hoc nature iura / vt amantē tota cura reame- mus: placitura prestantes ex ami- nis. Iesu nomen oē bonū tenet / dulce facit sonū: promeretur regnū thronū / auditū iustificat. In hoc luget splendor patris / in hoc patet decore matris / in hoc fulget honor fratris: hoc fratres magnificat. Caput iesu cor / mens manus / uul- nus liuoz sanguis planus / pedes coz⁹ uigo: san⁹: parant hoibus. Hec toz quentur passa dura: his le- sura & natura / reparant pia cura purgatis criminib⁹. Ergo si quis uelit scire / quare iesu nomē n̄re / facit bonos & cupire / sui iheretiā. Diuilio. Iesus p̄tcher in deco- Saz.

Donati epi & marty. August.

re summe bonus in valore: mitis lenis cu dulcore / pms ad clementiam. Iesus est rcc generosus / iesus forma speciosus / iesus lingua gloriosus / et mirandus opere. Iesus fortis animosus / iesus pugil vigorosus / iesus domus copiosus / et gaudet tribuere. Iesus pie viscerosus / iesus ductor luminosus / iesus est delictosus / & sapit dulcis sine. Iesus fama gloriosus / iesus cunctis fructuosus / iesus totus virtuosus / fouet suos optie. Summus potes in vigore / summus celsus in honore / summus gratus in amore: omne laudem obtinet. In sciendo summe sapit / ambiendo cuncta cagat: diligendo corda rapit / & illata detinet. Etia nobis nomen gratu / iesus dulcis appellatu: sit in corde sic firmatum / vt non possit erui. Hoc reatu pccoz tollat / prestet iubiloz odas / sede beatoz donet nobis pferat. Amc. Scdm Hathen.

i. c

Har

ubi

I n veneratõe nois dilecti tibi de pti miaz / deuotis mentib hostias immolam / suppliciter de precantes: vt earu virtute cunctis egctib prestet auxiliu: vt in eode noie delectates / salutare sui possiti se quatur effectu. Per eund. Prefa. M p incarnati. per totum annum. C. O. uincenti dabo mana Apr. absconditu: & dabo illi calculu candidu. Et in calculo nomen nouu scriptu / qd nemo sci nisi qui accipit alleluia. Postco. Acrostca mysteria q sum. Splum dne ad honore copia cctissimi nois filij tui dni nri iesu xpi deuotis pcozibz recolites / qd vt incrementa spualis exultandis nobis accumulct: & affectu nrm ad hoc salutiferu nomen iesu iugiter imprimendu accedat: & ad iubilandum in iesu saluatore nro dulcissimo / tota metis iteide pmonet. Per eund. Per totas det. dicit nulla predicta qn de octa. agit. sed sine Credo. et cu sequentia Iesus pulcher in decoze. vrs. i diuisione. Scti donati epi & mart. Dm. Accedentes dei bened. Dicit. Cite dnz: sancti & humil. les corde laudate deus. ps. Benedicite omnia opera domini domino: laudate et superexaltate eum in secula. Oratio. Deus q es tuozu gra sacerdotu: presta qs vt scit domi ti martyris tui atqz potestatis cur festa celebraz / sentiam augetu. p. Epfa. No multas i coi. fo. iij. Sz. Inveni dauid seruum meum / vbi f. l. i. nichil pficiet timie in eo: f. iij. m. d. a.



Cyriaci cum socijs. Fo. xliii.

plal. eis non nocebit eu. Hll. S. Disposui testamentum electis meis: iuravi dauid seruo meo. Euage. Vigila. qz nesci. p. ter. in coi. fo. xij. Dfr. In virtute tua domine letabitur iust: & super salutare tuu exultabit vehementer / desiderium anime eius tribuit ei. Secreta. Eaudi dne pces nras: et vt tibi digna sint munera que oculis tue maiestati offerim: iter redete beato donato martyze tuo atqz pontifice: subiduu nobis tue pietati ipebe. p. b. C. O. Magna est gloria ei / saluati tuo: gloria & magnu decore impones sup eu dne. Postco. Quotiõ nre dne qs clemẽ. Der adesto: vt intercedente doctõnato martyze tuo atqz pontifice: qd ad honore tui nois debitorum requetam oblego / fiat nobis remediũ salutare. p. b. C. Scti cyriaci locozuq ei marty. Dfr. Tmete dnim oes sancti eius: qm nichil deest timentibus eum. diuites eguerit & esuriet: inq rentes aut dnim no deficiet oi bono. ps. Benedicam dnim in omni tempore: semp laus eius in ore meo. Oratio. Deus q nos annua beatozū martyz tuoz cyriaci sociozū ei sollicitate letificas: cõcedeppti vt quozu natalicia colim / virtutem quoz passionis imitemur. Per b. Lectio libri sapientie. Mifericordias eius: et non deflectat ab illo ne cadatis. Qui timetis dnim credite illi: & non euacuabif merces vestra. Qui timetis dnim sperate in illum: & in oblectatõe ei veniet vobis mia. Qui timetis dnim diligite illum: & illu Sar.

minabunt corda bsa. Respicite filij nationes homin: & scitote qz nullus sperauit in dnio / & cofusus est. Quis em pmãit in madatis ei: et derelictus est: Aut qs inuocauit illu: & desperit eu: Qm pius & misericors est: dnus deus noster. Sz. Tmete dnim oes scit eius: qm nichil deest timetib ei. Sz. Inqrentes aut dnim non deficiet oi bono. Hll. S. Mirabilis dnus noster in scitibus. Scõz marcu. l. vii. In illo tpe. Dixit iesus discipulis suis. Eites in mundu vnuersum: pdicate euangeliu oi creature. Qui crediderit et baptizac fuerit: salu erit. Qui ho no crediderit / condẽnabif. Signa aut eos qui crediderint: her sequetur. In noie meo demonia eijct: itz quois loquentur nouis / serpentes tollent. Et si mortifer qd biberit: no eis nocebit. Sup egros manus imponent: & bene habebif. Dfr. Letamini in dnio & exultate iusti: & gloria p sal. mini omnes recti corde. Secreta. Rõ scõzũ tuozũ cyriaci sociozũ ei martyzo venerado tibi dne laudis hostias immolam / tua mirabilia ptractates: p que talis est pfecta victoria. Per. C. O. Signa eos qui in me credent her sequent: demonia eijct: sup egros manus iponent / & bñ habebif. Postco. Sctozũ martyz tuoz cyriaci sociozũ ei precibus confidetes: qs dne vt p ea q sumptum / eterna remedia capiamus. Per b. C. Dñ bigi. sancti lauretij extra dnica euen. tunc dicat nulla de oct. nois iesu post tertiã cu me. de scõ romano. et post fextã dicat nulla de vigel. vtraqz ad principale altare. Dñ bigi. scit lauretj in J iij.

Appendix I.2

The Sarum Gradual for the Feast of
the Holy Name:

*Graduale secundum morem et
consuetudinem preclare ecclesie*

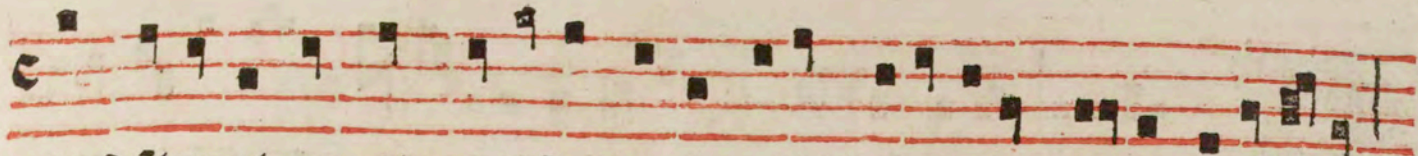
Sarum,

Paris/London:

N. Prevost and W. de Worde,

1527 [*STC* 15863]

De nomine iesu. vij. Augusti,



cundetur et cuncti gratulentur in celis spiritales chozi trinitati.

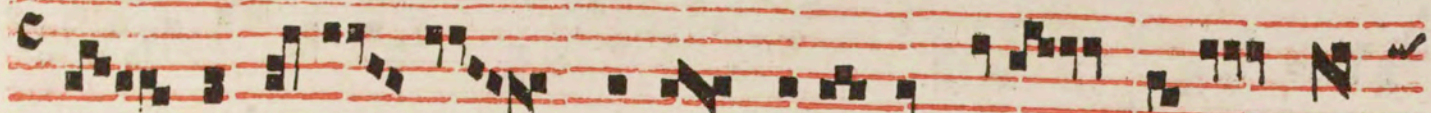
Euangelium.

Asumpsit iesus petrum.

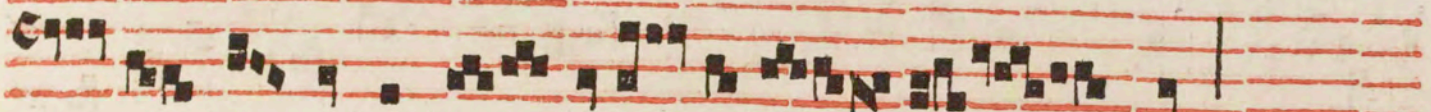
Offertoriū.



Deus enim firma bit orbem terre



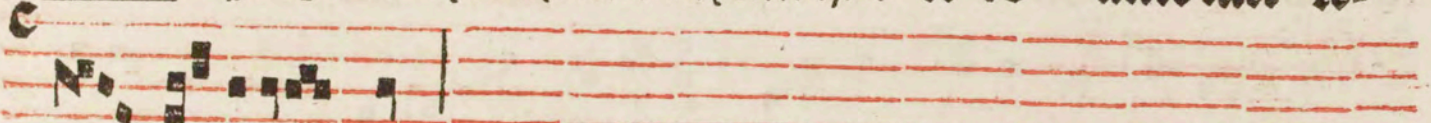
qui non como uebitur paratase des



tu a de uertunc a se culo tu es. **Cōio.**

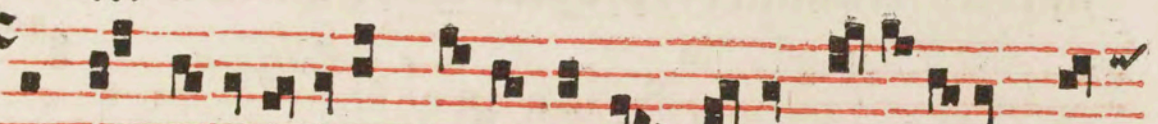


Asplendoribus sanctorum ex v te ro ante luci fe

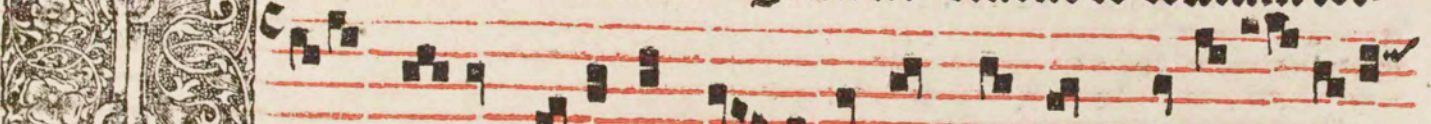


rum genui te.

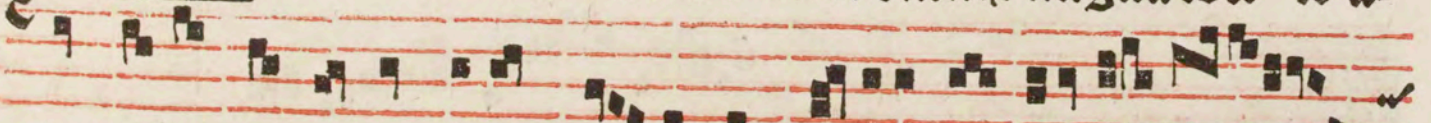
**De nomi-
ne iesu.**



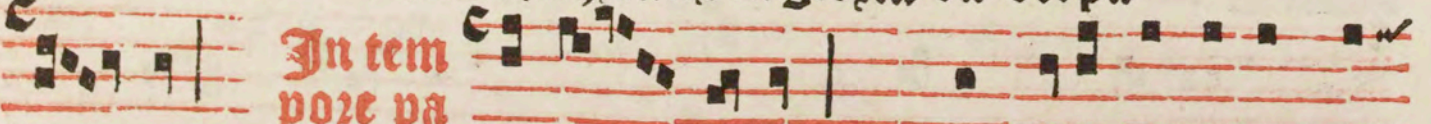
Ano mine iesu omne genu fle ctatur ce lestium ter



re strum et inferno rū et omnis lingua cōfi te a



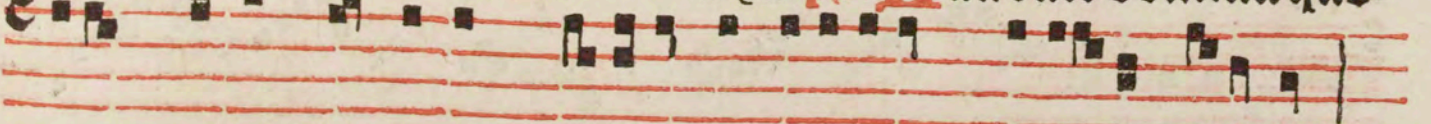
tur quia dominus iesus christus in gloria est dei pa



**In tem
pore pa
schali.**

tris.

Alle luya. ps. Laudate dominū quo



niam bonus dominus: psallite nomini eius quoniam suaue. **Or.**

D. v.

De nomine iesu.



Constituit de us pater ad dexterā suā iesum chri stū in ce-
le stibus super omnē prin cipatū et po te statē et virtutem
et dominati o nē et om ne nomen quod nomi na tur
nō solū in hoc seculo sed e ti am in futuro et om nia subie cit
sub pe dibus e ius. **v.** **A**diuua nos deus
saluta ris noster et propter glori am nominis tu i Domine
libe ra nos et propici us esto peccatis nostris propter nomen
tu um.



Alle luy a.
v. Dulce nomen nostri iesu melos auri meline su coz vertit
in tubilum et fu gat mun di si bi

De nomine iesu. vij. Augusti.

lum. *In tēpore paschali. Secundū* **A**lle luya.

Surgens iesus domi
nus no ster ste tit in me dio discipulo
rūm suo rā dixit pax vobis.

Intra septuagesimā dicitur tractus.

Quod nomen iesu christi fe lix o men fe rens tristi
iocundans men tem iu bilo. **T**ollit luctum af fert
fructū et ab ductū et se ductū purgat a nubilo. **D**o
minatū in uo ca tū honora tū deprecātū semp sonat Dul
citer. **N**am pec catū q̄ re a tū cōdo na tum
expurga tā re dū da tum sensi bi li ter. **H**ostes

De nomine iesu.



ferit mo res ferit ma la terit graues ge rit
ple num est pre si dium. **N**os defendit nos ac
cendit nos inten dit et ex tendit hoc nomen in
gau dium. **Sequentia.**



Dicis iesus nazarenus iudeorū rex amen⁹ pius pulcher
floridus. **P**ro salute sue gentis subit mortē cū tormentis factus
pallēs liuid⁹. **D**ulce nomē et cognomē hoc trāscēdēs est prenomen
omnib⁹ nominib⁹. **D**ulcet reos sanat eos fouet iustos munit eos
seruās ab insultib⁹. **H**ui⁹ regis sub vexillo statu degis in trāquil
lo hostes tui fugiāt. **N**omē ei⁹ meditatū belli fugat apparatus
hostes victi rugināt. **H**oc est nomē recolēdū quod sic semper est tre


 mendum malignis spi ritibus. **H**oc est nomē salutare et solamen

 singulare quod succurrit tristibus. **H**oc nos decet honozare ar-

 cha coꝝdis inserare cogitare per amare amoꝝe sed heroico. **I**gna

 cius hoc docuit illud passus in sonuit coꝝ eius scissum patuit in scri-

 ptū iesu celi co. **U**t quid maioꝝa cupimus q̄ quod iesus sit inti-

 mus qui est pꝝeamātissimus et querit nos amare. **A**mat feruen-

 tissime amat cōstantissime amat fidelissime et suos vult iuare.

Nomē suum fecit tale vt sit cūctis coꝝdiale capitale pꝝincipale di-

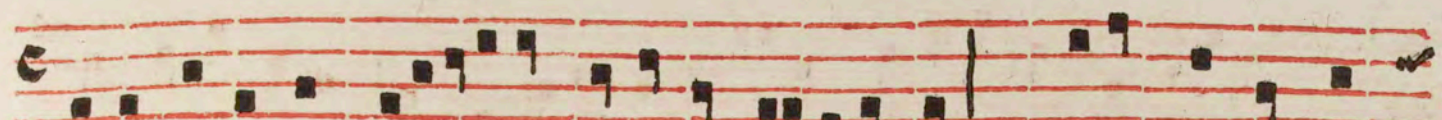

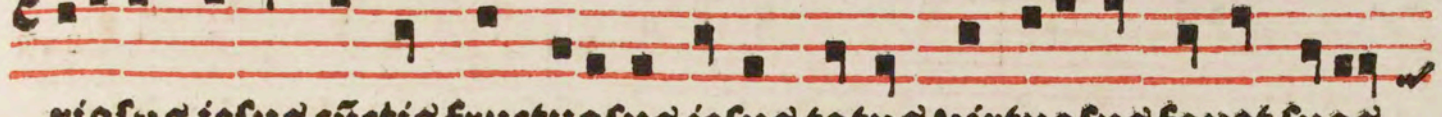
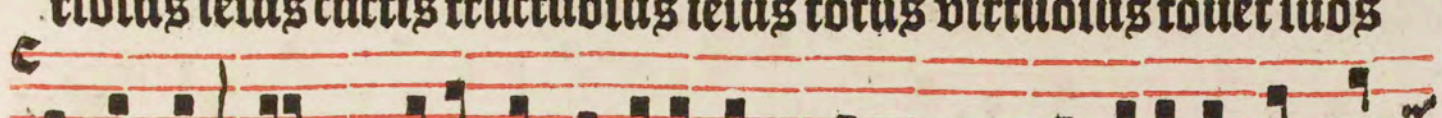
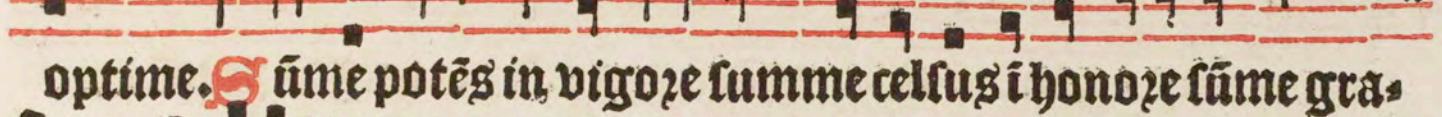

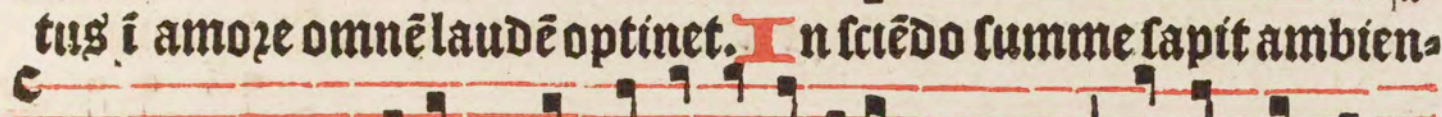
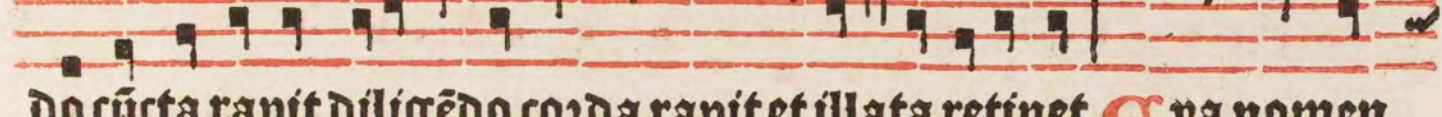
 lectū ex inti mis. **H**abent hoc nature iura vt amantē tota cura

 reamemus placitura pꝝestantes ex animis. **I**esu nomē omne bo-

 num tenet dulcem facit sonum pꝝomeretur regni thꝝonū auditum

De nomine iesu.

letificat. **I**n hoc lucet splendor patris in hoc patet decore matris
in hoc fulget honor fratris hoc fratres magnificat. **C**aput iesu
cor mens manus vulnus liuor sanguis planus pedes corpus vigor
sanus paratur hominibus. **H**ec torquetur passa dura huius iesu
ra et natura reparatur pia cura purgatis criminibus. **E**rgo si
quis velit scire quare iesu nomine mire facit bonos concupire sui in-
herentiam. **I**esus pulcher in decore summe bonus in valore mitis
lenis in dulcore pronus ad clementiam. **I**esus est rex generosus
iesus forma speciosus iesus signa gloriosus et mirandus opere.
Iesus fortis animosus iesus pugil vigorosus iesus donis copio-
sus et gaudet tribuere. **I**esus pie viscerosus iesus ductor lumi-


 nosus iesus est deliciosus et sapit dulcissime. **I**esus fama glo-

 riosus iesus cunctis fructuosus iesus totus virtuosus fouet suos

 optime. **S**ūme potēs in vigoze summe celsus i honoze sūme gra-

 tus i amoze omnē laudē optinet. **I**n sciēdo summe sapit ambien-

 do cūcta rapit diligēdo cozda rapit et illata retinet. **E**ya nomen

 nobis gratū dulcis iesus appellatū sit in cozde sic firmatum quod

 nō possit erui. **H**oc reatū peccatozū tollat prestet iubilozū odas

 sed et beatozū donet nobis perfrui.

Alia sequentia.


Dulcis iesu memoria dās vera cordis gaudia. **E**t super

 mel et omnia eius dulcis presentia. **N**il canitur suavius nil au-

 ditur iocundius nil cogitatur dulcius q̄ iesus dei filius. **I**esu

De nomine iesu.

spes penitētibus q̄ pius est petentib⁹ q̄ bonus te querentibus sed
quid inuenientibus. **I**esu dulcedo cordiū fons vere lumē mētium
excedis omne gaudiū et omne desideriū. **N**ec lingua potest dicere
nec littere expr̄imere expert⁹ nouit tenere quid sit iesum diligere.
Iesū querā in lectulo clauso cordis cubiculo priuatimet in
publico querā amore sedulo. **C**ū mane diluculo iesum queram
in tumulto cordis clamore querulo mente queram non oculo.
Iesus ad patrē rediit regnum celeste subiit cor meū a me transiit
post iesum si mulabiit. **I**ā prosequamur laudib⁹ hymnis iesum
et precib⁹ vt nos donet celestib⁹ cum iustis fru i sedibus. **Offy.**

In nomine me o demonia ei ci ent liguis lo quētur

De nomine iesu. vij. Augusti.

no uis serpentes tollent et si morti ferū quid bi be rint non
 e is nocebit supe gros manus impo nēt et be ne
 ha be bāt. *In tem-
 pore pa-
 schali.* Alle luya. *Cōio.*

U Incenti dabo māna abscōditū et dabo illi calculum can-
 di dū et in calculo nomen nouū scriptū quod ne mo scit nisi
 qui ac cepit. *In tem-
 pore pa-
 schali.* Al le luy a.

Sanctorū Sixti felicissimi & agapiti martyrum. Officium. Salus autem. fo. riiij. Oratio. Deus qui nos. Epistola. Benedicimus. Gz. Iustorum anime. fo. xv. Alleluya. v. Reddet deus fo. xvij. Euangelium. Cum audisset. Offz. Gloriantur. fo. xix. Ego vos. fo. xxviiij. Sancti donati episcopi et martyris. Officiū. Sacerdotes dei. fo. xxj. Oratio. Deus tuorum. Epistola. Nemo militans. Gz. Inueni dauid. fo. xxij. Alleluya. v. Disposui. fo. xxiiij. Euangelium. Vigilate. Offz. In virtute tua. fo. xij. Cōio. Magna est. fo. xiiij. Sancti ciriaci sociorumq; eius mar. Officium. Timete dominum. fo. xiiij. Oratio. Deus qui nos. Epistola. Metuentes. Gz. Timete d. fo. xv. Alla. v. Mirabil. fo. xvij. Euā. Cūtes. Offz. Zeta. fo. xix. Cō.

S Igna eos qui in me cre dunt hec se quen tur
 demoni a e icient supere gros manus impo nent et be-
 ne ha be bunt. *Saz.* *E. j.*

Appendix I.3

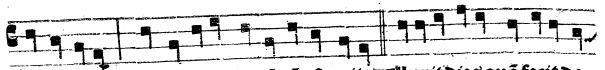

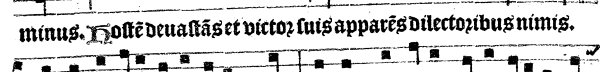
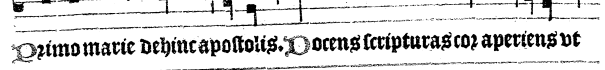
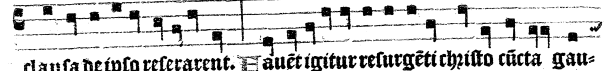

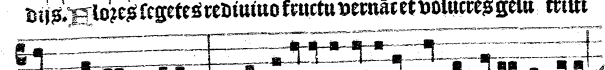



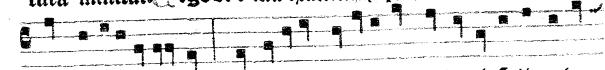


The Sarum Gradual for the Feast of
the Holy Name:

Graduale ad Usum Ecclesie

Sarisburiensis,

Paris: N. Prevost, 1532 [*STC* 15865]

In trāfiguratione dñi.


 nō desperit. Sed sol eius morte nō alperit. Iluxit dies quā fecit do-

 minus. Hōste deuastās et victor̄ suis apparēs dilector̄ibus nimis.

 Primo marie dehinc apostolis. Docens scripturas cor̄ apertens ut

 clausa de ipso referarent. Hāuēt igitur resurgētī chris̄to cūcta gau-

 dijs. Flores segetes rediuituo fructu vernāet volucres gelu tristi

 terfo dulce iubilāt. Quēt̄ clarīus sol et luna morte chris̄ti turbida.

 Mellus herbida resurgētī chris̄to plauditq̄ tremula eius morte se ca-

 sura munitat. Ergo di e ista exultemus qua nobis viam vite resur-

 gens patefecit te sus. Astra solū mare iocudentur et cūcti gratu

 lentur in celis spiritalē scho ri trinita ti.




Evangelium.
 Assumpsit te
 sus petrum.
 Oratio.

De nomine Jesu. vij. Augusti.


Deus enim firma bit or̄ bem terre qui

 non cōmo uebi tur para ta se des tu a

 de us ex tunc a se cu lo tu es. Communio.

In splendo tibus sancto rum ex v te ro an te lu-

 ci ferum ge nu i te. **C** De nomine Jesu Offm.

Anno mine iesu omne genu fle ctatur ce le stium ter-

 re strum et inferno rum et om̄is lingua confi te a tur quia

 dominus iesus chri stus in glo ri a est de i pa-

 tris. In hoc pascha Alle luya. ps. Laudate dominum quo

 niam bonus dominus: psallite nomini eius quoni am su a uc. Or

De nomine Jesu.

Gentili tuit de us pater ad dexteram suā iesum chrisū in
 ce le stibus super omne p̄m̄ ci pat̄i et po te statē et vit
 tutem et domi na ti o nem et om ne no men quod no
 mi na tur nō solū in hoc se cu lo sed e ti am in fu turo et om
 ni a subie ctis sub pe dibus e
 ius. **D**iuua nos de us salu ta ris nosset et propter gloriā
 no minis tu i domine libe ra nos et propi ci us esto pecca tis
 no stris pro pter nomen tu um.

Ale lya a. **D**ulce no
 men nostri iesu melos auri mel in e su cor vertit in iubilum

De nomine Jesu, vi. Aug.

et fu gat mun di si bi
 lum. **I**nce pat. **S**er̄m̄. **A**le lya.
 bus Surgens iesus dominus
 no ster ste tit in me di o discipu lo
 rum su o rum dixit pax vo
 bis.

Intra septuagesimā dicitur Tract^{us}

Hec nomen ie su chrisi fe lix o men fe rens tri
 sti to cundans men tem tu bi lo. **C**ollitluctum
 af fert fructum et ab ductum et se du ctū pur
 gat a ni bi lo. **D**ominatū inuo ca tū honora
 Sax. **E** j.

De nomine Jesu.

tum de peccatum tempore nato dulci ter. Nam
 peccatum quod te a tum condonatum expurgatum
 re danda tum senti biliter. Offes fe
 rit mores se rit mala te rit graues ge rit
 ple num est pre si dium. os de fendit nos
 accendit nos in ten dit et ex ten dit hoc
 nomen in gau dium.

Iesus nazarenus iudeorum rex amenus pius pulcher
 floridus. pro salute sue gentis subit morte cum tormentis factus pal
 lens liuidus. Dulce nomen et cognomen hoc transcedens est pre nomen

De nomine Jesu. vi. Augusti.

omnibus nominibus. Dulce reos sanat eos fouet iustos munit eos
 seruans ab in iuriis. Qui regis sub vexillo statu de gis in traquil
 lo hostes sui fugiunt. Domine eius meditati belli fugat apparatus ho
 stes victi rugiunt. Hoc est nomen terrorendum quod sic semper est tre
 mendum malignis spiritibus. Hoc est nomen salutare et solamen
 singulare quod succurrit tristibus. Hoc nos docet honorare archa
 cordis inferare cogitare per amare amore sed hero i co. Ignatius
 hoc docuit illud passus in sonuit eorum eius scilicet patuit in scriptum
 iesu ce li co. Ut quid in aeterna cupimus quod quod iesus sit intimus
 qui est pre amantissimus et querit nos amare. Amat seruare.
 Sar. E u.

De nomine Iesu.

tissime amat constantissime amat fidelissime et suos vult iuuare.

Domine suum fecit tale ut sit cunctis cordi a le capitale principale dilectum ex intus. Habent hoc nature iura ut amantem tota cura reamemus placitura prestantes ex animis. Iesu nomen omne bonum tenet dulcem facit sonum promeretur regni thronum auditum leti fit cat. In hoc lucet splendor patris in hoc patet decorem matris in hoc fulget honor fratris hoc fratres magnificat. Aperiens manus vulnus latus sanguis planus pedes corpus vigor saluus parantur hominibus. Et torquentur passa dura hijs lesura et natura reparantur pia cura purgatis criminibus. Ergo si

De nomine Iesu. bj. August.

quis velit scire quare iesu nomen mire facit bonos concupire sui in herentiam. Iesus pulcher in decore summe bonus in valore mitis lenis in dulcore pronus ad clementiam. Iesus est rex generosus iesus forma speciosus iesus lingua gloriosus et mirandus opere. Iesus fortis animosus iesus pugil vigorosus iesus donis copiosus et gaudet tribuere. Iesus pius viscerosus iesus ductor luminosus iesus est deliciae eius et sapit dulcissime. Iesus fama gloriosus iesus cunctis fructuosus iesus totus virtuosus fouet suos optime. Summe potes in vigore summe celsus in honore summe gratus in amore omnem laudem obtinet. In sciendo summe sapit ambien-

Say. E. iij.

De nomine Jesu,

do cuncta rapit diligendo corda rapit et illata retinet. O ya nomen
nobis gratum dulcis iesus appellatū sit in corde sic firmatum quod
non possit eru i. Hoc reatum peccatorum tol lat pisset tubilozum
odas sed et beatorum donet nobis perfru i. *Alia frequentia*

Quic iesu memoria dās vera coz dis gaudi a. Et super mel
et omnia eius dulcis pzelentia. Nil canitur suauius nil auditur
iocundius nil cogitatur dulcius q̄ iesus de i fi lius. Iesu spes
penitentibus q̄ pius es pten tibus q̄ bonus te querētibus sed quid
inuenientibus. Iesu dulcedo coz dium fons vere lumen mētium ex
cedis omne gaudium et omne desiderium. Nec lingua potest di-

De nomine Jesu, **vj. August.**

cere nec littere exprimere expertus nouit tenere quid sit iesum dilige-
re. Iesum querā in lectulo claudo coz dis cubiculo pziuatim et in pu-
blico querā amo re se dulo. Si mane diluculo iesum querā in
tumulo coz dis clamore querulo mente queram non oculo. Iesus
ad patrem redijt regnum celeste subijt coz meum a me transijt post
iesum si mul abijt. Si p̄sequamur laudib⁹ hymnis iesum et
p̄cib⁹ vt nos donet celestib⁹ cum iustis fru i sedib⁹. *Offertorium*

In nomine me o demoni a e i et ent liguis lo quetur
no uis serpen tes tollent et si moxti se rum quid bi be
runt non e is no cebit su per e **gros manus impo-**
Sax. E iij.

De nomine Jesu.

nentet bene habebunt. In tempore pasce.

Alleluia. Communitio.

V Inuenti dabo manna abscondi tui et dabo illi calculum canendi dunt in calculo nomen nouum scriptum quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit. In tempore pasce. Alleluia.

Chancro: am. In p. de iustitia et agapiti. in cypriano. Officium. Salus autem. folio. rvi. Diat. Deus qui nos. Epistola. Benedicimus. Gradale. Iustorum anime. folio. rvi. Alleluia. d. Reddet deus. folio. rvi. Euangium. Cum audisset. Offertorium. Gloriantur. folio. rvi. Communitio. Ego vos. folio. xxv. Sancti donati episcopi synodus ad nissa. Officium. Sacerdotes dei. folio. xxv. Diat. Deus tuorum. Epistola. Pemo militans. Inueni dabo. Alleluia. d. Disposui. folio. rvi. Euangium. Inueni dabo. Inueni dabo. Communitio. Magna est. folio. rvi. Diat. Deus tuorum. Epistola. Petentes. Timete dominum. folio. rvi. Alleluia. d. S. Petrus. folio. rvi. Euangium. Cunctis. Off. Letamini. folio. rvi. Communitio.

Signa eos qui in me credunt hec sequentur demont a eicient super eos manus imponent et bene habebunt. In vigiliis sancti Laurentii. Off.

In vigiliis sancti Laurentii. ix. Augusti.

Spernit de dit pauperibus iusti et aeternus mansuetus in seculum seculi cor natus exalta bitur in gloria. Ps. Beatus vir qui timet dominum: in mandatis eius voluit nimis. Gradale.

Spernit de dit pauperibus iusti et aeternus mansuetus in seculum seculi. Potest in terra erit semen eius generatio rectorum benedictur. Si dnica fuerit dicitur. E v.

Appendix II
Liturgical Transcriptions with
Parallel Translations

Appendix II.1

Propers of the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus

The Propers of the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus

Sources

Latin text: H. Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum*, (Burntisland, 1861-1883), col. 846 – 852; A. Colunga, O.P. et L. Turrado, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementiam* (Madrid, 1985)

Graduale Sarisburiense, (1532), printed in Paris by Nickolaus Prevost and Francis Regnault, sold in Paris by Regnault and in London by Robert Redman [STC15865]

English Translations: Frederick E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English Vol. II*, (London, 1913), 447-453; *New Revised Standard Version*, accessed through www.biblegateway.com.

J. M. Neale, in the *Hymnal Noted*, (London & New York, 1852) No. 18.

JA translations

Editorial notes:

The Latin texts of the Tract, Sequences (*Dulcis Iesus Nazareus* and *Iesu dulcis memoria*) follow the orthography, capitalisation, stanza division and punctuation of the original source, i.e. the 1532 Sarum Gradual cited above.

In festo Nominis Iesu

Officium¹

*In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur
celestium terrestrium et infernorum: et
omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus
Iesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.*

*Psalmus: Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus
Dominus: psallite nomini eius quoniam
suave.*

Oratio

*Deus, qui gloriosissimum nomen Domini
nostri Iesu Christi unigeniti Filii tui fecisti
fidelibus tuis summo suavitatis affectu
amabile; et malignis spiritibus tremendum
atque terribile; concede propitius, ut omnes
qui hoc nomen Iesu devote venerantur in
terris, sancte consolationis dulcedinem in
presenti percipiant et in futuro gaudium
exultationis et interminabilis iubilationis
obtineant. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum
Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et
regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per
omnia secula seculorum. Amen*

Lectio Actuum Apostolorum³

*In diebus illis, Petrus repletus Spiritu
Sancto dixit; principes populi et seniores,
audite: Si nos hodie diiudicamur in
benefacto hominis infirmi, in quo iste salvus
factus est, notum sit omnibus vobis, et omni*

Festal Mass of the Name of Jesus

Introit

In the name of Jesus² every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is our Lord to the glory of God the Father.

Verse: O praise the Lord, for the Lord is gracious:
O sing praises unto his name, for it is lovely.

Collect

O God, who hast made the most glorious name of thy only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to be loved with the greatest and sweetest affection by thy faithful people, and to be fearful and terrible to evil spirits; mercifully grant that all those who devoutly venerate on earth this name of Jesus may receive the sweetness of holy consolation in this present life, and may obtain the joy of endless exultation and triumph in the life to come. Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.

Reading from the Acts of the Apostles

Then Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said unto them, Ye rulers of the people, and elders of Israel, If we this day be examined of the good deed done to the impotent man, by what means he is made whole; Be it known unto

¹ *Philippians 2:10-11; Psalms 135:3*

² It is worth noting that the phrase ‘At the name of Jesus’, found in Warren’s translation, is an incorrect translation. The Greek Text, ‘εν τω ονοματι’ and the Vulgate, ‘In nomine Iesu’ should both be translated as ‘In the name of Jesus’, thereby conveying the notion that the Name is the purpose and the intention to be borne in mind during worship, rather than the words which when pronounced, elicit veneration.

³ *Acts 4:8-12*

plebi Israel: quia in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi Nazareni, quem vos crucifixistis, quem Deus suscitavit a mortuis, in hoc iste astat coram vobis sanus. Hic est lapis, qui reprobatus est a vobis edificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli: et non est in aliquo alio salus. Nec enim aliud nomen est sub celo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.

Gradale⁴

Constituit Deus Pater ad dexteram suam Iesum Christum in celestibus super omnem principatum, potestatem et virtutem et dominationem: et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc seculo sed etiam in futuro, et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius.

V: Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

Alleluia

*V: Dulce cordi nomen Iesu,
Melos auri, mel in esu,
Cor vertit in iubilum
Et fugat mundi sibilum.*

Secundum Alleluia in commemoratione in tempore Paschali

V: Surgens Iesus Dominus noster: stetit in medio discipulorum suorum et dixit: Pax vobis.

you all, and to all the people of Israel, that by the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead, even by him doth this man stand here before you whole. This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

Gradual

God the Father hath set Jesus Christ at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet.

Verse: Help us, O God of our salvation, and for the glory of thy name: O Lord, deliver us, and be merciful to our sins for thy name's sake.

Alleluya

Verse: Sweet to the heart is the name of Jesus,
Melody to the ear, honey to the taste.
It turneth the heart to shouts of joy,
And scattereth the hissings of the world.⁵

Second Alleluya (used in Eastertide)

Vs: Jesus our Lord arose, and stood in the midst of his disciples, and said: Peace be unto you.

⁴ Ephesians 1:20-22; Psalms 79:9

⁵ In the original Latin the Alleluya is a rhymed text.

Tractus (In commemoratione a Septuagesima usque ad Pascha)

*Dulce nomen iesu christi
felix omen ferens tristi
iocundans mentem iubilo.*

*Tollit luctum affert fructum
et abductum et seductum
purgat cor a nubilo.*

*Nominatum invocatum
honoratum deprecatum
semper sonat dulciter.*

*Tam peccatum quam reatum
condonatum expurgatum
redundatum sensibiliter.*

*Hostes ferit mores serit
mala terit graves gerit
plenum est presidium.*

*Nos defendit nos accendit
nos intendit et extendit
hoc nomen in gaudium.*

Sequentia⁶

*Dulcis iesus nazareus,
iudeorum rex amenus,
pius, pulcher, floridus.*

*Pro salute sue gentis
subit mortem cum tormentis,
factus pallens, lividus.*

*Dulce nomen et cognomen
hoc transcendens est prenomen
omnibus nominibus.*

*Mulcet reos, sanat eos
fovet iustos, munit eos
servans ab insultibus.*

*Huius regis sub vexillo
statu degis in tranquillo
hostes tui fugiunt.*

Tract (from Septuagesima up until Easter)

Jesu Christ, name sweet to hear,
To the sad an omen dear,
With joy thou fill'st the mind.

Grief from it flies, we find a prize,
and clouded eyes see light arise,
and truth the erring find.

To speak that name, or to proclaim,
or give it fame, is still the same,
it ever sweetly sounds.

Foul deeds of sin and guilt within,
cleansed by that name do pardon win,
which gently heals our wounds.

It scares our foes, it goodness sows,
it soothes our woes, the proud o'erthrows,
it gives protection sure.

This name defends, and vigour lends,
Our will amends, our aim extends
To joys which aye endure.

Sequence

Jesus, the gentle Nazarene,
king of the Jews, of kindly mien,
gracious in life's fair bloom,

That he might his own people save,
Himself to death and torment gave,
borne pallid to the tomb.

Sweet is the name, sweet is the surname,
no one such title can proclaim,
surpassing all beside.

It sinners soothes, and gives them cure,
comforts the just, and makes them sure,
whatever may betide.

Under the banner of this king
thy life doth cease from troubling,
thy foes before thee flee.

⁶ Capitalization of original but layout organized into stanzas.

*Nomen eius meditatum,
belli fugat apparatus,
hostes victi rugiunt.*

Thou but think upon this name,
warlike array is put to shame,
and thou shalt conqueror be.

*Hoc est nomen recolendum
quod sic semper est tremendum
malignis spiritibus.*

Unto this name be honour paid,
which evil spirits, sore afraid,
dread, and before it quail:

*Hoc est nomen salutare
et solamen singulare
quod succurrit tristibus.*

This is the name which brings salvation,
the only certain consolation
to aid when sad hearts fail.

*Hoc nos decet honorare
arca cordis inserare
cogitare, peramare
amore sed heroico.*

This we are bound to venerate,
in our heart's storehouse to instate,
think on it with affection great,
but with heroic love.

*Ignatius hoc docuit
illud passus insonuit
cor eius scissum patuit
inscriptum iesu celico.*

Ignatius this lesson taught:
when his good fight the martyr fought,
Upon his riven heart was wrought
Jesus, the Lord above.

*Ut quid maiora cupimus
quam quod Iesus sit intimus
qui est preamantissimus
et querit nos amare.*

No higher can our wishes tend
than to have Jesus for our friend,
Whose love doth every love transcend,
and never doth upraid.

*Amat ferventissime
amat constantissime
amat fidelissime
et suos vult iuvare.*

He loves us, O how fervently!
he loves us, O how constantly!
he loves us, O how faithfully!
eager to give us aid.

*Nomen suum fecit tale
ut sit cunctis cordiale
capitale, principale
dilectum ex intimis.*

So wondrous hath he made his name,
that it the hearts of all doth claim,
first in importance, chief in fame,
sweet to our inmost will.

*Habent hoc nature jura,
ut amantem tota cura
reamemus, placitura
prestantes ex animis.*

Our human nature's laws ordain
that him who loves we love again,
and all our powers delight to strain
his pleasure to fulfil.

*Iesu nomen, omne bonum
tenet, dulcem facit sonum
promeretur regni thronum
auditum letificat.*

All good doth in that name abound;
its utterance makes the sweetest sound,
in it is royal merit found,
to hear it gives delight.

*In hoc lucet splendor Patris
in hoc patet decor matris
in hoc fulget honor fratris
hoc fratres magnificat.*

In it a father's brightness shines,
a mother's beauty it enshrines,
a brother's honour it combines,
brethren it clothes with might.

Caput iesu, cor, mens, manus

The head of Jesus, heart, hands, mind,

*vulnus, livor, sanguis planus
pedes, corpus, vigor sanus
parantur hominibus.*

*Hec torquentur passa dura
his lesura et natura,
reparantur pia cura
purgatis criminibus.*

*Ergo si quis velit scire
quare iesu nomen mire
facit bonos concupire
sui inherentiam.*

Divisio

*Iesus pulcher in decore
summe bonus in valore
mitis lenis in dulcore
pronus ad clementiam.*

*Iesus est rex generosus
Iesus forma speciosus
Iesus lingua gloriosus
et mirandus opere.*

*Iesus fortis animosus
Iesus pugil vigorosus
Iesus donis copiosus
et gaudet tribuere.*

*Iesus pie viscerosus
Iesus ductor luminosus
Iesus est deliciosus
et sapit dulcissime.*

*Iesus fama gloriosus
Iesus cunctis fructuosus
Iesus totus virtuosus
fovet suos optime.*

*Sume potens in vigore
sume celsus in honore
sume gratus in amore
omnem laudem obtinet.*

*In sciendo summe sapit
ambiendo cuncta capit
diligendo corda rapit
et illata detinet.*

bruises and wounds incarnadined,
feet, body, vigour for mankind
are graciously applied.

They grievous pains and tortures bear;
our sins by these all cleansèd are,
our fall'n estate his pious care
doth to revival guide.

Wherefore whoe'er desires may see
why Jesu's name so wondrously
doth cause the good to long that he
may deign in them to dwell.

Divisio

Jesus in beauty is most fair,
in goodness is without compare;
his gentle sweetness all doth bear,
his mercy none can tell.

Jesus is king of noble line,
Jesus is comeliness divine,
Jesus in word doth mighty shine,
in deeds most marvellous.

Jesus, courageous and high-souled;
Jesus, the gladiator bold;
Jesus, whose gifts can ne'er be told,
in bounty plenteous.

Jesus, compassionate and kind,
Jesus, bright leader of the blind,
Jesus, all sweets in him we find;
in him is our delight.

Jesus, in glory high renowned,
Jesus, by all men fruitful found,
Jesus, with every virtue crowned,
gives comfort infinite.

Above all might, the mightiest,
above all honour, lordliest,
above all love, the loveliest,
all praise to him pertains.

In knowledge he doth all transcend,
his circuit doth to all extend,
his love all hearts doth apprehend,
and captive made detains.

*Eya nomen nobis gratum
dulcis iesus appellatum
sit in corde sic firmatum
quod non possit erui.*

*Hoc reatum peccatorum
tollat prestet iubilorum
odas sed et beatorum
donet nobis perfrui.*

Alia Sequentia⁷

*Dulcis iesu memoria
dans vera cordis gaudia.*

*Et super mel et omnia
eius dulcis presentia.*

*Nil canitur suavius
nil auditur iocundius
nil cogitatur dulcius
quam iesus dei filius.*

*Iesu, spes penitentibus,
quam pius es petentibus
quam bonus te querentibus
sed quid invenientibus.*

*Iesu dulcedo cordium
fons vere lumen mentium
excedis omne gaudium
et omne desiderium.*

*Nec lingua potest dicere
nec littere exprimere
expertus novit tenere,
quid sit iesum diligere.*

*Iesum queram in lectulo
clauso cordis cubiculo
privatim et in publico
queram amore sedulo.*

*Cum mane diluculo
iesum queram in tumulo
cordis clamore querulo*

Hail! name so precious to the ear,
Sweet Jesus! name which all revere,
may nought on earth prevail to tear
this title from our heart.

By this let sin be done away,
to this let each one homage pay,
through this in heavenly bliss we pray
may we obtain a part.

Alternative Sequence⁸

Jesu! the very thought is sweet!
in that dear name all heart-joys meet;

but sweeter than the honey far
the glimpses of his presence are.

No word is sung more sweet than this:
no name is heard more full of bliss:
no thought brings sweeter comfort nigh,
than Jesus, Son of God most high.

Jesu! the hope of souls forlorn!
how good to them for sin that mourn!
to them that seek thee, O how kind!
but what are thou to them that find?

Jesu, thou sweetness, pure and blest,
truth's fountain, Light of souls distrest,
surpassing all that heart requires,
exceeding all that soul desires!

No tongue of mortal can express,
no letters write its blessedness:
alone who hath thee in his heart
knows, love of Jesus! what thou art.

I seek for Jesus in repose,
when round my heart its chambers close;
abroad, and when I shut the door,
I long for Jesus evermore.

With Mary in the morning gloom
I seek for Jesus at the tomb;
for him, with love's most earnest cry,

⁷ See Dickinson, *Missale*, cols 850-52 where this text is included at the foot of the page with the note 'Grad' - i.e. it seems to have appeared only in the printed Gradual, not in any of the Missals Dickinson consulted. The Tract and *Dulcis Iesus Nazareus* (with its *Divisio*) both appear in the Gradual too.

mente queram non oculo.

*Iesus ad Patrem rediit
regnum celeste subiit
cor meum a me transiit
post iesum simul abiit.*

*Iam prosequamur laudibus
hymnis iesum et precibus
ut nos donet celestibus
cum iustis frui sedibus.*

[Evangelium] Secundum Mattheum⁹

In illo tempore: Angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph dicens; Ioseph fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est. Pariet autem filium: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Hoc autem totum factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam dicentem: Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium: et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, quod interpretatur Nobiscum Deus.

Offertorium¹⁰

In nomine meo demonia eiicient, linguis loquentur novis: serpentes tollent: et si mortiferum quid biberint non eis nocebit: super egros manus imponent et bene habebunt. Alleluia.

Secreta

In veneratione nominis dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, tibi, Deus pater misericordiarum, devotis mentibus hostias immolamus: suppliciter deprecantes, ut earum virtute cunctis egentibus prestetur

I seek with heart and not with eye.

Jesus, to God the Father gone,
is seated on the heavenly throne ;
my heart hath also passed from me,
that where he is ... there it may be.

We follow Jesus now, and raise
the voice of prayer, the hymn of praise,
that he at last may make us meet
with him to gain the heav'nly seat.

Gospel according to St Matthew

But while he thought on these things, behold the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins.

Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,

Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

Offertory

In my name they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover. Alleluia.

Secret

In veneration of the most beloved name of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and with devout minds, we offer this sacrifice unto thee, O God, the father of mercies; humbly beseeching thee that by virtue thereof help

⁹ Matthew 1:20-23

¹⁰ Mark 16:17-18

auxilium, ut in eodem nomine delectantes, salutarem sui propositi consequantur effectum. Per eundem [Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.]

Prefatio¹¹

Quia per incarnati Verbi mysterium: nova mentis nostre oculis lux tue claritatis infulsit. Ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus: per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia celestis exercitus hymnum glorie tue canimus: sine fine dicentes:

Communio¹²

Vincenti dabo manna absconditum: et dabo illi calculum candidum, et in calculo nomen novum scriptum quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit. Alleluia.

Postcommunio

Sacrosancta mysteria que sumpsimus, Domine, ad honorem complacentissimi nominis Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi devotis precordiis recolentes; quesumus, ut incrementa spiritualis exsultationis nobis accumulent, et affectum nostrum ad hoc salutiferum nomen Iesu iugiter imprimendum accendant, et ad iubilandum in Iesu salvatore nostro dulcissimo, tota mentis intentione promoveant. Per eundem [Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia secula seculorum, Amen.]

may be given to all that are in need, so that delighting in the same name they may obtain to their own salvation the performance of their desire. [Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.]

Preface

Because by the mystery of the incarnate Word the new light of thy brightness hath shone upon the eyes of our mind, so that while we acknowledge him to be God visibly, we may by him be caught up into the love of things invisible. And therefore with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominions, and with all the heavenly hosts, we sing a hymn to Thy glory, saying without ceasing:

Communion

To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna; and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it. Alleluia.

Postcommunion

We recall to mind, O Lord, with devout hearts the holy mysteries which we have received in honour of the most sweet name of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ; and we beseech thee that they may increase and multiply our spiritual joy; and ever kindle and impress upon our affections this saving name of Jesus; and stir us up to rejoice with our whole heart and mind in Jesus our saviour most sweet. [Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.]

¹¹ This text is borrowed from the Proper Preface for the Mass of the Nativity: see Dickinson, *Missale*, 596-7; Translation in Warren, *The Sarum Missal*, I, 34.

¹² Revelation 2:17

Appendix II.2

Propers of the Sarum Office of the Holy Name of Jesus

The Propers of the Sarum Office of the Holy Name of Jesus

Sources

Latin text:

F. Procter and C. Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1879–86), III, cols 615–38; 639–46; 657–70; 677–84. Transcriptions in this thesis follow medieval orthography rather than the Classical modifications of Procter and Wordsworth’s edition (e.g. ‘e’ rather than ‘ae’ / ‘oe’, ‘Iesu’ rather than ‘Jesu’, etc). They also follow capitalizations of the original source.

English Translations:

- For the Antiphons:

The Hours of Prayer from Lauds to Compline inclusive compiled from the Sarum Breviary and Other Rites, by Edward C. Trenholme (London and Oxford, 1913), cols 322-26

- For the Psalms and Gospel:

The Bible: New Revised Standard Version (1989 edition, now available online), accessed through www.biblegateway.com;

- For the Hymns:

Frederick E. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English Vols I and II*, (London, 1913)

Percy Dearmer, *The English Hymnal* (London, 1906), No. 237.

J. M. Neale, *Hymnal Noted* (London & New York, 1852), No. 18

Edward Caswall, *Lyra Catholica, containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns* (London, 1849), pp. 58-9

<http://www.fisheaters.com/forums/index.php?topic=3423013.0>

- For the Lections:

My own translations are marked ‘JA’: consistency of spellings, capitalisation, and punctuation with the rest of the thesis has been sought.

The Breviary of the Renowned Church of Salisbury, rendered into English according to the Use of The Society of the Holy Trinity, Devonport, Part for the Winter Season (London, 1889), 118-23; 126-9

Feast Day: III, VII; Within the Octave, Day 2: I, II; Day 5: I; Day 6: I, III; Sunday within the Octave: I–VI; On the Octave Day: I, VII, VIII

In the above translations. all spellings, capitalisation and punctuation are those of the original source: proper names, for example, do not take capital letters, except for ‘Jesus’, ‘God’, and (inconsistently) ‘Jacob’.

This section, Proper texts for the Office of the Holy Name, includes the following:

- The Office for the Feast Day (7 August)

This comprises all the prayers, readings and choir items appointed for the component Hours. Both First Vespers and Lauds have five Proper Antiphons; Matins includes nine Lections; the Little Hours have Proper Chapter readings; Second Vespers has its own Magnificat Antiphon.

Ad primas vespas	First Vespers
Ad completorium	Compline
Ad matutinas (Primo nocturno, Secundo nocturno, Tertio nocturno)	Matins (Nocturns I, II, and III)
Ad Laudes	Lauds
Ad Primam, Ad Tertiam, Ad Sextam, Ad Nonam	Prime, Terce, Sext, None
Ad secundas vespas	Second Vespers

- The Office for the Octave of the Holy Name

The prayers, readings and choir items duplicate material from the Feast Day itself except for a few variations, for example only the first of the five Lauds Antiphons is sung throughout the Octave. There are Proper Lections, on the other hand, for four days within the Octave.

The Second Day of the Octave – Of the Constitution of the Name of Jesus (8 August)

The Third Day of the Octave – Of the Sanctification of the Name of Jesus (9 August)

[The Fourth Day of the Octave, the 10 August, is the Feast Day of St Laurence, Martyr]

The Fifth Day of the Octave – Of the Description of the Name of Jesus (11 August)

The Sixth Day of the Octave – Of the Pronunciation of the Name of Jesus (12 August)

[The Seventh Day of the Octave, the 13 August, is the Feast Day of St Hippolytus and his Companions]

- Sunday within the Octave
- On the Octave Day (14 August)

Editorial notes:

The sources for the Antiphons, Responds and Chapters are cited in brackets in the main body of the text rather than in the footnotes: this is in order not to lose the immediate textual connection between the Psalm and its accompanying Antiphon, which is a feature of this Office.

Brackets in the Latin Lections denote sections of borrowed text. Sometimes Scriptural borrowings occur within them. Brackets also denote when a translator's work begins and finishes.

Festum Dulcissimi Nominis Iesu

Ad Primas Vesperas

*Super psalmos, Ant. A solis ortu usque ad occasum laudabile nomen Domini Iesu benedictum, alleluia. (Ps. 112: 3)
Ps: Laudate pueri Dominum (112)*

*Ant. Omnis enim quicumque invocaverit nomen Domini salvus erit, alleluia. (Rom. 10: 13)
Ps. Dilexi quoniam (114)*

*Ant. Dirupisti, Domine, vincula mea, tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis, et nomen tuum invocabo, alleluia. (Ps. 115: 16–17)
Ps. Credidi (115)*

*Ant. Illuc ascenderunt tribus, tribus Domini testimonium Israel ad confitendum nomini Domini, alleluia. (Ps 121: 4)
Ps. Letatus (121)*

*Ant. In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi, adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo, Domine, alleluia. (Ps. 137: 1–2)
Ps. Confitebor iii (137)*

Capitulum (Ad Philippen. ii. [8.])

Humiliavit semetipsum Dominus Iesus factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, propter quod et Deus exaltavit illum et donavit illi nomen quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum. Deo gratias

R. Magnificate Dominum mecum, et exaltemus nomen eius in idipsum. Quia in eo letabitur cor nostrum. Et in nomine sancto eius sperabimus. (Ps. 33:4; 32:21)

V. Narrate omnia mirabilia eius, laudamini in nomine sancto eius. (Ps. 104:2–3)

R. Quia

V. Gloria Patri

R. Et in nomine

The Feast of the Most Sweet Name of Jesus

Vespers I

Ant. From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same: the Lord's blessed Name of Jesus be praised, alleluia.
Ps: Praise the Lord! Praise, O servants of the Lord

Ant. Whosoever shall call upon the Name of the Lord: shall be saved, alleluia.
Ps: I love the Lord, because he has heard my voice

Ant. Thou has broken, O Lord, my bonds in sunder: to thee will I offer the sacrifice of praise, and will call upon the Name of the Lord, alleluia.
Ps: I kept my faith

Ant. Thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord: to testify unto Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord, alleluia.
Ps: I was glad

Ant. In the presence of the angels will I praise thee: I will worship toward thy holy temple, and will praise thy Name, O Lord, alleluia.
Ps: I give you thanks, O Lord

Chapter Philippians 2: 8

He humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name which is above every name: that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.

R. O praise the Lord with me, and let us magnify his Name together, for our heart shall rejoice in him, and in his holy Name shall be our hope.

V. Let your talking be of all his wondrous works, rejoice ye in his holy Name.

R. For our heart

V. Glory be

R. And in his holy Name shall be our hope

Hymnus

*Exultet cor precordiis,
sonante Iesu nomine:
precellit in deliciis,
omni plenum dulcedine.*

*Nomen confortans miseros
Iesus qui sanat scelera:
nomen deterrens inferos,
nomen fugans mortifera.*

*Nomen sonans suaviter,
in metro, prosa, carmine:
quod levat nos alacriter,
mulcens suo solamine.*

*Nomen excelsum resonet
Iesus in ore omnium:
et cor cum voce consonet,
ut sanet omne vicium.*

*Iesu, salus peccantium
adesto nostris precibus:
sis director errantium,
et parce nostris actibus.*

*Nomen tuum nos muniat,
preservans a periculis:
et in bonis perficiat,
amotis culpe maculis.*

*Tibi, Christe, sit gloria,
fulgens hoc sacro nomine:
honor tuus sit latria,
Iesu benigne Domine.*

*Gloria tibi, Domine,
qui natus es de virgine
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
in sempiterna secula. Amen.*

V. Omnis terra adoret te Deus et psallat tibi. (Ps. 65.4)

*R. Psalmum dicat nomini tuo, Domine.
(Ps. 65.4)*

*Ant. Ego autem in Domino gaudebo et exultabo in
Deo Iesu meo: (Hab 3:18) quia fecit michi magna
qui potens est, et sanctum nomen eius, alleluia.*

(Lk. 1:49)

Ps. Magnificat.

Hymn¹

O let the heart beat high with bliss,
Yea, let it triumph at the sound
Of Jesu's name, so sweet it is,
For every joy therein is found.

The name that comforteth in woe,
The name of Jesus healing sin,
The name that curbs the powers below
And drives away the death within:

The name that soundeth ever sweet
In speech or verse or holy song,
And bids us run with willing feet
Consoled, and comforted, and strong.

Then let the name of Jesus ring
With lofty praise in every place;
Let heart and voice together sing—
That name shall every ill efface.

Ah! Jesu, health of sinful men,
Give ear unto our loving prayer;
Guide Thou our wandering feet again,
And hold our doings in Thy care.

Lord, may Thy name supply our needs,
And keep us from all danger free,
And make us perfect in good deeds,
That we may lose our sins by Thee.

To Thee, O Christ, all glory be
Who shinest with this holy name;
We worship Thy divinity,
Jesu, Thou Lord of gentle fame.

O Jesu, of a virgin born,
Immortal honour be to Thee;
Praise to the Father infinite,
And Holy Ghost eternally.

V. All the earth worships you; they sing praises to you.

R. Sing praises to your Name.

Ant. Yet I will rejoice in the Lord; I will exult in the God of my salvation: for the Mighty One has done great things for me, and holy is his name, alleluia

Ps: My soul magnifies the Lord

Oratio

Deus, qui gloriosissimum nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi unigeniti Filii tui fecisti fidelibus tuis summo suavitatis affectu amabile; et malignis spiritibus tremendum atque terribile; concede propitius, ut omnes qui hoc nomen Iesu devote venerantur in terris, sancte consolationis dulcedinem in presenti percipiant et in futuro gaudium exultationis et interminabilis iubilationis obtineant. Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen

Deinde fiat solennis Memoria de Transfiguratione

Ad Completorium

*Ant. Miserere michi Domine secundum iudicium diligentium nomen tuum. (Ps. 118.132)
Ps. Cum invocarem (4, [30, vv.1-6; 90; 133])*

Capitulum. Ieremias XIV. 9

Tu in nobis es Domine: et nomen Sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos: ne derelinquas nos Domine Deus noster.

Hymnus

*Alma chorus Domini
nunc pangat nomina summi.
Messias, Sother,
Emmanuel, Sabaoth Adonay,
Est Unigenitus,
Via, Vita, Manus, Omousyon.
Principium, Primogenitus,
Sapientia, Virtus.
Alpha, Caput, Finisque simul
vocitatur et est OO.²
Fons et origo boni,
Paraclytus, ac Mediator.
Agnus, Ovis, Vitulus,
Serpens, Aries, Leo, Vermis.
Os, Verbum, Splendor:
Sol, Gloria, Lux, et Ymago.
Panis, Flos, Vitis,
Mons, Ianua, Petra, Lapisque.
Angelus, et Sponsus,
Pastorque, Propheta, Sacerdos.
Athanatos, Kyrios,
Nominibus his Signatur Iesus.
Sint Domino laudes. Amen.³*

Collect

O God, who hast made the most glorious name of thy only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ to be loved with the greatest and sweetest affection by thy faithful people, and to be fearful and terrible to evil spirits; mercifully grant that all those who devoutly venerate on earth this name of Jesus may receive the sweetness of holy consolation in this present life, and may obtain the joy of endless exultation and triumph in the life to come. Through the same Jesus Christ, Thy Son, our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. Amen.

Memorial of the Transfiguration

Compline

Ant. Have mercy upon me, O Lord: like as thou usest to do unto those that love thy Name.
Ps: Answer me when I call

Chapter Jeremiah 14: 7

You, O Lord, are in the midst of us, and we are called by your name; do not forsake us, O Lord our God.

Hymn⁵

Now let the sacred band
the Lord's high names expand.
Messiah, Saviour,
Lord of Hosts, Emmanuel,
Only-Begotten,
Way, Life, Hand, Homousion,
Beginning, the First-Born,
Wisdom, and Power,
The Head, and End, Alpha
and Omega,
Fountain of Good,
Advocate, Mediator,
Lamb, Sheep, Calf,
Dragon, Lion, Ram and Worm.
Mouth, Word, Sun,
Brightness, Glory, Light and Image.
Bread, Blossom, Vine,
Mount, Door, Rock, Corner-stone.
Messenger, Bridegroom,
Shepherd, Prophet, Priest.
The Lord, Immortal, God, Almighty, Jesus,
By these names Is Jesus designated.
May they praise the Lord! Amen.

V. *Custodi nos, Domine. (Ps. 16.8)*

*Ant. O Rex gloriose inter sanctos tuos, qui semper es laudabilis et tamen ineffabilis: tu in nobis, Domine: et nomen tuum invocatum est super nos, ne derelinquas nos Deus noster: ut in die iudicii nos collocare digneris inter sanctos et electos tuos, Rex benedicte.*⁴

Ps. Nunc dimittis

Ad Matutinas

Invitatorium

Honoremus, exaltemus

Iesus Dei Filium.

Exultantes iubilemus

Regi regum omnium

Ps. Venite exultemus. (Ps. 95)

Hymnus

*Iesu, dulcis memoria,
dans vera cordis gaudia:
sed super mel et omnia
dulcis eius presentia.*

*Nil canitur suavius,
auditur nil iocundius,
nil cogitatur dulcius:
quam Iesus Dei Filius.*

*Iesu, spes penitentibus,
quam pius es petentibus,
quam bonus te querentibus:
sed quid invenientibus?*

*Iesu, dulcedo cordium,
Fons vite, lumen mentium,
Excedis omne gaudium
Et omne desiderium.*

*Nec lingua potest dicere,
nec littera exprimere:
expertus novit credere,
quid sit Iesum diligere.*

*Iesu Rex admirabilis
Et triumphator nobilis:
Dulcedo ineffabilis,
Totus desiderabilis.*

V. Keep us, Lord

Ant. O King, all glorious amid thy saintly company, who ever shalt be praised, yet overpassest utterance: thou, O Lord, art in the midst of us, and we are called by thy holy name; leave us not, O our God; that in the day of Judgement it may please thee to place us in the number of thy saints and chosen ones, King most blessed.

Ps. Lord, now lettest thou

Matins

*Invitatory.*¹⁹

Let us honour, let us praise
Jesus the Son of God.

Let us invoke in jubilation
The King of all Kings
Ps. Come let us praise

*Hymn*²⁰

Jesu! The very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills my breast;
But sweeter far Thy face to see,
And in Thy presence rest.

Nor voices can sing, nor heart can frame,
Nor can the memory find,
A sweeter sound than Thy blest name,
O Saviour of mankind!

O hope of every contrite heart,
O Joy of all the meek,
To those who fall, how kind Thou art!
How good to those who seek!

O Jesu! Light of all below!
Thou Fount of life and fire!
Surpassing all the Joys we know,
All that we can desire:

But what to those who find? Ah! This
Nor tongue nor pen can show:
The love of Jesus, what it is
None but His lov'd ones know.

O Jesu! King most wonderful!
Thou Conqueror renown'd!
Thou Sweetness most ineffable!
In whom all joys are found!

*Mane nobiscum, Domine,
Nos tuo Replens lumine:
Pulsa noctis caligine,
Tua pasce dulcedine.*

*Gloria tibi, Domine,
qui natus es de virgine
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna secula. Amen.*

In primo Nocturno.

*Ant. Hi in curribus et hi in equis: nos autem in
nomine domini Dei nostri invocabimus. (Ps. 19:8)
Ps. Exaudiat te (19)*

*Ant. Memor ero nominis tui, Domine, in omni
generatione et generationem. (Ps. 44.18)
Ps. Eructavit cor meum (44)*

*Ant. Secundum nomen tuum, Iesu Domine: sic et
laus tua in fines terre. (Ps. 47:11)
Ps. Magnus Dominus (47)*

*V. Laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico. (Ps. 68:31)
R. Et magnificabo eum in laude. (Ps. 68:31)*

Lectio i

*Dum festum festo succedit leta mens transfertur:
et terra iubilat diffusis gaudiis plenis honore.
Heri celebravimus Iesum in celso montis vertice
transfiguratum: hodie in ymis terris humiliatum.
Heri qualis apud Patrem Iesus erat prodebat sui
corporis candore: hodie celebramus quomodo
latens divinitas operatur nostra sub humili natura
sacramenta salutis. Heri quales erimus secundum
spem suo ostendit splendore: hodie quales
secundum fidem beato debemus vivere more. Heri
suam nobis charitatem commendavit ad premium:
hodie ministratur sua charitas ad meritum. Illa in
patria: ista in via. Illa in gloria consummante:
ista in doctrina cum gratia misericorditer
cooperante. Provocat itaque sacra solennitas
huius dignissimi festi repetenda iustorum
famosissima gesta, et veteris ac nove sacratissima
misteria legis, ut sic eo gloriosior huius appareat
nominis institutio, quo dispar et inutilis invenitur
comparatio omnis que non sub huius Iesu nominis
agatur cultu. Romanus⁶ igitur pontifex Alexander
quartus [recte: sextus], huius sacratissimi*

Stay with us, Lord, and with Thy light
Illumine the soul's abyss;
Scatter the darkness of our night,
And fill the world with bliss.

O Lord, of a virgin born,
Immortal honour be to Thee;
Praise to the Father infinite,
And Holy Ghost eternally.

Nocturn I

Ant. Some take pride in chariots, and some in
horses, but our pride is in the name of the Lord our
God.

Ps. The Lord answer you in the day of trouble!

Ant. I will cause your name, Lord, to be celebrated
in all generations.

Ps. My heart overflows

Ant. Your name, Lord Jesus, like your praise,
reaches to the ends of the earth.

Ps. Great is the Lord

V. I will praise the name of God with a song.

R. I will magnify him with thanksgiving.

Lectio I²¹

While Feast follows Feast a cheerful disposition is
carried forward: and all the ends of the earth rejoice
in grace-filled gladness. Yesterday we celebrated
Jesus transfigured at the top of the high mountain:
today we celebrate him humbled upon the lowly
earth. Yesterday, how Jesus showed by the
splendour of his body what sort he was with the
Father. Today, we celebrate how the hidden divinity
operates under the humility of our nature the grace
of salvation. Yesterday, he showed by his own
splendour what sort we will be in hope: today of
what sort we must be to live according to faith in a
blessed fashion. Yesterday he entrusted his love to
us for the gain of a prize: today his love is supplied
for good works. The former love in the ancestral
land; the latter love, on the way there. The former is
consuming glory; the other in teaching, working
mercifully, in grace. And therefore the worthy
solemnity of this most dignified Feast summons
forth the most famous deeds of the just to be
repeated, and the most holy mysteries of the old and
new law, so that in this way the more glorious the

nominis affectu, suave ipsius officium comprobavit, et auctoritate apostolica confirmavit, statuendo diem dulcissime solennitatis, septimo ydus Augusti, per singulos annos celebrandum, largiens atque concedens piis huius devotissimi festi cultoribus copiosas indulgentias perpetuis temporibus duraturas.

Tu autem, Domine miserere nostri.

R. 1. Tu es ipse rex meus et Deus meus qui mandas salutes Iacob. In te inimicos nostros ventilabimus cornu: et in nomine tuo spernemus insurgentes in nobis. (Ps. 43:5-6)
V. Exurge Domine adiuva nos: et redime nos propter nomen tuum. (Ps. 43:26)
In te inimicos.

Lectio ii

Omnibus igitur Christi fidelibus vere penitentibus et confessis per regnum Anglie, qui Matutinis, seu Misse, aut Vesperis eiusdem festivitatis in ecclesiis affuerint presentes: quingentos dies. Illis enim qui Prime, Tertie, Sexte, None, ac Completorii officii interfuerint: pro ipsarum qualibet trecentos dies.

Ac singulis per Octavas diebus, qui Matutine, Misse, et Vesperis: ducentos dies.

Et qui ceteris Horarum officii interessent, octoginta dies: de iniunctis sibi penitentiis misericorditer relaxavit, prout a diversis pontificibus, scilicet Urbano quarto, Martino quinto, Eugenio quarto, festo Corporis Christi et Octavis fuerunt concessa.

**In hac solennitate, charissimi, nostra spes tota erigitur, fides augetur, charitas diffunditur, summe et individue Trinitatis alma maiestas magnifice commendatur, et iubilantibus celestis curie ordinibus in mentis excessu famulantur etheri cives. Rosei applaudunt martyres: quia dum Iesus est in animo robur, victores se inclitos noscunt. Et confessores candidi laudant cum canore iubilo: dum Iesus ut mel dulcescit in ore ac dum melos suavis Iesus pulsat virgineas aures, filie Hierusalem canentes cursitant, hymnidice gaudent, catervatim exultant, insimul omnes primordia salutis dicentes, [Iesu nostra*

institution of this Name may appear, the more unequal and useless every comparison made in the worship of this name of Jesus seems to be.

Therefore the Pontiff of Rome, Alexander IV [recte: Alexander VI], from affection for this most sacred Name, himself graciously approved this Office and confirmed it by apostolic authority by establishing that the appointed day of this most sweet commemoration is the seventh day of August, to be celebrated every year, being bountiful and conceding grants upon this holy and most devout of Feasts plenteous indulgences which are to endure for all time.

But thou, O Lord have mercy upon us.

R. 1. You are my King and my God; you command victories for Jacob. Through you we push down our foes; through your name we tread down our assailants.
V. Rise up Lord, come to our help. Redeem us for the sake of your name.
Through you.

Lectio II²²

Therefore, to all those faithful to Christ and who are truly penitent throughout the Realm of England, and who shall have been present in church at Matins, or the Mass or Vespers of the same festival: 500 days

And to those who shall have attended the Offices of Prime, Terce, Sext, None and Compline, for any of these: 300 days.

And for every day of the Octave, understand those who are present at Matins, Mass and Vespers: 200 days.

And those who were present at other Offices of the Hours of the Breviary: 80 days. He mercifully relaxed them from the penances enjoined upon them, according as they had been conceded by different popes, that is to say Urban IV, Martin IV, Eugene IV, on the Feast of Corpus Christi and the Octave.

Here on this festivity, dear friends, all our hope is raised up, our faith is increased, our love poured forth, the bountiful majesty of the highest and undivided Trinity, in its sum and in its parts, is magnificently commended, and the citizens of heaven serve the rejoicing orders of the heavenly court in ecstasy. The rosy martyrs applaud while Jesus is strength in their minds, they know they are famous victors. And his confessors in white sing praises with jubilant song: for the name 'Jesus'

redemptio, amor et desiderium.]⁷ Hec est illa preclara festivitas quam patres diu suspirarunt, longe ante predixerunt prophete, mystice signaverunt figure. Ac tandem ille paranymphus Gabriel celestis nunciavit Marie, Quod ex te nascetur sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei: et nomen eius Iesus.⁸

Tu autem, Domine miserere nostri.

R. 2. Salvos fac nos, Domine Deus noster, et congrega nos de nationibus. Ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo et gloriemur in laude tua. (Ps. 105:47)

*V. Et sperent in te qui noverunt nomen tuum, quoniam non dereliquisti querentes te, Domine. (Ps. 9:11)
Ut confiteamur.*

Lectio iii

[Iesus fons vite signatus, qui quattuor in rivis se diffundit per plateas.⁹ Iesus a Deo nobis factus est sapientia, iusticia, sanctificatio, atque redemptio.¹⁰ In predicatione sapientia, iusticia in peccatorum absolutione, in conversatione sanctificatio, in passione redemptio.]¹¹ Unde scriptum est: [tres rivi fluxerunt a Iesus, verbum doloris in quo confessio, sanguis aspersionis in quo contritio, aqua emundationis in qua compunctio designatur.]¹² [Hoc est nomen quod Paulus portabat coram gentibus et regibus ut lucernam super candelabrum.]¹³ Mirabile enim est ac suavissimum: unde quidam ait, [Si scribas, si conferas, non sapit michi, nisi legero ibi Iesum. Si disputes, aut conferas, non sapit michi, nisi sonuerit ibi Iesus.]¹⁴ [Iesus ergo nomen dulce et delectabile: nomen confortans peccatorem, et nomen beate spei. Ergo, Iesus esto michi Iesus.]¹⁵ Nec pretereat nos huius sacratissimi nominis multa virtuositas. [Hoc est nomen quod cecis contulit visum, surdis auditum, claudis gressum, sermonem mutis, vitam mortuis: totamque dyaboli potestatem de obsessis corporibus virtus huius nominis effugavit.]¹⁶ Nec profecto minoris excellentie et sublimitatis est quam virtutis. Unde scriptum est, [Nomen salvatoris mei, fratris mei, carnis mee, sanguinis mei, nomen seculis

grows sweet as honey in their mouths and while Jesus strikes the ears of young virgins as a song, the daughters of Jerusalem run hither and thither singing, rejoicing in hymnody, exulting as a group, all of them proclaiming the beginning of Salvation, Jesus our redemption, love and desire.

This is that glorious festivity which the fathers long sighed for and prophets predicted long before, which types mystically signified. And at length gabriel, the heavenly messenger, announced it to Mary, when he said, That holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God, and his name is Jesus.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.

R. 2. Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the nations, that we may give thanks to your holy name and glory in your praise.

V. And those who know your name put their trust in you, for you, O Lord, have not forsaken those who seek you.

That we may give.

Lectio III²³

Jesus, the sealed fountain of life, which parting into four streams, diffused itself through the broad ways, Jesus, made unto us of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. In preaching, wisdom; righteousness, in the forgiveness of sins; in his life, sanctification; in his passion, redemption. Whence it is written, three streams flowed from Jesus, the word of grief, in which confession is designated; the letting out of blood, in which is affliction; and the water of cleansing, in which is compunction. This is the name, which paul carried before the gentiles and kings as a light set upon a candlestick. Wonderful is that name, and most sweet. Whence a certain man saith, If thou writest, if thou speakest, or conferrest, I find no sweetness unless I read or hear of Jesus. If thou disputest, or if thou arguest, I find no sweetness there, except Jesus sounds therein; therefore is Jesus a name most sweet, most delightful, a name strengthening the sinners, a name of blessed hope: therefore, O Jesus, be thou Jesus to me.

Nor let the manifold virtues of this most sacred name escape us. This is the name, which gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, steps to the lame, speech to the dumb, life to the dead. The virtue of this name expelled from the bodies of the possessed

absconditum, sed in fine seculorum revelatum. Nomen mirabile, nomen ineffabile, nomen inestimabile, immo eo mirabilius quo inestimabile, eo magis gratum quo gratuitum.]¹⁷ [Hoc autem nomen impositum ei est ab eterno: ab angelo, et a patre Ioseph. Ab eterno, cum Iesus a potentia salvandi Salvator interpretatur. Ab angelo, cum habitu salvandi Salvator dicitur, quod ei convenit a sue conceptionis principio. A patre suo Ioseph hoc nomen impositum est, cum ab actu passionis et nostre redemptionis future Iesus Salvator appellatus est.]¹⁸

Tu autem, Domine miserere nostri

*R.3. Osculetur me osculo oris sui quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino, fragrantia unguentis optimis. Oleum effusum nomen tuum. Ideo adolescentule dilexerunt te. (S. of S. 1:1-2)
V. Trahe me post te curremus simul in odorem unguentorum tuorum. (S. of S. 1:3)
Oleum. Gloria. Ideo.*

In secundo Nocturno.

*Ant. Deus in nomine tuo salvum me fac, et in virtute tua iudica me, Domine. (Ps. 53:3)
Ps. Ipsum (Deus in nomine tuo, Ps. 53)*

*Ant. Sic psalmum dicam nomini tuo in seculum seculi: ut reddam vota mea de die in diem. (Ps. 60:9)
Ps. Exaudi Deus deprecationem (60)*

*Ant. Sit nomen eius benedictum in secula: (Ps. 71:17): qui natus est de virgine Maria.
Ps. Deus iudicium (71)*

*V. Benedic anima mea Domino. (Ps. 102:1)
R. Et omnia que intra me sunt nomini sancto eius. (Ps. 102:1)*

Lectio iv²⁵

Oleum effusum nomen tuum. Et proculdubio inter oleum et nomen sponsi nostri Iesu similitudo: nec otiose Spiritus Sanctus alterutrum comparavit. Oleum lucet, oleum pascit, oleum ungit, fovet

the whole power of satan. Nor is its excellency and sublimity less than its virtue. Wherefore it is written, the name of my Saviour, of my brother, of my flesh, of my blood. A name hidden from ages past, but in the end of the ages made known. A wonderful name, ineffable name, inestimable name; the more wonderful, because inestimable; the more gracious, because gratis.²⁴ And this name was given to him by the Eternal, by the angel, and by his father joseph. By the Eternal, since Jesus, from his power to save, is interpreted Saviour; by the angel, since from his faculty of saving, he is called Saviour, which belongs to him from the first moment of his conception; by his father joseph, since from the act of his passion and of our future redemption, he was called Jesus, Saviour.

But thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.

R. 3. Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth! For your love is better than wine, your anointing oils are fragrant, your name is perfume poured out; therefore the maidens love you. V. Draw me after you, let us make haste.

Your name. Gloria. Therefore.

Second Nocturn

Ant. Save me, O God, by your name, and vindicate me by your might, O Lord
Ps. 'The same' [i.e. Save me, O God]

Ant. So I will always sing praises to your name, as I pay my vows day after day.
Ps. Hear my cry, O God; listen to my prayer.

Ant. May his name be blessed forever: who was born of the virgin Mary.
Ps. Give the king your justice, O God.

V. Bless the Lord, O my soul
R. And all that is within me, bless his holy name.

Lectio IV⁴⁰

Your name is oil poured forth. And without doubt between the oil and the name of our bridegroom Jesus there is a similarity. Nor has the Holy Spirit compared idly with either of these. Oil sheds light,

ignem, nutrit carnem, lenit dolorem. Oleum ergo lux, cibus, et medicina. Sic quidem nomen sponsi lucet predicatum, pascit recogitatum, invocatum lenit et ungit. Unde putas in toto orbe tanta et tam subita lux fidei, quam de predicato Iesu nomine? In huius nominis luce vocavit nos deus in admirabile lumen suum. Unde scriptum est, Fulistis aliquando tenebre: nunc autem lux in Domino.²⁶ Preterea est et cibus hoc nomen Iesus. An non totiens confortaris quotiens recordaris? Quid eque mentem cogitantis impinguat? Quid ita excecatos reparat sensus, virtutes roborat, bonos mores vegetat, castas fovet affectiones? Aridus est omnis anime cibus, si oleo isto non infundatur. Insuper est, si non hoc sale condiatur. Iesus est mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde iubilus. Tu.

*R. 4. In semita iudiciorum tuorum, Domine, sustinuimus te, nomen tuum et memoriale tuum in desiderio anime. (Is. 26:8) Anima mea desideravit te in nocte, sed et spiritus meus in precordiis meis, de mane vigilabo ad te. (Is. 26:9)
V. Vere tu es Deus absconditus Deus Israel Salvator.
Anima mea desideravit.*

Lectio v²⁷

Quod reliquum est prosequamur. Diximus nomen Dei esse medicinam. Tristatur aliquis vestrum: veniat in cor eius Iesus, et inde saliat in os, et ecce ad exortum nominis lumen nubilum omne diffugit, redit serenum.²⁸ Labitur quis in crimen: currit insuper ad laqueum mortis desperando: nonne si invocet nomen vite confestim respirabit ad vitam? Cui aliquando stetit ante faciem Salvatoris nominis duricia ut assolet cordis, ignavie torpor, rancor animi, langor accedie? Cui fons lachrymarum exhaustus invocato Iesu non continuo erupti uberius, fluxit suavior? Cui in periculis palpitanti et trepidanti invocatum virtutis nomen non statim fiduciam prestitit et depulit metum? Dubiis estuanti et fluctuanti emicuit semper certitudo. Adversis diffidenti iam iamque deficienti hoc invocato nomine nunquam defuit fortitudo. Denique scriptum est, [Invoca me in die tribulationis: eruam te et honorificabis me.]²⁹ Nichil tam ire impetum cohibet, superbie tumorem sedat, sanat livoris vulnus, restingit

nourishes, anoints, kindles the fire, nourishes the flesh, relieves pain. Therefore oil is light, food, and medicine. Indeed, the name of the bridegroom shines when preached, nourishes when pondered upon, softens and anoints when invoked. Whence, do you suppose, in the whole world, comes as great and sudden a light of faith, except from the preaching of the name of Jesus? In the light of this Name, God has called us unto his splendid light. Whence it is written, 'You were heretofore darkness; but now you are light in the Lord.' Besides light this name Jesus is also food. Are you not strengthened as often as you recall it? What in like manner feeds the mind that reflects upon it? What in like manner restores blinded senses, strengthens virtue, excites goodness of living, kindles pure affections? For all food for the soul is dry, if it is not infused with that oil. It is bland, if it is not seasoned with this salt. Jesus is honey to the taste, melody to the ears, gladness in the heart. Thou...

*R. 4. In the path of your judgements, O Lord, we wait for you; your name and your renown are the soul's desire.
My soul yearns for you in the night, my spirit within me earnestly seeks you.
V. Truly, you are a God who hides himself, O God of Israel, the Saviour.
My soul yearns for you.*

Lectio V⁴¹

Let us pursue the rest: we said that the name of God is medicine. One of you is sad. This name Jesus enters the heart, and springs up to the mouth, and behold [the light that radiates from that name]⁴² dispels every cloud and renders him serene. Someone slips into crime. Moreover such a person runs in despairing towards the noose of death; if he were to invoke this [vivifying name],⁴³ will he not immediately breathe back into life? What hardness of heart, dullness of idleness, rancour of the soul, weariness of spiritual boredom remains in the face of the name of the Saviour, as it is wont to do? For whom does the exhausted font of tears not immediately burst forth more richly at the invocation of the name Jesu, and pour forth more sweetly? For whom trembling and shaking in perils, the invoked name of virtue has not immediately produced confidence and cast out fear? For certitude always springs forth. Fortitude has never been lacking in a man floating and wavering in doubt when this name has been invoked. Finally, it

luxurie fluxum, extinguit libidinis flammam, sitim temperat avaricie, ac totius indecoris fugat pruriginem. Nempe cum Iesum michi nomino: hominem michi propono, mitem et humilem corde, benignum, sobrium, castum, misericordem, et omni denique honestate ac sanctitate conspicuum: eundemque ipsum Deum omnipotentem, qui me suo exemplo sanet, et roboret adiutorio. Hec omnia mihi sonant cum sonuerit Iesus. Sumo mihi itaque exempla de homine: sed auxilium a potente. Illa tanquam pigmentarias species: hoc unde acuam eas. Et facio confectionem: cui similem medicorum nemo facere possit.

*R. 5. Obsecro autem vos fratres per nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Ut idipsum dicatis omnes et non sint in vobis scismata.³⁰
V. Discedat ergo ab iniquitate omnis qui nominat nomen Domini.³¹
Ut idipsum*

Lectio vi

[Hoc tibi electuarium habes, O anima mea, reconditum vasculo vocabuli huius, quod est Iesus salutiferum certe, quodque nulli unquam pesti tue inveniatur inefficax.³² Semper tibi in sinu sit, semper in manu: et omnes tui in Iesum sensus dirigantur et actus. Ad hoc te invitat cum dici, Pone me ut signaculum in corde tuo, ut signaculum in brachio.³³ Sic ergo habes unde et brachio medearis et cordi. Habes, inquam, in nomine Iesus unde tuos actus vel pravos corrigas, vel minus perfectos adimpleas: unde tuos sensus ut seves ne corrumpantur, aut si corrumpantur sanes.]³⁴ [O quam pulcher es angelis tuis, Domine Iesu, in forma Dei: in die eternitatis tue in splendoribus sanctorum: ante luciferum genitus, splendor et figura substantie Patris, et quidem perpetuus minimeque fucatus candor vite eterne. Quam michi decorus es, Domine mi, in ipsa hulul positione decoris. Etenim ubi te exinanisti, ubi naturalibus radiis lumen indeficiens exuisti, ubi pietas magis emicuit, ibi charitas plus effulsit, ibi amplius gratia radiavit. Quam clara michi oriris stella ex Iacob,³⁵ quam lucidus flos de radice Iesse³⁶ egrederis, quam iocundum lumen in tenebris visitasti me oriens ex alto.³⁷ Quam

is written, 'Invoke me in the day of judgement: I will rescue you and you will honour me.' Nothing curbs the vigour of anger, calms the swelling of pride, cures the wound of envy, restrains the flow of greed, extinguishes the flame of lust, tempers the thirst of avarice and puts to flight the urge of all impropriety. Whenever I name Jesus to myself, I set before myself a man who is placid and humble of heart, kind, sober, chaste, merciful, and conspicuously honest and holy in all things: and I set before myself that same very God omnipotent, who by his example cures me and makes me strong with his help. All these things sound true to me when the name Jesus is sounded. This is how I take up upon myself the examples of mankind, but help is from the powerful one.⁴⁴ And so I make for myself [an efficacious restorative],⁴⁵ and no doctor is able to make anything similar.

R. 5. Now I appeal to you, brothers and sisters, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that all of you be in agreement and that there be no divisions among you, but that you be united in the same mind and the same purpose.

V. Therefore let everyone who calls on the name of the Lord turn away from wickedness.
That all of you...

Lectio VI⁴⁶

O Soul of mine, you have a place among the elect, hidden in the vessel of this word, because the name Jesus is certainly health-bringing, and because by no kind of pollution will it ever become inefficient for you. Keep it always in your bosom, always in your hand, so that all feelings and actions are guided by you in Jesus. For this purpose He invites you with the words, 'Put me as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your arm.' Thus it follows you have healing on your arm and in your heart. You can, then, in the name of Jesus either correct your evil actions, or make them just short of perfect: also, you are able to keep them incorrupt, and of purifying them even if your healthy ones are. O how beautiful you are to the angels, Lord Jesu, in the form of God: in the day of your eternity in the splendour of the saints. Before Lucifer you were begotten, the splendour and the image of the essence of the Father, and in no small way the everlasting brightness of eternal life. How you are comely to me, my Lord, in your own position of comeliness. For where it has been exhausted in you, where the unfailing light of natural radiance has been put out, there piety flows more, there love is more abundant, and grace more radiant. You rise up

*spectabilis et stupendus etiam virtutibus supernis in conceptu de virgine, in vite innocentia, in doctrine affluentia, in chorouscationibus miraculorum, in revelationibus sacramentorum. Quam rutilans post occasum sol iusticie de corde terre resurgis: quam formosus in stola tua demum³⁸ rex glorie in alta celorum te recipis. Quare non pro his omnibus omnia ossa mea dicent, Domine, quis similis tui?]*³⁹

Tu autem, Domine miserere nostri

R. 6. Iesus Nazarenus, rex Iudeorum, Fili Dei vivi, miserere mei, Iesu fili David miserere mei. (Lk 18:37-8) Ut videam voluntatem Dei. Et visitem templum eius. (Ps. 26:4)
V. Aspice in me et miserere mei secundum iudicium diligentium nomen tuum, Domine. (Ps. 118:132)
Ut videam. Gloria. Et visitem.

In tertio Nocturno

Ant. Adiuvans nos Deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propicius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum. (Ps. 78:9)
Ps. Deus venerunt (78)

Ant. Confitebor tibi, Domine Deus meus, in toto corde meo, et glorificabo nomen tuum in eternum. (Ps. 85:12)
Ps. Inclina Domine (85)

Ant. Afferte Domino patrie gentium, afferte Domino gloriam et honorem. Afferte Domino gloriam nomini eius. (Ps. 95:8)
Ps. Cantate i. (95)

V. Non nobis, Domine, non nobis. (Ps. 114:1)
R. Sed nomini tuo da gloriam. (Ps. 114:1)

Lectio vii

for me like the bright star from Jacob, you come forth like a radiant flower of the root of Jesse, like the delightful light visits me in the darkness from the dawn sky. How glorious and wonderful do you appear, even to the celestial virtues in the conception of the Virgin, the innocence of life, in the abundance of doctrine, in the splendour of miracles, in the revelation of sacraments. Like after you have set you rise again from the heart of the earth as the Sun of Justice; how beautiful in your priestly robe you accept as the king of glory your throne on high! And as I ponder on these sacred mysteries, surely all my bones shall say, Lord, 'Who is like you?'

But Thou, O Lord, have mercy on us.

R. 6. Jesus the Nazarene, King of the Jews, living Son of God, have mercy on me, Jesus Son of David, have mercy on me. So that I may behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple.
V. Turn to me and be gracious to me, as is your custom towards those who love your name, Lord. So that I may behold. Gloria. And inquire.

Nocturn III

Ant. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of your name; deliver us, and forgive our sins, for your name's sake.

Ps. O God, the nations have come

Ant. I give thanks to you, O Lord my God, with my whole heart, and I will glorify your name forever.
Ps. Incline your ear, O Lord

Ant. Ascribe to the Lord, O families of the peoples, ascribe to the Lord glory and strength. Ascribe to the Lord the glory due his name.
Ps. Sing [unto the Lord] i.

V. Not to us, O Lord, not to us
R. But to your name give glory

Lectio VII

[*Evangelium*] *Secundum Mattheum i. [20-23]*

In illo tempore: Angelus Domini apparuit in somnis Ioseph dicens; Ioseph fili David, noli timere accipere Mariam coniugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum est de Spiritu Sancto est. Pariet autem filium: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Hoc autem totum factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam dicentem: Ecce virgo concipiet in utero et pariet filium: et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, quod interpretatur Nobiscum Deus.

*Omelia Origenis (prima ex diversis i.)*⁴⁷

Ioseph Mariam noluit traducere, noluit eam diffamare: sed voluit eam occulte dimittere. Occulte eam a se dimittere volebat, sicut pius, sicut mansuetus, sicut misericors. Iuste humilians se in omnibus cavebat et timebat sibimet illius tante sanctitatis coniunctionem adhibere. Idcirco dixit, dimittam eam: et a me longe faciam eam, et a cognatione mea. Maior enim est eius dignitas, superexcellit eius sanctitas: nec mee congruit dignitati. Hec autem eo cogitante: angelus Domini per visum apparuit illi dicens, Quare dubitas, Ioseph, quare imprudenter cogitas, quare irrationabiliter meditaris? Deus est enim qui generatur. Quod enim nascetur ex ea, de Spiritu Sancto est: quia scilicet huius nativitatis co-operator Spiritussanctus est. Ille est quidem de quo Scriptura prenunciavit dicens, [Puer natus est nobis et Filius datus est nobis].⁴⁸ Pariet, inquit, filium: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Virgo generat, et tu Ioseph hunc genitum vocabis Iesus: qui interpretatur Salvator. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Vocabis, inquit, nomen eius hoc quod ante fuit: quod ante secula nominatum est. Non tu ei impones nomen, nec ex te ei vocabulum constitues: sed nomina et voca exultando Iesum, id est Salvatorem eum esse testare.

R. 7. Ecce concipies et paries filium. Et vocabitur nomen eius Iesus. (Lk 1:31)

V. Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur. Et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius. (Lk 1:32)
Et vocabitur.

Gospel according to Matthew 1: 20-23

But at that time, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream and said, ‘Joseph, son of David, do not be afraid to take Mary as your wife, for the child conceived in her is from the Holy Spirit. She will bear a son, and you are to name him Jesus, for he will save his people for their sins.’ All this took place to fulfill what had been spoken by the Lord through the prophet:

‘Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel,’ which means, ‘God is with us.’

Homily from Origen (from diverse tracts)⁵⁶

Joseph willed not to traduce Mary; he desired not to defame her; but he willed to send her away privily. Privily he willed to send her away from him, as a righteous, a meek, and merciful man, righteously humbling himself in all things; he was cautious, and feared to join to himself her great sanctity.

Therefore he said, I will send her away, and remove her far from me and from my kindred. For greater is her dignity, supereminent her sanctity, nor is it suitable to mine. And while he was thus thinking, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a vision, saying, Why doubtest thou, Joseph, why these imprudent thoughts and unreasonable purposes? It is God who is conceived in her, and That which shall be born of her is of the Holy Ghost; for it is the Holy Ghost who hath co-operated to this nativity. This is he of whom the scripture fore-announces, Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and she shall bring forth a Son, he saith, and his name shall be called Jesus.

A Virgin bears, and thou, Joseph, when he is born, shalt call him Jesus, which signifies a Saviour. For he shall save his people from their sins. His name shall be called, he says, that which it was before, that which was named before all worlds. It is not thou who art to impose a name upon him, nor art thou to name him of thyself, but name and call him with a voice of exultation, Jesus, and so bear witness that he is the Saviour.

R. 7. And now, you will conceive in your womb and bear a son, and you will name him Jesus.

V. He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give to him the throne of his ancestor David. And will be called.

Ex tempore Iesum cepisse salvare ne consideres, sed esse antiquissimum salvatorem. Ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Duo etenim per hoc verbum preclara designantur: quod et Deus fuerit et Dominus prius ante incarnationem Christu, et quod populus eius ab eo salvandus iam tunc annunciabatur. Et ideo dictum est: ipse salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum,⁵⁰ ut vere Deus. Dei enim est virtutis a peccato salvare, vel peccata dimittere. Iuste ergo Filius Dei habens populum suum venit ut dictum est ipsum liberare a peccatis atque salvare: sive ex Iudeis, sive ex gentibus. De quo ipse per prophetam iam fuerat elocutus dicens, Dominus dixit ad me, Filius meus es tu: ego hodie genui te. Pete a me, et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam: et possessionem tuam terminos terre.⁵¹ Ipse salvabit populum suum a peccatis eorum, sanguine videlicet suo, cunctos redimens morte sua, de mortis eos liberans potestate. Ipse salvabit: hoc est, Salvator omnium hominum atque credentium erit. Hoc autem totum factum est. Quid totum? Hoc per Unigeniti descensionem, hoc de Domini incarnatione, hoc de angeli ad virginem destinatione, hoc de ipsius virginis desponsatione et castitate, hoc de huius sacratissimi Iesu nominis exaltatione, hoc enim totum factum est ad totius mundi salutem: hoc autem totum factum est, ut unum compleretur et unum consummaretur. Quid? Illud quod virgo genuit, quod virgo permansit, et intacta virgo perseveravit. Ecce, inquit, virgo in utero accipiet et pariet filium.⁵² Pariet filium ad denuo reparandum Adam, ad inobedientiam Eve per Marie obedientiam excludendam: ad erigendum iacentium genus quod per mulieris temerariam crudelitatem fuerat ante deiectum.

*R.8. Cum appropinquasset Iesus Hierosolimis, (Matt. 21:1) turbe autem que precedebant et que sequebantur clamabant dicentes, Osanna filio David, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini Rex Israel Osanna in excelsis. (Matt. 1:23)
V. O Domine, salvum me fac, O Domine, bene prosperare, benedictus qui venit in nomine*

Now then, do not consider Jesus as someone who has just begun to save, but actually as the most ancient Saviour. He himself makes his own people safe from their sins. For this reason two remarkable points may be made. Because God was the only⁵⁸ Lord before the Incarnation of Christ, and because at that time it was announced that his people would gain salvation from him. For this reason it is said: he makes his people saved from their sins, as if he were God. It is indeed one of God's virtues to save from sin, even more to absolve them. Therefore the Son of God, having his own people, comes, as it is said, not just to liberate but also to save from sin: both the Jews and the Gentiles. As a result it will have been said, according to the Prophets, 'The Lord says to me, "You are my son: today I give life unto you. Ask of me, and I will give to you and your people your inheritance, as well as your possession of the boundary of the earth."' He will himself save his people from their sins, with his own blood for all to see, redeeming everything through his death, and liberating them from death with his power. For he himself will save: here, according to the Only Begotten. For this is so, he will be the Saviour of all believing men. This was accomplished in its entirety by him. What do we mean by in its entirety? By the descent of the Only Begotten, the Incarnation of our Lord, the dispatch of the angels to the Virgin, the betrothal and chastity of the latter, the exaltation of this most sacred name Jesus: all this was accomplished for the complete Salvation of the world. Indeed, all of this was accomplished, in order that one thing should be fulfilled and consumed. What? That which the Virgin begot, that which the Virgin endured, and still the Virgin remains pure. 'Behold,' he says, 'the Virgin is with child and shall give birth to a son.' She will give birth to a son to atone for Adam, for the disobedience of Eve in contrast with the obedience of Mary; and for the rising up of a race, which is on its knees thanks to the thoughtless cruelty of women, will be strong in the face of dejection.

R.8. When they had come near Jerusalem, the crowds that went ahead of him and that followed were shouting, 'Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord the God of Israel! Hosanna in the highest heaven!'
V. Save us, we beseech you, O Lord! O Lord, we beseech you, give us success! Blessed is the one

*Domini. (Ps. 117:25-26)
Rex Israel.*

*Lectio ix*⁵³

Et vocabunt nomen eius Emmanuel: quod interpretatur nobiscum Deus.⁵⁴ Vocant nomen eius prius angeli psallentes in eius generatione atque gaudentes: sicut Deum omnium et regem pacis ad hominem venientem. Deinde apostoli: Unigeniti Dei dominationem atque virtutem omnibus gentibus predicantes. Adhuc et sancti martyres: contra ignes et gladios usque ad mortem resistentes. Deinde cuncti credentes: hoc ipsum nomen usque ad consummationem seculi memorantes atque laudantes. Et vocabunt nomen eius Emmanuel: quod interpretatur, nobiscum Deus.⁵⁵ Qui vocabunt, nisi iusti quorum vocabitur in terra nomen novum? Non sicut prius in figuris et in ymaginibus: sed facie ad faciem apparentem? Nobiscum Deus Abrahe patri credentium tribus horis temporis licet non per ipsam ineffabilem Deitatis sue substantiam, se potius per angelicam speciem a meridie visus est: nobis triginta tribus annis in terra apparuit, et cum hominibus conversari dignatus est. Iacob brevi tempore per angelum nichilominus apparuit colluctans cum eo: quique se ab eo superari permisit, ut hunc adventus sui testem merito benediceret atque Israel nominaret. Nobiscum Deus amplius magisque pro nobis magnificum certamen adimplens: et usque ad mortem accedens, ut morte sua mortem occideret, et benedictionem atque immortalitatem mundo corde populo condonaret. Qui fiducialiter dicitur, nobiscum Deus. Per evangelistarum et apostolorum predicationem, per sancti sui corporis sacramentum, per gloriose crucis signaculum, per gloriosi nominis sui exaltationem. Per ista ergo omnia, nobiscum Deus. Ipsi honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

R. 9. Hec autem scripta sunt ut credatis quia Iesus est Christus Filius Dei: et Ut credentes vitam habeatis in nomine eius. (Jn 20:31)

*V. Confitemini Domino et invoke nomen eius, annunciate inter gentes oper eius. (Ps. 104:1)
Ut credentes. Gloria. In nomine.*

Ps. Te Deum

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit celum et terram.

who comes in the name of the Lord.
The God of Israel.

Lectio IX⁵⁹

And his name shall be Emmanuel: which means God with us. They gave him his name in a previous generation, with angels singing psalms and rejoicing: in the same way as for the coming of the God of all and the king of peace to mankind. Then finally, to the Apostles. They preach the domination of the Only Begotten God and the virtue of all Gentiles. And still the holy martyrs: they resisted fire and the sword unto their very deaths. Lastly, all believers: right up to the end of time they will recall and praise this very Name. And they called him Emmanuel: which means God with us. Who will call him, unless the just on this earth call him by his new Name? In the same way it was not figurative and imagined; but it was obvious in reality. ‘God with us’ means fetching the tribe of believers of the father Abraham at the right time, not by his ineffable divine substance, but rather by the angelic species from a midday vision: for thirty years he appeared on earth to our tribe, and he was deemed worthy of conversing with men. For a brief time he nevertheless appeared to Jacob through an angel, and wrestled with him: he allowed himself to be overpowered by him, so that through his coming and witness he would rightly bless and call Israel. ‘God with us’ more magically fulfils a wonderful contest for us: and approaching unto death, so that he might perish through his own death, and pardon the people of the world with his heart through his benediction and immortality. For it is said with confidence, ‘God with us.’ Through the preaching of the Evangelists and the Apostles, through the sacrament of his sacred body, through the sign of the glorious cross, through the exaltation of his glorious Name. Through all these things therefore, God is with us. Through him be honour and glory world without end. Amen.

R.9. But these are written so that you may come to believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and that through believing you may have life in his name.

V. O give thanks to the Lord, call on his name, make known his deeds among the peoples. And that through believing. Glory be. In the name.

Ps. Thee, O God

V. Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord.

R. Who hath made heaven and earth.

Ad Laudes

Ant. Vocatum est nomen eius Iesus: quod vocatum est ab angelo priusquam in utero conciperetur, alleluia. (Lk. 2:21)
Ps. Dominus regnavit (92)

Ant. Laudate nomen Domini nostri Iesu Christi quoniam suavis est ipse: et in eternum misericordia eius, alleluia. (Ps. 99:4-5)
Ps. Iubilare Deo (99)

Ant. Benedicam te, Domine Iesu, in vita mea: et in nomine tuo levabo manus meas, alleluia. (Ps. 62:5)
Ps. Deus Deus meus (62 [with 66])

Ant. Iusti tulerunt spolia impiorum: et decantaverunt nomen tuum, Domine: et victricem manum tuam laudaverunt partier, Domine Deus noster, alleluia. (Wisd. 10:19)
Ps. Benedicite [Canticle]

Ant. Iuvenes et virgines, sense cum iunioribus laudent nomen Domini: quia exaltatum est nomen eius solius, alleluia. (Ps. 148:12-13)
Ps. Laudate Dominum (148[-150])

Capitulum (1 Corinth. i. [2.])
Omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini nostril Iesu Christi in omni loco ipsorum et nostro, gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre nostro et Domino Iesu Christo.

Hymnus

*Iesu, auctor clemencie:
Totius spes leticie,
Dulcoris fons et gratie,
Vere cordis delicie.*

*Iesu, decus angelicum:
In aure dulce canticum,
In ore mel mirificum,
In corde nectar celicum.*

At Lauds

Ant. His name was called Jesus: which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb, alleluya.
Ps. The Lord is king

Ant. O praise the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, for it is lovely: and his mercy endureth for ever, alleluia.
Ps. Make a joyful noise to the Lord

Ant. As long as I live, Lord Jesus, will I magnify thee in this manner: and lift up my hands in thy Name, alleluya.
Ps. O God, you are my God

Ant. Therefore the righteous spoiled the ungodly, and praised thy holy Name, O Lord: and magnified with one accord thine hand, that fought for them, alleluya.
Ps. Bless the Lord all you works of the Lord.

Ant. Young men and maidens, old men and children, praise the Name of the Lord: for his Name only is excellent, alleluya.
Ps. Praise the Lord

Chapter : 1 Corinth 1:2
Unto all that in every place call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, both their Lord and ours: Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ.

Hymn⁶¹

Jesu, thou source of pity blest,
Thou hope and gladness of the breast,
O stream of beauty, fount of grace,
Delight of every heart and place!

Jesu, the Beauty angels see,
The ears' ecstatic minstrelsy,
The nectar of the heavenly home,
The lips' delicious honey-comb.

*Iesu, flos matris virginis,
Favus mire dulcedinis,
Decus humani generis:
Da lucem veri luminis.*

*Iesu, sole serenior
Et balsamo suavior:
Omni dulcore dulcior,
Pre cunctis amabilior.*

*Iesu, summa benignitas:
Mira cordis iocunditas,
Incomprehensa bonitas:
Nos stringat tua charitas.*

*Rex virtutum, rex glorie:
Rex insignis victoriae,
Iesu, largitor gratie,
Honor celestis curie.*

*Te celi chorus predicat,
Et tuas laudes replicat:
Iesus orbem letificat,
Et nos Deo pacificat.*

*Gloria tibi, Domine,
Qui natus es de virgine.
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu
In sempiterna secula. Amen*

*V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum. (Ps. 112:2)
R. Ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum. (Ps. 112:2)*

*Ant. Ioseph fili David, noli timere accipere
Mariam coniugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum
est de Spiritu Sancto est: pariet autem filium et
vocabis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum
faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. (Matt.
1:20-21)*

Ps. Benedictus.

Oratio

Deus, qui gloriosissimum⁶⁰

Ad primam

Ant. Vocatum est. i. de laudibus.

*Cetera omnia sicut in die Natalis Domini ad
Primam dicuntur.*

Capitulum: (1 Timotheum i: 17)

Flower of Virgin Mother blest,
Jesu, true sweetness, purest, best,
Of man the honour and the head,
Thy light of lights upon us shed;

Than sun-ray more serenely calm,
More fragrant than the breath of balm,
Sweeter than sweetness' self can be,
And lovelier than all else to see.

Jesu, who highest bounty art,
And wondrous joyance of the heart,
Of goodness the infinity,
Constrain us with thy charity.

O King of virtues, King renowned,
With glory and with victory crowned,
Jesu, by whom all grace is given,
Thou honour of the courts of heaven!

Let choirs of angels sing thy Name
And echo all thy matchless fame;
Jesus on joyful earth hath smiled,
And us with God hath reconciled.

O Lord the Virgin-born, to thee
Eternal praise and glory be;
All glory, as is ever meet,
To Father and to Paraclete. Amen

V. Blessed be the Name of the Lord.
R. From this time forth for evermore.

Ant. Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take
unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is
conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost: and she shall
bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call his Name
Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

Ps. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel

Collect.

O God, who hast made the most glorious

Prime

Ant. His name was called [as Lauds, antiphon 1]

Everything else is to be said as on Christmas Day at
Prime.

Chapter 1 Timothy 1: 17

Regi seculorum immortalis invisibili soli Deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.

To the King of the ages, immortal, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Ad Tertiam

*Ant. Laudate. Ii de laudibus.
Ps. Legem pone (118, vv. 33-80)*

Capitulum. Omnibus qui invocant.

*R. Laudabo nomen Dei cum cantico. Alleluia, alleluia. (Ps. 68:31)
V. Et magnificabo eum in laude. (Ps. 68:31) Alleluia.
V. Benedic anima mea Domino (Ps. 102:1)*

Oratio ut supra.

Ad Sextam

*Ant. Benedicam. Iii. De Laudibus.
Ps. Defecit in salutare (118, vv. 81-128)*

*Capitulum: (Coloss. iii. [17.])
Omne quodcumque facitis in verbo aut in opera: omnia in nomine Domini nostril Iesu Christi facite, gratias agentes Deo et Patri per ipsum.*

*R. Benedic anima mea Domino. Alleluia, alleluia.
V. Et omnia que intra me sunt nomini sancto eius. Alleluia. (Ps. 102:1)
V. Non nobis Domine non nobis. (Ps. 113:9)*

Ad nonam

*Ant. Iuvenes. V de Laudibus
Ps Mirabilia testimonia (118, vv.129-76)*

*Capitulum. (2 Thessalonicen. iii. [6.])
Denunciamus autem vobis, fratres, in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi: ut subtrahatis vos ab omni frater ambulante inordinate, et non secundum traditionem quam acceperunt a nobis.*

*R. Non nobis Domine non nobis. Alleluia, alleluia.
V. Sed nomini tuo da gloriam. Alleluia.
V. Sit nomen Domini [Iesu]⁶³ benedictum. (Ps. 112:2)
R. Ex hoc.*

Oratio ut supra.

Terce

*Ant. O praise the Name [as Lauds, Antiphon 2].
Ps. Teach me, O Lord, the way of your statutes*

Chapter. Unto all that in every place.

*R. I will praise the name of God with a song. Alleluya, alleluya.
V. And I will magnify him with praise. Alleluya.
V. Praise the Lord, O my soul.⁶²*

Collect as above

Sext

*Ant. As long as I live. (Iii of Lauds).
Ps. My soul languishes for your salvation*

*Chapter: Colossians 3:17
And whatever you do, in word or deed, do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him.*

*R. Praise the Lord, O my soul: alleluya, alleluya.
V. And all that is within me praise his holy Name. Alleluya.
V. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us.*

None

*Ant. Young men and maidens. V of Lauds
Ps. Your decrees are wonderful*

*Chapter : 2 Thessalonians 3:6
Now we command you, beloved, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to keep away from believers who are living in idleness and not according to the tradition that they received from us.*

*R. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us. Alleluia, alleluya.
V. But unto thy Name give the praise. Alleluya.
V. Blessed be the Name of the Lord
R. From this time forth for evermore.*

Collect as above

Ad secundas vesperas

*Ant. Vocatum est. i. de Laudibus.
Psalmi qui ad primas Vesperas dicantur per totas octavas.*

Capitulum: Omnibus qui invocant

*R. Hec autem scripta sunt
ut supra nonum Responsorium.*

Hymnus: Exultet cor precordiis

*V. Omnis terra adoret.
Ant. Exurgens autem Ioseph a somno fecit sicut
preceperat ei angelus Domini: et accepit
coniugem suam et non cognoscebat eam donec
peperit filium suum primogenitum: et vocavit
nomen eius Iesum, alleluia.⁶⁴ Ut supra.
Ps. Magnificat.*

*Oratio: Deus, qui gloriosissimum.
Ut supra.*

**Secunda Die Infra Octavas Iesu:
De Constitutione Nominis Iesu**

Ad Matutinas

Lectio i

*Quem non libet de consolationis plenitudine sacri
nominis Iesu diutius contemplando immorari?
Videamus igitur de incomprehensibili huius
sacratissimi nominis institutione, quibus nempe
litteris integratur: et fortassis non videbitur
inutile, nec deerit devotis venerabile
sacramentum. Duabus ex syllabis Iesus conficitur:
paucis tamen litteris syllabe constituuntur. Sed
quid in hac litterarum serie, charissime, queris?
Audi. Si enim, ut ait Salvator, omnes capilli vestri
numerati sunt⁶⁶ quos nature ascribitis,
quantomagis littere sub numero pauco, in quarum
adunatione tanta copia plenitudinis sapientie et
scientie Dei celi et terre et omnium que in eis
sunt, non inutilis consideratio putetur? Gloriam
prebuit viro in capillis, arbore in foliis, nec est in
oblivione eorum: quantomagis gloriam non dabit
nomini suo in sacri nominis Iesus litteris? In his
duabus syllabis latet totum quod querimus: quod
adhuc nescimus quid est, usque Iesus fiat omnia in
omnibus. Opera enim Dei perfecta sunt, nec unum
iota aut unus apex preteribit donec omnia fiant:
quia omnia numero, pondere, et mensura fecit et
statuit.*

Vespers II

Ant. His name was called. (I of Lauds).
Psalms from First Vespers are said throughout the
Octave

Chapter: Unto all that in every place

R. But these are written that ye might believe
[As the ninth respond at Matins, above]

Hymn: O let the heart beat high with bliss.

V. All the earth adores thee.
Ant. Then Joseph, being raised from slumber, did as
the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto
him his wife: and knew her not until she had
brought forth her firstborn Son; and he called his
Name Jesus, alleluya.
Ps: My soul proclaims the greatness of the Lord⁶⁵

Collect: O God, who hast made the most glorious
name

**Second Day within the Octave of the Holy Name:
Of the Constitution of the Name of Jesus**

Matins

Lectio I⁷⁵

Who is not pleased to dwell upon and lengthen out
the contemplation of the sacred name of Jesus?
Thereby deriving for himself the fullness of
consolation. Let us look, therefore, unto the
formation of this most incomprehensible and most
sacred name – namely, into the letters of which it is
composed – and perchance it will not be useless to
thee; nor shall the devout forego a venerable
mystery. The name Jesus is composed of two
syllables, and few are the letters contained in those
syllables. Dost thou ask, beloved brother, What is
contained in this series of letters? Listen. If, as the
Saviour saith, all the hairs of your head, which ye
ascribe unto nature, are numbered, how much less
should the consideration of these letters, though few
in number, in which, when united, is to be found
such abundant fullness of the wisdom and
knowledge of the God of heaven and earth and of
all things therein, be accounted vain! He gave to
man glory in the hair of his head; to a tree in its
leaves. Neither is forgotten. How much less will he
fail to give glory to his own name in the letters of
the sacred name of Jesus? In these two syllables lie
hidden all that we seek for, which as yet we know

Lectio ii

Huius ergo nominis integratio, cum operis est Dei, unum iota non erit inane. Quare hec omnia dico? Quia littere Hebreorum omnes pene interpretabiles sunt, Grece aut Latine non sic, neque barbarorum littere. Sicut nempe divinitatis maiestas immensa dignatur sub exigua carnis massa latere: ita et inundans sue bonitas dulcedinis paucis sub litteris signari ad nostrum gaudium, meritum, et premium. Sacrum, fratres, audite misterium. Nostris mentis auribus resonet hoc nomen Iesus benedictum, quod apud Hebreos tribus litteris comprehenditur cum titulo, principium vite, exemplum conclusionem et principium est conclusio. Iste principium in die virtutis Dei, in splendoribus sanctorum: ante luciferum genitus⁶⁷. Iste verbum in principio apud Deum.⁶⁸ Iste principium in quo creavit Deus celum, et terram, et omnia que in eis sunt.⁶⁹ Iste est qui interrogantibus Iudeis quis esset, dixit, Principium qui et loquor vobis. Iste est conclusio et finis apud eos in quos fines seculorum deveniunt:⁷⁰ cum verbum Dei principium sit, caro finis hominum factum. Iste caput et finis, qui omnia morte conclusit, cum dixerat, Consummatum est.⁷¹ Bene hinc ait Zacharias propheta, In diebus illis: erit Dominus unus, et nomen eius verum.⁷²

Lectio iii

Liquet ex dictis salvatorem esse Iesum primum et novissimum: primum in creatione, novissimum in redemptione. Primum in beneficiendo: novissimum in retribuendo. Et hoc quid est, nisi ut veritas vocis signati certitudinem indicet? Si Iacob post luctaminis nexus hoc solemne nomen Israel meruit sibi imponi, tribus confectum ex syllabis, vir videns Deum interpretantibus, sub figurato velamine Christum Iesum futurum significantibus: multo magis duabus in Christi Iesu nomine signatur mysticum leticie sacramentum. Admiremur eum cuius sapientie non est numerus, cuius magnitudinis non est finis,

not what it is, until Jesus be all in all. For the works of God are perfect; not one jot or one tittle will pass away until all be fulfilled, because he does all by number, weight, and measure.

Lectio II⁷⁶

Therefore this name, which is in its unity the work of God, shall not have in its parts, one jot in vain. Wherefore do I say all this? Because, among the hebrew letters, almost every one may be interpreted. It is not so with the greek or latin, or with the barbarian letters. As, namely, the immense Majesty of the Divinity vouchsafed to lie hidden under a small mass of flesh; so also his overflowing sweetness of goodness was to be pointed out by a few small letters, for our joy, our merit, our reward. Listen, brethren, to the sacred mystery. Let this blessed name of Jesus resound in our minds and in our ears. It is comprehended under three hebrew letters, with the title, the beginning of life, an example in the conclusion, and the beginning is the ending. This beginning, begotten before the morning star in the day of his power, in the brightness of the saints; this Word was in the beginning with God; this beginning, in which God created the heaven and the earth, and all things which are therein. This is he who, when questioned by the Jews who he was, replied, I am he who spake unto you from the beginning. This is he who is the end and the conclusion to those upon whom the ends of the ages are come. Since the Word of God was the beginning; the end was to be flesh, when the Word was made flesh. This is the head and the completion, who hath concluded all by death, when he had said, It is finished. Well does the prophet zechariah say, In those days there shall be one Lord, and his name one.

Lectio III⁷⁷

It is clear from what has been said that Jesus is the first and the most recent Saviour: the first in creation, the most recent in redemption. The first to confer benefit; the most recent to offer reward. For what is this, if not that truth should indicate certainty through the sign of a word? If Jacob after the struggle from wrestling deserves to have imposed upon him this solemn name Israel, made up of three syllables, meaning a man who sees God, and signifying under a figurative veil the future Jesus Christ; the mystical sacrament of joy is signified all the more in the two [syllables] of Christ Jesus' name. Let us admire him, whose

*ut soli polique unam faceret rempublicam, duabus syllabis paucisque connexis litteris voluit innotesci: ex voluntate ac potestate dignante sua bonitate.*⁷³

Quare

Iesum si bene scis,

Satis est si cetera nescis.

Nam hoc est nescire,

sine Christo plurima scire.

*Apostolum audi; Nichil me Iudicavi scire inter vos: nisi Iesum Christum et hunc crucifixum.*⁷⁴

Tertia Die. De Sanctificatione Nominis Iesu

Lectio i.

Nostra rursum replicat gaudia ista festivitas sancta: ut culus animus minus refocillabatur in beati nominis Iesu integratione, iam adipe et pinguedine sanctificationis eiusdem repleatur anima eius, et labiis exultationis laudet nomen Domini sanctum. Ipsa namque felix nominis interpretatio sic nos in eo sanctificat, ut dignissima laude super omnia sanctificetur in nobis. Iesus vere salus interpretatur. Et merito: quia Domini est salus, et super populum suum benedictio eius.⁷⁸ Cuius eius? Eius dico, qui operatus est salute in medio terre, qui extendit invitantes manus suas ad retribuendum: ut venientes cum exultatione portantes manipulos iusticie ab oriente et occidente recumberent cum Abraham, Isaac, et Iacob in regno Patris.⁷⁹ Nam quantum distat ortus ab occidente: longe fecit a nobis iniquitates nostras misertus nostris.

Tu autem [Domine miserere nostri].

Lectio ii

Iste est verbum quod misit Deus, et sanavit omnes de interitionibus suis. Sic nobis est salus, ut suo actu beato pariter sit nostri terminus doloris, et per deitatem in gloria terminus felicitates eterne. Caveamus igitur, charissimi, ne sibi degeneres simus. Nempe sicut per bonos glorificatur, ita et per malos ad eius opprobrium et contemptum blasphematur iustus Deus Iesus noster. Sanctificemus illum in nobis, ut et ille nos

wisdom is not measurable, whose greatness has no limit, so that he might make one republic from earth and heaven: and wish to become known from two syllables and a few connected letters: out of his will and power, dignity and goodness.

Wherefore

If you know Jesus well,

It is enough even if you are ignorant of the other things.

For not to know is this: to know many things without Christ. Listen to the Apostle: I judged that I know nothing among you: apart from Jesus Christ and him crucified.

Third Day, of the Sanctification of the Name of Jesus

Lectio I⁸²

Again are our joys renewed in the returning festivities of this sacred day: this holy Feast redoubles our joys, that those whose minds have not been sufficiently refreshed in the undivided name of the blessed Jesus, may now replenish their minds with the sweetness and the richness thereof. And let them with exulting lips magnify that holy name of the Lord. For the blessed meaning of that Name so sanctifies us in him, that it is not worthy that it should be praised and sanctified by us above all things. For Jesus is interpreted Salvation. And rightly. For Salvation is of the Lord, and his blessing is on his people.

Of whom are we talking? Of him, I say, who works by Salvation in the midst of the earth, who extends his inviting hands for the aim of recompense: so that coming in exultation and carrying the maniples of Justice from East and West they sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of the Father. For as far as the sunrise is from its setting, such is the gap he made in our inequality to one another in our pity.

But thou Lord, have mercy on us.

Lectio II

This is the Word which God sent, and healed all from their diseases. He is in such wise our Salvation, that by his blessed act he is at once the end of our griefs, and by his godhead in glory the term of eternal felicity. Let us take heed, then, beloved brethren, that we be not degenerate. For as, through the righteous, the holy Jesus our God is glorified, so through the ungodly is he blasphemed to his reproach. Let us sanctify him in us, that he

sanctificet in se. Qui non sanctificat Iesum non sanctificabitur ab eo. Sanctificamus Iesum in nobis, quando scientes eum sanctum timemus eum: et sollicito vigilamus ne forte violemus sanctitatem nominis eius per opera mala. Sicut qui veste fulgida vestitur fugit sordes ne coinquinet eam: sic qui in corde suscipit Iesum, sollicitus esse debet ne contamine eum. Lucis profecto ad tenebras non est conventio: nec Iesu Christi ad belial. Scias ergo si contaminatus fuerit in nobis, ille qui sui in natura incontaminabilis est, iniuriam istam nostro vindicabit interitu.

Lectio iii

Spirat opera salutis et exercet. Iesus interpretatur salutaris: nec sine merito. Clamemus proinde singuli, Convertite nos Deus salutaris noster, et averte iram tuam a nobis.⁸⁰ Si vero sanguis hircorum aut taurorum, et cinis vitule aspersus inquinatos sanctificabat ad emundationem carnis peccatricis, quantomagis sanguis Christi quem pro nobis effudit abunde, qui et per Spiritum Sanctum semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo Patri, emundabit sanctificabitque conscientiam nostrum ad serviendum Deo viventi, ut digne famulemur ei, et repromissionem accipiant qui vocati sunt hereditatis eterne. Non enim sonat sanctus nisi sanguine tinctus. Sanguine Iesu tingeris, ut salutaris sit tibi Iesus. Oremus igitur, fratres, assidue ad Iesum ut suam nobis infundat gratiam: per quam perveniamus ad interminabilem felicitatem, que salutaris appellatur. Dicamus ergo, Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam: et salutare tuum da nobis.⁸¹

Quinta Die. De Descriptione Nominis Iesu

Lectio i

Gaudia festi contemplantes beatissimi nominis Iesu descriptionem perscrutemur. Ad nostrum doctrinam mentisque consolationem advertendum esse arbitror non ociosum quod sub legis figura preterite factum est, quod nobiscum gratiose agitur in re, que in eternum est permansura. Legimus utique apud Hebreos tetragrammaton reverentie et honoris nomen Dei fuisse dignissimum, summi pontificis fronti supereminens, atque lamina aurea sculptum. Hoc

also may sanctify us in himself. He who sanctifies not Jesus, shall not be sanctified by him. We sanctify Jesus in ourselves, when knowing him to be holy, we fear him and anxiously watch, lest we violate the sanctity of his name by evil works. As he who is dressed in a shiny bright garment avoids dirt so as not to soil it; likewise he who receives Jesus in his heart, seeking to be attentive ought not to be contaminated. Light's covenant is not with darkness; nor is Jesus Christ's covenant with the devil. Therefore be aware that if there is defilement in us, he, who is by his own very nature undefileable, will overcome this injury by our destruction.

Lectio III

He breathes and puts in act works of Salvation. Jesus is interpreted Salvation, nor undeservedly. Let each one of us then cry out, Turn us, O God of our Salvation, and cause thine anger to cease from us. And, verily, if the blood of bulls and of goats and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkled, sanctified the defiled to the cleansing of the sinful flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, which he poured out abundantly for us, who also, by the Holy Spirit, offered himself unspotted to God the Father, purge and sanctify our consciences to serve the living God, that we may be worthy to serve him, and may obtain the promise made to those who are called to an eternal inheritance? Indeed there is no sound of holiness unless there is soaking by his blood. You will be soaked in the blood of Jesus, so that Jesus may be Salvation-giving to you. Therefore let us pray continuously, brothers, to Jesus, that he may pour out his grace upon us: through which we may attain infinite felicity, which is called salvation. Therefore we say, 'Show us, Lord, your mercy: and grant us your salvation.'

Fifth Day, of the Description of the Name of Jesus

Lectio I⁹¹

Contemplating the joys of this festival let us look deeply into the description of the most blessed name of Jesus. I judge it not superfluous, both for our consolation and instruction, to observe what was done under the figure of the past law, and what is graciously done with us in substance, which shall abide for ever. For we read that among the hebrews, the four-lettered name of God was held worthy of highest reverence and honour, standing

litteris quatuor Hebraicis scriptum sancti precinuerunt patres magni esse mysterii. Tetragrammaton namque nostra in lingua sonat: iste est principium vite. Nec profecto hoc aliud nomen venerabile Iesus quam principium vite, hoc est Salvatorem esse Christum Iesum designare perhibetur. Signatur ergo in re sub Iesus nomine, quod in figura prefuit sub altero. O nomen cunctis admirabile: terribile peccatoribus, et preamabile iustis. Nec hoc latuit in somno Iacob: qui cum scalam vidisset terram celosque tangentem ait, O quam terribilis est locus iste.⁸³ Sacrum mysterium innuens, ut malis fieret terribilis, quos spiritu oris sui interficeret, qui bonis venerat ut angelus consilii: et fieret pater futuri seculi Christus Iesus, qui inibi natus est ubi scalam viderat Iacob. Iesus igitur est scala celi: quia Iesu scanditur celum. Signetur in fronte mentis devote, que anima Iusti merito nuncupatur. Tu autem [Domine miserere nostri].

Lectio ii

Gaude igitur gaudio magno, scutifer Iesu Christi, qui dum gurgite sancto immergeris, sacro inungeris chrismate, atque alta fronte crucis signo insignitus fueris, totus in te describitur Iesus: impressus anime character indelebilis Iesu nomen gratiose portat. Hinc in Apocalipsi scriptum est, Videbunt faciem eius: et nomen eius scriptum in frontibus suis.⁸⁴ Quod laminam auri typice gestabat in fronte pontifex, iam eternaliter Iustus quisque sub nomine gerit in anima. [O gens sancta, genus electum, regale sacerdotium, populus acquisitionis: vobis credentibus honor et virtus, ut virtutes eius Iesu annuncietis de die in diem, donec auferatur luna: quia de tenebris vos vocavit in admirabile lumen nominis sui et glorie.]⁸⁵ Gaudete, iterum dico, et exultate, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in celis: per Iesum Christum, qui est primogenitus mortuorum, et predestinatus Filius Dei in virtute. Ideo primitus ut decuit nomen eius inscriptum dixerat: sicut per prophetam ait, [In capite libri scriptum est de me: ut facerem voluntatem tuam.]⁸⁶

out on the forehead of the high priest, and engraven on a golden plate. This name, written in four Hebrew letters, the holy fathers have declared to be a great mystery. For the four-lettered name, in our language, means, This is the beginning of life. Nor does this other venerable name, Jesus, designate other than the beginning of life, i.e., that Christ Jesus is Saviour.

Rightly then is that designated under the name of Jesus, which was promised in figure in that other name. O name, wonderful to all, terrible to sinners, exceeding lovely to the just! This was not unknown in the dream of Jacob, who, when he saw the ladder touching heaven and earth, said, How terrible is this place! He hinted at that sacred mystery, that he should be terrible to the evil, whom he should slay with the breath of his mouth, who to the good, had come as the angel of good counsel; that Christ Jesus who was born there, where Jacob saw the ladder, might be the father of the world to come. Jesus then is the ladder of heaven, for Jesus leadeth to heaven. Let him be marked on the front of the devout mind, as the soul of the righteous is rightly called. And thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lectio II⁹²

Rejoice then with great joy, thou shield-bearer of Jesus, who, when you were immersed in the sacred stream anointed with holy oil and marked on the forehead with the sign of the cross, the whole Jesus is marked upon you. An ineffaceable character is impressed upon the soul: it brings with it in grace the name of Jesus. Hence it is written in the apocalypse, They shall see his face and his name is written on their foreheads. What the high priest bare typically on the plate of gold on his forehead, that now each righteous bears under that name eternally in his soul. O holy nation, chosen generation, royal priesthood, peculiar people; to you who believe, honour and power, that ye may show forth the power of Jesus from day to day, while the moon endureth, because he called us out of darkness to the marvellous light of this name and glory.

Rejoice, I say again, and be exultant, because your names are written in heaven: through Jesus Christ, who is the first-born of the dead, and predestined to be the Son of God by his virtue. Therefore at the beginning, as was fitting, he had said that his name was inscribed: likewise, he said through the prophet 'At the head of the book it is written about me: that I would do your will.'

Lectio iii.

Non absque prophético presagio reor id esse actum ab iniquo Pylato: sicut nec quod Cayphas pontifex prophetavit nescienter dicens, Melius est ut unus moriatur pro populo quam ut tota gens pereat. Denique insultantibus Iudeis Pylatus ait, [Quod scripsi, scripsi,]⁸⁷ quando pro titulo triumphali erexit, [Iesus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum.]⁸⁸ Hoc tribus linguis scriptum est⁸⁹, Hebraica, Greca, et Latina: ut Christi fides toto orbe terrarum annuntiaretur ad salutem. Nomen Iesu ad contumeliam erexit Hierusalem in terris: ut inveniretur ad gloriam in Hierusalem, cuius participatio est in idipsum in celis. Unde Iohannes in Apocalipsi vidit sanctam civitatem Hierusalem, habentem claritatem Dei. [Vidit in fundamentis duodecim portarum lapide precioso ornatarum, nomina apostolorum et Agni Iesu Christi splendide descripta:]⁹⁰ ubi et templum erat Deus, et Agnus ille Christus Iesus omni maiestatis gloria plenum. Ad hoc, charissimi, festinemus nos ingredi: ut sicut vendicat in nobis esse et bonum, ita et nos maneamus in illo. Tu.

Sexta Die, De Pronunciatione Nominis Iesu

Lectio i

Avida mens hominum dum scire semper appetit, cogimur inferre quomodo amenissimum nomen pronunciatum est. Prophetam audi: [Revelabitur Filius meus Iesus: cum his qui cum eo Iocundabuntur. Et sequitur; Post paucos annos morietur Filius meus Iesus: et convertetur seculum.]⁹⁴ Satis namque ex affectu manifesta patet hulus divini oraculi pronuntiata veritas. Quid manifestius apertiusve illo prophético vaticinio? [In Deo gaudebo: et exultabo in Deo Iesu meo.]⁹⁵ Quem nascendum corporis non viderat oculo, longe novit ex nomine pariter et re. Nam divinus ille Esayas dicit, [Ex utero matris mee vocavit me nomine meo:]⁹⁶ meo utique non alieno: quia Iesus secundum carnem Salvator appellatus est, qui ab eterno Salvator erat secundum divinitatem. A seculo non est ignotum sacrosanctum nomen Iesu: cum a tot tantisque viris fidei testimonio dignis prophétice ac mirifice penunciatum est.

Lectio III⁹³

I do not consider that it was done by the unjust Pilate, without a prophetic foretelling: nor by Caiaphas the high priest when in his ignorance he prophesied, saying, It is better that one man dies on behalf of the people than a whole tribe perish. Finally, Pilate had said to the mocking Jews, ‘What I have written, I have written,’ when for the sake of a triumphal title he raised up, ‘Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews’. This is written in three languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin: so that those faithful to Christ would be proclaimed for Salvation all over the earth. The name of Jesus raised up Jerusalem on earth towards indignity: so that it would be discovered for glory in Jerusalem, whose participation is in itself in heaven. Wherefore John in the Apocalypse saw Jerusalem as the holy city, which holds the clarity of God. He saw at the beginning twelve gates decorated with precious stone, with the names of the Apostles and of the Lamb Jesus Christ splendidly described: for where there was a temple there was God, and the Lamb the very Jesus Christ full of majesty in all glory. Therefore, dear friends, let us hasten our steps to enter this place: when he claims there to be goodness in us, then may we abide in it. [For you ...]

Sixth Day, Of the Pronunciation of the Name of Jesus

Lectio I¹⁰¹

The mind of man, always eager for Jesus, desires to know more: we must needs ask how that most pleasant name of Jesus was fore-announced. Hear the prophet. My Son Jesus shall be revealed with those who rejoice in him. And after a few years my Son Jesus shall die, and the world shall be converted. The truth, fore-announced in this divine oracle, is sufficiently plain to our apprehension. What more manifest, or more open, than the words of another prophet, I will rejoice in God; I will joy in Jesus, my God. Him, who was hereafter to be born, and whom he had not seen with the bodily eye, he knew from afar, both in name and in truth. And that divine esaias saith, From my mother’s womb hath he called me by my name; by mine, he says, not by another. For the Saviour was called Jesus, according to the flesh, who, according to the godhead, was Saviour from eternity. From the beginning hath that most holy name of Jesus not been unknown, since it hath been marvellously fore-announced in prophecy by so many and such

Lectio ii

Quamquam vero in veteri Testamento nonnulli appellati sunt nomine Iesus, ut Iesus Nave, qui Iosue dicebatur: Iesus Syrac, et Iesus filius Iosedech: eorum tamen nullus futurus erat, qui salvum faceret populum suum a peccatis eorum. Plures fateor in lege prenominati fuere antequam nati: Ismel, Ysaac, Sanson, Iosias, Cyrus, Agag, Hieremias, atque Iohannes Baptista, sed omnes Iesum Christum designare censentur. Alios vero ex lege salvatores novimus, Moysen, Cyrum, et Ioseph: nec eorum aliquis, qualis iste ad quem genu flectimus Iesus, nomine et re prefigurabat. Sunt et isti salvatores, nam quisquis eorum magne salutis fuit promotor, aut populi removit dedecus, aut ab ingruenti clade liberavit patriam: singuli tamen sub umbra degentes, in spe adventus Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Namque Iesus Christus heri et hodie. Recte ergo et Iuste impositum est sibi nomen, quod est laudabile ab ortu solis usque ad occasum. Si enim hominum concentus, si angelorum Iubilus canor mentes allicit, Iubilantes animos efficit ut se vix capere possint: non minus profecto hoc verbum Iesus, quod prenunciari mandavit in mille generationes. Nobis speculantibus que non licet homini loqui, sit Iesus verbum semper manens in ore et opere, qui semper est verbum Dei manans ex corde. Noster Iesus est Verbum Dei: quia Verbum Dei caro factum habitavit in nobis.⁹⁷

Lectio iii

Triplici nomine devote insignitum et prenucciatum Salvatorem nostrum ex Evangelio didicimus. Primo Filius Dei appellatur: secundo Christus, tertio Iesus. Vocatur etenim Filius Dei: inquantum est de Deo Deus. Christus: quia homo a persona divina quantum ad humanam naturam assumptus. Iesus: ut Deus humanitati conIunctus. Fratres igitur charissimi, qui in pulvere estis, expergiscimini et laudate. [Ecce Dominus venit cum salute: venit cum unguento, venit cum gloria. Neque enim sine salute venit Iesus, neque Christus sine unctione, neque sine gloria venit Filius Dei.

great men, worthy to bear witness to the faith.

Lectio II¹⁰²

For although, under the Old Testament, some were called by the name of Jesus – as, Jesus, the son of Nun, called also Joshua, and Jesus, the son of Sirach, and Jesus the son of Josedech; yet among them there was not one who should save his people from their sins.

I acknowledge that in the law many more were named before they were born: Ismel, Isaac, Samson, Josiah, Cyrus, Agag, Jeremiah, and also John the Baptist, but all are considered to point to Jesus Christ. To be sure, we know from the law the other saviours, Moses, Cyrus, and Joseph: nor was any of them foreshadowing in name or deed such a man as Jesus, that to him we would go down on our knees. Indeed these are saviours, for whoever among them was a promotor of great Salvation, either removes the disgrace of the people, or liberates the fatherland from a threatening and advancing calamity: yet every one lives on under the shadow, in the hope of the coming our Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore Jesus Christ is today and yesterday. The Name is rightly and justly imposed upon him, because it is worthy of praise, from the rising of the sun until the setting of the same. If for instance choir of men, if the joyful melody of angels entices the minds, it brings about rejoicing souls so that they are barely able to take hold of themselves: no less surely is this word Jesus, which he commanded us to pronounce over a thousand generations. It is not for us to speculate to which man it is to be uttered, that the word Jesus may remain for ever in speech and in action, which is always the word of God flowing from the heart. Our Jesus is the Word of God: because the Word of God was made flesh and dwelt among us.

Lectio III¹⁰³

We have learnt from the gospel that our Saviour was devoutly signified and fore-announced under a three-fold name. First, he was called the Son of God; secondly, Christ; thirdly, Jesus. He is called the Son of God, inasmuch as he is God of God; Christ, because he is man, as regards the human nature taken by the Divine Person; Jesus, as being God united to the humanity. Therefore, dearest brethren, ye who are in the dust, arise, and give praise. Behold, the Lord cometh with salvation; he cometh with anointing; he cometh with glory. For Jesus cometh not without salvation, nor Christ

Ipse equidem salus: ipse unctio: ipse gloria.]⁹⁸

[Deum et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum his modis cognoscimus: nomine, natura, nativitate, potestate, et professione.]⁹⁹ Hunc Iesum Salvatorem sancti predixerunt prophete: de eo testatur Pater, de se ipse profitetur. [Apostoli predicant, religiosi credunt: demones confitentur, Iudei negant, gentiles in passione cognoscunt.]¹⁰⁰ Obmutescat ergo omnis impietas, que Filium Dei Iesum Christum esse negat aut dubitat. Discedat impia gens Iudaica, que Dei Filium Christum Iesum incarnatum spernit et denegat. Accedas, O anima Christiana. Confiteamur nomini sancto Domini: et gloriemur in laude Iesu. Cui est honor et gloria: per infinita seculorum secula. Amen. Tu autem. [Domine miserere nostri].

Dominica Infra Octavas Iesu

Lectio i

Non latet vos, dilectissimi Deo et hominibus, quomodo novissimis diebus istis Deus suam multiplicavit misericordiam, ut nobiscum gratiose magnificaret leticiam: qui non solum advenit Dominator Dominus, sed qualis quantusve fuerat ostendit, cum pie et mansuete manifestavit suum nomen coram hominibus. Crediderunt patriarche de Christi futura incarnatione, certificati fuere patres: quibus profecto hoc de quo agimus devotum nomen manifeste non est revelatum. Iacob Christum incarnandum predixit. [Non auferetur, inquit, sceptrum de Iuda, et dux de femore eius: donec veniat qui mittendus est.]¹⁰⁴

Lectio ii

Hoc mirabile mysterium, sed mirabilior Dei bonitas: ut gloriosius nomen Iesu venerandum a nobis sua mediante passione exaltaretur, quod prius fuerat absconditum vocabulum istud Iesu dulce et gloriosum, omni adoratu cultuque dignissimum, [nomen super omne nomen:]¹⁰⁵ non decuit ab hominibus appellari, neque ab eis afferri in mundum, sed ab excellentiori maiorque natura angelica. Gabriel ergo ad Mariam ait, [Ecce concipies in utero et paries filium: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum.]¹⁰⁶ [Hoc neme nomen novum: quod os Domini, non hominis nominavit.]¹⁰⁷

without anointing, nor without glory, comes the Son of God; and truly he himself is salvation, he himself is anointing, he himself is glory. We know our Lord and God Jesus Christ in these ways: in his name, by his nature, by his birth, by his power, by his declaration. The holy prophets predicted this Jesus as a Saviour; the Father bore witness to him; himself testified of himself; apostles preach; the faithful believe; devils own. The Jews deny; the gentiles know him in his passion. Let all impiety henceforth be silent, which denieth or doubteth that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. Let the impious race of Jews depart, who deny and despise Christ, the Son of God, incarnate. Draw near, O Christian soul. Let us confess the sacred name of the Lord, and glory in the praise of Jesus; to whom be glory and honour through infinite ages of ages. Amen.

Sunday in the Octave of Jesus¹¹²

Lectio I

You are not ignorant,¹¹³ brethren, beloved of God and man, how in these last days God has graciously multiplied his mercy, that with us he might magnify the joy; since not only our Lord and Ruler came, but hath shewn his character and his greatness, since he has lovingly and meekly manifested his name before men. The patriarchs believed; the fathers were certified as to the future incarnation of Christ, yet this devout name was not plainly revealed to them. Jacob foretold the incarnation of Christ; the sceptre, he says, shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till he shall come who shall be sent.

Lectio II

This is a wonderful mystery; but more wonderful is the goodness of God, that the glorious name of Jesus should, by means of his passion, be exalted to be venerated by us, which had till now been hidden. That word, Jesus, is sweet and glorious, and most worthy of all adoration and worship. This name is above every name; this name which it was not fitting that man should call, or that it should be brought into the world by him, but rather by a more excellent, higher, angelic nature. Gabriel then said to Mary, Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and shalt bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus. This is that new name which the mouth of the Lord, and not of man, hath named.

Lectio iii

Quamquam enim legifer Deo acceptatissimus Moyses divina oracula acceperat, et ut amicus ad amicum locutus est ei Deus: hoc tamen venerabile nomen non vidit aperte. Petenti videre faciem eius ait, [Non potes videre faciem meam et vivere: sed posteriora mea videbis.]¹⁰⁸ Populus Israel Moysae signatus incarnationem, circumcisionem, passionem, et ascensionem, que Dei posteriora appellantur, re et nomine vidit: quem ille in rubo, in anterioribus invisibilis Dei maiestatis non potuit cernere vivens.

Lectio iiiii

Noluit eius nomen nosci ad salutis plenitudinem de celis, usque dum nasceretur plenitudine temporis et nominaretur in terris. In facie nominator, Deus [ego sum:]¹⁰⁹ in posterioribus Iesus appellatur. Primum nomen ignoti Dei et timoris. Iesus nomen ab omnibus pregestatum est et amoris. Iesus amor indicibilis, amor delectabilis: amor inextinguibilis.¹¹⁰ Iesus peccati abluit maculam ne culpa coinquinet: mentem Iustificat, ne reatus ad pœnam obliget, ad gloriam sanctificat. Unde apostolus ait, [Abluti estis, sanctificati estis, Iustificati estis: in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi.]¹¹¹ Hoc ergo nomen Domini quicumque invocaverit, salvus erit. Tu autem [Domine miserere nostri].

Lectio v

Veneremur igitur hoc devotissimum nomen: et omnia quecumque facimus in verbo aut opere, ut suadet apostolus, in nomine Iesu faciamus. Quippe bene erit omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate, et voluntatem timentium se faciet, et deprecationem eorum exaudiet Iesus. Iesum beatus Ignacius sue passionis in agone invocavit: et bene sibi erat. Bestias ferocissimas, ardentissimos ignes, ac cetera genera tormentorum superavit. Gloriosum memoriale ultra humanam estimationem corde suo inscriptum suscepit de manu Domini Iesu sempiternum. Namque corde particulatim scisso, litteris aureis inscriptus invenitur Iesus: culus ob mirabilem gratiam plures venerantur eum fideles. Tu autem.

Lectio III

Even when Moses, that lawgiver so accepted by God, had received the divine oracles, and God spake with him as friend to friend, still he saw not openly this venerable name. To him, asking to see the face of God, it was said, Thou canst not see my face and live, but my back parts thou shalt see. The children of Israel, signified by Moses, saw, in fact and in name, the incarnation, the circumcision, the passion, the ascension, which are called the back parts of God, whom, in the bush, in the fore parts of his invisible Majesty, he could not behold and live.

Lectio IV

He did not want his name to be known from heaven, for the fullness of salvation, until himself should be born in the fullness of time, and should be named on earth. In his face, God is called I am; in his back part, he is named Jesus. The first name is of the unknown God, and of fear; the second, the name of Jesus, tasted of all, and of love. Jesus, love unspeakable; Jesus, love delightful; Jesus, love inextinguishable. Jesus washes away the stain of sin, lest guilt should defile; he sanctifies the mind, lest guilt should bind to punishment; he justifies unto glory. Whence the apostle saith, Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the name of the Lord upon which whosoever shall call shall be saved. Thou, then.

Lectio V

Therefore let us venerate this most devout name; and whatsoever we do in word or deed (as the apostle exhorts,) let us do it in the name of the Lord Jesus; for it shall be well with all that call upon him in truth, and he will perform the desire of them that fear him, and Jesus will hear their prayers. The blessed ignacius, in the agony of his passion, called upon Jesus, and it was well with him. He overcame the most ferocious beasts, most burning fires, and every other species of torment; and he received from the hand of the Lord Jesus, a glorious and everlasting memorial, inscribed on his heart, beyond human estimation. For when his heart was opened, the name of Jesus was found, inscribed in letters of gold; for which marvellous grace many faithful reverence him.

Lectio vi

Dionysius Atheniensis huius virtute nominis cecum illuminavit. Evangeliste Iohanni venenum non nocuit: Dyane in nomine Iesu templum delectit. Aristodimus intoxicatos mortuos suscitavit. Claudum sedentem in porta Petrus et Iohannes erexerunt. Enee paralytico Petrus gressum restauravit: ac Thabitam viduam mortuam vite pristinae reduxit vivam. Merito ergo colendum et venerandum est tam efficax nomen: ad cuius virtutem gratiam et consolationem tot tantaque consistunt miracula. Tu autem.

In Octava Iesu

Lectio i

*Confitentibus hoc salutiferum nomen Iesu coram hominibus, copiosa merces repromittitur in celis. Veneremur igitur invocando, invocemus confitendo, et confiteamur nomini sancto eius quoniam bonum est. Quoniam qui confitetur, confitebitur a Domino Iesu Christe coram Deo Patre et angelis: non in terra sed in celis. O vere beata confessio hominis: sed felicissima Iesu Filii virginis. Illa confessio morientis et merentis in via: ista in eternum viventis atque premiantis in patria. Illa laudis: ista retributionis. Illa in peregrinatione: ista in quiete. *Corde simul et voce Iesum venerare et opere ne detractes: quia qui ore et opere Iesum negat, fidem negat, et est infideli deterior. Nec quisquam de fide Iesus requisitus celare habet nomen hoc gloriosissimum. Qui enim pro nomine Iesu mori paratum non se invenerit, nec se noverit fore Christianum. Pauli ut testantur miracula, amputato capite, palpitans lingua ter Iesum confessa est. Ad cuius nominis confessionem tres fontes, ubi languidi et infirmi sanantur, mirum in modum eruperunt.¹¹⁴ Saulus, audita voce hac, Ego sum Iesus quem tu persequeris, cecus cecidit. Ab Anania in Iesu nomine baptizatur: atque ab oculis suis squamis cadentibus illuminatur. Gaudeamus igitur evangelizando hoc dulce nomen: ut ab ipso laudemur, et vasa glorie cum Paulo simus electa. Unde scriptum est, Vas electionis est michi: ut portet nomen meum coram regibus.*

Lectio VI

Dionysius, the athenian, gave sight to one blind by the power of this name; by it, poison hurt not john the evangelist; he overthrew the temple of diana by the name of Jesus. The lame man at the temple-gate was healed by peter and john in the name of Jesus. By it peter restored aeneas the paralytic, and tabitha the widow he brought back to life. Deservedly, then, is this name so efficacious, revered and worshipped; this name, at whose power, grace, and consolation, so many and such great miracles are wrought. Thou, then.

On the Octave Day

Lectio I¹¹⁵

Abundant reward in heaven is promised to those who confess this life-giving name of Jesus before men. Let us venerate it, then, by invoking it; let us invoke it, confessing it; let us confess his holy name, for it is good; for whosoever confesseth it, shall be confessed by the Lord Jesus Christ before God the Father and his angels, not on earth, but in heaven. Oh! truly blessed confession of man; but most blessed of Jesus, son of mary. That confession is made by one dying, and one lamenting in the way; this is of him who liveth for ever, and rewardeth in our home. This is with praise; that with retribution. One is in our pilgrimage, the other in the blessed rest. Therefore, keep not back from reverencing Jesus in heart, voice, and deed: for whosoever in word or deed denies Jesus, denies the faith, and is worse than an infidel; nor may any one who is questioned as to the faith in Jesus, hold back this most glorious name. For whosoever is not prepared to die for the name of Jesus, may know that he is no christian. When the head of paul was cut off, his faltering tongue thrice confessed Jesus. By the confession of whose name three springs, where the weak and infirm are healed, burst forth in a wonderful manner. Saul, on hearing these words, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest, fell down blind. When he had been baptized by ananias in the name of Jesus, the scales fell from his eyes, and he received sight. Let us rejoice, then, in preaching this sweet name, that we may be praised by him here, and be with paul, that chosen vessel, in glory; for it is written, He is a chosen vessel to me, to bear my name before kings.

Lectio ii

Hoc devotissimum nomen, fratres, mente honoremus dum cogitatur, voce dum auditur, verbo dum enunciat, oratione dum legitur, inspirata visione aut scriptura dum videtur: quia profecto omnibus his modis esse habet Iesus. Et preterea non venerabile solum hominibus: sed et demonibus multum terribile. Clamant namque semper: Iesu, cur venisti ante tempus perdere nos? Christi discipulis hec potestas tradita est, ut suo nomine demonia subiicerent. Angelis profecto hoc nomen letabile, cum in eo ipsorum ruina reparatur. Hinc subtilius fuit prophetatum, utilius peroptatum, gratiosius nobis publicatum. Et quamquam Greco stultum, et Iudeo scandalosum: his tamen qui salvi facti sunt summe virtuosum est. Nec immerito vendicat sibi nomen quod est super omne nomen. Hoc ergo nomen devotissime veneremur: a quo nostra fluunt cuncta presidia. Iesum dulcia precordia pulsant, exitus aquarum nostri deducant oculi, atque crebris singultibus arida suspirent pectora. Quorum non erunt compuncta corda, tot ubi videntur legunturque facta miracula? O ergo dulcissime Iesu, si dulce est flere de te in mundo, quam dulce est de te Iesu gaudere in celo. Tu [autem, Domine, miserere nostri].

Lectio iii

Exultet iam angelica turba ob huius festi sacrati nominis Iesu divina mysteria: ac pro tante benignitatis dignitate intonet canor Iubilus cordi et ori salutaris. Gaudeat se nostra regio tanti nominis lustrata honoribus, populus sedens in tenebris sentiat se amisisse caliginem, et in hoc beato nomine gaudeat recepisse salutem. Letetur pia mater ecclesia huius festivitatis decorata gaudiis: Christianorum devotis melodiis vociferet hec ecclesia Christi. Congaudeant huius sanctissimi festi procuratores, in quo non Deus detinet sed gratiam confert, servatque copiosam merendi materiam, ut plenius gloriantur in laude sui. Hoc fidei, hoc spei, hoc charitatis nomen fundamentum merito nuncupatur, a quo non potest quisquam aliud ponere, quia id positum est Christus Iesus. Exculpemus in hoc lapide angulari qui crevit in montem varia tabernaculi festa: et cauti simus ne segnes dilectione, gloriatione pigri inveniamur in Christo Iesu. Hunc diligere ex toto

Lectio II¹¹⁶

Brethren, let us honour this most devout name with our minds when thought on, with our voice when it is heard, in word whilst yet it is pronounced, in prayer when it is read, in inspired vision or scripture when it is seen. For surely in all these ways Jesus manages to be with us. And besides it is not only to be venerated by men; but also very terrible to demons. For they are always calling out: Jesus, why did you come before the appointed time to destroy us? This power was handed down to the disciples of Christ, so that they might subdue demons in his Name. This name is certainly welcome to the angels, for their destruction is repaired in it. Henceforth it was more exacting than what was foretold, more advantageous than what was desired, more kindly to us than what was published. And although stupid to the Greek, and a scandal to the Jew: yet to those who have been saved, it is the height of virtue. Nor undeservedly does the Name make the claim that it is above all names. Therefore let us revere this Name most devoutly: from which all our protection flows. May our kind hearts beat for Jesus, May our eyes pour tears for Jesus, and may our dry chests sigh with constant sobs for Jesus. Whose heart does not feel compunction, when so many wondrous deeds are seen and read about? Therefore O most sweet Jesus, if it is sweet to weep about you in this world, how much sweeter it is to rejoice about you in heaven. And thou Lord, have mercy upon us.

Lectio III¹¹⁷

Let the angelic host now exult on account of the divine mysteries of this Feast of the sacred name of Jesus: also for such a great excellence of mercy let the music of salvation resound, the joyful melody of the heart and the mouth. Let our region rejoice in so great a name, purified by grace, let the people sitting in darkness realise that it has dismissed the gloom, and in this blessed Name let them rejoice that they have received Salvation. Let the tender mother church rejoice, adorned with the joys of this festivity: Let this church of Christ cry out with the devoted melodies of Christians. Let the organisers of this most sacred Feast rejoice together; in it God does not keep back but rather bestows grace, stores abundant examples of rewards, so that they may glory more fully in praise of him. This Name of faith, of hope, of charity rightly expresses the foundation, on which it is not possible for anyone else to be placed, because this position is Jesus Christ. We will carve out in this cornerstone, which

corde teneris, tota anima, et omnibus viribus tuis. Ecce homo. Nichil reliquit: qui totum sibi vendicat. Prospice quid negas: vide quid potes. Mensures opere quid debes Iesu Christo, vero Regi immortalis: qui vivit et imperat per secula Deus, atque venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem.

(Medie Lectiones de sancto Eusebio)

Evangelium. Secundum Lucam ii. [21]

In illo tempore; Postquam consummate sunt dies octo, ut circumcideretur puer: vocatum est nomen eius Iesus, quod vocatum est ab angelo prius quam in utero conciperetur.]

Omelia de diversis Tractatibus (Bernardi ser. 2 de circumcis. In medio.)¹¹⁸

Neque enim querere est Christianis, cur voluerit Dominus circumcidi, propter quid circumcisus est, propter quid passus, propter quid tali ac tanto nomine vocatus. Nichil horum propter se, sed omnia propter electos, omnia propter delicta nostra. Quod vocatum est, inquit, ab angelo, priusquam in utero conciperetur. Vocatum plane, non impositum. Nempe hoc nomen est ei ab eterno. A natura propria habet ut sit Salvator: innatum est ei hoc nomen, non inditum ab humana vel angelica creatura. Sed quid dicimus quod egregius ille propheta hunc ipsum puerum multis nominibus appellandum fore predicens, hoc unum tacuisse videtur, quod solum premonuit angelus: ut testator evangelista, vocatum est nomen eius Iesus. Exultavit Esayas ut videret hunc diem: et vidit et gavisus est. denique et loquebatur gratulabundus et laudans Deum, [Puer natus est nobis, et Filius datus est nobis, cuius imperium super humerum eius: et vocabitur nomen eius admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis, pater future seculi, princeps pacis.]¹¹⁹ Magna quidem nomina, sed ubi est nomen quod est super omne nomen? Nomen Iesu in quo omne genu flectatur? Forte in his omnibus unum illud invenies, sed expressum quodammodo et effusum. Nempe ipsum est de quo sponsa in Cantico amoris: [oleum, inquit, effusum nomen tuum.]¹²⁰

grows into a mountain—many Feasts of the tabernacle: and let us not be cautious lest we be found sluggish in our delight, lazy in our boasting in Jesus Christ. You are bound to love this with all your heart, all your soul and all your strength. Behold the man. Nothing is left behind for him who conquers everything through himself. Watch out for what you deny: see what you are capable of. May you measure through work what you owe to Jesus Christ, the true king immortal: who lives and reigns in the world of God, and who shall come to judge the living and the dead, and the world through fire.

(Lectio 4–6 of Saint Eusebius)

Gospel according to Luke 2:21

After eight days had passed, it was time to circumcise the child; and he was called Jesus, the name given by the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

Homilies from diverse Tracts (Middle of Sermon 2 by Bernard on the Circumcision)¹²¹

Christians may seek to enquire why the Lord willed to be circumcised, on what account he was circumcised, why he suffered, why he was called by such and so great a name. None of this for his own sake, but all for the elect's sake, all on account of our sins. Which was so called, it is said, of the angel, before he was conceived in the womb – called evidently, not given, because this name is his from everlasting. And it belongs to his own nature that he should be Saviour. This name was innate to him, not imposed by human or angelic creature. But what shall we say, that that wonderful prophet, when foretelling that this same Jesus should be called by many names, seems to have been silent as to this one, which alone, as the angel foremonished and the evangelists attest, was called his name? Isaiah rejoiced to see this day; he saw it, and was glad. He spake, too, rejoicing and praising, giving thanks unto God. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Great are these names; but where is the name, which is above every name, Jesus, at which every knee shall bow? Perhaps you will find this one name in all the other names, poured out in a manner and expanded, as the spouse says of that name of her beloved in the canticles: Thy name is as ointment pour forth.

Lectio viii¹²²

Habes unum in his omnibus appellationibus Iesum: nec omnino aut vocari posset aut esse Salvator, si forte horum quippiam defecisset. Nunquid non vere admirabilem eum sumus singuli experti in mutatione utique naturarum? Hoc nempe est salvationis nostre principium: cum incipimus respuere quod diligebamus, dolere unde letabamur, amplecti quod timebamus, sequi quod fugiebamus, optare quod contemnebamus. Admirabilis plane qui hec operator mirabilia. Sed nichilominus et consiliarum sese exhibeat necesse est in electione pœnitentie, et vite ordinatione: ne forte sit nobis absque scientia zelus, ubi tanti boni prudentia desit. Sane opus est ut Deum quoque probemus in remissione videlicet peccatorum, quia nec sine hac salus nobis constare potest, et nemo potest dimittere peccata nisi solus Deus. Verum nec id quidem sufficit ad salutem, nisi fortem quoque experiamur in expugnando, expugnantes nos, ne ab eisdem rursus concupiscentiis superemur, et fiant novissima nostra deteriora prioribus. Videturne aliquid deesse Salvatori? Plane deesset quod maximum est, nisi pater esset futuri seculi, ut per eum immortalem resurgeremus qui per presentis seculi patrem generamur ad mortem. Neque hoc satis, si non etiam princeps pacis Patri nos reconciliaret, cui traditurus est regnum: ne forte sicut filii perditionis tuique non salutis resurrecturi videremur ad pœnam. Multiplicabitur eIus imperium sane, ut merito Salvator dicatur, etiam pro multitudine salvandorum. Et pacis non erit finis: ut veram noveritis esse salutem, que non possit timere defectum, [Iesu nomine invocato.]¹²³

Lectio ix¹²⁴

Postquam consummati sunt dies octo ut circumcideretur puer: vocatum est nomen eius Iesus. Magnum et mirabile sacramentum. Circunciditur puer: et vocatur Iesus. Quid sibi vult ista connexio? Circuncisio nempe salvandi magis quam Salvatoris esse videtur: et Salvatorem circumcidere decet magis qua circumcidi. Sed agnosce Mediatorem Dei et hominum, qui ab ipso nativitatis sue exordio divinis humana sociat, ima

Lectio VIII¹²⁶

In all these appellations you have but this one, Jesus; if one had been wanting, He could neither have been called nor have been the Saviour. Have we not each of us found him truly wonderful in the change of our nature? For this is the beginning of our Salvation, when for love of him, we began to despise what we once loved; to grieve for what was our joy; to embrace what we feared; to follow after what we fled from; to desire what we despised. Wonderful must he be, who works these wonders in us; and yet he must also shew himself a counsellor in the choice of penitence and the ordering of life, lest if prudence should be wanting as to a good so great, we should have zeal without knowledge. We must also prove that he is God, namely, in the remission of our sins; for we cannot have Salvation without this, and no man can forgive sins but God alone. Even the truth is not sufficient for Salvation, unless we try out our strength in conquering; and being conquerors, we are not once again overcome by these very same desires for carnal things, and our latest failings are to be made things of the past. Does there seem to be something wanting of the Saviour? Clearly he would lack what is the greatest thing, unless the Father were to be of the ages to come, so that we, who through the Father of the present age are begotten unto death, may rise again according to his immortality. Nor is this sufficient, if the prince of peace does not also reconcile us to the Father, to whom he is going to hand over the kingdom: lest by chance we should seem to be resurrected not for your Salvation, but as sons of perdition for punishment. His authority will be certainly multiplied, so that he may rightly be called Saviour, and also on behalf of the multitude who will be saved. And there will be no limit to peace: so that you will know what is true Salvation, which is not capable of fearing weakness, when the name Jesus is invoked.

Lectio IX¹²⁷

'And after eight days were accomplished that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus.'

O great and wonderful sacrament! The child was circumcised and called Jesus.

What connection does he wish to show between these two facts? Circumcision would seem to belong more properly to the saved than to the Saviour. And it is more fitting for the Saviour to

summis. Nascitur ex muliere: sed cui fecunditatis fructus sic accedat, ut non decidat flos virginitatis. Pannis involvitur: sed panni ipsis angelicis laudibus honorantur. Absconditur in presepio: sed proditur stella radiante de celo. Sic et circumcisio veritatem susceptæ humanitatis, et nomen quod est super omne nomen gloriam indicat maiestatis. Circumciditur tanquam verus Abrahe filius: Iesus vocatur tanquam Filius Dei. Non est in eo nominis umbra, sed Iesu veritas manifesta. Celitus quidem indictum nomen evangelista testatur, quod vocatum est ab angelo priusquam in utero conciperetur. Et attende verbi profunditatem. Postquam natus est, Iesus vocatur ab hominibus, quod vocatum est ab angelis priusquam in utero conciperetur. Idem quippe et angeli Salvator et hominis: sed hominis ab incarnatione, angeli ab initio creature. Vocatum est ergo nomen eius Iesus, quod vocatum erat ab angelo: ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum, et ipsum quod in propheta abbreviatum, manifestius in evangelio legitur caro factum. [Vos ergo, fratres mei, respicit hec parabola. Iesus enim nec angelico eguit testimonio nec humano: sed triplex nobis salutis nostre testimonium, ab angelo, Maria, et Ioseph, reliquit, ne forte videamur assumpsisse nomen Dei in vanum.]¹²⁵

In Laudibus, omnes Antiphonæ dicuntur, et cetera omnia sicut in prima die.

circumcise than for the circumcised. However, acknowledge that the mediator of God and men, who from the beginning of his own birth unites human things to the divine, the lowest to the highest. He was born of a woman, but of a woman in whom the fruit of fecundity drew near in such a way that the flower of virginity did not wither. He was wrapped in swaddling clothes, but the rags were honoured with the praises of the angelic host. He lay hidden in a manger, but it was revealed by a radiant star from heaven. In like manner, undergoing the rite of circumcision declares the truth of his humanity, and the name which is above every other name declares the glory of His majesty. He was circumcised as a true son of Abraham; as Son of God He is called Jesus. There is not a shadow of a name in him, but the truth of Jesus made manifest. Heaven assigned it to Him, for the Evangelist testifies that the angel gave it to Him before he was conceived in the womb. And mark the depth of the word. After He was born, he was called Jesus by men, the name which he was called by the angel before he was conceived in the womb. For He is truly the Saviour of both angels and men; of men by His Incarnation, of angels from the beginning of creation. For his name is called Jesus, which was given to him by the angel: so that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand firm, and that which was made short in the prophet, is more openly read in the Gospel as the Word made flesh. Therefore my brothers, consider this parable. Indeed Jesus requires the witness of neither angel nor man: but three times a testimonial of our Salvation, from the angel, from Mary, and from Joseph, is bequeathed to us, so that we may not by chance seem to have selected the name of God in vain.

All of the Antiphons are to be said at Lauds, and everything else as on the first day

¹ The English translation of this Hymn given in the *The Hours of Prayer from Lauds* ...col. 323, translates 'nomen' as 'Jesus', which alters the meaning of the hymn. For this reason the selected translation is by Percy Dearmer, *The English Hymnal*, no. 237.

² As found in original sources. OO is Omega.

³ The Greek of the penultimate line of this Hymn as it appears in the Sarum Breviary (F. Procter and C. Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Sarum*, III, col. 618) is erroneous: 'Theon, Panthon, Craton et Ysus.' The words 'Panthon' and 'Craton' do not exist. A corrected version which is also better suited to the theme of Salvation occurring throughout the Office would be 'Athanatos, kyrios, theos, pantokrator, Iesus,/ Salvificet nos, sit cui sec[u]la per omnia doxa', cited in Henk J. M. Schoot, *Christ The 'Name' of God: Thomas Aquinas on naming Christ*, (Leuven, 1993), 76 Fn 9: Immortal, Lord, God, Creator of all things, Jesus,/ May he our saviour be, he to whom be glory for ever and ever. However, as this 'erroneous' version in the Breviary is what was actually sung liturgically in Sarum Use, it makes sense to keep it in the text.

⁴ This text was used for the Salisbury enactment of the Mass of the Holy Name in Salisbury Cathedral, October 2011.

⁵ Translation found in Warren, *The Sarum Missal*, I, 351, as it is also the Sequence for the Thursday after Pentecost –except for the last two lines.

⁶ This section onwards, which includes the indulgence, until the following * is not found in any of the printed sources. See Chapter 3.

⁷ ‘Jesu nostra redemptio, amor et desiderium’ are the first two lines of the Office hymn for Compline on the Feast of the Ascension: see Procter and Wordsworth (eds), *Breviarium*, II, col. 235.

⁸ *Luke* 1:35.

⁹ Adapted from Sermo XXII, in Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Claræ-Vallensis, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, in *Patrologica cursus completus ... series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–1900) [hereafter PL] Tome 183 (1879), Vol. II, col. 879; The Mount Melleray translation for this sentence is ‘... divides its waters into four streams and through these pours itself out upon the common ways.’ *St Bernard’s Sermons on the Cantic of Canticles, translated from the original Latin by A Priest of Mount Melleray*, Vol. I (Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Waterford, 1920); hereafter ‘Mount Melleray’.

¹⁰ *I Corinthians* 1:30.

¹¹ Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XXII, in ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, (1879), Col. 880.

¹² Sancti Bernardi, ‘Liber Sententiarum’, *PL*, 184, (1879), Vol. III, col. 1149 (Sentence 124).

¹³ *Acts* 9:15.

¹⁴ Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XV, in ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, (1879), col. 847.

¹⁵ Sancti Anselmi, Meditatio II, ‘Opera Omnia’, in *PL*, 158 (1864), Vol. I, col. 725.

¹⁶ Sancti Petri Chrysologi, Archiepiscopi Ravennatis, Sermo CXLIV ‘De eadem,’ *PL*, 52, (1894), Vol. I, col. 586.

¹⁷ Guibert de Nogent, (or at least attributed to him), ‘Sermo in illud Sapientiae’, vii, 30, et viii, 1, in *PL*, 184 (1879), Vol. III, col. 1034.

¹⁸ Adapted from ‘Vocatum est plane, non impositum: nempe hoc ei nomen est ab æterno. A natura propria habet ut sit Salvator; innatum est ei nomen hoc, non inditum ab humana vel angelica creatura’. In ‘Circumcisione Domini, Sermo II De variis Christi nominibus’, (Sermones de tempore), in *PL*, 183, (1879), Vol 2, col. 136.

¹⁹ Translated by JA.

²⁰ Translation by Revd. Edward Caswall (1814-78), *Lyra Catholica, containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns* (London, 1849), 58-9; J. M. Neale’s translation of verse 2 is however more literal: ‘No word is sung more sweet than this/No name is heard more full of bliss:/No thought brings sweeter comfort nigh,/Than Jesus, Son of God most high.’ J. M. Neale, *Hymnal Noted*, (London & New York, 1852), No. 18.

²¹ Translated by JA

²² Translated by JA until ‘... love and desire.’ From then on, translated by Sisters of Devonport.

²³ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.

²⁴ Or ‘freely-given’.

²⁵ Adapted from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XV, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, cols 846-47.

²⁶ *Ephesians* 5:8.

²⁷ Adapted from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XV, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, col. 847.

²⁸ *James* 5:13.

²⁹ *Psalms* 49:15.

³⁰ *I Corinthians* 1:10.

³¹ *2 Timothy* 2:19.

³² Mount Melleray translates this passage thus: ‘Such an electuary, O my soul, thou canst find stored up in the little vessel of the name Jesus. So salutary it is, that is shall never prove ineffectual against any spiritual ailment whatsoever.’ Vol. 1, 145.

³³ *Song of Songs*, 8:7.

³⁴ Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XV, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, cols 847.

³⁵ *Numbers* 24:17

³⁶ *Isaiah* 11:1

³⁷ *Luke* 1: 78-79

³⁸ *Isaiah* 63:1

³⁹ *Psalms* 34:10; Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo XLV, ‘Sermones in Cantica Canticorum’, *PL*, 183, col. 847.

⁴⁰ Translated by JA.

⁴¹ Translated by JA.

⁴² Mount Melleray translation, Vol. 1, 144.

⁴³ Mount Melleray translation, Vol. 1, 144.

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- ⁴⁴ The Mount Melleray suggestion is more theological and refers to the humanity/divinity tension celebrated over the two feast days: ‘I find models for my imitation in His Humanity, and assistance to copy them in His Omnipotence.’ 145
- ⁴⁵ Mount Melleray translation, Vol. 1, 145.
- ⁴⁶ Translated by JA.
- ⁴⁷ This homily paraphrases *Matthew* 1:18 – 25.
- ⁴⁸ *Isaiah* 9:6.
- ⁴⁹ Pauli Winifridi Diaconi, Homilia XVII In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini (Ex Origene) in ‘Opera Omnia’, in *PL*, 95 (1861), col. 1165-1166.
- ⁵⁰ *Matthew* 1: 21.
- ⁵¹ *Psalms* 11: 7-8.
- ⁵² *Matthew* 1: 23.
- ⁵³ Pauli Winifridi Diaconi, ‘Homilia XVII In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini (Ex Origene)’ in *PL*, 95 (1861), cols. 1166-1167.
- ⁵⁴ *Matthew* 1:23.
- ⁵⁵ *Matthew* I. 23.
- ⁵⁶ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ⁵⁷ Translated by JA.
- ⁵⁸ Surely, ‘only’ has to be inserted here to avoid heresy?
- ⁵⁹ Translated by JA.
- ⁶⁰ Same Collect as before, and as in the Mass of the Holy Name of Jesus.
- ⁶¹ Translation found in *The Hours of Prayer from Lauds to Compline ...*, col. 325.
- ⁶² Translated by JA.
- ⁶³ The word ‘Iesu’ is omitted in the Great Breviary of Chevallon and Regnault (Paris, 1531).
- ⁶⁴ *Matthew* I. 24-25.
- ⁶⁵ Common Worship version, accessible at <https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-worship/worship/texts/daily2/morneve/morning-and-evening-prayer-in-ordinary-time/epsunday.aspx>
- ⁶⁶ *Luke* 12 :7.
- ⁶⁷ *Psalms* 109: 3.
- ⁶⁸ *John* 1:1.
- ⁶⁹ *Genesis* 1:1.
- ⁷⁰ *1 Corinthians* 10: 11.
- ⁷¹ *John* 19: 30: Jesus’ last words on the cross.
- ⁷² *Zechariah* 14: 9 The original Scripture reads ‘et nomen eius unum’.
- ⁷³ These next 4 lines seem to be a version of a medieval epigram. Unclear how early, but cited by Hugh Latimer in a sermon of 1554 & referred to as ‘the old verses’ by John Foxe (who translated it); <http://www.johnfoxe.org/index.php?realm=text&edition=1583&pageid=1743&gototype=modern> . It is also found in the N. aisle of St Laurence Poultney(which had a Jesus chapel) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol2/pp.28-41>.
- ⁷⁴ *1 Corinthians* 2: 2.
- ⁷⁵ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ⁷⁶ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ⁷⁷ Translated by JA.
- ⁷⁸ *Psalms* 3:9.
- ⁷⁹ *Matthew* 8: 11.
- ⁸⁰ *Psalms* 85: 5.
- ⁸¹ *Psalms* 84: 8.
- ⁸² Lections 1, 2 and 3 in part translated by the Sisters of Devonport, in part translated by JA.
- ⁸³ *Genesis* 28: 17.
- ⁸⁴ *Revelation* 22: 4.
- ⁸⁵ Adapted from *1 Peter* 2: 9.
- ⁸⁶ *Hebrews* 10: 7, quoting *Psalms* 39: 7-8.
- ⁸⁷ *John* 19: 22.
- ⁸⁸ *John* 19: 19.
- ⁸⁹ *John* 19: 20.
- ⁹⁰ *Revelation* 21: 9-21.
- ⁹¹ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ⁹² Lection partly translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ⁹³ Translated by JA.

- ⁹⁴ 2nd *Esdras* or 4th *Book of Ezra* 7: 28-29.
- ⁹⁵ *Habakuk* 3: 18. This is the Introit for the Mass of St John the Baptist
- ⁹⁶ *Isaiah* 49: 1.
- ⁹⁷ *John* 1:14.
- ⁹⁸ Sancti Bernardi, Sermo I, ‘Sermones de tempore: In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini, Sermo I’, in *PL*, 183 (1879), Vol II, col. 87.
- ⁹⁹ Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi, ‘De Trinitate, Liber VII’, in *PL*, 10, (1845), col. 206.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi, ‘De Trinitate, Liber VI’, in *PL*, 10, (1845), col. 174.
- ¹⁰¹ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹⁰² Translated by JA from ‘I acknowledge’ onwards.
- ¹⁰³ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Genesis* 49: 10.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Philippians* 2: 9.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Luke* 1: 31.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Isaiah* 62: 2.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Exodus* 33: 20.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Exodus* 3: 14.
- ¹¹⁰ Adapted from *Song of Songs* 8: 7.
- ¹¹¹ I *Corinthians* 6: 11.
- ¹¹² All the lections for the Sunday of the Octave are translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹¹³ Or, ‘It is not hidden from you, ...’
- ¹¹⁴ At his decapitation, legend has it that his head bounded three times and that at each place where his head touched, a spring gushed forth. Jacobus De Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: vulgo historia Lombardica dicta ad optimorum libraorum*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, 2nd ed. (Lipsiae, 1850), Cap. 90, 383; see also Peter R., Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name* (New York, 1943), 44. Later in the thirteenth century a new detail, enriched the tale: at each bound the head uttered ‘Jesus’.
- ¹¹⁵ Translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹¹⁶ Translated by JA, ‘And besides...’ onwards.
- ¹¹⁷ Translated by JA.
- ¹¹⁸ Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo II, ‘In Circumcisione Domini, De variis Christi nominibus’, *Sermones de tempore: PL*, 183, (1879), Vol. II, col. 136.
- ¹¹⁹ *Isaiah* XX. 6.
- ¹²⁰ *Song of Songs* 1:2.
- ¹²¹ This one and the next lection, until ‘... God alone’ translated by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹²² Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo II, ‘In Circumcisione Domini, De variis Christi nominibus’, *Sermones de tempore: PL*, 183, (1879), Vol. II, col. 136.
- ¹²³ Addition made by the compiler.
- ¹²⁴ Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo I, ‘In Circumcisione Domini, De variis Christi nominibus’, *Sermones de tempore: PL*, 183, (1879), Vol. II, col. 133-134. ‘De lectione evangelica: Postquam consummate sunt dies octo ut circuncideretur puer: vocatum est nomen eius Jesus’, col. 133.
- ¹²⁵ See original text of Bernard’s sermon, which has ‘Christus’ instead of ‘Jesus’: ‘Nos, fratres mei, nos rescipit haec parabola. Christus enim nec angelico eguit testimonio nec humano: sed, ut scriptum est, omnia propter electos (II Timothy II, 10) Triplex proinde quaerendum nobis salutis propriae testimonium, ne forte videamur assumpsisse nomen Dei nostri in vanum.’ Taken from Sancti Bernardi, Sermo I, ‘In Circumcisione Domini, De variis Christi nominibus’, *Sermones de tempore: PL*, 183, (1879), Vol. II, col. 134.
- ¹²⁶ In part translated by JA, in part by the Sisters of Devonport.
- ¹²⁷ Translated by JA.

Appendix III

Papal Bull (1494)

Photographic Image and

Transcription of a Bull

of Pope Alexander VI,

obtained by

Lady Margaret Beaufort in 1494

(*Cjc*, Drawer 56, no. 184;

transcribed for the magazine of St

John's College, Cambridge, *The*

Eagle, xx (1899))

Apostolorum etiam uices haec immeriti gerentes in terris ad ea libenter intendimus per que iudices christi factum deuotio per amplius augeri et animarum salus ualeant procurari. **D**ane

am dilectam in christo filiam Nobilissimam mulierem Margaritha Comitissa Richmundie et Berthe Carissimi in christo filii nostri Henrici Regis Anglie Regis Illust. et
 mater ex intimo deuotissimo seruire a Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Vniuersis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis ac dilectis filiis Vniuerso Clero Regni Anglie cum magna ma-
 ritate obtinisset ordinari et per die tunc Regnum Septimo Idibus Augusti quolibet Anno festiui dulcissimi ihesu Saluatoris nostri ac officium cum Capitulis loci contum-
 antiphonis uersiculis et responsorijs congruentibus ac Missa eiusdem Octaua in ecclesijs die tunc Regni celebrari et decantari ordinationem et celebrationem
 huiusmodi per nos et sanctam apostolicam humiliter peti confirmari Nos igitur qui diuini cultus inuigilantem et animarum salutem nostris potissime temporibus supremam
 desideramus affectibus post deliberationem quam super his cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem prouideamus in forma breuis littere apostolice Comitis in hac par-
 te deuotis supplicationibus inclinati officium predictum illiusque ordinationem auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de nouo approbamus et confirmamus uolentes illud
 in Regno predicto a uolentibus posse coli et obseruari iuxta ordinationem et in celebrationem predictas Et nichilominus ut christi fideles colibentur ad agendum et cele-
 brandum die tunc officium inducantur quo exinde se suas sperauerunt salutem animarum adepturos de omnipotentis dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Ap-
 tolorum eius auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus uere penitentibus et confessis qui officium predictum in die tunc Regni et ecclesijs illius-
 deuote celebrauerint et audierint omnes et singulas indulgentias quas festiui Corporis domini nostri ihesu christi audientes et celebrantes consecuntur die tunc auctoritate
 clarissimus Nos obstantibus apostolicis ac bone memorie Deonis et Deoboni olim in die tunc Regni die tunc sedis Legatorum in provincialibus quoque et synodalibus
 Concilijs editis generalibus uel specialibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nos-
 trae approbationis confirmationis uoluntatis et clarificationis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis
 dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Ap-
 tolorum eius se nouerit incursurum. Dat. Rome apud Sanctum cyprianum Anno Incarnationis dominice
 Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto Quarto Nonas Octobris Pontificatus nostri Anno Tertio.

L. Podocatharus

nunc operari dignabitur nostri clemencia redemptoris. Addentes nichilominus de gratia speciali ut cum obitus vestri quos deus felices faciat et beatos longis perprius indultis spatiis bone vite nostro fuerint capitulo generali nunciati in ipso recommendabimini. Iniungenturque pro animabus vestris Misse et alia pia suffragia sicut pro carissimis benefactoribus nostris et amicis est fieri consuetum. Quatenus anime vestre tantis ac talibus adiute suffragiis post vite presentis excessum ad regnum beatitudinis superne ualeant opitulante domino facilius conuolare. Datum carthusie sedente nostro capitulo generali xxii^o die Mensis Aprilis. Anno domini Millesimo cccc^o lxxvii^o. Sub sigillo domus nostre cartusie predictae in testimonium premisorum.

Endorsed: P. A letter of Fraternite of the hede hous of the Charterhouse with the holl chapytre of the same.

And in a later hand: Thomae Domino Stanley et Margaretæ vxori eius viventis et dominae Elianoræ quondam vxori eius et alijs. anno 1478. April 23.

ALEXANDER episcopus seruus seruorum dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam Pastoris eterni uices licet immeriti gerentes in terris ad ea libenter intendimus per que in dies Christi fidelium deuotio peramplius augeri et animarum salus ualeant procurari. Sane cum dilecta in Christo filia Nobilis mulier Margarita Comitissa Richmundie et Derby Carissimi in Christo filij nostri Henrici Anglie Regis Illustrissimi mater ex intimo deuotionis feruore a Venerabilibus fratribus nostris Vniuersis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis ac dilectis filijs Vniuerso Clero Regni Anglie cum magna maturitate obtinuisset ordinari et per dictum Regnum Septima Idus Augusti quolibet Anno festum dulcissimi Jhesu Saluatoris nostri ac officium cum Capitulis lectionibus antiphonis uersiculis et responsorijs congruentibus ac Missa cum eius octaua in ecclesijs dicti Regni celebrari et decantari ordinationem et celebrationem huiusmodi per nos et sedem apostolicam humiliter petijt confirmari Nos igitur qui diuini cultus augmentum et animarum salutem nostris potissime temporibus supremis desideramus affectibus post deliberacionem quam super hijs cum fratribus nostris habuimus diligentem prout ex alijs nostris in forma breuis litteris constat prefate Comitisse in hac parte deuotis supplicationibus inclinati officium predictum illiusque ordinationem auctoritate apostolica tenore presentium de nouo

approbamus et confirmamus volentes illud in Regno predicto a uolentibus posse coli et obseruari iuxta ordinationem et institutionem predictas Et nichilominus ut Christi fideles colibentius ad agendum et celebrandum dictum officium inducantur quo exinde se suarum sperauerint salutem animarum adepturos de omnipotentis dei misericordia ac beatorum Petri ac Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus uere penitentibus et confessis qui officium predictum in dicto Regno et ecclesijs illius deuote celebrauerint et audierint omnes et singulas indulgentias quas festum Corporis domini nostri Jhesu Christi audientes et celebrantes consequuntur dicta auctoritate elargimur Non obstantibus apostolicis ac bone memorie Octonis et Octoboni olim in dicto Regno dicte sedis Legatorum in Prouincialibus quoque et synodalibus Concilijs editis generalibus uel specialibus Constitutionibus et ordinationibus ceterisque contrarijs quibuscunque Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre approbationis confirmationis uoluntatis et elargitionis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignationem omnipotentis dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se nouerit incursum. Datum Rome apud sanctum petrum Anno Incarnationis dominice Millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto Quarto nonas Octobri Pontificatus nostri Anno tercio.

Signed: L. Podocatharus, and by the writer of the Bull..... de Oulterris.

Endorsed: Registrata apud me L. Podocatharum.

And in later hands: (1) Bulla confirmationis festi dulcissimi Jhesu cum indulgentijs ad instantiam filii Matris Regis Margaretæ, &c.; (2) Anno Domini 1494, 4^o Non. Octob. Pontificatus Alexandri Papæ 3^o; (3) A bull grauntyd by pope Alexander the vjth for the confirmacion of the feste of Jhesu, the same Indulgence that is grauntyd to the feste of Corpus Christi.

R. F. S.

(To be continued.)

Erratum.—Vol XIX, p. 546, line 3 from the foot of the page, read nos et Romanam.

Appendix IV

The Experience of Worship Project: Materials for Enactments

Appendix IV.1
Service Booklet
for the Enactment of the
Sarum Mass of the Holy Name
(Priest and Clerk: St Teilo's Church,
September 2011)

MISSA DE DULCISIME NOMINE IESU

MASS IN HONOUR OF THE
HOLY NAME OF JESUS
ACCORDING TO THE
USE OF SALISBURY

CELEBRANT AND CLERK



THE
EXPERIENCE
OF WORSHIP

ST TEILO'S CHURCH
13-15 SEPTEMBER, 2011

After the Procession, the Clerk [= S] takes the chalice and paten, cruets, pyx and Pax board to the Jesus altar; then the lavabo bowl, cruet and towel to the piscina. He lights the candles on the altar.

VESTING IN THE SACRISTY

Priest vests in sacristy, saying

1 Veni, Créator Spíritus,
Mentes tuórum vísita,
Imple supérna grátia,
Que tu creásti péctora.

2 Qui Paráclitus díceris
Donum Dei altíssimi
Fons vivus, ignis, cáritas,
Et spirítalis únctio.

3 Tu septifórmis múnere,
Dextre Dei tu dígitus
Tu rite promíssum Patris,
Sermóne ditans gúttura.

4 Accénde lumen sénsibus;
Infúnde amórem córdibus,

Infírma nostri córporis
Virtúte firmans pérpeti.

5 Hostem repéllas lóngius,
Pacémque duces prótinus;
Ductóre sic te prévio,
Vitémus omni nóxium.

6 Per te sciámus da Patrem
Noscámus atque Fílium
Te utriúsque Spíritum
Credámus omni tempore.

7 Sit laus Patri cum Fílio
Sancto simul Paráclito
Nobísque mittat Fílius
Charísma Sancti Spíritus.

V. Emítte Spíritum tuum et creabúntur. **R.** Et renovábis fáciem terre.

Collect for purity

Deus, cui omne cor patet et omnis volúntas lóquitur,
et quem nullum latet secrétum,

Purifica per infusiónem Sancti Spíritus cogitatiónes cordis nostri,
Ut te perfécte diligére et digne laudáre mereámur.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum:

Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte eiúsdem Spíritus Sancti Deus,
Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

Antiphon and Psalm 42 (43)

Introíbo ad altáre Dei.

1 Iúdica me, Deus, et discérne causam meam de gente non sancta:
ab hómine iníquo et dolóso érue me.

2 Quia tu es Deus fortitúdo mea:
quare me repulísti, et quare tristis incédo, dum afflígit me inimícus?

3 Emítte lucem tuam et veritátem tuam:
ipsa me deduxérunt, et adduxérunt in montem sanctum tuum,
et in tabernácula tua.

4 Et introíbo ad altare Dei: ad Deum qui letíficat iuventútem meam.

5 Confitébor tibi in cíthara, Deus, Deus meus:
quare tristis es ánima mea, et quare contúrbas me?

6 Spera in Deo, quóniam adhuc confitébor illi:
salutáre vultus mei, et Deus meus.

Glória Patri et Fílio: et Spíritui Sancto

Sicut erat in princípío et nunc et semper: et in sécula seculórum. Amen.

Introíbo ad altáre Dei ad Deum qui letíficat iuventútem meam.

Kýrie eléison. Christe eléison. Kýrie eléison.

Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificétur nomen tuum.

Advéniat regnum tuum. Fiat volúntas tua, Sicut in celo et in terra.

Panem nostrum quotidiánum da nobis hódie.

Et dimítte nobis débíta nostra, sicut et nos dimíttimus debitóribus nostris.

V. Et ne nos indúcas in tentatiónem.

R. Sed líbera nos a malo.

V. Confitémini Dómino quóniam bonus:

R. Quóniam in séculum misericórdia éius.

Entrance

S takes Missal from altar of vesting.

P and S leave sacristy as singers begin Introit.

Both bow to the main altar, process through the chancel, turn left, go through the arch, turn left again and stand before the Jesus altar step.

Preparation of the Vessels

P and S bow to altar.

S goes up to the altar with Missal, and places it to left of centre.

S then goes to piscina. P also goes to piscina.

S then takes cruet and towel from piscina. P washes hands in piscina.

S returns cruet and towel. P goes to altar.

P takes burse, spreads one corporal, and leaves the other folded on the altar.

P removes veil from chalice and paten.

S removes lid of pyx. P takes host and places it on the paten.

S replaces lid of pyx, than takes cruets (handles away from him).

P takes wine cruet and pours into chalice; S takes cruet back.

S holds up water cruet; P blesses it:

Dominus, ab ipso sis benedicta, de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua.

In nomine + Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

P takes water cruet, and pours it into chalice.

S takes back cruet, returns both cruets to end of altar.

P replaces veil on chalice and paten.

P moves below altar step.

S takes Missal and stands on his right.

THE MASS: CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION

P: Confíteor Déo, Beáte Maríe, ómnibus sánctis, et vobis;
quia peccávi nimis cogitatióne, locutióne, et ópere:
méa cúlpa: précor Sanctam Maríam, omnes sánctos Dei, et vos,
oráre pro me.

S: Misereátur véstri omnípotens Déus,
et dimíttat vobis ómnia peccáta véstra;
líberet vos ab omni málo;
consérvet et confírmet in bono;
et ad vitam perdúcat etérnam.

P: Amen.

S: Confíteor Déo, Beáte Maríe, ómnibus sánctis, et vobis;
quia peccávi nimis cogitatióne, locutióne, et ópere:
méa cúlpa: précor Sanctam Maríam, omnes sánctos Dei, et vos,
oráre pro me.

P: Misereátur véstri omnípotens Déus,
et dimíttat vobis ómnia peccáta véstra;
líberet vos ab omni málo;
consérvet et confírmet in bono;
et ad vitam perdúcat etérnam.

S: Amen.

P: Absolutiónem et remissionem ómnium peccatórum vestrórum,
spatium vere peniténtie, et emendatióne vite,
grátiam et consolatióne Sancti Spíritus,
tríbuat vóbis omnípotens et miséricors Dóminus.

S: Amen.

P continues alone, saying:

V. Adiutórium nostrum in nómine Dómini. **R.** Qui fecit célum et terram.

V. Sit nomen Dómini benedíctum. **R.** Ex hoc nunc et úsque in séculum.

P moves up to altar and remains in centre for prayer.

**S lays down Missal on altar to left of centre,
and then stands below altar step on that side.**

P inclines body and joins hands, saying:

Orémus.

Aufer a nobis, quésumus, Dómine, cunctas iniquitátes nostras,
ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mereámur méntibus introíre.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum,

Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte eiúsdem Spíritus Sancti,

Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

P stands upright, kisses middle of altar and signs face, saying:

In nómine Pátris + et Fílii + et Spíritus + Sáncti. Amen.

Introit and Kyrie

S moves Missal to RH end of altar, then stands behind priest below altar step.

P moves to right-hand end of the altar, and recites Introit and Kyrie privately.

In nómine Iesu omne genu flectátur celéstium terréstrium et infernórum:
et omnis lingua confiteátur quia Dóminus noster Iesus Christus in glória est
Dei Pátris.

V: Laudáte Dóminum quóniam bonus Dóminus:

psállite nómini eius quóniam suáve.

Glória Pátri, et Fílio, et Spirítui Sáncto:

Sicut érat in princípío, et nunc, et sémpet, et in sécula seculórum. Amen

In nómine Iesu omne genu flectátur celéstium terréstrium et infernórum:
et omnis lingua confiteátur quia Dóminus noster Iesus Christus in glória est
Dei Pátris.

Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison.


Christe eléison. Christe eléison. Christe eléison.

Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison.

P signs face +, then turns to people, joins hands and elevates arms slightly.

S kneels to left of priest to hold chasuble.


Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, then sings:

Priest



O - re - mus

Collects (1) of the Holy Name, (2) for benefactors

Deus, qui gloriosíssimum nomen Dómini nostri Iesu Christi unigéniti Filii tui fecísti fidélibus tuis summo suavitátis afféctu amábile;
et málnis spirítibus treméndum atque terríbile;
concéde propítius, ut omnes qui hoc nomen Iesu devóte venerántur in terris,
sancte consolatiónis dulcédinem in presénti percípiant
et in fúture gáudium exsultatiónis et interminábilis iubilatiónis obtineant.

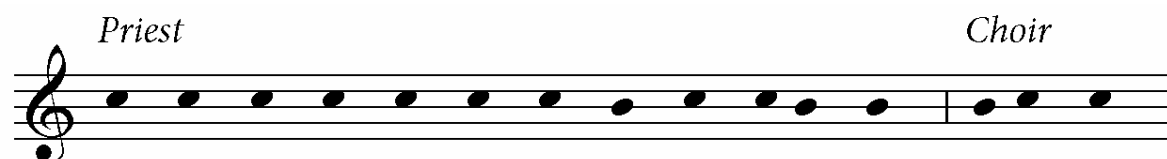
Oremus

Miserére, quésumus Dómine, animábus Thome ap Rhys
et ómnium benefactórum nostrórum defunctórum;
et pro benefíciis que nobis largiti sunt in terris,
prémia etérna consequántur in celis.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum:

Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

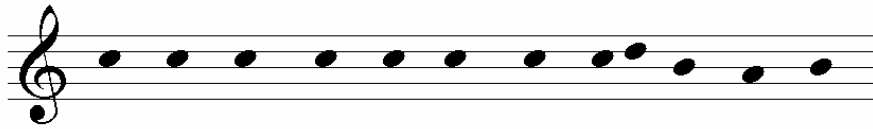
Priest *Choir*



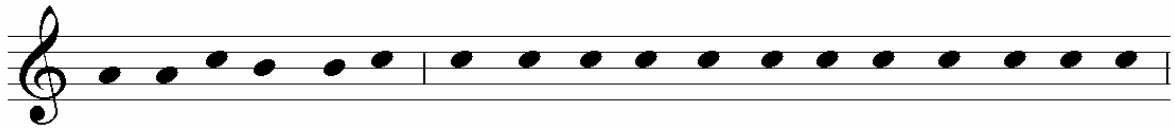
Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

At the end of the final Collect, P goes to side and sits.

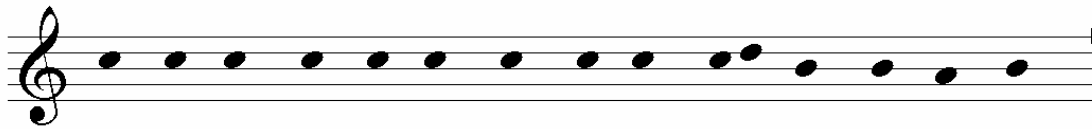
S takes Missal for Lection, standing below the altar step on right, facing people.



Léc - ti - o Ác - tu - us A - po - sto - lór - um.



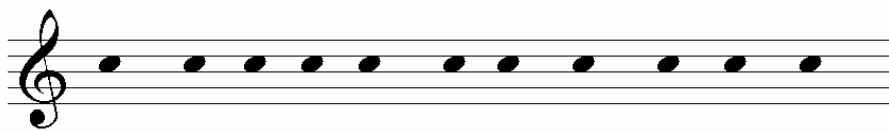
In di - é - bus il - lis, Pe - trus re - plé - tus Spí - ri - tu Sanc - to di - xit:



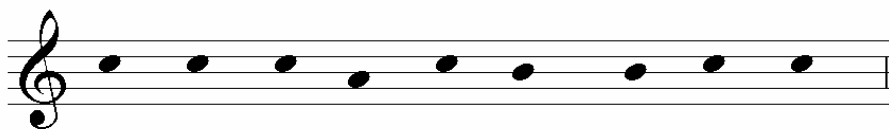
Prín - ci - pes pó - pu - li et se - ni - ór - es, au - dí - te:



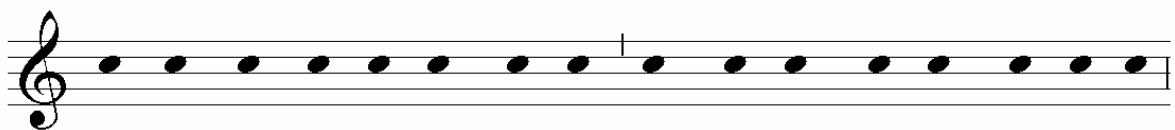
Si nos hó - di - e di - iu - di - cá - mur



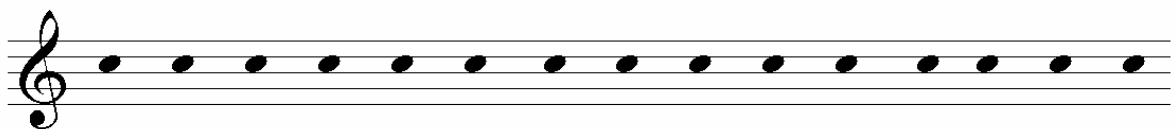
in be - ne - fác - to hó - mi - nis in - fir - mi,



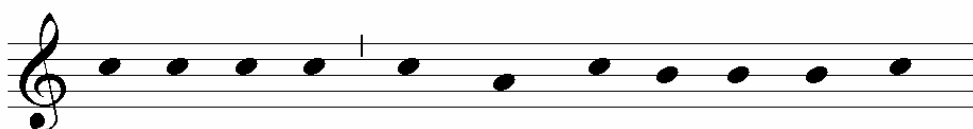
in quo i - ste sal - vus fac - tus est,



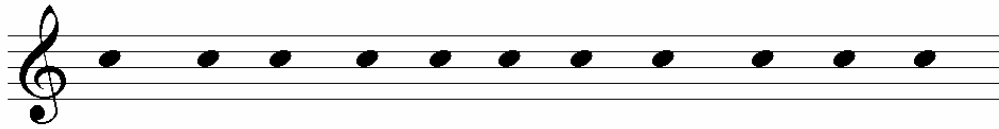
no - tum sit óm - ni - bus vo - bis et om - ni ple - bi Ís - ra - el



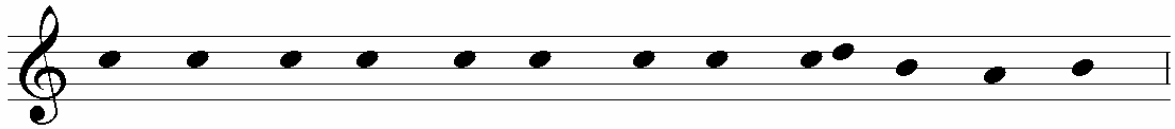
qui - a in nó - mi - ne Do - mi - ni no - stri Ie - su Chri - sti



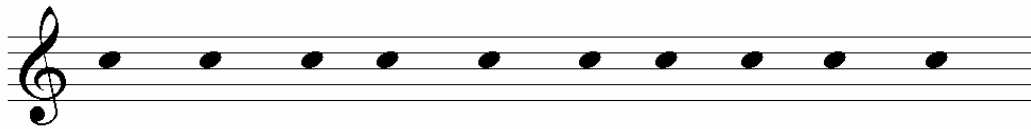
Na - za - ré - ni, quem vos cru - ci - fi - xí - stis,



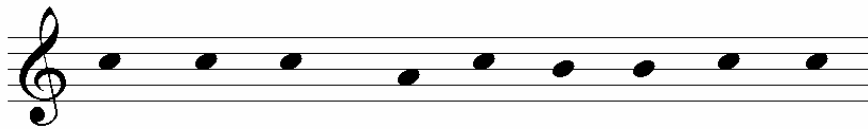
quem De - us su - sci - tá - vit a mór - tu - is,



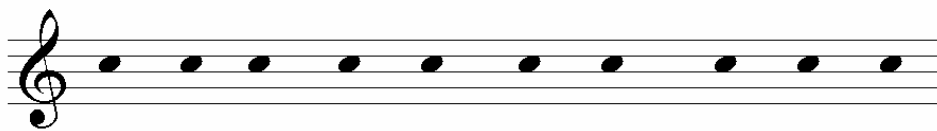
in hoc i - ste a - stat co - ram vo - bis sa - nus.



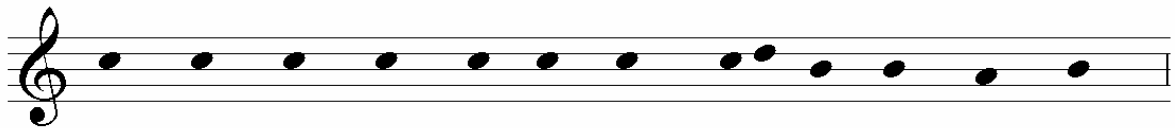
Hic est la - pis, qui re - pro - bá - tus est



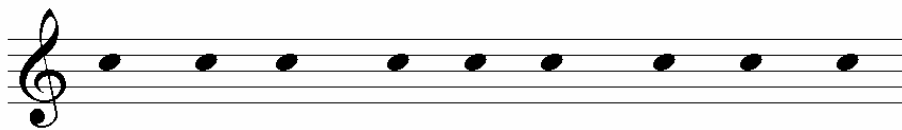
a vo - bis e - di - fi - cán - ti - bus,



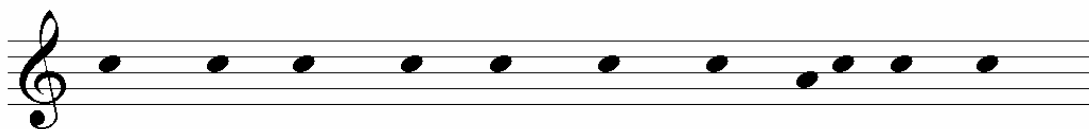
qui fac - tus est in ca - put án - gu - li.



Et non est in á - li - quo á - li - o sa - lus.



Nec e - nim á - li - ud no - men est



sub ce - lo da - tum in ho - mí - ni - bus,



in quo o - pór - te - at nos sal - vos fí - e - ri.

S takes Missal, and holds it for P to recite Gradual, Alleluya and Sequence.

Gradual

Constituit Deus Pater ad dexteram suam Iesum Christum in celestibus super omnem principatum, potestatem et virtutem et dominationem: et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc seculo sed etiam in futuro, et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius.

V. Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

Alleluya

Dulce cordi nomen Iesu,
Melos auri, mel in esu,
Cor vertit in iubilum
Et fugat mundi sibilum.

Sequence Dulcis Iesus Nazareus (second part)

Iesus pulcher in decore, summe bonus in valore,
mitis lenis in dulcore, pronus ad clementiam.

Iesus est rex generosus, Iesus forma speciosus,
Iesu lingua gloriosus, et mirandus opere.

Iesus fortis animosus, Iesus pugil vigorosus,
Iesus donis copiosus, et gaudet tribuere.

Iesus pie viscerosus, Iesus ductor luminosus,
Iesus est deliciosus, et sapit dulcissime.

Iesus fama gloriosus, Iesus cunctis fructuosus,
Iesus totus virtuosus, fovet suos optime.

Summe potens in vigore, summe celsus in honore,
summe gratus in amore, omnem laudem obtinet.

In sciendo summe sapit, ambiendo cuncta capit,
diligendo corda rapit, et illata retinet.

Eya nomen nobis gratum, dulcis Iesus appellatum,
sit in corde sic firmatum, quod non possit erui.

Hoc reatum peccatorum, tollat prestet iubilorum,
odas sed et beatorum, donet nobis perfrui.

When the choir reaches 'Eya nomen', S takes Missal to left-hand end of altar, and waits there.

P goes to centre of altar, faces east, saying: [Hereford rubric]

Dóminus sit in córde et in ore meo

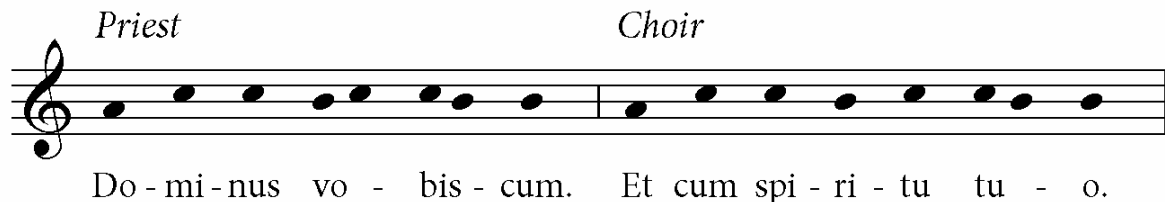
ad pronuciándum sanctum evangélium Dei.

In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

P goes to north end of altar, and turns to greet the people.

S kneels on his left to hold chasuble.

Priest *Choir*

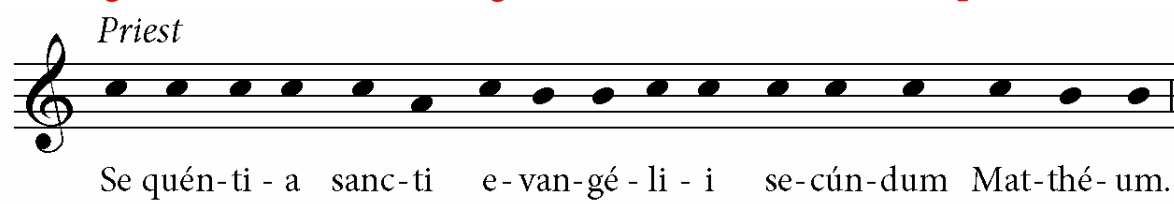


Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, and announces Gospel from the Missal.


During announcement, he signs + with thumb over Gospel text

Priest



Se quén-ti - a sanc-ti e - van-gé - li - i se - cún - dum Mat - thé - um.

Choir

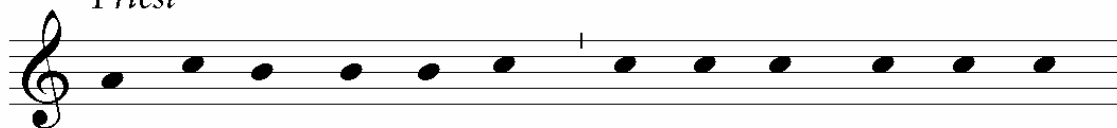


Gló - ri - a ti - bi Dó - mi - ne.

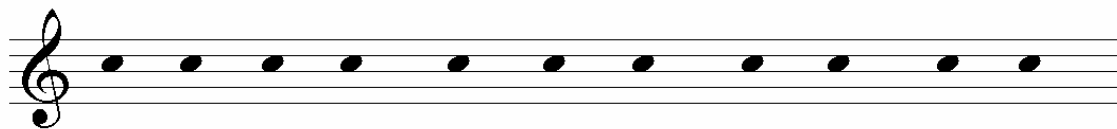
After the announcement P signs + his forehead, then + breast.

P turns to north, and hands Missal to S. S holds Missal for P.

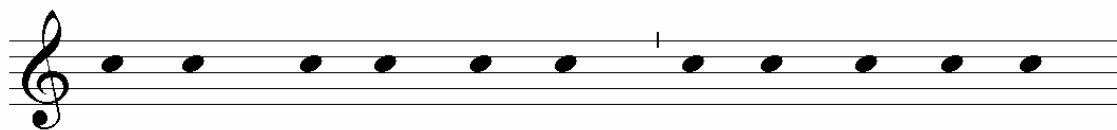
Priest



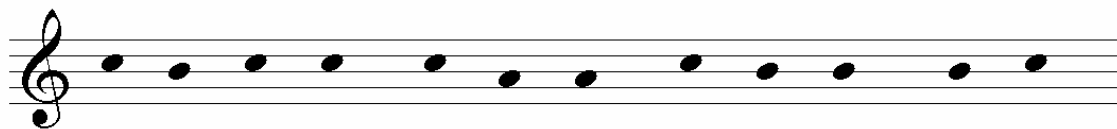
In il - lo tэм - po - re, n - ge - lus D - mi - ni



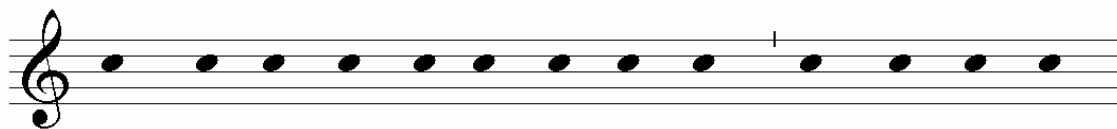
ap - p - ru - it in som - nis Io - seph di - cens:



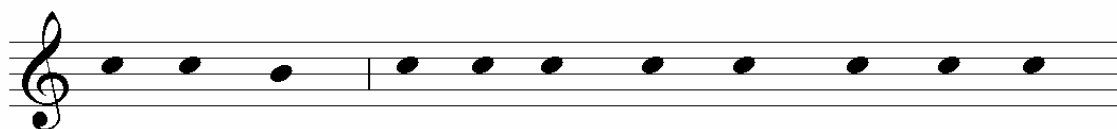
Io - seph fi - li Da - vid, no - li ti - m - re



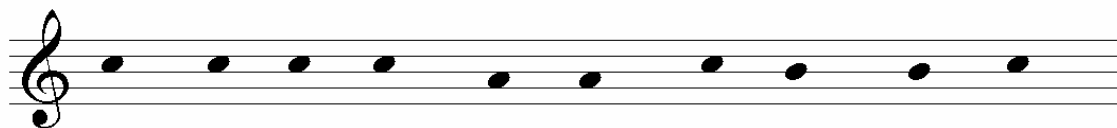
ac - c - pe - re Ma - r - am cn - iu - gem tu - am:



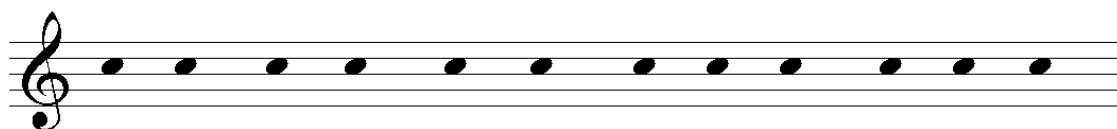
quod e - nim in e - a na - tum est, de Sp - ri - tu



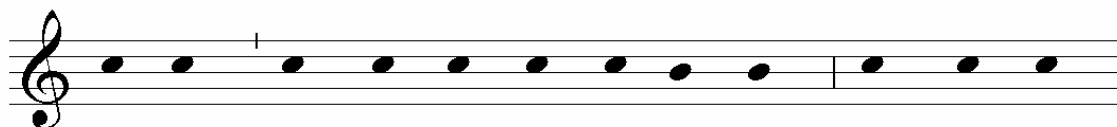
Sn - cto est. P - ri - et au - tem f - li - um:



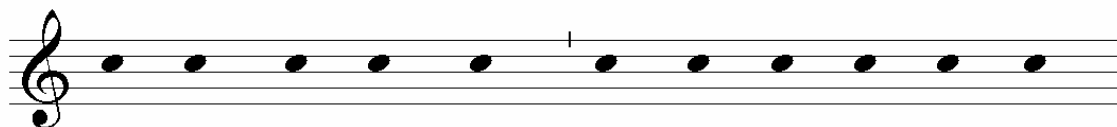
et vo - c - bis no - men ei - us Ie - sum:



ip - se e - nim sal - vum f - ci - et p - pu - lum



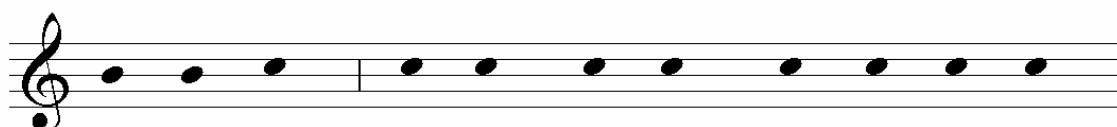
su - um a pec - cá - tis e - ó - rum. Hoc au - tem




to - tum fac - tum est, ut a - dim - ple - ré - tur



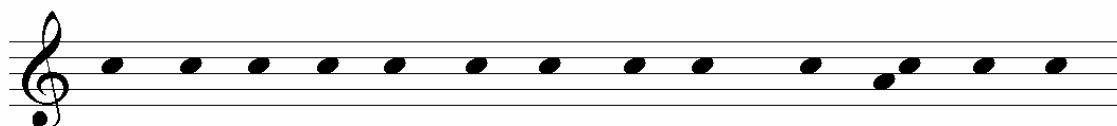
quod dic - tum est a Dó - mi - no per pro - phé - tam



di - cén - tem: Ec - ce vir - go con - cí - pi - et



in ú - te - ro et pá - ri - et fí - li - um:



et vo - cá - bi - tur no - men ei - us Em - má - nu - el,



quod in - ter - pre - tá - tur No - bís - cum Dé - us.

P replaces chalice on altar and covers with second folded corporal.
Places bread on spread corporal, in front of chalice.
Takes paten, blesses it, and places it to right of chalice, under the veil.

Washing of hands

S goes to piscina, and takes cruet and towel

P says:

Munda me, Dómine, ab omni iniquaménto córdis et corpóris mei;
ut possim mundus implére ópus sanctum Dómini.

P then goes to piscina to wash hands, assisted by S.

S replaces lavabo bowl and towel, and goes to stand at foot of altar step, on right side facing east.

P returns to centre of altar, and continues with preparatory prayers, bowing and saying:

In spíritu humilitátis et in ánimo contríto suscipiámur, Dómine, a te:
et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspéctu tuo, ut a te suscipiátur hódie,
et pláceat tibi, Dómine Deus.

P raises himself, kisses altar to right of sacrifice; blesses sacrifice, then crosses himself:

+ In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Invitation to people

P turns to people, saying silently:

Oráte, fratres et soróres pro me,
ut meum paritérque vestrum accéptum sit Dómino Deo nostro sacrificium.

All present (also silent):

Spíritus Sancti grátia illúminet cor túum et labia tua,
et accípiat Dóminus digne hoc sacrificum laudis de mánibus tuis
pro peccátis et offensióibus nostris.

The Secret

P turns back to altar, saying in a low voice:

Orémus.

In veneratióne nóminis dilectíssimi Filii tui Dómini nostri Iesu Christi, tibi, Deus pater misericordiárum, dévotis méntibus hóstias immolámus; suppliciter deprecánte, ut eárum virtúte cunctis egéntibus prestétur auxiliúm, ut in eodem nómine delectánte, salutárem sui propósiiti consequántur efféctum.

Oremus.

Placéat tibi, Domine, sacrificii preséntis oblátio, pro nostra, *Thome ap Rhys*, omniumque benefactórum nostrórum salúte; quorum quárumque memóriam speciáli afféctu recólimus, ómnibusque Christiánis vivis ac defunctis miserére propítius. Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Priest *Choir*




Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

SURSUM CORDA AND PREFACE

P raises hands to sing Sursum Corda (still facing altar):

Priest *Choir*



Dó - mi - nus vo - bís - cum. Et cum spí - ri - tu__ tu - o.

Priest *Choir*




Sur - sum cor - da.___ Ha - bé - mus in Dó - mi - no.

Priest



Grá - ci - as a - gá - mus Dó - mi - no__ De - o no - stro.

Choir




Dig - num et iu - stum est..

P lowers hands and continues Preface (overleaf):



Ve-re dignum et ius-tum est é-qu um et sa-lu-tá-re,




nos ti-bi sem-per et u-bí-que grá-ti-as á-ge-re:




Dó-mi-ne sanc-te, Pa-ter om-ní-po-tens e-tér-ne De-us.



Qui-a per in-car-ná-ti Ver-bi my-sté-ri-um:



No-va men-tis no-stre ó-cu-lis lux tu-e



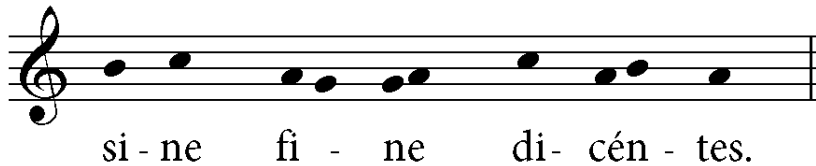
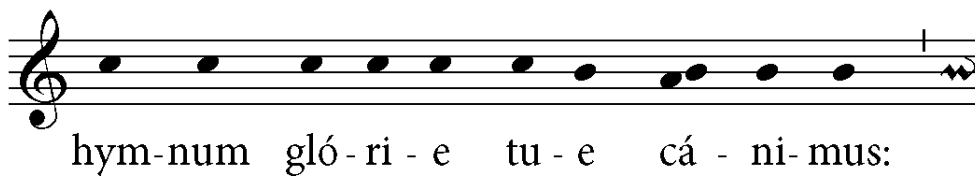
cla-ri-tá-tis in-fúl-sit.



Ut dum vi-si-bí-li-ter De-um co-gnó-sci-mus:



per hunc in in vi si bí-li-um a-mo-rem ra-pi-á-mur.



C raises arms slightly and joins hands saying:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dóminus Deus Sábaoth.
Pleni sunt celi et terra glória tua. Osánna in excélsis.

Signing cross on face he continues:

+ Benedictus qui venit in nómine Dómini.
Osánna in excélsis.

The bell is rung. One chosen from the people brings an elevation light to the altar step, and kneels at the step.

S kneels to right of C, ready to hold chasuble at elevation.

THE CANON OF THE MASS

P joins hands, raises eyes; then inclines body forward:

Te ígitur, clementíssime Pater,
per Iesum Christum Fílium tuum Dóminum nostrum,
súpplíces rogámus **bows** ac pétimus,

P stands upright; kisses altar on right of sacrifice

uti accépta hábeas et benedícas

makes sign of cross three times over chalice and bread

hec + dona, hec + múnera, hec + sancta sacrificia illibáta,
raises hands

In primis que tibi offérimus pro Ecclésia tua sancta Cathólica,
quam pacificáre, custodíre, adunáre, et régere dignéris toto orbe terrárum,
una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro Benedicto,
et Antistíte nostro Barry
et Regina nostra Elisabetha
et ómnibus orthodoxis atque cathólice et apostólice fidei cultóribus.

**P prays first for self; second, for father and mother (both carnal and spriritual)
and other relations; third, for special friends, parishioners and others; fourth,
for all persons present; fifth, for all Christian people, including his own friends.**

Meménto, Dómine, famulórum famularúmque tuárum N. et N.
et ómnium circumstántium quorum tibi fides cógnita est et nota devótio;
pro quibus tibi offérimus vel qui tibi ófferunt hoc sacrificium laudis,
pro se, suisque ómnibus, pro redemptione animárum suárum:
pro spe salútis et incolumitátis sue, tibíque reddunt vota sua
etéрно Deo vivo et vero.

Communicántes et memóriam venerántes,

Imprimis glóriose semper Vírginis (**inclines slightly**) Maríe,
genetrícis eiúsdem Dei et Dómini nostri Iesu Christi.

Sed et beatórum apostolórum ac mártýrum tuórum,
Petri, Pauli, Andrée, Iacóbi, Iohánnis, Thome, Iacóbi,
Phílippi, Bartholoméi, Matthéi, Simónis et Thadei,
Lini, Cleti, Cleméntis, Sixti, Cornélii, Cypriáni, Lauréntii,
Chrysógoni, Iohánnis et Pauli,

Cosme et Damiáni, et ómnium sanctórum tuórum,
quorum méritis precibúsque concédas,
ut in ómnibus protecti6nis tue muniámur auxili6.
Per eúndem Christum D6minum nostrum. Amen.

Regards host with great devotion then bows:

Hanc ígitur oblati6nem servitútis nostre,
sed et cuncte famílie tue, quésumus, D6mine,
ut placátus accípias, diésque nostros in tua pace disp6nas,
atque ab etérna damnati6ne nos éripi,
et in elect6rum tu6rum iúbeas grege numerári.
Per Christum D6minum nostrum. Amen.

Regards host again:

Quam oblati6nem tu, Deus ómnipotens, in ómnibus, quésumus,

Makes three crosses over each oblation:

Bene+díctam, ascríp+tam, ra+tam, rationábilem,
acceptabilémque facere dignéris,

Makes a cross over the host:

ut nobis cor+pus

Makes a cross over chalice:

et san+guis

Joins hands:

fiat dilectíssimi Fílii tui D6mini nostri Iesu Christi.

[turn]

Consecration and Elevation

P raises and joins hands; wipes fingers and elevates host a little:

Qui pridie quam patéretur,

accépit panem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas,

et elevátis óculis in celum **(raises eyes)**

ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipoténtem,

(bows, then stands a little more upright)

tibi grátias agens, bene+díxit, fregit,

(touches the host)

dedítque discíplis suis, dicens,

Accípите et manducáte ex hoc omnes.

(Bows, then utters last five words said under one breath without pause)

Hoc est enim corpus meum.

P elevates host high and holds it there for a while.

S holds chasuble while the host is raised.

The elevation light is raised, and the bell rings three times.

P replaces host reverently before chalice, + making the sign of the cross with it.

Uncovers chalice; takes it in both hands, keeping thumb and forefinger together (except when signing the cross):

Símili modo postquam cenátum est,

accípiens et hunc preclárum cálicem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas,

(raises his eyes)

item tibi **(bows)** grátias agens,

bene+díxit, dedítque discíplis suis, dicens:

Accípите, et bíbite ex eo omnes.

Elevates chalice a little:

Hic est enim calix sánguinis mei novi et etérni testaménti:

mystérium fidei:

qui pro vobis et pro multis effúndetur

in remissionem peccatórum.

Elevates chalice to chest or even above head:

Hec quotiescúmque fecéritis,
in mei memóriam faciétis.

S holds chasuble while chalice is raised.

The elevation light is raised, and the bell rings three times.

P replaces chalice; rubs fingers over it to remove any crumbs

Covers chalice with folded corporal.

Raises arms in form of cross with fingers joined:

Unde et mémores, Dómine,
nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta,
eiúsdem Christi, filii tui, Dómini Dei nostri,
tam beáte passiónis, necnon et ab ínferis resurrectionis;
sed et in celos glorióse ascensionis:

offérimus precláre maiestáti tue de tuis donis ac datis

Makes five crosses, the first three over the host and chalice:

hóstiam pu+ram,

hóstiam sanc+tam,

hóstiam et immacu+látam,

The fourth over the bread:

Pa+nem sanctum vite etérne,

The fifth over the chalice:

et cá+licem salútis perpétue.

Raising his eyes

Supra que propício ac seréno vultu respícere dignéris: et accépta habére,
sicut accépta habére dignátus es múnera púeri tui iusti Ábel,
et sacrificium patriárche nostri Ábrahe,
et quod tibi óbtulit summus sacérdos tuus Melchisedech,
sanctum sacrificium, immaculátam hóstiam.

[turn]

Bows and interlinks fingers

Súpplices te rogámus, omnípotens Deus,
iube hec perférri per manus sancti ángeli tui in sublíme altáre tuum,
in conspéctu divíne maiestátis tue;
ut quotquot

Raises self and kisses altar on right of sacrifice:

ex hac altáris participatióne sacrosánctum Fílii tui

Makes sign of cross over host:

Cor+pus

And over chalice:

et sán + guinem sumpsérimus,

Signs self on face:

omni bene+dictione celésti et grátia repleámur.

Per eundem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

P prays for dead, raising his eyes:

Meménto étiam, Dómine,

animárum famulórum famularúmque tuárum *Thome ap Rhys* et omnium
benefactorum nostrorum,

qui nos precessérunt cum signo fidei et dórmiunt in somno pacis.

Ipsis, Dómine, et ómnibus in Christo quiescéntibus,

locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indúlgeas, deprecámur.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Strikes breast once:

Nobis quoque peccatóribus, fámulis tuis,

de multitudíne miseratiónum tuárum sperántibus,

partem áliquam et societátem donáre dignéris,

cum tuis sanctis apóstolis et martýribus:

cum Iohánne, Stéphano, Matthía, Bárnaba, Ignátio, Alexándro, Marcellíno,

Petro, Felicitáte, Perpétua, Ágatha, Lúcia, Agnéte, Cecília, Anastásia,

et ómnibus sanctis tuis:

intra quorum nos consórtium, non estimátor mériti,

sed vénie, quésumus, largítor admítte.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum.

Per quem hec ómnia, Dómine, semper bona creas,
Makes sign of cross three times over chalice:
Santí+ficas, viví+ficas, bene+dícis, et prestas nobis.

P uncovers chalice, and sets corporal to one side

P signs cross over chalice with host five times:
first beyond chalice, on either side;
second, level with chalice; third, within it;
fourth, beyond chalice (as at the first time); fifth, in front of it:

Per ip+sum, et cum ip+so, et in ip+so,
est tibi Deo Patri omnipo+ténti,
in unitáte Spíritus + Sancti, omnis honor et glória.

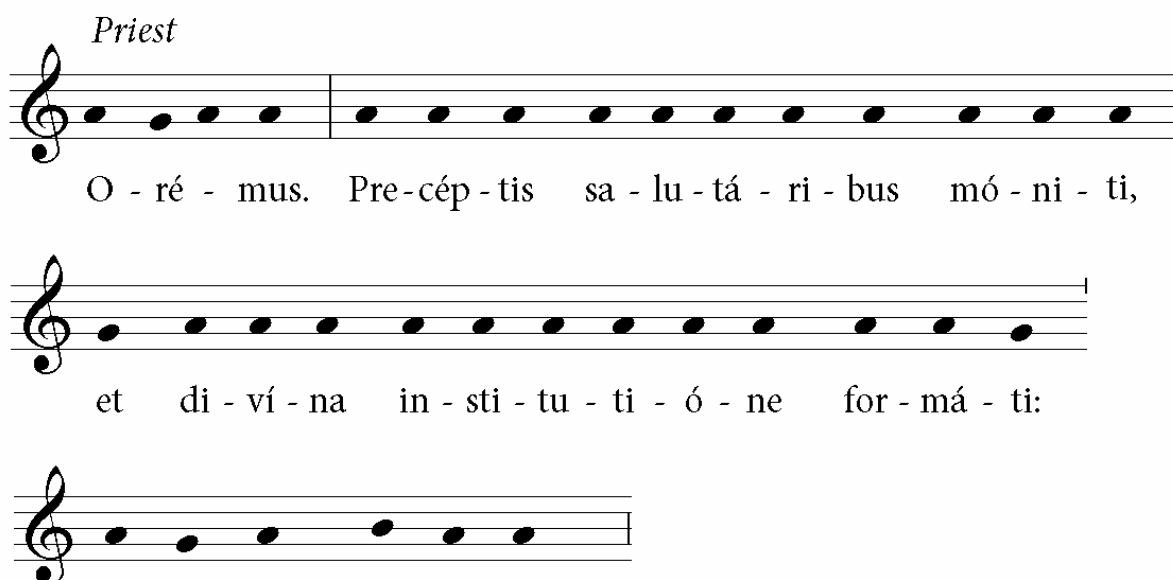
Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

P takes folded corporal and covers chalice.
P having covered chalice, keeps hands on altar.

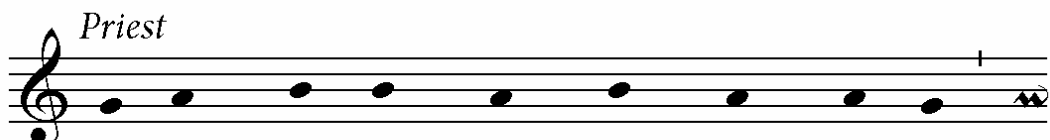
Priest




O - ré - mus. Pre-cép - tis sa - lu - tá - ri - bus mó - ni - ti,
et di - ví - na in - sti - tu - ti - ó - ne for - má - ti:
au - dé - mus dí - ce - re:

P raises hands and continues with Pater noster:


Priest



Pa - ter nós - ter qui es in cé - lis



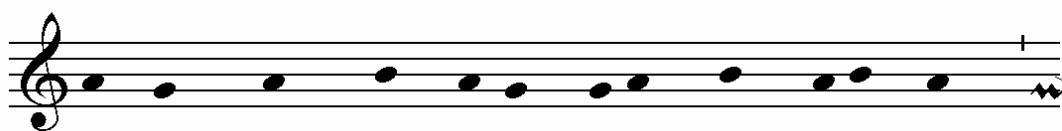
sanc - ti - fi - cé - tur nó - men tú - um,




ad - vé - ni - at rég - num tú - um,



fi - at vo - lún - tas tú - a



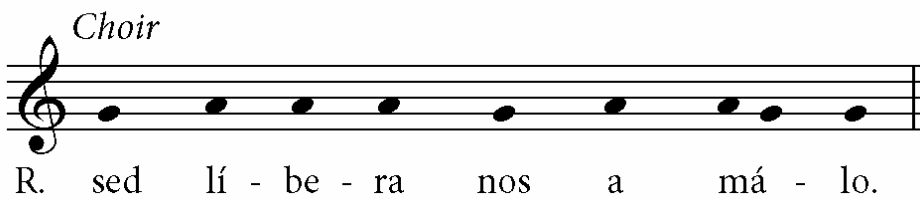
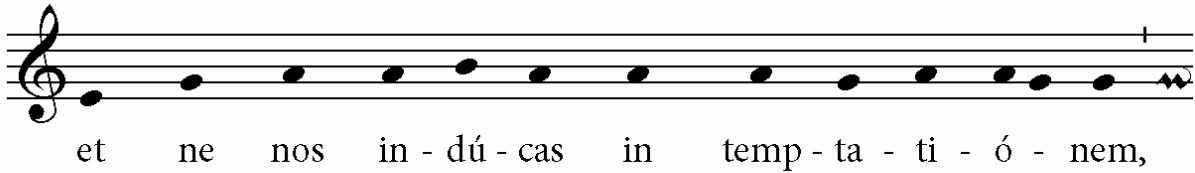
si - cut in cé - lo et in tér - ra,



pá - nem nós - trum quo - ti - di - á - num da nó - bis hó - di - e,



et di - mít - te nó - bis dé - bi - ta nós - tra



P adds 'Amen' privately, and continues:

Líbera nos, quésumus, Dómine, ab ómnibus malis:
pretéritis, preséntibus, et futúris;
et intercedénte beáta et gloriósa semper vírgine Dei genitríce María
et beátis apóstolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andréa, cum ómnibus sanctis.

P takes paten, kisses it then forms a cross, raising it to the left eye, the right eye, and then above head.

Replacing paten in front of chalice, P says:

Da propícuis pacem in diébus nostris,
ut ope misericórdie tue adiuti,
et a peccáto simus semper líberi,
et ab omni perturbatióne secúri.

Fraction

P uncovers chalice; bows, takes host between thumbs and forefingers;
Holds up host over bowl of chalice and breaks into three parts, saying:
At first fraction:


Per eúndem Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum,

At second fraction:

Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti, Deus.

Holding two parts in the left hand, and one in the right hand above the chalice,
he sings:


Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.


Signing cross within chalice with third part of host, he sings:

Priest



Pax Do+-mi - ni sit sem+-per vo+-bis - cum.

Choir



Et cum spí - ri - tu tu - o.

Agnus Dei

P continues privately:

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: miserére nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: miserére nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: dona nobis pacem.

P makes sign of cross with third part of host and puts it in the blood within the chalice:

Hoc sacro + sáncta commíxtio córporis et sánguinis Dómini nostri Iesu Christi,
fiat mihi omnibúsque suméntibus salus mentis et córporis:
et ad vitam etérnam promeréndam et capescéndam preparatio salutáris.
Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Before the Pax, he says:

Dómine, sancte Pater, omnípotens etérne Deus,
Da mihi hoc sacrosánctum corpus et sánguinem Fílii tui
Dómini nostri Iesu Christi ita digne súmerere:
ut merear per hoc remissionem ómnium peccatórum meórum accípere,
et tuo Sancto Spíritu repléri; et pacem tuam habére;
quia tu es Deus solus et preter te non est álius,
cuius regnum et impérium gloriósum
sine fine permánet in sécula seculórum.
Amen.

The Pax

P kisses the spread corporal to right of host, then kisses top of chalice

P takes the Pax Board, kisses it, then offers it to the Clerk to kiss.

P Pax tibi et Ecclésie Dei.

Clerk Et cum spíritu tuo.

Clerk takes Pax Board to organ player, singers and people.

The Priest's Communion

P (as peace is circulating) takes host in both hands and prays privately:

Deus Pater, fons et órigo totíus bonitátis,
qui ductus misericórdia Unigénitum tuum pro nobis
ad infíma mundi descéndere et carnem súmerere voluísti,
quam ego indígnus hic in mánibus meis téneo:

Bows to host:

Te adóro, te glorífico, te tota cordis intentióne laudo et precor;
ut nos fámulos tuos non déseras,
sed peccáta nostra dimíttas,
quátenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo,
puro corde et casto córpore, servíre valeámus.
Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Dómine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi,
qui ex voluntáte Patris, cooperánte Spíritu Sancto,
per mortem tuam mundum vivificásti:
líbera me, queso, per hoc sacrosánctum corpus et hanc sánguinem tuum
a cunctis iniquitátibus meis et ab univérsis malis;
Et fac me tuis semper obedíre mandátis,
Et a te nunquam in perpétuum separári permíttas, Salvátor mundi.
Qui cum Deo Patre et eódem Spíritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus,
Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

Córporis et sánguinis tui, Dómine Iesu Christe, sacraméntum,
quod licet indígnus accípío,
non sit mihi iudício et condemnátioni;
sed tua prosit pietáte córporis mei et ánime saluti. Amen.

Addresses host humbly:

Ave in etérnum, sanctíssima caro Christi,
mihi ante ómnia et super ómnia summa dulcédo.
Corpus Dómini nostri Iesu Christi sit mihi peccatóri via et vita.

In nómine + Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Signs cross before mouth with host, then receives.

Addresses blood with great devotion:

Ave in etérnum, celéstis potus,
mihi ante ómnia et super ómnia summa dulcédo.
Corpus et sánguis Dómini nostri Iesu Christi
prosint mihi peccatóri ad remédium sempitérnum in vitam etérnam. Amen.

In nómine + Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Receives blood. Bows, and says devoutly:

Grátias tibi ago, Dómine, sancte Pater, omnípotens etérne Deus,
qui me refecísti de sacratíssimo córpore et sánguine Fílii tui
Dómini nostri Iesu Christi:
Et precor, ut hoc sacraméntum salútis nostre,
quod sumpsi indígnus peccátor,
non veniat mihi ad iudícium neque ad condemnatióem pro méritis meis;
sed ad proféctum córporis mei et ánime salúti in vitam etérnam. Amen.

Ablutions

S stands, takes wine and water cruets, and stands at right end of altar.

P moves to right end of altar; holds chalice in both hands with fingers joined as before. S pours wine into chalice.

P continues:

Quod ore sumpsimus, Dómine, pura mente capiámus;
et de múnere temporáli fiat nobis remédium sempitérnum.

S pours wine into bowl of chalice over P's fingers, rinsing to remove any remnant of consecrated elements.

P drinks remaining liquid:

Hec nos commúnio, Dómine,
purget a crímine,
et celéstis remédii fáciat esse consórtes.

S pours water into chalice for P to drink.

P returns to middle of altar; lays chalice sideways on altar with bowl resting on paten, so any remaining liquid drains off.

S replaces cruets, then goes to piscina and takes lavabo cruet and towel.

P bows, and prays:

Adorémus crucis signáculum:

per quod salutis súmpsimus sacraméntum.

P goes to piscina and washes hands with S holding the lavabo cruet and towel.

S replaces lavabo and towel.

S then moves Missal to right end of altar.

P folds corporals and replaces in burse; holds chalice to mouth to drink any last drop remaining; stacks vessels and burse.

P leaves chalice, paten, and burse on the altar.

S then kneels at the altar step till the end of the Mass.

Communion antiphon

P stands at right of altar to say Communion antiphon:

Vincénti dabo manna abscónditum: et dabo illi cálculum cándidum, et in cálculo nomen novum scriptum quod nemo scit nisi qui accípit. Alleluya

Postcommunions

P + signs face.

P turns westwards.

P joins hands; elevates arms slightly:

S holds chasuble.

Priest *Choir*

Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, then sings:

Priest

O - re - mus

Sacrosáncta mystéria que sumpsimus, Dómine,
ad honórem complacentíssimi nóminis Filii tui Dómini nostri Iesu Christi
devotis precórdiis recoléntes;
quesumus, ut increménta spirituális exsultatiónis nobis accúmulent,
et afféctum nostrum ad hoc salutíferum nomen Iesu iúgiter impriméndum
accéndant,
et ad iubilándum in Iesu salvatóre nostro dulcíssimo,
tota mentis intentióne promovéant.

Oremus.

Sumpta sacraménta, Domine, nos absólvant a vínculis peccatórum,
et animábus *Thome ap Rhys* et ómnium benefactórum nostrórum defunctórum
consórtia obtinéant spiritúum beatórum.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum
qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Priest *Choir*

Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Dismissal

P signs + forehead.

P turn westwards, and sings:

Priest *Choir*

Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest

Be - ne - di - cá - mus Dó - mi - no.____

Choir

De - o grá - ti - as.____

P turns back and goes to middle of altar, moving the Missal.

P inclines body and joins hands, praying silently:

Pláceat tibi, sancta Trínitas,
obséqium servitútis mee:

et presta, ut hoc sacrificium quod óculis tue maiestátis indígnus óbtuli,
tibi sit acceptábile, mihíque et ómnibus pro quibus illud óbtuli, sit, te
miseránte, propitiábile.

Qui vivis et regnas Deus per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

P stands upright and makes sign of cross before face:

+ In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Last Gospel

P recites privately until final clause:

In princípío erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum.
Hoc erat in princípío apud Deum.

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est.

In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hóminum:

Et lux in ténebris lucet, et ténebre eam non comprehendérunt.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Johánnes.

Hic venit in testimónium ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine,
ut omnes créderent per illum.

Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine.

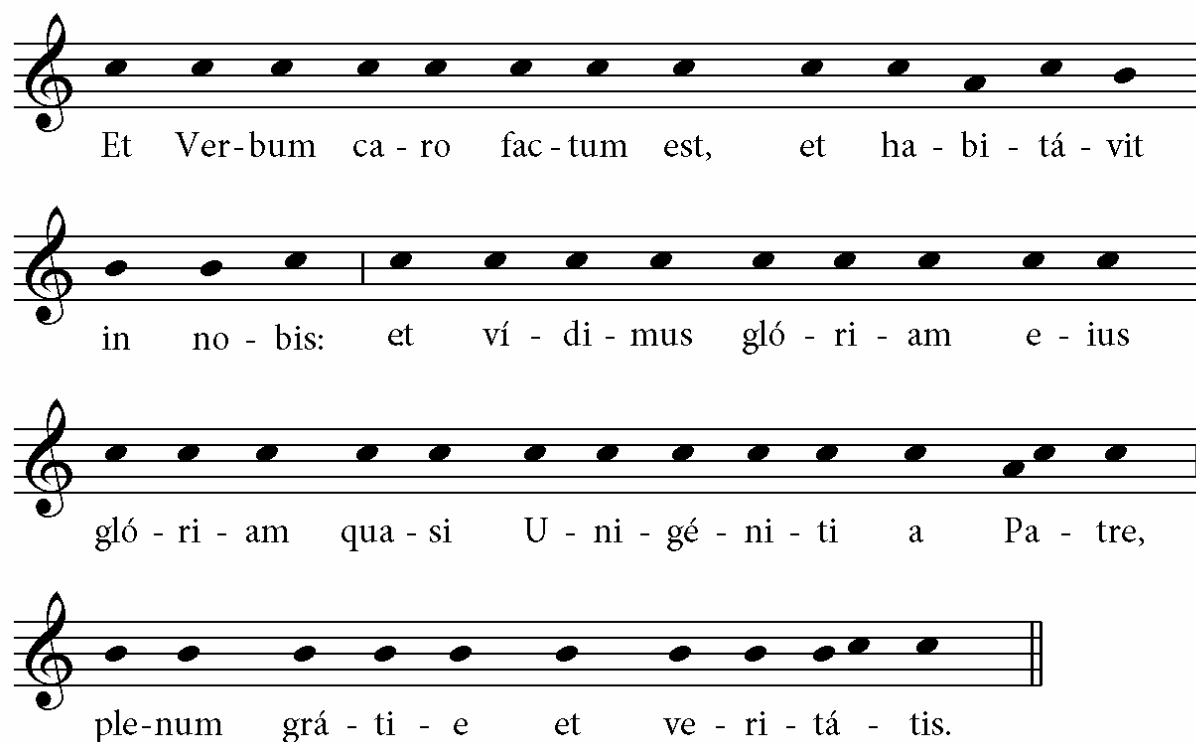
Erat lux vera, que illúminat omnem hóminem veniéntem in hunc mundum.

In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognóvit.

In própria venit, et sui eum non recepérunt.

Quotquot autem recepérunt eum, dedit eis potestátem filios Dei fferi,
his, qui credunt in nómine eius:

Qui non ex sanguínibus, neque ex voluntáte carnis, neque ex voluntáte viri,
sed ex Deo nati sunt. **P bows: S kisses the floor.**



Et Ver-bum ca - ro fac - tum est, et ha - bi - tá - vit
in no - bis: et ví - di - mus gló - ri - am e - ius
gló - ri - am qua - si U - ni - gé - ni - ti a Pa - tre,
ple-num grá - ti - e et ve - ri - tá - tis.

S stands, goes to altar and takes Missal then steps down behind P.

P bows to altar, and both leave and return to the vestry.

THANKSGIVING AFTER MASS

S sets Missal before P for final Thanksgiving, but then proceeds to bring back the vessels, cruets, pyx and Pax from the altar, and the lavabo cruet and towel.

P recites closing texts:

Song of the Three Children, vv. 62–66, Psalm 150 and Nunc Dimittis

Antiphon: Tríum puerórum cantémus.

1 Benedícite, sacerdótes Dómini, Dómino:

benedícite, servi Dómini, Dómino.

2 Benedícite, spíritus, et ánime iustórum, Dómino:

benedícite, sancti, et húmiles corde, Dómino.

3 Benedícite, Ananía, Azária, Misaël, Dómino:

laudáte et superexaltáte eum in sécula.

4 Benedicámus Patrem et Fílium cum Sancto Spíritu:

laudémus et superexaltémus eum in sécula.

5 Benedíctus es, Dómine, in firmaménto celi:

et laudábilis, et gloriósus, et superexaltátus in sécula.

1 Laudáte Dóminum in sanctis eius: laudáte eum in firmaménto virtútis eius.

2 Laudáte eum in virtútibus eius:

laudáte eum secúndum multitudínem magnitúdinis eius.

3 Laudáte eum in sono tube: laudáte eum in psaltério, et cíthara.

4 Laudáte eum in týmpano, et choro: laudáte eum in chordis, et órgano.

5 Laudáte eum in cýmbalis benesonántibus:

laudáte eum in cýmbalis iubilatiónis: omnis spíritus laudet Dóminum.

1 Nunc dimíttis servum tuum, Dómine, secúndum verbum tuum in pace:

2 Quia vidérunt óculi mei salutáre tuum.

3 Quod parásti ante fáciem ómnium populórum:

4 Lumen ad revelatiónem géntium, et glóriam plebis tue Israel.

Glória Patri et Fílio et Spíritui Sancto:

Sicut erat in princípío et nunc et semper: et in sécula seculórum. Amen.

Antiphon: Trium puerórum cantémus hymnum quem cantábant in camíno ignis benedicétes Dóminum.

Kýrie eléison. Christe eléison. Kýrie eléison.

Pater noster, qui es in celis sanctificétur nomen tuum.

Advéniat regnum tuum. Fiat volúntas tua, Sicut in celo et in terra.

Panem nostrum quotidiánum da nobis hódie.

Et dimítte nobis débíta nostra, sicut et nos dimíttimus debitóribus nostris.

Et ne nos indúcas in tentatiónem. Sed líbera nos a malo.

V. Benedicámus Patrem et Fílium cum Sancto Spíritu.

R. Laudémus et superexaltémus eum in sécula.

V. Benedíctus es, Dómine, in firmaménto celi:

R. et laudábilis et gloriósus in sécula.

V. Benedícat et custódiat nos Trínitas Sancta: Amen.

R. Non intres in iudícium cura servo tuo, Dómine:

quia non iustificábitur in conspéctu tuo omnis vivens.

V. Dómine Deus virtútum, convérte nos;

R. Et osténde fáciem tuam et salvi érimus.

V. Dómine, exáudi oratiónem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te véniat.

[V. Dóminus vobíscum. R. Et cum spíritu tuo.]

Oremus.

Deus, qui tribus puéris mitigásti flammás ignium, concéde propítius; ut nos fámulos tuos non exúrat flamma vitiórum.

Ure igne Sancti Spíritus renes nostros et cor nostrum, Dómine; ut tibi casto córpore serviámus et mundo corde placeámus.

Actiões nostras, quésumus, Dómine, aspirándo prevéni et adiuvándo proséquare; ut cuncta nostra operátio et a te semper incípiat, et per te cepta finiátur. Per Christum Dóminum nostrum.

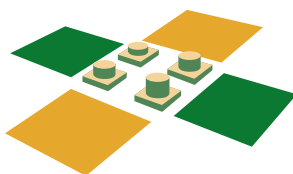
Amen.

Appendix IV.2
Service Booklet
for the Enactment of the
Sarum Mass of the Holy Name
(Singers: St Teilo's Church,
September 2011)

MISSA DE DULCISSIME NOMINE IESU

MASS IN HONOUR OF THE
HOLY NAME OF JESUS
ACCORDING TO THE
MEDIÉVAL USE OF SALISBURY

CHOIR BOOKLET



THE
EXPERIENCE
OF WORSHIP
IN LATE MEDIÉVAL
CATHEDRAL AND
PARISH CHURCH

13–15 SEPTEMBER 2011
ST TEILO'S CHURCH: ST FAGANS

*Singers enter individually through the chancel.
Bow to the main altar, then turn left to the Jesus altar.
Bow to the Jesus altar.*

Introit

ANTIPHON

Beginner	Choir
----------	-------

In nó - mi - ne Ie - su om - ne ge - nu flec - tá - tur
ce - lé - sti - um ter - ré - sti - um et in - fer - nó - rum:
et om - nis lin - gua con - fi - te - á - tur qui - a
Dó - mi - nus Ie - sus Chri - stus in gló - ri - a est De - i
Pa - - - - - tris.

PSALM VERSE

Beginner	Choir
----------	-------

Lau - dá - te Dó - mi - num quó - ni - am bo - nus Dó - mi - nus:
Psál - li - te nó - mi - ni ei - us quó - ni - am su - á - ve.

GLORIA PATRI

Beginner

All turn east. Bow.



Gló - ri - a Pa - tri et Fí - li - o et Spi - rí - tu - i Sán - cto:

Choir

All turn back.



Si - cut é - rat in prin - cí - pi - o, et nunc, et sem - per;



et in sé - cu - la se - cu - ló - rum. A - men.

Kyrie Eleison

Each petition three times, either alternate sides, or in alternation with organ

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - - - son.

Chri - ste _____ e - - - lei - - - - - son.

Ky - ri - e _____ e - - - lei - - - - - son.

Version at organ pitch

Ky - ri - e e - lei - - - - - son.

Chri - ste _____ e - - - lei - - - - - son.

Ky - ri - e _____ e - - - lei - - - - - son.

Collects

Priest *Choir*

Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Collect of the Holy Name (intoned by Celebrant)

At 'Oremus', bow to end of both Collects.

Priest

O - re - mus

Deus, qui gloriosissimum nomen Dómini nostri Iesu Christi unigéniti Filii tui fecisti fidélibus tuis summo suavitátis affectu amábile; et málgnis spirítibus treméndum atque terríbile; concéde propítius, ut omnes qui hoc nomen Iesu devóte venerántur in terris, sancte consolatiónis dulcédinem in presénti percípiant et in fúturo gaudium exsultatiónis et interminábilis jubilatiónis obtinéant.

Collect for benefactors

Miserere, quesumus Domine, animabus Thome ap Rhys et omnium benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum; et pro beneficiis que nobis largiti sunt in terris, premia eterna consequantur in celis. Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum: Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Priest *Choir*

Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Epistle

The Epistle (Acts 4: 8–12) is intoned by the Parish Clerk from the reading desk.

Léctio Áctuum Apostolórum.

In diébus illis, Petrus replétus Spíritu Sáncto dixit; príncipes pópuli et senióres, audíte: Si nos hódie diiudicámur in benefácto hóminis infirmi, in quo iste salvus factus est, notum sit ómnibus vobis, et omni plebi Israél: quia in nómine Dómini nostri Iesu Christi Nazaréni, quem vos crucifixístis, quem Deus suscitávit a mórtuis, in hoc iste astat coram vobis sanus. Hic est lapis, qui reprobátus est a vobis edificántibus, qui factus est in caput ánguli: et non est in áliquo alio salus. Nec enim áliud nomen est sub celo datum homínibus, in quo opórteat nos salvos fieri.

Gradual

Beginner Choir

Con - stí - tu - it Con - stí - tu - it De - us Pa - ter

ad déx - te - ram su - am Ié - sum Chrí - stum in

ce - lé - sti - bus su - per om - nem prin - ci - pá - tum,

et po - te - stá - tem et vir - tú - tem et do -

- mi - na - ti - ó - nem: et om - ne no - men

quod no - mi - ná - tur non so - lum in hoc sé - cu - lo

sed é - ti - am in fú - tu - ro, et óm - ni - a

VS

sub - ie - cit sub pé - di - bus ei - -
 - - - - - us.

VERSE

Beginner

Ád - iu - va nos De - us sa - lu - tá - ris no - ster:

et pro - pter gló - ri - am_ nó - mi - nis_ tu - i

Dó - mi - ne lí - be - ra nos, et pro - pí - ci - us

es - sto pec - cá - tis no - stris pro - pter no - men

Choir

tu - - - - -

- um.

Alleluya follows straight on.

19 SIDE B

Ie-sus to-tus vir-tu-ó-sus fo-vet su-os_ óp-ti-me. Sum me po-tens in vi-gó-re

22

sum-me cel-sus in ho-nó-re sum-me gra-tus in a-mó-re om-nem lau-dem ób-ti-net.

25 SIDE A

In sci-én-do sum-me sa-pit am-bi-én-do cunc-ta ca-pit di-li-gén-do cor-da ra-pit

28 SIDE B

et il-lá - ta dé-ti-net. E-ya no-men no-bis gra-tum dul-cis Ie-sus ap-pel-lá-tum

31 SIDE A

sit in cor-dis sic fir-má-tum quod non pos-sit é-ru-i. Hoc re-á-tum pec-ca-tó-rum


34

tol-lat pre-stet iu-bi-ló-rum o-das se-de be - a-tó-rum do-net no-bis pér-fru-i.

Gospel


All turn east.

Priest *Choir*




Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest



Se quén - ti - a sanc - ti e - van - gé - li - i se - cún - dum Mat - thé - um.

Choir




Gló - ri - a ti - bi Dó - mi - ne.

Bow to altar, then turn to face the Celebrant, who intones from the north side of the altar.

In illo témpore: Ángelus Dómini appáruit in somnis Ioseph dicens; Ioseph fili David, noli timére accípere Mariám cóniugem tuam: quod enim in ea natum est, de Spíritu Sancto est. Páriet autem fílium: et vocábis nomen eius Iesum: ipse enim salvum fáciet pópulum suum a peccátis eórum. Hoc autem totum factum est, ut adimplerétur quod dictum est a Dómino per prophétam dicéntem: Ecce virgo concípiet in útero et páriet fílium: et vocábitur nomen eius Emmánuel, quod interpretátur nobíscum Deus.


Offertory

Priest *Choir*




Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest



O - re - mus

Beginner **Choir**



In nó - mi - ne me - o de - mó - ni - a e - í - ci - ent,
lin - guis lo - quén - tur no - vis: ser - pén - tes tol - lent
et si mor - tí - fe - rum quid bí - be - rint_
non e - is no - cé - bit; su - per e - - - gros
ma - nus im - pó - nent et be - - -
ne ha - - - - bé - bunt.

Turn east after Offertory.

Preparatory prayers and Secret

Celebrant says a series of short prayers sotto voce, ending with two Secrets, the first of the Holy Name, the second of benefactors.

Celebrant (praying silently until last phrase):

Priest *Choir*

Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Sursum Corda and Preface

Priest *Choir*

Dó - mi - nus vo - bís - cum. Et cum spí - ri - tu__ tu - o.

Priest *Choir*

Sur - sum cor - da.___ Ha - bé - mus in Dó - mi - no.

Priest

Grá - ci - as a - gá - mus Dó - mi - no__ De - o no - stro.

Choir

Dig - num et iu - stum est..

Celebrant continues with the Preface, ending

cum - que om - ni mi - lí - ti - a ce - lés - tis ex - ér - cit - us hym - num

gló - ri - e tu - e cá - ni - mus: si - ne fi - ne di - cén - tes.

Sanctus follows at once.

Sanctus and Benedictus

Beginner *[Very slowly]*

Sán - - - ctus

Organ [*Sanctus*]

27

27

Choir

Plé-ni sunt cé-li et tér-ra gló-ri-a tú-a

Organ [*Osanna*]

20

20

Beginner Choir Make sign of cross when singing 'In Nomine'.

Be-ne-dí-ctus qui vé-nit in nó-mi-ne Dó-mi-ni

Organ [*Osanna*]

19

19

Finis.

Kneel to end of Mass. Bow low when Celebrant raises host above his head.

Celebrant continues the Canon of the Mass privately. He ends:

Per ip̄sum, et cum ip̄so, et in ip̄so,
est tibi Deo Patri omnipōtenti,
in unitate Sp̄ritus + Sancti, omnis honor et glória.

Priest *Choir*

Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Pater Noster

Priest

O - ré - mus. Pre-cép - tis sa - lu - tá - ri - bus mó - ni - ti,

et di - ví - na in - sti - tu - ti - ó - ne for - má - ti:

Priest

Pa - ter nós - ter qui es in cé - lis

sanc - ti - fi - cé - tur nó - men tú - um,

ad - vé - ni - at rég - num tú - um,

fi - at vo - lún - tas tú - a

si - cut in cé - lo et in tér - ra,

pá-nem nós-trum quo-ti - di - á-num da nó-bis hó - di - e,

et di - mít - te nó-bis dé - bi - ta nós - tra

si - cut et nos di - mít - ti - mus de - bi - tó - ri - bus nó - stris

et ne nos in - dú - cas in temp - ta - ti - ó - nem,

Choir

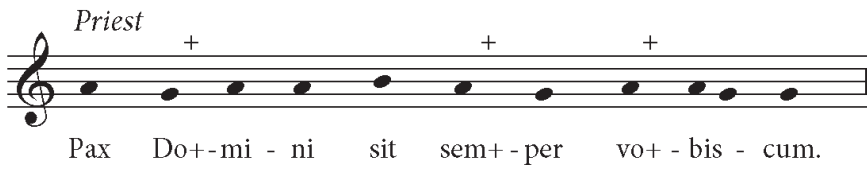
R. sed lí - be - ra nos a má - lo.

Celebrant continues with short prayers and the fraction, ending:

Priest *Choir*

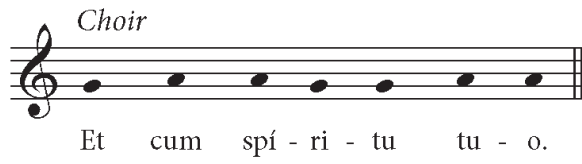
Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Priest



Pax Do-mi - ni sit sem+ - per vo+ - bis - cum.

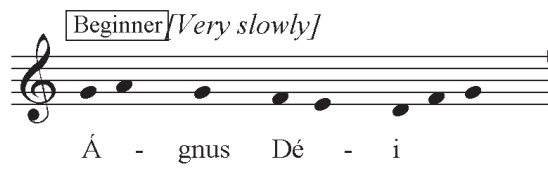
Choir



Et cum spí - ri - tu tu - o.

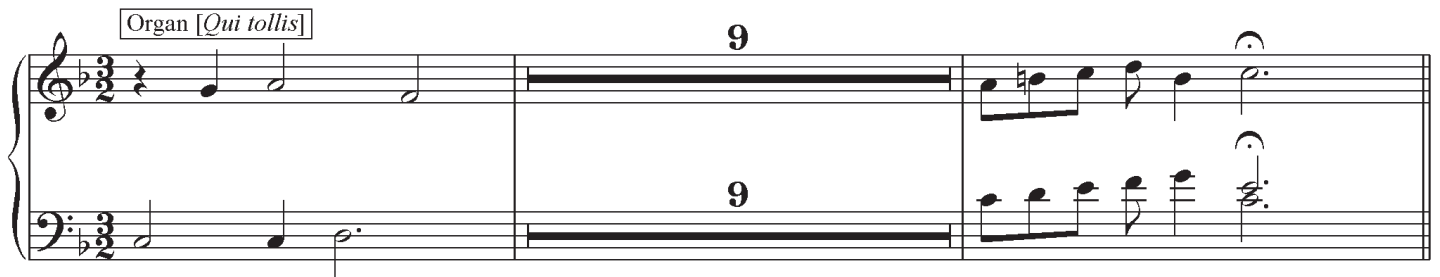
Agnus Dei

Beginner *[Very slowly]*



Á - gnus Dé - i

Organ *[Qui tollis]*



Á - gnus Dé - i

Beginner Choir



Á - gnus Dé - i, qui tól - lis pec - cá - ta mun - di: mi - se - ré - re no - bis.

Organ *[Agnus]*



Finis.

Sharing of the Pax

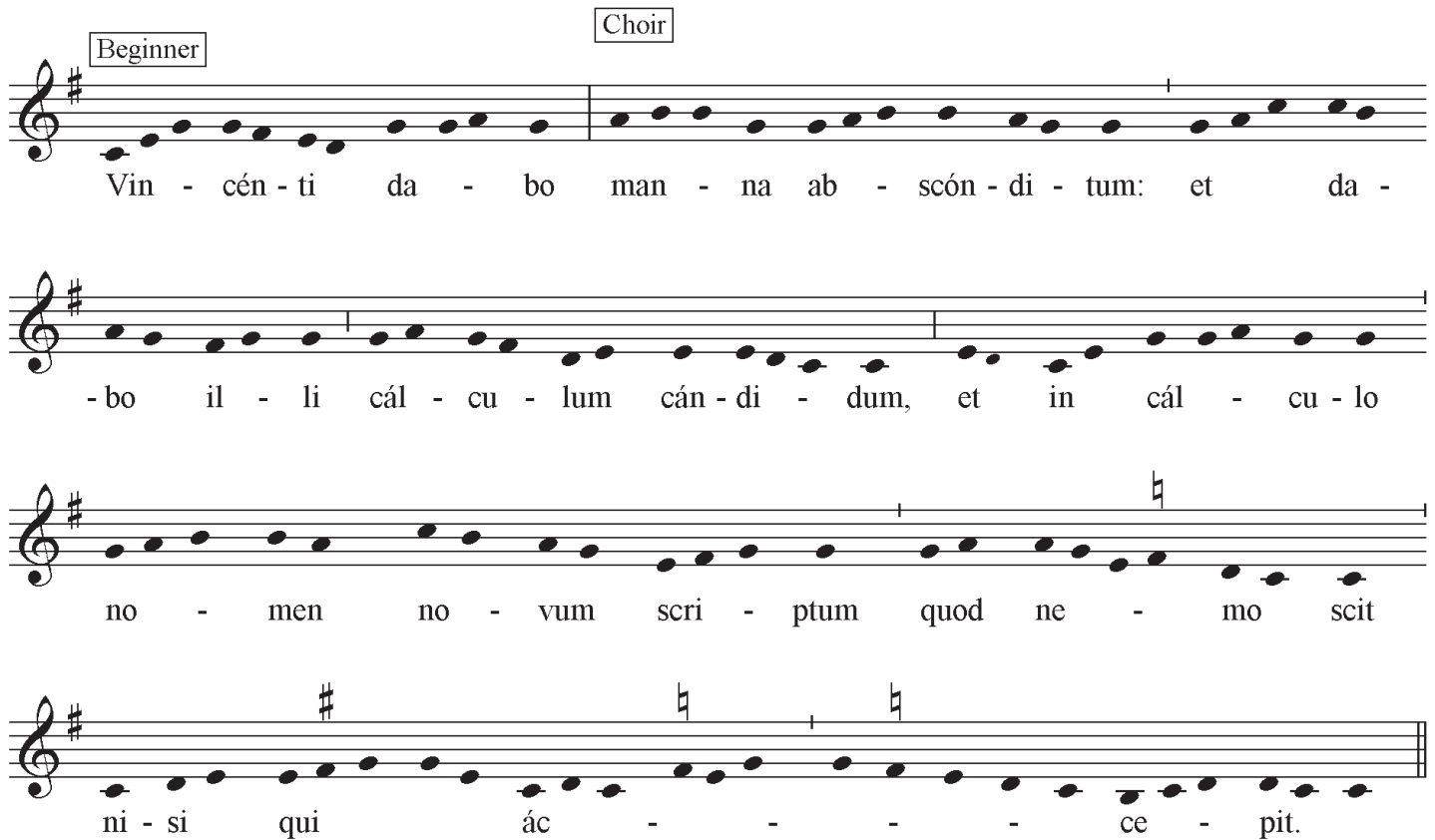
*Celebrant kisses Pax Board and then offers it to Clerk to kiss.
Clerk takes Pax Board to server, singers and people.*

**Kiss the pax board when the Server offers it to you
Stay facing east until end of service.**

Communion Chant

Beginner

Choir



Vin - cén - ti da - bo man - na ab - scón - di - tum: et da -


- bo il - li cál - cu - lum cán - di - dum, et in cál - cu - lo

no - men no - vum scri - ptum quod ne - mo scit

ni - si qui ác - - - ce - pit.

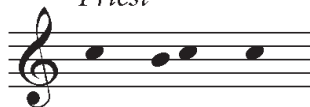
Postcommunion Prayers

Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest



O - re - mus

Postcommunion of the Holy Name

Sacrosancta mysteria quae sumpsimus, Domine,
ad honorem complacentissimi nominis Filii tui Domini nostri Iesu Christi devotis
precordiis recolentes;
quesumus, ut incrementa spiritualis exultationis nobis accumulent,
et affectum nostrum ad hoc salutiferum nomen Iesu iugiter imprimendum accendant,
et ad iubilandum in Iesu salvatore nostro dulcissimo,
tota mentis intentione promoveant.
Per eundem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum:
Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitate Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Postcommunion of benefactors

Oremus. Sumpta sacramenta, Domine, nos absolvant a vinculis peccatorum,
et animabus Thome ap Rhys et omnium benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum
consortia obtineant spirituum beatorum.
Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Filium tuum
qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus,

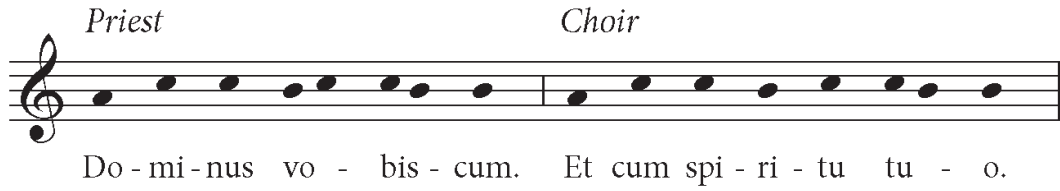
Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

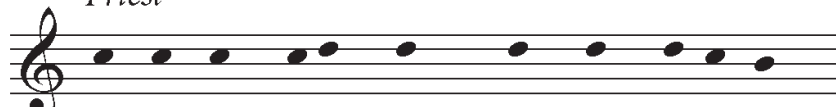
Dismissal

Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest



Be - ne - di - cá - mus Dó - mi - no. _____

Choir



De - o grá - ti - as. _____

Celebrant turns east for short prayer and final Gospel.

Celebrant and server bow to altar, leave, and return to sacristy.

Choir leave one by one, bowing to altar as before, and return to sacristy.

Sources

Chant Propers are taken from *Graduale Sarisburiense* (1532), printed in Paris by Nickolaus Prevost and Francis Regnault, and sold in Paris by Regnault and in London by Robert Redman (*STC*, 2nd edn, 15865). The propers appear within the Sanctorale for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus on 7 August (n.f.; EEBO images 240–5).

The Kyrie is the Square melody for feria vi (Friday) from the cycle of daily Lady Masses by Nicholas Ludford in *Lbl* MSS Roy. App. 45–48. The transcription of the Square is adapted from Hugh Baillie, ‘Squares’, *Acta Musicologica*, 32 (1960), 179–93, K6.

Polyphonic settings of Sanctus and Agnus Dei are from the Organ Mass by Philip ap Rhys (d.1566) in *Lbl* MS Add. 29996 (EECM 10, ed. Denis Stevens (1969), 12–16). Vocal faburden by John Harper.

Gloria in Excelsis Deo and Credo are omitted from this celebration of Low Mass.

Other items and directions for the ritual are taken principally from *Missale ad vsum ecclesie Sarisburiensis* of 1532, again printed by Regnault (*STC*, 2nd edn, 16212.5), but are supplemented by additional details found in other printed Missals and in the manuscript Customaries compiled between the early thirteenth and later fourteenth centuries.

Transpositions

Introit, Communion: down a fourth
Gradual, Sequence, Offertory: down a tone
Alleluya: down a third

All prayers and dialogues shown with c reciting note, to be relative pitch set by celebrant.



THE
EXPERIENCE
OF WORSHIP
IN LATE MEDIEVAL
CATHEDRAL AND
PARISH CHURCH



PRIFYSGOL
BANGOR
UNIVERSITY



Arts & Humanities
Research Council



Mass for the Holy Name of Jesus has been devised as part of the research project *The Experience of Worship in late Medieval Cathedral and Parish Church*. The project is part of the UK-wide research programme, Religion and Society, funded jointly by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Economic and Social Research Council. The project is led by Professor John Harper, director of the International Centre for Sacred Music Studies, Bangor University. The other core members of the research team are Dr Sally Harper and Judith Aveling (of Bangor University), Dr Paul Barnwell (Oxford University), and Dr Magnus Williamson (Newcastle University). The partner organisations in the research project are Salisbury Cathedral and St Fagans National History Museum Wales, near Cardiff.

For further details see www.experienceofworship.org.uk

The Experience of Worship project team wish to express their warmest thanks to the curators and staff of St Fagans: National History Museum, Wales, for their support and collaboration in this venture.

Appendix IV.3
Service Booklet
for the Enactment of the
Sarum Mass of the Holy Name
(Priest and Server:
Salisbury Cathedral, October 2011)

MISSA DE DULCISIME NOMINE IESU

MASS IN HONOUR OF THE
HOLY NAME OF JESUS
ACCORDING TO THE
USE OF SALISBURY

PRIEST AND CLERK



THE
EXPERIENCE
OF WORSHIP

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL
6 OCTOBER 2011

The Clerk [= S] takes the chasuble, the chalice and paten, cruets, pyx, Pax board and Missal to the Trinity Chapel altar; then the lavabo bowl, cruet and towel to the piscina. He lights the candles on the altar.

IN THE VESTRY

Priest vests in alb, amice and stole in the sacristy, saying

1 Veni, Creátor Spíritus,
Mentes tuórum vísita,
Imple supérna grátia,
Que tu creásti péctora.

2 Qui Paráclitus díceris
Donum Dei altíssimi
Fons vivus, ignis, cáritas,
Et spiritalis únctio.

3 Tu septifórmis múnere,
Dextre Dei tu dígitus
Tu rite promíssum Patris,
Sermóne ditans gúttura.

4 Accénde lumen sénsibus;
Infúnde amórem córdibus,

Infírma nostri córporis
Virtúte firmans pérpeti.

5 Hostem repéllas lóngius,
Pacémque duces prótinus;
Ductóre sic te prévio,
Vitémus omni nóxium.

6 Per te sciámus da Patrem
Noscámus atque Fílium
Te utriúsque Spíritum
Credámus omni tempore.

7 Sit laus Patri cum Fílio
Sancto simul Paráclito
Nobísque mittat Fílius
Charísma Sancti Spíritus.

V. Emítte Spíritum tuum et creabúntur. **R.** Et renovábis fáciem terre.

Collect for purity

Deus, cui omne cor patet et omnis volúntas lóquitur,
et quem nullum latet secrétum,

Purifica per infusiónem Sancti Spíritus cogitatiónes cordis nostri,
Ut te perfécte diligére et digne laudáre mereámur.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum:

Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte eiúsdem Spíritus Sancti Deus,
Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

Antiphon and Psalm 42 (43)

Introíbo ad altáre Dei.

1 Iúdica me, Deus, et discérne causam meam de gente non sancta:
ab hómine iníquo et dolóso érue me.

2 Quia tu es Deus fortitúdo mea:
quare me repulísti, et quare tristis incédo, dum afflígit me inimícus?

3 Emítte lucem tuam et veritátem tuam:
ipsa me deduxérunt, et adduxérunt in montem sanctum tuum,
et in tabernácula tua.

4 Et introíbo ad altare Dei: ad Deum qui letíficat iuventútem meam.

5 Confitébor tibi in cíthara, Deus, Deus meus:
quare tristis es ánima mea, et quare contúrbas me?

6 Spera in Deo, quóniam adhuc confitébor illi:
salutáre vultus mei, et Deus meus.

Glória Patri et Fílio: et Spíritui Sancto

Sicut erat in princípío et nunc et semper: et in sécula seculórum. Amen.

Introíbo ad altáre Dei ad Deum qui letíficat iuventútem meam.

Kýrie eléison. Christe eléison. Kýrie eléison.

Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificétur nomen tuum.

Advéniat regnum tuum. Fiat volúntas tua, Sicut in celo et in terra.

Panem nostrum quotidiánum da nobis hódie.

Et dimítte nobis débíta nostra, sicut et nos dimíttimus debitóribus nostris.

V. Et ne nos indúcas in tentatiónem.

R. Sed líbera nos a malo.

V. Confitémini Dómino quóniam bonus:

R. Quóniam in séculum misericórdia éius.

Entrance

P and S leave vestry as singers begin Introit.

Both process through the south choir aisle, enter the Trinity Chapel and stand before the altar step.

Preparation of the Vessels

P and S bow to altar.

S goes to piscina. P also goes to piscina.

S then takes cruet and towel from piscina. P washes hands in piscina.

S returns cruet and towel. P goes to altar.

P takes burse, spreads one corporal, and leaves the other folded on the altar.

P removes veil from chalice and paten.

S removes lid of pyx. P takes host and places it on the paten.

S replaces lid of pyx, than takes cruets (handles away from him).

P takes wine cruet and pours into chalice; S takes cruet back.

S holds up water cruet; P blesses it:

Dominus, ab ipso sis benedicta, de cuius latere exivit sanguis et aqua.

In nomine + Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

P takes water cruet, and pours it into chalice.

S takes back cruet, returns both cruets to end of altar.

P replaces veil on chalice and paten.

P moves below altar step.

S takes Missal and stands on his right.

THE MASS: CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION

P: Confíteor Déo, Beáte Maríe, ómnibus sánctis, et vobis;
quia peccávi nimis cogitatióne, locutióne, et ópere:
méa cúlpa: précor Sanctam Maríam, omnes sánctos Dei, et vos,
oráre pro me.

S: Misereátur véstri omnípotens Déus,
et dimíttat vobis ómnia peccáta véstra;
líberet vos ab omni málo;
consérvet et confírmet in bono;
et ad vitam perdúcat etérnam.

P: Amen.

S: Confíteor Déo, Beáte Maríe, ómnibus sánctis, et vobis;
quia peccávi nimis cogitatióne, locutióne, et ópere:
méa cúlpa: précor Sanctam Maríam, omnes sánctos Dei, et vos,
oráre pro me.

P: Misereátur véstri omnípotens Déus,
et dimíttat vobis ómnia peccáta véstra;
líberet vos ab omni málo;
consérvet et confírmet in bono;
et ad vitam perdúcat etérnam.

S: Amen.

P: Absolutiónem et remissionem ómnium peccatórum vestrórum,
spatium vere peniténtie, et emendatióne vite,
grátiam et consolatióne Sancti Spíritus,
tríbuat vóbis omnípotens et miséricors Dóminus.

S: Amen.

P continues alone, saying:

V. Adiutórium nostrum in nómine Dómini. **R.** Qui fecit célum et terram.

V. Sit nomen Dómini benedíctum. **R.** Ex hoc nunc et úsque in séculum.

P moves up to altar and remains in centre for prayer.

**S lays down Missal on altar to left of centre,
and then stands below altar step on that side.**

P inclines body and joins hands, saying:

Orémus.

Aufer a nobis, quésumus, Dómine, cunctas iniquitátes nostras,
ut ad sancta sanctorum puris mereámur méntibus introíre.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum,

Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte eiúsdem Spíritus Sancti,

Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

P stands upright, kisses middle of altar and signs face, saying:

In nómine Pátris + et Fílii + et Spíritus + Sáncti. Amen.

Introit and Kyrie

S moves Missal to RH end of altar, then stands behind priest below altar step.

P moves to right-hand end of the altar, and recites Introit and Kyrie privately.

In nómine Iesu omne genu flectátur celéstium terréstrium et infernórum:
et omnis lingua confiteátur quia Dóminus noster Iesus Christus in glória est
Dei Pátris.

V: Laudáte Dóminum quóniam bonus Dóminus:

psállite nómini eius quóniam suáve.

Glória Pátri, et Fílio, et Spirítui Sáncto:

Sicut érat in princípío, et nunc, et sémpet, et in sécula seculórum. Amen

In nómine Iesu omne genu flectátur celéstium terréstrium et infernórum:
et omnis lingua confiteátur quia Dóminus noster Iesus Christus in glória est
Dei Pátris.

Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison.

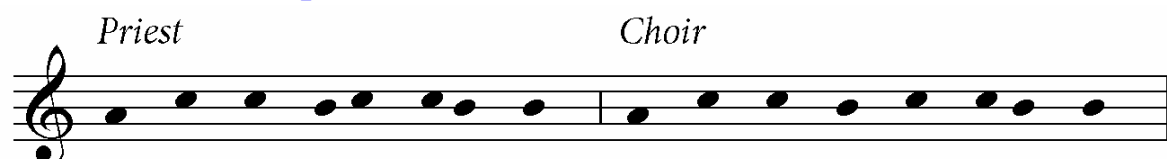
Christe eléison. Christe eléison. Christe eléison.

Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison. Kýrie eléison.

P signs face +, then turns to people, joins hands and elevates arms slightly.

S kneels to left of priest to hold chasuble.


Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, then sings:

Priest



O - re - mus

Collect of the Holy Name

Deus, qui gloriosíssimum nomen Dómini nostri Iesu Christi unigéniti Filii tui fecísti fidélibus tuis summo suavitátis afféctu amábile;

et málnis spirítibus treméndum atque terríbile;

concéde propítius,

ut omnes qui hoc nomen Iesu devóte venerántur in terris,

sancte consolatiónis dulcédinem in presénti percípiant

et in fúturo gáudium exsultatiónis et interminábilis iubilatiónis obtineant.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum:

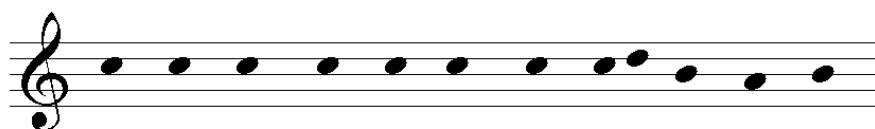
Qui tecum vivit et regnat, in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Priest *Choir*

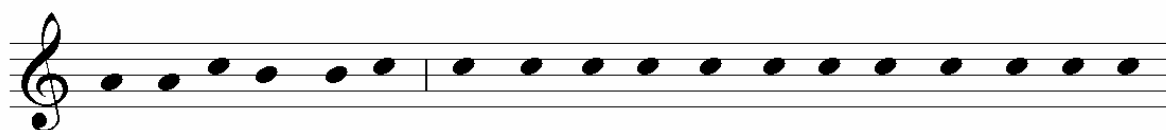


Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

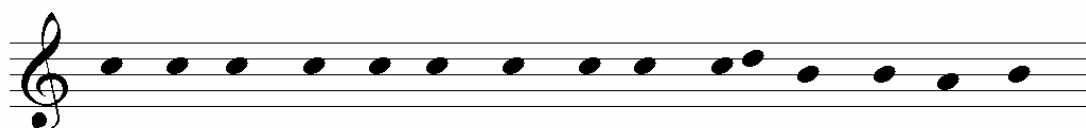
After the Collect, P sings the Lection (overleaf), still facing east.



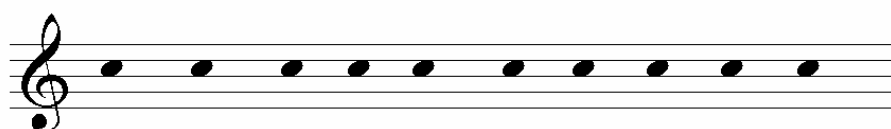
Léc - ti - o Ác - tu - us A - po - sto - lór - um.



In di - é - bus il - lis, Pe - trus re - plé - tus Spí - ri - tu Sanc - to di - xit:



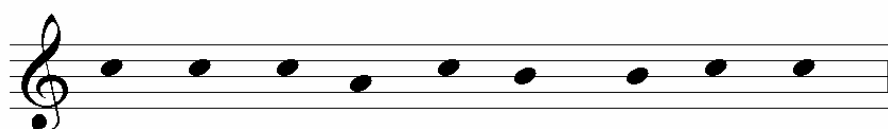
Prín - ci - pes pó - pu - li et se - ni - ór - es, au - dí - te:



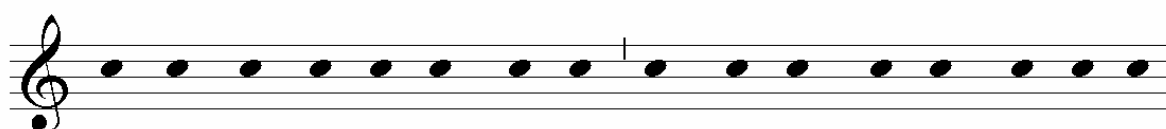
Si nos hó - di - e di - iu - di - cá - mur



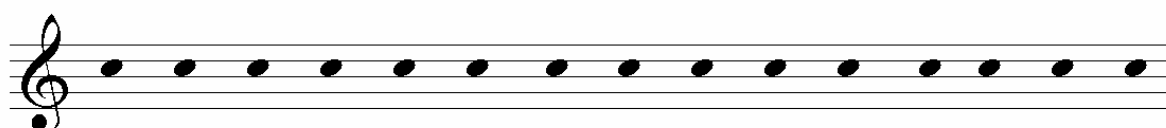
in be - ne - fác - to hó - mi - nis in - fir - mi,



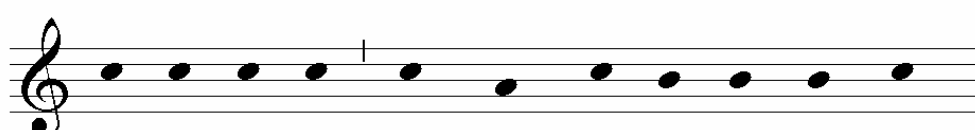
in quo i - ste sal - vus fac - tus est,



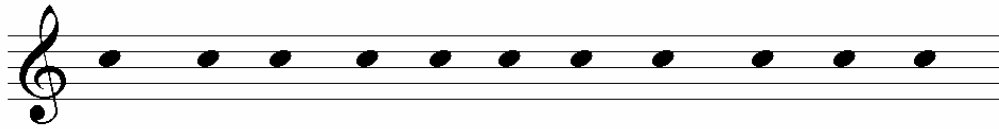
no - tum sit óm - ni - bus vo - bis et om - ni ple - bi Ís - ra - el



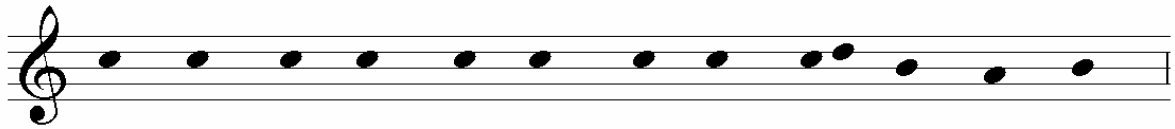
qui - a in nó - mi - ne Do - mi - ni no - stri Ie - su Chri - sti



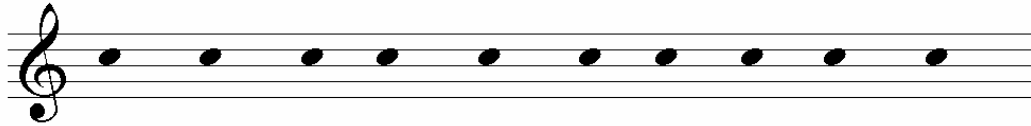
Na - za - ré - ni, quem vos cru - ci - fi - xí - stis,



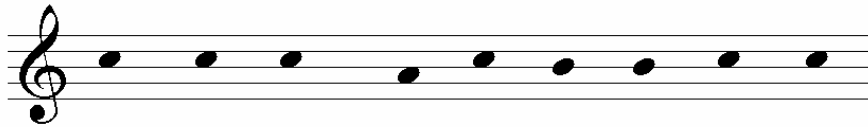
quem De - us su - sci - tá - vit a mór - tu - is,



in hoc i - ste a - stat co - ram vo - bis sa - nus.



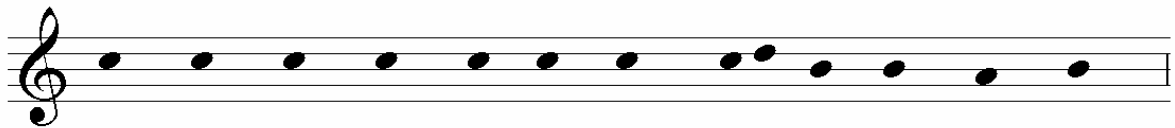
Hic est la - pis, qui re - pro - bá - tus est



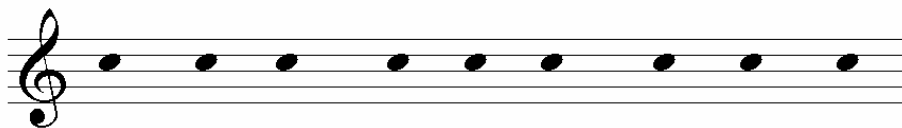
a vo - bis e - di - fi - cán - ti - bus,



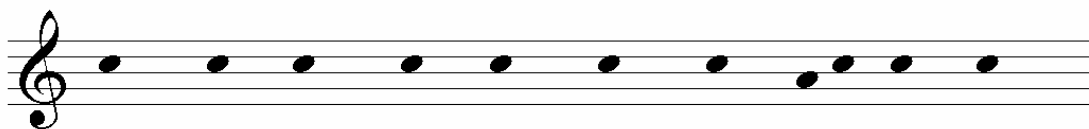
qui fac - tus est in ca - put án - gu - li.



Et non est in á - li - quo á - li - o sa - lus.



Nec e - nim á - li - ud no - men est



sub ce - lo da - tum in ho - mí - ni - bus,



in quo o - pór - te - at nos sal - vos fí - e - ri.

P sits. S takes Missal from altar, and holds it for P to recite Gradual, Alleluya and Sequence.

Gradual

Constituit Deus Pater ad dexteram suam Iesum Christum in celestibus super omnem principatum, potestatem et virtutem et dominationem: et omne nomen quod nominatur non solum in hoc seculo sed etiam in futuro, et omnia subiecit sub pedibus eius.

V. Adiuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum.

Alleluya

Dulce cordi nomen Iesu,
Melos auri, mel in esu,
Cor vertit in iubilum
Et fugat mundi sibilum.

Sequence Dulcis Iesus Nazareus (second part)

Iesus pulcher in decore, summe bonus in valore,
mitis lenis in dulcore, pronus ad clementiam.

Iesus est rex generosus, Iesus forma speciosus,
Iesu lingua gloriosus, et mirandus opere.

Iesus fortis animosus, Iesus pugil vigorosus,
Iesus donis copiosus, et gaudet tribuere.

Iesus pie viscerosus, Iesus ductor luminosus,
Iesus est deliciosus, et sapit dulcissime.

Iesus fama gloriosus, Iesus cunctis fructuosus,
Iesus totus virtuosus, fovet suos optime.

Summe potens in vigore, summe celsus in honore,
summe gratus in amore, omnem laudem obtinet.

In sciendo summe sapit, ambiendo cuncta capit,
diligendo corda rapit, et illata retinet.

Eya nomen nobis gratum, dulcis Iesus appellatum,
sit in corde sic firmatum, quod non possit erui.

Hoc reatum peccatorum, tollat prestet iubilorum,
odas sed et beatorum, donet nobis perfrui.

When the choir reaches 'Eya nomen', S takes Missal and sets it down at left-hand end of altar, and waits there.


P goes to centre of altar, faces east, saying: [Hereford rubric]

Dóminus sit in córde et in ore meo
ad pronuciándum sanctum evangélium Dei.
In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

P goes to north end of altar, and turns to greet the people.

S kneels on his left to hold chasuble.

Priest *Choir*




Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, and announces Gospel from the Missal.

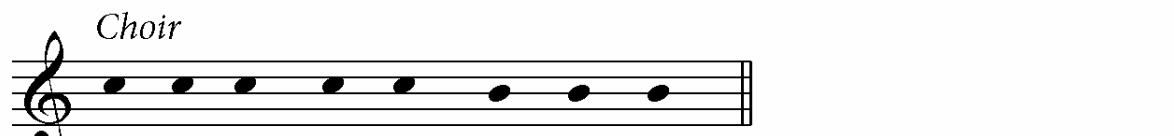
During announcement, he signs + with thumb over Gospel text

Priest



Se quén-ti - a sanc-ti e - van-gé - li - i se - cún - dum Mat - thé - um.

Choir

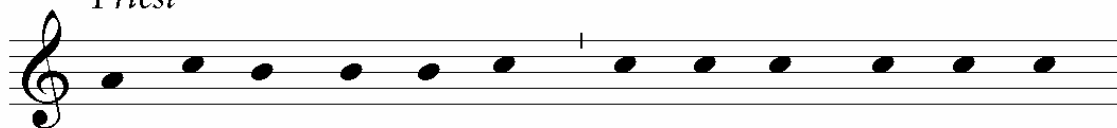


Gló - ri - a ti - bi Dó - mi - ne.

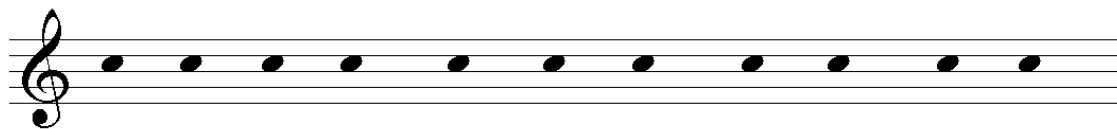
After the announcement P signs + his forehead, then + breast.

P turns to north, and hands Missal to S. S holds Missal for P.

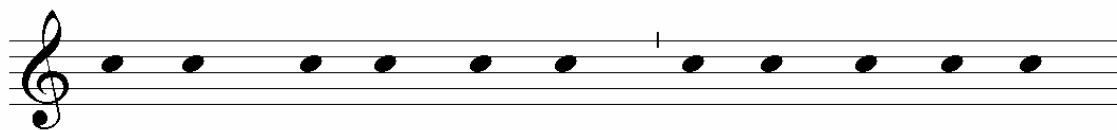
Priest



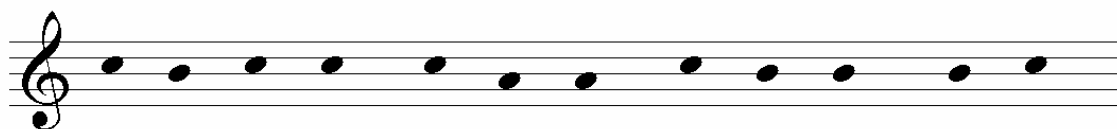
In il - lo tэм - po - re, n - ge - lus D - mi - ni



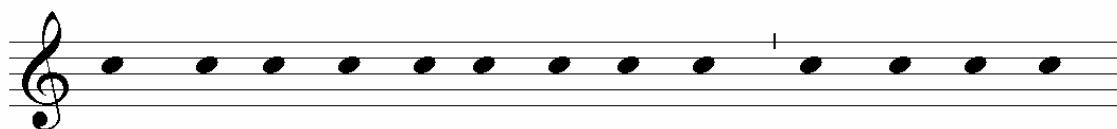
ap - p - ru - it in som - nis Io - seph di - cens:



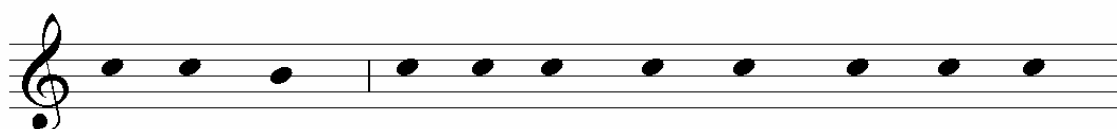
Io - seph fi - li Da - vid, no - li ti - m - re



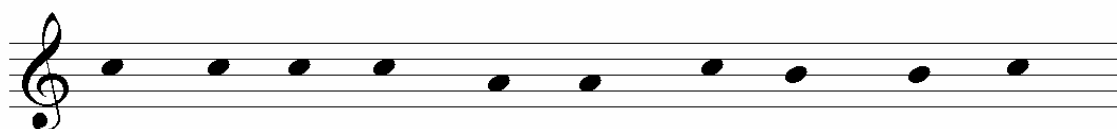
ac - c - pe - re Ma - r - am cn - iu - gem tu - am:



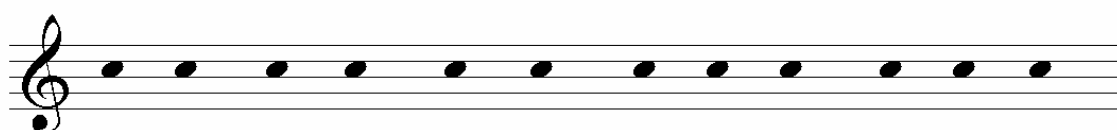
quod e - nim in e - a na - tum est, de Sp - ri - tu



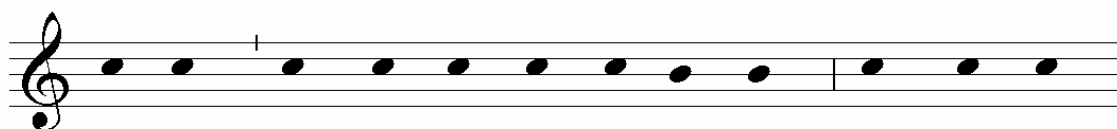
Sn - cto est. P - ri - et au - tem f - li - um:



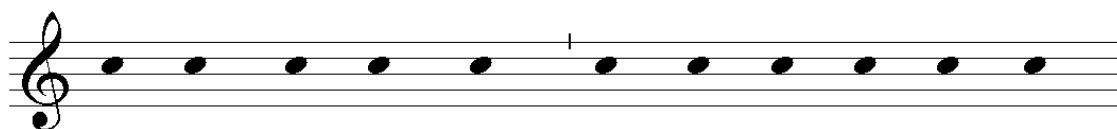
et vo - c - bis no - men ei - us Ie - sum:



ip - se e - nim sal - vum f - ci - et p - pu - lum




su - um a pec - cá - tis e - ó - rum. Hoc au - tem




to - tum fac - tum est, ut a - dim - ple - ré - tur



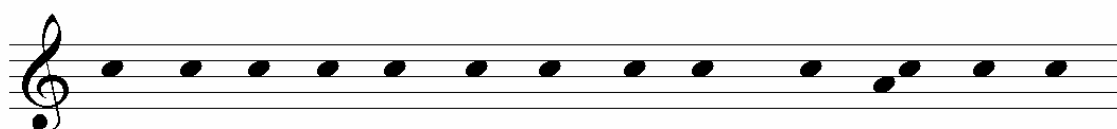
quod dic - tum est a Dó - mi - no per pro - phé - tam



di - cén - tem: Ec - ce vir - go con - cí - pi - et



in ú - te - ro et pá - ri - et fí - li - um:



et vo - cá - bi - tur no - men ei - us Em - má - nu - el,



quod in - ter - pre - tá - tur No - bís - cum Dé - us.

After the Gospel S lifts the Missal; and P bends down to kiss it.

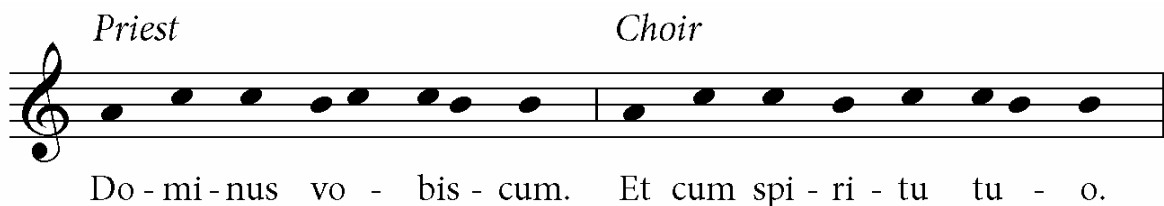
Then S takes Missal to right-hand side of altar. P moves to south end of altar.

The Offertory

P signs face +; turns to people, joins his hands and elevates arms slightly:

S kneels and holds chasuble, than stands behind P below altar step.

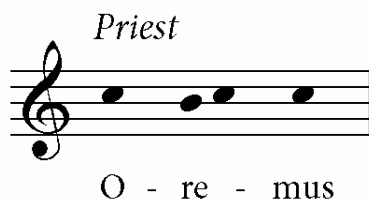
Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, then sings:

Priest



O - re - mus

P turns back to altar to say Offertory privately:

In nómine meo demónia eíficient, linguis loquéntur novis: serpéntes tollent: et si mortíferum quid bíberint non eis nocébit; super egros manus impónent et bene habébunt.

P moves to centre of altar.

S goes to altar, takes Missal, and sets it down to the left of the centre of the altar; then returns to right side of altar, facing east.

P takes the chalice & paten, removes the veil & lays it on altar.

P places the paten before him, raises the chalice slightly, saying:

Súscipe, Sancta Trínitas, hanc oblatiónem

quam ego indígnus peccátor óffero in honóre tuo, Beáte Maríe,

et ómnium sanctórum tuórum,

pro peccátis et offensióibus meis:

et pro salúte vivórum et réquie ómnium fidélium defunctórum.

In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti

accéptum sit omnipoténti Deo hoc sacrificium novum.

P replaces chalice on altar and covers with second folded corporal.
Places bread on spread corporal, in front of chalice.
Takes paten, blesses it, and places it to right of chalice, under the veil.

Washing of hands

S goes to piscina, and takes cruet and towel

P says:

Munda me, Dómine, ab omni iniquaménto córdis et corpóris mei;
ut possim mundus implére ópus sanctum Dómini.

P then goes to piscina to wash hands, assisted by S.

S replaces lavabo bowl and towel, and goes to stand at foot of altar step, on right side facing east.

P returns to centre of altar, and continues with preparatory prayers, bowing and saying:

In spíritu humilitátis et in ánimo contríto suscipiámur, Dómine, a te:
et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspéctu tuo, ut a te suscipiátur hódie,
et pláceat tibi, Dómine Deus.

P raises himself, kisses altar to right of sacrifice; blesses sacrifice, then crosses himself:

+ In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Invitation to people

P turns to people, saying silently:

Oráte, fratres et soróres pro me,
ut meum paritérque vestrum accéptum sit Dómino Deo nostro sacrificium.

All present (also silent):

Spíritus Sancti grátia illúminet cor túum et labia tua,
et accípiat Dóminus digne hoc sacrificum laudis de mánibus tuis
pro peccátis et offensióibus nostris.

The Secret

P turns back to altar, saying in a low voice:

Orémus.

In veneratióne nóminis dilectíssimi Filii tui Dómini nostri Iesu Christi,
tibi, Deus pater misericordiárum, dévotis méntibus hóstias immolámus;
supplíciter deprecánte,

ut eárum virtúte cunctis egéntibus prestétur auxílium,

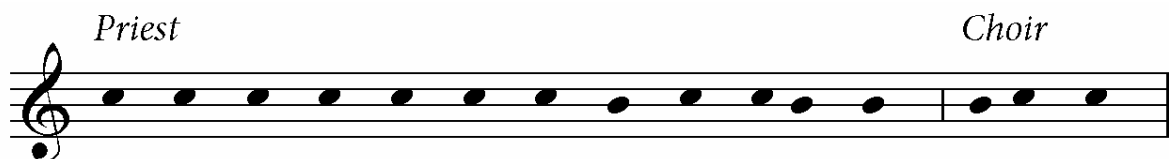
ut in eodem nómine delectánte,

salutárem sui propósiiti consequántur efféctum.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum

qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,


Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.



Ve-re dignum et ius-tum est é-qu um et sa-lu-tá-re,




nos ti-bi sem-per et u-bí-que grá-ti-as á-ge-re:




Dó-mi-ne sanc-te, Pa-ter om-ní-po-tens e-tér-ne De-us.



Qui-a per in-car-ná-ti Ver-bi my-sté-ri-um:



No-va men-tis no-stre ó-cu-lis lux tu-e



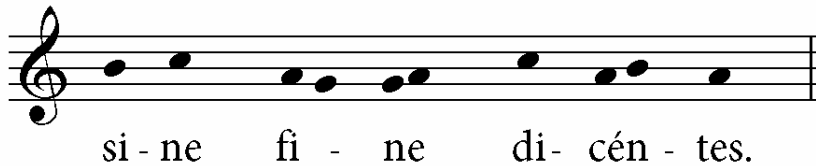
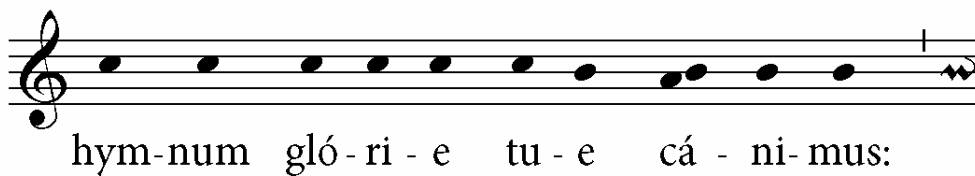
cla-ri-tá-tis in-fúl-sit.



Ut dum vi-sí-bí-li-ter De-um co-gnó-sci-mus:



per hunc in in-vi-sí-bí-li-um a-mo-rem ra-pi-á-mur.



P raises arms slightly and joins hands saying:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dóminus Deus Sábaoth.
Pleni sunt celi et terra glória tua. Osánna in excélsis.

Signing cross on face he continues:

+ Benedictus qui venit in nómine Dómini.
Osánna in excélsis.

The bell is rung. One chosen from the clergy or people brings an elevation light to the altar step, and kneels at the step.

S kneels to right of P, ready to hold chasuble at elevation.

THE CANON OF THE MASS

P joins hands, raises eyes; then inclines body forward:

Te ígitur, clementíssime Pater,
per Iesum Christum Fílium tuum Dóminum nostrum,
súpplíces rogámus **bows** ac pétimus,

P stands upright; kisses altar on right of sacrifice

uti accépta hábeas et benedícas

makes sign of cross three times over chalice and bread

hec + dona, hec + múnera, hec + sancta sacrificia illibáta,
raises hands

In primis que tibi offérimus pro Ecclésia tua sancta Cathólica,
quam pacificáre, custodíre, adunáre, et régere dignéris toto orbe terrárum,
una cum fámulo tuo Papa nostro *Benedicto*,

et Antistíte nostro *Nicholas*

et Regina nostra *Elisabetha*

et ómnibus orthodóxis atque cathólice et apostólice fidei cultóribus.

P prays first for self; second, for father and mother (both carnal and spriritual) and other relations; third, for special friends, parishioners and others; fourth, for all persons present; fifth, for all Christian people, including his own friends.

Meménto, Dómine, famulórum famularúmque tuárum N. et N.

et ómnium circumstántium quorum tibi fides cógnita est et nota devótio;

pro quibus tibi offérimus vel qui tibi ófferunt hoc sacrificium laudis,

pro se, suisque ómnibus, pro redemptione animárum suárum:

pro spe salútis et incolumitátis sue, tibíque reddunt vota sua

etéerno Deo vivo et vero.

Communicántes et memóriam venerántes,

Imprimis glóriose semper Vírginis (**inclines slightly**) Maríe,
genetrícis eiúsdem Dei et Dómini nostri Iesu Christi.

Sed et beatórum apostolórum ac mártýrum tuórum,

Petri, Pauli, Andrée, Iacóbi, Iohánnis, Thome, Iacóbi,

Phílippi, Bartholoméi, Matthéi, Simónis et Thadei,

Lini, Cleti, Cleméntis, Sixti, Cornélii, Cypriáni, Lauréntii,

Chrysógoni, Iohánnis et Pauli,

Cosme et Damiáni, et ómnium sanctórum tuórum,
quorum méritis precibúsque concédas,
ut in ómnibus protecti6nis tue muniámur auxili6.
Per eúndem Christum D6minum nostrum. Amen.

Regards host with great devotion then bows:

Hanc ígitur oblati6nem servitútis nostre,
sed et cuncte famílie tue, quésumus, D6mine,
ut placátus accípias, diésque nostros in tua pace disp6nas,
atque ab etérna damnati6ne nos éripi,
et in elect6rum tuórum iúbeas grege numerári.
Per Christum D6minum nostrum. Amen.

Regards host again:

Quam oblati6nem tu, Deus ómnipotens, in ómnibus, quésumus,

Makes three crosses over each oblation:

Bene+díctam, ascríp+tam, ra+tam, rationábilem,
acceptabilémque facere dignéris,

Makes a cross over the host:

ut nobis cor+pus

Makes a cross over chalice:

et san+guis

Joins hands:

fiat dilectíssimi Fílii tui D6mini nostri Iesu Christi.

[turn]

Consecration and Elevation

P raises and joins hands; wipes fingers and elevates host a little:

Qui pridie quam patéretur,

accépit panem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas,

et elevátis óculis in celum **(raises eyes)**

ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipoténtem,

(bows, then stands a little more upright)

tibi grátias agens, bene+díxit, fregit,

(touches the host)

dedítque discípulis suis, dicens,

Accípите et manducáte ex hoc omnes.

(Bows, then utters last five words said under one breath without pause)

Hoc est enim corpus meum.

P elevates host high and holds it there for a while.

S holds chasuble while the host is raised.

The elevation light is raised, and the bell rings three times.

P replaces host reverently before chalice, + making the sign of the cross with it.

Uncovers chalice; takes it in both hands, keeping thumb and forefinger together (except when signing the cross):

Símili modo postquam cenátum est,

accípiens et hunc preclárum cálicem in sanctas ac venerábiles manus suas,

(raises his eyes)

item tibi **(bows)** grátias agens,

bene+díxit, dedítque discípulis suis, dicens:

Accípите, et bíbite ex eo omnes.

Elevates chalice a little:

Hic est enim calix sánguinis mei novi et etérni testaménti:

mystérium fidei:

qui pro vobis et pro multis effúndetur

in remissionem peccatórum.

Elevates chalice to chest or even above head:

Hec quotiescúmque fecéritis,
in mei memóriam faciétis.

S holds chasuble while chalice is raised.

The elevation light is raised, and the bell rings three times.

P replaces chalice; rubs fingers over it to remove any crumbs

Covers chalice with folded corporal.

Raises arms in form of cross with fingers joined:

Unde et mémores, Dómine,
nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta,
eiúsdem Christi, filii tui, Dómini Dei nostri,
tam beáte passiónis, necnon et ab ínferis resurrectiόνis;
sed et in celos glorióse ascensiόνis:

offérimus precláre maiestáti tue de tuis donis ac datis

Makes five crosses, the first three over the host and chalice:

hóstiam pu+ram,

hóstiam sanc+tam,

hóstiam et immacu+látam,

The fourth over the bread:

Pa+nem sanctum vite etérne,

The fifth over the chalice:

et cá+licem salútis perpétue.

Raising his eyes

Supra que propício ac seréno vultu respícere dignéris: et accépta habére,
sicut accépta habére dignátus es múnera púeri tui iusti Ábel,
et sacrificium patriárche nostri Ábrahe,
et quod tibi óbtulit summus sacérdos tuus Melchisedech,
sanctum sacrificium, immaculátam hóstiam.

[turn]

Bows and interlinks fingers

Súpplices te rogámus, omnípotens Deus,
iube hec perférri per manus sancti ángeli tui in sublíme altáre tuum,
in conspéctu divíne maiestátis tue;
ut quotquot

Raises self and kisses altar on right of sacrifice:

ex hac altáris participatióne sacrosánctum Fílii tui

Makes sign of cross over host:

Cor+pus

And over chalice:

et sán + guinem sumpsérimus,

Signs self on face:

omni bene+dictiÓne celésti et grátia repleámur.

Per eundem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

P prays for dead, raising his eyes:

Meménto étiam, Dómine,

animárum famulórum famularúmque tuárum

Osmundi et omnium benefactorum nostrorum,

qui nos precessérunt cum signo fidei et dórmiunt in somno pacis.

Ipsis, Dómine, et ómnibus in Christo quiescéntibus,

locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indúlgeas, deprecámur.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Strikes breast once:

Nobis quoque peccatóribus, fámulis tuis,

de multitudíne miseratiÓnum tuárum sperántibus,

partem áliquam et societátem donáre dignéris,

cum tuis sanctis apóstolis et martýribus:

cum Iohánne, Stéphano, Matthía, Bárnaba, Ignátio, Alexándro, Marcellíno,

Petro, Felicitáte, Perpétua, Ágatha, Lúcia, Agnéte, Cecília, Anastásia,

Adhelmo, Osmundo, Edmundo et ómnibus sanctis tuis:

intra quorum nos consórtium, non estimátor mériti,

sed vénie, quésumus, largítor admítte.

Per Christum Dóminum nostrum.

Per quem hec ómnia, Dómine, semper bona creas,
Makes sign of cross three times over chalice:
Santí+ficas, viví+ficas, bene+dícis, et prestas nobis.

P uncovers chalice, and sets corporal to one side

P signs cross over chalice with host five times:
first beyond chalice, on either side;
second, level with chalice; third, within it;
fourth, beyond chalice (as at the first time); fifth, in front of it:

Per ip+sum, et cum ip+so, et in ip+so,
est tibi Deo Patri omnipo+ténti,
in unitáte Spíritus + Sancti, omnis honor et glória.

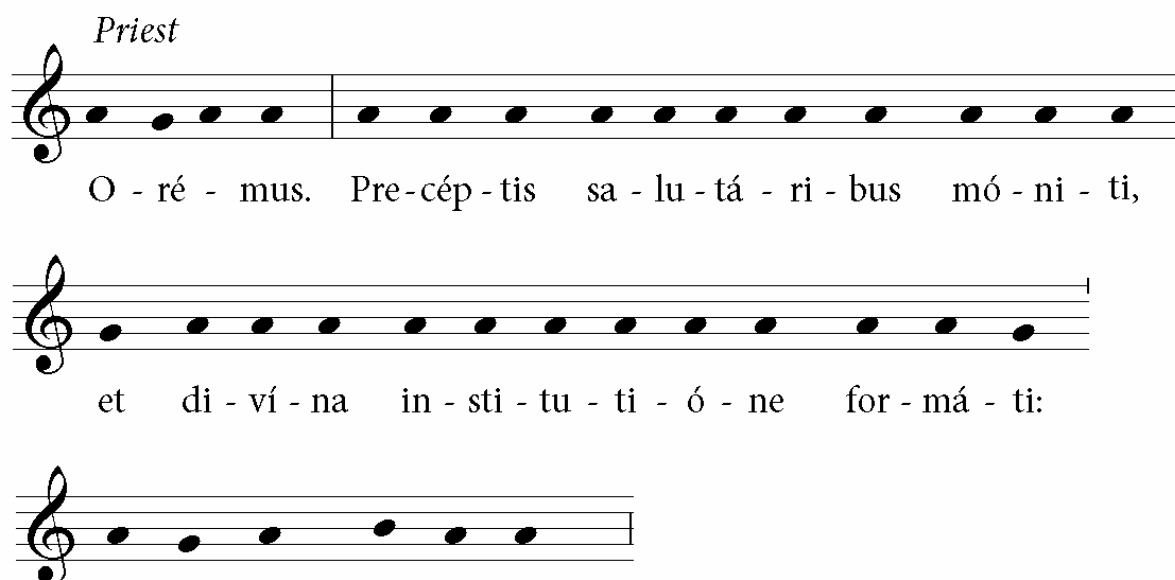
Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

P takes folded corporal and covers chalice.
P having covered chalice, keeps hands on altar.

Priest



O - ré - mus. Pre-cép - tis sa - lu - tá - ri - bus mó - ni - ti,
et di - ví - na in - sti - tu - ti - ó - ne for - má - ti:
au - dé - mus dí - ce - re:

P raises hands and continues with Pater noster:

Priest

Pa - ter nós - ter qui es in cé - lis

sanc - ti - fi - cé - tur nó - men tú - um,

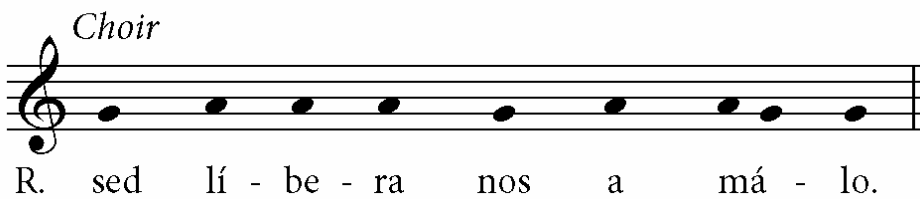
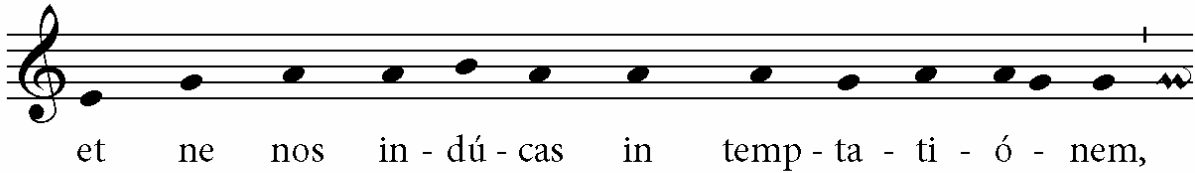
ad - vé - ni - at rég - num tú - um,

fi - at vo - lún - tas tú - a

si - cut in cé - lo et in tér - ra,

pá - nem nós - trum quo - ti - di - á - num da nó - bis hó - di - e,

et di - mít - te nó - bis dé - bi - ta nós - tra



P adds 'Amen' privately, and continues:

Líbera nos, quésumus, Dómine, ab ómnibus malis:
pretéritis, preséntibus, et futúris;
et intercedénte beáta et gloriósa semper vírgine Dei genitríce María
et beátis apóstolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andréa, cum ómnibus sanctis.

P takes paten, kisses it then forms a cross, raising it to the left eye, the right eye, and then above head.

Replacing paten in front of chalice, P says:

Da propícuis pacem in diébus nostris,
ut ope misericórdie tue adiuti,
et a peccáto simus semper líberi,
et ab omni perturbatióne secúri.

Fraction

P uncovers chalice; bows, takes host between thumbs and forefingers;
Holds up host over bowl of chalice and breaks into three parts, saying:
At first fraction:

Per eúndem Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum,

At second fraction:

Qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti, Deus.

Holding two parts in the left hand, and one in the right hand above the chalice,
he sings:


Priest *Choir*



Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.


Signing cross within chalice with third part of host, he sings:

Priest



Pax Do+-mi - ni sit sem+-per vo+-bis - cum.

Choir



Et cum spí - ri - tu tu - o.

Agnus Dei

P continues privately:

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: miserére nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: miserére nobis.

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccáta mundi: dona nobis pacem.

P makes sign of cross with third part of host and puts it in the blood within the chalice:

Hoc sacro + sáncta commíxtio córporis et sánguinis Dómini nostri Iesu Christi,
fiat mihi omnibúsque suméntibus salus mentis et córporis:
et ad vitam etérnam promeréndam et capescéndam preparatio salutáris.
Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Before the Pax, he says:

Dómine, sancte Pater, omnípotens etérne Deus,
Da mihi hoc sacrosánctum corpus et sánguinem Fílii tui
Dómini nostri Iesu Christi ita digne súmerere:
ut merear per hoc remissionem ómnium peccatórum meórum accípere,
et tuo Sancto Spíritu repléri; et pacem tuam habére;
quia tu es Deus solus et preter te non est álius,
cuius regnum et impérium gloriósum
sine fine permánet in sécula seculórum.
Amen.

The Pax

P kisses the spread corporal to right of host, then kisses top of chalice

P takes the Pax Board, kisses it, then offers it to the Clerk to kiss.

P Pax tibi et Ecclésie Dei.

S Et cum spíritu tuo.

S takes Pax Board to the clergy present, the singers and organ player (if they are not singing Agnus Dei) and to the people insofar as space and time allow.

The Priest's Communion

P (as peace is circulating) takes host in both hands and prays privately:

Deus Pater, fons et órigo totíus bonitátis,
qui ductus misericórdia Unigénitum tuum pro nobis
ad infíma mundi descéndere et carnem súmerere voluísti,
quam ego indígnus hic in mánibus meis téneo:

Bows to host:

Te adóro, te glorífico, te tota cordis intentióne laudo et precor;
ut nos fámulos tuos non déseras,
sed peccáta nostra dimíttas,
quátenus tibi soli vivo ac vero Deo,
puro corde et casto córpore, servíre valeámus.
Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum. Amen.

Dómine Iesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi,
qui ex voluntáte Patris, cooperánte Spíritu Sancto,
per mortem tuam mundum vivificásti:
líbera me, queso, per hoc sacrosánctum corpus et hanc sánguinem tuum
a cunctis iniquitátibus meis et ab univérsis malis;
Et fac me tuis semper obedíre mandátis,
Et a te nunquam in perpétuum separári permíttas, Salvátor mundi.
Qui cum Deo Patre et eódem Spíritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus,
Per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

Córporis et sánguinis tui, Dómine Iesu Christe, sacraméntum,
quod licet indígnus accípío,
non sit mihi iudício et condemnátioni;
sed tua prosit pietáte córporis mei et ánime saluti. Amen.

Addresses host humbly:

Ave in etérnum, sanctíssima caro Christi,
mihi ante ómnia et super ómnia summa dulcédo.
Corpus Dómini nostri Iesu Christi sit mihi peccatóri via et vita.

In nómine + Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Signs cross before mouth with host, then receives.

Addresses blood with great devotion:

Ave in etérnum, celéstis potus,
mihi ante ómnia et super ómnia summa dulcédo.
Corpus et sánguis Dómini nostri Iesu Christi
prosint mihi peccatóri ad remédium sempitérnum in vitam etérnam. Amen.

In nómine + Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Receives blood. Bows, and says devoutly:

Grátias tibi ago, Dómine, sancte Pater, omnípotens etérne Deus,
qui me refecísti de sacratíssimo córpore et sánguine Fílii tui
Dómini nostri Iesu Christi:
Et precor, ut hoc sacraméntum salútis nostre,
quod sumpsi indígnus peccátor,
non veniat mihi ad iudícium neque ad condemnatióem pro méritis meis;
sed ad proféctum córporis mei et ánime salúti in vitam etérnam. Amen.

Ablutions

S stands, takes wine and water cruets, and stands at right end of altar.

P moves to right end of altar; holds chalice in both hands with fingers joined as before. S pours wine into chalice.

P continues:

Quod ore súmpsimus, Dómine, pura mente capiámus;
et de múnere temporáli fiat nobis remédium sempitérnum.

S pours wine into bowl of chalice over P's fingers, rinsing to remove any remnant of consecrated elements.

P drinks remaining liquid:

Hec nos commúnio, Dómine,
purget a crímine,
et celéstis remédii fáciat esse consórtes.

S pours water into chalice for P to drink.

P returns to middle of altar; lays chalice sideways on altar with bowl resting on paten, so any remaining liquid drains off.

S replaces cruets, then goes to piscina and takes lavabo cruet and towel.

P bows, and prays:

Adorémus crucis signáculum:

per quod salutis súmpsimus sacraméntum.

P goes to piscina and washes hands with S holding the lavabo cruet and towel.

S replaces lavabo and towel.

S then moves Missal to right end of altar.

P folds corporals and replaces in burse; holds chalice to mouth to drink any last drop remaining; stacks vessels and burse.

P leaves chalice, paten, and burse on the altar.

S then kneels at the altar step till the end of the Mass.

Communion antiphon

P stands at right of altar to say Communion antiphon:

Vincénti dabo manna abscónditum: et dabo illi cálculum cándidum, et in cálculo nomen novum scriptum quod nemo scit nisi qui accípit. Alleluya

Postcommunion


P + signs face.

P turns westwards.

P joins hands; elevates arms slightly:

S holds chasuble.


Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

P turns east, then sings:

Priest



O - re - mus

Sacrosáncta mystéria que sumpsimus, Dómine,
ad honórem complacentíssimi nóminis Filii tui Dómini nostri Iesu Christi
devotis precórdiis recoléntes;

quesumus, ut increménta spirituális exsultatiónis nobis accúmulent,
et afféctum nostrum ad hoc salutíferum nomen Iesu iúgiter impriméndum
accéndant,

et ad iubilándum in Iesu salvatóre nostro dulcíssimo,
tota mentis intentióne promovéant.

Per Dóminum nostrum Iesum Christum Fílium tuum
qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitáte Spíritus Sancti Deus,

Priest *Choir*



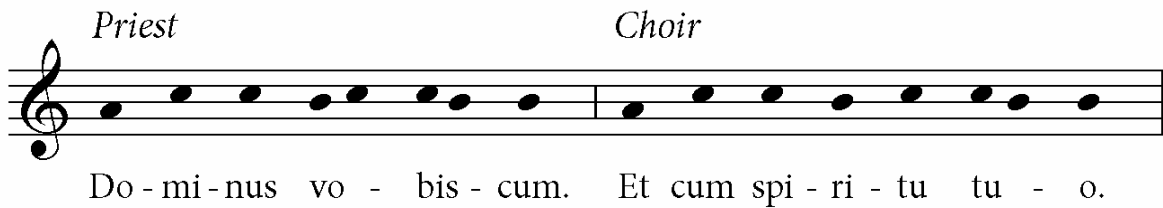
Per om - ni - a se - cu - la se - cu - lo - rum. A - men.

Dismissal

P signs + forehead.

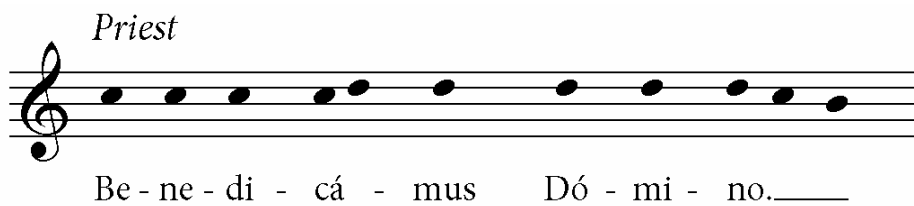
P turn westwards, and sings:

Priest *Choir*



Do - mi - nus vo - bis - cum. Et cum spi - ri - tu tu - o.

Priest



Be - ne - di - cá - mus Dó - mi - no.____

Choir



De - o grá - ti - as.____

P turns back and goes to middle of altar, moving the Missal.

P inclines body and joins hands, praying silently:

Pláceat tibi, sancta Trínitas,
obséqium servitútis mee:

et presta, ut hoc sacrificium quod óculis tue maiestátis indígnus óbtuli,
tibi sit acceptábile, mihíque et ómnibus pro quibus illud óbtuli, sit, te
miseránte, propitiábile.

Qui vivis et regnas Deus per ómnia sécula seculórum. Amen.

P stands upright and makes sign of cross before face:

+ In nómine Pátris et Fílii et Spíritus Sáncti. Amen.

Last Gospel

P recites privately until final clause:

In princípío erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum.
Hoc erat in princípío apud Deum.

Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nihil, quod factum est.

In ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hóminum:

Et lux in ténebris lucet, et ténebre eam non comprehendérunt.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Johánnes.

Hic venit in testimónium ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine,
ut omnes créderent per illum.

Non erat ille lux, sed ut testimónium perhibéret de lúmine.

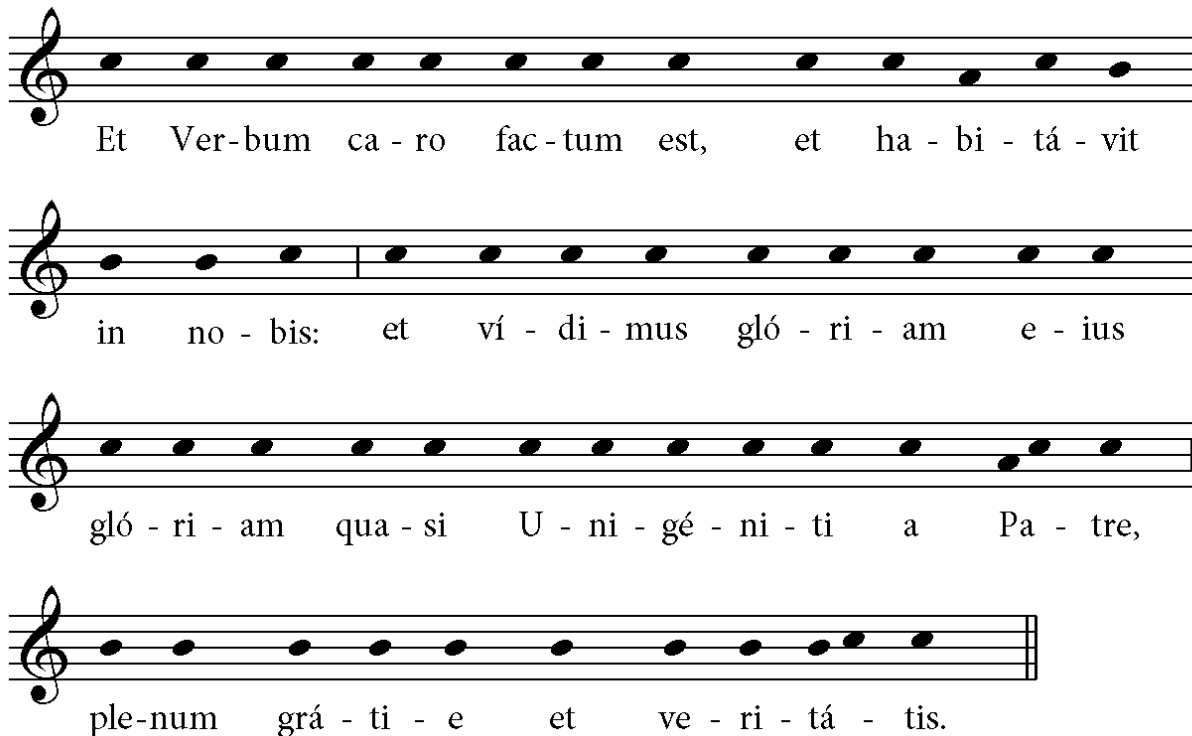
Erat lux vera, que illúminat omnem hóminem veniéntem in hunc mundum.

In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognóvit.

In própria venit, et sui eum non recepérunt.

Quotquot autem recepérunt eum, dedit eis potestátem filios Dei fferi,
his, qui credunt in nómine eius:

Qui non ex sanguínibus, neque ex voluntáte carnis, neque ex voluntáte viri,
sed ex Deo nati sunt. **P bows: S kisses the floor.**



Et Ver-bum ca - ro fac - tum est, et ha - bi - tá - vit
in no - bis: et ví - di - mus gló - ri - am e - ius
gló - ri - am qua - si U - ni - gé - ni - ti a Pa - tre,
ple-num grá - ti - e et ve - ri - tá - tis.

P and S bow to altar, and both leave and return to the vestry.

THANKSGIVING AFTER MASS

P recites final Thanksgiving, while **S** returns to Trinity Chapel to bring back the vessels, cruets, pyx, Pax and Missal from the altar, and the lavabo cruet and towel.

P recites closing texts:

Song of the Three Children, vv. 62–66, Psalm 150 and Nunc Dimittis

Antiphon: Tríum puerórum cantémus.

1 Benedícite, sacerdótes Dómini, Dómino:

benedícite, servi Dómini, Dómino.

2 Benedícite, spíritus, et ánime iustórum, Dómino:

benedícite, sancti, et húmiles corde, Dómino.

3 Benedícite, Ananía, Azária, Misaël, Dómino:

laudáte et superexaltáte eum in sécula.

4 Benedicámus Patrem et Fílium cum Sancto Spíritu:

laudémus et superexaltémus eum in sécula.

5 Benedíctus es, Dómine, in firmaménto celi:

et laudábilis, et gloriósus, et superexaltátus in sécula.

1 Laudáte Dóminum in sanctis eius: laudáte eum in firmaménto virtútis eius.

2 Laudáte eum in virtútibus eius:

laudáte eum secúndum multitudínem magnitúdinis eius.

3 Laudáte eum in sono tube: laudáte eum in psaltério, et cíthara.

4 Laudáte eum in týmpano, et choro: laudáte eum in chordis, et órgano.

5 Laudáte eum in cýmbalis benesonántibus:

laudáte eum in cýmbalis iubilatiónis: omnis spíritus laudet Dóminum.

1 Nunc dimíttis servum tuum, Dómine, secúndum verbum tuum in pace:

2 Quia vidérunt óculi mei salutáre tuum.

3 Quod parásti ante fáciem ómnium populórum:

4 Lumen ad revelatiónem géntium, et glóriam plebis tue Israel.

Glória Patri et Fílio et Spíritui Sancto:

Sicut erat in princípío et nunc et semper: et in sécula seculórum. Amen.

Antiphon: Trium puerórum cantémus hymnum quem cantábant in camíno ignis benedicétes Dóminum.

Kýrie eléison. Christe eléison. Kýrie eléison.

Pater noster, qui es in celis sanctificétur nomen tuum.

Advéniat regnum tuum. Fiat volúntas tua, Sicut in celo et in terra.

Panem nostrum quotidiánum da nobis hódie.

Et dimítte nobis débíta nostra, sicut et nos dimíttimus debitóribus nostris.

Et ne nos indúcas in tentatiónem. Sed líbera nos a malo.

V. Benedicámus Patrem et Fílium cum Sancto Spíritu.

R. Laudémus et superexaltémus eum in sécula.

V. Benedíctus es, Dómine, in firmaménto celi:

R. et laudábilis et gloriósus in sécula.

V. Benedícat et custódiat nos Trínitas Sancta: Amen.

R. Non intres in iudícium cura servo tuo, Dómine:

quia non iustificábitur in conspéctu tuo omnis vivens.

V. Dómine Deus virtútum, convérte nos;

R. Et osténde fáciem tuam et salvi érimus.

V. Dómine, exáudi oratiónem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te véniat.

[V. Dóminus vobíscum. R. Et cum spíritu tuo.]

Oremus.

Deus, qui tribus puéris mitigásti flammás ignium, concéde propítius; ut nos fámulos tuos non exúrat flamma vitiórum.

Ure igne Sancti Spíritus renes nostros et cor nostrum, Dómine; ut tibi casto córpore serviámus et mundo corde placeámus.

Actiões nostras, quésumus, Dómine, aspirándo prevéni et adiuvándo proséquare; ut cuncta nostra operátio et a te semper incípiat, et per te cepta finiátur. Per Christum Dóminum nostrum.

Amen.

Appendix IV.4

Inculturation Materials

prepared for those participating in
the Sarum Mass of the Holy Name
(St Teilo's Church, September 2011)

ST TEILO'S CHURCH : ST FAGANS MUSEUM

TEXTS & IMAGES
FOR REFLECTION ON
THE HOLY CROSS &
THE HOLY NAME OF JESUS

TOGETHER WITH
PRAYERS, DEVOTIONS &
SUMMARY ORDERS OF SERVICES

MONDAY 12 SEPTEMBER TO
FRIDAY 16 SEPTEMBER 2011

PATER NOSTER AVE MARIA CREDO

PATER NOSTER, qui es in celis: sanctificetur nomen tuum:
adveniat regnum tuum: fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra.
Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie:
et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.
et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos a malo.

AVE MARIA, gratia plena: Dominus tecum:
benedícta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus.
Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus, nunc et in hora mortis nostre.
Amen.

CREDO IN DEUM

Patrem omnipotentem,
Creatorem celi et terre.
Et in Jesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum:
qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto,
natus ex Maria Virgine,
passus sub Pontio Pilato,
crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus;
descendit ad íferos;
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;
ascendit ad celos;
sedet ad dexteram Patris omnipotentis:
inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum,
sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam,
Sanctorum communionem,
remissionem peccatorum,
carnis resurrectionem,
✚ vitam eternam.
Amen.

OUR FATHER HAIL MARY CREED

OUR FATHER which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name,
thy kingdom come, thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven.
Give us this day our daily bread;
And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us;
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

HAIL MARY, full of grace, the Lord is with thee.
Blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.
Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death.
Amen.

I BELIEVE IN GOD
the Father Almighty
Maker of heaven and earth:
and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord,
who was conceived by the Holy Ghost,
born of the Virgin Mary,
suffered under Pontius Pilate
was crucified, dead, and buried:
he descended into hell;
the third day he rose again from the dead;
he ascended into heaven,
and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty;
from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.
I believe in the Holy Ghost;
the holy Catholick Church;
the Communion of Saints;
the forgiveness of sins;
the Resurrection of the body,
✝ and the life everlasting.
Amen.

CRUX FIDELIS

Crux fidelis, inter omnes
Arbor una nobilis:
Nulla talem silva profert,
Flore, fronde, germine:
Dulce lignum, dulci clavos,
Dulce pondus sustinet.

Flecte ramos, arbor alta,
Tensa laxa viscera,
Et rigor lentescat ille,
Quem dedit nativitas:
Et superni membra Regis
Tende miti stipite.

Sola digna tu fuisti
Ferre mundi victimam:
Atque portum preparare
Arca mundo naufrago:
Quam sacer cruor perunxit
Fusus Agni corpore.

Faithful Cross, above all other
One and only noble Tree:
None in foliage, none in blossom,
None in fruit thy peer may be:
Sweetest wood and sweetest iron,
Sweetest Weight is hung on thee.

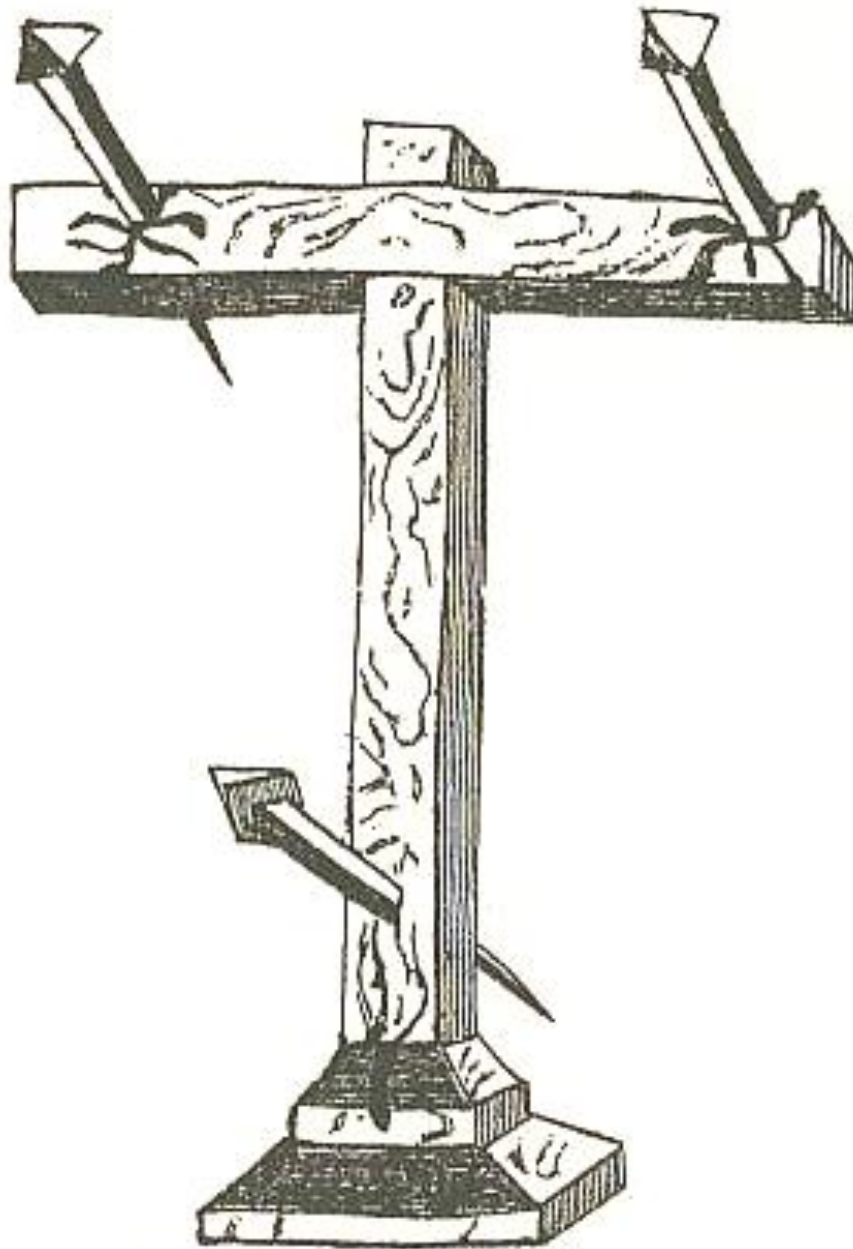
Lofty Tree, bend down thy branches
To embrace thy sacred Load:
O, relax the native tension
Of that all too rigid wood:
Gently, gently bear the members
Of thy dying King and God.

Tree, which solely wast found worthy
The world's Victim to sustain:
Harbour from the raging tempest,
Ark that saved the world again:
Tree with sacred blood anointed
Of the Lamb for sinners slain.

SALVATOR MUNDI

Salvator mundi, salva nos,
qui per crucem et sanguinem redemisti nos:
auxiliare nobis, te deprecamur, Deus noster.

O Saviour of the world,
who by thy cross and precious blood hast redeemed us:
save us and help us, we humbly beseech thee, O Lord.



Hohle Krosse &



A PRAYER UPON THE CROSS

John Lydgate (c.1370–c.1451)

Here Christ Jesu saith thus unto man as he hangeth upon the rood tree

Upon the cross nailed I was for thee,
Suffered death to pay thy ransom;
Forsake thy sin for the love of me,
Be repentant, make plain confession,
To contrite hearts I do remission:
Be not despaired, for I am not vengeable;¹
Gain² ghostly enemies think on my passion;
Why art thou froward, since I am mercyable?³

My bloody wounds done railing by this tree,
Look on them well, and have compassion;
The crown of thorn, the spear, the nails three
Pierced hand and feet of Indignation,
Mine heart riven for thy redemption;
Let us twain in this thing be treatable,
Love for love by just convention!
Why art thou froward, since I am mercyable?

I had on Peter and Magdalene pity
For the great constrain of their contrition;
Gain Thomas Indis incredulity,⁴
He put his hand, deep in my side down;
Roll up this matter, grave it in thy reason;
Since I am kind, why art though so unstable?
My blood, best treacle⁵ for thy transgressions;
Be thou not froward, since I am mercyable.

¹ *vengable*: vengeful.

² *geyn*: against (also in v. 2, line 3, and v. 3, lines 3 and 7).

³ *Froward*: perverse; ungovernable; evilly-disposed; *mercyable*: merciful, compassionate.

⁴ Thomas the apostle, 'Doubting Thomas', also known as Thomas of India.

⁵ *treacle*: a herbal compound used as a medicinal salve.

Lenvoye [Christ's exhortation to the sinner]

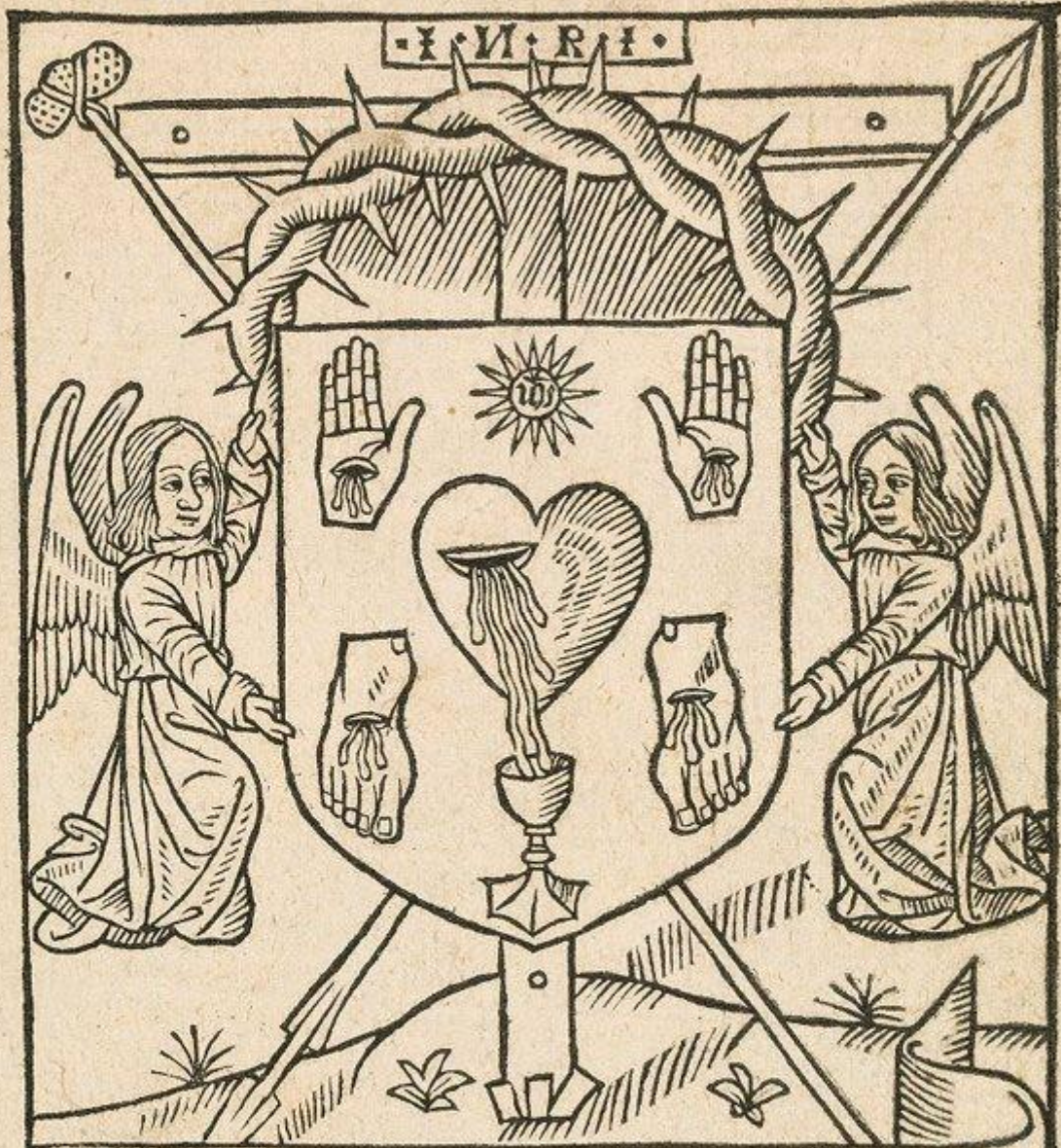
Think again Pride on mine humility;
Come to school, record well this lesson;
Gain false envy, think on my charity.
My blood all spent by distillation;
Why did I this? To save thee from prison;
Afore thy heart hang this little table,
Sweeter than balm gain all ghostly poison –
Be thou not froward, since I am mercyable.

Oracio [The response of the sinner in prayer]

Lord on all sinful, here kneeling on their knee,
Thy death remembering of humble affections.
O Jesu, grant of thy benignity,
That thy five wells plenteous of foison⁶
Called thy five wounds by computation,
May wash in us all surfeits reprievable.
Now, for thy mother's meek mediation,
At her request, be to us mercyable.

⁶ *Foison*: abundance, of great quantity.

Ex domo Ihesu de Bethleem



Of your charyte in the worshyp of
v. v. wondes of our lord & v. v. wyes
of our lady say. Pñ nñ & Ave.

O BONE IESU

O bone Iesu.⁷

O dulcis Iesu.

O Iesu, fili Marie virginis, plenus misericordia et veritate.

O dulcis Iesu, miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.

O benigne Iesu, te deprecor per illum sanguinem preciosum:
quem pro nobis miseris peccatoribus, effundere dignatus es in ara cruces,
ut abijcias omnes iniquitates meas:

et ne despicias humiliter te petentem,

et hoc nomen tuum sanctissimum Iesum invocantem.

Hoc nomen Iesus nomen dulce est.

Hoc nomen Iesus: nomen salutare est.

Quid enim est Iesus, nisi Salvator?

O bone Iesu: qui me creasti et redemisti tuo precioso sanguine
ne permittas me, damnari quem tu ex nichilo creasti.

O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea
quem fecit et creavit omnipotens bonitas tua.

O bone Iesu recognosce quod tuum est in me:
et absterge quod alienum est a me.

O bone Iesu miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi:
nec perdas me in tempore tui tremendi iudicij.

O bone Iesu, si merui miser peccator
de vera tua iustitia penam eternam pro peccatis meis gravissimis:
adhuc appello confisus de tua iustitia vera
ad tuam misericordiam ineffabilem utique misereberis mei,
ut pius Pater et misericors Dominus.

⁷Traditionally ascribed to the Franciscan friar, St Bernard of Siena (1380–1444). In Byrckman's *Hore* of 1521 the English text is preceded by the following explanation: 'This most devout prayer said the Holy Father St Bernadine daily kneeling in the worship of the most Holy Name Jesus. And it is well to believe that through the invocation of that most excellent Name of Jesu, St Bernard obtained a singular reward of perpetual consolation of our Lord Jesu Christ. And this prayer is written in a table that hangeth at Rome in St Peter's Church near to the high altar there, as our Holy Father the Pope duly is wont to say the Office of the Mass, and who that devoutly with a contrite heart daily say this orison, if he be that day in the state of eternal damnation, then this eternal pain shall be changed into temporal pain of Purgatory; then if he hath deserved the pain of Purgatory, then it shall be forgotten and forgiven through the infinite mercy of God.'

O BOUNTIFUL JESU

O bountiful Jesu.

O sweet Jesu.

O Jesu, the son of the pure Virgin Mary: full of mercy and truth.

O sweet Jesu, after thy great mercy have pity upon me.

O benign Jesu, I pray ye by the same precious blood:

which for us miserable sinners, thou wast content to shed in the altar of the cross,

that you vouchsafe clean to avoid all my wickedness,

and not to despise me humbly this requiring,

and upon thy most holy name Jesus calling.

This name Jesus is the name of health.

What is Jesus, but a saviour?

O good Jesu that hast me created: and with thy precious blood redeemed;

suffer me not to be damned, whom of nought thou hast made.

O good Jesu, let not my wickedness destroy me,

that thy almighty goodness made and formed.

O good Jesu, reknowledge that is thine in me:

and wipe clean away, that eloineth me from thee.⁸

O good Jesu: when time of mercy is, have mercy upon me:

nor destroy me not in time of thy terrible judgement.

O good Jesu if I a wretched sinner,

for my most grievous offences, have by thy very justice: deserved eternal pain,

yet I appeal from thy very righteousness,

and steadfastly trust in thine ineffable mercy:

so as a mild father and merciful lord ought, take pity upon me.

continued overleaf

⁸ 'O good Jesu, acknowledge what is thine in me: and wipe clean away that which removes me to a distance from thee.'

O bone Iesu, que enim utilitas in sanguine meo:
dum descendero in corruptionem eternam?
Non enim mortui laudabunt te: neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.
O misericordissime Iesu, miserere mei.
O dulcissime Iesu: libera me.
O pijssime Iesu, propitius esto michi peccatori.
O Iesu admitte me miserum peccatorem inter numerum electorum tuorum.
O Iesu salus in te sperantium.
O Iesu salus in te credentium, miserere mei.
O Iesu dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum meorum.
O Iesu fili virginis Marie:
infunde in me gratiam tuam, sapientiam, charitatem, castitatem ac humilitatem
ac etiam in omnibus adversitatibus meis patientiam sanctam
ut possim te perfecte diligere,
et in te gloriari ac delectari
in secula seculorum.
Amen.

ANTIPHONA DE DULCISSIMO NOMINE IESU

O Rex gloriose,
inter sanctos tuos semper es laudabilis et tamen ineffabilis
tu in nobis es domine et nomen sanctum tuum invocatum est super nos
ne derelinquas nos Domine Deus noster:
ut in die iudicii nos collocare digneris inter electos tuos
rex benedicte.

O good Jesu, what profit is in my blood,
since that I must descend into eternal corruption?
Certainly, they that be dead shall not magnify thee nor likewise all they that go to hell.
O most merciful Jesu, have mercy upon me.
O most sweet Jesu, deliver me.
O most meek Jesu, be unto me favourable.
O Jesu, accept me a wretched sinner, into the number of them that shall be saved.
O Jesu, the health of them that believe in thee,
have mercy upon me.
O Jesu, the sweet forgiveness of all my sins.
O Jesu, the son of the pure Virgin Mary,
endue me with thy grace, wisdom, charity, chastity, and humility;
yea and in all mine adversities, steadfast patience:
so that I may perfectly love thee,
and in thee to be glorified, and have my only delight in thee,
world without end.
So be it.

OF THE MOST HOLY NAME OF JESUS

O glorious King,
which amongst thy saints art praised, and nevertheless incomparable,
Thou art in us Lord, and thy Name hath been called upon by us.
Therefore do not forsake us O Lord God,
and in the day of judgement vouchsafe to bestow us amongst thy saints and elect,
O blessed King.
Amen.

DULCIS IESUS NAZARENUS

Dulcis Iesus Nazarenus,
Iudeorum rex amenus:
pius, pulcher, floridus.

Sweet Jesus of Nazareth,
The gracious, handsome,
dutiful king of the Jews,

Pro salute sue gentis
subit mortem cum tormentis:
factus pallens, lividus.

for the salvation of his people
in life's fair bloom was made pallid and bruised
and suffered a tormented death.

Dulce nomen et cognomen,
hoc transcendens est prenomen:
omnibus nominibus.

Sweet name and surname,
this first name surpasses
all others;

Mulcet reos, sanat eos,
fovet reos, munit eos:
servat ab insultibus.

it soothes sinners and heals them,
it consoles sinners and strengthens them,
protecting them from assaults.

Huius regis sub vexillo
statu degis in tranquillo:
hostes victim rugiunt.

Under the banner of this king,
you lead a tranquil existence
and your enemies flee before you;

Nomen eius meditatam,
belli fugat apparatus:
hostes victim rugiunt.

when you meditate on his name,
the accoutrements of war are put to flight
and the conquered enemy cries aloud.

Hoc est nomen recolendum
quod sic semper est tremendum:
malignis spiritibus.

Reflect upon this name,
for it always strikes fear
in evil spirits;

Hoc est nomen salutare,
et solamen singular:
quod succurrit tristibus.

this is the name that brings salvation
and the only comfort
that comes to the aid of the dejected.

Hoc nos decet honorare,
archa cordis inserare,
cogitare, peramare:
Amore sed heroico.

This we are bound to venerate,
To place in the casket of our heart
and ponder fondly,
but with love of the Lord.

Ignatius hoc docuit,
illud passus insonuit:
cor eius scissum patuit
inscriptum Iesu celico.

[The martyr] Ignatius taught this lesson:
after he had suffered he called out this name:
and when his heart was rent asunder
it was clearly inscribed with the words
'heavenly Jesus'.

IESU DULCIS MEMORIA

Iesu dulcis memoria,
Dans vera cordis gaudia,
Et super mel et omnia,
Eius dulcis presentia.

Jesu! the very thought is sweet!
In that dear name all heart-joys meet;
But sweeter than the honey far
The glimpses of his presence are.

Nil canitur suavius,
Nil auditur iucundius,
Nil cogitatur dulcius,
Quam Iesus Dei Filius.

No word is sung more sweet than this:
No name is heard more full of bliss:
No thought brings sweeter comfort nigh,
Than Jesus, Son of God most high.

Iesu, spes penitentibus,
Quam pius es petentibus,
Quam bonus te querentibus,
Sed quid invenientibus!

Jesu! the hope of souls forlorn!
How good to them for sin that mourn!
To them that seek thee, O how kind!
But what are thou to them that find?

Iesu, dulcedo cordium,
Fons vere, lumen mentium,
Excedis omne gaudium,
Et omne desiderium.

Jesu, thou sweetness, pure and blest,
Truth's fountain, Light of souls distress,
Surpassing all that heart requires,
Exceeding all that soul desires!

Nec lingua potest dicere,
Nec littere exprimere,
Expertus novit tenere,
Quid sit Iesum diligere.

Iesum queram in lectulo,
Clauſo cordis cubiculo,
Privatim et in publico
Queram amore ſedulo.

Cum Maria diluculo,
Iesum queram in tumulo,
Cordis clamore querulo
Mente queram non oculo.

Iesus ad Patrem rediit,
Regnum celeſte ſubiit,
Cor meum a me tranſit,
Poſt Iesum ſimul abiit.

Iam proſequamur laudibus,
Hymnis Iesum et precibus,
Ut nos donet celeſtibus
Cum iuſtis frui ſedibus.

No tongue of mortal can expreſs,
No letters write its bleſſedneſs:
Alone who hath thee in his heart
Knows, love of Jeſus! what thou art.

I ſeek for Jeſus in reſoſe,
When round my heart its chambers cloſe;
Abroad, and when I ſhut the door,
I long for Jeſus evermore.

With Mary in the morning gloom
I ſeek for Jeſus at the tomb;
For him, with love's moſt earneſt cry,
I ſeek with heart and not with eye.

Jeſus, to God the Father gone,
Iſ ſeated on the heavenly throne;
My heart hath alſo paſſed from me,
That where he iſ there it may be.

We follow Jeſus now, and riſe
The voice of prayer, the hymn of praiſe,
That he at laſt may make uſ meet
With him to gain the heavenly ſeat.

FROM A HOMILY ON THE NAME OF JESUS

Contemplating the joys of this festival, let us look deeply into the description of the most blessed name of Jesus. I judge it not superfluous, both for our consolation and instruction, to observe what was done under the figure of the past law, and what is graciously done with us in substance, which shall abide for ever. For we read that among the Hebrews, the four-lettered name of God was held worthy of highest reverence and honour, standing out on the forehead of the high priest, and engraven on a golden plate. This name, written in four Hebrew letters, the Holy Fathers have declared to be a great mystery. For the four-lettered name, in our language, means: 'This is the beginning of life.' Nor does this other venerable name, Jesus, designate other than the beginning of life – that Christ Jesus is Saviour.

Rightly then is that designated under the name of Jesus, which was promised in figure in that other name. O name, wonderful to all, terrible to sinners, exceeding lovely to the just! This was not unknown in the dream of Jacob who, when he saw the ladder touching heaven and earth, said, 'How terrible is this place!' He hinted at that sacred mystery, that he should be terrible to the evil, whom he should slay with the breath of his mouth, who to the good, had come as the angel of good counsel; that Christ Jesus who was born there, where Jacob saw the ladder, might be the father of the world to come. Jesus then is the ladder of heaven, for Jesus leadeth the way to heaven. Let him be marked on the forehead of the devout mind, as the soul of the righteous is rightly named.

Rejoice then with great joy, O shield-bearer of Jesus Christ: for when thou art immersed in the sacred stream, anointed with holy oil, and signed with the sign of the cross on the forehead, entirely in thee is represented Jesus. Upon thy soul is imprinted an indelible character, which bears the name of the beloved Jesus. Hence it is written in the Apocalypse, 'They shall see his face, and his name is written on their foreheads.' What the high priest bore typically on a plate of gold on his forehead, each of the righteous now bears eternally in his soul under that name. O holy nation, chosen generation, royal priesthood, purchased people; to you who believe, be honour and power, that ye may show forth the power of Jesus from day to day, while the moon endureth, because he called us out of darkness into the marvellous light of his name and glory.

A PRAYER OF THE HOLY NAME

O Cryste Ihesu, mekely I pray to the,
To lete thy name, wedyr y ryde or gone,
In euery parell & in euery aduersite,
Be my defence a-genste my mortall fone
To make them stonde styll as eny stone;
And that castene me falsly to werray,
Make thow here malyce to-to obey.

To thi name, & make hem stond a-backe,
Or thay haue poure to yoy here cruel myght;
And wicked spretus so oryble & blake
That besy bene to wayte me day & nyghte,
Let thi name dryue hem owte of syghte
And, in my fored when I 'Ihesu' empresse,
Make me of grace theyre malyce to oppresse.

Ffor to thi name hoolly y me commende,
Myn lyf, deth, my body, herte & all,
My sowle al-so when I hense wende,
O cryste Ihesu, o lorde ynmortall!
Praying to the, whene thow me deme schall,
That thow me saue from eternall schame,
That haue full feght & hole truste in thi name.

A PRAYER OF THE HOLY NAME

O Christ Jesu, humbly I pray thee,
Let thy name – wherever I ride or go,
Through all perils and adversities –
Be my defence against my mortal enemies,
To make them stand as still as any stone;
And make those that cast me falsely as being intent on war
In their malice thee to obey.

At the sound of thy name, make them stand back,
Lest they have power to use their cruel might;
And the wicked spirits so horrible and black
That busily prey on me day and night
Let thy name drive out of sight;
And, when I mark 'Jesus' on my forehead,
Make me, by grace, overcome their wickedness.

For to thy name wholly I commend myself –
My life, my death, my body, heart and all,
My soul also when from this life I depart,
O Christ Jesu, O Lord immortal;
I pray to thee, when thou shalt come to judge me,
That thou wilt save me from eternal shame,
For I have full faith and wholehearted trust in thy name.

ORDER OF THE MASS AS HEARD

Introit

Kyrie eleison

Collect(s)

Epistle

Gradual

Alleluya

Sequence

Gospel

Offertory antiphon

Invitation to the people to pray for the priest (silent)

Sursum Corda

Preface

Sanctus and Benedictus

Canon of the Mass (silent)

Elevation of the Host (signalled by the bell)

Conclusion of the Canon (silent, except the last phrase)

The Lord's Prayer

Pax Domini

Agnus Dei

(Sharing of the Pax among clergy and people)

Communion antiphon

Post-Communion prayers

Benedicamus Domino

The Last Gospel (all kiss the floor at 'Et verbum caro factum est')

The indented items are recited by the priest or his assistant

Additionally, the priest recites prayers constantly throughout the Mass

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION BEFORE THE MASS

The procession assembles in the chancel.

The prose *Salve festa dies* is begun, in the form for the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (refrain and verses).

During the prose, the procession leaves the chancel, moves through the nave to the south aisle, and then turns back up the nave.

It halts for the Station at the Rood, where the prose is concluded.

The procession enters the chancel with the singing of an antiphon of the saint of the church, St Teilo, followed by versicle and collect.

ORDER OF COMPLINE & ANTIPHON

Tuesday and Wednesday: in honour of the Holy Cross

Thursday: in honour of the Holy Name of Jesus.

Versicles and responses

Psalms 4, 30 (vv.1-6), 90 and 133, sung with one antiphon

Chapter

Hymn

Versicle and response

Nunc dimittis with antiphon

Kyrie, Pater noster, Credo

Preces

Confession and absolution

Preces

Collect

Benedicamus Domino

Procession to the Rood for the Antiphon Ceremony

(comprising Antiphon, Versicle and Collect)

SOURCES

‘Crux fidelis’, stanzas from the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosi*, sung at the Good Friday liturgy, written by Venantius Fortunatus (530–609) for a procession that brought part of the True Cross to Queen Radagunda in 570, translated by Edward Caswall (1814–78).

‘Salvator mundi’, antiphon sung at the Good Friday liturgy.

Image of the Cross from British Library, Add. MS 22029 (vellum roll: poems and images of the passion) reproduced in *Legends of the Holy Rood: Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems in Old English of the Eleventh, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Richard Morris, EETS OS, 46 (London, 1871), p. [vi].

Image of the Crucifixion, from *Hore beate Marie ad ritu[m] Sarisburie[n]sis*, printed for Francis Byrckman (London, 1521). *STC* (2nd ed.), 15930, f. 39v; EEBO image 40.

John Lydgate (c.1370–c.1451), ‘A Prayer upon the Cross’, Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud 683, leaves 14, 15; *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. H. N. McCracken, EETS Extra Series 107 (London, 1910), pp. 252–4. Spelling and obscure word-forms here modernised.

Image of the Arms of Christ, woodcut ([Carthusian Priory], Sheen, 1495). Oxford, Bodleian, Arch. G f.14; see <http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/static/records/XYL-32.html>

The antiphon ‘O bone Iesu’ survives in several versions. This text, headed ‘Oratio sancti Bernardi de senis ordinis minor[ibus]’, also taken from *Hore beate Marie*, Byrckman (London, 1521), ff. 101v–102r; EEBO images 103–4.

‘O bountifull Jesu’, a near direct translation of ‘O bone Iesu’ from the Sarum Primer text printed by Nicholas le Roux for Francis Regnault (Rouen, 1538). *STC* (2nd ed.), 16004, n.p.; EEBO images 130–131.

The antiphon ‘O Rex gloriose’ and its translation ‘O glorious King’ follow on directly after ‘O bone Iesu’ and ‘O bountifull Jesu’ in the two sources cited above. ‘O Rex’ appears in several liturgical contexts, including as antiphon to the Nunc Dimittis at Compline on the Feast of the Holy Name (7 August).

‘Dulcis Iesus Nazareus’, the first part of one of the alternative Sequence texts at Mass on the Feast of the Holy Name and the votive Mass of the Holy Name usually celebrated on Friday. This version from *Graduale Sarisburiense*, printed by Nikolaus Prevost and Francis Regnault (Paris, 1532). Translation adapted from *The Gyffard Partbooks, II*, ed. David Mateer, EECM, 51 (London, 2009), p. 4.

‘Iesu dulcis memoria’, another Sequence for the Holy Name, also from *Graduale Sarisburiense* (Paris, 1532). Attributed to St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), translation by J. M. Neale (1818–66).

Extract from a Homily on the Holy Name, part of the first two lessons at Matins on the fifth day of the Octave of the Feast of the Holy Name, headed ‘De Descriptione Nominis Iesu’. Translation adapted from *The Breviary of the Renowned Church of Salisbury, Translated into English According to the Use of the Society of the Holy Trinity* (Devonport, 1889).

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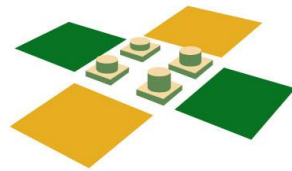
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THE
EXPERIENCE
OF WORSHIP
IN LATE MEDIEVAL
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