The Rites and Ministries of the Canons: Liturgical Rubrics to Vernacular Gospels and their Functions in a European Context

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The *West-Saxon Gospels* (*WSG*) of the late tenth or early eleventh century are the only extant complete translation of the four gospels from the Latin Vulgate into a West Germanic language in the early Middle Ages and are thus one of the outstanding achievements of Anglo-Saxon Christian culture.[1] The translation has survived in four complete manuscripts (A, B, C, Cp) and two fragments (F, L) from the eleventh century as well as two complete copies from the late twelfth century (R and H).[2] While this comparatively large number of manuscripts, and at least two stages of textual revision, indicate a deep and sustained interest in the text until the twelfth century, the external evidence for its contemporary importance is somewhat disappointing: we do not know of any substantial Anglo-Saxon source which used the text in, for instance, a homily. Yet despite this lack of intertextual evidence, manuscript A (Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 11) and the 'Yale fragments' (F; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 578) are explicit testimony to the use of the *WSG* in a liturgical context: these manuscripts contain liturgical rubrics which divide the gospel text into the specified lessons read in the individual masses of the Christian year.

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[1] The major editions of the *WSG* are *The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian and Old Mercian Versions, Synoptically Arranged, with Collations Exhibiting all the Readings of all MSS.*, ed. W. Skeat (Cambridge, 1871–1900) and *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, 2 vols., EETS os 304 and 314 (Oxford, 1994 and 2000).
[2] For the sigla, origin, and date of the manuscripts, see the 'List of Manuscripts' in the Appendix. The extant manuscripts of the *WSG* can be divided into three broad groups – (1) CpBC, (2) AF, and (3) the post-Anglo-Saxon group RH. For the relationship of the manuscripts, see *Old English Version*, ed. Liuzza, *op. cit.* in n. 1, I, xliii–lxxiii.

In two earlier studies, I have compared these liturgical rubrics (technically known as pericopes) with Latin sources from England and the continent, in particular gospel lists and lectionaries, and also with vernacular manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England, such as Old English homiliaries.[3] In this paper, I want to examine these manuscripts with liturgical rubrics in the wider perspective of vernacular sources from the continent, in particular the almost contemporaneous and strikingly similar German 'Vienna-Munich gospel fragments'. Another continental source, the Old French fragments of a bilingual homily on Jonah IV (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 521 (475)), will be analysed in order to gain a better understanding of the actual function of these vernacular gospels which divide their text into pericopes.

The comparison of the vernacular gospel sources will focus mainly, after a short introduction to their contents and layout, on their purpose and use. Since their rubrics connect these gospel renderings to the liturgy of the mass, they locate them within some kind of performative tradition, once thought to indicate a vernacular reading of the gospel pericopes within the mass itself – instead of a reading from a Latin Bible or lectionary.[4] Yet this public liturgical recitation of the vernacular instead of the Latin gospel text as a formal part of the liturgy of the mass would have been revolutionary in the context of the Western churches of the early Middle Ages.[5] In order not to fall into anachronistic traps, a more detailed investigation into the function of the rubrics requires a deeper look at their codicological, liturgical and historical context, and thus particularly at Exeter where A was written in the middle of the eleventh century. At Exeter, Bishop Leofric (1050–72) set up a chapter of secular canons following the *Rule of Chrodegang* and I will suggest in this paper that it is precisely this reform setting of the rites and ministries of the canons (at Exeter and elsewhere) which constitutes the context from where the English and German gospel translations with

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[3] U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 20 (Munich, 1997) and U. Lenker, 'The *West Saxon Gospels* and the Gospel-Lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice', *ASE* 28 (1999), 141–78.

[4] See *The West-Saxon Gospels: a Study of the Gospel of Saint Matthew with Text of the Four Gospels,* ed. M. Grünberg (Amsterdam, 1967), p. 369.

[5] For the 'polemical function'of the first edition of the *WSG* by Archbishop Parker and his circle in 1571, see R. M. Liuzza, 'Who Read the Gospels in Old English?', *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. P. Baker and N. Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 3–24, at 4.

liturgical rubrics originated. In this view, the vernacular gospels with liturgical rubrics are not strictly located within the liturgy of the mass, but in two 'quasi-' or 'paraliturgical' contexts suggested in the *Rule of Chrodegang*:[6] they were either used in the canons' chapter office or aided the canons in their ministries in pastoral care, in particular in their preaching to the public.

Old English gospel manuscripts with liturgical rubrics

Liturgical rubrics in manuscripts A and F of the West Saxon Gospels

Manuscript A of the *WSG*, which was written around 1050 in Bishop Leofric's scriptorium at Exeter,[7] contains 199 liturgical rubrics indicating on which day of the church year a certain passage of the gospels was to be recited in the liturgy of the mass. The following rubric, for instance, is inserted before Matt. IV.12:[8]

> Ðis sceal on frigedæg ofer twelfta dæg.
> Cum audisset Iesus quod Iohannes traditus esset.
> Soþlice þa se hælend gehirde þæt iohannes belæwed wæs . . .

According to this rubric, the text whose beginning is quoted in Latin ('Cum audisset . . .') is to be read on the Friday after Epiphany ('frigedæg ofer twelfta dæg'). The identification of the day is introduced by standardised phrases such as 'Ðis (godspel) sceal' or 'Ðis (godspel) gebyrað' which are also attested in Old English homiliaries, such as London, BL, Cotton Vitellius C. v (s. x/xi), a manuscript of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*.[9]

In A, the rubrics are distributed throughout all four gospels: seventy-three are found in Matthew, twenty-three in Mark, forty-six in Luke and

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6 For the terms 'quasi-liturgical' or 'para-liturgical', see N. F. Palmer, 'Zur Vortragsweise der Wien-Münchener Evangelienübersetzung', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 114 (1985), 95–118, at 97 and 116.

7 For a full description of manuscript A and its annotations, see *Old English Version*, ed. Liuzza, *op. cit.* in n. 1, I, xvii–xx, and Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 17–18 and 202–90.

8 See pl. I. On the same manuscript page, the pericope starting from Matt. IV.18 is indicated to be read on the feast of St Andrew.

9 Here, the rubrics are almost identical to those in A; see, for example, 'Feria vi in prima ebdomada quadragesimæ. Ðis spel gebyrað on Frigedæg on þære forman Lentenwucan. Evvangelium. Erat dies festus Iudæorum, et reliqua' (*Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. Pope, 2 vols., EETS os 259 and 260 (London, 1967 and 1968) I, 230).

fifty-seven in John. They mark a number of readings for saints' days (twenty-five for individual saints and twelve for the *Commune Sanctorum*), but mainly record the *temporale* pericopes for the Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays of the entire church year and also for each day during Lent.[10] One of these rubrics in A agrees with the single liturgical annotation before Mark I.40 in another manuscript of the *WSG*, the so-called 'Yale fragments' (F; s. xi[1], from south-eastern England).[11]

In order to know how these vernacular manuscripts with liturgical directions were used, it is, of course, essential to understand whether the underlying liturgical systems were common at the time when the manuscripts were written.[12] My comparison of the rubrics with over sixty Anglo-Saxon and continental sources has shown that the liturgical system attested in both A and F basically agrees with a widely used Roman lection system of that time: Chavasse's Roman type 3.[13] This type 3 was extremely common from the eleventh century onwards, eventually serving as the basis for the liturgy of the Sarum and York Missals and also the *Missale Romanum*.

Yet a more detailed analysis of the pericope orders in Anglo-Saxon sources also reveals that there was still considerable local variance in the readings at that stage.[14] Manuscript A belongs to the subgroup of 'continental-late Anglo-Saxon'[15] sources comprising a ninth-century

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[10] See Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 256–68.

[11] For a full description of these fragments, see R. M. Liuzza, 'The Yale Fragments of the West Saxon Gospels', *ASE* 17 (1988), 67–82, and *Old English Version*, ed. Liuzza, *op. cit.* in n. 1, I, xli–xlii.

[12] Sometimes outdated liturgical information was painstakingly copied simply out of respect for its exemplar. This is, however, mostly the case with gospel lists in sumptuous gospel books. See Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 191–5.

[13] There are basically three consecutive types of Roman lection systems (Chavasse's types 1, 2 and 3). In the early Middle Ages, most continental and Anglo-Saxon sources follow type 2 which is then superseded by the later and very common type 3; see A. Chavasse, 'Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romains de la messe: Rapports et date', *Revue bénédictine* 62 (1952), 1–91. For earlier work on the history of gospel readings, see W. H. Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy: 2. The Roman Gospel-Lectionary*, Alcuin Club Collections 30 (Oxford, 1934), and Th. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum. Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte. 1. Typen*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen 28 (Münster, 1935).

[14] See the comparative lists of readings in Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 298–351 (temporal) and 352–83 (sanctoral). Chavasse's classification only considers the most relevant characteristics, in particular the Sunday readings.

[15] This term refers to the fact that the older manuscripts recording this system are from the continent (gospel list Qe), while the genuine Anglo-Saxon sources are from the end of the period (Leofric Missal and New Minster Missal). For the manuscripts and their

continental gospel list (Qe; London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. ii; s. ix^{ex}/x^{in}, Liège), an eleventh-century gospel lectionary (Vb; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. xvii. 20; s. xi^1, Canterbury), the New Minster Missal (Wa; Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, 330; s. xi^2, Winchester) and the marginal notes added to the Leofric Missal in Bishop Leofric's scriptorium at Exeter (Wb; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579; s. xi^{med}, Exeter).[16]

The liturgical system underlying the rubrics in A and also F thus contains no features which are specifically Anglo-Saxon. It registers no readings for the *temporale* which would relate it exclusively to other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and it also provides no special pericopes for Anglo-Saxon saints. The liturgical ordering recorded is a reading system used in the middle of the eleventh century, in late Anglo-Saxon England as well as on the continent.

German gospel translation in the Middle Ages

Since the function of the insertion of rubrics into manuscripts of the *WSG* is hard to ascertain on the basis of our extant Anglo-Saxon sources and since there also seems to be enough evidence that the liturgical orderings in A and F stem from a continental model,[17] I will now focus on continental traditions, in particular on sources from early medieval Germany.[18] The histories of early German and early English Bible

liturgical traditions see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 438–42, 467–71 and 478–86. So far, only the two missals have been edited: *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 330)*, ed. D. H. Turner, HBS 93 (London, 1962) and *The Leofric Missal as Used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its First Bishop, A.D. 1050–1072*, ed. F. E. Warren, (Oxford, 1883); a new edition of the Leofric Missal has recently been published though it has not been possible to consult it: *The Leofric Missal*, ed. N. Orchard, 2 vols., HBS 113–14 (London, 2002).

[16] Luckily, the single rubric in the 'Yale fragments' (F) for the Wednesday in the fifteenth week after Pentecost at Mark I.40 is so specific that it exclusively agrees with type 3 of Chavasse's Roman lections, thus corroborating the assumed common origin of the liturgical rubrics in F and A. See Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 195–9.

[17] For the provision of parallel passages, see below pp. 199–201.

[18] For an account of the history of German gospel translation in the Middle Ages, see W. B. Lockwood, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Germany and the Low Countries before 1500', *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Volume 2: The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 415–36, K. Ruh, 'Evangelien-Übertragungen', *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. II, 2nd ed.

translation are very similar: the sources comprise quite a substantial number of (interlinear) glosses and poetic renderings, such as the Old Saxon *Heliand* and *Genesis* or Otfrid's *Liber evangeliorum*, but provide only scarce evidence for prose translations.[19] Early German prose renderings are merely found in the fragments of a translation of Matthew from around 800 (the so-called 'Mon(d)see-Gospels') and the slightly later East Franconian version of Tatian's gospel harmony, the *Diatesseron* (*c.* 830); both are, however, bilingual Latin-Old High German and are thus not fully comparable with the rather free-standing *WSG*. The dominant translation sources until the thirteenth century, in Germany as well as in England, are glosses to the Psalter.

The 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'

In the form of several flyleaves and binding strips, pure chance has also bestowed on us the unique fragments of the so-called 'Vienna-Munich Gospel translation' ('Wien-Münchener Evangelienübersetzung'). The fifty-one pieces of this, the earliest German translation of the Vulgate after the ninth-century 'Mon(d)see Gospels', are now kept in three different libraries – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, suppl. 2559 (ser. nova 249: fragments of twenty-two fols.), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 5250/1 (fragments of seventeen fols.) and two parchment strips in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Germ. b. 3, fol. 15.[20]

The fragments belong to a manuscript which must originally have contained a translation of all four gospels. The origin and date of this anonymous rendering are unfortunately still heavily disputed: while language, script and layout place the manuscript in the late twelfth

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(Berlin, 1980), cols. 653-9 and in particular S. Sonderegger, 'Geschichte der deutsch-sprachigen Bibelübersetzungen in Grundzügen', *Grundzüge der Sprachgeschichte: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, Handbücher für Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 2.1, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin/New York, 1998), pp. 229–84.

[19] See G. Shepherd, 'English Versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif', *Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Lampe, *op. cit.* in n. 18, pp. 362–87.

[20] The fragments have been edited in J. Haupt, 'Bruchstücke einer ahd. Übersetzung der vier Evangelien', *Germania* 14 (1869), 440–66 (Vienna fragments), F. Keinz, 'Althochdeutsche Bruchstücke IV', *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1869/1), 546–56 and P. F. Ganz, 'Two New Middle High German Gospel Fragments', *German Life and Letters* 16 (1962/63), 193–7. For the latest combined edition of the fragments, see H. Kriedte, *Deutsche Bibelfragmente in der Prosa des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1930), pp. 64–123. Unfortunately, this edition is extremely unreliable.

century (between 1180 and 1215), several scribal mistakes prove that this, the only extant copy, does not represent the original translation.[21] According to Suolahti's detailed linguistic analysis, its Alemannic and Bavarian features suggest that the manuscript is a Bavarian copy of an earlier Alemannic exemplar.[22] In his contribution to the *Verfasser-lexikon*, Ruh summarizes that 'it is considered certain that the exemplar belongs to the eleventh century',[23] thus dating the original German translation contemporaneous with manuscript A of the *WSG*.

There can be no doubt, however, that the German translation is rather singular for the time of its production. It shows no connection to the late eighth- or early ninth-century endeavours at gospel translation mentioned above, nor is it directly related to any of the many later German renderings of Scripture, starting around the end of the thirteenth century.[24] In a German context, the translation is regarded as isolated and unique.[25]

When we adopt a wider perspective and compare the German source to its alleged contemporary, manuscript A of the *WSG*, its singular character must be reconsidered. Both the English and the German rendering are comparatively idiomatic translations of the Vulgate text into one of the West Germanic vernaculars and both are free-standing versions, not accompanied by the Latin Vulgate text.[26] The most remarkable similarity between these two manuscripts, however, lies in the fact that the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' were also augmented for functional reasons: like manuscripts A and F of the *WSG*, they contain liturgical annotations marking the gospel pericopes commonly read at mass.

The surviving twenty-three liturgical notes are in many respects strikingly similar to those in A: the liturgical directions in the German translation are also distributed throughout all four gospels (nine in Matthew,

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[21] For a survey of research, see Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 97–110. The translation is either referred to as 'Old High German' or 'Middle High German'.

[22] See H. Suolahti, 'Die spätalthochdeutsche Evangelienübersetzung', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 32 (1931), 25–46, at 28–32 (Alemannic features) and 32–6 (Bavarian features).

[23] Ruh, 'Evangelien-Übertragungen', *op. cit.* in n. 18, col. 654.

[24] For a chronological list of German gospel translations, see J. Splett, 'Die Zuordnung zu Übersetzungszweigen. Dargestellt anhand der hochdeutschen Übersetzungen von Mt 13,44–52 in mittelalterlichen Handschriften', *Deutsche Bibelübersetzungen des Mittelalters. Beiträge eines Kolloquiums im Deutschen Bibel-Archiv*, ed. H. Reinitzer and N. Henkel, Vestigia Bibliae 9/10 (Bern, 1991), 34–58, at 35–40.

[25] Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 97 and 108–11.

[26] Ganz, 'Two New Middle High German Gospel Fragments', *op. cit.* in n. 20, p. 193, and *Old English Version*, ed. Liuzza, *op. cit.* in n. 1, II, 50–99.

two in Mark, eleven in Luke, one in John) and they likewise cover the liturgical gospels for the entire church year. The notes record one reading for a saint's day (St Stephen – Matt. XXIII.33), three pericopes for days of the *Commune Sanctorum* (virgin saints – Matt. XIII.44; apostles – Luke X.1; martyrs – Luke X.15) but mostly mark, like A, *temporale* pericopes for the masses on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Moreover, the pericopes in the German translation not only agree with those in A in their distribution in the manuscript and their coverage of liturgical dates, but also in their underlying liturgical tradition. The liturgical system of the German notes belongs, like the one in A, to the very common younger Roman ordering (Chavasse's type 3) and the two sources even correspond in readings more specific than the Sunday pericopes on which Chavasse's classification is based. For the Common of the Apostles, for example, the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' choose a passage from Luke X which is only selected in manuscript A of the *WSG* and in Ælfric's homilies among the sources analysed in my earlier studies.[27]

Liturgical rubrics in early European vernacular gospels: *layout and planning*

Manuscripts A and F of the West Saxon Gospels

Since these agreements are so intriguing, the layout and contents of the manuscripts deserve more detailed inspection, an analysis which will also allow a better understanding of the program of furnishing gospel translations with liturgical rubrics and, most importantly, a better understanding of their function. The insertion of liturgical rubrics in manuscripts A and F of the *WSG* was certainly not part of the original translation project. The text began as an independent vernacular version (a state found in manuscripts C and B) and was then corrected and augmented in a number of ways, mainly for functional needs: blank lines were inserted to indicate paragraphing and textual structure and Latin chapter headings were added to allow a kind of cross-reference

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[27] There are only two or three cases of disagreement; however, these ought to be analysed in a more detailed study based on a new edition of the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels', which would also consider the liturgical traditions of other Latin and German sources from the period.

between the Latin and the English text; in a final stage, the liturgical directions were added in diverse degrees of skill and sophistication.[28]

In F, the Old English rubric at Mark I.40 was squeezed in between the lines by a scribe of unknown date and origin, indicating that the liturgical augmentation here was not planned at the time of the production of F, but was added as an afterthought into the finished copy of the Old English gospel text.[29]

In A, on the other hand, the insertion of the bilingual Old English-Latin rubrics is not subsidiary, but integral to the general design of the whole manuscript. The Latin incipits of most of the 199 rubrics were written together with the main text, a procedure which informs us that the book(s) the scribe used as his exemplar(s) contained not only the Old English translation but also the Latin opening words. In order to accomplish the very systematic layout of the rubrics,[30] he must have used a Latin lectionary in addition to a manuscript of the *WSG* or an exemplar in which these two elements had already been combined.

The Old English parts of the rubrics which identify the liturgical date also show that A's exemplar was not yet as carefully planned as A itself and did not contain the information about the date on separate lines. Otherwise the not very skilful, and sometimes even untidy, insertion of the Old English part of the rubric by this elsewhere accurate and competent scribe could not be explained.[31] This notion is corroborated by a comparison of the corresponding rubrics in A and F at Mark I.40:

F   Þis godspel gebyrað on wodnesdæg on þære fifteoðan wucan ofer pe [end of line]
    [adrifende] et uenit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum et gen [end of line]

A   Ðys sceal on wodnesdæg on þære fifteoðan wucan ofer pentecosten.
    Et uenit ad eum leprosus deprecans eum & genu flexo dixit: domine si uis potes me mundare.

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[28] For the chronology of these augmentations see Liuzza, 'Who Read the gospels?', *op. cit.* in n. 5, p. 13.

[29] Palaeographical and dialectal analysis places the origin of F in the Kentish area at the beginning of the eleventh century; the next certain evidence – its provenance at Tewkesbury in the fourteenth century – allows no conclusion to be made about when and where the rubric was added.

[30] See pl. I.

[31] The scribe had left a blank line before each of the Latin incipits for the later insertion of the Old English parts. In many cases, however, it did not provide enough space so that he had to squeeze words into the blank spaces after the preceding or following Old English gospel text or the Latin incipit.
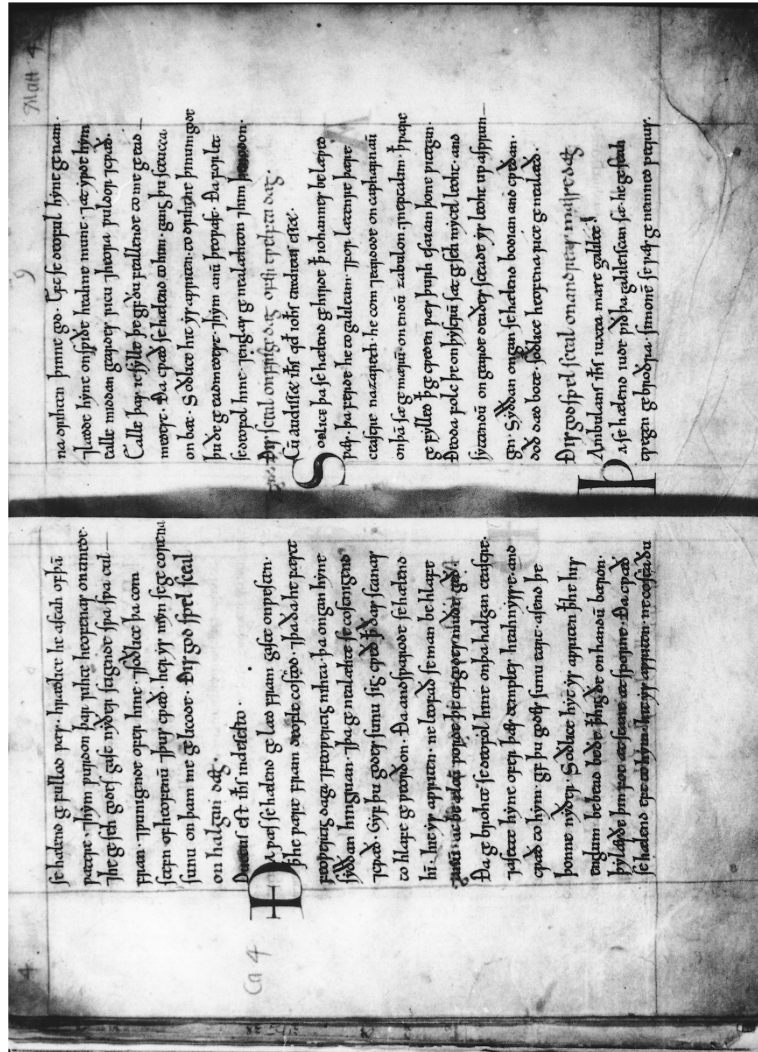
In particular the variation in the introductory formulae 'þis sceal . . .' (A) as compared to 'þis godspel gebyraþ . . .' (F) – both readily available formulaic phrases from the tradition of homiliaries[32] – allows us to infer that a conceivable ancestor or even ancestors contained the gospel text as well as the information about the liturgical occasion, but not the introductory formulae. These formulae may therefore have been in Latin or registered, if already in Old English, the day as a marginal or interlinear note, but not as a full text.

While the precise format of the exemplar cannot be finally determined, there can be no doubt that there must have been at least one other manuscript which linked the vernacular translation to the liturgical order of the church year. The increasingly sophisticated design as attested in manuscripts F (unplanned and supplementary) and then A (planned and sophisticated) shows that manuscripts with both the Old English text and the liturgical information were not produced incidentally, but are part of a tradition comprising at least three manuscripts. The production of several, liturgically augmented copies from closely related exemplars at roughly the same time suggests a demand in manuscripts of that kind: a program of publication. Manuscript A thus only represents the final extant stage of the deliberate and systematic augmentation of manuscripts of the *WSG* with liturgical notes.
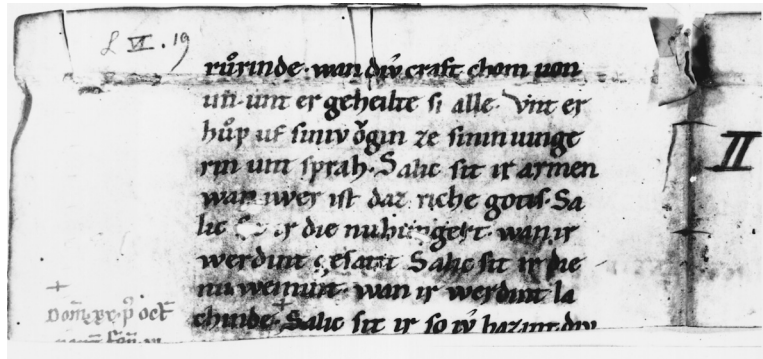
The 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'

Functional needs also help to explain the design of the liturgical annotations in the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'. Basically, these are more similar to the comparatively unplanned arrangement in manuscript F than to that of the more sophisticated and planned arrangement in manuscript A. Next to the German text of Luke VI.22, for instance, we find the Latin note *Dom XX post oct. pent. feR VI* in the left margin, identifying this text as belonging to the Friday in the twenty-first week after Pentecost. In the translation text, its beginning is marked by a red cross.[33] A different pattern of annotation is found at the bottom of the page which contains Luke XVI.20, where we find the German rubric 'an dem ersten suntach nach pfingsten' ('on the first Sunday after Pentecost').[34]
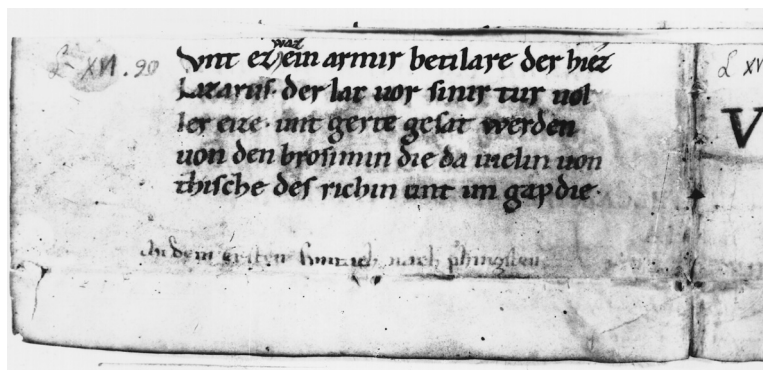
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32 See above, n. 9.
33 See pl. IIa and Kriedte, *Bibelfragmente*, *op. cit.* in n. 20, p. 98.
34 See pl. IIb and *ibid.* p. 110.

IIa. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 5250/1 ('Vienna-Munich Gospels'), fragment II.

IIb. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 5250/1 ('Vienna-Munich Gospels'), fragment V.

These monolingual Latin or German rubrics do not, however, always record the original format of the annotations faithfully, but are in most cases caused by the fragmentary character of the extant binding-strips. We accordingly find a number of bilingual annotations in which the Latin rubric is interlined and a contemporary German translation is provided in the margins. The beginning of the reading for Palm Sunday at Matt. XXVI.1, for instance, is marked by the interlined Latin note *In palmis Passio dni S. Matheum* and repeated by German *An dem balmtage* ('on the palm day') in the margin.[35]

35 See the manuscript facsimile and transcription of fol. 7r (Vienna) in Palmer,

> Do dz *In palmis Passio d'ni S. Matheū*
> geschah daz ih'c hate uolendet disi
> rede alle. Do sprach er ze sinen iungeren.　　　*An dem*
> Wiȝet ir. nah zwein tagen wir^t ostern. unt　　*balm*
> der sun des mennischin der wirt geantwr　　　　*tage*

The provision of two directions strengthens the hypothesis that the rubrics were added for urgent functional needs in a vernacular context: a scribe would otherwise not have bothered to provide an almost contemporary German translation to an already existing Latin rubric.[36] This combination of interlinear and marginal gloss could also have been the form of the exemplar(s) of manuscripts A and F of the *WSG*,[37] though the German manuscript is more independent of the Latin than its Anglo-Saxon parallels, because it does not list the Latin incipits provided in A and F.

The 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' are therefore a source so strikingly similar in plan, design and liturgical order that we cannot ignore the layout when considering the historical context and the function of the rubrics in the Old English version. The similarity between them shows that we are not dealing with two separate sources which are both 'unique' or 'singular' in their own contexts. Rather, it suggests a European tradition which encourages us to seek even more keenly for their origin and function. Where and why was there a need to combine vernacular gospel translations with the readings of the liturgy of the mass, in England as well as on the continent?

'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 100–3 and Kriedte, *Bibelfragmente*, *op. cit.* in n. 20, p. 81.

36 See Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, p. 116.

37 The German translation also allows a better understanding of a number of errors I had found in the rubrics of A, in particular the wrong numbering of the Sunday pericopes after Easter and Pentecost, marking, for instance, the eleventh instead of the twelfth week after Pentecost or the twenty-first instead of the twenty-second week after Pentecost. I had surmised that A's exemplar counted the Sundays 'after the octave of Pentecost' (that is, one additional Sunday after Pentecost), a fact which was later ignored in the Old English translation of the rubric. This assumption is now corroborated by the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels', where the scribe attributes Mark VIII.2 to the seventh instead of the eighth Sunday after Pentecost in the German part of the rubric ('An dem sipentem suntach nach phingsten' – 'on the seventh Sunday after Pentecost'), despite the fact that the Latin interlinear note right next to it gives the correct date 'Dom. VII. oct. pent'. See Kriedte, *Bibelfragmente*, *op. cit.* in n. 20, p. 86 and for an inventory of all such errors in A, Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 269–70.

The function of the liturgical rubrics in vernacular gospels

Vernacular gospels and the homiletic tradition

One of the most obvious possible explanations is that the vernacular versions were used as mass lectionaries.[38] Yet this idea has to be rejected because it is based on an anachronistic assumption about the shape of the medieval liturgy and the form of spiritual life in the Middle Ages. There is almost no evidence for the use of English or German as a liturgical language in the eleventh or twelfth century,[39] and there is no contemporary indication whatsoever that the gospel pericopes were recited in the vernacular instead of Latin.[40] From a practical point of view, the use of the Old English and German codices at mass would even have presented problems, because the ends of the pericopes are not marked in the manuscripts and the lector would not have known when to stop reading.[41]

[38] See *West-Saxon Gospels,* ed. Grünberg, *op. cit.* in n. 4, p. 369. For a fuller account of the arguments against Grünberg's suggestion see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelien-version*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 280–2 and Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 110 and 116.

[39] For a single example of a ninth-century German translation of a Eucharistic text, see the five lines in Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, Hs. 136 which do not suggest, however, that German was used as a liturgical language in the ninth century but rather indicate the scribe's profound interest in a full understanding of the Latin liturgy; see A. A. Häußling, *Das Missale deutsch. Materialien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der lateinischen Meßliturgie im deutschen Sprachgebiet bis zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil. Teil 1: Bibliographie der Übersetzungen in Handschriften und Drucken*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 66 (Münster, 1984), 2. Similarly, the Synod of Clofesho (747) allows an interpretation and translation of items such as the *Credo* or the *Pater Noster* in order to fully understand these texts; see *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869–78) III, 366 (§ 10). There do seem to be occasional places where the vernacular is used in a liturgical context, most of which seem to involve direct addresses to a lay person, such as the adjuration in ordeals. For differences in the use of language in ordeals, see S. L. Keefer, '*Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus*: The *corsnaed* Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Medieval Europe*, ed. J. Hill and M. Swan (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 237–64.

[40] In the Old English version, there are no neums for the last words of Jesus on the Cross (Matt. XXVII.46; Mark XV.34) as commonly found in Latin gospel books and lectionaries, and the so-called 'passion letters' are missing. These letters – *s* (*sursum*), *c* (*cito* or *celeriter*), *t* (*trahere* or *tenere*) – indicate in which tone the lector is supposed to sing the following passages. Some of these are, however, present in the beginning of the passion according to Matthew (chapter XXVI) in the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'. For a discussion of their layout and function, see Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 100–8.

[41] The same is true for the parallel passages provided for a number of days: there is also

An alternative view has therefore placed the Old English gospels with liturgical notes in an homiletic context and suggested that the manuscripts were used as prompts for Old English homiletic composition drawing on the vernacular.[42] The vernacular books would thus not have been employed during, but outside, the liturgy of the mass, and not instead of, but in addition to, Latin mass-books.

Renderings of Scripture are an essential part of vernacular exegetical homilies: most of these homiletic compositions begin with a literal translation of the pericope from the Latin Vulgate into the respective vernacular. This compositional framework, which is abundantly attested in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, was also common in early medieval Germany. Ten of the Old High German homilies (s. x/xi) edited by Hans-Ulrich Schmid[43] are of this exegetical kind where, during the homily, vernacular passages are repeated, paraphrased and then commented on. It is evident that vernacular gospel renderings providing model translations are an ideal aid for homilies of this kind. Rubrics in gospel translations and vernacular homiliaries are also visually and linguistically connected by recurrent agreements in layout and phrasing, in particular the employment of standardised phrases such as 'ðis sceal' and 'ðis gebyrað'.[44] An even more substantial link, however, between the vernacular gospel renderings with liturgical annotations and vernacular homilies lies in one of the idiosyncratic features of the pericope ordering in A: the provision of parallel passages.

Parallel passages

In the rubrics of A, a number of directions mark parallel passages from another gospel instead of the common pericope. On Sexagesima Sunday, for instance, when Luke VIII.4–15 ('The Parable of the Sower') is read in all the Roman sources of types 2 and 3, the rubric in A marks the beginning of the pericope at Mark IV.3. Since Mark IV.1–12 also

no indication in the manuscripts about which of the parallel passages is the pericope to be recited at mass.

[42] For the *WSG*, this has been suggested by Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 280–90 and in a wider context, also by Liuzza, 'Who Read the Gospels?', *op. cit.* in n. 5, pp. 12–15.

[43] *Althochdeutsche und frühmittelhochdeutsche Bearbeitungen lateinischer Predigten des "Bairischen Homiliars"*, ed. H.-U. Schmid, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1986). For a summary of research on early German homilies, see *ibid.* I, 1–12.

[44] See above, n. 9.

narrates 'The Parable of the Sower', the pericope in A does not list a completely different liturgical system, but merely a parallel text: the same pericope in the version of another evangelist.

In five cases, the parallel text is given instead of the common pericope, in eight directions it is listed in addition to the text usually employed in the Roman liturgy.[45] The fact that both readings may be given and that both parallel passages are ordinarily accompanied by their correct Latin incipits[46] suggests that these parallel texts are deliberately chosen variants and are certainly not – as has been proposed – errors by a careless scribe who mixed up the pericopes.

While the provision of parallel passages in A is unique among the extant Anglo-Saxon liturgical sources, there are some continental witnesses which share this characteristic.[47] Conspicuously, the liturgical annotations in the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' are one of them. On Quinquagesima Sunday (second Sunday before the beginning of Lent), twenty-nine of the thirty Anglo-Saxon sources investigated in my earlier studies agree on reading the Lucan version of 'Jesus Heals a Blind Beggar'.[48] Only the liturgical rubric in A marks the parallel passage starting at Mark X.46, a reading which, most strikingly, is also selected by the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' in both a Latin and a German marginal rubric.[49]

These parallel passages, given not only instead of, but also in addition to, the common pericope strongly relate the liturgical notes to the homiletic tradition, since a conceivable reason for these supplementary readings can be found in the needs of a preacher. For the third Sunday in Lent, for example, both manuscript A of the *WSG* and Ælfric refer to the

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[45] The parallel passage instead of the common pericope is recorded for the fourth Wednesday after Epiphany, for Sexagesima, Quinquagesima, Palm Sunday and the twenty-third Sunday after Pentecost. It is listed in addition to the common pericope for the Ember Saturday in Lent, the third Sunday in Lent, the third Wednesday in Lent, the Rogation Days, the eighth Sunday after Pentecost, Ember Wednesday in Autumn and for the feast of St Peter. Three readings are given for the fourth Sunday before Christmas; see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 271–9.

[46] Compare, for instance, the Latin texts for the Ember Wednesday in autumn, which are different for Matthew and Mark: 'Ðys sceal on wodnesdæg to þam fæstene ær hærfestes emnyhte. Et cum uenisset ad turbam accessit ad eum homo genibus prouolutus' (Matt. XVII.14) as compared to 'Ðis sceal to þam ymbrene innan hærefeste on wodnesdæg. Respondens unus de turba dixit. magister attuli filium meum ad te' (Mark IX.17).

[47] See Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 276–9.

[48] This pericope (Luke XVIII.31–43) is chosen in the Roman sources of both Chavasse's earlier type 2 and his later type 3; see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, p. 308.

[49] Kriedte, *Bibelfragmente*, *op. cit.* in n. 20, pp. 80–1.

common Roman pericope (Luke XI.14–28), but also to its parallel from Matthew (Matt. XXII.22–29).[50] After translating the regular Lucan pericope, Ælfric explicitly refers to the fact that he has 'gathered' the sense from two sources: 'We gegaderiað þæt andgyt to þysum godspelle be þam twam godspellerum, Lucam and Matheum, and we wyllað sceortlice secgan eow þæt andgyt.'[51]

Similarly, Ælfric's homily for the third Sunday before Christmas starts with a translation of the regular Lucan pericope (Luke XX.25–33), introduced by 'Se godspellere lucas awrat on þysum dægiþerlicum godspelle þæt . . .'. In the course of his exegesis, Ælfric then refers to the parallel passage from Matthew, stating that this evangelist 'explained these signs more clearly' than Luke did: 'Matheus se godspellere awrat swutelicor þas tacna þus cweþende . . .'. [52] This reference to the parallel passage is already found in Bede and Haymo and thus confirms the use of parallel passages as a common device in exegetical homilies.[53]

On Sexagesima Sunday, Ælfric even seems to require the parallel (from Matt. XIII.8 or Mark IV.8) in his exegesis of the Lucan 'Parable of the Sower' (Luke VIII.4–15).[54] Ælfric's account here mainly follows Christ's own exposition and the commentaries of Gregory and Bede, but in lines 115–66 he inserts his own discussion of the three orders of Christian society, a digression built on an exegesis of the threefold crop. Since Luke's version does not mention how manifold the fruit was that fell on the ground, it would not have permitted such a number-based exegesis.[55] Ælfric's reference to the parallel passage from Matthew or Mark is inevitable here and the liturgical rubrics in A could have aided him. They also register the parallel pericope starting with Mark IV.3 to be read on Sexagesima, thus testifying to the strong link between liturgical rubrics in vernacular gospel renderings and vernacular exegetical homilies.

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[50] *Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, ed. Pope, *op. cit.* in n. 9, I, 264–80.

[51] *ibid*. p. 267. 'We gather the sense of this gospel from two evangelists, Luke and Matthew, and we will tell you this sense briefly.'

[52] 'The evangelist Luke wrote in this gospel of the day . . .'; 'Matthew, the evangelist, wrote more clearly about these signs, thus saying . . .'; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997), 524–30, at 524–5.

[53] See M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (Oxford, 2000), 337.

[54] The homily is edited in *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series: Text*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (London, 1979), 52–9. For the readings, see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, p. 307.

[55] Ælfric attributes this line of thought to St Augustine; see Godden, *Introduction*, *op. cit.* in n. 53, p. 392.

The Old French bilingual homily on Jonah IV

Donald Bullough has recommended that further thought ought to be given to the more practical aspects of this suggestion: 'accepting that the rubric-signalled pericopes were to be starting-points for vernacular homilies, how was the book actually used: did the preacher have it with him? The condition of the manuscript suggests that this is unlikely; did he obtain copies of the relevant passages? or was he expected to memorize them?'[56] These highly relevant questions are hard to answer on the basis of our extant Anglo-Saxon and German sources, but are more easily approached when we adopt a wider perspective including the French fragments of a tenth-century bilingual homily on Jonah, ch. IV (Valenciennes 521).[57]

Again, it is only by sheer chance that this unique document has survived in the form of a binding for another manuscript. The page itself is in an extremely poor state: while the recto is virtually illegible, the verso could only barely be deciphered with the expert help of Bernhard Bischoff. This fragment is tremendously important because it consti-tutes one of the very few medieval documents which can be described as a 'spécimen d'écriture personnelle'[58] and thus allows an understanding of the actual 'work in progress' of a medieval author.

The page is a preacher's autograph and it is unique because it is not a complete, polished, final version of a homily, but only a rough draft containing some bilingual Latin and French notes made by the preacher in the preparation of a homily. The piece is basically an exegetical homily on a passage from the Old Testament – Jonah, ch. IV; from the sketch, we may infer that the preacher-scribe had two books in front of him – a Latin Bible and Jerome's commentary – from which he jotted down the key phrases in Old French (450 words) and Latin (490 words).[59] Sometimes he simply provides a rather literal translation or

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56 D. Bullough, 'Review of Ursula Lenker, 'Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England', *Notes and Queries* 244 (1999), 372–3, at 373.

57 The fragments are edited in G. De Poerck, 'Le Sermon bilingue sur Jonas du ms. Valenciennes 521 (475)', *Romanica gandensia* 4 (1955), 31–66, and also B. Frank, *Die Textgestalt als Zeichen. Lateinische Handschriftentradition und die Verschriftlichung der romanischen Sprachen*, ScriptOralia 67 (Tübingen, 1994), 110–23, at 113–15. For further information, see B. Frank and J. Hartmann, *Inventaire systématique des premiers docu-ments des langues romanes*, ScriptOralia 100 (Tübingen, 1997), no. 2134.

58 De Poerck, 'Le Sermon bilingue', *op. cit.* in n. 57, p. 139.

59 For its structure and contents, see the summary in Frank, *Textgestalt*, *op. cit.* in n. 57, pp. 116–18.

paraphrase of the Latin text into Old French, such as in the following passage on Jonah IV.6:[60]

> 7 preparavit dominus ederam super caput ione ut faceret ei umbram. laboraverat [enim dunc] ionas propheta habebat mult laboret e mult penet a cel populum co dicit. e faciebat grant jholt. et eret mult las
> [et preparavit dominus] un edre sore sen cheve qet umbreli fesist. e repauser si podist.
> 7 letatus est ionas super ederam . . .[61]

Commonly the author only delineates the general outline of the homily, but at times he more explicitly refers to additional material, such as Latin quotes from other books of the Bible which serve to exemplify his exegesis.[62] At the beginning of chapter IV (verses 1–2), for example, the preacher does not confine himself to a translation of the Old Testament text but – similar to Ælfric's employment of parallel passages sketched out above – also draws on related passages from the Scriptures. These are used as *confirmationes* (Luke XIX.41, Mark VII.27 or its parallel passage Matt. XV.26 and Romans IX.3–4) and are clearly highlighted by being underlined:

> dunc co dicit si fut ionas propheta . . . mult iretst <quia deus de ninivitis> misericordias habuit . . . eissi cum legimus e le evangelio. qe dominus noster flevit super hierusalem [Luke XIX.41]. et noluit tollere <panem filiorum et dare eum cani>bus [Mark VII.27 or Matt. XV.26]. paulus apostolus etiam. optabat anathema esse pro fratribus suis qui sunt israelite [Romans IX.3–4] 7 egressus est ionas de civitate et sedit . . . [Jonah IV.5][63]

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[60] The Vulgate version of Jonah IV.6 is 'et praeparavit Dominus Deus hederam et ascendit super caput Ionae ut esset umbra super caput eius et protegeret eum; laboraverat enim et laetatus est Iona super hedera laetitia magna'.

[61] 'And the Lord prepared an ivy over Jonah's head to give him shade. For Jonah the prophet had laboured greatly, he had worked hard and had made great exertions for his people, it says. And it was very hot and he was very tired and the Lord prepared an ivy over his head which gave him shade and he could rest there. And Jonah was glad about the ivy . . .'.

[62] Frank, *Textgestalt, op. cit.* in n. 57, pp. 120–3.

[63] Jonah becomes enraged when the people of Niniveh repent because he considers God to be stricter with the Jews than with other people; '. . . and it said that Jonah the prophet . . . became very angry because God had mercy with Niniveh . . . how we read in the gospel that Our Lord wept over Jerusalem and did not want to take the children's bread and give it to the dogs. The apostle Paul also desired to be under God's curse for the sake of his brothers, the Israelites. And Jonah went from the city and sat down . . .'.

These jottings were only intended for the preacher's own private use on the special occasion of delivering the homily, probably between 937 and 952 at the monastery of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux at the beginning of a fast. Once the homily had been given, they became redundant. Since it is only through sheer chance that these informal notes have survived, we may assume that jottings like these were frequently used by medieval preachers, in Anglo-Saxon England as well as on the continent.

Manuscripts such as A and F of the *WSG* or the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' could have been fruitfully exploited for such jottings made during the preparation of a vernacular homily on the gospel of the day. They identify the liturgical day and, even more importantly, provide a full translation of the pericope on which the following exposition is based. While a French preacher did not necessarily require a translation of the biblical text at a time when Latin and Old French still coexisted quite naturally (*colinguisme*),[64] a translation of the Vulgate would have proved to be highly beneficial or perhaps even indispensable for a preacher in one of the (West) Germanic vernaculars. The ready-made translation would not only have been welcome as a practical tool accelerating the writing process but also would have mitigated against the anxiety usually found in translators of Scripture who consider it demanding or even presumptuous to turn the authoritative and sacred word of God into another language.[65]

Vernacular gospel manuscripts with liturgical notes and their use in the rites and ministries of the canons

The European evidence demonstrates that sources such as manuscript A of the *WSG* are not as unique as we might have thought and also gives us a clue to the function of the liturgical rubrics in vernacular gospel translations: they were probably used as prompts for medieval homiletic composition which utilised vernacular gospel texts.

[64] For a short history of Bible translations in France and Italy, see C. A. Robson, 'Vernacular Scriptures in France', *Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. Lampe, *op. cit.* in n. 18, pp. 436–52 and K. Foster, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Italy', *ibid.* pp. 452–65.

[65] This anxiety, which is for instance reported of Jerome and Ælfric, may also be the reason why the majority of our vernacular Bible sources are poetic renderings or interlinear glosses, which were evidently considered different and probably less presumptuous forms of translation than literal prose narratives. For Ælfric's reservations in his Preface to the translation of Genesis, see *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. J. Wilcox, Durham Med. Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 37–44, 63–5 and 116–19.

As a conceivable occasion on which they could have been used, Milton McC. Gatch has suggested the 'prone', a vernacular catechetical office consisting of a translation and short explanation of the gospel pericope which is supposed to have taken place after the gospel reading at mass.[66] Since the time of the introduction of the prone and its precise character are hard to ascertain on the basis of present liturgical research,[67] the gospel manuscripts under consideration here and in particular the historical contexts of their production will now be re-examined.

Bishop Leofric's Exeter

Both the codicological and the linguistic evidence suggest that Exeter in Bishop Leofric's time (1050–72) was not only the place where manuscript A was written but also the place from where the plan to insert the liturgical rubrics into the vernacular gospel manuscript originated.[68] Script and layout of manuscript A relate it to a number of other manuscripts produced at Leofric's scriptorium, and it also bears an inscription stating that the bishop himself gave the manuscript to his cathedral church.[69] An analysis of the rubrics according to Old English dialect features shows them to be typically West-Saxon and from the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.[70] Since two forms characteristic of the rubrics – *ucan* and *þæge* – are exclusively found in manuscripts from

[66] See M. McC. Gatch, 'Review of Ursula Lenker, 'Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England', *Speculum* 75 (2000), 207–9, at 208. In later years, the prone was probably not regarded as an integral part of the mass and its elements 'may have been used *extra* as well as *intra Missam*'; see M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), p. 37.

[67] For the time of its introduction, see T. L. Amos, 'Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World', *De Ore Domini: Preaching and the World of the Middle Ages*, ed. T. L. Amos, E. A. Green and B. M. Kienzle, Stud. in Med. Culture 27 (Kalamazoo, 1989), 41–60.

[68] See *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A. D. 1072*, ed. F. Barlow, K. M. Dexler, A. M. Erskine and L. J. Lloyd (Exeter, 1972), F. Barlow, *The English Church: 1000–1066: a History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979) and H. R. Loyn, *The English Church: 940–1154* (London, 2000).

[69] For Leofric's scriptorium, see E. M. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter 1050–1072: a Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (unpubl. DPhil dissertation Oxford Univ., 1978), pp. 1–70, 191–255 and 282–7 and P. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Stud. in AS Hist. 4 (Woodbridge, 1993), 1–20.

[70] For the language of the rubrics see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* n. 3, pp. 216–24.

south-western England, in particular Bath and Exeter, and since A was undoubtedly copied in Leofric's scriptorium, it seems very likely that the plan to combine the Old English gospels with liturgical rubrics originated in Leofric's chapter at Exeter. This assumption is supported by the agreements between the liturgical orderings in the rubrics inserted in the Leofric Missal (Wb) at Exeter and also in the continental gospel list Qe (from Liège), all of them sources belonging to the 'continental-late Anglo-Saxon group'.[71] Drage's detailed study of the manuscripts copied at Exeter or owned by Leofric and his chapter reveals that the bishop brought a mixture of English and continental influences to bear upon his and the chapter's activities, among which the continental influences from Lotharingia (Liège), the origin of the gospel list Qe, were especially important.[72] Drage also emphasizes the vital influence of the adoption of the *Rule of Chrodegang* as the basic rule for Leofric's new community of canons. This *Rule*, which was compiled for the specific needs of secular canons by Chrodegang of Metz around the year 755, offers an explanation for why the canons could have decided to insert liturgical rubrics into vernacular gospel manuscripts: it includes two conceivable homiletic functions for the actual performative use of Bible translations such as manuscript A of the *WSG* and the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'.[73]

Vernacular gospels and the Rule of Chrodegang

The *Rule of Chrodegang* was constructed on the model of the Benedictine Rule and is of a 'quasi-monastic' nature. In the context of the daily services of the canons, the liturgical notes could have been inserted for use in the secluded inner sphere of the rites of the canons, namely in the 'quasi-liturgical' context of the chapter office taking place after Prime:

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71 See above, pp. 188–9.

72 Drage, 'Bishop Leofric', *op. cit.* in n. 69, p. 282.

73 For the Old English history of the *Rule* including its adaptation in the *Institutio canonicorum*, see B. Langefeld, 'Die lateinische Vorlage der altenglischen Chrodegang-Regel', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 403–16. Leofric's bilingual copy of Chrodegang survives as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191; see *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original*, ed. A. S. Napier, EETS os 150 (London, 1916). A new edition of the *Rule of Chrodegang* has recently been published though it has not been possible to consult it: *The Old English Version of the Enlarged* Rule of Chrodegang: *Edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, ed. B. Langefeld, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 26 (Frankfurt, 2003).

> XVI. De ora prima
> Hoc exemplo conueniunt ad capitulum cotidie. Et ex ista institutione, quam propter illorum utilitatem, Deo auxiliante, fecimus, in unoquoque die aliquod capitulum relegant preter diem Dominicum et quartam et sextam feriam et sollempnitates sanctorum, in quibus relegant tractatus et alias omelias, uel quod edificet audientes.[74]

In this passage, the *Rule of Chrodegang* singles out the very days for which pericopes are provided in manuscript A of the *WSG* and the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels', namely Sundays, Wednesdays, Fridays and feast-days. On these days, the canons are to recite *tractatus et alias omelias* instead of the commonly read chapters from the *Rule of Chrodegang*.[75] These *tractatus et aliae omeliae* might be broadly interpreted as 'sermons or homilies of the Fathers'. The translator of the Old English *Rule*, however, advocates a much more specific notion of these homilies. He significantly does not translate the indefinite adjective *alia* 'other', but renders *alias omelias* by *godspella anwrigenyssa* 'uncovering of the gospels' (cp. OE *on-wrēon* 'un-cover').

> XVI. Be primsangum
> And be þisse bisne cuman dæghwamlice to capitule. And of þisse gesettednysse þe we for heora þearfe þurh Godes fultum gesetton, ræde ma ælce dæge sumne cwide butan Sunnandæge and Wodnesdæge and Frigedæge and mæssedagum, þonne ræde ma beforan him halige trahtas and godspella anwrigenyssa and þæt þæt getimbrie þa gehyrendan.[76]

The Old English translation *godspella anwrigenys* clearly indicates that there was no free choice about the homily to be read at the chapter office on Wednesdays, Fridays, Sundays and feast-days, but that it had to be an

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[74] *Old English Chrodegang*, ed. Napier, ch. XVI, *op. cit.* in n. 73, pp. 26–29: 'They should go to the chapter daily in this manner. Also, according to this rule which we establish for their need through God's mercy, let them read some portion of the rule each day, except on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and feast-days, when the reading should be taken from holy tracts and other homilies, and texts that will edify the listeners.'

[75] The Benedictine Rule, after which the *Rule of Chrodegang* was constructed, decrees the reading of passages from the *Regula S. Benedicti* or saints' lives in the chapter office. For the books used in the respective chapter offices, see H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 91–141, at 128–31.

[76] See above, n. 74.

exposition of the gospel pericope which had been read in the previous Night Office at mass. The phrase *godspella anwrigenys* may perhaps simply denote a translation of the Latin gospel text into the vernacular since this translation 'uncovers' the meaning of the Latin pericope recited at mass,[77] but more probably refers to a vernacular exegetical homily – read from a homiliary or instantly composed from jottings similar to those used by the preacher of the French homily on Jonah IV.

Pastoral care and preaching to the public

The *Rule of Chrodegang* also offers another distinctly homiletic context not situated within the inner quasi-monastic liturgy of the canons, but connected to their duties in pastoral care. The Rule particularly emphasizes the importance of preaching to the laity, at least every fortnight:

> For þi þonne we gesettað þæt tuwa on monþe, þæt is ymbe feowertine niht, man æfre þam folce bodige mid larspelle, hu hi þurh Godes fultum magon to þam ecean life becuman. And þeah hit man ælce Sunnandæge singallice and freolsdæge dyde, þæt wære betere.[78]

The manuscripts produced at Leofric's scriptorium show that the canons took these homiletic obligations decreed by the *Rule* seriously, because they mainly copied the sort of texts they needed for the performance of these duties – not just liturgical texts, but also a great number of Old English homiliaries which they could use for preaching to the laity.[79] If a canon, however, decided not to deliver one of these set homilies, but to direct his words more specifically to the needs of a particular congregation, the model translations offered by the vernacular Bible manuscripts would have been of great help. For the Lotharingians following Leofric to Exeter, the gospel renderings might even have been indispensable, aiding them in their preaching duties in a foreign tongue.

A comparable context is also conceivable for the German 'Vienna-

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77 See Palmer's suggestion that the Latin gospel text may have been followed by a translation of the same text in meetings or offices of the new communities of the twelfth century; see Palmer, 'Vortragsweise', *op. cit.* in n. 6, pp. 116–19.

78 *Old English Chrodegang*, ed. Napier, *op. cit.* in n. 73, ch. xlii, p. 50: 'Therefore, we rule that twice a month, that is every fortnight, one [of the canons] should continuously preach the holy lore to the people, how they can gain eternal life through God's help. And if one did it every Sunday and feast-day, it were even better.'

79 Drage, 'Bishop Leofric', *op. cit.* in n. 69, pp. 5*, 54, 174, 260 and 265.

Munich Gospels', since a recently found eleventh-century copy of the *Institutio canonicorum*, a ninth-century adaptation of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, contains Old High German glosses which testify to the knowledge and probable use of this *Rule* in early medieval Germany.[80] From the beginning of the twelfth century onwards, the pastoral duties promoted by the *Rule* were accomplished more systematically by the Austin canons and related orders.[81] The rise of these new orders is closely linked to the Gregorian reform which was beginning to gain importance in the middle of the eleventh century in Lotharingia and, with Bishop Leofric, also in Exeter.[82] In this context (cf. the German term 'Augustiner-Chorherren' and also English 'Austin' or 'Augustinian canons'), it is interesting to note that the liturgical rubrics in A mark a reading for St Augustine of Hippo (28 August).[83] Since this day is not considered to be a major feast-day in other Anglo-Saxon sources,[84] the provision of a reading in A may indicate a specific veneration of, and commemoration for, St Augustine and his rule by the canons in Exeter.[85]

Liturgical research has unfortunately neglected the early history and particularly the liturgy of the canons, but there can be no doubt that the canons distinguished themselves from monastic circles chiefly by their

[80] See K. Siewert, 'Althochdeutsche Glossen zur 'Regula Canonicorum' des Chrodegang von Metz', *Sprachwissenschaft* 18 (1993), 417–24.
[81] For the origins of the Austin Canons in England and Germany, see J. C. Dickinson, *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), J. Mois, *Das Stift Rottenbuch in der Kirchenreform des XI.–XII. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Ordens-Geschichte der Augustiner-Chorherren*, Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte (Munich, 1953) and S. Weinfurter, *Salzburger Bistumsreform und Bischofspolitik im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Erzbischof Konrad I. von Salzburg (1106–1147) und die Regularkanoniker* (Cologne, 1975).
[82] The Gregorian reform itself started in the middle of the eleventh century in France (St Rufus; 1039) and Italy (Cesena; 1042) and had its first major impact on the Lateran Council in 1059. For Exeter, see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric', *op. cit.* in n. 69, pp. 6* and 284. The community of canons set up by Leofric eventually became Austin canons, abandoning the *Rule of Chrodegang* during William Warelwast's episcopate (1107–37). For the later history of the *Rule of Chrodegang* in England see also Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, *op. cit.* in n. 81, pp. 16–17. This does not, however, affect the general character of the duties of the canons, such as pastoral care and preaching to the laity.
[83] For Exeter's relics of St Augustine, see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric', *op. cit.* in n. 69, p. 137 and Conner, *Exeter*, *op. cit.* in n. 69, p. 260.
[84] See Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, p. 366 and also Bullough, 'Review of Lenker', *op. cit.* in n. 56, p. 373.
[85] 'Canonici sub regula beati Augustini constituti' or 'secundum beati Augustini regulam viventes' are first mentioned in the time of Pope Urban II (1088–99). For the complicated history of the adoption of the rule of Augustine, see Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, *op. cit.* in n. 81, pp. 5–57 and Mois, *Stift Rottenbuch*, *op. cit.* in n. 81, pp. 246–65.

focus on pastoral duties. English and German canons are thus renowned for the impetus they gave to vernacular preaching to the public; in England, examples of Augustinian zeal in preaching in the vernacular are, for instance, provided by the canon Orm and by the author of the 'Northern Homily Cycle'.[86] In Germany, the canons even encouraged the use of the vernacular in another 'para-liturgical' context strongly linked to their pastoral duties, namely in the composition of vernacular church hymns. The earliest vernacular hymn in German ('Christ ist erstanden'; Salzburg, *c*. 1160) and also the earliest collections of vernacular hymns are recorded in manuscripts from Augustinian houses.[87]

The insertion of liturgical rubrics in the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels' might therefore also have originated in the new houses of the canons. The German parts of the notes, which were not written by the twelfth-century scribe of the text but by another almost contemporary one, are much more consistent in their dialectal characteristics than the transla-tion text itself[88] so that we may be certain of the Bavarian origin of the liturgical annotations in a manuscript of Alemannic origin. In the context of Augustinian foundations, we might therefore more specifi-cally consider places such as Marbach (on Alemannic ground) and its dense links with Rottenbuch (Bavaria). In 1143/5, Rottenbuch adopted the *consuetudines* of Marbach[89] which decree, in accordance with the *Rule of Chrodegang*, a reading of a passage of the rule for the chapter office after Prime. On feast-days, however, this is replaced by an exposi-

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[86] See Shepherd, 'English Versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif', *op. cit.* in n. 19, pp. 381–4 and T. J. Heffernan, 'The Authorship of the "Northern Homily Cycle": the Litur-gical Affiliations of the Sunday Gospel Pericopes as a Test', *Traditio* 41 (1985), 289–309.

[87] See W. Lipphart, 'Studien zur Musikpflege in den mittelalterlichen Augustiner-Chorherrenstiften des deutschen Sprachgebiets', *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, Neue Folge 7 (1971), 7–102 and R. Dittrich, 'Über die Musikpflege in bayrischen Augustinerchorherrenstiften', *Die Augustinerchorherren in Bayern. Zum 25-jährigen Wiedererstehen des Ordens*, ed. P. Mai (Regensburg, 1999), pp. 77–96, at 82.

[88] The notes only exhibit specifically Bavarian, but no Alemannic features; in addition to distinct phonological-orthographical features which tie them to Bavarian territory, they also use distinctively Bavarian vocabulary, such as the forms *midichen* 'Wednesday' (Luke X.20), *perhtnachten* 'Epiphany' (Luke IX.56), or *phinztage* 'Thursday' (Luke IX.1). See Suolahti, 'Evangelienübersetzung', *op. cit.* in n. 22, pp. 36–8.

[89] For the links between Marbach and Rottenbuch see Mois, *Stift Rottenbuch, op. cit.* in n. 81, pp. 266–71 and J. Siegwart, *Die Chorherren und Chorfrauengemeinschaften in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vom 6. Jahrhundert bis 1160. Mit einem Überblick über die deutsche Kirchenreform des 10. und 11. Jh.*, Studia Friburgensia, Neue Folge 30 (Fribourg, 1962), 263–70.

tion of the gospel of the day which had previously been read at mass.[90] These Augustinian foundations might thus constitute a context for German vernacular gospel translations with liturgical rubrics as attested in the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels'. Yet this suggestion will have to be more carefully examined on the basis of a new edition of the 'Vienna-Munich Gospels', an analysis of the orderings of liturgical readings in medieval Germany and a more detailed investigation into the early history of the Austin canons and their *consuetudines*.

There can be no doubt, however, that the canons in Leofric's chapter at Exeter (1050–72) and also the Austin canons in Germany considered preaching to the public to be one of their main duties of pastoral care in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The rites and ministries of the canons thus furnish a feasible European context for the surprising number of shared similarities between the English and German gospel manuscripts with liturgical annotations. The pericopes marked by these rubrics could have been used as starting-points for vernacular homilies: they were copied into jottings like those found in the Old French homily on Jonah IV and were read either to the community of canons present at the chapter office or to a lay congregation as part of, or even instead of, an exegetical homily.[91]

Appendix:

Manuscripts and their sigla[92]

West Saxon Gospels (WSG)

A   Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 2. 11
       s. xi^{med}, Exeter (rubrics)

B   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 441
       s. xi[1]

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[90] *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsaß (12. Jh.)*, ed. J. Siegwart, Spicilegium Friburgense 10 (Fribourg, 1965), § 50, p. 129: 'Tunc lector, si privata dies est, aliquid de regula vel sermonibus de communi vita scriptis, si vero festum est, de omelia evangelii, quod nocte illa lectum est . . .'.

[91] I would like to thank the editors of this volume, the anonymous reader, Helmut Gneuss, P. Angelus Häußling, Lucia Kornexl, Nigel Palmer, Hans-Ulrich Schmid and in particular Andreas Mahler for their many helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

[92] Only the manuscripts quoted in this paper are listed here; for a full survey of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts with liturgical notes, see Lenker, *Westsächsische Evangelienversion*, *op. cit.* in n. 3, pp. 386–500. (f) denotes 'fragment'.

C   London, BL, Cotton Otho C. i, vol i
      s. xi^1, ?Malmesbury

Cp Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140
      s. xi^1, Bath

F   (f) New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 578 (Yale fragment)
      s. xi^1, south-east England (rubric)

H   Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 38
      s. xii/xiii, ?Canterbury

L   (f) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. bib. c. 2
      s. xi^1

R   London, BL, Royal 1. A. xiv
      s. xii^2, Canterbury

Vernacular manuscripts from the continent

'Vienna-Munich Gospels'

    (f) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, suppl. 2559 (ser. nova 249)

    (f) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 5250/1

    (f) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Germ. b. 3, fol. 15

Old French Homily on Jonah IV

    (f) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 521 (anc. 475)

Sigla for the manuscripts with Roman gospel pericopes

    Qe London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. ii
          s. ix/x, Lobbes (Liège)

    Vb Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. xvii. 20
          s. xi^1, ?Canterbury

    Wa Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, 330
          s. xi^2, Winchester

    Wb Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 (Leofric Missal 'A')
          rubrics: s. xi^{med}, Exeter