REPORT ON WORKSHOP 2: WRITING AND REVISING MEDIEVAL RITES

<u>**Why were new types of liturgical books created**</u>?

Yitzhak Hen: The early Frankish evidence

YH suggested that early liturgical history can be divided into the following five periods and that what is driving change is concern with practicality:

- 'age of the spontaneous' before documentary evidence survives; lefts its mark in *libelli missarum*
- 'age of experimentation' in the Merovingian period: move from *libelli missarum* to the sacramentary, Old Gelasian sacramentary is impractical because it's such a large collection, but period also sees copying of *vademecum* booklets, each different from the other, designed for individual priests.
- 'age of systemisation' in the eighth century: eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries are highly practical books (combine temporal and sanctoral cycles, votive masses, and sometimes a penitential)
- 'age of reform' in the ninth century: new age of experimentation e.g. *Hadrianum* and supplement
- 'age of anxiety': eccentric types, compiled by people who weren't content with the *Hadrianum* and supplementum, and added archaic material.   Sacramentaries become increasingly impractical and missal emerges as a form.

There was general agreement in discussion that form follows function, and that variety in liturgical books reflects practice.

Sarah Hamilton: The evidence of the early pontificals

Current explanations for the emergence of the pontifical as a new genre view it as a reflection of the growth of episcopal authority in the late ninth and tenth centuries, and as designed to support the practical needs of an itinerant bishop. SH suggested that investigation of associated content means other factors need to be taken into consideration:

- pontificals often combined new, imported, reformist rites with more indigenous, localisted rites e.g. Romano-German pontificals adapted to indigenous traditions
- pontificals often included didatic texts
- pontificals were often treated as repositories for local records
- pontificals were often regarded as personal artefacts for individual bishops, before being given to individual sees and becoming a focus for the see's memory of earlier bishops

Pontificals reflect the interests and identities of both bishops and cathedral communities. They can not be seen just as practical guides nor solely as didactic texts. They display episcopal authority but they also embody episcopal memory.

<u>**Were the major monuments of liturgical history as influential as scholars have thought?**</u>

Henry Parkes: A new provenance for Vienna ÖNB 1888 and its implications for the Romano-German Pontifical

The Romano-German Pontifical (PRG) is a theoretical document which was constructed by Andrieu, Vogel and Elze from concordances between ten main manuscripts. Vienna 1888 seens as central to attribution of PRG to Mainz. Argued Vienna 1888 is not compiled in the same scriptoria scriptorium (?) as the PRG as it contains significantly different liturgies to the PRG. Therefore opens up the question as to whether the PRG was made in Mainz, or whether there were two *scriptoria* operating at the same time in Mainz.

Matthew Salisbury: The rationalization of English liturgical Uses: a field-report

Outlined the difficulties facing any scholar who wishes to investigate late medieval Uses, given the variation in manuscripts of the same Use. He has adapated David Chadd's method of establishing 'how things are different' before considering the significance of that difference with regard to the Office. He pointed out the difficulty of establishing in which components the Use of York was consistent. Medieval visitations do not record the criteria by which authorities recorded criteriause (?), and MS suggested that the Use of Sarum was used by medieval clericals to mean 'this is correct/orthodox/approved' rather than to refer to an *Urtext*. He thus argued that there was no simple authoritative Use of the insular office before the printed text.

In discussion it was agreed that institutions develop their own adaptations of texts, and thus text may, to some extent, reflect performance.

<u>Why were rites written down and in what circumstances were revisitions to rituals made?</u>

Fred Paxton: Composing and recording Latin death rituals

Monastic customaries shift from being descriptive to prescriptive texts sometime in the twelfth century with the establishment of monastic orders. For the early middle ages the rite for *commendatio animae* is described in the customaries in too diverse a way for the standard comparative method for working with liturgical material to work. FP asked when and why the Cluniac customs were written down. FP argued that the c. 10th customaries were ordinaries; descriptions taken away by visitors to Cluny. FP argues that death ritual wasn't stabilised at Cluny until the time of Ulrich of Cluny, who is writing a reformist text for Hirsau, and Bernard of Cluny; Bernard writes an update of Ulrich because memory is being lost at Cluny, but every single prayer for the death ritual comes from the Aniane Supplement to the Hadrianum. The record is therefore a response to particular circumstances. He emphasised the need to see death rituals in the wider context of the medieval economy of salvation.

Matthew Ward: Global theology and local liturgy: Trinitarian themes in Anglo-Norman Tropes and Prosulas for the Ordinary of the Mass

Tropes allow local communities to 'localise' a liturgy and stamp their identity on it. Kyrie repetoire is cast in St Albans' manuscripts in a Trinitarian form, including earlier forms. These revisions are only found in manuscripts from Norman territories, including southern Italy. In including such tropes in its manuscripts, St Albans demonstrates that it is up to date and adopting an orthodox position in response to twelfth-century theological debates about the nature of Christ.

Current research problems

Eddie Jones: English rites for enclosure

The rite for enclosure first emerges in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but there is more variation in the English pontificals than there is in the continental pontificals, although English evidence is mostly later: fourteenth and fifteenth century. The rite combines an initiation rite, followed by a procession through the cemetery to the cell where the recluse will be enclosed; the rite for enclosure is closely modelled on the burial rite. Whilst there are few texts common to all the various late medieval rites, the structure – structure and actions – are unchanged between different versions of the text.

Benjamin Brand: Between memory and oblivion: the liturgy of St Minias in medieval Florence

The church of S. Miniato was refounded in 1018 by the bishop, and relics of St Minias were discovered there (although ninth-century records suggest they had been translated to Metz); the Passio secunda is anxious to create establish St Minias as a patron saint for the church, relocating the site of his martyrdom to the site on which the church was built; St Minias's status as patron is also emphasised in the iconography of the mosaics on the facade and in the apse. The mid-twelfth-century Antiphonar includes chants which show how music was used to support the claims to make St Minias the patron of both the church and the city.

Questions arising from the workshop

(1)   Why were rites written down?

There was general concensus consensus about the importance of the practical impulse, but participants also acknowledged the significance of audience to providing a context for rites being written down.

(2) Is there always an actor or a context for revision?

Is liturgical change always a response to crisis or change i.e. does the age of anxiety continue into the later Middle Ages?