

Sources of Inspiration for the composer-poet of the Office for St David of  
Wales found in the Office for St Thomas Becket – An examination of  
these Offices in the Penpont Antiphonal MS 20541E

**A Dissertation**  
**in partial fulfilment of the Degree of**  
**BMus (Hons)**

By Gillian Lander (5134796)

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Supervised by Dr Fiona McAlpine

'The David Stream'

*Dewi Ty Ddewi*  
*Tegwch bro yn wir wyt ti*  
*Dewi Ty Ddewi*  
*Ti yw'm cartref i*

David St David's  
You are in truth so fair a land  
David St David's  
You are my home

- David Evans (1866)

*Gwnewch y pethau bychain*

Do the little things

- St David

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## Preface.

This dissertation for BMus (Hons) has dictated its own course as I embarked reading for it when questions and issues arose. With the guidance of my supervisor, Dr Fiona McAlpine, I have been able to focus on an unexpected issue that I have not explored previously in these research studies. Fortuitously too, a prior essay had me explore the cult and office of St Anna in Austria, and transcribe and discuss it as found in the manuscript (MS Graz 30) so this has been valuable background experience for me for this present task.

As it happens, two recent books are seminal works on the St David Office and the St Thomas Becket Office, and these have become sources to critique in the process of my explorations. While both authors, Owain Edwards (*Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day*) and Kay Brainerd Slocum (*Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*), have approached their subjects in a similar way – the Vita and cult and its development, a transcription and discussion of the chant, a study of the texts of the chants, and, with the St David, an exploration how these chants relate to its main source, Becket's office, neither has looked closely at the relationship between the Becket and St David texts as poetry/liturgy.

This is an interesting relationship as it reveals to me the source of the St David poet's inspiration before his music was a possibility, and also the socio-political issues that were seemingly quite heated at the time. That the Becket office was the starting point for the St David office also reveals the regard in which the Becket music was held, and something of the talent of the St David composer-poet working in its wake.

So, this short study is shaped not unlike Edwards' and Slocum's books – the sources, cult and Vita of both offices, then the body of the comparison of the texts, which is, I am afraid, some quite dense reading – made easier for me to navigate and write through much of this material being in searchable online databases. Perhaps such a comparison is only now possible with such technology to help. Then finally I have written of the findings therein. I have added some items as Appendices, as I have tabulated material from CANTUS and elsewhere and transcribed and analysed the few works of chant that would be new from the hand of the composer of the St David Office. Whereas writers claim the Penpont Antiphonal is the 'earliest monument' of Welsh music, these few last chants are quite likely indeed the earliest real monuments of genuine indigenous Welsh music, albeit Gregorian chant.

Gillian Lander

## Part I -The Primary Sources

**Antiphonale Sarisburiense**, (Frere). Early in the explorations for this dissertation it became evident that the Sarum Antiphonal facsimiles of Frere were not going to be much use, so far as the offices for St Thomas Becket and St David were concerned. In his later Introduction to this work, Frere has detailed in passing the particular damage done in some of his sources to St Thomas of Canterbury manuscripts at the behest of Henry VIII. And by sheer omission, one can infer the lack of interest in England in St David's Office, perhaps even lasting to Frere's day. Frere has included those very few Thomas antiphons and responsories that survived, but there is no facsimile of any St David music even though he notes the ADDL MS17,002 seemed to contain music for this.<sup>1</sup> The British Library has not yet digitised MS 17,002 which is a Breviary containing a mixture of Sarum and non-Sarum offices, but has it described as below.<sup>2</sup> The present curator, Julian Harrison, has checked the Breviary for me and cannot find any St David Office music. He has noted the entry in the Kalendar which reads:

1 March (f. 4r): Sancti Daudid episcopi et confessoris, synodale Norwiciensis, sine expositione, ix lectiones.

Implications of this will be discussed in Part VI in this paper. The entries in Frere's volume are:

Barnwell - mutilated St Thomas and 'not made good'  
 Cambridge University Library MS Mm2g - mutilated  
 Cambridge University Library ADDL MS 2602 - Thomas cut out  
 British Museum MS Harley 4958 - no St Thomas  
 British Museum MS ADDL 32,427 - St Thomas 'censored' - also popes and red tags.  
 British Museum ADDL MS 17,002 - *St David included* for 1 March (Synodale, Norwich)  
 British Museum MS LANDS. 463 - St Thomas Becket 'missing'  
 Wollaton Antiphonal - two leaves concerning St Thomas of Canterbury cut out

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<sup>1</sup> W.H.Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense, Introduction*. (London. 1901-1925.) p. 77-83. Frere's Introduction was completed in 1925, many years after the Sarum Antiphonal facsimile, and just five years after the Welsh Church had controversially been separated from the See of Canterbury and dis-established, an issue that had persisted for over 1500 years among Welsh Christians. The separation was passed by parliament in 1914 but its enactment had been delayed for the duration of World War I. The significance of St. David in the Norwich source apparently eluded Frere. Or maybe he was partisan as Bishop of Truro in the See of Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> **BREVIARIUM** in usum Ecclesiae Norvicensis, notis musicis instructum; cum calendario praemisso. Imperfect at the beginning and end; the calendar also wants the two last months. On vellum, xvth cent. Large Folio. [17,002]

**In die sancti Thome martyris - 'The Music of the Sarum Office'**, edited by William Renwick of the University of Ontario/Gregorian Institute, is a 2010 online publication, and a compilation derived from mainly 16<sup>th</sup> century Sarum Breviaries, with one or two works found in Frere as well. It is intended as a resource for study with CANTUS database references included, as well as most Lesson content, and is in PDF format and set in square notation. I have used it as an exemplar of the wider, archetypal Sarum Office. As at this time the St David Office is not included in the Canadian project, but it is listed in future plans. '*Sancti David Episcopi et Confessoris*' is listed early in the long Sanctorale, but work has barely begun on this entire section.

### **Istanbul Antiphonal**

Janka Szendrei, writing fully on the codex in its preface describes it thus:

The Antiphonal held in the library of the Topkapi Museum with the shelf-mark Deissmann 42 was produced in Hungary in about 1360. The scribe of the corpus of the codex was apparently still unfamiliar with the Feast of the Visitation; its chants were added later in the Appendix so that we know that the main text date from before 1387.... The codex is written on parchment, the thickness of its spine being 9.3 cm. The size of the folios is 46.5 x 31.6 cm, with script area 34.5 x 21 cm. Before restoration the codex consisted of 303 pages of which 294 pages were written in the hand of the main script... The codex was rebound towards the end of the 15th century, and its pages may have been somewhat cropped at that time. In addition, the mould caused damage, which destroyed the upper corners... The music script of the main text is the stylised Esztergom notation, otherwise, Hungarian notation in three hands. In the appendix the same music script can be found in a variety of every-day notations. On the pages added to the end of the codex at least twelve different hands can be distinguished.....<sup>3</sup>

A facsimile edition of the work is owned by Dr Fiona McAlpine, and the office for St Thomas of Canterbury therein has kindly been supplied for this study. It is complete though showing the ravages of time described above. As this study has developed this manuscript has not been a central source of information, though it has been explored for Part VI Conclusions.

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<sup>3</sup> Janka Szendrei, 'The Description of the Codex,' *Istanbul Antiphonal Facsimile*. Musicalia Danubiana 18, (Budapest, 2002). pp. 11-13

**The Penpont Antiphonal** (Facsimile edition) This is the core manuscript source for this dissertation. The original of the Antiphonal came to light at a Sotheby's auction in 1969 and is now held at Aberystwyth in the National Library of Wales shelf-marked as MS 20541E. The editor, O. T. Edwards, quotes a description of the book provided by Mr Daniel Huws, formerly keeper of Manuscripts at the NLW:

Sewn on nine bands on oak boards, evidently original. The boards are not rectangular, being c388mm at the spine and c.404mm at the fore-edge, c250mm wide. The outer third of the upper board which was split off and lost was replaced at the NLW in 1970. Eight of the nine thongs survive, reinforced with hemp cord in 1970. The cover was entirely gone apart from a few very small fragments of whittawed leather which are still *in situ* on both boards; one fragment on the lower board shows traces of pink stain. Four sets of nail holes on the lower board mark the former presence of bosses.<sup>4</sup>

It is a huge book of the Sarum usage, but incomplete. The Kalendar is missing from the Antiphonal. The Temporale is missing all of Advent and begins on Christmas Eve and in the busy octave of Christmas, it includes the Office of Thomas of Canterbury. The Psalter begins mid Psalm 88. The Sanctorale is nearly complete, and contains the Office of St David of Wales. It does contain useful additional material omitted by the Sarum Antiphonal - material such as some Sarum hymnody, and ferial antiphons. According to the Introduction to the work, it cannot have been scripted earlier than c.1320 because it contains Corpus Christi music, which according to Frere had been finally adopted at Bath and Salisbury in 1318-19. But because it does not contain the St Anne Office, whose feast was ordered by Urban VI in 1383, it must be earlier than 1390. So a window of 1320-90 seems its most likely date for this scribe's work. It was probably intended for a church in the St David's Diocese.

## **Part II And did those feet?**

This dissertation begins in the dreamtime of European modern history, for its central figure St David, and the cult and the spirituality and national pride connected with him, emerges from the mists of early and emerging Wales where David, *Dewi Sant*, was a legend in his own day. Around him swirl stories of miracles and great saintliness. And in that same mist is King Arthur, allegedly his nephew, the Holy Grail, Joseph of Arimathea the young uncle of Jesus and a tin merchant trading between Cornwall and Phoenicia, Coptic wine and tin trade evidenced by archaeologists, Glastonbury-Avalon, St Patrick, and the awful centuries of Anglo-

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<sup>4</sup> Owain T. Edwards, Editor. *The Penpont Antiphonal Facsimile*. (Ottawa, 1997) p. 5

Saxon subjugation of the ancient British people following the departure of Roman rule from the islands. Their British Celtic refuge was in the south-west, Devon and Somerset, and what was to become Cornwall and Wales, and off-shore and independent, Ireland. A kinship existed with Celtic Brittany where St Non, David's mother, was venerated. These were strange centuries of the early adoption of Christianity in which the old fears, truths, superstitions and practices and natural understandings took a long time to eradicate. Legends linger over all this. Much of it is also retold in later chivalric terms in Malory's comprehensive recension of the stories in *Morte d'Arthur* of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, though David is not named.

But David was a real figure of the time. He established a monastery at St David's in Wales which was run according to the most ascetic Egyptian desert rule. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* he died c.601. About 560 he attended the Synod of Brefi (modern Llandewi Brefi) and Pope Callistus II approved his cult c 1120, thereby classing him a saint, and in 1398 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, ordered his feast to be held throughout the province of Canterbury on 1 March.<sup>5</sup> He was to be venerated as a Bishop and Confessor using the common for this office. Canterbury of course did not include the north of England otherwise in the province of York, which had the blessing of the Pope to remain independent of Canterbury since Norman times, but it did include Wales. These are the established facts.<sup>6</sup> His cult was already five hundred years old when it was 'approved' by Rome, and seven hundred and fifty years before his feast was marked in Canterbury - a political move probably.

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<sup>5</sup> 'David, St'. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. (Oxford, 1974) p. 378.

<sup>6</sup> However, Pfaff has further information which I will explore in Part VI.



The remains of the St David shrine in the presbytery of St David's Cathedral, Wales. (From the cathedral website). Plans are afoot to upgrade this with a canopy by 2012 with icons of Saints David, Patrick and Andrew in the niches.

Reproduced by kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of St David's Cathedral, Wales.

Eastern Orthodoxy venerates St Aristobulus, brother of St Barnabas, they say ordained by St Paul to be Bishop of Britain, and Eusebius (A.D. 260-340, Bishop of Caesarea and the Father of Church History) says: "*The Apostles passed beyond the Ocean to the Isles called the Britannic Isles.*" Who knows who these people were, but legend has it that Aristobulus died at Glastonbury. Likewise, Joseph of Arimathea is said to have died at Glastonbury on July 27th, A.D. 82, (the date conveniently remembered all these years), and on his tombstone, in Latin, "*After I had buried the Christ, I came to the Isles of the West; I taught; I entered into my rest.*"<sup>7</sup> The story is that Joseph went to Britain as a missionary only a few years after the Resurrection, being familiar with the west country and people as a tin merchant. However, academically, one needs to be circumspect as there appears to be a considerable questionable following for these legends. However, modern NZ pilgrims to both Glastonbury and St David's have reported to me an especially marked awareness of "presence" at these places - more so than at Canterbury.

Who can say the truth when fact and fiction are so bound together. For the positivist historian this is dubious territory. I suspect the only way to navigate is to resort to the same approaches as Biblical critics and students of ancient history today who use archaeology, anthropology, literature and other disciplines as witnesses. But the fey Celtic mind continues today, and would in those days have been keenly alive to connections with the spiritual life and veracity of any thought apostles from Jerusalem. With a well developed oral tradition (and Welsh musicians did

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<sup>7</sup> Eusebius, *Demonstratio Evangelica* 3.7 and [http://biblefacts.org/myth/j\\_arimathea.htm](http://biblefacts.org/myth/j_arimathea.htm) Here, Cressy, Benedictine Monk and historian, has been credited with this quote. Both two quotes abound in internet searches on the Celtic Church but none of the many sites visited have full details of the sources of their statements.

without notation until the 18<sup>th</sup> century) they would have carefully maintained the story, as did others in the Classical world.<sup>8</sup> Scholars of Gregorian chant are most likely to heed the oral tradition. To me it makes sense that with an injunction to spread the Word to the uttermost ends of the earth, the Celtic world around the Irish Sea was indeed the end of their New Testament world to the west. Similarly the Apostle Thomas's end of the world to the east was India, where the Indian Orthodox Church, the Mar Thoma Church, and Oriental Orthodoxy claim him as their founder. The Coptic Church today bears resemblances to the ancient Celtic church in its organisation. So, does David have the right credentials?

### Part III - The Lives and Cults

A 12<sup>th</sup> century writer of David's life, Gerald of Wales, tells how St Gildas was struck dumb as a preacher in the presence of the unborn David. The Welsh monk Gildas, (c500-570) writing his *The Ruin of Britain*, and a living witness to David's life, sheds light on the contemporary regard for David at that earlier time, and also on the Celtic church in dire need of a structured and disciplined priesthood to counter that of Rome.<sup>9</sup> Such need was in due course its downfall in the next century following the arrival from Rome of St Augustine at Canterbury in 596 and ultimately at the Synod of Whitby 664.<sup>10</sup> Gildas supported David to become bishop in his stead at the Synod of Brefi, and saw a divide and weakness in Celtic Christianity between the well-to-do priests who have "grabbed merely the name of priest, not the priestly way of life" and the monks such as David living the eremitical or monastic life, as it were direct from Egypt. His invective may well have reflected the doctrinal divide between Pelagians (men of obvious wealth) and Orthodoxy which led to St Germanus of Auxerre spending time in Britain. Gildas was awake to the wrong motivation in vocations among the newly converted.

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<sup>8</sup> Sally Harper, *Music in Welsh Culture before 1650: a study in principal sources*. (Aldershot, 2007). At this point Harper is discussing the secular music of the Welsh. They had been introduced to square notation in a religious context much earlier, but it made little impact upon their wider musical activity. Indeed, the bardic Welsh still value oral tradition. I allude also to Leo Treitler's article *Homer and Gregory* MQ LX (1974) 333-72.

<sup>9</sup> However, the Celtic Church by its nature has resisted "Roman" structure, and has apparently remained in Wales and the West Country with a low profile, a "faith" alone rather than a "church."

<sup>10</sup> Michael Winterbottom, Transl. *Gildas-The Ruin of Britain*. (London, 1978). p. 52ff.

Central to the cults was the enshrinement of the mortal remains of the saint in a reliquary and the forming of a life story as exemplar of the blessed life rewarded by God with many miracles, and powers to heal or intervene. Pilgrims trailed to shrines all about Europe, though Rome was the prime destination, as was Jerusalem for those most serious in their devotion. Thousands flocked to St James's shrine at Santiago de Compostella in Spain, and to Thomas Becket's at Canterbury Cathedral. To a lesser extent Britons travelled to numerous sites through Wales – sacred wells, groves of trees, churches, as well as David's shrine at St David's Cathedral. As the church hierarchy acknowledged these departed souls as saints, martyrs, confessors, bishops and others in their assumed orderly, hierarchical status in afterlife, so offices for their commemoration developed.

The early medieval Celtic cult of David at St David's dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century and centred on the western-most peninsula of what is now Pembrokeshire Dyfed, and its High Medieval revival with the enshrinement of his relics in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, mark two periods in his long cultic life, the latter more or less contemporary with the Penpont Antiphonal and the trigger for its creation of the St David Office – early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

David's mortal life was imaginatively accounted for by Rhygyfarch ap Sulien (c.1099) in his *Vita S.David*, roughly five hundred years after his death, a work that has several recensions, but its textual analytical scholars Richard Sharpe and John R Davies have concluded that the longer (Vespasian) recension is the best witness to the original.<sup>11</sup>

Rhygyfarch begins the 'Life of the Blessed David' rich in Biblical allusions thus:

§1 Our Lord, although he loved and foreknew all his people before the foundation of the world,<sup>12</sup> has nevertheless foretold some of them by frequent signs and revelations. And so it was that this holy man, who was baptised David, but whom the common people call Dewi, became known; not just because he was foretold by the truth-telling prophecies of angels, first to his father, and then to St Patrick thirty years before he was born, but also because he was enriched with mystical gifts and endowments. §2. One time his father, Sanctus... who enjoyed sovereignty over the people of Ceredig (ie Ceredigion) heard the voice of an angelic prophesy in a dream;<sup>13</sup> "When you wake up tomorrow you will go hunting; having killed a stag near the river, you will find there beside the river Teifi three gifts; namely the stag that you will pursue, a fish, and a swarm of bees situated in a tree... You should set aside out of these three,

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<sup>11</sup> Richard Sharpe and John R. Davies in Wyn Evans and Jonathan Wooding, *St.David of Wales, Cult Church and Nation*. (Woodbridge, 2007.) p. 3 and pp. 107-157. The full Latin text of the Rhygyfarch's *Vita* and its translation and comment is included in their chapter in this work and my citations above are from their work.

<sup>12</sup> John 13:1 and Eph 1:4

<sup>13</sup> Tobit 6:1-5 A very similar dream

the honeycomb and a portion of the fish, and the stag, and you should deliver them to the monastery of Meugan, keeping them for the son who is going to be born to you". These gifts foretell his life. The honeycomb proclaims his wisdom, for just as the honey is in the wax, so has he understood the spiritual meaning in a literal statement. The fish signifies his watery life, for as the fish lives by water, so does he; rejecting wine and liquor and every thing that can enebriate, he has led a blessed life for God on just bread and water, because of this he surnamed David of the watery life. The stag signifies dominion over the ancient serpent,<sup>14</sup> for just as the stag desires a spring of water when it has grazed on despoiled snakes...<sup>15</sup>

Without referring to the footnotes, one can already detect a resonance with the account of the birth of St John the Baptist, especially reinforced as the story progresses, and Psalm 42 – *Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks*. Rhygyfarch placed his subject David in the context of all ancient great names, Jesus included – an unusual foretold birth, high-born, of impeccable lineage, and imbued with special powers. His audience was expected to appreciate all his allusions. In a similar way, the eventual text of the office relies upon the erudition of the participants for its full richness.

According to Rhygyfarch, David was the founder of twelve monasteries and was the builder of the church at Glastonbury, now a ruin along with Tintagel. However this conflicts with the legend of the deaths of earlier apostles there five hundred years previously. But perhaps the site was occupied by an earlier edifice, (there are remnants of Glastonbury's *Vetusta Ecclesia* or "Old Church" near the ruins) or to my mind more likely, the altar originally was a rock in sacred space open to the elements and in sympathy with the earth in good green Celtic even Druidic, style. Archaeology may have some answers. This is the sort of fog that surrounds any facts from this time.<sup>16</sup>

Yet another story in Rhygyfarch's *Vita* tells of the expatriate Romano-Briton St Patrick rather fancying he would return home to minister in Wales. But in a dream he was advised to go to Ireland. "This place is not assigned to you, but to a son who is not yet born, until thirty years have passed." Then, thirty years later, Sanctus, King of the territory of Ceredigion (just up the coast near modern Aberystwyth), went into the kingdom of Dyfed and there came across a nun named Nonnita, virgin, beautiful and modest, and raped her. So David was conceived. "Neither before nor after did she know a man but continued steadfastly in chastity of mind and body..." One cannot escape the comparison with the Annunciation and Mary. Soon after in the narrative he tells of heavily pregnant Non offering alms and

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<sup>14</sup> Revelations 12:9 and 20:2

<sup>15</sup> Ps 42:1

<sup>16</sup> Professor Chris Morris of Glasgow University is an archaeologist unearthing supporting facts around Glastonbury and Tintagel.

oblations for her child where Gildas was preaching, and recounts in detail how the saint was muted, "The son who is in the womb is greater in grace and power and rank than I..." This is definitely an allusion to Zechariah, John the Baptist and Jesus. Then in the next chapter there is a tyrant who through seers learned that a boy would be born within his borders whose power would take over the whole country. The dreaded Herod of the Christmas narrative as well as the Anglo-Saxons and Normans, threatened to come to Wales.<sup>17</sup>

Stories such as these are woven into the lections, antiphons and responsories of the office for St David and will be explored for their implications later. But as they are told here, one can slip into the spellbound mindset of the ancient Welsh new to the faith, with the least manipulation.

The supporting work relative to David in the Penpont Antiphonal, is the Office for St Thomas of Canterbury. Thomas, who lived about six hundred years later than David, is much more a figure of what we would regard as 'history'. We have biographical and documented witness of his life and work.<sup>18</sup> His witnessed murder (yes, people stood and watched) at Canterbury Cathedral on the afternoon of 29 December 1170, was a public relations disaster for Henry II. It quickly became a Martyrdom and a High Medieval cult grew for him throughout England and Europe.

Thomas did not have the 'high born' credentials of David and there is no attempt in his Vita to mock one up. His parentage was sufficiently well-to-do to ensure his education in things clerical, including some education in Paris, and then he was placed as a clerk in the administration of Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, where he also had legal training. There he shone. Possessed of a very affable personality, intelligence, and gifted in diplomacy and interpersonal skills he became a favourite and a good friend to the young King Henry II - and a bon-vivant. He was Henry's Chancellor of Treasury and was later made archdeacon of Canterbury with a considerable living therefrom. There was no apparent testing of vocation for this ordination, novitiate nor preparation, nor diaconate. Perhaps this was no matter then, and not unconnected with Henry's interest in usurping church power. Perhaps also, it was not unconnected with St Gildas' earlier view of diocesan clergy.

When the need came for a new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas had all the qualifications and insider, up-to-date knowledge of the politics to be the natural

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<sup>17</sup> Evans and Wooding. Op.cit. p. 109-155. Verbatim quotes are from the translation.

<sup>18</sup> Becket scholar Anne Duggan has very recently produced a work *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult* (2010) that covers the whole field apart from music and the visual arts.

selection. That there was any spiritual side to him was personal indeed, and incidental. That he used instruments of self-mortification, wore hair shirts, was a Cistercian, and remained a virgin only emerged later. Then, having become Archbishop, he changed. He became protective of the church as bishops do, and wrangled with Henry over his proposed Constitutions of Clarendon, statutes shaping up to make clergy subject to the Crown and Common Law, rather than Ecclesiastical Law. It was out of the overheard exasperation Henry felt at his betrayal of friendship that the murder by over-zealous knights happened. The world was aghast. Henry was forced into exile in Ireland, spent some time notably at St David's shrine in Wales, and had to make deep public penance for the whole business at St Thomas' new shrine in Canterbury, within a year of Thomas' canonisation. Then in death Thomas really began to work miracles.

According to Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury, monks assigned to record the miracles and collect offerings, miracles at the tomb started the night of the murder. A witness took home a garment soaked in Thomas' blood to his paralysed wife. She asked for it to be washed in water and drank the bloody water for healing. A cure was instant. This bloody water became the 'Water of St Thomas' – Aqua Thomae.<sup>19</sup> For the three years until he was canonised only the persistent poor and needy locals were secretly allowed in to the otherwise closed and desecrated cathedral. Royal officials had control with other ideas, blockades and intimidation. But word of mouth and hot gossip ran on and only months later, by Easter 1171, crowds of pilgrims were arriving, and the aforementioned Benedict was assigned also to care for the sick in the crypt. Two hundred and fifty miracles were recorded between the years 1171-1177. The healing miracles covered the sorts of illnesses diagnosed in those days, and were regarded as an indication of sainthood. There was the odd restoration to life itself, including that of "Bobby" who had drowned while stoning frogs probably in the local River Stour.<sup>20</sup>

On 21 February 1173 Becket was canonised by Pope Alexander III. In 1174 a naked and prostrate Henry II on the cathedral floor begged St Thomas for the restoration of his foundering kingdom.

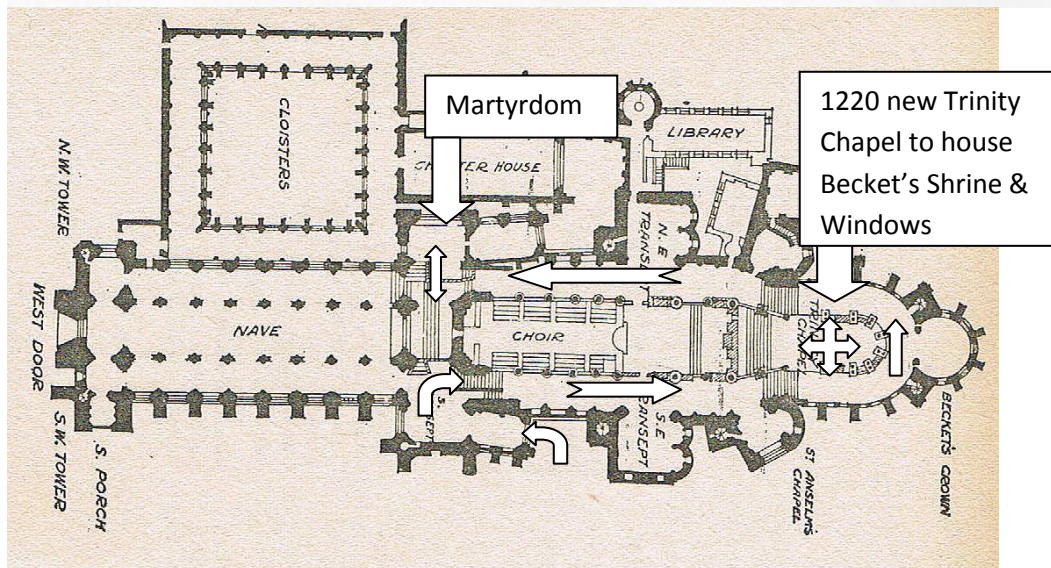
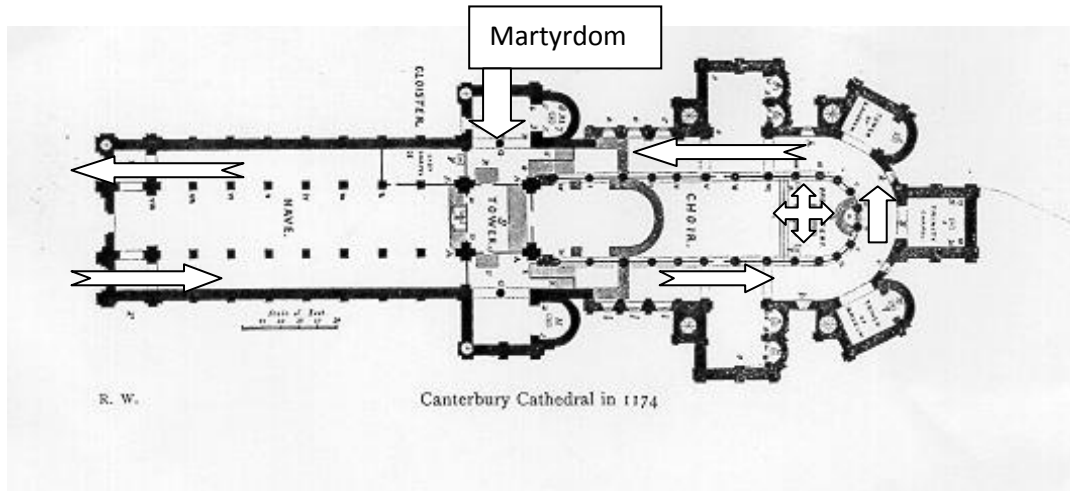
Upon reconsecration, the Opus Dei business of the Benedictine monastery including its' music, had to continue regardless of the throng, so crowd management of the pilgrims in the ambulatories was important. The floor plans below indicate how the crowds were separated from the monks in choir. Pilgrims were intruding in monastic space that was normally separated from the nave congregation by the

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<sup>19</sup> Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*. (Toronto, 2004). p. 92 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Slocum. Op.cit. p. 79ff

pulpitum or screen. This was a factor in the eventual devising of the Sarum offices, suited to secular diocesan cathedrals, rather than monastic foundations, as will be discussed later.





Detail of the shrine from a Miracle Window with a sick person receiving healing from Becket.

So, within fifty years, by 1220 the new shrine in the readily-funded, purpose-built Trinity Chapel apse of Canterbury was surrounded by the “miracle” windows, whose content may owe much to Benedict’s record keeping. All this far outstripped the modest shrine to David in Wales.



The Miracle Windows surround the candle burning where the Becket shrine once stood central in the Trinity Chapel. Photo GJLander

While the Vatican set his feast day as 29 December, his feast was also marked with offices and artworks by which one can trace the spread of his cult. There are artefacts like Breviaries in his memory, Limoges enamels, medallions, stonework, the Nottingham alabasters, ‘*The martyrdom of St Thomas from the St Thomas Altarpiece*’ commissioned in 1424 from Meister Francke by the Guild of English Merchants in

Hamburg. Then of course Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is written around a pilgrimage to the shrine from Southwark. He is recollected in stained glass such, as at Chartres Cathedral, where the story fills an entire window in the apse, and in the choir of St-Maurice Cathedral in Angers. In England and elsewhere innumerable churches were dedicated in his name, as were hospitals. He had a cult following in Hungary and Germany, France, Norway and Sicily. This was in part due to the Cistercians who had spread their work to the fringes of the Roman Christian world, and to the 12<sup>th</sup> century Vatican interest in building a 'modern' church with its own new saints, as opposed to the sole veneration of early and apostolic saints. Then again, ironically, the Angevin dynasty of which Henry II was a member as a Plantagenet, had branches spread through Italy, Sicily and Hungary through the marriages of Henry's daughters. These relatives became supporters. The poor throughout Europe, who had flocked to Thomas's cult not just for healing but also because of his challenge to growing royal power, were finally joined by the upper classes with the same human needs.<sup>21</sup>

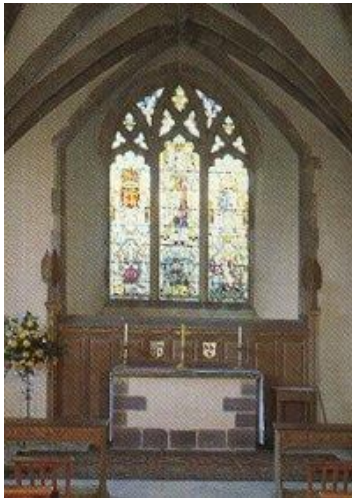
But veneration of Thomas did not become so entrenched in Wales. His centenary in 1270 passed unremarked – they were at war with the English anyway. For apparent appeasement of the Welsh over the issue of subservience to Canterbury and the Crown, their *Dewi Sant* had been acknowledged belatedly by the Vatican, and although there was a chapel in Thomas's name in their cathedral, (Thomas Bec was bishop at the time ) not so many churches bore his name – only about fourteen. And those that did seemed to be on the border of England or the anglicised areas of the south. The Welsh were not easily bought. As Keith Williams-Jones said: <sup>22</sup>

The three popular centres within Wales – St David's, Bardsey and St Winifred's Well – were probably much more important in Welshmen's eyes than Canterbury. Going on a pilgrimage there was a marginal activity.

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<sup>21</sup> Slocum. Op.cit. p. 98-110

<sup>22</sup> Keith Williams-Jones, 'Thomas Becket and Wales,' *Welsh History Review*. Vol 5 No 4, (Dec 1971) p350-365. He has made a detailed study of the influences on reception of the cult within Wales.



The St Thomas Becket Chapel in St David's Cathedral Wales.

Reproduced with kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of St David's Cathedral.

In lieu of a survey, I have explored some new online material about medieval wall paintings in English (as opposed to UK) parish churches. These do exist still but in the temperate climate many have been badly damaged, the more so in the north. They are a less expensive art form than stained glass and so small parishes could afford them, so they could represent the interest of ordinary people in these saints. Anne Marshall has done scholarly work on this art, and runs a growing website [www.paintedchurch.org](http://www.paintedchurch.org). The Becket story features in five parishes across Somerset, Oxford, Cambridge and Norfolk. St David has no art at all even though some early saints like Dunstan and Columba are represented. This reflects the musical situation. His profile was low, and localised in Wales, identified with early Welsh-British national pride, and very old and unsensational by comparison with Becket.

#### **Part IV - The texts compared**

This discussion takes the texts of the St Thomas Office as found in its Sarum form in the Penpont Antiphonal and that of St David in the same work, and explores what can be found in a deeper look at influences and comparisons within and outside the Sarum use. It may be that the St Thomas Office from Istanbul, that of Trier, and those of Lewes might shed further light from a Benedictine tradition. The Latin texts are matched with their English translations. At this point, acknowledgement of the leading work of Owain Edwards and Kay Slocum must be made, and also that of their Latin

translators.<sup>23</sup> This work starts where they left off with their respective office studies, and their findings will be my foundation. Many of the texts have been explored in detail in their work, and others not at all. I pick up their dregs and continue dredging. Underpinning this further exploration is the life experience of one who has had years of chanting the psalter, knows church life and the interior life, and has an awareness of psychology and politics. I hope some fascinating insights emerge.

Slocum asserts that the Becket office, both poetry and music, was the work of Benedict of Peterborough (d1193), the Chronicler of the Becket story mentioned earlier, steeped in the tradition of reflection in liturgy through juxtaposed texts – a monastic technique reliant upon the Biblical literacy of the participants.<sup>24</sup> This would make the work a very early example of the rhymed office, and exemplar for subsequent offices throughout Europe.<sup>25</sup> The offices Slocum explores are in the monastic use, mainly Benedictine, and so there are three extra Antiphons, *Patrem nati*, *Sol inclinans*, *Fusum spargunt*, and a Responsory *Post sex annos*, the presence of which in the middle of the liturgy can complicate a comparison. Sarum and monastic uses do not match.<sup>26</sup> Sarum is shorter and designed for secular cathedral use with the public in mind. The diagrams below show how the building designs and usage required differing liturgy.

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<sup>23</sup> Owain T. Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day*. (Cambridge, 1990) and Kay B. Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of St Thomas Becket*. (Toronto, 2009)

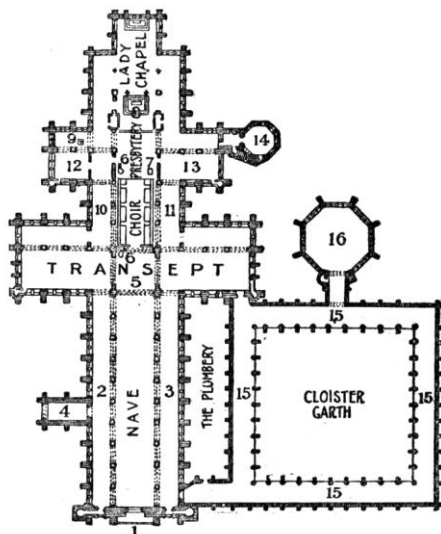
<sup>24</sup> Slocum. Op.cit. p. 147 ff. However, the Becket poet seemed to grow into the task, developing further insights into the workings of the mind as he progressed with the writing of these texts.

<sup>25</sup> It is too late to add these papers to reading but the issue of notation raises questions as to Benedict's script. The Gregorian Institute of Canada's website recently reports thus: The Gregorian Institute of Canada sponsored two sessions at the 45th International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 13-16, 2010, at The Medieval Institute of the Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

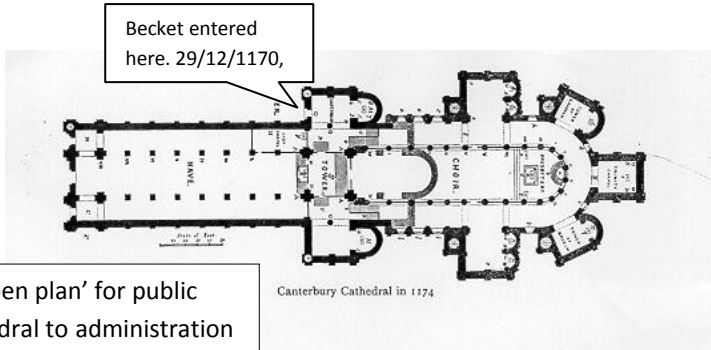
The first session was a "The Liturgical Office of Saint Thomas Becket: Chant Selections (A Performance)", prepared by Pascale Duhamel and William Renwick, and performed by a Schola of twelve from Hamilton, London, Toronto and Waterloo. .... The second, "The Liturgical Office of Saint Thomas Becket: Current Research Projects", organized by William Oates and Chaired by William Renwick, offered two presentations on the Office of Thomas Becket, by Kate Helsen and Roseen Giles, both participants in the Becket Project under the supervision of Andrew Hughes at the University of Toronto.

Helsen's paper illustrated the musical differences to be found between the earlier Office Responsories in general and the later Office of Thomas Becket in particular, noting especially the significant differences in cadence types to be found in the later Responsories of the Feast of S. Thomas. Giles' paper illustrated lingering use of adiastematic notation as preserved in several manuscripts of the Office of S. Thomas, and gave insightful perspectives on why copyists would choose to continue with the neumes at a period when the square notation had become almost universal. Both papers were especially appreciated in that most of the music had been sung only an hour previously in the performance.

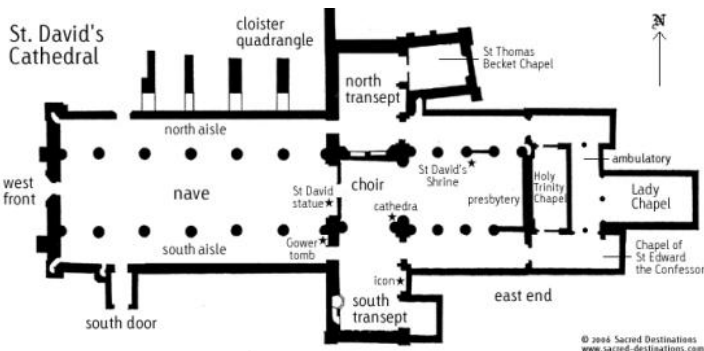
<sup>26</sup> See the chart in Appendix 2 to match and compare the Uses.



In 1170/74 the relatively new Canterbury Cathedral Monastic Choir (for St Augustine's Monastery) was walled off from the public in the old Romanesque Nave, (burned down and ultimately replaced with a Gothic nave by Henry Chichele) and effectively remains so today.



Salisbury (Sarum) Cathedral by contrast is 'open plan' for public participation and is the nearest secular cathedral to administration at Canterbury. Processions were a possibility out into the cloisters



St David's is a secular cathedral, and has kindred open plan for the public like Salisbury

The Becket Office, we are told, was the source for the later St David music, therefore we can look carefully at the Becket material to see what might have been the trigger for the composer-poet's creation for St David. But sometimes he is left begging, and had to resort to his own invention – or inventiveness. This material is worth a close look too, hopefully to show us something of his own ability. Our ultimate quarry is the St David Office and what it might tell us.

The dates for the singing of these two offices are significant. Becket's office is 29 December, the anniversary of his murder in the dead of winter, and in a heavy week of important liturgical dates. St John the Evangelist, the Martyrdom of Stephen, Holy Innocents, and Becket's murder are all marked within days of the Nativity – to be followed by the Circumcision. It is a cold, dark, bleak time indeed to be singing

through the dead of night. David's date is 1 March, the first day of spring, daffodils and all. Already a potential metaphor is emerging.

There is a strong likelihood that both the David and Becket offices were sung at St David's Cathedral as there are no offices in the Penpont Antiphonal for the local saints of any of the other Welsh dioceses. St David's was not a monastic church, so the shorter secular Sarum Rite of the Penpont would have been usual.

## THE TEXTS

### AD VESPERAS I

St David – (English)	St David (Penpont)	St Thomas (Penpont)	St Thomas – (English)
<p><i>ANTIPHON</i>  <i>O thou <b>whose face the earth seeks</b>, model for bishops, grant that this <b>miserable body of exiles</b>, reformed, may become fit for the title of life.</i></p>	<p><b>O desiderabilis</b>            Vultu <b>forma</b> presulum            Fac ut miserabilis            Iste cetus exulum            Reformatus habilis            Fit ad vita titulum            (Euouae – new)            7.7.7.7.7.7.                      ababab</p>		<p><i>The shepherd slain in the midst of his flock purchases peace at the cost of blood. Joyous grief in sorrowful praise. The flock breathes though its shepherd is dead. Lamenting the mother rejoices in the son because he lives as victor under the sword.</i></p>

Since the Becket Office is preceded by the more highly ranked Holy Innocents the day before, there is no Vespers I in its scheme, so the St David poet was thrown on his own resources at the outset for the opening Antiphon *O desiderabilis* for the Vespers on the Eve of St David. Undeterred, he resorted to the St Nicholas office in the Penpont Antiphonal, and based the chant upon its *O Pastor eterne* (182r02) and the sentiments of its text he used a little later. At this point the poet was the stronger in him. That text of *O Pastor eterne* has suggested a way forward for him. The new text he crafted is about the person and name of David and its layered associations. St David, according to his Vita, was a very handsome looking man as well as a divine, and of royal blood, and according to Jerome, the name David is translated from the Hebrew as “much to be desired” (my Concordance has “beloved”) - thus the name of King David as “desiderabilis” of the psalter, and father of Solomon famed for his wisdom. Oddly, the word ‘desiderabilis’ is not translated into English here, yet it is an important word, and is to be referred to later in discussing Lauds. So in a few words the poet encapsulates Dewi Sant’s good looks, the Kingship of David, and the wisdom of Solomon.<sup>27</sup>Monks

<sup>27</sup> Owain T. Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St David's Day*. (Cambridge, 1990). p. 112. Edwards' reference to 3 Kings does not exist in the Old Testament. I have found Solomon's Dream sufficient for this purpose.

or clergy singing or listening to this work would surely make a connection with their living psalmody, and perhaps Solomon's Dream:

{ I KINGS 3:6} Et ait Salomon: Tu fecisti cum servo tuo David patre meo misericordiam magnam, sicut ambulavit in conspectu tuo in veritate, et iustitia, et recto corde tecum: custodisti ei misericordiam tuam grandem, et dedisti ei

filium sedentem super thronum eius, sicut est hodie. / *And Solomon said: "You have shown great mercy to your servant David, my father, because he walked in your sight in truth and justice, and with an upright heart before you. And you have kept your great mercy for him, and you have given him a son sitting upon his throne, just as it is this day.*

{3:9} Dabis ergo servo tuo cor docile, ut populum tuum iudicare possit, et discernere inter bonum et malum. Quis enim poterit iudicare populum istum, populum tuum hunc multum? / *Therefore, give to your servant a teachable heart, so that he may be able to judge your people, and to discern between good and evil. For who will be able to judge this people, your people, who are so many?"*

Edwards says that the word *titulus* would suggest the labelling of Jesus on the cross as king, as well as the prefix to various psalms.<sup>28</sup>

{15:1} Tituli inscriptio ipsi David.

However, there is a tinge of national sadness, and Edwards makes no comment on this. Their Welshness was also in the mix. While it was a usual expression to talk of this mortal world as 'exile' from Paradise, the "miserable body of exiles / *miserabilis Iste cetus exulum*" must refer to the remoteness of Wales from the world that mattered. It is a sentiment that is to be well-worked by the poet. His community, as Celts, would have had strong feelings about Canterbury, most unwilling in the connection to Canterbury and Rome, compounded by a discontent and long-suffering at the hands of Anglo-Norman invaders. It was also less than half century since their betrayal by Thomas Bec, Bishop of St David's (1280-93), Edward I's Lord Treasurer, who had been a player in the annexation of Wales by the See of Canterbury.

The Welsh are clearly considered "less than" by the imposed hierarchy and know it. Perhaps the text of Revelations might be suggested with David's ascetic life too with a touch of irony:

REV {3:17} Quia dicis: quod dives sum, et locupletatus, et nullius egeo: et nescis quia tu es miser, et miserabilis, et pauper, et caecus, et nudus. / *For you declare, 'I am wealthy, and I have been enriched further, and I have need of nothing.' And you do not know that you are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.*

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<sup>28</sup> All of the Latin and English parallel texts of Biblical references are sourced from the website: <http://www.sacredbible.org/studybible/index.htm>

**RESPONSE**

**Shepherd David** whom the scanty dish of modesty so fed that, the flesh being worn down, the life of grace might be fostered: drive thy flock where they may look upon the King of Grace.

**Pastor David**

Quem sic pavit  
Ut detrita  
Carne vita  
Foveretur gracia  
Mina gregem.  
Ubi regem  
Contempletur gracia.  
4.4.4.4.7.4.4.7  
aa'bbcddc

**VERSE**

Thou that dwellest in the places of the pasture that doth not wither, chief shepherd place thy flock. Where they may look upon the king of grace.

Qui colis pascue  
Non marcentis loca  
**Pastor** precipue  
Gregem tuum loca (Ubi..)  
6.6.6.6. abab

This St David respond and verse use a metaphor that is well worked through the “I am” statements in the Gospel of John – the Good Shepherd, and this further develops the picture of David, linking him this time to Jesus as well as King David.

Jn {10:11} Ego sum pastor bonus. Bonus pastor animam suam dat pro ovibus suis. / *I am the good Shepherd. The good Shepherd gives his life for his sheep.* / Ego sum pastor bonus: et cognosco meas, et cognoscunt me meæ. / *I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me,*

Since there is no chant for this in the Becket, the St David Office chant has been drawn from the Penpont offices for St Michael *Te Sanctum*, and St Dominic *Ad hoc convivium*.<sup>29</sup> This same ‘shepherd’ imagery is found in the procession and prosa that could take place after the office sung in Choir on this 29 December evening for Becket, when the altar and imagery in chapels dedicated to St Thomas Becket would be censed.

There is a chapel dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century dedicated to Becket in St David’s Cathedral (see the diagram p 18). It is an add-on extension of the North transept, made when Becket’s remembrance was made mandatory, and accessed through a doorway broken through the end wall. So if this Becket office was used there, the subsequent procession and prosa and censing would have taken place as in the Sarum Use (020r03- *Clangat pastor*). The chapel was remodelled by Bishop Gower in the 14<sup>th</sup> century about the time of this manuscript. On 1 March, St David’s Office would have been sung in choir and any processions thereafter would be to the shrine nearby in the presbytery.

<sup>29</sup> St. Dominic died 1221, and was canonised by 1234. Benedict of Peterborough died 1193. Therefore the compilation of the Becket Translation must have been well after 1234, years after the actual removal of the relics to the new shrine in 1220. The St David Office is much later.

## HYMN

*Iste confessor* is used in the David office as he was a bishop, in lieu of *Martyr Dei* which is proper for St Thomas Becket, being a martyr.

## MAGNIFICAT ANTIPHON

The soul of the Holy father  
did magnify the Lord, for he  
valued at near nothing the  
things most approved by the  
world, good Jesu, but  
showed that thou art the best  
part.

## Dominum magnificavit

sancti patris anima

Qui **nil pene reputavit****Mundi probatissima**

Jhesu bone set probavit

Quod tu sis pars optima

8.7.8.7.8.7. ababab

**Pastor caesus** of translation of

Becket. No music.

## PSALM Magnificat

The antiphon for this in the Becket Office is *Pastor caesus in gregis medio* (020v02), used also for the translation of Becket and missing from the manuscript.<sup>30</sup> Music therefore for this antiphon is new and the St David composer has not sought other resources. This must then be a significant work in Welsh musical history. It will be discussed in Part V. There is a clear intention to echo the Magnificat in its antiphon, though the text only works the opening words, *Magnificat anima mea Dominum*. The poet has crafted the meaning to parallel Luke and has raised another good comparison. *Pars optima* in the last line Edwards suggests refers to Luke and its allusions:

Luke {10:42} Porro unum est necessarium. Maria **optimam partem elegit**, quæ non auferetur ab ea. / *And yet only one thing is necessary. Mary has chosen the best portion, and it shall not be taken away from her.*"

I wonder too if *nil pene reputavit mundi probatissima*, might be an oblique reference to Bec, the financier-bishop, the poet so building a subtle case for the elevation of St David above others.

## AD MATUTINAS

## INVITATORY

In memory of holy David the  
bishop let the church rejoice  
to Christ the King.

## In sancte David presulis

memoria Christo regi iubilet  
ecclesia

Assunt Thomae

martyris solennia

Virgo mater

jubilet ecclesia.

4.7.4.7. abcb

The solemn rites for  
Martyr Thomas are at  
hand. Let the Virgin  
Mother Church rejoice.

## INVITATORY

## In sancte David memoria

Christo iubilet ecclesia.

9.9. aa

<sup>30</sup> The Penpont Antiphonal includes the Translation of Becket's relics, 3 July, but its chant, *Cadit custos, Clangat pastor, Jacet Granum* and *Pastor caesus*, is simply named in the text at this point with no music - 226r09, 226r11

The Invitatories prefacing the Venite, and probably interspersed throughout its performance, are the first occasion where a direct comparison of the two office texts is possible. The St David composer-poet has derived his music from the Becket invitory *Adsunt Thomae* and the St Vincent *Vincentem mundum*. The Becket text is set in rhymed and metred verse and is no more than a statement calling the worship into action. There are two texts for the St David Office, one prose and the other rhymed, but both contain the same sentiments - a slightly stronger call to remember reverencing Christ the King, and 'Holy' David. They share a common last line with the Becket antiphon - *jubilet ecclesia*. One wonders where the "virgin" mother church is to be found at Canterbury - or Rome. Then follows the Venite and the Office Hymn is once again *Iste confessor* in place of *Martyr Dei*.

ANTIPHON 1	<b>Vir beatus impiorum</b>	Summo sacerdotio	<i>Raised to the highest</i>
<i>The blessed man turning</i>	Declinas consilia	Thomas sublimatus:	<i>priestly office, Thomas</i>
<i>from the counsels of the</i>	In divina lege morum	Est in virum alium	<i>was suddenly changed</i>
<i>ungodly, did harvest wonders</i>	Messuit insignia.	súbito mutátus.	<i>into another man</i>
<i>of manners in the Divine</i>	8.7.8.7. abab	7.6.7.6. abcb	
<i>Law.</i>			

The antiphon for the first Psalm of the Night Office, Ps 1-*Beatus Vir*, has the concept of 'change' in common in both offices. The St David Office antiphon, like its Magnificat antiphon, is a new musical work not based upon the Becket material and will have further discussion below.

The Becket poet, of *Summo sacerdotio*, drawing upon the Vita written very shortly after the murder, seems now almost uninspired, with a simple narrative of the facts. Becket's personality changed with his promotion - *subito mutatus*. Much was made of Becket becoming a new man. Slocum claims he was a difficult character to portray in a good light.<sup>31</sup> However, I have a suspicion that the poet is not writing here to resonate with other works, or to stimulate the imagination. The participants though may recollect the following-

**1 Cor {15:51}** Ecce mysterium vobis dico: Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes **immutabimur.** *Behold, I tell you a mystery. Certainly, we shall all rise again, but we shall not all be transformed:* OR {15:52} *In momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba: canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti: et nos immutabimur. / in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will rise up, incorruptible. And we shall be transformed.*

This contrasts with the David antiphon, *Vir beatus impiorum*, whose text is plainly echoing the psalm text, and clearly picks up the notion of change, or turning away

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<sup>31</sup> Slocum. Op.cit. p. 161.

from evil to the law of the Lord, but works it with some of the text of the psalm as well. Turning *from the counsels of the ungodly* may also refer to the earlier Pelagian heresy.

**{1:1} Beatus vir**, qui non abiit in **consilio impiorum**, et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit./ *Blessed is the man who has not followed the counsel of the impious, and has not remained in the way of sinners, and has not sat in the chair of pestilence*  
**{1:2} Sed in lege Domini** voluntas eius, et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte./ *But his will is with the law of the Lord, and he will meditate on his law, day and night.*

The same psalm also provides images of harvest and water. Water, as will be recollected from the Vita, was associated with David's ascetic lifestyle as was Psalm 42 imagery – (like as the hart) which might be a further reference.

**{1:3}** Et erit tamquam lignum, quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum, quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo: Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia quaecumque faciet, prosperabuntur. / *And he will be like a tree that has been planted beside running waters, which will provide its fruit in its time, and its leaf will not fall away, and all things whatsoever that he does will prosper*

The harvest image may then lead to a recollection of John:

Jn..{4:36} Et qui metit, mercedem accipit, et congregat fructum in vitam aeternam: ut, et qui seminat, simul gaudeat, et qui metit. / *For he who reaps, receives wages and gathers fruit unto eternal life, so that both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together.*

Thus this whole first antiphon and psalm have become a rich trigger for the interior lives of the clerics using the St David Office, much more so than the St Thomas Office.

<p>ANTIPHON 2  <i>Christ hath set upon the <u>holy hill</u> David, who confirmed by deed what he taught by mouth.</i></p>	<p><b>In monte constituit</b>          Christus sanctum David          Qui quod ore docuit          Opera firmavit.          7.6.7.6.          abab'</p>	<p>Monachus sub clericam          Ciliciatus Carnis          carne fortior          edomat conatus.          7.7.5.6          abcb</p>	<p><i>The monk secretly hair-shirted under the clothing of a cleric, stronger than the flesh, conquers the stirrings of the flesh</i></p>
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Edwards has not found much for comment in this *In monte constituit* antiphon and psalm 2, *Quare fremuerunt*, and true, the poet does not seem to have worked hard to build connections. However, an issue might arise in verse 1 – *people pondering nonsense*. It may resonate with the earlier rejection of Pelagianism by David. Or, the psalm can be read with big contemporary political implications.<sup>32</sup> The “Holy Mountain” image of

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<sup>32</sup> There are two references implied here. 1. Edwards' recent article on the political implications of the Office. See O.T.Edwards, 'Political implications in Medieval Services Celebrating St David of Wales' *Neophilologus* 2010:94 (1-15), and 2. As was the case with this psalm's metrical translation by Archbishop Parker with the music by Tallis (used by Vaughan Williams), clearly Christianising the text and relating it to Elizabethan politics. *Why fumeth in sight the gentiles spite, in fury raging stout?*

verse 6 could also resonate with Matthew's city set on a hill. The antiphon also alludes to David's preaching upon a hill, a detail from his Vita.

{2:1} Quare fremuerunt Gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania?! *Why have the Gentiles been seething, and why have the people been pondering nonsense?*

{2:6} Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion **montem sanctum eius**, prædicans præceptum eius./ *Yet I have been appointed king by him over Zion, **his holy mountain**, preaching his precepts.*

Mt {5:14} Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest civitas abscondi **supra montem posita**. / *You are the light of the world. A city set on a **mountain cannot be hidden**.*

The poet of the Becket Office though, still sticks to his story and little else. Becket did wear a hairshirt, worn beneath magnificent outer garments, and he did practice self-mortification without others' knowledge. The steam seems to have run out of what had been a big public cult in its day with stunning miracles– which apparently included plausible resurrections, and healings. One can wonder if the same effect could be discerned in Early Church writings after the time of Christ.<sup>33</sup> From a musical angle, the slight difference in meter did not impede the Welsh monk of St David's using *Monarchus sub* chant for his *In monte*.

ANTIPHON 3  
*The enemies of the church are now increased: put a bridle on their fury, father of piety.*

**Hostibus ecclesie**  
lam multiplicatis  
Pone **frenum** furie  
Pater pietatis  
7.6.7.6. abab

Cultor agri Domini  
trinulos a vellit,  
Et vulpes a vineis  
arceat et expellit.  
7.6.7.6. abcb

*The cultivator of the field of the Lord removes the thistles, and wards off the foxes and drives them out from the vineyards.*

This is the antiphon to Psalm 3 *Domine quid multiplicati*. The chant of *Cultor agri* has simply been reassigned to *Hostibus*. Edwards picks up a tenuous once removed allusion in the last verse of the psalm to *frenum*, as in the St David antiphon, making a tenuous connection with breaking teeth.<sup>34</sup> The word *frenum* is not found in Psalm 3, but can associate in the mind with *maxillas*. However, Edwards suggests a better link might be to Psalm 31:9 (32:9) where both *frenum* and *maxillam* occur.

Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, quibus non est intellectus. In camo et **freno maxillas** eorum constringe, qui non approximant ad te / *Be not as the horse or the mule which have no understanding: whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle, lest they come near to thee.*

This may be a possibility but the text seems to me more powerfully concerned with enemies of the church, and their fury, and is framed as a prayer. The Welsh poet is

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*Why taketh in hond, the people fond, vayne things to bring about? The kings arise, the lords devise, in counsayles mett thereto. Agaynst the Lord with false accord, against his Christ they go.*

<sup>33</sup> Hearsay from spiritualist practitioners, for what it is worth, is that once living memory of the dead has passed they move on to more otherworldly callings and have less influence in this world.

<sup>34</sup> Edwards. Op.cit. p. 118.

speaking of a present or recent situation that will have had meaning to the monks and clergy - perhaps the longstanding threat to the Welsh identity or more particularly, recent battles with the Normans in which they were defeated.<sup>35</sup> Using verse 1 of the psalm the Welsh poet develops its meaning of insurrection and threat - *Multi insurgunt adversum me / Many rise up against me*. Maybe in the context of Norman attack verse 7 had especial meaning - maybe here even broken teeth in the monastery - *dentes peccatorum contrivisti/you have broken the teeth of sinners*. I don't think Edwards in his update has picked how personal this is.

V 7. *.I will not fear the thousands of people surrounding me /Non timebo millia populi circumdantis me....*

It is a more passionate statement than the benign verse by the Becket poet who alludes mildly to the parable of the wheat and tares, though he talks of thistles and foxes in the vineyard. He keeps the metaphor of the shepherd from the previous work. True, Becket took his role as archbishop very seriously, aware of his duty of care.<sup>36</sup> The St David poet, reading this, would have taken this rural imagery as his starting point for his own more colourful and heartfelt verse, perhaps with a moment of longing for the metaphorical troubles of the Becket poet.

#### RESPONSORY 1

*To Patrick while he was considering the path of salvation whereby their vice purged away, the race that Menevia has bred in the side-alley of life might become pious.*

*V. It was said: Let Ireland be converted by thee; the grace of this race waits upon David.*

#### Tractanti Patricio

De salutis via  
Qua purgato vicio  
Fieret gens pia  
Quamin vite devio  
Fovit Menevia  
V. Dictum est Hybernia  
Per te convertatur  
Gentis huius gracia  
David prestolatur  
7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6.  
abababbcbc

Studens livor  
Thome supplicio :  
Thome genus  
damant exilio  
Tota simul  
exit cognatio.  
V. Ordo sexus  
etas conditio  
Nullo gaudet  
hic privilégio.  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
Abcbdbebfb

*Malice, eager for the punishment of Thomas, condemns the family of Thomas to exile. All his relatives go forth together. V. Rank, sex, age, status here enjoys no exemption.*

*Tractanti Patricio* uses some of the musical material from *Studens livor* of Becket. However the meters differ widely, so there is necessary adaptation. In the manner of responsories, these are both reflections on the readings from the Vitae of the saints being remembered in this portion of the service. This time the Becket poet becomes more involved with his subject. He is clearly reacting to the account of the royal court's

<sup>35</sup> O.T. Edwards, 'Political Implications in Medieval Services Celebrating St David of Wales', *Neophilologus* (2010) 94:1-15. p. 11-12. Since writing the major text on the Penpont St David in 1990, Edwards has had communication with his audience who have opened up the political aspects of the liturgy. The essay is his response and update.

<sup>36</sup> Slocum. Op.cit. p. 161. Slocum has the Becket poet reflecting more upon the material of the Lessons rather than the psalm, and this may colour my impressions. The St David lessons are only implied, hinted at rather than paraphrased.

ruthless hounding of Thomas and his kin, though as is his style, he sticks to fact. A common idea for both is that of 'exile' or 'banishment to the sideline'.

The St David poet resorts to a more mystic approach. The reading was surely about St Patrick's plan to minister in Wales being thwarted because a prophecy gave the role to David, and Patrick was directed to Ireland instead. The poet still takes the opportunity to make a point for Wales – Menevia in the "*side alley of life*" – a bitter reminder again to his singers of their Welshness never to be lost to the English or those who look down on them.

## RESPONSORY 2

*David giving his mind to trampling the world underfoot took strait bread and short cup while he **was running the race of life.***

*V. This weak little worm of the wood was, O Christ, a strong servant for thee: he took bread....*

**Student David**

Calcare speculum  
**Panem arctum**  
Breveque poculum  
Sumpsit agens  
**Vite curriculum**  
V. Tener iste  
Ligni vermiculus  
tui Christe  
Fortis vernaculus  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
abbbcbdede

Thomas manum  
mittit ad fortia,  
**Spernit** damna  
**spernit** opprobria.  
Nulla Thomam  
frangit injúria.  
V Clamat cunctis  
Thome constantia  
Omne solum  
est forti pátria.  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
Abcbdbefbf

*Thomas puts his hand to bold deeds. He rejects losses, rejects abuse. No injury breaks Thomas. V. The constancy of Thomas cries out to all. The whole world is fatherland to the brave.*

Matching meters means that the chant of *Thomas manum* is able to be re-set with *Student David*. An interesting connection between these two responsories shows just how familiar their poets were with Holy Writ. The Becket poet has in mind the assonance and rhythm of I Thessalonians, evident in the repeat of "*spernit*"

I Thess.{4:8} Ita que qui hæc **spernit**, non hominem **spernit**, sed Deum: qui etiam dedit Spiritum suum Sanctum in nobis. / *And so, whoever despises these teachings, does not despise man, but God, who has even provided his Holy Spirit within us.*

*Student David* has *Student Thoma* as its starting point, but other ideas are developed. Edwards has found the "*woodworm*" image has its origin in II Samuel 23:8 and subtly equates King David again with St David.<sup>37</sup> The '*strait bread and short cup*' echo Isaiah:

Isaiah 30:20 Et dabit vobis Dominus **panem arctum** et aquam brevam.

However, a further image is condensed into the picture – the "*race of Life*" alluded to in Hebrews – *vite curriculum*:

Heb.{12:1} Ideoque et nos tantam habentes impositam nubem testium, deponentes omne pondus, et circumstans nos peccatum, per patientiam curramus ad propositum nobis certamen: / *Furthermore, since we also have so great a cloud of witnesses over us, let us set aside every burden and sin which may surround us, and advance, through patience, to the struggle offered to us.*

<sup>37</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 119

## RESPONSORY 3

Knowing that in Peter's barque cast about by the waves of the world, it is more profitable to be **in a bedchamber** than in the tumults of the crowd for the true despisers of this wicked place of sojourning.  
V. He sanctified solitary places as oratories for the professors of the faith of Christ...

**Sciens quod in Petri navi**

Mundi iacta fluctibus  
Plus lucratur **in conclave**  
Quam turbae tumultibus  
Incolatus huius pravi  
Veris contemptoribus  
V. Loca solitaria  
Sanxit oratoria  
Christi professoribus  
Incolatus... (> Gloria patri end  
Nocturn 2)  
8.7.8.7.8.7.7.7.7.  
abababccb

## NO MUSIC

**Jacet granum** oppressum  
palea

The grain lies overwhelmed by the chaff. The just man is cut down by the spear of the wicked/ etc.

**Lapis Iste...** That gem is pounded for six years. Thus it is polished thus rendered square, yielding much less the more it is cut.  
V. The furnace tests the gold and it is not burned. The solid house is not shaken by winds.

This responsory is the final work in Nocturn 1 in St David. The poet-composer is thrown on his own resources. This is the third earliest Welsh chant composition. We will explore its musical content later. This is the point where the monastic and secular rites begin to differ. This is because the monastic use has four antiphons in each of the three Nocturns. So, the St David poet has worked entirely original material. No music is provided for this responsory in the Sarum St Thomas but mention is made of *Jacet Granum* or *Lapis iste*.<sup>38</sup> It may be that the Welsh copyist had found little to resonate for him in the monastic textual material, the translations for which are above, or wanted a short cut. Whatever the case, the St David poet did something new.

The translator of the St David Latin has interpreted 'in conclave' to mean bedchamber.<sup>39</sup> However the Latin simply says 'room/or dining room' – perhaps a bedroom whereas 'cubiculum' is specifically a bedroom. However Edwards has overlooked the more probable contextual meaning of a monastic or hermit's 'cell' where the soul would be solitary and apart, as was David's inclination, a safe-haven from the tumults of the world. This triggers images of storms at sea, then Peter the fisherman stilling and walking on the water, Peter the rock and fisher of men, and by implication David the fisher of men. This complex biblical allusion is surely to St Peter as in Mt 14:29, but Edwards quibbles over the possible reference to Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* with 'in conclave', a quote from the song *Angelus ad virginem subintrans in conclave*, now a choral carol.<sup>40</sup> I doubt monastics would be too interested in saucy secular literature just (or not yet) written in London, but they may well have known the song which could have

<sup>38</sup> Slocum. Op. cit. p. 186.

<sup>39</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 120.

<sup>40</sup> This carol clearly had an early life as an energetic round dance for men and women, probably for the Annunciation on 25 March, so would very likely have been widely known even by clerics in Wales.

been in circulation for lifetimes before it was written down in the 14th century.<sup>41</sup> Again the phrase would have resonated with their 'cell' being the place where they might habitually meet with angels. This flows neatly to the next antiphon beginning the second Nocturn.

<p>ANTIPHON 4 Christ did hear the <b>prayers of the heart that did call upon him in silence</b>, prayers that the devotion of the bishop did <b>season</b>.</p>	<p><b>Invocantis exaudivit Cordis</b> in silentio Christus preces quas <b>condivit</b> Praesulis devotio. 8.7.8.7.                      abab</p>	<p>Nec in agnos sustinet lupos deseuire Nec in ortum olerum vinam transire 7.6.7.6.                      abcb</p>	<p><i>Neither does he allow the wolves to ravage the lambs, nor the vineyard to turn into a vegetable garden.</i></p>
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This is the beginning of the Second Nocturn, which in the Becket office is concerned with the martyrdom. An extra foot in each line of his text has not been an impediment to re-using the chant of *Nec in agnos*. Antiphon 4 is an interesting antiphon text. The Becket text seems to be a continuation of a lost discussion about carefulness, perhaps the material in Antiphon 3 above, or 4 of the Benedictine office. It does not seem to relate to the content of Psalm 4 *Cum invocarem* which is about prayer. On the other hand the St David text *Invocantis exaudivit* draws out several references and images from the psalm beyond that of the 'seasoning' which Edwards has found.<sup>42</sup> My detail of this is typified by the Mark and Job quotes below – but to me this is stretching a point.

Mk -{9:49} Bonum est sal: quod si sal insulsum fuerit: in quo illud **condietis?** Habete in vobis sal, et pacem habete inter vos. / *Salt is good: but if the salt has become bland, with what will you season it? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace among yourselves.*"

Job: {6:6} Aut poterit comedi insulsum, quod non est **sale conditum?** aut potest aliquis gustare, quod gustatum affert mortem? / *Or can one eat bland food, which is not seasoned with salt? Or can anyone taste that which, if tasted, causes death?*

The St David poet echoes the psalmist with the opening words,

PS {4:2} Cum **invocarem exaudivit** me Deus iustitiæ meæ: in tribulatione dilatasti mihi. Miserere mei, et **exaudi** orationem meam. / *When I called upon him, the God of my justice heeded me. In tribulation, you have enlarged me. Have mercy on me, and heed my prayer.*

and in the verses following are several further uses of the word 'corde', so the matter of the heart is of importance. This is the core of the message.

{4:3} Filii hominum usquequo gravi **corde?** ut quid diligitis vanitatem, et quæritis mendacium? / *Sons of men, how long will you be dull in heart, so that whatever you love is in vain, and whatever you seek is false?*  
 {4:5} Irascimini, et nolite peccare: quæ dicitis **in cordibus vestris**, in cubilibus vestris compungimini. / *Be angry, and do not be willing to sin. The things that you say in your hearts: be sorry for them on your beds.*  
 {4:7} Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine: dedisti lætitiā **in corde meo**. / *The light of your countenance, Lord, has been sealed upon us. You have given joy to my heart.*

<sup>41</sup> My edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, dates his work from about 1385.

<sup>42</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 120.

Of singular interest is his phrase translated as 'prayers of the heart'. This must refer to the deep contemplative prayer, known as 'prayer of the heart', which is practised in stillness and silence by religious, and, as the writer of the *Cloud of Unknowing* said, is to be kept a precious secret. Its exponents of the 14<sup>th</sup> century were Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, Richard Rolle, and the writer of the *Cloud of Unknowing*, who was possibly Eckhardt, and it would have been dear to the hearts of any religious - an important skill for religious forming an interior life. So David is attributed the same capacity in prayer.

## ANTIPHON 5

*Early in the morning David rose when Christ called him, serving the Thunderer while (yet) giving out baby's whimperings (PS-David born a storm)*

**Mane David** astitit  
Christo se vocanti  
Dum vagitus editit  
Serviens **tonanti**.

7.6.7.6. abab

Exsultat vir optimus  
sacer et insignis  
Ne cedat ecclesie  
dignitas indignis.

7.6.7.6. abcb

*The remarkable man, holy and glorious goes into exile lest the dignity of the church yield to the unworthy.*

Matching meters has been a simple re-use of the *Exsultat vir* chant. The opening phrase of the David text *Mane David* makes a text link with verse 5 of the Psalm *Verba mea*:

PS 5 - {5:5} **Mane astabo tibi** et videbo: quoniam non Deus volens iniquitatem tu es. / *In the morning, I will stand before you, and I will see. For you are not a God who wills iniquity.*

whereas no connection is evident in the Becket antiphon text. The Becket poet continues with his narrative of Becket.

David, according to legend was born in a violent storm, and this will be the expected reference to be echoed. Whether Jupiter as thunderer, as Edwards suggests, can be equated with God in the minds of religious is another matter. The Sons of Zebedee called "sons of thunder" in Mark 3:17 may be better associated.

Mk {3:17} et Iacobum Zebedæi, et Iohannem fratrem Iacobi, et imposuit eis nomina Boanerges, quod est, **Filii tonitru**i: / *and also he imposed on James of Zebedee, and John the brother of James, the name 'Boanerges,' that is, 'Sons of Thunder;'*

Job {37:4} Post eum rugiet sonitus, **tonabit voce magnitudinis suæ**, et non investigabitur, cum audita fuerit vox eius. / *After this, a noise will sound; he will thunder with the voice of his greatness, and it will not be tracked down, yet his voice will be obeyed.*

{37:5} **Tonabit Deus** in voce sua mirabiliter, qui facit magna et inscrutabilia. / *God will thunder with his voice miraculously, for he performs great and unsearchable things.*

Ps {28:3} Vox Domini super aquas, **Deus maiestatis intonuit**: Dominus super aquas multas. / *The voice of the Lord is over the waters. The God of majesty has thundered. The Lord is over many waters.*

Edwards has identified the above quotes from Job, and Psalm 37, where God is depicted as thundering, and the verb *tonare* thus making a good connection possible.<sup>43</sup> However, a cleric or religious familiar with Job, will know this chapter has a storm rumbling in the background with references to lightning and rain too, and gusts of wind, and is a prelude to the Theophany of Chapter 38 in which God finally has had enough of the debate and breaks in on Job and friends in fury – an unspeakable storm indeed that would eclipse echoes of the previous chapter.

<i>ANTIPHON 6</i>	<b>Nomen admirabile</b>	Exulantis predia	<i>The manors of the exiled</i>
<i>David having contemplated</i>	David contemplatus	preda sunt malignis,	<i>man are spoil for the</i>
<i>the excellent name,</i>	Ad decus durable	Sed in igne pōsitum,	<i>wicked, but fire does not</i>
<i>departed, as he had been</i>	Migrat invitatus	non eruit ignis	<i>consume the one placed</i>
<i>bidden unto lasting glory.</i>	7.6.7.6.            abab	7.6.7.6.            abcb	<i>in the flame.</i>

Matching meters again enable reuse of the Becket chant, but this time *Exsultat vir* of the office is used. *Nomen admirabile* is the Antiphon for psalm 8, *Domine Dominus noster*. These are the opening and closing texts of the psalm, echoed in the antiphon and its sentiments.

Ps 8. {8:2/10} Domine Dominus noster, quam **admirabile est nomen** tuum in universa terra! / O Lord, our Lord, how admirable is your name throughout all the earth!

David having thus contemplated the name of God (and this may mean his education) is invited/bidden to leave on his mission. Edwards has connected Matthew and the wedding feast at Cana.

Mt: {22:3} Et misit servos suos vocare **invitados** ad nuptias, et nolabant venire. / And he sent his servants to call those who were invited to the wedding. But they were not willing to come.  
 {22:4} Iterum misit alios servos, dicens: **Dicite invitatis**: Ecce prandium meum paravi, tauri mei, et altilia occisa sunt, et omnia parata: venite ad nuptias. / Again, he sent other servants, saying, 'Tell the invited: Behold, I have prepared my meal. My bulls and fatlings have been killed, and all is ready. Come to the wedding.'

The Becket antiphon, though, continues with narrative alluding to Crown misuse of Becket's property. A monk singing this Becket antiphon may well recollect Daniel's Burning Fiery Furnace instead.

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<sup>43</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 121.

## RESPONSORY 4

Choosing rather as one of the poor of Christ, to dwell in the cottages of the poor in want than in the abodes of princes in riotousness of living.

V. He adopted (as his children) the peoples set by the rocks of the sea, not those living in some court of riotous living...

**Malens in penuria**

Pauper Christi pauperum  
Colere tuguria

Quam penates procerum

**In vite luxuria**

V. Adoptavit **populos**

secus maris scopulos

Sitos non in curia

..in vite..

7.7.7.7.7.7. ababcca

Ex summa rerum leticia

Summus fit planctus in ecclésia

De tanti patróni abséntia.

Sed cum rédeunt mirácula :

Redit **pópulo** leticia.

V. Concúrrit turba languidórum :

Et conséquitur grátiam

benecifíórum.

9.10.10.9.9.9.8.6

aaaaabb

From the most joyful circumstances there comes about the greatest lamentation in the church for want of such a great protector. But when miracles return, happiness returns to the people.

V. the throng of the sick comes together, and seeks after the grace of his favours.

Meters in these responsories are widely different, so the St David composer has looked elsewhere in R9 *Ferro pressus* of the monastic use of the Becket Office. In *Ex summa rerum* the Becket poet records the flood of miracles that drew people into the church, replacing the horror of the murder of Becket with happiness. The focus has shifted from Becket personally. There is the word '*populos*' common to both texts. This may make a contrast possible – the sick seeking spectacular healing versus the simple daily needs of the poor.

The St David poet has chosen to remain speaking of David, how Christ-like, he lived purposefully in penury. The *abodes of princes in riotousness of living*, and *some court of riotous living*, by their repeat are underlined in his thinking. It could be veiled hatred of the English, Becket included, and this could be a tilt at Becket and his former close relationship and bon vivant lifestyle with Henry II, or the same could apply to Bec and Edward I. Perhaps we are intended to read both. Whatever, David is cast as the more saintly. Edwards on the other hand, reads a link to the teaching on *luxuria* as one of the seven deadly sins, translated as *lust* or *lechery*, but he does not account for the reference to court life.<sup>44</sup>

As Edwards has suggested, the Verse clearly illustrates a connection with the St David's peninsula region of coastal south Dyfed. Just off the coast is an island where Justin (Sustinian) had lived as a hermit. It was (and is) a region redolent with spirituality from the earliest times.

<sup>44</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 121, and more recently, O.T. Edwards, 'Political Implications in Medieval Services Celebrating St David of Wales.' *Neophilologus*. 2010:94 (1-15) p. 6.

**RESPONSORY 5**

**Standing in the furthest part of the globe**, bidden by the Most High he obeyed the order, going to Jerusalem where Christ had offered himself to the Father as a sacrificial victim. V. Having had a promise of the dignity before he was born, he was consecrated bishop by the Hierarch of the city...

**Stans in orbis extimo**

lusus ab altissimo  
lussioni detulit  
Pergens Iherosolimam  
Ubi Patri victimam  
Sese Christus optulit  
V. Sponsonem **dignitatis**  
Habens nondum natus  
A ierarcha civitatis  
Praesul est sacratu..  
7.7.7.7.7.8.6.8.6.  
aabccb-dede

Mundi florem  
a mundi conteri  
Rachel plorans  
iam cessa conqueri.  
†Thomas cesus  
dum datur funeri:  
Novus Abel  
succedit veteri.  
V. Vox cruoris  
vox sparsi cerebri:  
celum replete  
clamore celebri.  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.5.6  
abcdbbebf

Rachel crying that the flower of the world is crushed by the world, now ceases to complain bitterly. When Thomas murdered, is given to burial, a new Abel succeeds the old. V. the voice of blood the voice of the scattered brain fills the heavens with a celebratory outcry.

Widely differing meters has meant the St David composer looking to *Ex summa rerum* for chant material, (that is, Responsory 4 of the Becket Office) which he has still had to adapt. The Becket poet in *Mundi florem* continues the argument of the previous responsory, that good things come from bad, but in the Verse he seems to relish the bloody detail of the story. Thomas is equated with Abel (murdered by Cain) and there is a hint of vengeance. The St David poet seems to recognise an indignity in this, and his verse instead focuses on the contrasting dignity of David's calling, going to Jerusalem in Christ's footsteps, and fulfilling prophecy. There could also be an underlining of David's right to be Archbishop of Wales through his acknowledgment by the ultimate hierarchy in Jerusalem – as opposed to Rome. Again the poet has an agenda for Wales, implicit in his '*standing in the furthest part of the globe*' – a tilt at the ecclesiastical establishment.

**RESPONSORY 6**

This mythic David shape of a **letter, evangelical psalmist, (anointed) spiritual boxer** became **angelic** provided with **six wings**. V. In **the six works of mercy** lifting the burden of misery from the poor...

**David iste miticus**

Forma litteralis  
Psaltes evangelicus  
Pugil spiritalis  
Factus est angelicus  
Senis functus alis  
V. In sex operibus  
Misericordie  
Tollens pauperibus  
Onus miserie... (Gloria end  
Noct2.)  
7.6.7.6.7.6.6.6.6.  
ababab-acac

(O) Christe Jesu  
per Thoma vulnera:  
Que nos lignant  
relaxa scelera.  
†Ne captivos  
ferant ad infera  
Hostis mundus  
vel carnis opera.  
V. Per te Thoma  
post leve munera:  
Amplexetur  
nos Dei dextera  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
abcdbbebf

Jesus Christ in the name of the wounds of Thomas remit the sins which bind us. Lest the enemy the world or the temptations of the flesh bear us captive to hell. V. Through you O Thomas, may the right hand of God embrace us after the gifts of wickedness.

**V. Gloria Patri et Filio:  
et Spiritui Sancto.**

The composer has used R11 *Novus fulget* of the monastic office. In this final responsory of Nocturn 2, *Christe Jesu*, the Becket poet has resorted to prayer, seeking that the sacrifice of Thomas would remit the sins of humanity.

The vocative case of his addressing Christ has been overlooked in translation. The translator ought to have used 'O', though its inclusion by the poet would have spoiled scansion. However, it has given the David poet inspiration to write the text of *David iste miticus*, a responsory crowded with dense and intense imagery, and one quite cryptic. It seems to gather the fleeting images of previous works and give them further shape. *This mythic David* must gather together all the references to David, starting with his description in the first antiphon of Vespers I. *Forma* can mean 'face', especially one of beauty, though 'face of a letter' makes no more sense to me than 'shape of a letter'. 'Letter' though may refer to the Sealed Book of Revelations 4 and 5, (or to Revelations as a whole). The previous chapters in Revelations all have mention of letters. The angels of the various church are instructed to "write to.." In chapter 4 the sealed book is opened. However, I understand that in the Middle Ages the harp (and we must remember the Welsh connections here) held all kinds of symbolic meanings, and the three-sided Delta harp (shape of a letter) especially was a trinitarian emblem, and was depicted strung with twenty four strings as in the Pseudo-Jerome Letter 129 to Dardanus.<sup>45</sup> Clearly this is a compound reference to David of the psalter and David of Wales.

Edwards has connected the text with the vision of Isaiah 6:2-3 with seraphim and cherubim singing a Sanctus, and thence to the church's *Te Deum*, with cherubim and seraphim continually crying, then Ezekiel 1:5-21, but he has not made the ultimate connection to Revelations, the message of Christ to the churches.<sup>46</sup> There are the four evangelists as creatures with six wings. The six works of mercy are discussed in Edwards' 2010 essay on the political implications of the liturgy, and he clarifies that Archbishop Pecham had issued canons on these around 1281 and circulated the information widely. Medieval clerics would get the point, which had eluded me until Edwards elucidated the history.<sup>47</sup> There then are the anointed, there even the Root of David gets a mention (v.5) psalmody with the cithara, (strung with 24 strings representing the elders) and spiritual battles, and the Lamb that was slain. While specific words do not match, could this be one-up-manship both over the slaying of Thomas and the poet of the Becket responsory? The heavenly scene is surely the end point and goal of the religious life.

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<sup>45</sup> Marinus Jan Hendrikus Van Schaik, *The Harp in the Middle Ages: the Symbolism of a Musical Instrument*. (Amsterdam, 1992) pp. 63-65. The actual Jerome letter 129 was not quoted but Van Schaik had a full explanation of the ideas in circulation.

<sup>46</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. pp. 122-4

<sup>47</sup> O.T. Edwards, 'Political Implications in Medieval Services Celebrating St. David of Wales.' *Neophilologus* 2010:94 (1-15) p. 12.

REVELATIONS {5:5} Et unus de senioribus dixit mihi: Ne fleveris: ecce vicit leo de tribu Iuda, **radix David, aperire librum**, et solvere septem signacula eius. / *And one of the elders said to me: "Weep not. Behold, the lion from the tribe of Judah, the root of David, has prevailed to open the book and to break its seven seals."*

{5:8} Et cum aperuisset librum, quattuor animalia, et viginti quattuor seniores ceciderunt coram Agno, habentes singuli citharas, et phialas aureas plenas odoramentorum, quæ sunt orationes sanctorum: / *And when he had opened the book, the **four living creatures** and the twenty-four elders fell down before the **Lamb**, each having **stringed instruments**, as well as golden bowls full of fragrances, which are the prayers of the saints.*

Edwards has also found the Cherub image as in MS Arundel 83 II f130v, useful in his interpretation of this responsory, and the 1281 canon on works of mercy. Plainly in the literature about this responsory all sorts of hopeful ideas abound.

ANTIPHON 7	<b>Christi tabernaculum</b>	Sathane satellites	<i>The accomplices of Satan</i>
This man did dwell in the tabernacle of Christ (this man) whom the devil the flesh and the world did not defile.	<b>Hic inhabitavit</b>	irrupentes templum	<i>bursting into the temple</i>
	Demon caro speculum	Inauditum perpetrant	<i>perpetrate an unheard-of</i>
	Quem non <b>maculavit</b> .	sceleris exemplum.	<i>example of evil</i>
	7.6.7.6.                      abab	7.6.7.6.                      abcb	

Matching meters has allowed simple reuse of the chant. The third Nocturn of the David office opens with the antiphon *Christi tabernaculum* for Psalm 14-Domine quis habitabit which clearly echoes the text in verses 1, 2 and 5. But there is more going on. In the Becket office there is a fleeting image in *Sathane satelles* of Christ in the Temple out of verse 5, leading to Matthew 21:12-13. (The Becket poet appears to be gaining understanding of the association of ideas)

Ps {14:1} Psalmus David. **Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo** tuo? aut quis requiescet in monte sancto tuo? / *A Psalm of David. O Lord, who will dwell in your tabernacle? Or who will rest on your holy mountain?*  
 {14:2} Qui ingreditur sine **macula**, et operatur iustitiam: / *He who walks without blemish and who works justice.*  
 {14:5} **qui pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram**, et munera super innocentem non accepit: Qui facit hæc, non movebitur in æternum. / *He who has not given his money in usury, nor accepted bribes against the innocent. He who does these things will be undisturbed for eternity.*

Mt {21:12} Et intravit Iesus in templum Dei, et eiciebat omnes vendentes, et ementes in templo, et mensas numulariorum, et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit: / *And Jesus entered into the temple of God, and he cast out all who were selling and buying in the temple, and he overturned the tables of the money changers and the chairs of the vendors of doves.*

{21:13} et dicit eis: Scriptum est: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur: vos autem fecistis illam speluncam latronum. / *And he said to them: "It is written: 'My house shall be called a house of prayer. But you have made it into a den of robbers.'"*

and further to a personal application of the temple image:

1 Cor 3:17 Si quis autem templum Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Deus. Templum enim Dei sanctum est, quod estis vos. / *But if anyone violates the Temple of God, God will destroy him. For the Temple of God is holy, and you are that Temple.*

This brings us to the St David poet's real inspiration. The Becket verse offers an opportunity for further contrasts. The outrage of the Becket poet is clear, but nevertheless Canterbury has been desecrated by this act – perhaps in perpetuity.

In fact, the cathedral was closed for a good year after the murder and required re-consecration before it was able to be used as a church. So, the St David poet is able to speak of the devil the flesh and the world having no such impact in David's case. St David, he was able assert, remained undefiled in Christ's tabernacle, perhaps a reference to the new St David's Cathedral implied as well – the 'new' cathedral on the site of the old monastery was dedicated in 1131.<sup>48</sup>

ANTIPHON 8

*He asked of thee O Christ,  
the life that thou gavest; and  
when they saw him, the men  
that yield to this world passed  
by on the other side.*

**A te vitam petiit**  
Christe quam dedisti  
**Viso quo praeteriit**  
Mundi cedens isti  
7.6.7.6          abab

Strictis Thomas ensibus  
obviam procedit  
Non minis, non gladiis  
sed nec morti cedit.  
7.6.7.6.          abcb

*Thomas advances to  
meet the drawn swords.  
He yields neither to  
threats nor to swords, not  
even to death.*

Meters are matching again so the chant is reused. The contrasts continue in this next St David antiphon *A te vitam*, for Psalm 20-*Domine in virtute*. There is a textual resonance in the psalm in verse 5:

{20:5} **Vitam petiit a te:** et tribuisti ei longitudinem dierum in saeculum, et in saeculum saeculi. / *He petitioned you for life, and you have granted him length of days, in the present time, and forever and ever.*

Then there is a further reference to the Good Samaritan parable in the "passed by on the other side" from Luke 10, and *praeteriit* in the following verse is also recalled as *praeteriit*.

Luke {10:31} Accidit autem ut sacerdos quidam descenderet eadem via: **et viso illo praeteriit.** / *And it happened that a certain priest was descending along the same way. And seeing him, he passed by.*

This St David antiphon, in a subtle rethink of the situation, emphasises David's seeking and gaining of life in Christ, (unstated, with its rewarding abundance) which worldly people inevitably shun, whereas the Becket work focuses on his brave acceptance of death by the sword, which is, conversely, a not uncommon course of behaviour by martyrs.

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<sup>48</sup> In the final Part VI there will be a discussion on potential dating of the two works.

## ANTIPHON 9

*With clean hands and a pure heart, not foolish in vanity nor deceitful in falsity, David shone (glittered/sparkled) for all to see, sure in faith and hope.*

**Manibus innocuus**

(innocuis)  
David **corde purus**  
Non in vano fatuus  
Falsoue periurus  
**Micuit** conspicuus  
Fide spe secures  
7.6.7.7.6.6. ababab

**Felix** locus,  
**felix** ecclesia  
In qua Thome  
viget memoria:  
**Felix** terra  
que dedit presulem  
**Felix** illa  
que fivit exulem:  
**Felix** pater  
succurre miseris  
Ut **felices**  
jungamur superis.  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
abcb defe ghjh

*Blessed place, blessed church in which the memory of Thomas flourishes. Blessed the land which produced the bishop. Blessed the land that cherished the exile. O blessed father, hasten to help us sufferers, so that we, blessed, may be joined to those above.*

The meters in these antiphons are widely different, but the St David composer has adapted *Felix* for his purpose in *Manibus*. Could this mean a growing confidence? In considering the antiphon *Felix locus*, I was tempted to see some connection with the Sermon on the Mount, given the reiteration of *Felix* and its translation as 'blessed'. However, a better translation of *felix* there might be 'fortunate' or 'lucky'. *Beati* is used for 'blessed' in Matthew 5. Also, in Daniel 3, *Benedicite* is reiterated in like manner. It may be that the poet has used *felix* in the same tone as Daniel and Matthew, writing a prayerful paen of gratitude for the good things that have followed evil at Canterbury. This is to me the most poetic of the Thomas works. It has no echoes in the psalm. For the St David poet, the psalm 23-*Domini est terra* offers another 'hill/mountain' image and echoes text in *mundo corde*, and *innocens manibus*.

{23:3} Quis ascendet in montem Domini? aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius? / *Who will ascend to the mountain of the Lord? And who will stand in his holy place?*

{23:4} **Innocens manibus et mundo corde**, qui non **accepit in vano** animam suam, nec iuravit in dolo proximo suo. / *The innocent of hands and the clean of heart, who has not received his soul in vain, nor sworn deceitfully to his neighbour.*

The crowning moment of the antiphon is a reference to both Matthew 5:16 and 17:2 when he has David shine for all to see. The verb *mico* used by the St David poet is better translated as 'glittered' or 'sparkled' (star-like) rather than just 'shone'. This can only be the ultimate testimonial in this final Antiphon, a comparison with the Transfiguration of Christ on the mount.

Mt {5:16} Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus: ut videant opera vestra bona, et glorificent Patrem vestrum, qui in caelis est. / *So then, let your light shine in the sight of men, so that they may see your good works, and may glorify your Father, who is in heaven.*

{17:2} et transfiguratus est ante eos. Et resplenduit facies eius sicut sol: vestimenta autem eius facta sunt alba sicut nix. / *And he was transfigured before them. And his face shined brightly like the sun. And his garments were made white like snow.*

**RESPONSORY 7**

*Destroyer of that vessel of earth, the sect of the Welsh heresiarch, like unto Noah thou art captain of the ark of the fruitful people of Christ. Firm in faith (guiding it) to the quiet bosom of the Patriarch. V. Guiding the people across the sea of error of Pelagius by the sense of sounder counsel...*

**Britonis heresiarche**

Sector secte fictilis  
Instar Noe dux es arche  
Plebis Christi fertilis  
In quietum Patriarche  
Sinum fide stabilis.  
V. Plebem trans Pelagii  
Pelages erroris  
Ducens per consilii  
Sensum sanioris  
8.7.8.7.8.7.7.6.7.6. ababab-  
cbcb

Thome cedunt  
et parent omnia  
Pestes, morbi,  
mors et demonia  
†Ignis, acer,  
tellus, et maria  
V. Thomas mundum  
replevit gratia  
Thome mundus  
prestart obsequia  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
abcdbd-ebfb

*All things yield and are obedient to Thomas. Plague, diseases, death, and demons. Fire, air, earth and sea. V. Thomas filled the world with glory. The world manifests its allegiance to Thomas.*

Different meters have caused him to use the chant for *Mundi florem*, responsory 5 of the Becket office. Both responsories are reflecting on the Vita portions being read. The Vita of Thomas suggests the spread of his cult throughout Europe and the many miracles resulting, with a great following for him as a consequence. It speaks of his worldly glory. The Vita of David gives space to the account of his suppression of the Pelagian heresy, whether this was in fact true or not, and the text here speaks of his otherworldly powers guiding against Pelagian error, with images of fruitfulness, secure faith and wisdom.

**RESPONSORY 8**

Burning with the continued memory of Christ's passion, thou hast again become possessed of the victory in the contest. At length thou art enriched in glory with the gifts of an ample power. V. The **gigantic spirit of blasphemy** being worsted, the palm falls to thee, the glory to God and safety (salvation) to the fatherland...

**Jugi Christi passionis**

Estuans memoria  
Rursus factus es agonis  
Potitus Victoria  
Tandem dotis ample donis  
Ditaris in Gloria.  
V. **Succumbente gyganteo Spiritu blasphemie**  
Tibi palma decus Deo  
Salus cedit patrie  
8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7.8.8. ababab-  
cdcd

Novis fulget  
Thomas miraculis  
Membris donat  
castratos masculis  
Ornat visu  
privates oculis.  
V. Mundat leper  
conspersos maculis,  
Solvit mortis  
ligatos vinculis  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.  
abcdbd-ebfb

*Thomas shines with wondrous miracles. He endows the castrated with male genitalia. He provides sight to those deprived of eyes. V. He cleanses those besmirched with spots of leprosy. He releases those bound by the chains of death.*

Again the St David composer has used Becket chant from elsewhere for *Jugi Christi* – ie. *Christe Jesu*. The Becket responsory *Novis fulget* continues the account of the spread of the cult and the variety and wonderment of the miracles attributed to Thomas. Thomas 'shines'. On the other hand, David 'burns' with Christ's passion, a victor rich in power. There is probably an allusion to David and Goliath intended, optimistically, the Welsh church up against Rome and Canterbury, but also a reference to the Pelagian heresy again. Morgan le Fay of Welsh legend (or Myordrin) in Latin is Pelagius.

## RESPONSORY 9

As the new morn of perpetual day dawns where to all will be clear, the blemishes of a filthy mind, put off from our minds the night of profane darkness.

V. Holy David whom the light of unborn light did consecrate...

**Lucescente novo mane**

Diei perpetue  
Ubi cunctis erunt plane  
Mende mentis menstrue  
Noctis nubile prophane  
Nostras mentes exue.  
V. Sancte David quem  
sacrauit  
Lux lucis ingénue.

8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7. ababab-cbab

Jesu bone  
per Thome merita,  
Nostra nobis  
dimitte debita,  
Domum portam  
sepulchrum visita  
Et a trina  
nos morte suscita  
V. Actu mente  
velusu perdita  
Pieta te  
restaura solita.  
4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.

abcdbbebfbbg

**V.. Gloria Patri et Filio et  
Spiritu Sancto**

*O good Jesus though the merits of Thomas, forgive us our debts. Visit home, gate, tomb and awaken us from threefold death.*

*V. Restore thought your customary compassion things ruined by act, thought or deed.*

The final responsory, as day is coming, becomes a prayer or Collect in the Becket work, fleetingly akin to the Lord's Prayer. The David poet uses the imagery of the coming light in his prayer to David as opposed to the night of profane darkness. This last responsory with a different meter has required the composer to look to the monastic R12 *Jesu bone* for material.

## PROSE

*Strait bread and short water was David's refreshment*

*V. From the beginning that he might avoid the spots of life.*

*V. Who, while dwelling under the mastership of thy teaching*

*V. O Paulinus, provided thee with the benefit of sight.*

*V. The King of Erging rejoiced on account of an equal gift.*

*V. The lamentation of the widow ceased when her son was given back life. V.*

*Praising thee, holy David, on this anniversary.*

*V. Us whom heart mouth deed have blackened, provide again with this reward....*

**Panis arctus aqua brevis**

David refection

Pro viandi vite nevis

Erat a primordio

Qui dum tue sub doctrine

Degit magisterio

Te donat o Pauline

Uisus beneficio

Rex Ergingus exultavit

Pari de donario

Luctus vidue cessavit

Dato vite filio.

Te laudantes sancte David

Hoc in natalitio

Cor, os, opus, quos fuscavit

Hoc redone premio.

Noctis nubilo prophane

Nostras mentes exue

Gloria.

Ora pro nobis beate David, ut

digni efficiamur

promissionibus Christi

The final prose, a prayer for David's prayers on our behalf, is a final summation of his time on earth as he is laid to rest – again, on 1 March. The composer takes chant from St Nicholas' *Sospitati dedit*.

## LAUDS – VESPERS II

## ANTIPHON 1

The future pontiff David, it was told to Patrick, would be born after thirty years.

**Dictus est Patricio**  
Pontifex futurus  
Acto **post tricennio**  
David oriturus  
7.6.7.6. abab'

Granum cadit copiam  
germinat frumenti  
Alabastrum frangitur,  
fragrant vis unguenti  
7.6.7.6. abcb

*The seed falls. It puts forth an abundance of grain. The alabaster jar is broken, The unguent smells strong.*

All of these antiphons allow for Becket chant to be reused. The mood has changed from those of Matins where the Vita and night-time were significant references as well as the psalm. Here the work of the morning seems more positive. The murder is not mentioned. The imagery is of new birth. *Granum cadit* of the Becket office brings the idea of abundance. The alabaster jar oozing goodness gives a fleeting image of Thomas as a Christ-figure being anointed by Mary Magdalene. There is no reference to the psalm – *Dominus regnavit*. However, the David antiphon does contain fragments that could resonate with participants. The content of the antiphon deals with the prophecy to Patrick, mentioned earlier in discussing the Vita, a link to the story of John the Baptist preceding Christ. David, as in his Vita, parallels Jesus' coming as foretold by the Baptist. So, there are fleeting echoes of this story in the psalm and to earlier antiphons.

PSALM {92:2} **Dominus regnavit**, decorem indutus est: / The Lord has reigned. *He has been clothed with beauty.*

{92:4} **Parata sedes tua ex tunc: a sæculo tu es.** / **My throne is prepared from of old. You are from everlasting.**

{92:6} ...a vocibus **aquarum** multarum. Mirabiles elationes maris, **mirabilis in altis Dominus.** / ...before the noise of many waters. Wondrous are the surges of the sea; wondrous is the Lord on high.

Verse 2 picks up the beautiful visage (a compressed image in *desiderabilis*) noted in discussing Vespers I. Verse 4 echoes the prophecy, and verse 6, the 'water' (David as 'aquaticus') images and also the sea surges might bring local atmosphere of the coastal region of Dyfed affirming the Welsh connection. The John the Baptist comparison could expand to two verses in Matthew especially with the wheat called to mind in the Becket work – the poet's intention or not.

MT..{3:11} Ego quidem baptizo vos in aqua in pœnitentiam: qui autem post me venturus est, fortior me est, cuius non sum dignus calceamenta portare: ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto, et igni. / Indeed, I baptize you with water for repentance, **but he who will come after me is more powerful than me.** I am not worthy to carry his shoes. He will baptize you with the fire of the Holy Spirit

{3:12} Cuius ventilabrum in manu sua: et permundabit aream suam: et congregabit triticum suum in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili. / His winnowing fan is in his hand. And he will thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor. And he will gather his wheat into the barn. But the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire."

ANTIPHON 2	<b>Instructoris oculos</b>	Totus orbis martyr	<i>The entire world strives</i>
<i>He made open to the light the eyes of his teacher, darkened by weeping, by touching them with his hand.</i>	Fletu caligatos	certat in amorem	<i>for love of the martyr</i>
	Reddit luci patulos	Cuius signa singulos	<i>whose signs drive them</i>
	manu contrectatos	agunt in stuporem	<i>one by one into</i>
	7.6.7.6.	7.6.7.6.	<i>astonishment.</i>
	abab	abcb	

The psalm for this antiphon is the usual Lauds *Jubilate Deo*, the general nature of which would make it applicable to many situations. No resonances are evident in either antiphon. However, both refer to ‘signs’ and healing miracles. The Becket poet focuses on the cult astonished by the signs,

Lk {11:16} Et alii tentantes, **signum de cælo** quærebant ab eo. / And others, testing him, required a sign from heaven of him.

The David poet has a more mystical approach. The antiphons from here on speak of his various miracles and signs. In this one, light and dark and touch, and sight both inward and outward are mentioned, so the participants may well recollect some of the following from Matthew 9, and others:

{21} Dicebat enim intra se: Si tetigero tantum vestimentum eius: salva ero. / For she said within herself, “If I **will touch** even his garment, I shall be saved.”

Mk {10:13} Et offerebant illi parvulos **ut tangeret illos**. Discipuli autem comminabantur offerentibus. / And they brought to him the little children, so that he might touch them. But the disciples admonished those who brought them.

1 Cor {13:12} Videmus nunc per speculum in ænigmatæ: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum. / Now we **see through a glass darkly**. But then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part, but then I shall know, even as I am known.

Acts {6:6} Hos statuerunt ante conspectum Apostolorum: et orantes **imposuerunt eis manus**. / These they set before the sight of the Apostles, and while praying, they imposed hands on them.

However, we have mused over the verbs used. The translation of the David antiphon brings “touched” as we would expect for the healing touch implied. But the poet has not used *tango* as in the Markan example. *Contrectatos*, which scans, really means ‘pinch/ draw in’ – as in ‘contract/shrink’. One must assume that the demands of goliardic poetry obliged this.

ANTIPHON 3	<b>Missis ultro feminis</b>	Aqua Thome quinquies	<i>The water of Thomas</i>
When women had actually	Sanctos eneruare	varians colorem	<i>varying its colour five</i>
been sent to break the	Luit auctor criminis	In lac semel transit,	<i>times, changed once into</i>
resolve of the saints, <b>the</b>	Mulier cum mare	<b>quarter in cruorem</b>	<i>milk, four times into blood.</i>
<b>author of the crime paid the</b>	7.7.7.6.	7.6.7.6.	
<b>penalty with her husband.</b>	abab	abcb	

The third antiphon has no echo in Psalm 62 *Deus, deus, meus* in either text. The psalm rather is suited to the time of day and really gathers up their night-time experience. The water referred to in verse 2 may have inspired the Becket poet to develop his verse around what will become a theme of Transubstantiation as in John 2 – the miracle at Cana, with a hint of the Mass.

{62:2} **Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo.** Sitivit in te anima mea, quam multipliciter tibi caro mea. / O God, my God: to you, **I keep vigil until first light.** For you, my soul has thirsted, to you my body, in so many ways.

Jn.{2:9} Ut autem gustavit architriclinius aquam vinum factam, et non sciebat unde esset, ministri autem sciebant, qui hauserant aquam: vocat sponsum architriclinius, / Then, when the chief steward had tasted the water made into wine, since he did not know where it was from, for only the servants who had drawn the water knew, the chief steward called the groom,

The David poet does not echo any psalm content, but his recounting of the Vita's story of the studied temptation of David by the women wanting to undo his celibacy will surely ring in monastic ears and could easily bring to mind either the Baruch or Ecclesiasticus quotes, or the temptation of Jesus in the Wilderness. Then again they may recall the story in Acts 5: 1-12 of Ananias and Sapphira who died through testing the Holy Spirit, especially in view of the wording of the text - *the author of the crime paid the penalty with her husband.*

ECCLES {1:16} Initium sapientiae, timor Domini, et cum fidelibus in vulva concreatus est, cum electis **feminis** graditur, et cum iustis et fidelibus agnoscitur. / The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and was created with the faithful in the womb, and walks with elect women, and is known by the just and the faithful.

BARUCH{6:10} Dant autem et ex ipso prostitutis, et meretrices ornant: et iterum cum receperint illud a meretricibus, ornant deos suos. / Moreover, they even give from it to prostitutes, and use it to adorn kept women, and when they receive it back from the kept women, they use it to adorn their gods.

ACTS {5:9} Petrus autem ad eam: Quid utique convenit vobis tentare Spiritum Domini? Ecce pedes eorum, qui sepelierunt virum tuum ad ostium, et efferent te. / And Peter said to her: "Why have you agreed together to test the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of those who have buried your husband are at the door, and they shall carry you out!"

{5:10} Confestim cecidit ante pedes eius, et expiravit. Intrans autem iuvenes invenerunt illam mortuam: et extulerunt, et sepelierunt ad virum suum. / Immediately, she fell down before his feet and expired. Then the young men entered and found her dead. And they carried her out and buried her next to her husband.

ANTIPHON 4

*The bolus of poisoned twisted bread once tasted, the crow and the dog die, the saint being preserved.*

**Toxicate torte panis**

Bolo degustato  
Perit corvus atque canis  
Sancto reservato  
8.6.8.6. abab

Ad Thome memoriam  
quarter lux descendit  
Et in sancti gloriam  
cereos accendit  
7.6.7.6. abcb

*In memory of Thomas the light descends four times and it lights candles to the glory of the saint.*

Both of these antiphons are intent on their own issues rather than the psalm – this time the *Benedicite*, the long paen of praise in Daniel 3 after the testing in the furnace. The Becket poet continues the glorification of Thomas, very possibly using the rising morning sunlight to strengthen his image, though the *light descending* is a strange concept at this time of day. The idea of surviving a trial or testing can be found in the David antiphon. The dog, crow and twisted bread make an evil ensemble, and the poison killing them completes it. The rather nasty story comes from his Vita. St Aidan was warned by an Angel that David would be fed poisoned bread, the work of a servant, cook and steward. David portioned the bread in three, gave parts to the dog and crow and both died instantly, then blessed the remainder and ate it himself. St David was unaffected, perhaps as were the three surviving the burning fiery furnace of Daniel.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps the religious may also recall 2 Peter :

2 Peter {2:22} Contigit enim eis illud veri proverbii: **Canis reversus ad suum vomitum:** et, Sus lota in volutabro luti. / *For the truth of the proverb has happened to them: The dog has returned to his own vomit, and the washed sow has returned to her wallowing in the mud.*

ANTIPHON 5	<b>Ut attendat populus</b>	Tu per Thome sanguinem	<i>Through the blood of</i>
<i>So that the people can attend</i>	Stantis rationi	quem pro impendit	<i>Thomas which he shed</i>
<i>to the reasoning of the</i>	Surgit terre cumulus	Fac nos Christe scandere	<i>for you, cause us Christ,</i>
<i>standing man a mound of</i>	Aptus stationi	quo Thomas ascendit	<i>to ascend where Thomas</i>
<i>earth rises fit to be stood</i>	7.6.7.6. abab	7.6.7.6. abcb	<i>rose.</i>
<i>upon. (Synod of Brefi)</i>			

The psalm for these antiphons is 148 *Laudate Dominum*, a strong song of praise suited to a good positive morning start. Not much of this is found in the antiphons where there is a common theme of ‘rising’ or ‘ascending’.

The prayer in the Thomas work speaks of Thomas’ ascension almost as did Christ. His shed blood is spoken about with a similar reverence to that of Christ. However, the St David poet has avoided any such dubious allusion and refers to the tale of David at the Synod of Brefi where apparently the earth rose for David to stand taller for the benefit of his audience. He sticks to David’s miracles. This must echo the Sermon on the Mount:

Mt {5:1} Videns autem Iesus turbas, ascendit in montem, et cum sedisset, accesserunt ad eum discipuli eius / *Then, seeing the crowds, he ascended the mountain, and when he had sat down, his disciples drew near to him,*

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<sup>49</sup> J. Wyn Evans, and Jonathan Wooding, (Editors) *St David of Wales: Cult Church and Nation.* (Woodbridge, 2007) p. 135.

At a very subliminal level this set of antiphons of Lauds from both poets suggest blood sacrifice, the bread and the wine of the Mass, and the transubstantiation of those elements.

<p>A BENEDICTUS  <b>The dayspring of righteousness hath visited the West</b> when with the holy horn of David <b>he winnowed</b> out perfidious error by the might of manifest reason and grace to drink, <b>to Cambria</b> that had been sick, health (and salvation)</p>	<p><b>Occidentem</b> visitavit          Oriens iustitiae          Cum per sanctum cornu David          Errorem perfide          In virtute <b>ventilavit</b>          Rationis obvie          Et salute propinavit          Egredere prius Kambrie          8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7. abababab</p>	<p>Opem nobis          O Thoma porrige          Rege stantes          jacentes erige          Mores actus          et vitam corrige          Et in pacis          nos viam dirige          4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6. abcdbbeb</p>	<p>Offer succor to us O Thomas. Guide those who stand. Lift up the fallen. Correct habits, deeds and life, and lead us toward the path of peace.</p>
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It would seem increasing confidence has allowed the St David composer to reuse chant from a work with quite a different meter, setting *Occidentem* to *Opem nobis*. This Canticle for Lauds, *Benedictus*, falls neatly into the David poet's hands with all the echoes he has called up previously. It is the song of rejoicing of the mute Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, and so consolidates all the allusions to John the Baptist in David's Vita. It is alive with resonances in almost every verse even without the poet's efforts to build the connections with David and the Welsh history, which I have highlighted above in the antiphon.

LUKE {1:68} Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit, et fecit redemptionem plebis suae: / *"Blessed is the Lord God of Israel. For he has visited and has **wrought the redemption of his people.***

{1:69} Et erexit cornu salutis nobis: **in domo David pueri sui.** / *And he has raised up a horn of salvation for us, **in the house of David his servant,***

{1:70} Sicut locutum est per os sanctorum, qui a saeculo sunt, prophetarum eius: / *just as he spoke by the mouth of **his holy Prophets,** who are from ages past:*

{1:71} **Salutem ex inimicis nostris, et de manu omnium, qui oderunt nos:** / ***salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all those who hate us,***

{1:72} Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris: et memorari testamenti sui sancti. / *to accomplish mercy with our fathers, and to call to mind his holy testament,*

{1:73} lusiurandum, quod iuravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, daturum se nobis: / *the oath, which he swore to Abraham, our father, that he would grant to us,*

{1:74} Ut sine timore, **de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati, serviamus illi.** / *so that, having been **freed from the hand of our enemies,** we may serve him without fear,*

{1:75} In sanctitate, et iustitia coram ipso, omnibus diebus nostris. / ***in holiness and in justice** before him, throughout all our days.*

{1:76} Et tu puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis: præibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias eius: / *And you, child, shall be called the prophet of the Most High. For you will **go before the face of the Lord: to prepare his ways,***

{1:77} Ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi eius: in remissionem peccatorum eorum: / *to give knowledge of salvation to his people for the remission of their sins,*

{1:78} Per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri: in quibus visitavit nos, oriens ex alto: / *through the heart of the mercy of our God, by which, **descending from on high, he has visited us,***

{1:79} Illuminare his, qui in tenebris, et in umbra mortis sedent: ad dirigendos pedes nostros in viam pacis. / ***to illuminate those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to direct our feet in the way of peace.***

The Welsh religious singing this cannot help but be in high spirits as they go to breakfast and it is proof to my mind that the Office has a political agenda. It is an opportunity the Becket poet missed. His antiphon is a pedestrian prayer for the succour of the people through the mediation of Thomas, unrelated to the canticle.

<p>A MAG <i>Help us (O God) from heaven by the powerful aid of David, that the departing of the spirit from the miry flesh (of any of our bodies) may be safe, as it exults in the gracious hope of the glorious life that has been given (to us) divinely ..(through the Incarnation and Resurrection)</i></p>	<p>(O pie) <b>Ope iuva celitus</b> David operosa Quod sit tutus exitus A carne cenosa Exsultantis (exultantes)spiritus In spe graciososa De data divinitus Vita gloriosa  (8) 7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6. abababab</p>	<p>Salve Thoma...</p>
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The chant of *Salve Thomas* is reused. The *Magnificat* antiphon for Vespers II seems to me to be more suited to the *Nunc Dimittis* in its 'departure' imagery and its sentiments. He could have picked up the feminist political line that can be found in the *Magnificat*, but perhaps his mind is thinking more of the end of day and its reflection of end-of-life, and womens' issues were of no importance to him. David's mediation in heaven is sought. In that respect it is akin to the Thomas Becket antiphons late in that office. The two antiphons for the Office psalms below are in the same mood of finality.

<p>ANTIPHON <i>Glorious bishop of Christ, David, receive the prayers of thy servants and intercede for us to God.</i></p> <p><i>Father visit the vesper hour of life, so that the hiddennesses of sin be not..... (d's role in death)</i></p>	<p><b>Gloriose praesul</b> Christi David Suscipe vota servorum tuorum Et pro nobis intercede ad Dominum - Euouae Pater horam (StrictisThomas) Vite vespertinam Noxe ne sint abdita.. ( ends..)</p>	<p>Hosti pandit</p>
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The work seems to peter to an end, largely because the Becket work in the Penpont Antiphonal is not complete. The texts there have been provided, and all is ruled and ready but for some reason the music has not been added. This is an issue among others I will explore in the final section, Part VI.

## Part V Three likely Welsh chants in detail

### A Mag V-I Dominum Magnificat

Do- mi-num mag- ni- fi- ca- vit san- cti pa- tris a- ni- ma qui  
 nil pe- ne re- pu- ta- vit mun- di pro-  
 ba- tis si- ma Je- su bo- ne set pro- ba- vit  
 quod tu sis pars op- ti- ma

The Magnificat antiphon above for first Vespers is a Dorian mode antiphon with three cadences on the Final *D*, and one cadence on *a* the dominant. It is classed by Edwards as Mode 2.1 – the Plagal form. Most of the chant runs below *a* – which becomes a pivotal dominant note in the phrase *Jesu bone*. Two cadences, the first and third are interesting in that they suggest a close on *D* but instead stop on the sub-final *C* (circled) while the *D* is there as a pivotal note. *C* frequently leads up to *D*. He seems to have a favourite cadential figure (boxed) that involves a bvirga, subfinal and note of anticipation. The range is from *C* to *b/b flat* and it sits in the plagal form of the mode. He has repeated melodic patterns in the heavily outlined phrases. These seem to shift the chant to a focus on *F*, including the *b flat* where needed. Bvirga usage is common – (dotted brackets).

Edwards has written in detail on the relationship of this work to the psalm tones. He has also come close to noting it could actually have been written by a Welsh monk, a fellow countryman, but sees no significance in this and does not take that step.

Considering the degree of independence from any identifiable model, the antiphon might reasonably be expected to have been composed especially for the office of St David.<sup>50</sup>

The antiphon below is in D mode I – Authentic – as required by rhyming offices for the first of the antiphons. The traits described above also apply here and are marked in the same way. Additional notes of anticipation are marked with a wavy line. Cadences are *D,a,a,D*. The composer was clearly skilled in writing a good solid Dorian mode melody.

Al Vir Beatus impiorum

Vir be- - - - a - tus im - - pi - - or - - rum de - cli - nas con-  
 si - - - li - a in di - - - - vi - na le - ge mo - rum  
 mes- - - - - su- - - it in - - - sig - - - ni - a

Below is the most elaborate of the probable St David’s office composer’s work, the third Responsoy *Sciens quod/Loca solitaria*.

The chant is in the Lydian /F Mode 6 – plagal according to Edwards, but given that it shifts to the upper range in the last half, should be called authentic.<sup>51</sup> Its range is from C to f/g. Cadences are on *F,c,F,c, A,F* in the respond, and in the Verse/Gloria, *c,c,c*, effectively shifting to the tenor / dominant until it returns to the respond. The double leap of the Verse is a feature of later chant composition as from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, once the scalar nature of the modes had been realised and they appreciated

<sup>50</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 87-88. He says it resembles none of the 6<sup>th</sup> mode responsories in the Sarum and Benedictine antiphonals. The verse tone does not keep to usual 6<sup>th</sup> mode tones, but opens with an “arresting” double leap.

the species relationship of 4ths and 5ths. The composer was up-to-date with musical developments.<sup>52</sup>

The opening figure for *Sciens*, marked with an open bracket, could be material which is used again in its retrograde form for *incolatus*, beginning the repeat section, and marked with an inverted bracket. This bespeaks someone clearly looking at possibilities with melodic motives. The rhythmic and melodic traits evident in the preceding works are again marked with circles for anticipations, and ellipses for *bivirga*. The composer seems to have used musical ideas with a cohesive unity of design in mind. I have marked these with boxes, dotted or lined. Motives perhaps derived from these can be found on *veris*, *fluctibus*, *tumultibus* and in the course of the long melisma on *contemptoribus*. From *incolatus* to the end of the respond, the work shifts to the authentic range *F-g* and is balanced about *c*, the tenor, gradually working its way back down from *g* to the final *F*. The Verse/Gloria takes a leap of 5<sup>th</sup> *F-c* and thence *c-f/g* then the entire verse is anchored about *c* as tenor, until it reaches the repeat, *incolatus*, to find its way back into the approach to the final *F*. The melody advances stepwise but with a characteristic 3<sup>rd</sup> usually in a changing note arrangement. There is a unique melodic pattern at *oratoria*. Perhaps this is a way to depict the raising of prayer to God. Edwards has not given the composer any credit for writing this material himself.

In all of this there is nothing which says to me this composer is inept – a backward Welshman who does not know his music. He is quite adept with modal writing. In fact Edwards writes quite flatteringly of his “exceptional” composition and “high degree of melismatic movement” but stops short of saying it is newly composed Welsh music.<sup>53</sup> I am taking the bold and perhaps fey, intuitive step of my Welsh ancestry and claim this as original Welsh chant. It is as stylish as any other chant I have examined. He must have been instructed to use the St Thomas material, perhaps to save time and energy, or for ease of learning. This might also suggest the St David office was replacing the St Thomas in the Welsh usage.

Do we know how long it would take a cantor to devise new chant for an entire office? The process may have taken years of oral trial and error in choir, which they felt they did not have.

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<sup>52</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> century Hildegard of Bingen had this same mastery of the scalar modes. Her florid *Kyrie I* transcribed some years back was for this reason better suited to solo voice than choir, and of course the verses of this Welsh work were intended for a soloist.

<sup>53</sup> Edwards. Op. cit. p. 87.

R3 Sciens quod in petri navi

RESPOND

Sci - - - ens quod in Pet - ri na - - - vi

mun - - di ia - - - cta flu - - - cti - bus plus

lu - - cra - - tur in con - - cla - - vi quam tur-

-bae tu - mul - - - ti - bus \* in - co - la - - - tus hu - ius pra - vi

ve - - - - ris con- temp - to - - - -

ri - bus. VERSE. Lo - - - -

- - - ca so - li - ta - ri - a san- xit o - - - ra - to - ri - a Chri - sti

pro - fes - - - sor - ri - bus. \*in - co - la - - - - tus... GLORIA Glo - - - -

- - - ri - a pa - - - - tri et fi - - - li - o et spi - ri -

tu - - - - i san - cto.. \*

## Part VI- Conclusions - 'Seven times a day will I praise thee'

Throughout this dissertation I have had to remind myself repeatedly that the scribe of Penpont was not the composer-poet of either office, and that the Pentpont Antiphonal is at least one remove from the originals, if not more. I have been mentally echoing back and forth from the 12<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries – and wider when considering David himself.

As I read Slocum, musical and liturgical remembrances of Thomas seem to have been mainly monastic and Benedictine, but there are secular manuscripts other than Sarum. Estelle Joubert has explored usage of the secular music in the Diocese of Trier where there are several versions including some four local replacement chants to resolve modal oddities that had crept in with omissions and modifications to suit secular use – in the German Diocese of Trier anyway.<sup>54</sup> The St Thomas Office from Istanbul is also secular.

Slocum's study of the liturgies, a key reference for my study, focuses on the monastic Breviary/Missal of the Cluniac priory of St Pancras at Lewes (just 50 miles away from Canterbury) which she has dated between 1263 and 1300. Slocum thinks it came direct from Canterbury and was authored by Benedict or John of Salisbury – men with close familiarity with the martyrdom story. They would surely have been getting very old indeed, if they were young monks in 1170. Anyway, Benedict died as an Abbot in 1193. Lewes would necessarily be a copy - but at close quarters. It is a rare complete rhymed office typical of the late medieval period, perhaps constructed, as Andrew Hughes suggested, by collaboration among at least three people with different skills and responsibilities, I should think, over an extended period of time.<sup>55</sup> It is possible that John or Benedict wrote poetic text and lessons as living witnesses - they were required to be recorders of the miracles and this led to the miracle windows project. Perhaps the chant was added much later by a musician around 1220 when the Trinity Chapel and the shrine were complete.

However my sense, having worked closely with the texts, is that the poet was not greatly gifted in metrical, rhyming Latin verse and the writing does not betray any real emotional involvement with the subject. It is written at a distance – emotionally, and perhaps some time later. Trauma being what it is, I cannot imagine anyone in the years just following the murder having the mental space to be creative.

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<sup>54</sup> Estelle Joubert, 'New music in the Office of Thomas Becket from the Diocese of Trier.' *PMMS*, 18, 1, 33-60. (2009).

<sup>55</sup> It is the only one available. Similarly, the Sarum version of the Becket Office recently produced by the Institute of Medieval Music is a compilation from various sources as no complete single source manuscript exists.

Canterbury would have been in disarray and operating under par for years, with the public traipsing through too, and huge fundraising and building projects on hand. It would have been task enough to just keep the Opus Dei ticking over. I would opt for the St Thomas poet-composers working in the late 12<sup>th</sup> into 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. It just would not have been humanly possible for the entire work to have been written for the canonisation of Becket in 1173 as has been suggested. Surely it was created co-operatively all of a package along with the Miracle Windows for the translation of Becket's remains in 1220 into his new shrine in the newly completed Trinity Chapel.

Recent scholarship on the Becket office has focussed on the remnants of diastematic notation in copies of the work, so this might suggest an earlier date for the original, but also suggests I think, the rapid circulation of the music via text copies with an overlay of the old notation – monks resorting to aural dictation as it were, their old shorthand, or a medieval equivalent of emailed PDFs.<sup>56</sup> This would be testimony to the rapid growth of the cult throughout Europe. I wonder if the aforesaid scholars have recognised this. Laboriously crafted manuscripts in square notation would come a little later. This may of course be what happened between Lewes and Canterbury. Lewes may be the closest we get to the original manuscript.

That the Becket office chant was music of calibre is evidenced by its wide acceptance across European monastic houses and dioceses along with the enthusiasm for the cult. In addition to the new music from Trier which is as yet unlisted, CANTUS lists three manuscripts in Austria, one in Germany, one each in Belgium, France, Wales, Ljubljana, Italy, UK-Oxford, Istanbul, and Poland. Slocum lists others – five more each in the UK and Hungary, and one each in Switzerland and France. Becket was widely venerated in the Roman church then.

The chant is well-shaped with the modal sequence as required of rhymed offices, the genres are typical of their form, and cadences and melismas match text and behave as they ought. There seems nothing odd or amateurish in it. Whoever was in charge of music at Canterbury was trained well, and was a musician with talent, perhaps with experience in other monasteries in Europe. He was after all the senior-most church musician in the country. To me, the Becket chant is stronger music than the text is poetry.

This contrasts with the St David Office which opens up all kinds of questions. That office for instance was clearly the work of an impassioned and gifted poet, who for some reason was told, or who decided for himself, that the Becket work was a good

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<sup>56</sup> This is a reference again to the footnote on page 17 wherein as yet unpublished Kalamazoo 2010 conference papers on adiastematic traits in the Becket chant were mentioned.

model or starting point to use for his project. St David's cult had been approved by Pope Callistus II (c1120), but it was not until 1398, well after the production of the Penpont Antiphoner, that Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury ordered his feast to be kept throughout Canterbury.<sup>57</sup> Its creation therefore was not the result of any edict from the hierarchy in Canterbury. Motivation must be found elsewhere.

The original St David Office must have been completed before about 1350 to have been copied into the Penpont Antiphonal.<sup>58</sup> One can muse over the real purpose of the office which I think is not unconnected to the lamentable history of the Anglo-Normans and Welsh. Thomas Charles-Edwards has accounted for the early history of the Welsh church in his essay *Beyond Empire II*, and Owain Edwards in his 2010 essay has outlined the two centuries prior to the office.<sup>59</sup>

I attempt an even briefer account. Since Roman times the Welsh had a certain Celtic independence and a sense of connection with the church in Jerusalem, and had valid expectations of having their own metropolitan church leadership. This was thwarted by Augustine of Canterbury, and continued to be so through the Synod of Whitby in the 7<sup>th</sup> century and by subsequent Anglo-Saxon invaders of England. Norman invaders continued the harassment, and worse, the Anglo-Norman church hierarchy demanded feudal dues from Wales - so enmity escalated. A terrorising campaign ran through the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. By 1267 their Prince, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd was recognised as the first Prince of Wales by Henry III who then died in 1272, and his successor Edward I required the Prince of Wales to pay him homage, however Llywelyn refused. As a result a War of Independence broke out 1276-77 with much castle-building by the invaders and devastation of churches. Llywelyn then married Eleanor de Montfort, obviously a Norman, and a truce was achieved. Unfortunately his brother Dafydd in the north, who had previously sided with the King, changed his mind and broke ranks and more war resulted in 1282-83 in which Llywelyn was killed and more Welsh churches ruined. Thus the Welsh dynasty was disposed of. In 1280 during all this upheaval, Thomas Bec, of wealthy aristocratic Anglo-Norman background had been made Bishop of St David's by the King, as his man. Then in 1284, the Welsh dynasty crushed, John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, made a very thorough visitation of the dioceses along with Edward I. This was followed

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<sup>57</sup> 'David, St' *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. (Oxford, 1974) p. 378.

<sup>58</sup> I make this date as Bishop Gower's episcopacy from 1328-47 was the likeliest time of its writing, and this would give scribes time for copying the music into the Penpont around mid-century.

<sup>59</sup> Edwards. 'Political implications in Medieval Services Celebrating St David of Wales.' *Neophilologus* 2010:94 (1-15) and Thomas. N. Charles-Edwards, *Beyond Empire II: Christianities of the Celtic People*. (Cambridge, 2008.)

Edward I and Queen Eleanor who made a Royal Progress that left the people in no doubt of their subjugation.<sup>60</sup> Bec however, like Becket, changed his loyalties and was nigh to excommunication by Pecham. The conflict within the church was emerging. The Office of St David was composed in this hotbed of controversy.

It may have been renegade Bec's suggestion that it would be politic to counter the Becket cult with an office for St David, or it may have been David Martin, Bishop from 1293-1398, or more likely, Henry Gower who was bishop of St David's 1328-1347. He seems to have been sufficiently well regarded to now have a major statue and tomb in the cathedral. As I had mentioned earlier the cult of Becket had a modest following in Wales, and mostly in the border lands.<sup>61</sup> The cathedral had built the Becket chapel during the 13<sup>th</sup> century, then during Gower's episcopacy remodelled it after the turmoil of war, perhaps as a political move, so the Becket office was in use for the time being. The King had left a royal "plant" as it were in the cathedral administration, no doubt to see that the St Thomas office was observed amongst other directives of the Archbishop.<sup>62</sup> It is noticeable that the Becket office in the Penpont Antiphonal was unfinished. Lines had been ruled, and text to the end, but the scribe adding music was probably told to stop wasting effort - "we don't sing that anymore" - and in the years since, until 1538 when it was slightly defaced following Henry VIII's directive to destroy, not a soul found need to finish it. Singing the Becket Office in Wales may have quietly stopped early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, maybe when St David's was ready.

One could understand the feelings of defeated Welsh clerics obliged to stand in the mid-winter cold in dead of night singing the praises of an English saint through gritted, chattering teeth. The situation called for a counterpoise office, but whether or not the St David Office was sung at St David's at the beginning of spring we cannot prove. It most likely was, as there are still three small country parishes in the diocese dedicated to the saint, and few elsewhere in Wales, and it was a Sarum setting.<sup>63</sup>

It is a remote possibility that Thomas Bec (who would have been aware of his similar precarious position with the King as his near namesake, Thomas Becket) is the mind

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<sup>60</sup> Clearly the English kings had a longstanding issue with the Welsh and knew and perhaps feared the spirituality of St David's. Henry II stayed there a year in 1171, out of England prudently after the murder, en route to do penance at Becket's tomb in 1174.

<sup>61</sup> I have found that the only Becket shrine in Wales was at St David's (13<sup>th</sup> cent) and that only one church dedicated to Becket remains - in Monmouthshire.

<sup>62</sup> Even today St David's is the only UK cathedral to have a member of the royal family with a stall as a Canon of the Chapter - 'the Sovereign' is listed online in prime place.

<sup>63</sup> In 2011 the St David's Cathedral Choir will be singing Vespers for St David's Day at the shrine in the Presbytery - music not stated. Hopefully when the shrine is restored I will have the full music of their St David office ready for them.

behind the St David office. The poet clearly has a political agenda, is alive to the spirituality of the cult, has a warm regard for the Welsh, (he may have regarded himself as an English traitor) sympathy for their subjection, and has a desire for one-up-manship, and is wise to the political power of the liturgy. The poet bespeaks a senior cleric. However, Bishop Henry Gower, clearly a cultured man, had from 1322 been Chancellor of Oxford University prior to his episcopacy 1328-47, and had a more noteworthy influence on the cathedral and its life. His tomb is central in the building. I suspect he is the instigator and supporter of the poet. He would have had the sophisticated Latin skills. I think perhaps indeed he was the poet.<sup>64</sup>

A number of the texts make mention of Wales or the Welsh sometimes in a mock deprecatory manner - A1 'this miserable body of exiles', R1 'the side-alley of life', R5 'the furthest part of the globe', R7 'Welsh hierarchy', ABen 'visited the West/Cambria'. Other texts make oblique reference to political events or issues or persons - A3 'enemies of the church are increased', R3 'this wicked place of sojourning', R4 'than in the abodes of princes in riotousness' / 'court of riotous living'. Nearly all the antiphons use material from the related psalm as inspiration along with whatever can be derived from the Becket text in the same position. The St David poet makes all he can from the juxtaposition of liturgical readings. Wherever possible David is painted in the most glowing terms: VA 'whose face the earth seeks', 'model for bishops', R 'chief shepherd', 'modest', AMag- 'valued worldly at near nothing', A1 - 'blessed man', R1- 'grace waits upon David', A3- 'sanctified solitary places', A4 - 'devoted', R5 - 'obedient', 'consecrated' R6- 'mythic David', A9 - 'clean hands and a pure heart, not foolish in vanity'. Underlying the whole office is a positive comparison with the person and work of Becket, and with Canterbury. The clerics would have had a feel-good experience singing the office, and Welsh nationalism incidentally reinforced. It must have had a healing role in their lives, and so points to a cleric with pastoral concerns and insights being its instigator - Henry Gower I would say.

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<sup>64</sup> Sir Nicholas Harris, 'John Gower - Poet'. *The Retrospective Review and Historical and Antiquities Magazine* (Vol II, 1828) <http://books.google.com> Belated investigation of the Gowers has shed more light on the possibility of Henry's poetic skills. Several of the family name were known in the 14th century as affluent, educated, landed gentry, with political, moral and religious lives. Various wills give details. Henry de Gower, Bishop, is mentioned as a landowner in Wales, in 1292-93 John Gower is named on Edward I's Roll 21 with lands in Drusselan, Wales, Sir Robert Gower is recorded in National Library of Wales, Walter Gower is in Parliamentary Writs Salisbury 1301, and John Gower the poet (1330-1408) was possibly a lawyer as well as poet, and the printer Caxton claimed he was from Wales. Words seem a family trait. However, kinship is impossible to prove. Bishop Gower has no scholarly record in university libraries. Welsh tourist information shows he was most concerned for rebuilding churches, palaces, instigated two hundred works of public statuary, and church music foundations. Circumstantial evidence is pointing to his authorship.

My examination of the work shows that the poet-composer began with an examination of the Becket texts to find inspiration one way or another. He may have worked with the entire text to begin with or he may have progressed with music once each text was finished. Clearly he was aware that the chant of the Becket Office was well regarded, and saw no need to write wholly new chant. Or, maybe he was daunted by that task, or saw a limited future for all his efforts. However, he first wrote his own response to the Becket verse, and was not obliged to keep to the metre of the original. He had the confidence to recognise his own invention and taste might bring forth something different and perhaps better. His was an assured style in this pithy Latin. I think he was someone with a sophisticated education.

It appears his predilection is for 7 feet as 8.7.... or 7.7.7.. (eg. VA *O desiderabilis* - 7.7.7.7.7.7.) and then 7.6.7.6.... whereas the Becket writer opts for 4.6.... or 8.6..... quite often. On many occasions as in the antiphons, the verse he has created is in a very similar if not identical meter to the Becket, and so it is logical to re-use the Becket chant with maybe the slightest alteration. With A1 *Vir beatus* it has caused him to write new music for his 8.7.8.7. text and not use *Summo sacerdotio* 7.6.7.6. from Becket. Most often, as in A2 *In monte* where he has made a modification of *Monarchus sub* 7.7.5.6. to fit his 7.6.7.6, he will reuse a chant with modest alteration or extension. Luckily most of his antiphon texts result in 7.6.7.6. so it is a simple fit.

The responsory texts he has written, for instance R4, R5 and R6 – *Malens in* (7.7.7.7.7.7.), *Stans in orbis* (7.7.7.7.7. 8.6.8.6.) and *David iste* (7.6.7.6.7.6.6.6.6.) are quite at odds with the comparable Becket meters, (*Ex summa rerum is* 9.10.10.9.9.9.8.6.) and so he successfully looked elsewhere for chant material, even to the monastic use, as in the last where he has used the Becket R11 *Novis fulget*. A manuscript for monastery use must have been available to him. That mercifully left him with only a handful that required fully new music from him – AMag *Dominum magnificavit*, A1 *Vir beatus* (this was early in the composing project and probably he could have adapted the Becket), R3 *Sciens quod* (no Becket music anyway). These last I have transcribed and analysed attempting to find a personal style or oddities, and I can see no reason for his self doubt. His composition using the modes is polished and stylishly up-to-date, and is the equal of the St Thomas composer.

It is difficult to establish how widely the St David Office was disseminated in the two hundred or so years before it was banned. The Penpont office is the only one we have. A bishop of Norwich had good intentions for using the office in his diocese at some time after the directive in 1398, and as I mentioned in the opening of this dissertation, in his 'Synodale' had required it to be said with nine lessons, as noted

in Frere's edition of the Sarum Antiphonal. This was a hope held of his unschooled diocesan clergy.<sup>65</sup>

Richard Pfaff has shed a little more light on the issue.<sup>66</sup> The 1398 directive of Arundel was made in the archbishop's absence, and had little weight in the See. While during these years the Sanctorale was growing, with the addition of St David, St Chad, St Winifred, St Anne, and later St George, there was no conformity of usage, and indeed a multiplicity of Uses, and furthermore vigorous attempts were being made at shortening prolix liturgy even in monastic usage, rather than uniformity. That later became the Reformers' business. It was not until 1416 that Archbishop of Canterbury Henry Chichele, who had been Bishop of St David's, made David's place secure, along with St George as a national saint. Even still we cannot be sure of David's office being in wide use.

With the benefit of insights of modern educational psychology, one might accuse the poet of St David's office of mind manipulation, were it not for his total innocency of purpose. Many of the necessary conditions for manipulation were present in their living conditions – corporate life, lack of sleep, strict routine, repetition, rules to be obeyed, the abrogation of self, confession, mortification of the flesh, and chant that places the mind in the Alpha state. Even in today's liberality all Liturgy can run close to the wind on such manipulation including modern adaptations.

Bishop Peter Atkins, of Auckland, who writes in reflection of his experience of the introduction of the new Anglican New Zealand Prayer Book liturgies from the 1970s onwards, has looked at the role of memory and the mind which he considers must be kept forefront in the understanding of new liturgists as they work.<sup>67</sup> Liturgy has huge powers of suggestion and political persuasion, as well as powers of healing, and inclusion and exclusion, evidenced today in the bi-lingual and bi-cultural approaches of both the modern Welsh Church and mainline churches in New Zealand.

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<sup>65</sup> Richard Kay, (Reviewer) *Gli Statuti Sinodali Novaresi di Papiniano della Rovere (a. 1298)* by Giuseppe Briacca in *The Catholic Historical Review* Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jan., 1975), p. 75-77. The 'Synodale' in this instance was a publication by a bishop for his unschooled diocesan parish clergy (as opposed to those in religious orders serving parishes) that was a basic common practice book used prior to the Counter-Reformation when seminary preparation for ministry became the norm.

<sup>66</sup> Pfaff, R. *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. (Cambridge, 2009) p. 437-442.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy: the place of Memory in the Composition and Practice of Liturgy*. (Aldershot, 2004.)

The language of a sentence in liturgy has similarities to a bar code because its words act as a trigger for the memory of meaning and significance. In the brain the 'bar code' may be enhanced by the rhythm of the words and music of a musical tune. Likewise in liturgy the rhythm of words and music reinforce the memory triggers. There all these factors work in harmony to produce the desired goal - remembrance of God and God's memory of us.<sup>68</sup>

Gillian Lander

Auckland, January, 2011.

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<sup>68</sup> Atkins, P. Op. cit. p. 21.

	St David (Penpont)			St Thomas (Penpont)	
<b>AD VESPERAS I</b>					
A	<i>O desiderabilis</i>	7.7.7.7.7.7.			<i>O pastor eterne (St Nicholas) 263v04</i>
R	<i>Pastor David</i>	4.4.4.4.7.4.4.7			<i>Te sanctum Dom*(St Michael) 269r01</i>
V	<i>Qui colis pascue</i>	6.6.6.6.			<i>Ad hoc convivium (St Dominic)- V-</i>
AMa	<b>Dominum magnificavit</b>	8.7.8.7.8.7.	<b>NEW</b>		<i>Pastor caesus 020v02 - trnsl ofTB</i>
<b>AD MATUTINAS</b>					
	In sancte David presulis				<i>Assunt Thomae</i>
	<i>*In sancte David memoria</i>				<i>Vincentem mundum 189v10 St Vinc.</i>
H	Iste confessor				
A1	<b>Vir beatus impiorum</b>	8.7.8.7.	<b>NEW</b>	7.6.7.6.	Summo sacerdotio Thom 021r02 024r08
A2	In monte constituit	7.6.7.6	←	7.7.5.6.	Monarchus sub
A3	Hostibus ecclesie	7.6.7.6	←	7.6.7.6.	Cultor agri
R1	Tractanti Patricio/Dictum est	7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6	Adapt	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Studens livor Thom/Ordo sextus aestas 021r07
R2	Studens David/Tener iste	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6	←	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Thomas manum/Clamat 021r09
R3	<b>Sciens quod / Loca solitaria</b>	8.7.8.7.8.7.7.7.7.	<b>NEW</b>	NO MUSIC	Jacet granum/Lapis iste v/Aurum formax probat
A4	Invocantis exau-	8.7.8.7	←	7.6.7.6.	Nec in agnos
A5	Mane David	7.6.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Exsultat vir
A6	Nomen admir- ( <i>Exsultat vir</i> )	7.6.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Exsultantis
R4	Malens in/Adoptavit populos	7.7.7.7.7.7.7.	Other	9.10.10.9.9.9.8.6.	Ex summa rerum/concurrit 022r03?
R5	Stans in orbis/ Sponsio num dignit.. ( <i>Ex summa</i> )	7.7.7.7.7.8.6.8.6.	Other	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Mundi florem/Vox cruoris 022r03
R6	David iste/ In sex operibus ( <i>R11- Novis fulget</i> )	7.6.7.6.7.6.6.6.6.6.	Other	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Christe Jesu/Per te Thoma
A7	Christi tabernaculum	7.6.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Satane satellites
A8	A te vitam	7.6.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Strictis Thomas ens
A9	Manibus innoc	7.6.7.7.6.6.	Adapt	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Felix locus, felix
R7	Britonis here / Plebem trans ( <i>Mundi florem</i> )	8.7.8.7.8.7.7.6.7.6.	Other	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Thome cedunt/Thomas mundum
R8	Jugi Christi / Succumbente ( <i>Christe Jesu</i> )	8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7.8.8.	Other	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Novis fulget/Mundat leprae R8 monastic Per te Thoma
R9	Lucescente/Sancte David	8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7.	Other	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	<i>Missing -(monastic R12) Jesu bone/Actu mente 023r03 Actu mente</i>
PR	Panis arctus aqua brevis				
<b>LAUDS / VESPERS II</b>					
PR	Panis arctus				<i>Sospitati dedit</i>
A1	Dictus est Patricio	7.6.7.6	←	7.6.7.6.	Granum cadit
A2	Instructoris oculos	7.6.7.6	←	7.6.7.6.	Totus orbis
A3	Missis ultro feminis	7.7.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Aqua Thomae quid
A4	Toxicate torte panis	8.6.8.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Ad Thomae memori
A5	Ut attendat populus	7.6.7.6.	←	7.6.7.6.	Tu per Thome
ABe	Occidentem visitavit	8.7.8.7.8.7.8.7.	Adapt	4.6.4.6.4.6.4.6.	Opem nobis
AMa	(O pie) Ope iuva	(8) 7.6.7.6.7.6.7.6.			Salve Thoma
	Gloriose praesul Christi				<i>Gloriam mundi Nicoliai 183r05</i>
	Pater horam ( <i>StrictisThomas</i> )	Suff. David 208v12			Hosti pandit R
					(Vesp) R- Jacet granum Cadit custos/ 021v02

## Appendix 2 - Comparison of Antiphons &amp; Responsories in Sarum, monastic and secular Uses.

	St David (Penpont) Sarum	Cluny Lewes - Becket Benedict. Monastic	St Thom Penpont Sarum	Istanbul Becket – secular	Becket - Penwortham Secular
<b>MATINS - NOCTURN -1-</b>					
I	In sancte David presulis	Adsunt Thomae	Assunt Thomae	Assunt Thomae	Adsunt Thomae
I	In sancte David memo				
H	Iste confessor	Martyr dei qui	Martyr dei qui	Deus tuorum	Martyr dei qui
A1	Vir beatus impiorum	Summo sacerdotio	Summo sacerdotio	Summo sacerdotio	Summo sacerdotio
A2	In monte constituit	Monarchus sub clericam	Monarchus sub clericam	Monarchus sub clericam	Monarchus sub clericam
A3	Hostibus ecclesie	Cultor agri Domini	Cultor agri Domini	Cultor agri Domini	Cultor agri Domini
		A4 Nec in agnos			
		A5 Exultat vir optimus			
		A6 Exultantis predia			
R1	Tractanti Patr/Dictum	Studens livor /Ordo sex	Studens livor /Ordo sex	Studens livor /Ordo sex	Studens livor /Ordo sex
R2	Studens David/Tener i	Thomas manum / Clamat	Thomas manum / Clamat	Thomas manum / Clamat	Thomas manum / Clamat
R3	Sciens quod / Loca sol	Lapis iste	NO MUSIC Jacet gr	Lapis iste	Jacet granum
		R4 Post sex annos			
<b>NOCTURN -2-</b>					
A4	Invocantis exau-	A7 Sathane satellites	Nec in agnos sustinet	Nec in agnos sustinet	Nec in agnos sustinet
A5	Mane David	A8 Strictis Thomas ensib	Exsultat vir optimus	Exsultat vir optimus	Exsultat vir optimus
A6	Nomen admir- ( <i>Exsultat</i>	A9 Hosti pandit	Exulantis predia	Exulantis predia	Exulantis predia
		A10 Patrem nati			
		A11Sol inclinans			
		A12Fusum spargunt			
R4	Malens in/Adoptavit		Ex summa rerum leticia	Post sex	Ex summa rerum leticia
R5	Stans in orbis/ Sponsi ( <i>Ex summa</i> )	R5 Jacet granum	Mundi florem /Vox cruoris	Jacet granum	Mundi florem /Vox cruoris
R6	David iste/ R11- Novis fulget)	R6Ex summa rerum leticia	Christe Jesu / Per te Thom	Ex summa rerum	Christe Jesu / Per te Thom
		R7Mundi florem / Vox cru			
		R8 Christe Jesu / Per te			
<b>NOCTURN -3-</b>					
A7	Christi tabernaculum	A13 Fragrat virtus	Sathane satellites	Sathane satellites	Sathane satellites
A8	A te vitam	R9 Ferro pressus	Strictis Thomas ensibus	Strictis Thomas ensibus	Strictis Thomas ensibus
A9	Manibus innoc	R10 Thome cedunt /Thomas mundum	Felix locus,	Hosti pandit	Felix locus,
R7	Britonis here / Plebem trans ( <i>Mundi florem</i> )	R11 Novis fulget /Mundat leper	Thome cedunt /Thomas mundum	Mundi florem	Thome cedunt /Thomas mundum
R8	Jugi Christi / Succ ( <i>Christe Jesu</i> )	R12 Jesu bone/ Actu mente	Novis fulget /Mundat leper	Christe Jesu	Novis fulget /Mundat leper
R9	Lucescente/Sancte David		Jesu bone / Actu mente	Thomae cedunt	Jesu bone /Actu mente
Pr	Panis arctus aqua brevis				
<b>LAUDS / VESPERS</b>					
Pr	Panis arctus				
A1	Dictus est Patricio	Granum cadit copiam	Granum cadit copiam	Granum cadit copiam	Granum cadit copiam
A2	Instructoris oculos	Totus orbis martyris	Totus orbis martyris	Totus orbis martyris	Totus orbis martyris
A3	Missis ultro feminis	Aqua Thome quinquies	Aqua Thome quinquies	Aqua Thome quinquies	Aqua Thome quinquies
A4	Toxicate torte panis	Ad Thome memoriam	Ad Thome memoriam	Ad Thome memoriam	Ad Thome memoriam
A5	Ut attendat populus	Tu per Thome	Tu per Thome	Tu per Thome	Tu per Thome
B	Occidentem visitavit	Opem nobis	Opem nobis	Opem nobis	Opem nobis
M	(O pie) Ope iuva celitus	Felix locus,	Salve Thoma	Salve Thoma	

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