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The Feast of Saint Thomas Becket at Salisbury Cathedral: Ad Vesperas

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The Feast of Saint Thomas Becket at Salisbury Cathedral: *Ad Vesperas*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Music from
The College of William and Mary

by

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Accepted for _____
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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I. Introduction

Thomas Becket of Canterbury (1118 – 1170), an English financial clerk turned Archbishop of Canterbury, is considered one of the most significant figures in the conflict between clerical and secular powers during the Middle Ages. The archbishop was brutally killed in his own cathedral at the hands of four knights of King Henry II (r. 1154-1189). Thomas was quickly sanctified as a martyr and his cult and veneration commenced immediately following his death. The local veneration and esteem for Thomas was so strong in fact that the monks at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, closed the cathedral immediately following his death, between January 1171 and Easter 1171, out of fear that someone would come and steal the body of the martyr away. Many people in Canterbury and throughout southern England were healed by the remains of Thomas's body, with many miracles occurring through interaction with water and his blood. So many miracles took place that pilgrims began to flock to Canterbury Cathedral to experience the healing power bestowed by Thomas's body. Two monks at Canterbury Cathedral were assigned to guard the tomb and make account of the miracles attributed to Thomas in the years following his martyrdom. Benedict of Peterborough was one of the monks. In the years following his death, Benedict wrote an entire office to Thomas suitable for a monastic institution, an effort that is hypothesized to have been composed either in the years 1173 or 1174 immediately after his canonization.. Thomas's office, however, was later adopted by secular uses for application in secular institutions—that is, cathedral environments where the clerics do not take holy orders and are not cloistered. One such institution is Salisbury Cathedral.

The secular use for southern England in the middle ages was the Sarum Use. Liturgical books for both Sarum and Roman Use included Thomas's feast day in the Proper of the Time, and within the octave of Christmas. The placement of this celebration, among feasts otherwise devoted exclusively to the life of Christ and a few of his contemporaries, speaks of the impact that Thomas's martyrdom had upon western Christendom.

This thesis seeks to investigate the content and significance of the liturgy devoted to Thomas within the Sarum Use and its potential importance to the laity through their access to the procession preceding First Vespers. However, a reconstruction of the liturgical content of the entire feast day devoted to Saint Thomas Becket is outside the scope of this particular project, due to the necessity of having to consult all of the extant copies of liturgical books of the Sarum Use, such as Breviaries, Processionals, and Antiphoners. Therefore, a smaller scope seems feasible to attempt here. Thanks to the inclusion of a procession at First Vespers, the very first office for Thomas's feast day of December 29th is an ideal starting place to begin to study the details of the Sarum use as it pertains to Thomas Becket.

One great difficulty in studying Thomas's First Vespers arises in the search for sources which include the feast. Because of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in England, Thomas's name and much of the material pertaining to his veneration were scratched out from medieval manuscripts of liturgical office books, as mandated by King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547). This severs a direct connection for consulting sources between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. The fact that this happened in England also abruptly ended my original desire to reconstruct First Vespers in as original context as was possible. Since very few original manuscripts of the office exist on the Island, I looked to the earliest

versions that could be found. These turn out to be liturgical books of secular use printed on the continent in the early sixteenth century, in Paris. Since books with the secular use seem to survive in the most complete form and are themselves based on the original monastic use in which the texts and music for Thomas's feast were composed by Benedict in the twelfth century, the secular use has been chosen as the most desirable aspect for investigation. One other reason to use the secular use was the opportunity it provides to collate and contextualize the procession for First Vespers, the music it used, and the rubrics particular to Salisbury Cathedral, where two important parts are at play. At Salisbury there is an altar dedicated to Thomas Becket, and in medieval times the cathedral was home to secular clerics. For First Vespers, two antiphons—text and music—are apparently missing from Thomas's feast in the 1531 Sarum Breviary. My attempt to rectify this omission necessitated consulting continental monastic manuscripts. Other considerations for this study in terms of reconstruction included the investigation of how the different feasts were ranked within the Breviary. Initially, of course, Thomas's specific entry in the Breviary, within the Proper of the Time, was used to make a general outline of the feast. Sometimes the parts of the office within the Proper of the Time were difficult to fit in to the basic Vespers layout, because the office omits some of the expected parts of the service. If something was missing, the feasts for the common of the saints was usually able to supply the missing information. This piecing together proved much more difficult than was anticipated.

This reconstruction served multiple purposes: to understand the difference of the Sarum use in medieval England in relation to the larger Roman Rite and to shed light on the importance of localized liturgical practices. As one of the most influential figures in

medieval England, Thomas is a dynamic character who was not only venerated after death through the office written for his feast day—which was a mark of high regard—but also led an interesting life while he was on earth.

Early Life

Raised by Norman parents in London, Thomas's father, Gilbert Beket, worked as a merchant in London.¹ Gilbert was a property owner in London who, later in life, served a term as the sheriff of the city.² He sent Thomas to the Augustinian priory of Merton, Surrey, for his early education. Later Thomas received minor orders that did not restrict him from living a secular life.³ When his studies were completed at Merton, Becket returned to London (1143-1145) and was the clerk for banker in the city.⁴

Kay Slocum, a historian and musicologist who has investigated Thomas Becket extensively, hypothesizes that because of his education and childhood in London and at the priory at Merton, Thomas was shaped either to follow in his father's footsteps as a "clerk in government" or to become an ordained cleric.⁵ Thomas was installed as the archdeacon

¹ The spelling of Becket varies in modern scholarship sources; however, Frank Barlow spells his father's surname as Beket, but Thomas's surname, Becket. Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 10.

² Frank Barlow, "Becket, Thomas [St Thomas of Canterbury, Thomas of London] (1120? – 1170), archbishop of Canterbury," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27201>.

³ Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, (Toronto: University Press, 2004), 19.

⁴ Throughout the century that preceding the conquest of William the I in 1066, the office of clerk was in the height of its power and importance. It was characteristic of the clerk to have entered ecclesiastical minor orders, which Thomas had taken. During this period, the English kings used the clerks to administer the law because they were literate and easily compensated. The office was primarily at the service of the sheriff and the clerks were used for the day to day legal administration of a city. Kitrina Bevan, "Clerks and Scriveners: Legal Literacy and Access to Justice in Late Medieval England" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 2013), 82.

⁵ Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour*, 19.

of Canterbury⁶ in the household of Archbishop Theobald of Bec, in 1142. Theobald sent Thomas to study canon and civil law at the universities of Bologna⁷ and Auxerre.⁸ The historian of medieval English law, Frank Barlow, describes the office of archdeacon as one which would require “some instruction in canon law, and in civil law.”⁹

As archdeacon, Thomas’s allegiance was to Archbishop Theobald as well as to the royal court of King Henry II. The difficulties that Thomas faced during his tenure as archdeacon were a result of Theobald’s difficulties with Henry because Theobald saw that Henry “took every opportunity to advance his clerks.”¹⁰ Henry’s desire to have his own clerks in ecclesiastical offices shows his interest in filling the Church with men who would desire to advance the agenda of the King. While Thomas’s allegiance seems to have been split between Henry and Theobald, Barlow claims that due to Thomas’s proven duty to

⁶ While it is not known exactly what Thomas’s duties in the ecclesiastical office of Archdeacon would have been, scholars have narrowed the job description to a few definitive points: (1) the office was at the height of power during the 11-13th centuries, (2) he worked in the absence of a diocesan bishop, (4) he appeared prominent in royal courts, (5) he studied at universities, (6) he was sometimes held in a position of power at the university level, (7) he may have served as lead deacon in Mass at a cathedral, and (8) he served as a premiere judge in ecclesiastical courts, during the high middle ages. This office was removed from the Catholic Church during the Council of Trent.

Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154*, (London: Longman, 1979), 256.

Winston Black, “The Archdeacons of Medieval Europe,” last modified April 28, 2005, <http://individual.utoronto.ca/archdeacon/>.

⁷ Università di Bologna, the oldest university in Europe, was founded in the 11th century. For the first two years of its history, the university primarily attracted men already in established positions of power in the church and government to study canon and civil law. Thomas Becket would have certainly been among the small number of younger scholars without an established position of power, at the time of his studies. His unique ability to have studied early on in his career presents Becket as ambitious, intelligent, and special to the Archbishop. Universities would have taught Roman private law which concerns disputes between individuals. Additionally, education in civil law included what would be considered today as the law of property, contracts, and torts, according to Thomas McSweeney, W&M law school professor. Medieval legal scholar, Cheney, notes the study of canon law included: “scriptural attribution of the power of the keys...the orders of the clergy, primacy of the Roman pontiff... [and] the claims of the Church’s competence over the state.”

Christopher Cheney, “Magna Carta Beati Thome,” in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 66.

⁸ Patrick Collinson and Nigel Ramsay, “Normans and Angevins, 1070-1220,” in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 61.

⁹ Barlow, *The English*, 256.

¹⁰ Barlow, *The English*, 94.

Theobald, Thomas was pushed on to Henry and the royal court as an “agent” who may help to “restrain a youthful ruler [Henry II] widely suspected of being headstrong and anti-clerical.”¹¹

In 1155, Henry appointed his promising friend and confidant, Becket, to the Chancellorship¹² upon recommendation from Theobald. At the beginning of his tenure as Chancellor, Becket retained the title of Archdeacon. The Chancellorship was the most influential position in the English royal court besides the king. Thus, Thomas obligatorily vowed to serve the King, and during his tenure the bond strengthened between Henry and Thomas. They became inseparable friends. This created a blatant conflict of interest because Theobald required Thomas to advocate for the interests of the Church while Henry expected Thomas to be a royal official who supported the King’s interests and political campaigns.¹³ The strong pull Thomas felt from both sides ceased in March 1163 when Thomas resigned from the office of archdeacon to proclaim his sole allegiance to the church.¹⁴

¹¹ Frank Barlow describes one explanation of how Henry and Thomas’s friendship grew. Led by Theobald, Thomas was a very important character in the negotiations of securing Henry, an Angevin, as the next king of England, after Stephen’s death. Immediately after Henry’s coronation on December 19, 1154, Thomas was a witness to the signing of royal charters. Thomas seems to have immediately become one of Henry’s favorite people, because Thomas helped him become one of the most powerful men in England. This favoritism, paired with Theobald’s desire to have one of his clerics in the royal court, made Thomas the ideal candidate for the Chancellorship. Barlow, “Becket, Thomas.”

¹² The Chancellor is the head of the chancery which is a group of civil clerks who issued legally binding materials including, charters, letters, and writs required to initiate court action. Most medieval chancellors were bishops. Thomas was an exception to this rule. While Thomas’s role as Chancellor is not explicit, scholars have concluded that, as the highest “ecclesiastical servant” of the King, the Chancellor was in charge of “administering the *scriptorium* in the royal chapel,” organizing the church services in the royal chapel, maintaining the royal archives, and campaigning for the King’s desired reforms. Slocum, *Liturgies*, 21.

¹³ David Farmer, “Thomas Becket,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2011.

¹⁴ Barlow, “Becket, Thomas,” 82.

Although scholars are not certain of Thomas's responsibilities during his time as the Chancellor, it is commonly argued that Becket favored the King's desires and agenda over reverence to the English church because of his love for Henry. Out of this obedience, Becket was sent in 1158 to negotiate the marital engagement of Henry II's son, Henry the Young King (1155-1183) to French King Louis VII's daughter, Margaret (1158-1197).¹⁵ As a result of this meeting, Thomas developed a friendship with the French king which was very useful to him during his time in exile, a few years later. Upon completion of this successful marriage negotiation, one year later Thomas was sent by Henry on a military campaign to Toulouse in the south of France to "enforce the Angevin authority."¹⁶ Thomas lived quite lavishly during his years in companionship with Henry.¹⁷ The chancellor remained as a companion to the King until his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1164. In the year of Thomas's appointment, the monks who constituted the cathedral chapter of Canterbury met to elect Thomas as the archbishop. Following this election, the bishops and justiciar¹⁸ met in London to confirm the election of Thomas as the successor to Theobald.¹⁹ Henry saw Thomas as a loyal servant to the throne because he led a *tour de*

¹⁵ Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour*, 23.

¹⁶ Henry felt he had claim to this area of France because of his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, who led the region through inheritance as duchess of Aquitaine. Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour*, 24.

¹⁷ The military campaign was no exception to his lavish life while in Henry's royal court. Thomas took the opportunity in Toulouse to fight against Henry's enemies and achieve glory on the battlefield for his lord.

Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour*, 25.

Thomas is said to have had 700 knights under his command, of whom he would have fought alongside. A major impact of this war in France was the significant tax placed on the Church to help pay for the war. This action of taxing the Church, for which Thomas seems to have been held responsible, left a lasting negative impression on Thomas's friends, throughout the rest of Thomas's life.

Barlow, "Becket, Thomas."

¹⁸ A justiciar (from the Latin *justiciarius*) was a royal judge who ruled over a case in a medieval Norman or early Plantagenet king of England court. Additionally, a chief justiciar judge was responsible for running the royal courts and was head of the royal administration when the king was outside of England. Richard Huscroft, *Ruling England, 1042-1217*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 101.

¹⁹ Barlow explains that, since the Norman Conquest (1066) when William the Conqueror overtook to the throne in England, only one other Archbishop of Canterbury had not been a monk at his election to the

force for the king, enforcing a tax on land owned by the Church and bishoprics who ordinarily could not be taxed by the royal court. Thomas's appointment included a difficult task—to please the English king while protecting God's Church. In Henry's opinion, under the fragile reign of King Stephen, which directly preceded his own coronation in 1154, the Church had infringed on the civil courts authority. Henry nominally wanted to restore the king's jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical court system and thus stabilize relations between the Church and civil governments. However, Henry's idea of stability was securing dominant control over both Church and civil affairs.

The king's plan to keep Thomas as his Chancellor in order to increase royal dominance over the Church was flawed in an important way. His plan depended solely on the loyalty of Thomas. On June 2, 1161, a month after the vote to make Thomas the successor of Theobald, Thomas was ordained a priest at Canterbury Cathedral. On June 4 of the same year he was consecrated archbishop by "Henry of Winchester and fourteen other suffragan bishops."²⁰ As he put on the Bishop's mitre, Thomas was vested with the armor of God in defense of the Church against the "deceits of the devil."²¹ Later that summer on August 10 he received the *pallium*, a symbol of his archiepiscopal authority and position as a papal vicar.²² In the two years following his consecration, it can be argued that Thomas was in a time of transition between his old life in the royal court and his new

see. In fact, there were other suitable, pious candidates for the archbishopric when Thomas was elected, however, Barlow suggests that Thomas's elect has mainly to do with Henry's "ambitions."

Barlow, "Becket, Thomas."

²⁰ Barlow, "Becket, Thomas."

²¹ Eph. 6:10-11 (DRA).

²² It might be argued that Thomas became less enthralled with and began to transition out of the offices of chancellor and archdeacon, both of which he still held in the year 1162 when he received the *pallium*. The *pallium* granted higher power, because it came from the pope, and may have caused Thomas to feel his other titles had been overshadowed by this new authority. During this time of transition, Thomas maintained the benefices and honours awarded him by Henry during his chancellorship, until fall of 1163 when Henry took them away.

life as an ordained cleric, taking on the title of a *novus homo*.²³ Much to Henry's chagrin, Archbishop Thomas took up two main causes in the name of the Church; the first against the King's appropriation of his own power over the taxation of Church property, and the second in support of the ecclesiastical court system.

Gregorian Reforms and the Investiture Controversy

There were complications that arose between Church and civil leaders throughout Medieval history that led to many stories of hero figures such as Thomas Becket who have asserted the Church's authority against powerful monarchy.

In the Middle Ages, the Gregorian reforms were the Church's response to the conflict against assertive civil authority. The Gregorian reform movement, under Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), was conceived in the eleventh century and primarily considered the question of who had the right to invest the office of the bishop.²⁴ A papal bull, *Dictatus Papae*,²⁵ was issued in 1075 and asserted many rights that belonged to the Church over the secular European governmental powers. The conflict created a culture of

²³ Slocum explains the concept of the "new man" as an "echo of classical references to Cicero" who took on a new career as orator when he arrived in Rome, as well as a reference to the Augustinian principle of a "new life" through spiritual regeneration and conversion. Slocum, *Liturgies in honour*, 5.

According to Barlow, an uncommon mandate was placed on Thomas by Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester (d. 1171) at the Westminster council, when Thomas's election to the archbishopric was confirmed. Henry ordered Thomas to be discharged from "all secular obligations." Though Thomas was archbishop, archdeacon, and royal chancellor in the year 1162, he was beginning a period of transition into a life as a man of God. Barlow claims that it took the newly ordained bishop about two years, and by 1164 Thomas was a devout leader of the Catholic Church, desirous of recovering and extending the rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Barlow, "Becket, Thomas."

²⁴ Jørgen Møller, "Medieval Origins of the Rule of Law: The Gregorian Reforms as Critical Juncture?" in *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2017): 262–282. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40803-017-0053-2>

²⁵ Møller, "Medieval Origins," 262–282.

ecclesiastical and civil strife throughout Europe. This interest in reform created the foundation of the Investiture Controversy.²⁶

The Catholic Church claimed divine authority within Christ's instituted Church to invest bishops, and the King also claimed divine right, which guaranteed him political legitimacy that was derived directly from the will of God. Wanting more power over the Church's independent jurisdiction, Henry II attempted to control the sanctions in all English courts. About 75% of the land in England was owned either by the King or the Church. For every six men in England, about one was a clergy member, and most had taken minor orders. The Church gave men who had taken minor orders the right to appeal to have a criminal case heard in an ecclesiastical court.²⁷ The King, though, did not believe that the ecclesiastical courts sanctioned harsh enough punishments.²⁸

Under Stephen's reign, the leaders of the Church in England saw an opportunity to advance the program of the Gregorian Reforms.²⁹ Church leaders acquired power that they recognized to be theirs. Henry wanted to reverse those gains and return to the relationship between Church and crown that existed in the time of his grandfather, Henry I (r. 1100–1135).³⁰

²⁶ Robert Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), 43.

²⁷ According to canon law, a cleric had the right to be tried by ecclesiastical authorities. Since the Church had not yet convinced many people that this was an absolute right, Henry and other secular rulers, thought this right was debatable.

Thomas McSweeney, correspondence with author, April 9, 2019.

²⁸ Joseph Sheppard, "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket," 7 vols, *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 67, (London: Longman & Co., 1875). 1: 24.

²⁹ John of Salisbury's elegiac poems, *Entheticus* and *Policraticus*, were written between 1154–1159 when John was in the service of Archbishop Theobald. They explain through philosophical and satirical content, the context of ecclesiastical and civil powers during Stephen's reign as Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anne Duggan, "The World of John of Salisbury," In *Studies of Church History*, 3, ed. Michael Wilks, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 427-438.

³⁰ Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 10.

During a time in history when monarchs had much power to choose who filled ecclesiastical offices, King Stephen had “failed even to get his chancellor a bishopric.” It was even difficult for Stephen to promote his advisors in the lower office of secular clerk, much less his advisors who held power, into high ranking offices.³¹ When Henry II ascended the throne in 1154, he wanted to revive the tradition of his grandfather, Henry I, who had promoted his own clerks to ecclesiastical offices.³² The conflict over whether the king or the high offices of the Church should elect, or “invest,” their successors is called the Investiture Controversy.

In many ways, the ecclesiastical court system, especially cases where we know that Thomas involved himself in the final ruling, focused on the criminal clerics making retribution through incarceration in a monastery in order to practice due penance.³³ Punishment in the civil courts, especially in cases that King Henry directly oversaw, on the other hand, frequently enacted the death penalty.³⁴

³¹ John Barlow, Medieval England legal scholar, writes: “These changes [due to the actions of King Stephen, moving away from the king’s election of men into the higher ecclesiastical offices, to that of promotion from within the Church] reflect the emergence of the priesthood and the growing distinction between it and the kingdom.”

Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, 103.

³² “He [Henry II] thought the process [of ecclesiastical promotion from within the Church] had gone too far and began to look back to the ancient customs of his grandfather’s [Henry I] reign.”

Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, 103.

³³ Thomas McSweeney, William & Mary law school associate professor related to me that: The Church was much quicker to use imprisonment as a sanction, in fact, in English common law courts during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, prisons were not used as a punishment, rather death and mutilation most often were used for felony. Ecclesiastic sanctions focused on retribution and newness of life where as the sanctions applied to cases in the king’s court were generally much harder on the accused.

Thomas McSweeney, In-person meeting with author, January 23, 2019.

Sanctions of canon law that were “available to the medieval English ecclesiastical administration” did a number of things well: (1) got people into courts, (2) brought sinners to direct confrontation and penance, (3) compelled payment of money (usually through ecclesiastical benefice), and (4) “secured relative immunity from illegal interference in the ordinary processes of ecclesiastical administration. However, these sanctions did not: (1) “provide effective deterrent for prevention of sins”, nor did they remove clerics for inability to do their job, but only because of just moral failings.”

Christopher Cheney, “Magna Carta Beati Thome,” in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 78–110.

³⁴ Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour*, 36.

In January 1164, almost two years after Becket was ordained to Archbishop of Canterbury, Henry II held the Council of Clarendon,³⁵ and approved the Constitutions of Clarendon, a text that laid out the king as “the real head and master of the English church” in an effort to restore the royal power over the clerical courts that his father, Henry I, had exercised, as well as increase independence from Rome.³⁶ The third point in the constitutions, and what Barlow calls “the heart of the quarrel [between Henry and Thomas that led to Thomas’s exile in 1164]” is uncanonical because it plainly gives the King authority over the Church’s ruling in an ecclesiastical court case.³⁷ This is restrictive of clergy because it requires the allegiance of the clergymen to be with the king. Henry tried to force Thomas to give his consent and sign the Constitutions of Clarendon, which would have surrendered part of Thomas’s ecclesial power to the king, and Thomas agreed early in the year 1164. However, in the same year, he rejected the Constitutions, fled England in October, and took refuge in France for the next six years (1164–1170).

Thomas’s final years

Thomas went into exile from 1164 to November 1170 and was warmly welcomed by King Louis VII into his royal court in France. After seeking refuge in the royal court of

³⁵ Clarendon Palace was an important epicenter of the English royal court. This royal residence was about two miles away from Sarum and the proximity was integral in the expediency in which New Sarum was built, a century prior to Becket’s martyrdom. Philip Baxter, *Sarum Use: The Ancient Customs of Salisbury*, (Reading: Spire Books Limited, 2008), 31.

³⁶ Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 105.

³⁷ Clause III of the Constitutions of Clarendon states, “Clerks charged and accused of anything, being summoned by the Justice of the king, shall come into his court, about to respond there for what it seems to the king’s court that he should respond there; and in the ecclesiastical court for what it seems he should respond there; so that the Justice of the king shall send to the court of the holy church to see in what manner the affair will there be carried on. And if the clerk shall be convicted, or shall confess, the church ought not to protect him further.”

William Stubbs, *Select charters and other illustrations of English constitutional history*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 135.

France, Thomas was sent by Pope Alexander III to the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy to wait out the conflict with Henry, away from England. In 1166, upon Henry's threats of confiscating all Cistercian lands in England due to the Order's support of Becket, Pope Alexander transferred Thomas to the Benedictine abbey of Sainte-Colombe, in the archdiocese of Sens.³⁸ During Thomas's six years in exile, Henry was adamant to achieve his reform regarding civil jurisdiction over the Church.

While Thomas Becket served as Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger de Pont L'Eveque was the Archbishop of York.

Notwithstanding the power dynamic between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who both claimed to have equally valid metropolitans, Archbishop Roger did not involve himself in the dispute between Thomas and the king. This went well for Roger until Henry wanted to secure his family's line to the throne of England and thus asked the archbishop of York to crown his son, Henry the Young King,³⁹ as King of England in Summer 1170. Thomas and Pope Alexander III saw this as a breach in jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury.

This coronation prompted Thomas to return to England after six years on the continent, in order to fight for the proper authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas excommunicated all clerics involved in the coronation ceremony, primarily the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury. When Henry heard that

³⁸ Barlow, "Becket, Thomas," 158.

³⁹ "This was a bit of an anomaly. Henry was copying the kings of France, who had been doing this for a few generations. The king would have his eldest son crowned during his lifetime, as a sort of co-king. That way when the king died, he could be reasonably sure that his son, as an already anointed monarch, would be recognized as king. This was a particularly good precaution in Henry's case, since his mother had never been able to acquire the upper hand in the civil war partly because Stephen was crowned before her. In Henry's case it didn't work: HYK predeceased Henry. English kings never bothered with this again." Thomas McSweeney, correspondence with author, April 9, 2019.

Thomas excommunicated these clerics who were supporting the King, he proclaimed the infamous line, “will no one rid me of this meddlesome priest?”⁴⁰ This exclamation prompted four knights to seek the scornful revenge of their master, the king, by killing Thomas. The knights travelled from London to Canterbury on December 29, 1170 and entered Thomas’s cathedral while the archbishop was praying at Vespers. Thomas, who refused to lock the doors to the cathedral and avoid his fate, allowed the knights to enter and as a consequence, was beheaded.

After Thomas’s death

Thomas’s life, and the miracles attributed to his relics after his death were well documented immediately following his death, which was a major reason for the expediency of his canonization. Among his contemporaneous biographers, the most notable are his close confidants and the monks of Christ Church Priory.⁴¹ These include John of Salisbury, Herbert of Bosham, and Gervase of Canterbury.⁴² Most notably, John wrote a letter to the bishop of Poitiers containing the first account of Thomas’s death that we have, as well as discussing Becket in the context of martyrdom *pro defensione libertatis ecclesiae*.⁴³

Following the death of Becket, the monks at Canterbury were afraid that the knights who had killed Becket would return to take the body away and that people would come to pillage the corpse for its rumored miraculous powers. With these threats looming, Gervase, a monk at Canterbury, was appointed to sit at the tomb, guard the body of the martyr, and

⁴⁰ All chroniclers give a variant of this exclamation spoken by King Henry II. “Henry II of England.”

⁴¹ Sheppard, *Materials*, 24.

⁴² Sheppard, *Materials*, 26.

⁴³ “In defense of the freedom of the Church.” Duggan, “The World of John of Salisbury,” 428.

“receive pilgrims to listen to their stories.”⁴⁴ Along with Gervase, the accounts of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough and prior of Canterbury, were especially important for documenting the miracles associated with Thomas’s body.

News of Thomas’s death spread through Christendom and he was canonized on February 21, 1173 by Pope Alexander III.⁴⁵ He was canonized quickly, within three short years. An expedited canonization process is very rare and explains the noticeable presence and strength of veneration for St. Thomas throughout England and the continent. The great number of miracles attributed, churches dedicated, as well as his cause of death all contributed to St. Thomas’s quick canonization. He is remembered throughout history as a martyr who died for the liberty of the Church from the monarch. In 1174, King Henry did penance at St. Thomas’s tomb at Canterbury, thus publically acknowledging his sorrow for the loss of his former friend as well as his involvement in the crime. After St. Thomas was canonized, the saint was venerated throughout Christendom by way of ceremony, song, literature, stained glass, and the dedication of churches to him.

One widespread way in which St. Thomas Becket was remembered and venerated was through the celebration of the office written for his December 29 feast day. Benedict, a monk and contemporary of Thomas at Canterbury, is assumed to have composed the music and text for the office of St. Thomas.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sheppard, *Materials*, 28.

⁴⁵ Anne Duggan, “Thomas Becket,” in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, edited by André Vauchez, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 426-27.

⁴⁶ Andrew Hughes, “Chants in the rhymed office of St. Thomas of Canterbury,” *Early Music* 16, no. 2 (1988): 185–201.

II. *Ad Vesperas*

The Divine Office is a set of eight prayer services, originally conceptualized for use in a monastic setting with certain texts and music developed for a saint's feast day or special day in the church calendar. The "Office" is also referred to as the "Hours" because they occur at eight specific hours each day. The monastic rule was created and codified around the sixth century by St. Benedict of Nursia. Benedict's primary purpose for the conception of these offices was to chant the entire psalter each week.⁴⁷

Through the dissemination of Benedict's order, the eight prayer services came to be used in secular and monastic cathedrals. A secular cathedral is one in which the members of the chapter⁴⁸ are not cloistered and therefore are not bound by any monastic rule, such as Salisbury Cathedral. The other type of medieval cathedral is a monastic cathedral. The members of the chapter of a monastic cathedral at Canterbury, the site of Thomas Becket's twelfth century martyrdom, were cloistered Benedictine monks.

In both secular and monastic cathedrals, the monks kept the Divine Office, which meant that they were bound to reciting and singing the eight daily prayer services. The first service of the morning is Matins. The monks would rise from sleep soon after midnight. After reciting a combination of Psalms and readings in the longest prayer service of the day, the monks would wake again just before dawn for Lauds. Lauds is a morning prayer service of lesser length which called the monks to "praise" God (from the Latin *laudare*) at the beginning of a new day.

⁴⁷ There are 150 psalms in the Hebrew Book of Psalms. The Vulgate psalter numbering is most prominently used in medieval scholarship and thus will be used in the following discussion on the Office.

⁴⁸ The Chapter is the governing body of clerics for a monastic or secular cathedral.

The schedule of prayer continued with the “Lesser Hours,” so called for their brevity. These hours, Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, are named in relation to the medieval monastic concept of time. Prime occurred at the first hour after sunrise, Terce at the third hour, Sext at the sixth hour, and None at the ninth hour.

The day arrived at a musical high point with the evening office of Vespers. Finally, the day was completed with the office of compline (from the Latin *Completorium*), sung immediately before the monks went to sleep. Compline is a very simple prayer service consisting of versicles and responses, the recitation of four Psalms, and an evening hymn.⁴⁹ Musically, Matins, Lauds, and Vespers are the most involved because the texts, especially the canticles,⁵⁰ in many cases, are more musically ornate than the music of the texts of the other five offices.

On feast days, the order in which the hours are recited and sung varies from the ordinary schedule. Celebration of a feast day began with First Vespers, which occurred at sundown the evening prior to the day. Subsequently, Second Vespers ended the feast day, at sundown on the exact day of the feast. Both First and Second Vespers have the same order of liturgy as on a day where a saint is not explicitly celebrated.

Vespers, among these three services, is particularly special because of three musical highlights: a Great Responsory, a hymn, and an elaborate antiphon for the recitation of the Magnificat. Figure 1 outlines the Roman Rite Vespers office as it would be celebrated at a secular cathedral.

⁴⁹ The English word “complete” is derived from the latin word *Completorium*. This office is meant to be a completion of the day and recited immediately before going to sleep. In the secular use, clerics recited four psalms, and in the monastic use, monks recited three. Harper, *The Forms*, 102.

⁵⁰ The two canticles that are recited each day include the *Benedictus* at Lauds and the *Magnificat* at Vespers.

Figure 1. The Office of Vespers according to the Roman (Secular) Rite
A Proper item is indicated by * (see below)

[Private devotions]

℣. Deus in adiutorium meum intende

℟. Domine ad adiuvandū me festina

[Lesser Doxology]

Gloria Patri et filio et Spiritui Sancto,

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Short *Alleluia* or *Laus tibi Domine Rex aeternae gloriae*

Antiphon* Psalm

Antiphon* Psalm

Antiphon* Psalm

Chapter *

Short or Great Responsory *

Hymn *

Versicle *

Antiphon* *Magnificat*

Prayers and Suffrage of (petition to) All the Saints + Antiphons *

℣. Dominus vobiscum

℟. Et cum spiritu tuo

℣. Benedicamus Domino

℟. Deo Gratias

The Office of Vespers begins at sundown with private devotions, which are the individual prayers said by the monks, silently. Depending on the day, the first half of Psalm 69:2, “Deus in adiutorium meum intende,” would be sung to one of three different

recitation tones. These are ranked in order of least to most elaborate: ferial, festal, and solemn. The elaborate nature of the tones corresponds to the solemnity of the day. If a feast day has a higher rank, then more elaborate musical elements will be used throughout the office of Vespers.

The Doxological Verse⁵¹ follows the opening psalm of Vespers. Despite the fact that it is called “lesser,” this text is very important in liturgical settings of the Catholic Church.⁵² This is because it is the recitation of a Trinitarian formula, praising the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and therefore offering a Christianization of the Old Testament psalter. Next, the “Short Alleluia”⁵³ is not spoken or sung during the penitential time between the vigil of Septuagesima Sunday and Holy Saturday. The subsequent Lesser Doxology is replaced by the “Laus tibi,”⁵⁴ during the same penitential season.⁵⁵

The opening devotions are common to the beginning of each of the eight Offices. Once they are completed, the monks continue with psalm recitation performed with the musical “refrain” called the antiphon (from the Latin *antiphona*)⁵⁶ in the formula exemplified by Figure 2.

⁵¹ Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

⁵² The “lesser” Doxology is the *Gloria Patri*, as noted fully in Figure 1, while the “greater” Doxology is a separate text, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*.

⁵³ The Short Alleluia is a recitation of the Latin word “Alleluia” one time, instead of the more solemn three times.

⁵⁴ *Laus tibi Domine Rex aeternae gloriae.*

Translation: Praise be to you, O Lord, King of eternal glory.
Harper, *The Forms*, 78.

⁵⁵ There is a change because the *Gloria patri* is used for more celebratory seasons.

⁵⁶ *Antiphona*: Medieval Latin adopts this word from the Greek language. The word is a combination of the prefix “Anti” which means alternating, and the suffix “phona” which means sound. Thus, an antiphon is a text which can be split in half, for the choir to alternate sounds; one side of the choir sings the first half and the opposite side sings the second half.

Figure 2. Psalm recitation

1. Cantor (one monk/cleric)	2. Antiphonally sung by opposite sides of the choir	3. Full community (monks or clerics)	4. Full community (monks or clerks)
Antiphon	Psalm verses	Lesser Doxology	Repeat of full Antiphon

This formula is executed for any number of psalms that are recited. In the Roman monastic use, the office of Vespers requires the recitation and chanting of up to five psalms, while in the secular use, using three psalms is common. Antiphons introduce and conclude each psalm as well as make the psalm recitation proper to the feast day. These rules vary widely throughout history, however in the Middle Ages, it became common for one cantor, or group of appointed singers, to chant the first half of the antiphon, followed by the entire community reciting all psalm verses completely. This was concluded with everyone singing the antiphon completely.⁵⁷ In addition to reciting a different number of psalms in the monastic and secular uses, a distinction was also made between which psalms from the psalter were sung. Figure 3 shows which psalms are prescribed for the secular use.

⁵⁷ Antiphonal psalm recitation has a very rich history. Even as early as the fourth century, there are references to large crowds of people responding to verses of a Psalm recited by the cleric, with an abbreviated phrase of text which often derived from the psalm itself. Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 27.

Figure 3. Psalms for ferial Vespers, secular cursus Roman Rite⁵⁸

Sunday	109–113
Monday	114–116, 119–120
Tuesday	121–125
Wednesday	126–130
Thursday	131–132, 134–136
Friday	137–141
Saturday	143–147

Antiphons can be either ordinary or proper. The Ordinary (from the Latin *ordinarium*) is the part of the service in which the texts do not change during the cycle of the liturgical year. Propers (from the Latin *proprium*) however, do change on saints' feast days and other liturgical celebrations within the Church year, because the texts are more specific to the celebration. Antiphons are always proper, meaning they always change based on the day, and therefore are a very important part of any Vespers office.

The number of psalms recited at each office of Vespers varies depending on the cursus, monastic or secular, as well as the season of the church year. The clerics of a secular cathedral were required to recite three psalms at Vespers, while monks were required to recite five psalms. Additionally, employing either the secular or monastic use influenced the number of Psalms and readings in the other offices.

After the psalm recitation in Vespers comes the “Chapter” (from the Latin *capitulum*), which is a small verse of scripture. Despite its name, this was generally only

⁵⁸ Hiley, Western, 29.

one verse of text from the Bible, and not a whole chapter. The “Chapter” is also proper to the feast day or Church celebration.

One element that elevates the elaborate nature of the music of Vespers above the other Offices is the Great Responsory (GR). The GR only existed in the medieval Office of Vespers or Matins and has since been removed from the elements of Vespers. Just as the Gradual and Alleluia do in Mass,⁵⁹ the GR of Matins “postludes the reading of lessons [verse – in reference to the Chapter].”⁶⁰ In the office of Vespers, the GR seems to function in the same way, following the reading of the Chapter and preceding the hymn, however in the evening office the GR is more musically elaborate. Additionally, the music of the Vespers GR was sometimes used in singing the *prosula*, or sequence.⁶¹ Thousands of Great Responses have been preserved from the middle ages and they are all very melismatic. However, they are less well known and less widely printed than graduals and alleluias of the Mass.⁶² According to twelfth century Roman practice, the Great Responsory is performed as follows:

Figure 4. Great Responsory recitation

Response → Verse → *Repetendum* (→ Gloria Patri → Respond)⁶³

⁵⁹ The Gradual is a proclamation of scripture which precedes the Gospel reading, reduced to only one verse in the medieval form of the mass, and is given musical distinction by its high melismatic nature. The Alleluia is quite musically elaborate as well. The Alleluia is sung at the beginning and end of the Gradual.

Harper, *The Forms*, 69–72.

⁶⁰ Paul Frederick Cutter, Brad Maiani, Davitt Moroney, and John Caldwell, "Responsory," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 2, 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023247>.

⁶¹ Cutter, “Vespers.”

⁶² Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 70.

⁶³ Cutter, “Responsory.”

According to medieval chant tradition, a soloist would intone the very beginning of the Respond and the choir would join after this incipit. A soloist would then chant the verse. Following the verse, the *repetendum*, the last part of the opening response, was sung by the choir.⁶⁴ The amount of time it took to chant Vespers had grown too long by the twelfth century. Therefore, the Respond was shortened in order to abbreviate the length of the liturgy.⁶⁵ The Lesser Doxology, sung by a soloist, and final response, sung by all, are in parentheses (Figure 4) because by the ninth century, the Roman practice of reciting the GR included these elements in Matins and Vespers offices, however practice before the ninth century is unknown.⁶⁶ It could be argued that this ninth century addition was included to Christianize the text of the Respond, as the *Gloria patri* does at the end of the Psalms. Following the Great Responsory, a proper hymn was sung on a Sunday or feast day. For Sunday Second Vespers, the common hymn was *Lucis creator optime*.

After some minor elements, the next big musical event is the antiphon to the Magnificat. Its complexity is another marker of the solemnity given to Vespers. Thus, it is always proper and very elaborate. Since it is always proper, the antiphons are found among the Proper of the Time (from the Latin *Proprium Temporale*) or the Proper of the Saints (from the Latin *Sanctorale Proprium*).⁶⁷ The Magnificat which follows the antiphon, is the song of Mary to her cousin Elizabeth in Luke 1:46-54. This is one of three canticles, highlighted in the eight Offices that are a direct quotation of New Testament scripture, and it is sung to a solemn tone. At its conclusion, the antiphon is repeated in full by all present.

⁶⁴ In a monastic cathedral, the choir would have consisted of clergy only.

⁶⁵ Cutter, "Responsory."

⁶⁶ Cutter, "Responsory."

⁶⁷ The Proper of the Time is the set of feasts within the Church calendar corresponding to the celebrations surrounding the fixed date of Christmas and the moveable date of Easter Sunday. The Proper of the Saints is the set of specific dates in the Church calendar which are prescribed to saints' feast days.

Out of all eight offices, the Magnificat, the canticle which concludes Vespers, is one of the highest musical points of the day.

The Magnificat is then followed by the prayers and petitions, called “suffrages,” to the particular saint of the day, patron saints of the Church in which the office is being recited, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary. These suffrages are recited with the accompanying antiphons that are proper to the saint’s feast and which are customarily sung at the end of both Lauds and Vespers.⁶⁸ The antiphons commemorate a saint’s feast day or octave.

Immediately preceding the blessing is a verse and response – *℣. Dominus vobiscum*, *℞. Et cum spiritu tuo*. The office of Vespers closes with the Blessing *Benedicamus domino*, spoken by the priest or officiating clergy member, and the response is from all present, *Deo gratias*. Since they are assumed, these final versicles are typically not included in the rubrics.⁶⁹

Like the Benedictines, the Romans have a Rite as well, which is most commonly used in the Latin Church.⁷⁰ These Rites (from the Latin *ritus*) are both under the umbrella of the Catholic Church and are therefore both valid in the eyes of the Church. A study of the differences between the Roman rite and uses throughout England creates a very interesting point of cross cultural inquiry. A Rite can be used throughout a broad geographical area. However, a Use (from the Latin *usum*), represents the local practices of a Rite. Walter Frere describes the Sarum Use in two aspects: ritual regulations in the texts of the services, and ceremonial regulations in the Consuetudinary.⁷¹ The Roman Rite works

⁶⁸ Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, 29.

⁶⁹ John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: from the tenth to the eighteenth century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 30.

⁷⁰ A Rite is a prescribed form of celebrating a religious ceremony.

⁷¹ Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), p. xxi.

as an umbrella under which the Use of Sarum use can be understood to carry out a local set of regulations on the liturgy and administrative life of the secular institution, Salisbury Cathedral. Because Salisbury was not under the regulations of a monastic control, the clerics had the freedom to write their own regulations.⁷²

⁷² Slocum, *Liturgies*, 209.

III. Sarum Use

The Norman bishop of Old Sarum, St. Osmund (r. 1078–1099), is credited with instituting the Sarum Use or Use of Salisbury.⁷³ St. Osmund established the see in 1075. The See of Old Sarum remained the meeting place of the episcopacy until 1220 when Bishop Richard Poore⁷⁴ transferred the see to nearby Salisbury where he consecrated a temporary high altar until the cathedral was finished in 1227. Because St. Osmund wrote the charter for Old Sarum, the creation of the Sarum Use is attributed to St. Osmund. It is more likely, however, that Bishop Richard Poore, thirteenth-century bishop of Sarum, codified the order of worship at New Sarum.

Regarding the office for veneration of Thomas Becket, the sources that are most readily available are included in the secular Sarum Use liturgical books. While Andrew Hughes hypothesizes that Benedict of Peterborough wrote the monastic office for Thomas between 1170, the year of Thomas's martyrdom, and 1193, the year of the abbot's death, the secular liturgical books of the time quickly adopted the office, altering the number of antiphons and responses to fit the secular use. The earliest sources which exist to us and that are useful for discussion of the offices include:

⁷³ Frank Cross and Elizabeth Livingstone, eds., "Osmund, St," In *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 1015.

⁷⁴ Richard's birth and death dates are unclear. However, he was Bishop of Salisbury (1217-1228) and is credited with the earliest occurrence of the term "Sarum Use." Walter Howard Frere, *The Use of Sarum*, vols. II, (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), I: xix.

1. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth,⁷⁵ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Almae Matris Academiae Cantabrigiensis, 1879– 86).

This is the standard facsimile used for academic research on the Sarum use. A Breviary (from the Latin *Breviarium*) is a book of complete texts for the Offices, including “psalms, lessons, hymns, and prayers required to recite the Office in choir or in private.” This particular book is a reprint of the so-called “Great Breviary” (Paris: Claude Chevallon and Francis Regnault, 1531) and can serve as a representation of a later Sarum office, which became more complicated, cross-textually, as the age of the printing press arose.

Prior to the year 1500, Sarum Breviaries were exclusively printed in Paris, Venice, Cologne, and Rouen. In 1500, the Sarum Breviary was requested for printing in London, in addition to its continued printing in Paris until the year 1556.⁷⁶ The Procter and Wordsworth version is a nineteenth-century reprint of the Sarum Breviary and is based on a book from Paris in 1531, printed by Chevallon and Regnault, prominent printers of the sixteenth century. The nineteenth-century facsimile has been hailed by leading scholars such as Richard Pfaff and Andrew Hughes for its “completeness and complexity” in comparison to the original 1531 print. Pfaff, as well as other medieval liturgiologists, agree that while this 1531 print is not an accurate representation of all Sarum Use office books, the Procter and Wordsworth’s facsimile of the Sarum Breviary is a complete and accurate portrayal of a late Sarum liturgical book. The text is broken into three parts by Procter and Wordsworth, for the purpose of clarity. Facsimile I, the first volume of the book, includes

⁷⁵ John Wordsworth was Bishop of Sarum and chaplain at College in Oxford in the nineteenth century. Morse, *Notes on Ceremonial*, 39.

⁷⁶ Jenifer Raub, “Sarum Liturgical Printing in Tudor London” (PhD diss., University of London, 2011), 40.

the Calendar and the Proper of the Time. Thomas's feast is included in the Proper of the Time among the other martyrs in the octave of Christmas. The feast day is included in the octave because Thomas was martyred on December 29th, a date within the eight days which proceed Christmas day. The Feast of the Nativity and the octave that follows is a very solemn and important series of feasts within the Church year because December 25th is the celebration of the birth of Jesus, the most central figure of Christianity and the incarnation of God the Son.

2. *Antiphonale Sarisburiensis* (Paris: Wolfgang Hopylius & Francis Byrckman, 1519), ff. lxxxiii^v – lxxxv^r

There is one extant Antiphoner available in print. From the ninth century onward, this liturgical book included music and texts for “hymns, antiphons, responds, and other choir chants for the Divine Office” of a saint’s feast day or a special liturgical celebration in the Church calendar.⁷⁷ Prints from this 1519/20 Antiphoner have been used to clarify some of the printed notes and text that are more difficult to read in the Breviary.

The monastic and secular offices for the saint’s feast day differ in form in minor ways. Focusing on the secular office is a fruitful study because of the ability to contextualize the celebration at Salisbury Cathedral, a secular institution. Additionally, analyzing the secular office leads to discoveries about the dissemination of Thomas’s cult within the Sarum use, since the office was “quickly adopted by the [Sarum] Use,” following the office’s codification around 1193.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Raub, “Sarum,” 36–53.

⁷⁸ Hughes, “Chants,” 185–201.

3. Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 21, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971).

There are twenty-seven Processional sources extant, according to scholar Jenifer Raub. Additionally, according to Terence Bailey, who has studied the processions of Sarum, these extant manuscripts are all copies or abridgements of the same book and most are incomplete. A complete Sarum use processional includes “the whole of the liturgy – chants, texts, and directions” associated with processions.⁷⁹ Processions were held in medieval England for many celebratory and solemn occasions throughout the Church calendar outside of the reciting of the Offices. A Procession was held especially between First Vespers and Second Vespers on the eve of a feast where there is an altar to a certain saint in the Church. This is the case in Salisbury Cathedral, where there is an altar dedicated to St. Thomas Becket. The altar is original to the building, which was erected in the 1220s. In 1227, Salisbury Cathedral was officially chartered and moved to New Sarum where work began on the building that still stands today. While the foundation of the building has been modified over time to keep it from collapsing, the basic plan of this secular cathedral is original to the thirteenth century. It can be argued that because the building is original, Thomas’s altar preserves its original location, especially since there is no indication in scholarship that the altar was moved. Thus, the specifications surrounding the procession to the altar of this saint at Salisbury reflect medieval practice.

Therefore, in order to compare the Roman and Sarum practices, understanding the history and development of the practices of Sarum which correlate to the region of southern

⁷⁹ Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Toronto Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 21, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1971), 3–4.

England is essential. For example, much scholarship has been written on the processions of Sarum because they were particular to a location in Medieval England and therefore shed light on differences between Roman and Sarum uses. The reason for concentrating so heavily on the processions of Sarum is because they were of extreme importance to the laity and clerics alike in medieval England. The processions in the Sarum Use are cited as important because they were the only part of a liturgy that the laity would be able to visibly see. The majority of the liturgies of the Office and the Mass were celebrated behind the rood screen,⁸⁰ even in parish churches.⁸¹ Because Salisbury Cathedral was a secular institution, the laity took part in a certain number of offices recited and sung by the clerics, and therefore the Sarum use cannot be separated from the regularity of the common people's worship practices. In this way, the study of the Sarum use is not a comparison between Roman and Sarum practices but rather a study of the localized practices of a people displaced from Rome, in England.

⁸⁰ A rood screen is an ornate partition between the nave and the chancel of many churches around the world.

Luke Erdahl, message to author, November 5, 2018.

⁸¹ Harper, *The Forms and Orders*, 40–41.

IV. December 29th: *Ad Primas Vesperas*

Thomas Becket was martyred in Canterbury Cathedral on December 29, 1170. He was canonized in 1173 and shortly after, possibly the same year as the Thomas's canonization, Abbot Benedict of Peterborough began writing the office for the feast day of Becket's martyrdom on December 29th. In 1220, when Becket's relics were translated from the crypt to an elaborate shrine in the Trinity Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral, an office was written to mark the celebration of the feast of Thomas's translation on July 7, 1220. While the shrine could have functioned as an altar to Thomas, it is never explicitly described in this way. Following the translation of Thomas's relics in 1220, a jubilee was celebrated every fifty years following that year, until the sixteenth century Reformation when King Henry VIII banned veneration of the martyr. In a jubilee year, the translation of Thomas's relics to the Shrine in Trinity Chapel would have been celebrated on July 7. The office written for this feast borrowed texts and music in large quantities from the December 29th feast day.

According to Jenifer Raub, there are ninety-eight extant prints of liturgical books of Sarum use for the secular office, and all were printed between the late fifteenth century and mid-sixteenth century: 1 Antiphoner (1519–20), 68 Breviaries (1475–1556), and 27 Processional books (1501–1558).⁸²

Offices dedicated to Thomas, which have been carefully catalogued by Andrew Hughes,⁸³ are rare sources having survived against the suppression of saintly veneration of the sixteenth century by Henry VIII. Henry's disapproval of saints in the sixteenth century

⁸² Raub, "Sarum," 36–53.

⁸³ Andrew Hughes, "British Rhymed Offices," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 239–284.

was notably stronger against Thomas than other saints because of Thomas's legacy of refusal to accept the king's power over the Church. Sarum books contain the secular office and were more widely spread than the monastic books because the laity and secular clergy, which made up a larger group of people, could use them.

Salisbury Cathedral lends itself well to contextualize the Feast of St. Thomas Becket on December 29th in two convenient ways. Firstly, the secular cathedral has an altar dedicated to the saint. Secondly, Salisbury is the birthplace of the Sarum Use which contains Thomas's office in the most reliable secular-use sources. A study of Thomas's office for First Vespers, in an attempt to reconstruct its content, begins with inquiry into the Second Vespers of December 28th as well as the procession that immediately precedes the First Vespers.

The Vespers Procession for St. Thomas Becket

Second Vespers for the Feast of the Holy Innocents, on December 28th, the day prior to Thomas's feast day, ends with the following memorials,⁸⁴ in chronological order: The Feast of the Nativity (December 25), St. Stephen the protomartyr (December 26), St. John the Apostle (December 27). The memorials end with an antiphon which officially begins First Vespers of St. Thomas Becket's feast. It is here that the procession begins to the altar dedicated to St. Thomas. It is helpful to look back to previous days of the octave in order to develop a comprehensive picture of the procession to Thomas's altar. The procession for First Vespers on the Feast of St. Stephen, two days prior, is similar to that for St. Thomas. The processions that took place during the octave of the feast of the

⁸⁴ A Memorial is a set of antiphons, prayers, and responses that precede the beginning of First Vespers in the Divine Office, during the octave of the Feast of the Nativity and the Feast of the Resurrection.

Nativity were “special processions” which did not accurately represent a picture of solemnity for the entire year, but rather were significant events for the town of Sarum, the see of Canterbury, and potentially a major part of the continent, especially in the first years after New Sarum was built in the thirteenth century. Additionally, it is notable that First Vespers is the only office which is granted a procession, though it was an ordinary occurrence at Mass throughout the year. The procession thereby increases the solemnity of First Vespers of a feast where there is an altar to the saint in a church.

According to the Salisbury Consuetudinary,⁸⁵ Thomas’s feast day was classed as a *minus duplex* which meant that a procession only occurred when the feast landed on a Sunday. Therefore, the assumption is that the following outline of First Vespers for December 29th could have been celebrated on a Sunday at New Sarum.

Making an outline of First Vespers requires the collation of the Breviary, Processional, and Antiphonal but it also requires the contextualization of these three documents with the medieval office of Vespers. This provokes a few challenges. For instance, neither the Common nor the Proper of the Saints include a complete service for First Vespers. Each is mutually exclusive in the information it gives; therefore, these two parts of the Sarum Breviary as well as the other liturgical books must be consulted in order to create a holistic representation of First Vespers for Thomas.

The Appendix of the *Proprium Sanctorum*⁸⁶ points to the first pages of the Psalter to explain the private devotions which occur before each hour begins. At the time of private devotions, the following is spoken, according to the Sarum Breviary: *In nomine Domini*

⁸⁵ Dated after 1173, from Old Sarum, the Consuetudinary is a liturgical rubric book for Sarum Use at Salisbury Cathedral. A copy is now kept in the Salisbury Diocesan Registry Office (1225).

⁸⁶ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. III, xxx–xxxii.

nostrum Jesu Christi. Amen. Then, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Credo*, and *Aperi Domine* are spoken.⁸⁷ The rubrics for Thomas's First Vespers, in the Breviary and the Antiphonal, are vague regarding when the introductory sentences are to be spoken and the table of contents in the Common of the Saints explains these introductory sentences as *Formulae communes: ante horas dicendae*.⁸⁸ Therefore, two explanations avail themselves: they were said after the list of memorials on December 28th Second Vespers and before the procession for First Vespers on December 29th; they were removed, and a procession was celebrated in their place. The recitation of Psalm 69 and the lesser doxology are common to the beginning of Vespers only. If these introductory sentences were in fact recited after the Memorials, they would have been recited in Choir. Since there is not an altar to the Holy Innocents in Salisbury Cathedral, there would not have been a procession. Therefore, the clergy would have finished Second Vespers and then begun First Vespers for Thomas in Choir at Salisbury.

Following the introductory sentences, it might be argued that the psalms were then recited in Choir. David Hiley explains that the secular Roman Rite for Ferial Vespers on a Sunday included five Psalms: 109–113, as shown in Figure 3.⁸⁹ The numbering of psalms for Vespers on Sunday in the Roman Rite and Sarum use is the same.⁹⁰ For Thomas's feast day, in the Antiphonal (music and text) and Breviary (text only), three antiphons are required (Figure 1). This is problematic because even if three antiphons found in the

⁸⁷ *Aperi Domine os meum ad benedicendum nomen tuum. Munda quoque cor meum ad omnibus vanis cogitationibus, ut exaudiri merear ante conspectum divinae majestatis tuae. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum vivit et regnum.*
Breviarium ad usum...Sarum, vol. II, 1–2.

⁸⁸ "Common formulas to be said before the hours."
Breviarium ad usum...Sarum, vol. II, 1–2.

⁸⁹ These psalm numbers are according to the Latin Vulgate.

⁹⁰ The Commune Sanctorum prescribes five Psalms for Sunday at Vespers.
Breviarium ad usum...Sarum, vol. II, 191–195.

Breviary⁹¹ are appropriated sequentially onto Psalms 109–111, the antiphons for Psalms 112–113 are apparently missing. In the Common of the Saints, there are two psalm antiphons printed at the beginning of the Office *Ad Vesperas In natali unius Martyris (extra tempus paschale)*.⁹² In addition, the antiphon *Beatus vir qui suffert*, which appears as the second psalm antiphon for the common of one martyr, also appears in manuscript A-Gu 29 as the only antiphon attributed to Thomas's December 29th feast.⁹³ Because there are no Antiphons prescribed for one bishop and martyr and because Thomas's office only includes three antiphons, it could be argued that these two antiphons from the common of the saints are the missing two that are to be used for Thomas's First Vespers. Figure 5 shows the music each of the five Psalm antiphons. All five antiphons appear in the Breviary. The first three are echoed in the Antiphonal with music for Thomas, and the last two are shown as they appear in the Common of the Saints.

⁹¹ Text: *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. III, ccxlv

Music: *Antiphonale ad Usam Ecclesiae Sarum*, Pars Hiemalis (Paris, 1519), folio 84^{v-r}.

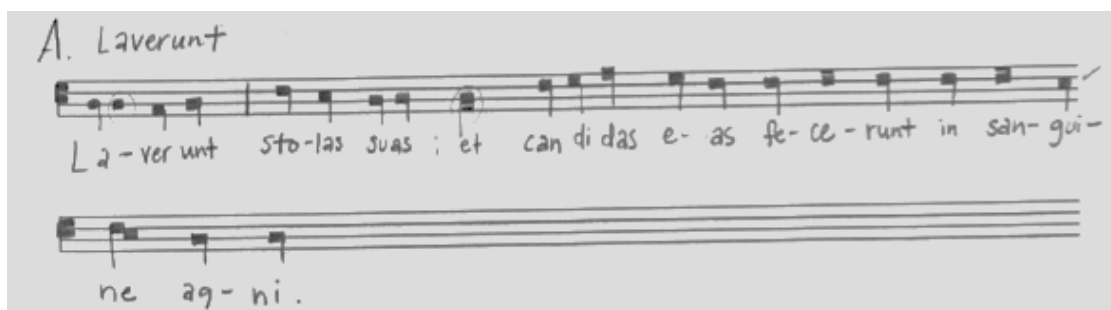
⁹² Translation: "At Vespers on the Feast of the birth of one martyr (after Paschal time)," where the birth of a martyr refers to the date on which the saint was killed.
Breviarium ad usum...Sarum, vol. II, 371.

Margot Fassler, *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 408.

⁹³ Additionally, this antiphon is found in many other fifteenth-century Austrian manuscripts for the office of Thomas or the birth of one martyr, with little variance in melody.
Austria: Source: Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 29, fol. 243^r

Figure 5. Psalm antiphons at Thomas's First Vespers

A. Laverunt – Ps. 109 – Laverunt



Antiphon. They wash his stoles: and they make them spotless in the blood of the Lamb.⁹⁴

B. Ambulabunt – Ps. 110 – Ambulabunt

Ambulabunt mecum in albis quoniam digni
sunt; et non delebo nomina eorum de libro vitae.

Antiphon. They will walk with Me in spotlessness since they are worthy: and I will not delete their names from the book of life.⁹⁵

C. Cantabunt – Ps. 111 – Cantabunt

Cantabunt^{alu} sancti canticum novum ante sedem dei
et agni et resonabat terra in voces illorum.

Antiphon. They [the saints] will sing a new song before the seat of God and the Lamb: and the earth will resound in their voices.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ This antiphon is a paraphrased verse from Rev. 22:14. “Beati, qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni...”

⁹⁵ This antiphon is a paraphrased verse from Rev. 3:5. “Qui vicerit, sic vestietur vestimentis albis, et non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitae...”

⁹⁶ This antiphon is a paraphrased verse from Rev. 14:3. “Et cantabunt quasi canticum novum ante sedem, et ante quatuor animalia, et seniores...”

D. Iste sanctus – Ps. 112 – Iste sanctus

Ant.
VIII

The image shows three staves of musical notation for an antiphon. The first staff begins with a large 'I' and the text '- ste sanctus * pro le-ge De- i su- i certá- vit'. The second staff continues with 'usque ad mortem, et a verbis impi- ó- rum non tí- mu- it :'. The third staff concludes with 'fundá- tus e- ñim e- rat supra firmam pe- tram.' The music is written in square neumes on a four-line staff.

- ste sanctus * pro le-ge De- i su- i certá- vit

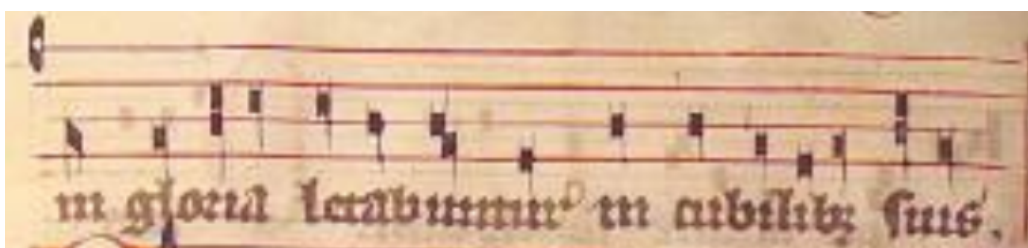
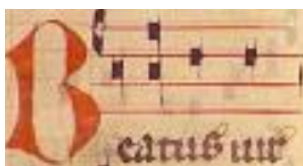
usque ad mortem, et a verbis impi- ó- rum non tí- mu- it :

fundá- tus e- ñim e- rat supra firmam pe- tram.

Antiphon. This holy man fought unto death for the law of his God and did not fear the words of the wicked, for his was founded on the firm rock.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Text: *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. II, Commune Sanctorum, 371. Antiphonale Monasticum (Tournai, 1934)

E. Beatus vir – Ps. 113 – Beatus vir



Antiphon. Blessed is the man who endureth temptation; for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him.⁹⁸

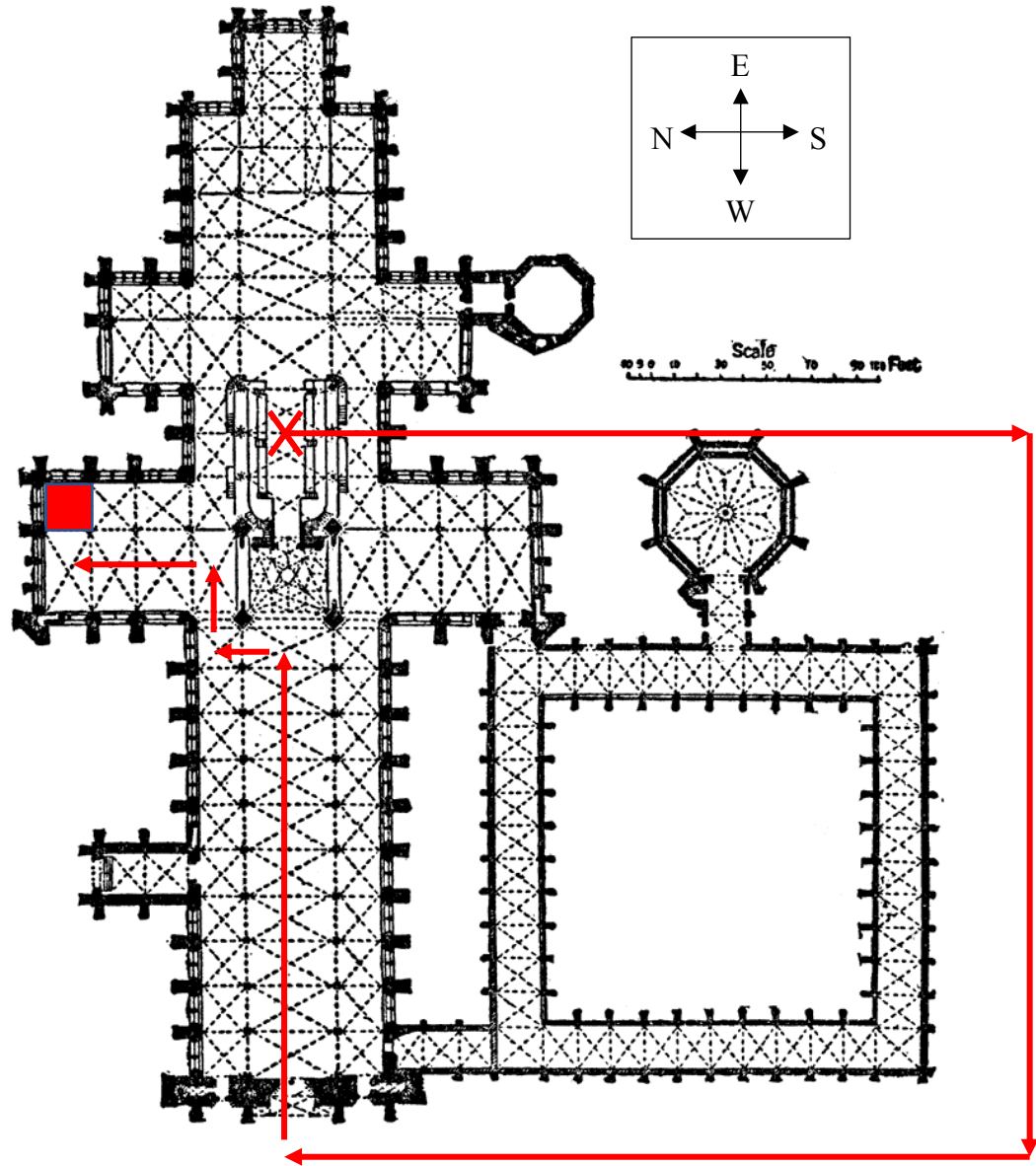
After the psalms are recited, the Chapter, usually taken from an Epistle, is recited. For St. Thomas's feast there is no specified little chapter in the Proper of the Time, so the reading inserted in the office *In Natali Unius Martyris* from the Common of the Saints is substituted in for the reading from the common of Sunday Vespers. The reading from the common of one martyr is taken from James 1:12. The recitation of the Chapter is finished by all present responding with *Deo Gratias*.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. II, Commune Sanctorum, 371.
The music for this antiphon is found in multiple (manuscripts)
Antiphonarium Benedictinum (1400)

⁹⁹ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. II, *Dominicis Diebus Ad Vesperas*, 371.

Upon completion of the Chapter, the procession is to begin. First Vespers can be separated into three sections: pre-procession material, procession, and post-procession material. Since the rubrics are not clear as to when the procession is to begin, it can be argued that the procession from the Choir to Thomas's altar took place at the beginning of the Responsory. Figure 6 shows the route that the procession would have taken at Salisbury Cathedral.

Figure 6. The procession route at Salisbury Cathedral for office of Vespers¹⁰⁰

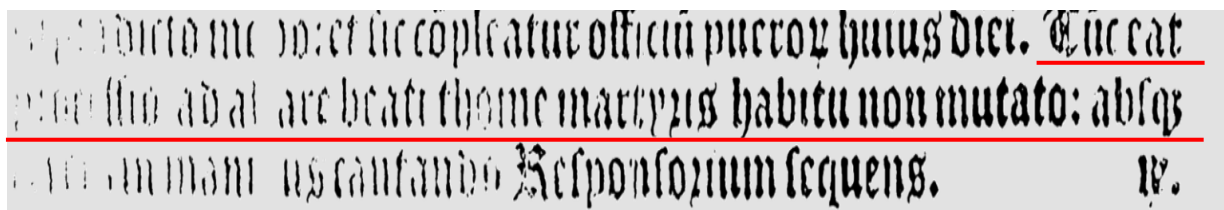


Terence Bailey's research on the Sarum processional elaborates on the Breviary and Antiphonal explanation of the procession, "Thence let a procession go to the altar of Saint Thomas the Martyr, having not changed his habit (clothes) and without candles in his

¹⁰⁰The Red "X" marks the Choir, where the procession began, and the red box shows the location of Thomas's altar.

hands, in singing the Responsory, with the cantor beginning.”¹⁰¹ The directions from the Breviary in Figure 7 are an expansion upon the Sarum Antiphonal’s instruction.

Figure 7. Instruction from *Antiphonale ad Usum Ecclesiae Sarum*, Pars Hiemalis (Paris, 1519), folio 84.



Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum (1531)

Tunc eat Processio ad altare beati Thome Martyris, habitu non mutato: absque cereis in manibus, cantando { Responsorium, Cantore incipiente. }

The order of people in the procession, shown in Figure 8, followed the route prescribed in Figure 6, commencing from the Choir and walking outside via the south door of the Cathedral.

Figure 8. Order of procession

1. Thurifer
2. Taper – bearer
3. Boy carrying the book
4. Priest
5. Choir (secular clerics at Salisbury Cathedral)

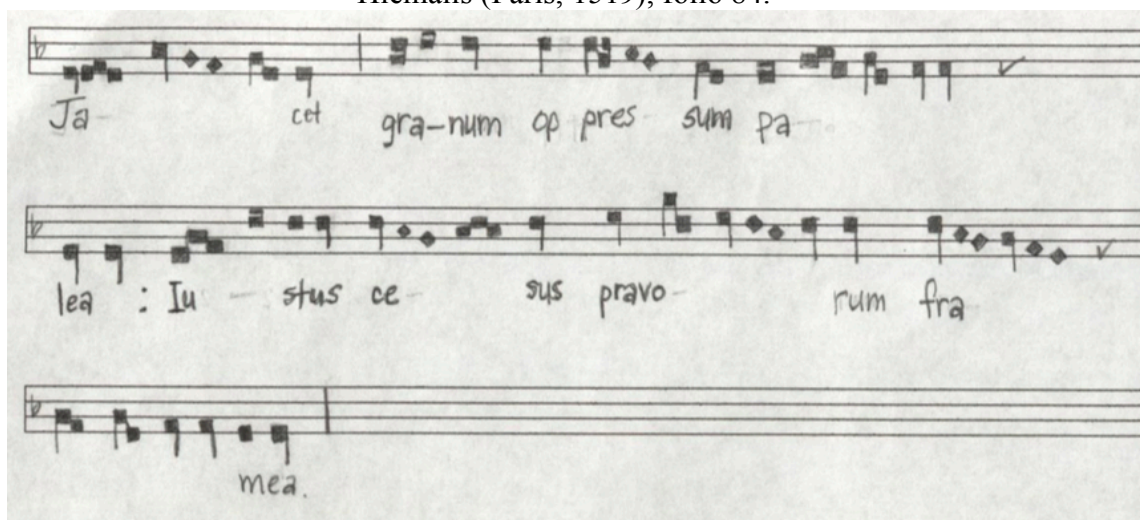
Bailey has argued that the order of procession and those involved in the procession would not have been any different than that of Mass. This is hypothesized because of the

¹⁰¹ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol III, ccxlv.

unlikely that a different order of procession would have been created for only one hour, First Vespers for the feast of a saint with an altar in the church.

The chant sung during the procession to Thomas's altar at Salisbury is the Respond, *Jacet Granum*. The music is found in the Antiphonal and the text is found in the Proper of the Saints.¹⁰² As the rubrics indicate in the Breviary, the cantor, a member of the cathedral chapter responsible for the musical performance of the liturgy, would intone the beginning of the Respond, traditionally, up to the first vertical bar line of the chant. The remainder of the choir would finish singing the Respond.

Figure 9. Respond. *Jacet Granum*, from *Antiphonale ad Usus Ecclesiae Sarum*, Pars Hiemalis (Paris, 1519), folio 84.¹⁰³

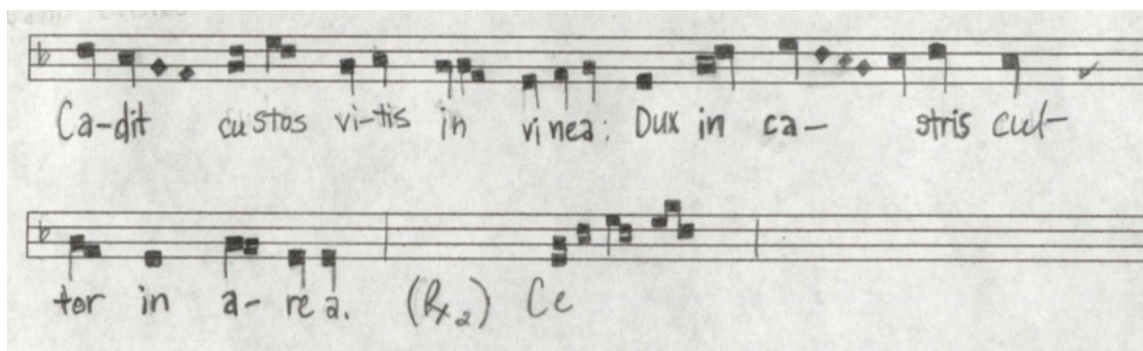


Responsory. The grain lies overwhelmed by the chaff; the just man is cut down by the spear of the wicked.

(Repetenda) Exchanging a home of clay for heaven.

¹⁰² *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol. II, Appendix, xxxi.

¹⁰³ Slocum, *Liturgies*, 72–73.

Verse. *Cadit custos*

Verse. The keeper of the vines falls in the vineyard, the commander in the camp, the laborer in the field.¹⁰⁴

According to the expected performance practice, the Respond would have been intoned by a cantor up to the first bar line, followed by the entirety of the choir joining at *granum*. The Cantor would have sung the following Verse, *Cadit custos*, alone and the choir would join together again for the Repetenda, *Celum domo*. The Cantor then sang the *Gloria Patri* alone and all the choir would join one last time for a repeat of the Respond *Jacet granum...lutea*.

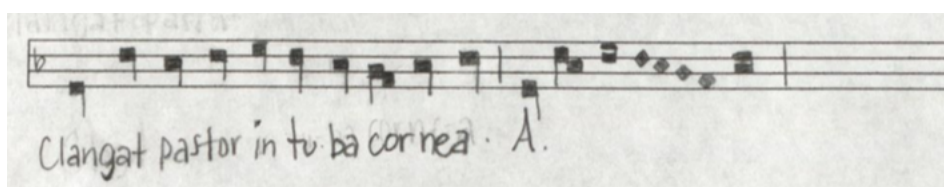
Concerning the transition between the procession and the following material, *Jacet granum* was either elongated to last the entirety of the walk from the Choir, around the building and to Thomas's altar, or the singing ended by the time the priest and the boy [with the book] stood in front of the altar.

¹⁰⁴ Translation: Sherry Reames

Sherry Reames, "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket", in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 565-66.

Then, the Antiphonal and Breviary indicate that the Prosa be sung before the altar, by all who wish.¹⁰⁵ A Prosa is a special addition to the office for St. Thomas.¹⁰⁶ The Prosa has a rich history. Its root of origin is in the Mass, where a set of texts were sung pairs of the same music with a melisma at the end of each line on one syllable, in an AABB, etc format. Just as the Prosa follows the Gospel Alleluia in Mass, so does the Prosa act as a trope to the Respond in the Divine Office. Thus, the Prosa is interpreted in the case of Thomas's Vespers as a trope to the Respond *Jacet granum*. The image of a "just man" [Thomas] killed by the wicked [the four knights] in the GR, foreshadows the elongated story of redemption in the text of the Prosa. Both the GR and the Prosa end with a decisive message that Thomas is in heaven, and no longer must endure the inferior "house of clay" on earth. A Prosa does not appear in any other First or Second Vespers during the octave of the Nativity, thus singling out Thomas's day with greater solemnity in this way.¹⁰⁷ The Prosa for Thomas's office, *Clangat pastor*, exemplified in Figure 10, is sung in the usual manner with the Cantor chanting the Verses and the choir responding on "ah" at the end of each recitation.¹⁰⁸

Figure 10. (Prosa) *Clangat Pastor*



¹⁰⁵ *Deinde dicatur Prosa ab omnibus qui volunt in superpellicis coram altare.*

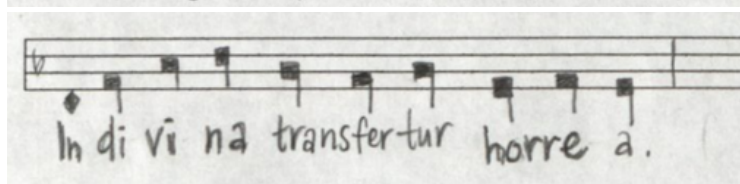
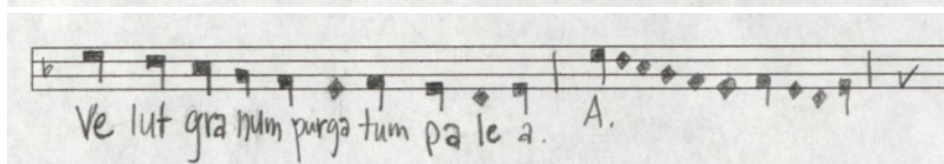
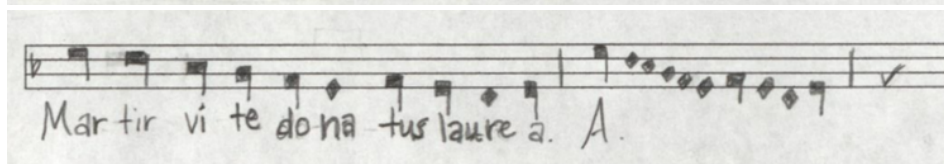
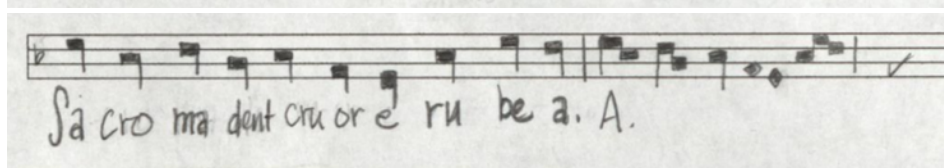
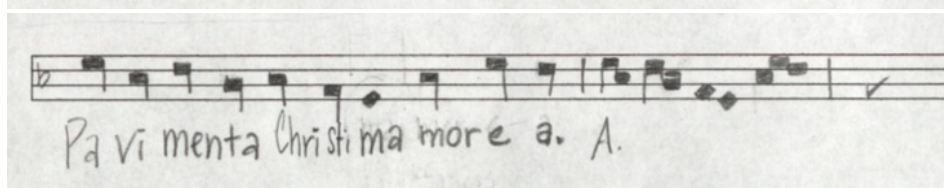
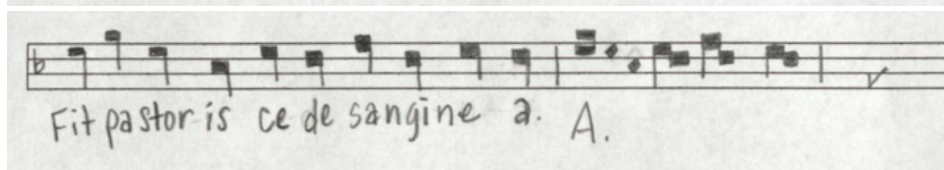
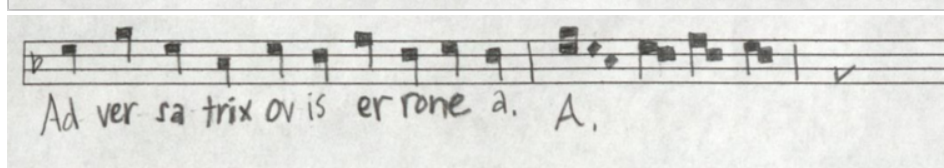
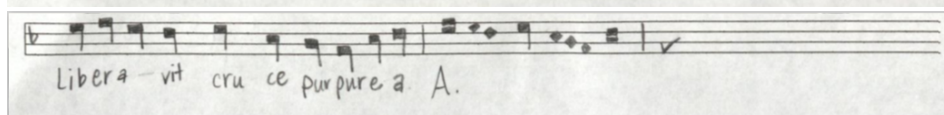
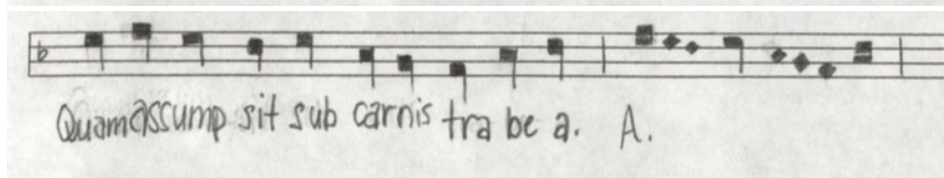
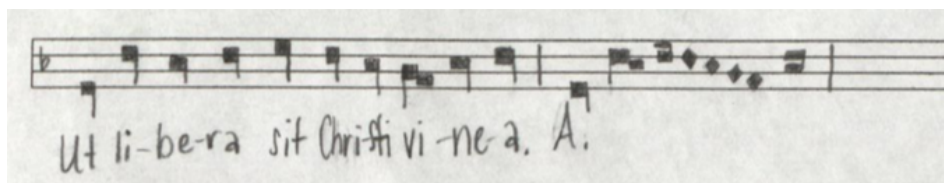
"Then the Prosa is sung by all people who wish in surplices before the altar."

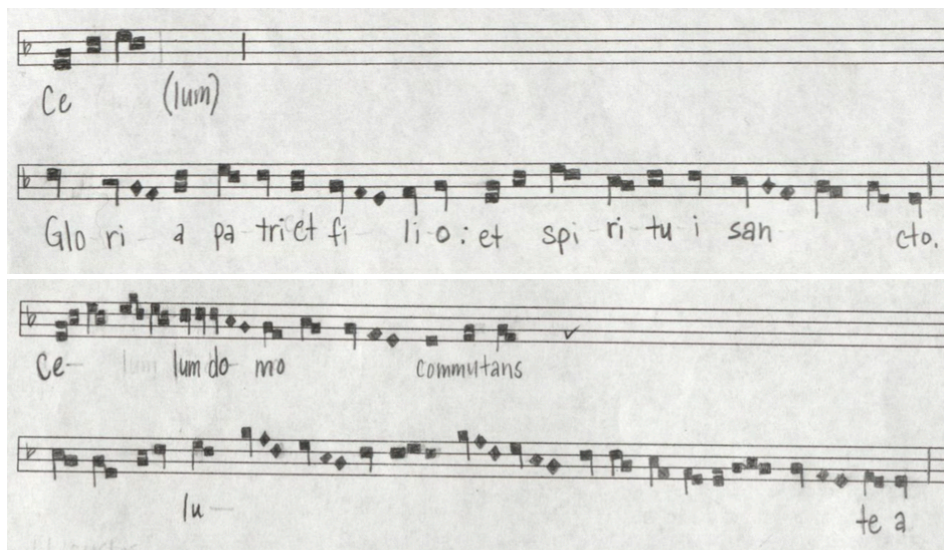
¹⁰⁶ Paul Frederick Cutter, Brad Maiani, Davitt Moroney, and John Caldwell, "Prosa," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 20, 2019,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000022428?rskey=r2UuJ8&result=1>.

¹⁰⁷ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, Proprium Sanctorum, vol. III.

¹⁰⁸ *Chorus respondeat cantum Prosae post unumquemque Versum super litteram A.*





*Clangat pastor in tuba cornea
 Ut libera sit Christi vinea
 Quam assumptae sub carnis trabea
 Liberavit cruce purpurea
 Adversatrix ovis erronea
 Fit pastoris caede sanguinea
 Pavimenta Christi marmorea
 Sacro madent cruore rubea
 Martir vitae donatus laurea
 Velut granum purgatum palea
 In divina transfertur horrea
 Caelum domo commutans lutea.*

Let the shepherd blow on the trumpet of horn
 so that Christ's vineyard may be free,
 which He claimed when He donned His royal robe of flesh
 and redeemed with His beautiful cross.
 Wrongdoing, the adversary of the sheep,
 Bloodied the marble floors of Christ
 with the shepherd's slaughter;
 the floors are drenched with the sacred blood.
 The martyr, endowed with the crown of life,
 like the wheat cleansed from chaff
 is gathered into God's storehouse.
 Trading a house of clay for heaven. ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Reames, "Liturgical Offices," 565-66.
 Symbolism: John 10:11-18; Matthew 3:12, 13:30 (DAR)

After the Prosa, the Proper of the Saints directs no *Gloria Patri* to be sung, but rather the holy altar and image of the saint are to be incensed as the Prosa is chanted with all standing before the altar to St. Thomas Becket in New Sarum.¹¹⁰ Following the final melisma on “ah” of *Clangat pastor*, the Verse, *Ora pro nobis beate Thoma*, is recited in a “modest voice” by all standing in front of the altar.

Since the Proper of the Saints is not specific about which hymn is to be sung, following the Prosa at First Vespers, a few hymns can plausibly be inserted. The hymn *Ad Vesperas In Natali unius Martyris (extra tempus paschale)* is *Martyr Dei*. However, Thomas Becket is not explicitly listed in the preceding paragraph that prescribes certain feasts in which to insert this hymn. In fact, all martyrs from the octave of the Nativity are mentioned except Thomas and the Holy Innocents. This may be because the Holy Innocents are considered under the common of Vespers for multiple martyrs. In the same way, while Thomas is celebrated as a bishop and martyr, there is no hymn specific to *de uno martyr decollato*,¹¹¹ or *in natali unius Martyris et Pontificis*.¹¹² Therefore, the most obvious hymn available for usage is *Martyr Dei*.¹¹³

Finally, the pinnacle of the office of Vespers arrives and the opening Magnificat is chanted. The Magnificat antiphon is intoned, by one voice, following expected performance practice, and the remainder of the choir joins to perform the antiphon to the end.

¹¹⁰ *Ad hanc processionem non dicatur Gloria: sed dum Prosa canitur, thurificet Sacerdos altare, deinde imaginem beatae Thomae martyris; et postea dicat modesta voce Versum, Ora pro nobis beate Thoma.*

¹¹¹ For one Martyr, beheaded

¹¹² On the birth of one Martyr and Bishop

¹¹³ *Martyr Dei qui unicum, Patris sequendo Filium, Victis triumphans hostibus, Victor fruens caelestibus. Tui precatus munera Nostrum reatum dilue : Arcens mali contagium, Vitae removens taedium. Soluta sunt jam vincula, Tui sacrati corporis : Nos solve vinclis secali, Amore Filii Dei. Breviarium ad usum...Sarum, vol II, Commune Sanctorum, In Natali unius Martyris, ccclxxii.*

The placement for the *Oratio*¹¹⁴ in Thomas's First Vespers is after the repetition of the Magnificat antiphon. This is plausible because the rubrics for *In Dominicis Diebus Ad Vesperas* and *In Natali Unius Martyris* prescribe prayers and the *Benedicamus Domino* at the end of each recitation of the Vespers office. The most convincing argument, however, for placing the *Oratio* after the Magnificat is that *Ad Vesperas* on the Feast of the Nativity, St. Stephen, John the Apostle, and the Holy Innocents, being very similar in structure to Thomas's day, all place a special *Oratio* after the recitation of the Magnificat and Antiphon.¹¹⁵

The final verses and responses, *℣. Dominus vobiscum*, *℞. Et cum spiritu tuo*, *℣. Benedicamus Domino*, *℞. Deo gratias* are recited, with the Officiant saying the verses and all others present at Salisbury saying the responses. Thus, the celebration of the office of First Vespers for the Feast of St. Thomas Becket on December 29th at Salisbury Cathedral ends. This celebration initiates a day of veneration for St. Thomas, a holy martyr who inspired the liturgical life of medieval England.

¹¹⁴ *Deus, pro cuius ecclesia gloriosus pontifex Thomas gladiis impiorum occubuit: praesta, quaesumus, ut omnes qui eius implorant auxilium petitionis suae salutare consequantur effectum. Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*

¹¹⁵ *Breviarium ad usum...Sarum*, vol III. Proprium Sanctorum, cxciv-ccxvi

V. Conclusions

St. Thomas Becket, an Archbishop of Canterbury who was canonized within three short years of his martyrdom, appears to have been markedly important to England and the whole of the Roman Church. His feast day held great solemnity among those included in the Proper of the Time, and because of this, his office is granted a procession. Benedict of Peterborough, in writing the office devoted to Thomas, seems to have acted upon the widespread desire to venerate this saint who had stood up for the Church even in the face of death. The image of an archbishop who is not willing to be swayed by the audaciousness of one of the most powerful monarchs in Europe, Henry II, is painted marvelously by Thomas's life and would have been a story to which people all over the western world would have been able to relate.

The presence of Thomas's feast in the liturgical books has been changed since those times. After the Tridentine conciliar reforms of the sixteenth century, Thomas's *minus duplex* feast day was removed and changed to a smaller commemoration, consisting of an antiphon, verse, and response. Furthermore, after the second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the commemoration was completely removed and what remains is the celebration of the fifth day after the Nativity of Our Lord alone.

Regardless of the diminished interest in celebrating Thomas's life in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, many Christians seem to recognize the name Thomas Becket, which is mostly likely due to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or T.S. Elliott's *Murder in the Cathedral*. In some way, the heroic story of Thomas's willingness to stand in the face of death and not fear the sword of the Church's oppressors seems as though it will always be relatable.

Though England began to transition to Protestantism in the sixteenth century and many monasteries were ruined in the wake of the Reformation, English cathedrals still stand as reminders of all the history they have endured, including the death of Thomas at Canterbury in the nave, and the processions held in his honor at Salisbury. While the Sarum use is no longer common practice in England, the very spaces where these rubrics were constituted and practiced are reminders of a locally-rooted set of regulations that were important to clergy and laymen alike.

Immediately after the Sarum use was constituted, the way in which southern England secular cathedrals understood administrative, ritual, and ceremonial practices of the Roman Church formed. Under one holy, catholic, and apostolic church, the local people of England, being far removed geographically from the Vatican, were able to build what was needed for their own purposes. In the medieval church, corporate worship was very much emphasized. While it may be most obvious to think of corporate worship as laypeople in a body of members, ordained clergymen are the primary source for this image of community. In medieval monastic and secular cathedrals, the corporate body made up the choir. Though the clergy, depending on whether they were cloistered or not, were an enclosed religious community, the laity were certainly able to come into the cathedrals and watch the liturgies from the nave and pray. The presence of the laity in the nave of a cathedral was possible and especially prevalent for feast days in which the laity had greater devotion, such as ceremonies devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary and, at Salisbury, St. Thomas Becket. As John Harper describes, “the fervor of devotion and the spread of

popular Offices, evident in surviving Books of Hours, attest to the liveliness of lay spirituality.”¹¹⁶

The purpose of this study is not merely to understand the details of the Sarum use in medieval England in order to revive this style of worship, but rather to shed light on the importance of localized liturgical practices and to inform our understanding of the liturgy that is enacted in the present day. This study shows the reality of liturgy practices in one geographic area of the Catholic Church as well as the impact that the feast day of a greatly venerated saint can have on localized worship practices.

Studying the local liturgy in medieval England shows that there is precedent for the Pope to approve alterations to the Roman Rite for the local community in England. It is significant that within the most institutionalized church in the world, there is a precedent for alterations in the liturgy. United under God, the church recognizes the differences of geographic situations with which certain people are faced, throughout the world.

¹¹⁶ Harper, *The Forms*, 203.

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