Michael LAPIDGE

THE METRICAL CALENDAR
IN THE "PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS"

It has long been known that the so-called "Pembroke Psalter-Hours", one of the most lavishly illuminated manuscripts of the late Middle Ages, contains a lengthy example of a metrical calendar\(^1\). This metrical calendar (hereafter referred to as MCPH) has not previously been printed or studied. Closer examination reveals the poem to be one of the most elaborate and ingenious surviving specimens of a seldom-studied medieval literary genre\(^2\), and one that throws interesting light on the cult of saints in late medieval England.

The "Pembroke Psalter-Hours", now Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Philip S. Collins Collection no. 45-65-2, is a combined Book of Hours B.V.M. and Psalter, produced in Flanders, probably in Bruges, for export to England, in the third quarter of the fifteenth century (probably 1465 × 1470)\(^3\). The original book consists of 195 vellum leaves in large quarto format (291 × 205 mm.), containing the metrical calendar, followed by the Book of Hours B.V.M. and the Psalter. To the original, late fifteenth-century, core were added twenty folios at the beginning of the manuscript.

* List of abbreviations, see below p. 387.

\(^1\) See F. S. ELLIS, Horae Pembrocianae. Some Account of an Illuminated Manuscript of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, written for William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke, London, 1880, pp. 7-8, where Ellis discusses and prints (very inaccurately) the lines for January (= lines 1-32 in the edition printed below). See also MARROW, Pembroke Psalter-Hours, at p. 865, who rightly stresses the "singularity of this text", but goes on to suggest – mistakenly, in my view – that "it may well have been created for this commission". As we shall see, the metrical calendar in the "Pembroke Psalter-Hours" is at least a century older than the book into which it has been copied.

\(^2\) The history of the metrical calendar remains to be written. See, for now, the remarks of R. AIGRAIN, L'hagiographie. Ses sources – Ses méthodes – Son histoire (= Subs. hag., 80), Brussels, 2000, pp. 54-55 (with bibliographical addendum by R. GODDING at p. 406), and below, pp. 344-347.


dating from the mid-sixteenth century and containing the coat of arms of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, a full-page portrait of the Earl, and a number of Latin prayers; at the end of the manuscript are fifteen further folios containing prayers in English said to have been collected by "Princesse Katherine quene of England", that is, Katherine Parr (1512-1548), sixth and last wife of Henry VIII, whose sister was the first wife of the Earl of Pembroke. The original book is lavishly illuminated with twenty-one full-page miniatures and eight large arched miniatures, plus 174 miniatures of column width. It is thought that the illuminations were produced by at least six painters in the vivid style of the Masters of Anthony of Burgundy, and these might have included Philippe de Mazerolles at an early stage of his career. From the fact that the manuscript was owned in the sixteenth century by William Herbert, first earl (of the present creation) of Pembroke (1506/7-1570), it has been conjectured that the manuscript was commissioned by his grandfather, William Herbert, first earl (of the first creation) of Pembroke (c. 1423-1469), who was a close friend and ally of King Edward IV, but who was captured at the battle of Danes Moor at Edgcote by rebel forces led by Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, taken to Northampton, and beheaded there on 27 July 1469. On the assumption that this William Herbert was the manuscript's patron, it must have been commissioned before 1469, but when it was finished and exported to England is unknown.

The metrical calendar (MCPH) is incorporated into the body of a liturgical calendar on fols. 21v-26v (that is, at the very beginning of the original, fifteenth-century, book). Like the remainder of the manuscript, the folios containing the calendar are lavishly decorated, with historiated initials and twelve marginal miniatures, one to each folio of the calendar.

The English prayers are printed by Ellis, Horae Pembrochianae... (see above n. 1), pp. 52-67.

Ellis (ibid., pp. 9-50) provides a full list and description of all the miniatures in the manuscript. Shipman (A Catalogue... [see above n. 3], pp. 46-50) gives a list and description of the full-page miniatures. The lavishly-illustrated study by Marrow, Pembroke Psalter-Hours, has six full-page colour plates and seventeen full-page black and white illustrations.

Zigrosser, The Philip S. Collins Collection... (see above n. 3), p. 32.

See N. P. Sil, Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (1506/7-1570), in ODNB, 26, pp. 731-736.

R. A. Griffiths, Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (c. 1423-1469), in ODNB, 26, pp. 729-731.

Given the unmistakably English component of commemorations in MCPH, it seems clear that the text of the poem was supplied to the artists in Bruges from an English source.
each consisting of two roundels, illustrating (in the left-hand roundels) seasonal occupations and (in the right-hand roundels) the signs of the zodiac. As is usual in a late medieval liturgical calendar, there are three vertical columns on the left-hand side of each page: the first, at the far left, recording so-called “Golden Numbers”, the middle column giving so-called “Dominical” or “Sunday Letters”, and the right-hand column the days of the month in Roman reckoning: kalends, nones, ides and kalends for the following month. At the beginning of each month, as in all late medieval calendars, there is a (prose) statement of how many solar and lunar days the month contains (e.g. in January there are thirty-one solar days and thirty lunar days: *Iauarius habet dies xxxi. et luna habet dies xxxi.*); at the end of each month, on the bottom of the page, there is another statement, in verse (hexameters) this time, indicating how many hours of daylight and darkness there are in each twenty-four hour day: the two extremities are December (18 hrs night, 6 hrs daylight) and June (6 hrs night, 18 hrs daylight); in the months between January and May, the amount of daylight grows by two hours per month, and between July and November decreases by two hours per month (e.g. in January there are eight hours of light and twice that, i.e. sixteen, of darkness: *Horas octo lux, duplas horas habet hic nox;* in February there are ten hours (*bis quinque*) of light and night exceeds this figure by four, i.e. there are fourteen hours of darkness: *quinque bis horas lux, excedit quatuor hic nox;* and so on). Finally, into his text for each month the poet of MCPH has inserted a single, leonine hexameter stating which days of the month are “unlucky” — these days are called *dies mala* or *dies Agyptiaca*. The twelve-line poem from

11 There are two full-page plates, showing the months of January and February, in Marrow, *Pembroke Psalter-Hours*, pp. 863-864 (illustrations 1 and 2: fols. 21r and 21v respectively).

12 These numbers indicate in which year of the decennovinal cycle there will be a new moon at the beginning of the month in question. Thus against 1 Jan. the roman numeral *iii.* indicates that in the third year of the decennovinal cycle the moon will be new on 1 Jan. See B. Blackburn – L. Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year. An Exploration of Calendar Customs and Time-Reckoning*, Oxford, 1999, p. 758. In order to determine the position of the present year in any decennovinal cycle, it would be necessary to consult a separate computistical table.

13 These letters, which run from *a* to *g* in this manuscript, give the day of the week and run consecutively through the entire year, beginning with *a* against 1 Jan. Thus if in a particular year 1 Jan. should happen to fall on a Tuesday, every subsequent occurrence of the letter *a* will mark a Tuesday. See Blackburn – Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year*, pp. 829-832.

14 These are days on which it was considered hazardous, for example, to embark on a sea journey or to undergo blood-letting, etc. See Blackburn – Holford-Strevens, *The Oxford Companion to the Year*, pp. 590-595, esp. p. 590: “the most common account made them 1 and 25 January, 4 and 26 February, 1 and 28 March, 10 and 20 April, 3 and 25 May, 10 and 16 June,
which these lines are taken is found in countless liturgical calendars; judging from the bisyllabic leonine rhyme in which the lines are cast, the poem was probably composed no earlier than the twelfth century. All five of the liturgical calendars collated here — OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, and WM (see below, p. 370) — contain these verses (although OX₁ and SAR-Mi have slightly modified versions of some of them). Within this elaborate, but entirely conventional, framework, the scribe has copied MCPH, incorporating into the poem the twelve verses denoting “unlucky days” (I have accordingly reproduced these twelve verses in the edition below, although it is clear that they are not an integral part of MCPH). MCPH itself consists of 365 hexameters. The poem is elegantly written in the type of Gothic script known to palaeographers as Textualis formata, of the sort written in northern Europe (the Low Countries, France and England) from the end of the twelfth century to the fifteenth and beyond. But, as often happens in medieval manuscripts, the elegance of the scribe’s writing is greatly at variance with the appalling inaccuracy of the Latin text which he copied. Such inaccuracy may imply, inter alia, a lengthy period of transmission before the poem was copied into the “Pembroke Psalter-Hours”.

Some help in dating the composition comes from consideration of the saints who are commemorated in it. By and large, the saints commemorated in MCPH are those commemorated in the liturgical calendars of printed Sarum breviaries: that is to say, in Office books intended for secular (i.e. non-monastic) use. Of the 176 commemorations in MCPH, all

13 and 22 July, 1 and 30 August, 3 and 21 September, 3 and 22 October, 5 and 28 November, 7 and 22 December. These are the dates specified by the ionic hexameters in the present poem. The poem is listed in H. WALTHER, Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris latinorum, 2nd ed., Göttingen, 1969, no. 14563. For this poem, and the many other sets of Latin verses recording “unlucky days” which circulated during the Middle Ages, see J. HENNIG, Versus de mensibus, in Traditio, 11 (1955), pp. 65-90, with citation of the relevant verses at p. 84 (no. III).

Note that the first date given is counted from the beginning of the month, the second from the end. Thus in the case of January — Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis — the first day (1 Jan.) and the seventh from the end (25 Jan.) are considered unlucky.

MCPH (inc. Incipiens annum tua Circumcisionis, Iesu) is not listed in WALTHER, Initia carminum ac versuum Medii Aevi posterioris latinorum.


For convenience, I list below (pp. 370-374) all the commemorations in MCPH, together with collation of commemorations in the two earliest surviving Oxford calendars, as well as in the calendars of sixteenth-century “Great Sarum Breviary”, of the Sarum Missal, and of the
but five are found in the calendar of the "Great Sarum Breviary" of 1531 (hereafter SAR-Br)\textsuperscript{20}. These figures are sufficient to suggest that the poet based his poem on a calendar in a Sarum breviary\textsuperscript{21}; and this suggestion is confirmed by the fact that MCPH includes commemorations of four saints who are regarded as diagnostic of Sarum use: SS. Leonard (line 321), Katherine (line 340), Wulfram (line 298) and Aldhelm (line 150)\textsuperscript{22}. But since at least one of the Oxford calendars with which its commemorations are most comparable (OX.) dates from the mid-fourteenth century, the statement needs to be treated with due care: many of the relevant saints could have entered Sarum use long after they had been commemorated in MCPH\textsuperscript{23}. In any event, the commemorations in MCPH include several saints who were canonized during the course of the thirteenth century:

- Hugh (c. 1140-1200), bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200), canonized in 1220 [line 332];
- Edmund Rich of Abingdon (c. 1174-1240), archbishop of Canterbury (1233-40), canonized in 1246 [lines 166, 331];
- Richard de Wyche (1197-1253), bishop of Chichester (1244-53), canonized in 1262 [line 97].

And note that each of these saints was translated at some point during the second half of the thirteenth century: Hugh of Lincoln in 1280, Edmund Rich in 1250, and Richard de Wyche in 1276. They had probably become part of Sarum use from c. 1290 onwards\textsuperscript{24}. On the other hand, MCPH does


\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum. I. Kalendarium et Ordo temporalis}, ed. F. PROCTER – C. WORDSWORTH, Cambridge, 1882, pp. iii-xiv. The omissions include: SS. Circus and Iulitta (16 Jun.), SS. Processus and Martinianus (2 July), SS. Sixtus, Feliciissimus and Agapitus (6 Aug.), St Donatus (7 Aug.), as well as St Botulf (see following note). Note, however, that these omissions (with the exception of St Botulf) are in no way diagnostic of an English, or indeed a continental origin, for the "Great Sarum Breviary". The reasons for omission are probably adventitious: mere oversight, lack of space due to rubrication, etc.

\textsuperscript{21} The most curious exception to the overwhelmingly Sarum nature of MCPH is its inclusion of St Botulf (line 174, for 17 June), an early Anglo-Saxon saint who occurs neither in the Sarum Missal nor in the Sarum breviary (of the liturgical calendars collated here, he is found solely in the Westminster Missal). See PFÄFF, \textit{LITURGY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND}, p. 392, who points to a Sarum missal from Exeter in which Botulf is included, but with the annotation \textit{nichil apud Sarum}; see also \textit{ibid.}, p. 423.

\textsuperscript{22} See PFÄFF, \textit{LITURGY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND}, pp. 359-363.

\textsuperscript{23} As in the case of SS. David and Chad (see below, n. 39), as well as that of St Anne, mother of B.V.M. (see below, p. 382). On the other hand, given the overall Sarum nature of MCPH, the omission of St Cuthburg (31 Aug.), who became a characteristic Sarum saint "at some point in the later thirteenth century" (PFÄFF, \textit{LITURGY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND}, p. 383), is curious indeed.

\textsuperscript{24} See PFÄFF, \textit{LITURGY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND}, p. 365.
not include commemoration of Thomas Cantilupe (1218-82), bishop of Hereford (1275-82), canonized in 1320 and commemorated on 2 Oct.\textsuperscript{25} Nor does it include a number of universally culted saints who had been canonized in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, well before the "Pembroke Psalter-Hours" was written: Birgitta of Sweden († 1373), canonized in 1391 and commemorated on 8 Oct.; John of Bridlington († 1379) canonized in 1401 and commemorated on 10 Oct.; and Catherine of Siena († 1380), canonized in 1461 and commemorated on 30 Apr. It is also curious that MCPH contains no commemoration for either St Francis or St Dominic. If the evidence of silence can be trusted, these omissions point to a date of composition before 1320 (the canonization of Thomas of Cantilupe).

Another factor which bears on the date of the poem is that on at least two occasions the author appears to have drawn directly on the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze, sometime archbishop of Genoa (1292-98)\textsuperscript{26}. As G. P. Maggioni has demonstrated, this work was produced in two stages, the first composed 1260 \( \times \) 1263, the second during the years 1267-77, while Iacopo was provincial of the Dominican order in Bologna; this second redaction was given finishing touches during Iacopo's archbishopric in Genoa\textsuperscript{27}. It was the second, retouched, edition of the *Legenda aurea* which enjoyed the widest circulation: it survives in more than 1,000 manuscripts from all over Europe\textsuperscript{28}. It is no exaggeration to say that the text — devised originally as a Dominican preacher's source-book — spread like wildfire all over Europe, and became the standard hagiographical reference work; during the first half of the fourteenth century it was translated into a number of European languages, most notably into French c. 1333 as the *Légende dorée*, by Jean de Vignay, a work which was sub-

\textsuperscript{25} If MCPH was composed after 1320, the omission would be particularly significant, given the Oxford associations of the poem (see below), for Thomas Cantilupe incepted at Oxford in canon law and was subsequently an Oxford Doctor of Divinity; he was a firm supporter of poor students, and had been Chancellor of the University in 1261 and again in 1274: see J. CATTO, *The Academic Career of Thomas Cantilupe*, in *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford. Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. JANCEY, Hereford, 1982, pp. 45-55, and R. C. FINUCANE, *Cantilupe, Thomas de* [St Thomas of Hereford], in *ODNB*, 9, pp. 955-958. See also PFAFF, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 366 with n. 2.

\textsuperscript{26} See below, commentary to lines 324 and 326; cf. also that to lines 77, 244 and 337.


sequently translated into English\textsuperscript{29}. Knowledge of the Latin text, in other words, was widespread. Use of the \textit{Legenda aurea} by the author of MCPH would imply that his poem was not composed before c. 1325 (allowing a quarter-century for the work to be transmitted from Genoa to England).

However, this suggestion concerning the date of the poem's composition needs to be qualified by consideration of where it was composed. One striking commemoration concerns St Frideswide (Frithuswith in Old English) against 19 Oct.:

\textit{Virgo Fredeswida, studii decus Oxoniensis:}
\textit{Nostris offensis ueniam pete cum prece fida} (lines 302-303).

These lines draw our attention to the University of Oxford, and remind us that St Frideswide was the official patron of the University\textsuperscript{30}. Although this official status was not formally conferred until 1434\textsuperscript{31}, her association with the University and its learning is attested already in the late twelfth century, as is clear from the seal of St Frideswide's Priory (dated c. 1190), which shows the saint, seated, holding an open book\textsuperscript{32}. The commemoration of St Frideswide raises the possibility that the author of MCPH was either a scholar (a student or regent) or alumnus of the University of Oxford.

The attribution can be tested by recourse to medieval calendars from the University of Oxford (the earliest of which dates from no earlier than the mid-fourteenth century). Two such calendars help to illustrate the individual features of MCPH. The first of these, which I refer to as OX\textsubscript{1}, consists of additions made at Oxford shortly after 1337 to an earlier liturgical calendar apparently written for French use; the calendar forms part of a composite manuscript now in Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 14. 29


\textsuperscript{30} Oct. 19 was the feast of St Frideswide's deposition. Two further feasts are found in Oxford calendars (see below), but not in MCPH: that for the Translation, which took place on 12 Febr. 1180, as recorded in Prior Philip's miracle collection (\textit{BHL 3169}), and that for her Invention on 15 May (the Invention must have taken place before 1180, and is dated by John Blair to between 1111 and 1179: see \textit{Saint Frideswide Reconsidered}, in \textit{Oxoniensia}, 52 [1987], pp. 71-127, at pp. 116-117). A further translation in 1289 does not seem to be commemorated in liturgical calendars.

\textsuperscript{31} See Pfaff, \textit{Liturgy in Medieval England}, p. 440; the commemoration of St Frideswide on 19 Oct. was mandated by Henry Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, himself an Oxford man, and the founder of All Souls College.

(902)33. The calendar, which consists of a single quire (fols. 132-138), was originally distinct from the remainder of the present manuscript (which contains medical treatises). The second of these, which I refer to as OX2, is a calendar which was detached from a printed Sarum breviary of c. 1505 (probably 1506)34, consisting of a single quire of eight leaves (to which fifty paper leaves have been added so as to accommodate annotations of various sorts), now in the Rawlinson collection of printed books in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Octavo 662. As Christopher Wordsworth demonstrated in 1904, the calendar was extracted from a breviary, annotated and amplified by an unknown Oxford bedell (or beadle) for use in the Oxford processional liturgy in the early sixteenth century35. (With very few exceptions, this calendar agrees in its commemorations with those of the “Great Sarum Breviary” of 1531, collated here as SAR-Br.) In other words, if an Oxford addition made in OX1 is corroborated by inclusion in the later bedell’s calendar (OX2), there is some presumption that the feast in question was commemorated in Oxford by the mid-fourteenth century.

These two Oxford calendars, when placed alongside the calendars of more widespread use in late medieval England36, especially those in the Sarum37 and Westminster38 missals, throw into clear relief the Oxford ori-
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE 'PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS' 333

gins of MCPH. For example, both Oxford calendars (as well as the later Sarum breviary of 1531, SAR-Br) include three commemorations which are not found in either SAR-Mi or WM:

1 Mar.: St David of Wales [MCPH, line 63]
2 Mar.: St Chad [MCPH, line 64]
17 Nov.: St Hugh of Lincoln [MCPH, lines 332-333].

The reasons for including SS. David and Chad in Oxford calendars are not recoverable39, but in the case of St Hugh of Lincoln, there are compelling reasons for inclusion: Oxford lay within the diocese of Lincoln and, at least in its earlier centuries, was under the direct control of the bishop of Lincoln40. Hugh’s great reputation for learning — he was considered the most learned monk in the England of his time — will have commended itself to Oxford masters in the Middle Ages and later (indeed St Hugh’s College, founded in 1886 with endowment from a later bishop of Lincoln, is named in his honour)41. The commemoration of St Hugh is corroborated by that of another Oxford scholar who later went on to an ecclesiastical career and sainthood: St Edmund Rich of Abingdon, who later became archbishop of Canterbury (1233-40), whose deposition and translation are both commemorated in MCPH (lines 331 and 166 respectively). Edmund Rich was the first Oxford saint to achieve canonization (in 1246), and was one of the first Oxford masters to lecture on Aristotle’s logical treatises (specifically the Sophisti c elenchit)42.

38 See Mssale ad usum Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis, ed. J. Wickham Legg, I (= Henry Bradshaw Society, 1), London, 1891, pp. v-xvi [hereafter WM]. The edition is based on a late fourteenth-century manuscript commissioned by Nicholas Lytlington, who was abbot of Westminster, 1362-86; see PFAFF, Liturgy in Medieval England, pp. 227-230.

39 The significant commemorations are clearly those in OXh, dating from before 1350. These two saints did not enter Sarum use until the fifteenth century (see PFAFF, Liturgy in Medieval England, pp. 439-441), so that their recurrence in OXh and SAR-Br is less striking, given the sixteenth-century date of these two breviaries.


Consideration of the metrical structure of the poem, and particularly its rhyme-scheme, helps to throw light on the question of dating. Although rhyme had been employed sporadically by various Carolingian poets, from the late eleventh century onwards a number of gifted Latin poets from the Loire valley — Hildebert of Lavardin, Marbod of Rennes, Baudri of Bourgueil, and others — had popularized a kind of rhyming hexameter called "leonine" (versus leonini), in which the two syllables immediately preceding the strong or penthemimeral caesura ( conventionally denoted as 3m) rhyme with the final two syllables of the hexameter\(^43\), as in the first of the hexameters on lucky days incorporated by the scribe (and possibly by the poet) of MCPH: *prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis* (line 1). On rare occasions the poet of MCPH employs bisyllabic rhyme of this simple sort, as in line 32: *Et date post mundum regnum sine fine secundum*\(^44\). Leonine rhyme of this sort was employed universally during the course of the twelfth century but, inevitably perhaps, poets began to experiment with more elaborate rhyme-schemes. In the first instance they linked together two consecutive lines by means of bisyllabic rhyme at the end of the hexameter (rather than at the strong caesura), as in the following lines from MCPH:

\[
\begin{align*}
Vt \text{ cum sedetis supra sanctas duodenas} \\
\text{Ex uestris meritis sedes scandamus amenas} 
\end{align*}
\] (lines 60-61).

Or again,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alme Iesu Christe, tot uirtutes operatus} \\
\text{Nobis assiste, qui captus es atque ligatus} 
\end{align*}
\] (lines 95-96).

Pairs of hexameters with bisyllabic end-rhyme of this sort are referred to as versus (leonini) caudati.

By the early thirteenth century, especially in the poetry of John of Garland (1195-1252)\(^45\) and Henry of Avranches (d. c. 1260)\(^46\), even more

---


\(^{44}\) See also lines 137-138, 151-152, and 283-286.


elaborate rhyme-schemes involving leonine hexameters were employed.

There are three principal types (I illustrate the various types with examples drawn from MCPH)⁴⁷:

(a) _versus (leonini) collaterales_, in which the two syllables before the strong or penthemimeral caesura of one line rhyme with those in the same position in the following line, while at the same time the final two syllables of each line rhyme with each other, but on a different rhyme from those at the caesura:

\[
\begin{align*}
Tu, & \text{Deus, a patre sine principio generatus} \\
Es & \text{nunc de matre sine semine virgine natus (lines 4-5)};
\end{align*}
\]

(b) _versus (leonini) cruciferi_, in which the two syllables before the strong caesura of the first line rhyme with those at the end of the following line, while those at the end of the first line rhyme with those at the caesura of the following line:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Presul Wlstane, fac nos mundum superare,} \\
\text{Et nos regnare fac cum socio, Fabiane (lines 20-21)};
\end{align*}
\]

(c) _versus (leonini) unisoni_, in which, in two (or more) successive hexameters, the two syllables before the strong caesura and those at the end of the line share the rhyme with the corresponding syllables in the following line(s):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Supplio doctori qui seruis eius honoris:} \\
\text{Ne parcas hori; clama sibi, Sancte Gregori (lines 73-74)}.
\end{align*}
\]

The only practical rule is that a word may not be repeated so as to achieve a requisite rhyme. Variety was achieved by the use of two monosyllables to make up a bisyllabic rhyme, as in lines 12-13 ( _ibi me do _ rhyming with _ quando recedo_), or 83-84 ( _Benedicte _ rhyming with _ hic te_); sometimes, but rarely, a monosyllable was used in combination with a preceding syllable so as to constitute a bisyllabic rhyme, as in lines 117-118 ( _Sancte Georgi_, _te _ rhyming with _ Pro regno uite_), or 326-327 ( _facis prece sanos _ rhyming with _ tua releua nos_). In his ingenious deployment of rhymes such as these, the poet of MCPH showed himself to be fully in tune with the practices of thirteenth-century Anglo-Latin poets.

He was a poet of considerable metrical skill and ingenuity, but one who apparently devoted so much of his attention to rhyme-scheme and wordplay that other important aspects of hexameter composition — variety in the structure and pace (moderated by the use of elision) — were ne-
glected. There is no doubt that he was widely read in earlier verse, not only in twelfth- and thirteenth-century English poets such as Alexander Neckam, Nigel of Longchamps, John of Garland and Henry of Avranches, but also in Christian-Latin poets of late antiquity such as Iuvencus, Cælius Sedulius and Arator, and early medieval poets such as Aldhelm and Alcuin. (By contrast, his verse very rarely shows any debt to classical Latin poets.) From his study of earlier poets, the author of MCPH acquired excellent knowledge of Latin prosody. His scansion of native Latin words is virtually flawless, the only exceptions being cases where he lengthens one syllable of a polysyllabic word (usually following the practice of an earlier poet) so as to accommodate a word which would not otherwise fit into a hexameter, such as cántilenās (correctly cántilenās) in line 11, or fōrtūnās (correctly fōrtūnās) in line 51. In the case of words of Hebrew or Greek origin, he follows the conventions established by earlier poets, scanning either iēsu(s) (lines 9, 95, 103, 112, 204, 221, and 310) or iēsu(s) (lines 2, 13, 68, 120, 139, 154, and 300), and either Pētr(us) (lines 55, 186) or Pétr(us) (line 221). The name Iohannes (correctly lōhannes, with the long -o- representing Greek ω) was scanned by the poet as Iōhannes, with a short first syllable, in lines 183, 249, and 373, on the model of various Late Latin poets; by the same token, the word osanna (line 214) was scanned by the poet with a short first syllable (ōsanna). So, too, he scanned the first syllables of the Greek personal names Lucianus (line 9), Iulianus (line 28) and Iuliana (line 49) as short, where Latin -u- represents the Greek diphthong -ov-, which is correctly long. In the case of the Greek name Theodorus, he scanned the diphthong -eo- (representing Greek -εω-) as a single long syllable, by synizesis. Because the word ēpiphānιā (line 7), with its string of short syllables, has no legitimate place in a hexameter, the poet took the unusual liberty of scanning the first two short syllables as long; elsewhere he solved such problems by resort to tmesis, as in line

48 Rare exceptions are the reminiscences of Vergil in line 179 and Horace in line 314.

49 The name is scanned as Pētr(us) by Iuvencus (Evang. iii. 274, 278, iv. 473 etc.) but as Pētr(us) by Damasus (Epigr. v. 3, 5 etc.) and Paulinus of Nola (Carm. xiv. 66, xx. 248, etc.).

50 Notably Paulinus of Nola (Carm. xix. 95, xxvii. 48), Arator (Hist. apost. i. 246), and Aldhelm (Carmen de virginitate 2083).

51 It is scanned with a long first syllable by Late Latin poets such as Iuvencus (Evang. iii. 640), but with a short first syllable by medieval Latin poets, such as Wulfstan of Winchester, Breviloquium 210 and Narratio metrica de S. Wulfrunu ii. 258, and, closer in time to our poet, by Sextus Amarcus (Serm. i. 351) and Guillelmus Brito, Brito metricus 23 and 115.

52 For metrical reasons the word is never used by Late Latin and early medieval Latin poets. Two thirteenth-century poets attempted variously to accommodate it: Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus viii. 269 (Apparere phane est, ēpiphānιā dicitur inde) and John of Garland,
288, where Princi\'p\'it\'isqu\'e was accommodated by tmesis as Princi-qu\'e-p\'\'itus.

In other respects the poet’s prosody is entirely unexceptional, by medieval standards. Thus he frequently lengthens a final short syllable before a caesura (the process is called productio ob caesuram\textsuperscript{53}). Thus we find lengthening of terminations in -\textipa{\textae}: festa (8), tormenta (24), bona (38), dona (39, 148), prona (147), ancilla (156), capa (184), patria (193), uia (194), leta (207), Margareta (208), Cristina (212), scanna (213), Anna (214), collata (259), auxilia (336), and Lucia (359); of terminations with final short -e: regnare (21), converte (26), extrahe (48), euelle (49), redde (63), unde (110), lege (205), rege (206), exclude (310), and feruore (325); and in one instance of final short -i (quasi in line 295). In all these cases the lengthening takes place at the penthemimeral or strong caesura (3m). By the same token, the poet of MCPH follows convention in shortening the final long -0 of verbs conjugated in the first person: eligo (47), dabo (142), obsecro (166, 306, 358), supplico (257, 350), not to mention the numerous examples of queso (9, 29, 44, 77, 109, 123, 133, 142, 178, 236, 323, 327, 330, 336, 351); and add to these examples one instance of shortened final -0 of the imperative esto (348). The poet likewise follows established practice in shortening the final long -0 of gerunds: rogitando (43), moriendo (85, 233), and parcedando (122)\textsuperscript{54}. There are, nevertheless, a few instances of incorrect scansion, which are probably to be understood as metrical licences: nobis (17) for n\'\'ebis (but cf. lines 28, 53, 59, 63, 81, 88, 96, 98, 104, 108 etc., where the first syllable is correctly scanned as long), s\'\'edebis (60) for s\'\'edebis, and multiplici (106) for multiplici.

In all these respects, there is nothing in the metrical technique of our poet to set him apart from other Latin poets of the later Middle Ages. When we turn to the question of his preferred hexameter structures, however, we find that his preference for a heavily spondaic rhythm distinguishes him from nearly all earlier classical and medieval Latin poets. The figures (with percentages in square brackets) for the 365 hexameters of MCPH are as follows\textsuperscript{55}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Compendium grammaticae ii. 1113 (Vult ep\'\'iph\'\'in\'\'a, quod epi “super” efficiatur). John of Garland’s is the solution adopted by the poet of MCPH.
  \item See KLÖPSCH, Verslehre, pp. 74-76; and cf. ORLANDI, Scritti di filologia mediolatini, ed. CHIESA... (see above n. 43), p. 379 with n. 26.
  \item Exceptions, however, are uiuendō (40), dandō (265), and exaltandō (266).
  \item The total (1460) results from multiplying the number of lines of the poem (365) by four, representing the first four feet of any hexameter. In MCPH, as in virtually all Latin poets,
The significance of these figures, especially the strikingly high percentage (64.4) of spondees — the poet of MCPH uses nearly twice as many spondees as dactyls — stands out when they are placed against those of other classical and medieval poets. In general terms, Vergil, Lucan and Statius used on average very slightly more spondees than dactyls, Ovid slightly fewer; among medieval poets, John of Hauville in his *Architrenius* was exceptional in employing marginally more dactyls than spondees, as the following percentages of spondees in the first four feet reveal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foot</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dactyls</td>
<td>154 [42.2%]</td>
<td>109 [29.9%]</td>
<td>107 [29.3%]</td>
<td>150 [41.1%]</td>
<td>520 [35.6%]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spondees</td>
<td>211 [57.8%]</td>
<td>256 [70.1%]</td>
<td>258 [70.7%]</td>
<td>215 [58.9%]</td>
<td>940 [64.4%]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the fifty Latin poets of the eleventh and twelfth centuries analysed exhaustively by Giovanni Orlandi, the average percentage of spondees is 56%, somewhat more than half. As Orlandi notes, however, "Even an author who gave his preference to spondees generally did not go over 60%; one had to be alert not to turn the poem into a tedious procession of heavy words composed of long syllables". In terms of its hexameter rhythm, MCPH, with its 64.4% spondees, is precisely that: a tedious procession of heavy syllables. Indeed, of all the poets analysed by Orlandi, only two exceed MCPH in their preference for spondees: the anonymous eleventh-century Würzburg poet of the *Defensio scolarium Herbipolensium*, who

the fifth and sixth feet consist regularly of a dactyl followed by a spondee or trochee. There is no example in MCPH of a wholly spondaic line (called a spondeiazon), with a spondee replacing the normal dactyl in the fifth foot.


57 ORLANDI, *Scritti di filologia mediolatina*, ed. CHIESA... (see above n. 43), pp. 388-389.
58 Ibid., p. 376.
used spondees in 73% of his metrical feet, and Amatus of Montecassino (d. 1105), who used them 68% of the time. By the same token, classical Latin poets, in attempting to emulate Homeric verse, tried to give a dactylic feel to their verse, by placing a dactyl in the first foot of their hexameters, however much their instincts — and the nature of the Latin language itself (which lacks the countless short syllables of Greek) — gravitated towards spondees; with the result that the favoured hexameter structure among classical Latin poets is either DSSS (Vergil) or DDSS (Ovid). For the poet of MCPH, however, the favoured structure is SSSS, which he employs 67 times (18.4%). This heavily spondaic pattern displaces to second position the favourite pattern of classical antiquity (DSSS: 46 occurrences; 12.6%), and to tenth position the pattern most favoured by Ovid (DDSS: 16 occurrences; 4.4%). Correspondingly, the least favoured structure of the MCPH poet was (predictably, perhaps) DDDD, which he uses a mere 6 times (1.6%). As I have said, he uses his favourite pattern (SSSS) 18.4% of the time: roughly once every five lines; his favourite four patterns (SSSS, DSSS, SSSD and DSSD) are used 51.2% of the time (over half), and his favourite eight patterns (adding to the favourite four SDSS, DSDS, SSDS and SSDD), some 74.5%, roughly three-quarters of the time. These overall percentages of favourite patterns (broadly 20%, 50% and 75%) are closely similar to those established by Duckworth for classical Latin poets, although the individual preferred patterns are of course wholly different.

Another way in which the verse of MCPH is wholly different from that of classical Latin poets is in its treatment of the hexameter cadence or clausula. Latin poets of classical antiquity tended to fill the final two feet of their hexameters (that is, the final five syllables) with one of two combinations: either a word of three followed by a word of two syllables, or vice versa. This practice was widely followed up to roughly the tenth century. But from the late eleventh century onwards, beginning once again in the Loire valley, poets began to experiment with different kinds of hexameter cadence, employing words of four syllables (following a caesura

---


60 A. Lentini, Il poema di Amato su S. Pietro apostolo, I (= Miscellanea Cassinese, 30), Montecassino, 1958, pp. 57-143.


62 Among poets of classical antiquity, only Ennius — whose hexameter verse was wholly unknown during the Middle Ages — preferred SSSS to all other structures, as may be seen from Table I in Duckworth, Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry...
after the first syllable of the fifth foot of the hexameter, conventionally denoted as 5m), or concluding the line with either a monosyllable or a pentasyllable. The poet of MCPH follows this medieval practice: out of 365 cadences, he uses 68 tetrasyllables following the caesura at 5m, 6 monosyllables, and 16 pentasyllables.

Finally, the poet of MCPH avoided elision almost completely: there are only four cases of elision (all of them synaloepha) in the entire poem (1.1%)\textsuperscript{63}. This avoidance of elision is in keeping with a tendency in medieval Latin verse which began to develop from the eleventh century onwards\textsuperscript{64}.

The conclusion from this brief survey of his metrical practice is that the poet of MCPH devoted so much attention to achieving complex rhymes that he neglected other aspects of verse composition (dactylic rhythm, for example, or use of elision). (It is possible that the heavy use of spondees, particularly in the first two and a half feet of any hexameter, facilitates the employment of bisyllabic rhyme: in which case the poet’s concern with rhyme would be the explanation for his heavily spondaic rhythms.) In any event, the poet’s concern with rhyme leads us to a final reflection on the date and origin of his poem.

We have seen that, in the earlier thirteenth century, two exceptionally skilful poets — John of Garland and Henry of Avranches — initiated the fashion for elaborate leonine rhyme-schemes (versus collaterales, cruciferi, etc.). Towards the middle of the century this fashion reached its apogee in a poetic debate or “flyting” between Henry of Avranches and a poet of Cornish origin, Michael Blaunpayn, known as Michael of Cornwall\textsuperscript{65}. The pretext of the debate was a charge of plagiarism against Michael by Henry of Avranches; the debate apparently took place in 1255 before an audience of prominent ecclesiastics\textsuperscript{66}, the sole purpose of the debate being the entertainment of this distinguished audience. Unfortunately, we only have Michael’s contribution to the debate, a poem divided into three diatribes, each delivered before a different judge\textsuperscript{67}, and consisting in sum of 1,276 rhyming hexameters, all of which display huge

\textsuperscript{63} In lines 50 (passa es), 135 (Gordiani auxilio), 182 (manna es), and 366 (regni ostia).

\textsuperscript{64} See Klopfch, Verslehre, pp. 79-87.

\textsuperscript{65} See Rig, History of Anglo-Latin Literature, pp. 193-198, and P. Binkley, Cornwall, Michael of [Michæl le Pater, Michael Blaunpayn], in ODNB, 13, p. 470.

\textsuperscript{66} P. Binkley, The Date and Setting of Michael of Cornwall’s “Versus contra Henricum Abrincensem”, in Medium Ævum, 60 (1991), pp. 76-84.

\textsuperscript{67} The various judges are meticulously identified ibid., p. 77.
skill in the manipulation of the various types of leonine rhyme. His verse abounds in wordplay of various kinds:

Atque tuo generi generosum nil generanti
Immo degeneri. Nec in hoc puto degenerant hi (lines 133-134).

Similar wordplay, but on a more modest scale, is also characteristic of MCPH. So, too, is Michael’s frequent use of two words to rhyme with one, as in the following versus collaterales:

Ut verum dicas dans debita pondera dictis
De te res die has, hec vere propria die tis (lines 129-130).

But Michael goes well beyond anything attempted in MCPH when he uses the first two syllables of a line to rhyme with the last two of the previous line, often employing only the first two syllables of a polysyllabic word to constitute the rhyme. Note the outrageous profusion of rhymes in the following four lines:

Vatis fatidici dici debent tua fata
A ta-li medico. Dic o mendice poeta
Eta-tis grandis an diis an demonibus te
Uste cervicis vi scis subici vel amore! (lines 1245-1248).

Although we do not have Henry’s reply to this brilliant verbal assault, there is no doubt that Michael of Cornwall was a past-master of the rhyming hexameter.

There is no certainty about where in England Michael of Cornwall was active, or how long after 1255 he lived. But given that the liturgical commemorations in MCPH point to a date of composition in the late thirteenth century, the verse debate of Henry of Avranches and Michael of Cornwall in 1255 supplies an intellectual context in which a less gifted poet, such as the author of MCPH, might have conceived a poem using the full panoply of leonine hexameters. Unfortunately, however, such use cannot provide a terminus ad quem, for the composition of complex leonine verse continued well into the fourteenth century, as George Rigg has shown. If a date of composition in the fourteenth century is envisaged,
there is one commemoration in MCPH which would have had powerful resonance for any Oxford scholar living in the second half of that century (or later), namely that for St Scolastica on 10 Febr., one of the longest entries in the poem:

\[
\begin{align*}
Hoc etiam donum tribuis, O uirgo benigna, \\
Ipsum patronum rogando, Scolastica digna; \\
Etis queso scolas doceas nos quem didicisti \\
Ipsas utque siolas mereamur quas meruisti (lines 42-45).
\end{align*}
\]

On St Scolastica's day in 1355, the most violent clash which had ever taken place between town and gown broke out and lasted for three days, resulting in the deaths of several students and the burning and sacking of several academic halls. The riot was followed by powerful intervention by Church and State. The mayor of Oxford and his colleagues were arrested and sent to prison, and forced to pay damages amounting to £250 (a very substantial sum in those days). The bishop of Lincoln placed the entire city under interdict; this was only lifted a year later on condition that the mayor, bailiffs, and sixty burgesses of the city make an offering of a silver penny each to pay for a missa burgensium as atonement for the murder of the students. On 27 June 1355, King Edward III issued a charter in which custody of the assizes for bread, ale and wine (and the profits accruing therefrom) was assigned to the chancellor of the University. This royal charter has been described as "the Magna Carta of the medieval university."

The St Scolastica's Day riot in 1355 was celebrated in verse by an anonymous Oxford poet, using a combination of leonine verses (largely collaterales) reminiscent of those in MCPH:

\[
\begin{align*}
Oxoniae clerum fleo iam stimulante dolore, \\
Dum coetu procerum dispersum cerno timore. \\
Quae quondam viguit moderamine clericorum \\
lam primo riguit, teritur quia fraude malorum (lines 1-4).
\end{align*}
\]

What is striking is that the diction of this poem (which consists of only 100 lines, and is on a subject wholly different from that of MCPH) at many

71 On the riot and its aftermath, see H. RASHDALL, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F. M. POWICKE - A. B. EMIDEN, Oxford, 1936, III, pp. 96-102, and LAWRENCE, The University in State and Church... (see above n. 40), pp. 137-148.

72 LAWRENCE, The University in State and Church..., p. 147.

METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE ‘PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS’ 343

points resembles that of MCPH, particularly in the choice of rhyming syllables. Compare, for example,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Sicque senex patitur, iuvenis quoque presbiter ille} \\
\text{Vi malus impetitur, quod testantur modo mille (lines 47-48)},
\end{align*}
\]

with lines 231-232 of MCPH:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Deprecor exoret tecum Tyburius ille}, \\
\text{Vi Deus ignoret que commisi mala mille}.
\end{align*}
\]

Or again,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{O Dea Fortuna, quo sunt sua gaudia plena?} \\
\text{Verteris ut luna, set nobis nunc in amena (lines 91-92)},
\end{align*}
\]

with lines 209-210 of MCPH:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tu nos refrena uiciis, Praxedis amena.} \\
\text{O Magdalena, da nobis gaudia plena.}
\end{align*}
\]

At the very least the lines on the St Scolastica’s Day riot reveal that complex patterns of leonine rhyme were still being composed in the mid-fourteenth century and beyond.

The question for us, however, is whether the commemoration of St Scolastica in MCPH was intended by its author to evoke the Scolastica’s Day riot and its aftermath (which would by implication date the composition of the poem to 1355 or later). Unfortunately, the vague wording of the poem does not permit decisive resolution of this question. The lines could refer to the aftermath of the riot, so favourable to the University of Oxford, with the poet/petitioner asking to acquire the same “gowns” (stolas), or privileges, as St Scolastica had acquired for Oxford students (in the aftermath of the riot on her name-day); but the pun here on scolas/stolas might simply be an example of the etymological wordplay, prompted by the saint’s name, which pervades the poem.

In the end, it is not possible to date MCPH precisely. If the evidence of its commemorations is respected, a date in the later thirteenth century — after the canonizations of Edmund Rich and Richard de Wyche, when Henry of Avranches and Michael of Cornwall were setting the benchmark for verse composition — might seem most appropriate. Furthermore, the fact that Thomas of Hereford (canonized in 1320) is omitted from the poem would corroborate this dating, although of course there may be other reasons for the omission of this widely culted English saint. On the other hand, if the lines on MCPH concerning St Scolastica were intended by the poet to recall the St Scolastica’s Day riot and its aftermath, so favourable to Oxford and its students, then a dating to soon after 1355 — when at least one other Oxford poet (whose diction resembles that of MCPH in
certain respects) was commemorating the riot in leonine verses — would seem called for. I see no way of deciding between these alternatives.

Whatever the precise date of MCPH, its principal interest is that it is the latest datable Latin example of a metrical calendar, a genre of poem which had been practised above all (if not quite exclusively) by English authors, from the later eighth century onwards. The earliest such poem, known as the "Metrical Calendar of York" (MCY) was composed during the years 754 x 766 at York itself. There is even reason to suspect that the author of MCY was Alcuin himself. In any event, MCY consists of eighty-two hexameters. Its original purpose is clear from its cumbersome diction: each hexameter preserves the name(s) of the saint(s) commemorated, together with the date of the feast, given in abbreviated Roman reckoning, as in these lines for March:

\begin{quote}
Hinc idus Martis quartas Gregorius aurat.
Cuthbertus denas tenuit ternasque kalendas (lines 14-15).
\end{quote}

That is to say, the feast of St Gregory falls on 12 March (fourth Ides: \textit{idus} ... \textit{quartas}), and that of St Cuthbert on 20 March (thirteenth Kalends: \textit{denas} ... \textit{ternasque kalendas}). Provided the user knew the month in which the particular saint's feast fell (the line for Gregory is unusual in specifying \textit{Martis} or March), the poem could tell him the day of the month on which a particular feast — presumably one commemorated by his community — fell. The purpose of the poem, in other words, was purely mnemonic. The great utility of MCY was immediately recognized, and copies of the poem were made in various continental centres, with appropriate adjustments (addition of local saints, deletion of the more obscure English ones). Some sixteen continental redactions have been identified, from France, Germany and Switzerland, and Italy; no doubt others await detection. Inspired by MCY, Wandalbert of Prüm in the mid-ninth century

\textsuperscript{74} A. Wilmart, \textit{Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York}, in \textit{Revue Bénédictine}, 46 (1934), pp. 41-69. Wilmart's edition is based on a manuscript now in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fols. 104-109 (Mercia, s. IX\textsuperscript{th}); since his edition was published another, more complete, witness has been identified in Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 24 (s. XII\textsuperscript{th}); see M. Lapidge, \textit{A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey}, in \textit{Revue Bénédictine}, 94 (1984), pp. 326-369, at p. 328. For the date of MCY, see \textit{ibid.}, p. 331.

\textsuperscript{75} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 332-342.

\textsuperscript{76} Since publication of the article cited in the previous notes, two further redactions of MCY have come to light: an Irish redaction in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, D. IV. 18 (Ireland [? Clonmacnoise], s. XII\textsuperscript{th}), fols. 1-5\textsuperscript{v}, ed. P. Ó Ríain, \textit{Four Irish Martyrologies: Drummond, Turin, Cashel, York} (= Henry Bradshaw Society, 115), London, 2002, pp. 185-194; and a German redaction in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 751 (Mainz, s. IX\textsuperscript{th}), fol. 188\textsuperscript{v} (the poem is acephalous, beginning at line 40), ed. in facsimile by F. Unterskircher, \textit{Sancti...
attempted a more elaborate metrical calendar, now expanded to 870 hexameters, by devoting several lines to each feast\textsuperscript{77}, but retaining the mnemonic structure of MCY, whereby both saint’s name and Roman date-reckoning are included in each entry:

\begin{verbatim}
Quartam mox Iduum finis tuus, alme Gregori,
Consecrat, aeterna caelum quo laude petisti ...
Tertia cum decima Cuthberti laude nitentes
Anglorum ducit per mystica gaudia plebes
\end{verbatim}(lines 135-136, 153-154).

Unfortunately, the very length of Wandalbert’s poem will have ruled out its use as a mnemonic prompt: it is simply too long to be easily memorized.

Expansion of a different sort was attempted by an anonymous poet in England soon after the beginning of the tenth century. In the “Metrical Calendar of Hampson” (MCH), so called because it was first printed by R. T. Hampson in the earlier nineteenth century\textsuperscript{78}, the poet attempted to provide a commemoration for every day of the calendar year, thereby producing a poem of 365 hexameters teeming with obscure saints (many of them Irish) otherwise unattested in Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars\textsuperscript{79}. Although it is difficult to imagine how a poem of 365 lines could easily be committed to memory, the poet of MCH nevertheless preserved the mnemonic nature of MCY (and occasionally its diction) by including in each hexameter the saint’s name and the numerals of Roman date-reckoning. Unlike MCY and Wandalbert’s Martyrologium, which were conceived as self-standing poems, MCH as preserved (in four manuscripts) is copied each time into the frame of a liturgical calendar: a feature which is reproduced in each subsequent specimen of the genre.

Both MCY and MCH were known to the next English poet who attempted a metrical calendar: a monk of the fenland monastery of Ramsey, who composed his “Metrical Calendar of Ramsey” (MCR) during the decade of the 990s\textsuperscript{80}. Because MCR is quoted several times in the writings

\textit{Bonifacii epistolae. Codex Vindobonensis 751 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (= Codices selecti phototypice impressi, 24), Graz, 1971. I am grateful to C. D. Wright for drawing the Vienna copy to my attention.}


\textsuperscript{78} R. T. Hampson, \textit{Medii Aevi Kalendarium, or Dates, Charters and Customs of the Middle Ages, with Kalendars from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century}, London, 1841, I, pp. 397-420.


\textsuperscript{80} Ed. Lapidge, \textit{A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar...} (see above n. 74), pp. 363-369. The poet of MCR recycled forty-seven lines of MCY, and eight lines of MCH.
of Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c. 970-c. 1020)\textsuperscript{81}, there is reason to suspect that he is its author, although absolute proof of authorship is lacking (no other verse by Byrhtferth survives, so there is nothing with which that of MCR could be compared). As was the case with copies of MCH, MCR as preserved is copied into the frame of a liturgical calendar in a manuscript now at Oxford, St John’s College, 17 (Thorney, A.D. 1110-1111), fols. 16r-21v\textsuperscript{82}. At approximately the same time as St John’s 17 was written, a poet at Winchcombe produced a metrical calendar (MCW) which was copied into the frame of a liturgical calendar in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. iv (Winchcombe, s. xii\textsuperscript{1}), fols. 35r-40v. MCW is evidently indebted to MCR for its diction (and for a number of its lines), but in two respects it looks ahead to future developments in the genre. In many of its verses, the stipulation of Roman date-reckoning is abandoned, with the result that lines such as that for St Laurence — *Astra petit iustus Laurentius, igne perustus* (line 65) — have no calendrical referent: if the verse were not placed adjacent to IV Id. on the page for August, there would be no way of knowing that the line was intended to commemorate the feast of St Laurence on 10 Aug. Another feature of MCW which anticipates future developments is that it is cast in leonine hexameters, sometimes with bisyllabic rhyme (as in the line on St Laurence quoted above), but often with simple monosyllabic rhyme. Although MCW shows that the influence of the poets of the Loire valley was beginning to be felt in England, there is as yet none of the pyrotechnic virtuosity which characterises hexameter verse in England in the thirteenth century and later.

The tendencies visible in MCW culminate in MCPH. No line of MCPH contains a Roman date-reckoning. The dates of its commemorations can only be understood from the frame of the liturgical calendar into which the lines of the poem have been copied. The mnemonic aspect of the first metrical calendar (MCY) has been abandoned altogether. Instead, MCPH is conceived as a continuous prayer to Christ, asking His assistance and forgiveness through the intercession of all the saints commemorated in the poem. It is a poem intended to provoke meditation on the saints rather than one to prompt recollection of their feast days. As such,


it makes a modest contribution to our understanding of the development of the metrical calendar through some six centuries of English history.

*LAPIDGE*

*Note on the text*

As I have said, the text of MCPH in the "Pembroke Psalter-Hours" is an extremely careless and inaccurate version of the poem, as may be seen quickly from the fact that the scribe on several occasions omitted the very names of the saints who were being commemorated (lines 9, 275, 294). In all it has been necessary to emend the transmitted text on ninety-six occasions: slightly more than once every four lines. From an editor's point of view, the complex rhyme-scheme often makes it possible to see where a syllable has been added or omitted, and emendation frequently consists in supplying or altering a transmitted word in order to restore the rhyme. The rhyme-scheme, in other words, provides a secure framework within which the emendation must be made. Nevertheless, there remain various passages (signalled in the Commentary, below) where the meaning of the text as transmitted remains uncertain. In order to facilitate understanding of this difficult poem, I have supplied a translation.

Mention should be made of a metrical calendar in Middle English verse which was either composed or revised c. 1440 by John Lydgate (c. 1370-1449/50): ed. H. N. MACCRACKEN, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. I. Religious Poems (= Early English Text Society. Extra Series, 107)*, London, 1911, pp. 363-376. The Middle English poem dates from approximately a century later than MCPH. Since it includes (for example) commemoration of SS. Fabian and Sebastian against 20 Jan., whereas MCPH names only Fabian (line 21), MCPH could not be its source. Like MCPH, however, the Middle English poem is based on Sarum use. But the Middle English poem includes many commemorations not found in MCPH, such as John of Beverley (7 May), the Feast of Relics (12 July), St Rufus (27 Aug.), St Cuthburg (31 Aug.) and St Thomas, apostle of India (21 Dec.): saints which are indicative of a later phase in the development of Sarum use than that reflected in MCPH.

I am grateful to the Curators of the Philadelphia Museum of Art for permission to print the text of MCPH. My greatest debt, however, is to James Marrow, who first drew my attention to the poem, and who kindly supplied me with splendid digitized images of the folios containing it. Jill Mann and Michael Winterbottom read the Latin text meticulously and helped to elucidate a number of difficult passages. James Willoughby and Clive Hurst provided helpful guidance in the complex world of early printed books, John Blair gave advice on the cult of St Frideswide, and Charlie Wright pointed out to me an unknown copy of MCY.
Prima dies mensis et septima truncat ut ensis.

[1] Incipiens annum tua Circumcisio, Iesu,
Ad celi scannum nos promoueat sine lesu.
Tu, Deus, a patre sine principio generatus
Es nunc de matre sine semine virgine natus. 5
Tunc a Messya 'Christus' sed et ipse uocatus;

Post tua tot festa nos ut simus tibi sani,

[7] Queso, Iesu, presta precibus sancti <Luciani>;
Et post terrenas laudes da festa superna,
Vt cantilenas tibi demus in arce paterna.
Hinc Domino donum, licet indignum, tibi me do
Vt des omne bonum michi, Iesu, quando recedo.


[16] Et ergo, Marcella, nobis mala cuncta repelle.

[17] Supplico, Sulpici, supplex Domino prece fias.

[18] Prisca, precor, facias ut nos fugiant inimici.

[19] Presul Wlstane, fac nos mundum superare,


[22] At tu, Vincenti, uincas Dominum prece grata
Qui tot tormenta uiciust martyr in igne:
Nos sibi presenta pro quo fers cuncta benign.

[25] Tu nos conuerte, sancti Conuersio Pauli:
Ecclesie per te cessat uexatio Sauli.

[27] Celis hospicium nobis, Iuliane, parato.

[28] Agnes, hoc studium iam queso secundo minato:
Cum tot predictis sanctis tu sancta, pudica.

Et date post mundum regnum sine fine secundum.

HORAS OCTO LVX, DVPLAS HORAS HABET HIC NOX.
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE ‘PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS’ 349

<FEBRVARIVS>

f. 21r  FEBRVARIVS HABET DIES .XXVIII. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.85

Quarta subit mortem, prostermit tercia fortem.

[2] Ipsi purifica nos, mater purificata:
[3] Tu meritis Blasii que non fueras maculata,
Post maculas uicii duc nos ad regna beata.
[6] Hec eadem dona prestetis, Amande, Vedaste,
Vt carnis uicii hic uiuendo superatis
Summe deliciis pascamur ibi deitatis.

[10] Hoc etiam donum tribuis, O uirgo benigna,
Ipsu patronum rogitando, Scolastica digna;
Eius queso scolas doceas nos quem didicisti
Ipsas uque stolas mereamur quas meruisti,
Ne carnis spine ualeant occidere mentem.

[14] Sancte Valentine, nunc eligo te retrahentem:
Extrah de pelle spinas et uulnra sana.

[16] Has simul euelle, precor, o uirgo luliana.
Tu quasi pro ludo passa es certamina dira:
O fortitudo grauis et constantia mira!
Nos sumus, ecce, uiri uobis heu debiIiores:
Per uos adquiri nobis speramus honores,
Vires uirginee magis ut sint fortificate.

[22] Clauiger etheree, Petre sancte, iuuet cathedra te:
Sedis apostolice princeps es in astronomia.

[24] Inde quippe uice tibi sors cadit, alme Mathia:
Vltimus et primus ergo cum uos duo sitis
Consocios petimus: nobis placare uelitis
Vt cum sedetis supra sanctas duodenas
Ex uestrís meritis sedes scandamus amenas.

QVINQVE BIS HORAS LVX, CECIDIT QVATVOR HIC NOX86.

85 This figure for lunar days in February is almost certainly wrong; at this point SAR-Br reads .xxix.

86 For cecidit read excedit. The statement means that the daylight hours exceed those of night (ten) by four, i.e. there are fourteen hours of daylight; the identical statement is found at the end of October.
MARTIVS HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.

Primus mandentem disrumpit, quarta bibentem.

Nunc nobis redde ueniam, Deus, ex prece Dauid,
Ac precibus Cedde, qui tantum te peramauit.
Egyptum natus tu qui petis atque redisti
Et baptizatus qui tunc deserta petisti:
Hoc in deserto qui peccaui tibi uere
Ad te me uerto misere: Iesu, miserere!

Pro prece Perpetue tam sacre virginis, audi,
Et ueniam tribue: noli tua uiscera claudi.
Quicquid deliqui consensu eordis iniqui
Verbo uel facto ueniam peto; penitet acto.

Supplieo doctori qui seruis eius honoris:
Ne parcas hori; clama sibi, Sancte Gregori.
Clama, ne cesses: uenient post semina messes;
Multum prodesses precibus, si sedulus esses.
Num non dampnatum saluasti, queso, Traianum?
Quanto magis sanum faceres nec adhuc reprobatum?

Pro mundo toto precor hinc te, papa, rogare.

Et simili uoto tu, rex Edwarde, precare:
Vos simul offerte pro nobis cum prece laudes.

Et tu, Cuthberte presul, qui nunc ibi gaudes.

Cum monachis reliquis nunc, alme pater Benedicte,
Patribus antiquis memoratis deprecor hic te,
Quatinus a mundi claustro moriendo uocati
Simus iocundi, celi cellis relocati.

Virgo salutata cui nunciat angelus ille:
Celestis uille nobis concede rogata.
Tu Christi cella, tu Patris pulcra puella,
Tu maris es stella, fugiat nos queque procella.
Atque per illud 'Aue' quod habes Gabrieliis ab ore
Erue nos a ue per fructus mentis honore
Et maneas mecum quia celica gratia tecum.

BIS SEX HORAS LVX, EQVAS HORAS HABET HIC NOX.
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE ‘PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS’ 351

<APRILIS>

f. 22v APRILIS HABET DIES .XXX. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXIX.

Denus et undenus est mortis uulnere plenus.

Alme Iesu Christe, tot uirtutes operatus
Nobis assiste, qui captus es atque ligatus.

Illusum, lassum, Iesum Ricardus honoret.

Pro nobis passum te nunc Ambrosius oret:
Nam si te meritis propriis placare nequimus
Sanctorum placitis precibus fieri bene scimus.

Immo, que magis est, quamuis prece nemo iuuaret,
Hoc solum satis est: tua passio nos repararet.
Ergo, Iesu Domine, claudi, fel, lancea, spine,
Trux mors in fine nobis fiant medicine.

Sed nos, heu, miseri sumus et tam uulnera plura
Sana negant fieri nisi cum multiplici cura.

Ora, serue Dei, pro nobis, Sancte Tyburti.
Si negat audire, pro sanguine queso require
Quem nobis unde moreretur fudit abunde.

Qui tumbas patrum spoliasti morte, precamur:
Claude, Iesu, baratrum, nec ibi nos ingediamur.

Laudibus Alphegi, cum post a morte resurgas,
Da mala nostra tegi, qui mundum sanguine purgas.

Et qui discipulis appares corpore uero
Internis oculis appare, te quia quero.

Sancte Georgi, te matris Christi, rogo, miles
Pro regno uite conquestus redde uiriles.

Pugna cum precibus secum, sanctissime Marce,
His pro supplicibus populis, Iesu pie, parce.

Nostris parce malis, cui sit proprium misereri,

Ac prece Vitalis placeat parcendo tueri.
Queso, tuere tuos preciosa morte redemptos
Nec putet esse suos nos qui dedit ante peremptos.

QVINQVE BIS HORAS NOX, EXCEDIT QVATVOR HIC LVX

The identical statement is made for August (below).
MAIVS HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.

Tercius occidit et septimus ora relidit.

[1] Nunc rogo uos, quippe te Iacobe teque Philippe:
Ferte precum flores Domino dulces et odores.

[3] O crux inuenta, que pomum pellis amarum
Qua fuit extenta pendens rosa deliciarum:
Nobis augmenta uirtutum dona tuarum.

[6] Porta Iohannis aue, que dicta Latina fuisti:
Porta sua clauem multis patet aurea Christi.
Aurea porta poli, nos queso repellere noli;
Sed blande simus suspeti quando uenimus.

[10] Gordiani auxilio nequeat uicium reprobare,
Absque graui uicio quem metra negant recitare.

[12] Martir Achillee, Pancrati, sancte Nerce:
Ex ope iam uestra patefiat summa fenestra.
Iesu, qui superos celos scandis super astra,
Attrahe nos miseris: scandamus celica castra.
O mea mens, anime, cur non sibi semper anhelis?
O dolor, o lacrime: quantas dabo, queso, querelas?
Clamaui plane, sed nescio si memoretur.

O qui scandisti sicut clamant modo psalmi
Que promisisti da munera pneumatis almi,
Vt mens que prona fuit ad uicium peragendum
Viritum dona perceptet ad hoc reprimendum.
Sit cor mundatum, sit plena locutio ueris.


[26] Ex Augustini prece, qui sumus hic peregrini,
Simus ibi ciues semper nobis ubi uiues.

[28] O dulcis uita quam tu, Germane, probasti:
Nos uiuamus ita, Iesu, qui cuncta creasti.
De celi uiilla nobis priuata sigilla
Tradas, ancilla Christi, uirgo Petronilla.

HORAS OCTO NOX, DVPLAS HORAS HABET HIC NOX.88.

88 The second nox makes nonsense of the statement, and should read lux.
IVNIVS HABET DIES XXX. ET LVNA HABET DIES XXIX.

Denus pallescit, quindenus federa nescit.

[1] Nobis, divina martyr, faveas, Nichomedis!
Nos non sufficimus illuc ascendere fessi;
Immo deficimus, peccati pondere pressi.
[5] Ergo cum sociis te quesumus, O Bonefaci:
Exclusi uiuis saluemur ab hoste minaci.
O confessores, uestros mereamur amores.
[9] Obseco, translate, te nunc, Edmunde beate,
Vt nos translati sumus tecum sociati.
[11] Barnaba, celorum nos leto reddito fini,
[12] Ex ope sanctorum Basilidis atque Cirini.
Hoc mundo uili ludo stamus puerili.
[15] Non dampnet mortis nos, Vite, Modeste, sagitta;
Sed celi portis nos ferte, Cirice, Iulitta.
[17] Da, Botulphe, locum castri celestis in arce.
[18] Nos et habere iocum tecum facias, bone Marce.
[20] Et tu translatus rex Edwardus sociatus:
In prece queso cane pro nobis uespere, mane,
[22] Ne, sacer Albane, nostrum sit tempus inane.
[23] Dulcis Etheldreda, non hosti sim data preda.
[24] Nateque Baptistna, non <me> premat ipse sophista.
[26] Consortes aule celestis, ubi quasi manna es,
Nos facias, Paule; precor et te, Sancte Iohannes.
[28] Nos diuina capa, nudatos carnis amictu,
Vestitu, uictu foueat per te, Leo papa.
[29] Nos baptizate, Petre Paule, simul modo passi;

NOX HABET HORAS NOX 89, TRIPLAS HORAS HABET HIC LUX.

89 The second nox reduces the statement to nonsense, and should read sex.
Tredecimus mactat Iulii, denus labefactat.

Excelsi messe matura mense metamus.

In uite fine nos transfer ad astra polorum.

[4] Presul Martine translate, memor miserorum:
O dulcis patria quam translati meruerunt,
O grauis ista uia qua plures, heu, perierunt!

[7] Te rogo, translate pater archiepiscopae Thoma,
Reliquias grate celi michi des et aroma.

[10] Inter tot patres nostri sitis memorati,
Septem <nunc> Fratres sub martirio sociati.

Hostis ne fraudi succumbamus maledicti.
Hostes internis serpens caro mundus habentur;
Hostes externis ex omni parte timentur.

[15] Corporis ac anime pro sancti laude Swithuni
Tela, Iesu, reprime, precor et nos undique muni.


[18] Nos, Arnulphe, rege: per te regat Emanuel me.

[20] O uirgo leta, mundi dulcedine spreta,
Nos, Margareta, ducas ad regna quieta.


[22] O Magdalena, da nobis gaudia plena.

[23] Nobis inclina Dominum, precor, Appolinaris,

[24] Et tu, Cristina, sibi que dilecta probaris.

[25] Ad celi scanna da nobis, Iacobe, manna;

[26] O genitrix Anna, tecum cantemus osanna.

[27] Vos qui dormitis Septem, nobis uigilat,

[28] Atque tuis meritis, Sampson, succurre beate.

[29] Felix cum reliquis: trahe nos a morte gehenne.


[31] Et Germane bone, celi nos redde corone.

HORAS OCTO NOX, DVPLAS HORAS HABET HIC LVX.
AVGVSTVS HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.

Prima necat fortem perimitque secunda cohortem. 220

[1] Summe Iesu, plene nos Petri uincula soluant;
[3] Stephanus inuentus, qui celos uidit apertos,
Nobis intentus det thesauros ibi certos.
[5] His simul admixte tu, rex Oswalde, rogato;
[7] Presul Donate nos summe reddito paci;
[11] Deprecor exoret tecum Tyburtius ille,
    Vt Deus ignoret que commisi mala mille.
[13] Nos, sacer Ypolite, moriendo precamur inunge;
[15] Sancta Maria, Dei genitrix, assumptaque proli:
    Virgo, memento mei quem, queso, relinquere noli,
    Sed (precor) assume, trahe me post te, pia mater.
[18] Ad dominam tu me ducas, Agapite frater.
[22] O genitrix Agni qui tollit crimina mundi
    Vt nos scandamus quo iam sacra uirgo uolabas,
    Ecce per octabas presens festum celebramus.
[23] Celesti celle nos imponas, Thymothee.
[25] Et tu qui pelle nudaris, Bartholomee:
    Post carnem fractam nos ornet gloria Christi,
    Pellem detractam pro cuius amore dedisti.
[28] Legis diuine doctor doctissime iura
    Nos, Augustine, doceas pro <lege> futura.
[29] Tu Decollate, regnum celi precor a te;
[30] Fortiter ac grate, Felix, Audacte, iuuate,
    Et post hanc mortem uite michi tradite sortem.

QVINQVE BIS HORAS NOX, RECEDITQVATTVOR HIC LVX.

90 Read excedit; cf. the statement for April (above).
SEPTEMBER HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.\footnote{These figures are probably in error; SAR-Br here gives thirty (.xxx.) solar days, and twenty-nine (.xxix.) lunar days.}

Tertia Septembris et dena parat mala membris.

[1] Te precor, Egidi, nobis Dominum prece flecte, Nec sinat occidi, sed det nos uiuere recte.


[9] Martir Gorgoni pro nobis hanc pius ora

Et tanti doni pro danda parte labora.


[14] Virtutes dando trahe nunc a crimine tristi

Nos exaltando, Crucis Exaltacio Christi.

[16] His ita preteritis iam festum deliciarum

Edithe meritis sit nostra salus animarum.

[17] Iam cum Lamberto spere, mea mens, refoueri

Credens pro certo quia uult Dominus misereri.

Firmiter hoc credo, tot sanctos non prohiberi.

Ergo procedo: clama, nolique uereri.


[22] Et tu, Maurici, fac nos deitatis ydee.

[23] Pro nobis, petimus, ora, uirgo <quoque Thecla>

Vt tecum simus in pace per omnia secla.

[25] Annue, Firmine, stemus sine uulnere sani,

[26] Ex ope Iustine necnon Sancti Cypriani.

[27] Cum mors accedit nos, Cosma sed et Damiane,

Quem Christus dedit celesti pascite pane.

[29] Nunc in opem, Michael archangele, tu deitatis


BIS SEX HORAS NOX, EQVAS ORAS HABET HIC LVX.
<OCTOBER>

f. 25v OCTOBER HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.

Tercius et denus sunt sicut mors alienus.

[1] Omnes affligi meriti sumus, Sancte Remigi;
Ordinis angelici precor omnes sitis amici:
Et uos, Virtutes, animabus ferte salutes.
Quique Potestates, Dominatio Princi-que-patus:
Ferte Deo grates cum sit nostri miseratus.

[7] Cum Marci sociis uos quique Throni releuare;
Nos a supplicis Cherubim Seraphimque iuuate.


[11] Fac nos splendentes Paradisi luce, <Nicasi>,
Heu quia uile quasi cenum sumus hic remanentes.


[16] Nos tecum sepeli, Michael de Monteque tumba.
Nos, Iesu, ducas iilmuc ubi lux tua floret.
[19] Virgo Fredeswida, studii decus Oxoniensis:
Nostris offensis pete cum prece fida.
[21] Milibus Vndenis pro Virginibus, pie Christe,
Duc nos a penis: <flet> mundus iugiter iste.

[23] Obsecro, Romane, post uite tempora uane,
Nobis eternam uitam perquire supernam.
[25] Per te, Crispine, iuncta prece Crispiniani:
Vt simus sani nobis dentur medicine.
Omnes exclude qui dampna, Iesu, michi querunt,
[28] Symonis et Iude meritis tibi qui placuerunt,
Vt cum uenturus iudex sit cuncta uidere
Tecum securus ualeam sine fine manere,
[31] Et cum Quintino de dulci sumere uino.

QVINQVE BIS HORAS LVX, EXCEDIT QVATVOR HIC NOX.
<NOVEMBER>

f. 26r

NOVEMBER HABET DIES .XXX. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXIX.

Scorpius est quintus et tertius est nece cinctus. 315

[1] Nunc prece Sanctorum Cunctorum, Christe, tuorum,
Sis purgandarum, rogo, commemorans animarum.

[2] O chorus angelice, patriarche quique prophete,
Cetus apostolice cum martiribusque, faute.

Si uenias tarde cum confessoribus, ora. 320

[6] Sancte Leonarde, salua nos, urigo decora:
Omnes saluati succurrite sub generali;

[8] Queso Coronati uos Quatuor in speciali.
[9] Ora, Theodore, qui Martis tempa cremasti
Ignis feruore, tandem celos penetrasti.

325

[11] Qui tres defunctos, Martine, facis prece sanos:
Infirmos cunctos prece, queso, tua releua nos.

[13] Ora Sancte Brici, ne nos superent inimici;
Immo Deo subici fac et sub eo benedici.

330

[15] Queso, preces funde pro nobis, Sancte Machute,
Presul et Edmunde fac nos gaudere salute.

[16] Nobis, presul Hugo, thesaurum poscere cures
Quo non erugo uenit, appropiant neque fures.
Funde preces unde tecum potemus abunde,

335

Queso, fer auxilia, martir, firmissima Christi,
Virgo Cecilia que desponsata fuisti.

[22] Clemens papa, bone martir, te, sancte, precamur,


[25] Salua nos, Domine, meritis Sancte Katherine;

[26] Nos tecum retine, tibi sume, piissime Line:
Vt ueram uitam cui mors nequit ulla nocere
Post hanc finitam tecum ualeamus habere.

340

[29] Sancte Saturnine, fugiant nos queque ruine.

345


HORAS OCTO LVX, DVPLAS HORAS HABET HIC NOX.
<DECEMBER>

DECEMBER HABET DIES .XXXI. ET LVNA HABET DIES .XXX.

Septimus exsanguis, uirosus denus ut anguis.

Ecce, benigne Deus, finito mense Nouembris
Custos esto meus, incepto mense Decembris.
Qui cunctis custos es semper ubique tuendo,
Nos tibi fac iustos et salues supplico flendo.

Ad te queso trahe nos hac in ualle relictos,
Sed maris afflictos presul sacer, O Nicholae.
Celi melliflua nobis ad regna futura,

Sancta Maria, tua pro sit Conceptio pura:

Qua tuus ipse pater Iuchim te, uirgo decora,
Anna simul mater genuit, benedicta sit hora!
Tu benedicta manes, pater et mater benedicti.
Obsecro nos sanes, ne simus ab hoste reucti.

Virgo Lucia, que mortem sustuinisti:

Pro titulo Christi cum matre precare Maria.

Aduentum primum celebrantes pro prece matris
Salua post hymnum nos O Sapientia patris.
O splendor lucis, Oriens, tu nos bene ducis:
Si super astra trahi facias, O dux Adonay.
O radix Iesse tecum da nos, precor, esse.

Et David O clavis, aperi regni ostia suavis.
O Thome Didime, Christi penetrans latus ime,
Vt cujus manibus meruisti uulnus inire:
Nos saltem precibus in eo fodiens sepelire.

O rex tam grate iam surge, ueni, uigilamus.

Bethleem nate, salua nos, Christe, rogamus.

O martir Stephane, nos celi suscipe fanis

Et uite sante iungamus amore Iohannis.

O Sancti Pueri, culum rogo poscite pro me.

Poscat idem fieri, sancti sacra passio Thome,
Qua de terrestri mereamur ad astra uolamen.

Pro prece Siluestri, Deus omnipotens, precor, Amen.

NOX HABET HORAS LVX92, TRIPLAS HORAS HABET HIC NOX.

92 The scribe has managed to reduce this statement to gibberish: the first part of the statement should read Horas habet sex lux.
Apparatus criticus

Translation

<JANUARY>

The first day of the month and the seventh cut like a sword.

May Your Circumcision, O Jesus, beginning the year, bring us without harm to the throne of heaven. You, O God, born from the Father without beginning are now born without seed from a Virgin Mother [5]. But then You were called “Christus” after the Messiah; behold, on Epiphany You are now venerated by the Three Magi. After so many of Your festivals, I ask You, Jesus: grant to the prayers of St Lucianus that we be chaste for You; and after our earthly praise grant heavenly festivals [10], so that we may offer praise-songs to You in Your Father’s citadel. Hence I deliver myself as a gift to You the Lord, although unworthy, that You may grant to me every good thing when, Jesus, I depart. You who conquer many things, saintly Hilary, restore us. I ask you, Felix in Pincis, to help me [15]. Pour out prayers, Maurus, in the ear of the heavenly King. And therefore, Marcellus, drive all evils away from us. I ask, Sulpicius, that you beseech the Lord with your prayer. Prisca, I ask that you make our enemies flee from us. Bishop Wulfstan, make us conquer the world [20], and make us reign with your companion, Fabian. Blessed Agnes, assist us with your kindly face. But you, Vincent, may you convince the Lord with your pleasing prayer, you who as a martyr overcame so many tortures in the flames: present us to Him for Whom you meekly bear all things [25]. Do you convert us, O Conversion of St Paul: Saul’s persecution of the Church ceases through you. Prepare, Julian, a lodging for us in heaven. Agnes, project, I ask, this concern a second time [i.e. on the Octave]: with so many of the aforesaid saints you (are) holy, chaste [30]. May you, Balthild the virgin, be a friend to all the afflicted. And, (all you saints), grant a second kingdom without end after this world.

<FEBRUARY>

The fourth undergoes death, the third lays low the mighty.

Glorify with your prayers, Brigid, holy virgin, this water. Purify us for Him, Purified Mother [35]: You (fem.) who through the merits of Blasius had not been stained, lead us after the stains of our vice to the blessed realms. Agatha, excellent virgin: may you teach us to live chastely. May you bestow these very same gifts, Amandus, Vedastus, so that, when the sins of the flesh have been overcome by our living here [40], we may feast
there on the delights of the supreme godhead. You, too, grant this gift, O kindly virgin, worthy Scolastica, by beseeching our patron Himself; I ask that you teach us the lessons of Him Whom you learned in schools, so that we may deserve those same gowns which you were found worthy (to acquire) [45], lest the thorns of the flesh be able to destroy the mind. St Valentine, I choose you now as you are withdrawing: draw out the thorns from the skin and heal our wounds. I ask you, O virgin Juliana, rip them out all at once. You underwent savage contests as if for a game [50]: O mighty strength and marvellous constancy! Look, we men are alas much weaker than you: through you we hope to acquire honours for ourselves, so that your virginal strength may be more strongly fortified. Aethereal key-bearer, St Peter, may your Cathedra assist you [55]: you are the prince of the apostolic see in astronomy. Thence indeed the lot falls in turn for you, kindly Matthias: therefore, since you two [Peter and Matthias] are the first and last (of the apostles), we seek you as colleagues: may you wish to comfort us, so that when you are seated above the holy twelve [60], we may mount the delightful seats through your merits.

<MARCH>

The first smashes the chewer, the fourth the drinker.

Now grant us forgiveness, O God, through the prayer of David and the prayers of Chad, who loved You so greatly. You (Jesus) Who, once born, seek Egypt and returned (from it) [65] and, once baptized, sought out desert places: I who truly sinned against You in this desert now turn myself wretchedly to You: Jesus have mercy! Listen (to me) in accordance with the prayers of Perpetua, the virgin so holy, and grant forgiveness: do not let the bowels [of Your compassion] be closed [70]. For whatever sin I committed in word or deed with the connivance of a wicked heart, I seek forgiveness: I repent the deed. I beseech the scholar, you who are devoted to His glory: do not restrain your mouth; cry out to Him [Christ], St Gregory. Shout out, do not stop: harvests will come after the sowing [75]; you would be of great benefit with your prayers, if you were diligent. Did you not save Trajan when he had been damned, I ask? How much the more could you heal someone who had not yet even been condemned? I beseech you, father, petition henceforth on behalf of the entire world. And you, too, King Edward, pray with a similar aim [80]: offer praise on our behalf together with your prayer. And you, Bishop Cuthbert, who now rejoice there. With all the other monks I now, kindly father Benedict, here beseech you with the ancient Church Fathers previously mentioned that,
called in death from the cloister of the world [85], we may be joyfully re-located in the cells of heaven. Virgin of the Annunciation, to whom that angel makes the announcement: grant to us our requests for the heavenly estate. You the abode of Christ, you the Father’s beautiful maiden, you are the star of the sea: may every tempest flee from us [90]. And through that “Hail” which you have from the mouth of Gabriel, snatch us with honour from woe through the fruits of your mind, and may you remain with me, because heavenly grace is with you.

<APRIL>

The tenth and the eleventh are filled with the affliction of death. Kindly Jesus Christ, having performed so many miracles [95], assist us, You Who were captured and bound. Let Richard respect You when mocked, exhausted, injured. Let Ambrose now pray to You Who suffered for us: for if we are unable to placate You by our own merits, we well know it is accomplished through the pleasing prayers of the saints [100]. Indeed, even if no one would help with prayer, which is more, this alone is enough: Your suffering would restore us. Therefore, Lord Jesus, let the nails, gall, lance, thorns, harsh death in the end be medicines for us. But we, alas, are wretches, and so many wounds [105] also refuse to be healed unless with manifold care. We are guilty at heart, of anger, envy, and also theft. Pray for us, St Tiburtius, servant of God. If He refuses to listen, I ask: petition on behalf of His blood, which He poured out abundantly for us when He died [110]. We beseech You Who with Your death plundered the tombs of our fathers: close, Jesus, the abyss, nor let us enter there. When afterwards You arise from death, grant through the praises of Ælfheah [Alphege] that our evils be covered up, You Who cleanse the world with Your blood. And You Who appear to the disciples in Your true body [115]: appear to my inner eyes, because I seek You. I beseech you, St George, soldier of the mother of Christ: render manly laments on behalf of the kingdom of life. Fight with him [George] with prayers, most holy Mark; on behalf of these suppliants, spare the peoples, merciful Jesus [120]. Spare our wrong-doings, You to Whom pity is proper, and, in sparing us, let it be pleasing to protect us with the prayers of Vitalis. I ask, protect your followers redeemed by Your precious death; nor let him [the devil] consider us, whom he formerly gave over to death, as his own.

<MAY>

The third kills and the seventh strikes the face [125].
Now I beseech you — that is to say, you James and you Philip: bring flowers and sweet odour of prayer to the Lord. O Recovered Cross, which expels the bitter apple-tree, on which hung, spread out, the rose of delights [Christ Himself]: increase for us the gifts of your miracles [130]. Hail, Gate of St John, who were once called “Latina”: the golden gate of Christ is open to many by means of its key. Golden gate of heaven: do not, I beseech you, drive us away; but may we be kindly received when we arrive. With the help of Gordianus, may vice be unable to damn [135] the one whom poetry cannot name without serious fault. Achilleus the martyr, Pancratius, St Nereus: let the highest window now be open through Your bounty. Jesus, You who ascend the highest heavens beyond the stars, take along us wretches: let us ascend the heavenly fortress [140]. O my mind, O soul, why do you not always pant after Him? O pain, O tears: how many laments shall I utter, I ask? I clearly shouted out, but I do not know if He is mindful of it. I beseech you, Dunstan: let your outcry be of assistance. O you who ascended as the psalms now proclaim [145], grant the bounties of the Holy Spirit which you promised, so that the mind, which was prone to committing sin, may receive gifts of the virtues so as to repress this (sin). Let the heart be purified, let speech abound in truth. And may you pray, Aldhelm, that this effort be welcome, I pray [150]. From the prayer of Augustine may we, who are pilgrims here, be citizens there where You will always live for us. O the sweet life which you, Germanus, manifested! — let us live thus, O Jesus, Who created all things. May you hand over to us the private seals of the estate of heaven [155], hand-maid of Christ, O virgin Petroniill.

<JUNE>

The tenth grows pale, the fifteenth recognizes no treaties.

May you favour us, Nicomedes, divine martyr! Grant, Marcellinus, the rewards of the heavenly see. We are not sufficient to ascend there exhausted [160]; indeed we fail, weighed down with the burden of sin. Therefore, we beseech you, O Boniface, with your companions: shut out from vice, may we be saved from the threatening Enemy. O confessors, may we deserve the love you give us! I beseech you, Gildardus, and you at the same time, St Medardus [165]. I now beseech you, O translated St Edmund, that we might be translated in company with you. Barnabas, return us to the joyous confines of the heavens, with the help of SS. Basilides and Cyrrinus. We stand in this base world as in a childhood game [170]. Protect us from enemy deceit, St Basil. Let not the arrow of death
injure us, Vitus, Modestus; but, Cirycus, Iulitta, carry us to the gates of heaven. Grant, Botuulf, a place in the citadel of the heavenly fortress. Make us too have joy with you forever, good Mark [175]. Pray for us, Gervasius and Protasius. And you joined to them, King Edward, now translated: sing in your prayers for us in the evening and morning, I beseech you, St Alban, do not let our time be worthless. Sweet Æthelthryth [Etheldreda], let me not be given as prey to the Enemy [180]. O Baptist, born (on this day): let the sophist not oppress me here. May you make us colleagues of the celestial court, where you are as if manna, Paul; and I beseech you as well, St John. May the divine cloak comfort us, made naked of clothing of the flesh, with clothing and food, through you, Pope Leo [185]. Baptize us, Peter (and) Paul, who suffered together at this time: make us be born again, O commemorated Paul.

<JULY>

The thirteenth of July kills, the tenth destroys.

High in the month [i.e. at the beginning], let us reap when the harvest is ripe. We beseech you here, Processus, and you Martinianus [190]: at the end of life transport us to the stars of heaven. Bishop Martin, translated, (be) mindful of us wretches: O the sweet country which those translated have deserved, O this grievous road on which many, alas, have perished! I beseech you, Archbishop Thomas, translated [195], that you willingly grant to me the relics of heaven as well as its aroma. Among so many fathers may you remember us, you Seven Brothers, now associated in martyrdom. O God, hear this through the prayer of Benedict translated, so that we do not succumb to the deceit of the accursed Enemy [200]. The serpent, the flesh, the world, are present as enemies within; enemies without are to be feared on all sides. Hold in check, O Jesus, the weapons of the body and soul for praise of St Swithun, I pray, and fortify us on all sides. Instruct us, St Kenelm, in celestial law [205]. Rule us, Arnulf; let Emanuel rule me through you. O joyous virgin, having spurned the delights of the world, may you, Margaret, lead us to the peaceful realms. You, lovely Praxedis, restrain us from vice. O (Mary) Magdalene, grant us abundant joys [210]. Incline the Lord to us, I beseech you, Apollinaris, and you, Christina, who are proved a delight to Him. Give us manna for (the ascent to) the thrones of heaven, James; O mother Anna, let us sing “Osanna” with you. You Seven Sleepers: stay awake for us [215], and, blessed Samson, assist us through your merits. Felix with the others: ex-
tract us from death of Hell. Abdon with Sennes, may you defend us from the wicked. And, good Germanus, restore the crown of heaven to us.

<AUGUST>

The first kills the strong and the second destroys the army [220].

Highest Jesus, let the Chains of St Peter fully release us; let these chains, Pope Stephen, more fully envelop us. Let Stephen Discovered, who saw the heavens open, grant in his concern for us the certain treasures there. You, King Oswald, mixed up together with these, beg for us [225]; I beseech you, St Sixtus, with your companions: relieve us. Bishop Donatus, restore us to the highest peace. You, O companions of Cyriacus, beseech them together. Grant, St Romanus, what is sought to [him] going before. O Laurence, deacon martyr, lend your strength [230]. I ask that Tiburtius pray with you, that God may overlook the thousand misdeeds I have committed. We beseech you, holy Hippolytus, anoint us in death; join us, merciful Eusebius, to eternal life. Holy Mary, mother of God, Taken Up [assumed] to your offspring [235]: Virgin, remember me, do not abandon me, I beg you. But (I ask) take me up, drag me after you, Holy Mother. May you lead me to my Lady, Brother Agapitus. Grant to us a time for going to you (Mary) through the prayers of Magnus. O Mother of the Lamb, Who takest away the sins of the world [240]: in order that we may climb where you, holy Virgin, already flew up, behold we celebrate the present feast on the Octave. May you place us in a heavenly cell, Timotheus. And you who are stripped of your skin, Bartholomew: may the glory of Christ cover us after our flesh is destroyed [245], for whose love you gave up your excoriated skin. O most learned scholar of divine law, Augustine: may you teach us laws in advance of the future law. You, Decapitated One [John the Baptist]: I beg from you the kingdom of heaven; assist us strongly and willingly, Felix, Audactus [250], and after this death consign to me the lot of life.

<SEPTEMBER>

The third and the tenth of September prepare misfortunes for the limbs.

I beseech you, Giles, incline the Lord to us with your prayer and may He not allow us to be killed, but grant to us (the capacity) to live righteously. I beseech you, God, turn your anger far away from us [255]. Bishop Cuthbert, destroy dreadful death with your prayer. I beseech you, Bertinus: let it please you to pour out your prayers. The entire mercy of the queen of heaven flows from there: may we be worthy of her to whom
all grace was given. We beseech your Offspring, now you have been born, Virgin Mary [260]. Gorgonius the martyr, pray to her devoutly for our sakes and exert yourself that we may be given a share of so great a gift. Now let tears surge up for us, O Protus, Iacinctus, and do not let our souls lie chained in the prison of vice. By giving virtues extract us now from wretched sin [265] in raising us up, O Exaltation of the Cross of Christ. With these things having passed by, let the feast of delights be the salvation of our souls through the merits of Edith. May you hope, my mind, to be refreshed now with Lambert, believing for certain that the Lord wishes to be merciful [270]. I firmly believe this, that so many saints are not denied. Therefore I proceed: shout out, do not be afraid. May you confirm what cannot be spoken, St Matthew, and you, Maurice, make us in the likeness of the deity. Pray for us also, we beseech you, too, virgin Thecla [275], that we may be with you in peace throughout all ages. Grant, Firmus, that we stand up healthy without injury, through the help of Iustina as well as St Cyprian. When death approaches us, Cosmas as well as Damianus, feed us with the celestial bread which Christ granted [280]. Now, Archangel Michael, Gabriel and Raphael, may you come forward through the prayers of Jerome to the assistance of the deity.

<OCTOBER>

The third and the tenth are as hostile as death.

We have all deserved affliction, St Remigius; but, Leodegar, we seek to be relieved through you [285]. I ask that all you of the angelic orders be our friends: and you, Virtues, bring salvation to our souls. And all Powers, Dominions, and Principalities: convey thanks to God because He has mercy on us. With the companions of (Pope?) Marcus, all you Thrones, relieve us [290]; you, Cherubim and Seraphim, help us from our sufferings. Behold, death is nigh. With the companions of Dionysius and the assistance of Gereon I ask: lead us to the bounties of Paradise. Make us resplendent in the light of Paradise, Nicasius, because — alas! — we dwell here like common filth [295]. I present myself to you, good King Edward: protect us! And, Calixtus, remember us with a joyful heart. Wulfram, dove of Christ, grant the nest of heaven. Bury us with you, Michael of Montumba. May You, Jesus, lead us there where Your light blooms [300]. May St Luke pray for this perpetually on our behalf. Fritheswith the virgin, glory of the University of Oxford: seek forgiveness for our offences with your faithful prayer. For the sake of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, merciful Jesus, rescue us from our hardships: this world perennially weeps.
[305]. I beseech you, Romanus, after the days of this empty life, seek for us the eternal life on high. Through you, Crispinus, with the combined prayer of Crispinianus: let medicines be applied in order that we be healthy. Exclude all those, Jesus, who seek harm for me [310], through the merits of Simon and Jude, who were pleasing to You, so that, when the Judge shall come to see all things, I may be able to remain safe with you without end, and to partake of sweet wine with Quintinus.

<NOVEMBER>

The fifth is a scorpion and the third is girded with death [315].

Now, Christ, through the prayers of All Your Saints, may You be mindful, I ask, of All Souls needing to be cleansed. O chorus of angels, all patriarchs and prophets, the throng of apostles with the martyrs: be favourable. If you come late with the confessors, pray (for us) [320]. St Leonard, save us, seemly virgin: all of you who are saved, assist us in general; I beseech you, O Four Crowned Martyrs, in particular. Pray, Theodore, you who burned the temples of Mars with the heat of fire, you eventually entered the heavens [325]. You, Martin, who with your prayer make three dead persons whole: with your prayer, I beseech you, revive all us sick persons. Pray, St Brice, that our enemies do not overcome us; indeed, make us submit to God and be blessed next to Him. I beseech you, pour out prayers on our behalf, St Machutus [330], and, Bishop Edmund, make us rejoice in salvation. May you take care, Bishop Hugh, to seek the treasure for us where rust does not come, nor do thieves approach. Pour out your prayers whence we may drink with you in abundance, O King Edmund, the drinks of the blessed life [335]. Bring, I ask, O martyr, the firmest assistance of Christ, Virgin Cecilia, you who were once betrothed. Pope Clement, holy martyr, we pray to you, and to you, Chrysogonus: may we enjoy the celestial light. Save us, O Lord, through the merits of St Katherine [340]; keep us with you, take us to you, most merciful Linus: so that we may be able to have with you the true life, which no death can harm, once this present life is finished. St Saturninus, let all disasters flee from us. And, holy Andrew, bring to us victories from the enemy [345].

<DECEMBER>

The seventh is feeble, the tenth poisonous like a snake.

Behold, kindly God, with the month of November now completed: be my guardian, with the month of December begun. You Who are the guardian for all peoples, protecting them always and everywhere, make us up-
right for You; I beg you tearfully that You save us [350]. Draw us to you, abandoned in this vale (of tears) but afflicted on the sea, I ask, O Nicholas, holy bishop. May your pure Conception, Holy Mary, help us in future towards the honey-flowing realms of heaven. Blessed be the hour at which your very father, Ioachim, and your mother Anna as well, bore you, O beautiful Virgin [355]! You remain blessed, blessed your father and mother. I beg you to heal us, lest we be conquered by the Enemy. O virgin Lucia, who underwent death: pray on Christ’s behalf, together with Mary His Mother [360]. In accordance with a mother’s prayer, save us as we celebrate the first Advent, following the hymn *O Sapientia* of the Father. O splendour of light, *O Oriens*, you guide us well; if you can make us be drawn beyond the stars, *O dux Adonay*. O *radix Jesse*, grant that we may be with you, I pray [365]. And, *O clavis David*, open the doors of the gentle kingdom. *O Thomas Didymus* [Doubting Thomas], deeply penetrating the side of Christ, so that you were found worthy to enter His wound with your hands: may you dig with your prayers to bury us, at least, in Him. *O rex*, arise now willingly, come, we are watchful [370]. O You born in Bethlehem: save us, Christ, we beseech You. O martyr Stephen, receive us into the sanctuaries of heaven and let us adhere to the chaste life through the love of John. O Holy Innocents, petition heaven for me, I ask. Let the holy suffering of St Thomas request the same thing to take place [375], by which we may deserve a flight to the stars from the earth. On behalf of the prayers of Silvester, I beseech you, God omnipotent. Amen.
The following abbreviations are used to indicate the occurrence of commemorations in late medieval English kalendars:


**January**

1. *Circumcision* of *Dominus* [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
6. *Epiphania* [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
7. St. Lucianus [OX1, OX2 (against 8 Jan.), SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
13. St. Hilarius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
14. St. Felix in Pincis [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
15. St. Maurus [OX1 (against 16 Jan.), OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
16. St. Marcellus [OX1 (against 17 Jan.), OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
17. St. Sulpicius [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
18. St. Prisca [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
19. Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
20. St. Fabianus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
21. St. Agnes [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
22. St. Vincentius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25. *Conversion of St. Paul* [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
27. St. Iulianus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
28. Octave (secundo) of St. Agnes [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
30. St. Balthild [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]

**February**

1. St. Brigid [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
2. *Purification of St. Mary the Virgin* [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
3. St. Blasius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
5. St. Agatha [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
6. SS. Vedastus et Amandus [OX1, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
10. St. Scolastica [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE 'PEMBROKE PSALTER- HOURS' 371

14 St. Valentinus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
16 St. Iuliana [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
22 *Cathedra S. Petri* [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
24 St. Matthias the Apostle [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Mi, WM]

- **MARCH**

1 St. David (Dewi) of Wales [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br]
2 St. Ceadda [St Chad] [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br]
7 SS Perpetua et Felicitas [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
12 St. Gregory the Great, pope and confessor [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
18 Edward, king and martyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
20 St. Cuthbert [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
21 St. Benedict [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 Feast of the Annunciation [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

- **APRIL**

3 Richard de Wyche, bishop of Chichester [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, WM]
4 St. Ambrose [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
14 SS Tiburtius et Valerianus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
19 St. Elphech [Alphege] [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
23 St. George [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 St. Mark the Evangelist [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
28 St. Vitalis [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

- **MAY**

1 SS James and Philip, apostles [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
3 *Inuentio S. Crucis* [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
6 St. John the Evangelist, ante portam Latinam [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
10 SS Gordianus et Epimachus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
12 SS Nereus, Achilles et Pancratius [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
19 St. Dunstan [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 St. Aldhelm [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
26 St. Augustine, apostle of the English [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
28 St. Germanus [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
31 St. Petronilla [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

- **JUNE**

1 St. Nicomedes [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
2 SS Marcellinus et Petrus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
5 St. Bonifatius [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
8 SS Medardus et Gildardus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
9 Translation of Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, WM]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SS Processus et Martinianus [OX1, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Translation and ordination of St Martin [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Translation of St Thomas Becket [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Feast of the Seven Brothers, martyrs [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Translation of St Benedict [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Translation of St Swithun [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>St Kenelm [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>St Arnulf, bishop and martyr [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>St Margaret [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>St Praxedes [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>St Mary Magdalene [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>St Apollinaris [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>St Cristina [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>St James the Apostle [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>St Anne, mother of the Virgin [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>The Seven Sleepers [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>St Samson, bishop and martyr [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>SS Felix, Simplectus, Faustinus et Beatrix [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>SS Abdon et Sennes [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>St Germanus, bishop and confessor [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **JULY**

- **AUGUST**

1 | St Peter in Chains [Ad uincula S. Petri] [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM] |
2 | St Stephen, pope and martyr [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM] |
3 | Inuentio S. Stephani [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM] |
5 | St Oswald, king and martyr [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM] |
6 | SS Sixthus, Felicissimus et Agapitus [OX1, SAR-Mi, WM] |
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE 'PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS' 373

7 St Donatus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Mi, WM]
8 St Cyriacus and companions [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
9 St Romanus, martyr at Rome [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
10 St Laurence [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
11 St Tiburtius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
13 St Hippolytus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
14 St Eusebius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
15 Assumption of the Virgin [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
18 St Agapitus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
22 Octave of the feast of the Assumption [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
23 SS Timotheus et Apollinaris [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 St Bartholomew the Apostle [OX1, OX2 (24 Aug.), SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
28 St Augustine, bishop of Hippo [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
29 Decollation of John the Baptist [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
30 SS Felix et Adauctus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

• SEPTEMBER

1 St Aegidius [Giles] [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
4 Translation of St Cuthbert [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
5 St Bertinus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
8 Nativity of the Virgin [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
9 St Gorgonius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
11 SS Protus et Iacinctus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
14 Exaltatio S. Crucis [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
16 St Edith of Wilton [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
17 St Lambert [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
21 St Matthew the Apostle [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
22 St Mauricius and companions [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
23 St Thecla [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 St Firminus of Amiens [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
26 SS Cyprian, Iustina et Theoctistus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
27 SS Cosmas et Damianus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
29 St Michael, archangel [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
30 St Jerome [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

• OCTOBER

1 St Remigius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
2 St Leodegarius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
7 St Mark, pope, and companions [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
9 St Dionysius and companions [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
10 St Gereonis [OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
11 St Nicasius [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
13 Translation of Edward the Confessor [OX2, SAR-Br, WM]
14 St Calixtus [OX1, OX2, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
Translation of St Wulfram of Sens [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
St Michael in Monte tumba [Mont-Saint-Michel] [OX₁ (13 Oct.), OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
St Luke the Evangelist [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
St Frithuswith [Frideswide] [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, WM]
The Eleven Thousand Virgins [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
St Romanus, bishop of Rouen [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
SS Simon and Jude, apostles [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
St Quintinus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

NOVEMBER

1 The feast of All Saints [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
2 The feast of All Souls [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
6 St Leonard of Noblac [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
8 The Four Crowned Martyrs [Quatuor Coronati] [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
9 St Theodore, martyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
11 St Martin [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
13 St Bricius [Brice] [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
15 St Machutus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
16 Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
17 Hugh, bishop of Lincoln [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br]
20 Edmund, king and martyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
22 St Cecilia [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
23 St Clement, pope and martyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
24 St Chrysogonus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 St Katherine [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
26 St Linus, pope and martyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi]
29 St Satuminus [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
30 St Andrew, apostle [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]

DECEMBER

6 St Nicholas [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
8 Feast of the Conception of the Virgin [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
13 St Lucia [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
16 The 'O' Antiphons (O Sapientia) [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
25 Nativitas Domini [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
26 St Stephen, protomartyr [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
27 St John, apostle and evangelist [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
28 Holy Innocents [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
29 St Thomas Becket, archbishop [OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
31 St Silvester [OX₁, OX₂, SAR-Br, SAR-Mi, WM]
Commentary

In the following notes, I comment only on those saints who are peculiar to the late medieval English calendar, and not only on those of the universal Church (saints or martyrs, for example, who were commemorated as part of the Sanctorale in Gelasian or Gregorian sacramentaries; a helpful list of such commemorations is given by PFAFF, Liturgy in Medieval England, pp. 58-61).

3 The transmitted scannum is a spelling for scannum; see below, note to line 213.

5 The cadence urgine natus is common in hexameter verse from Paulinus of Nola (Carm. xvii. 44) onwards; in the thirteenth century it is used, for example, by John of Garland, Epithalamium Beatae Virginis, i. 473.

6 The line as transmitted in MS. (Tunc a Messya Jesus a Ioseph ipse uocatus) makes neither sense nor metre: it was Peter, not Joseph, who first gave Jesus the epithet Christus “after the Messiah” (John 1: 41: Invenit hic primum fratrem suum et dicit ei, “Invenimus Messiam quod est interpretatum Christus”). The wording of the biblical passage implies that, at some point of the transmission of MCPH, Jesus has replaced Christus; furthermore, the words a Ioseph have the appearance of having originated as an interlinear gloss (a mistaken one, however) which was incorporated at some stage into the text (for a similar example of an interlinear gloss being mistakenly incorporated into the text, see below, note to line 249). Note also that, in order for the line as transmitted in MS. to be treated as a hexameter, both syllables of Ioseph would need to be scanned as short, whereas both are in fact long.

7 The natural scansion of epiphaniä would prevent the word from being used in a hexameter; the poet has taken the liberty of scanning the first two syllables as long, a solution anticipated by John of Garland (see above, p. 336 n. 52).

8-9 For the rhyme of festa in line 8 with presta in line 9 (versus collaterales), cf. the final two lines (versus unisoni) of the metrical Life of St Hugh of Lincoln by Henry of Avranches: qui scripsi gesta tua, supplico ne mihi mesta / Sit mors; sed festa quae fine carent, Hugo, presta (lines 1307-1308, ed. C. Garton, The Metrical Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln, Lincoln, 1986).

11 Although the second syllable of cantilena is naturally short (cāntilēnā), this scansion would prevent the word from being used in a hexameter; the poet has therefore scanned the syllable as long for the sake of the metre. The word is employed in the same metrical feet, with the same scansion, by Eberhard of Béthune, Graecismus xi. 141 (et cantilenas nos carmina semper uocamus).

22 clementi uultu: cf. Julian of Toledo, Carm. ii. 9 (Accipe clementi, Sergi sanctissime, uultu).
25 For the Medieval Latin usage sibi = ei, see P. STOTZ, Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters. IV: Formenlehre, Syntax und Stilistik, Munich, 1998, pp. 292-295, esp. p. 294 (§ 38.5). For similar usage, see also below, lines 74, 141 and 212.
29 In order to achieve the rhyme with parato in the previous line, the poet has employed the rare collateral form mino (cf. the more usual deponent form minor).
32 The first syllable (Bal-) of Baltildis is apparently scanned short metri gratia; alternatively, the Sarum calendar used by the poet may have had the reading Baitildis, as in the Sarum breviary of 1531 (SAR-Br), in which case the syllable Ba- would be short by nature.
34 uirgo sacrata: a common poetic tag; cf. Alcuin, Carm. lxxix. 26. 1 and xcix. 6. 3; Hrabanus Maurus, Carm. xli. 1. 12; and, for its use as a hexametrical cadence, Peter of Naples, Miracula S. Agnelli, epit. 74 (Ecce dolore graui torqueris uirgo sacrata).
38 uivere caste: the cadence is used by poets from Claudian onwards; nearer in time to MCPH are Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia regum Britanniae v. 457 (Respondet: uivere caste) and John of Garland, Epithalamium Beatae Virginis iv. 215 (Agnum dumescit castus dans uivere caste).
40 carnis uiciis: a phrase common from Orientius onwards (Commonitorium i. 5: nam nos et carnis uitiis et tempore uicti), and, among thirteenth-century poets, John of Garland, Carmen de mysteriis ecclesie 63 (Isti nec possunt uiciis putrescere carnis).
42 uirgo benigna: used as a hexameter cadence uniquely by Nigel of Longchamps, Miracula B.V.M. 241 (forte uiam uenieprestaret uirgo benigna).
50 certamina dira: cf. Alexander Neckam, Laus sapientiae divinae ii. 709 (sed quid? nonne movet certamina dira, cruenta?).
51 The second syllable of fortitudo is naturally short (förtTtüdö); as in the case of cantilena (above, line 11), it could only be fitted into a hexameter by taking the liberty of scanning the second syllable as long. The phrase constantia mira is uniquely anticipated by Alcuin, Carm. xc. 18. 3 (Quorum mira fides animi et constantia mira).
55 The phrase clauiger etheree was first used at the beginning of a hexameter by Arator, Historia apostolica i. 899; thanks to the influence of Arator, it thereafter became common, particularly in Carolingian poetry (Poetria Nova II gives no example later than the tenth century).
The phrase *sedis apostolice* was used first by Arator, *Ep. ad Parthenium* 98; to judge from *Poetria Nova II*, it was used by later poets up to the time of Henry of Avranches (*Vita Francisci* vi. 62) but not apparently thereafter; similar in wording to the present line is Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* i. 3. 1 (*sedis apostolicae principis*). But why is St Peter regarded as a leader in astronomy? Perhaps in *astronomia* means simply *in astra*. Note that the word *astronomia* is used in the final two feet of a hexameter by only one other poet, Guillelmus Brito (a late-thirteenth-century Paris master), *Brito metricus*, 250 (*Brito metricus. A Medieval Verse Treatise on Greek and Hebrew Words*, ed. L. W. DALY [= Haney Foundation Series, 2], Philadelphia, 1968, p. 14).

After the defection of Judas, the disciples cast lots to choose a successor to make their number up to twelve, and the lot fell on Matthias (Act. 1: 26: *et dederunt sortes eis et cecidit sors super Matthiam*); he was thus the last of the disciples to be chosen.

Because the transmitted form *plācere* will not scan here, I have emended to *plācare*, rather than allowing what seems so egregious an error of scansion to stand; but the fact that the poet construed *plācare* with the dative (*nobis*) suggests that it was indeed the unmetrical form *plācere* which he had in mind.

St David (Dewi) of Wales (fl. 589/601): although he is regarded as the patron saint of Wales, and was the founder of St David’s, virtually nothing certain is known of his life (the earliest *Vita* is that by Rhigyfarch ap Sulien of Llanbadarn Fawr [*BHL 2107*], dating from the years immediately following 1093, and filled with legendary material of no historical value). See J. WYN EVANS, *David [St David, Dewi]*, in *ODNB*, 15, pp. 277-282. On the medieval cult of St David, see S. M. HARRIS, *Saint David in the Liturgy*, Cardiff, 1940, and H. JAMES, *The Cult of St David in the Middle Ages*, in *In Search of Cult. Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz*, ed. M. CARVER, Woodbridge, 1993, pp. 105-112.

Ceadda, or St Chad (d. 672), was the first bishop of Mercia, with his see at Lichfield; what little is known of his life derives from Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* iii. 28 and iv. 3; see D. H. FARMER, *Ceadda, Abbot of Lastingham, Bishop of Mercia and Lindsey*, in *ODNB*, 10, pp. 713-714.

deserta petisti: cf. Florus of Lyon, *Carm.* xvii. 11 (*Longinqua Aegypti sitiens deserta petivit*).

*uiseca claudi*: a biblical image; cf. I John 3: 17 (*qui habuerit substantiam mundi et viderit fraterem suum necesse habere, et clauerit viscera sua ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in eo?*).

*hori* = *ori* (from *ös*, *oris*, “mouth”). I have emended the transmitted *non* to *ne*, because in classical usage the negative of the imperative is constructed with *ne* (as it is again in line 75: *ne cesses*); in medieval usage, however, *non* was often employed in lieu of *ne*: cf. discussion by STOTZ, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, IV... (see above p. 376), p. 413 (IX.111.32), and below, lines 180 and 181.

*Clama ne cesses*: Is. 58. 1. The phrase is used in a hexameter by only one other poet, Sextus Amarius, *Serm.* iii. 831.
The legend of Gregory and Trajan, according to which Gregory wept for the soul of the long-deceased emperor and caused, by his tears, the dead emperor’s soul to be “baptized in tears”, an incident first recorded in the *Vita prima S. Gregorii* [BHL 3637], and thereafter widespread; it is related, for example, in the chapter (c. xlvi) *De sancto Gregorio* in the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze (*Legenda aurea*, ed. MAGGIONI, I, p. 297). On the Insular origins of the legend, see T. O’LOUGHLIN – H. CONRAD-O’BRIAIN, *The “Baptism of Tears” in Early Anglo-Saxon Sources*, in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 22 (1993), pp. 65-83.


The phrase *patribus antiquis* used as the first half of a hexameter is anticipated uniquely by the anonymous poem *Iudas*.ii. 48.

The poet here clearly alludes to the famous anonymous (pseudo-Fortunatus) hymn *Ave maris stella* (ICL 1545); cf., in particular, the wording of the second stanza, *Sumens illud Ave / Gabrielis ore* (*Analecta Hymnica* ii. 39 [no. 29] and li. 140 [no. 123]); it is also printed among the spurious poems of Venantius Fortunatus in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi*, IV/1, Berlin, 1881, p. 385).

*celica gratia:* a phrase used frequently by Bernard of Morlaix, *De contemptu mundi*, but otherwise rare.

Richard de Wyche, bishop of Chichester (1197-1253), canonized in 1253, and translated in 1276, was a scholar who had studied canon law both in Oxford and also in Paris, who became chancellor of Oxford in 1235; two years later, in 1237, he was appointed chancellor to Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and remained a close associate of Edmund until the latter’s death in France in 1240. In 1244 Richard was appointed bishop of Chichester, a post he filled vigorously until his death in 1253. A *Vita* of St Richard was composed by his follower, Ralph Bocking, on the basis of the dossier assembled for his canonization (*BHL* 7209). Modern studies include E. F. JACOB, *St Richard of Chichester*, in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 7 (1956), pp. 174-188 and C. H. LAWRENCE, *Wyche, Richard of [St Richard of Chichester]*, in *ODNB*, 60, pp. 604-606. For his hagiography, see D. JONES, *The Medieval Lives of St. Richard of Chichester*, in *AB*, 105 (1987), pp. 105-129.

The line as transmitted in the manuscript (*Sana negant fieri nisi cum multiplici cura*) requires the second syllable of *multiplici* to be scanned as long (it is natu-
rally short) and the final syllable as short (it is naturally long). (For the correct scansion of the word — *multiplicē* — see Vergil, *Aen.* iv. 189, Prudentius, *Psychomachia* 686, Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* xxvii. 179, etc.). The second difficulty could be avoided by emending to *multiplicē*, but the first is not so easily eliminated. Since the poet elsewhere rarely commits errors of scansion such as this (see above, p. 336), a possible solution may be to delete *cum* from the transmitted text, and supply a word of two short syllables (such as *quasi*) before *cura*.

109-115 These lines refer to Easter (which is not, of course, a feast of the *sanctorale*): Christ’s death on the Cross (109-110), His Harrowing of Hell (111-112), His Resurrection (113-114), and His appearance to the disciples (115). The position of these lines, between commemorations for St Tiburtius (14 Apr.) and St George (23 Apr.), suggests that, although Easter belongs to the temporal cycle, the poet had in mind an Easter which fell between these dates — a suggestion which appears to be confirmed by the fact that he positions Ascension Day (lines 145-148) between 19 and 25 May: indeed, this positioning of Ascension Day implies an Easter Day on 15 or 16 Apr. For years in which Easter fell between 14 and 23 Apr., see C. R. Cheney, *A Handbook of Dates for Students of British History*, rev. M. Jones, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 204-218; interestingly, in view of what has been said above concerning the St Scolastica’s Day riot in 1355 (pp. 342-343), there is no year with Easter on 15 or 16 Apr. between 1355 and 1403.

113 Ælfhéah (Alphege), archbishop of Canterbury (1006-12), was murdered by Viking armies because he refused to pay the ransom demanded for his release; see N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester, 1984, pp. 278-285, and H. Leyser, *Ælfheah [St Ælfheah, Elphege, Alphege]*, in ODNB, 1, pp. 382-383. The earliest *Vita* of Ælfheah was composed late in the eleventh century by Osbern of Canterbury (*BHL* 2518).

114 *mundum sanguine purgas*: cf. Peter of Naples, *Miracula S. Agnelli*, epist. 3 (*Quipietate tua pretioso sanguine mundum / purgasti*).

120 I do not understand the transmitted *pinguis* and have emended to *populis*.

129 For the cadence, cf. Alexander Neckam, *Laus sapientiae divinae* i. 347 (*Hinc est quod fertur ei rosa deliciarum*); but note that the pentasyllable *deliciarum* is frequently used as a hexameter cadence.


135-136 The poet is apparently saying that the name *Gordiani* — to say nothing of *Æplmiichf!* — cannot be fitted into a hexameter (*quam metra negant recitare*) without some violence to the metre (*Görđiānī*); he accordingly scans -ia- by synizesis as a single long syllable.

139 *scandis super astra*: cf. Alcuin, *Carm.* i. 679 (*spiritus alta petens scandit super astra polorum*).

140 *celica castra*: the phrase is used as a hexameter cadence uniquely in Nigel of Longchamps, *Passio S. Laurentii* 212, 2192, and 2216.
The phrase *mens anime*, with anime seemingly understood as genitive dependent upon mens, is exceedingly odd (and indeed tautological). There is no precedent for this usage in previous authors. Michael Winterbottom suggests to me that anime might here be understood as a vocative, and I have punctuated (and translated) accordingly.


These lines clearly refer to Ascension Day, which the author of MCPH places between 19 and 25 May (commemorations for SS. Dunstan and Aldhelm), implying the celebration of Easter on 15 or 16 Apr.; see above, note to lines 109-115.

The phrase *pneumatis almi* was apparently first used as a hexameter cadence by Hrotsvitha, *Maria* 223; it is employed frequently by Peter of Riga, *Aurora*.

The verb *percepto* (1), here conjugated in the 3rd sg. subj., is apparently intended as an iterative form of *percipio*, formed on the analogy of *accepto* and *recepto*; it does not appear to be attested elsewhere (it is not listed in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*) and is presumably a coinage by the author. Its meaning (“to receive”) is clear from context.


Augustine, Pope Gregory’s missionary to England, who became the first archbishop of Canterbury (d. 604); see H. MAYR-HARTING, *Augustine, Missionary, Archbishop of Canterbury*, in ODNB, 2, pp. 948-950.

*celestis premia sedis*: cf. Iuvencus, *Evangelia i. 703* (*Praemia caelestis capient spontanea sedis*).

*peccati pondere pressi*: cf. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Versus ad filium Ludovici Pii ii*. 49 (*Nullus enim monachus peccati pondere pressus*).

Boniface: the Englishman Wynfrith, who was the apostle of Germany and the first archbishop of Mainz; he was martyred at Dokkum in 754; see I. N. WOOD, *Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz, Missionary*, in ODNB, 6, pp. 540-545; on the cult of St Boniface, see *Sankt Bonifatius. Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todes- tag*, Fulda, 1954.

The translation of Edmund Rich of Abingdon (c. 1174-1240), archbishop of Canterbury (1233-40), canonized in 1246, translated in 1250. He was a graduate of Oxford (incepted in theology in 1214) and is one of the earliest known teachers in the University of Oxford (he was noteworthy for being the first Oxford scholar to lecture on Aristotle’s *Sophistici elenchi*). He was also the first Oxford master to be officially canonized (St Edmund Hall in Oxford is named after him). See C. H. LAWRENCE, *St Edmund of Abingdon: A Study of Hagiography and History*, Oxford, 1960, and Id., *Abingdon, Edmund of (St Edmund of Abingdon*,
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE ‘PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS’ 381

Edmund Rich], in ODNB, 1, pp. 103-106. The date of his death is commemorated on 16 November (see below, line 331).

174 Botuulf (Botulphus) was the abbot of Icanho (Iken) in Suffolk, and one of the pioneers of Christianity in East Anglia; he died c. 670. Very little is known of his life: see S. E. West – N. Scarfe – R. Cramp, Iken, St Botolph and the Coming of East Anglian Christianity, in Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 35 (1981-84), pp. 279-301, and J. Blair, Botulf [St Botwulf, Botolph], in ODNB, 6, p. 773. The inclusion of St Botuulf in MCPH is puzzling, given the overwhelmingly Sarum nature of its commemorations; see above, p. 329, n. 21.

177 The translation of Edward, king and martyr (d. 978): see above, note to line 80. The translation of the king’s remains, from Wareham to Shaftesbury, took place in 979; see S. D. Keynes, King Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury Abbey, in Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey, ed. L. Keen, Dorchester, 1999, pp. 17-72, esp. 48-55.

179 St Alban: a Romano-British missionary, supposedly martyred during the Great Persecution under Diocletian (A. D. 303), and known principally from Bede, Historia ecclesiastica i. 8. For the phrase tempus inane, cf. Vergil, Aen. iv. 433 (tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori).

180 St Æthelthryth (Etheldreda): sometime queen of Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria (670-685), she dissolved her marriage and established a double monastery in Ely (673), over which she presided as abbess until her death in 679. She is known principally from Bede, Historia ecclesiastica iv. 17-18. See A. Thacker, Æthelthryth, Queen in Northumbria, Consort of King Ecgfrith, and Abbess of Ely, in ODNB, 1, pp. 429-432.

184 carnis amictu: cf. Arator, Historia apostolica ii. 98 (carnis uestitus amictu) and John of Garland, Epithalamium Beatae Virginis i. 15 (umbra facit clipeum fonti dum carnis amictu).

187 Note that nasci rhymes with passi in the previous line.

191 The phrase astra polorum was first used as a hexameter cadence by Aldhelm, Carmen de virginitate 182, then frequently by Alcuin (eleven instances recorded in Poetria Nova II).

194 grauis ista uia: cf. Belinus Bissolo, Speculum i. 2. 38 (sic michi sic et equo fit grauis ista uia).

195 St Thomas Becket was translated on 7 July 1220, and was prominent in Sarum use thereafter; see Paff, Liturgy in Medieval England, p. 385.

196 The first syllable of reliquias is naturally short. The poet may possibly have spelled the word Rell- in order to constitute a closed (long) syllable; but cf. Vergil, Aen. viii. 356 (reliquias ueterumque uides monimenta uirorum).

203 The Translation of St Swithun. Swithun was an obscure bishop of Winchester (852-863) whose remains were ostentatiously translated into the Old Minster in Winchester on 15 July 971; the miracles which accompanied the translation, and which continued to occur at Swithun’s tomb in the Old Minster, helped to establish him as one of the principal Anglo-Saxon saints. See M. Lapidge, The Cult
of St Swithun (= Winchester Studies, 4/2), Oxford, 2003. It is curious that the poet scans ac with following vowel as a long syllable (cf. also below, line 297); in both cases he could have avoided the error of scansion by substituting atque. Such a substitution would, however, have imported another elision – corporis atque animae – a metrical practice which, on the whole, the poet avoids (see above, p. 340 and n. 63).

205 St Kenelm (Old English Cynehelm): the son and heir of Coenwulf, king of Mercia (d. 821), who succeeded to his father's throne and was brutally murdered shortly thereafter, aged seven, but revealed his sanctity through various miracles and a miraculous revelation to the pope in Rome. See R. C. Love, Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives (= Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford, 1996, pp. lxxxix-cxxxix and 50-89, and D. Rollason, Cynehelm, martyr, in ODNB, 14, pp. 860-861.

210 gaudia plena: the only earlier poets who used this phrase as a hexameter cadence are Fulco of Beauvais, Nuptiae Christi et ecclesiae vi. 55 and vii. 176, and Nigel of Longchamps, Passio S. Laurentii 1248.

213 scamna is intentionally (mis)spelled as scanna in order to provide a more exact rhyme with manna later in the line, and with Anna and osanna in the following line (the two lines are an example of leonini unisoni); cf. also line 3, where scamnum is similarly transmitted as scannum in MS.

214 St Anne (mother of the Virgin) only becomes a Sarum saint "by the end of the fourteenth century" (Pfaff, Liturgy in Medieval England, p. 424); but she is faintly present in the thirteenth century, notably at Worcester (ibid., pp. 409-410).

217 a morte gehenne: cf. Flodoard of Rheims, De triumphis Christi: Antioch ii. 844 (cuius de tenebris ad lucem, a morte gehennae).

219 nos redde corone: hypallage for nobis redde coronam.

220 Other versions of the verse (e.g. that in the calendar in the Westminster Missal, ed. Wickham Legg, p. xii) have the reading sternitque in lieu of perimitque; SAR-Br here reads perditque.

223 celos uidit apertos: Act. 7: 55 (ecce uideo caelos apertos et Filium hominis a dextris stantem Dei).

225 Oswald, king of Bernicia (Northumbria), 633-642, was killed in battle with the pagan king Penda at Oswestry in 642. Miracles which took place at his place of death, and through contact with the soil and the cross which marked his grave, helped quickly to establish his reputation as a saint. He is known principally from Bede, Historia ecclesiastica iii. 1-2 and 9-12; see Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint, ed. C. Stancliffe – E. Cambridge, Stamford, 1995, and D. J. Craig, Oswald, King of Northumbria, in ODNB, 42, pp. 76-79.

227 nos summe reddito paci: perhaps another instance of hypallage (nobis summam reddito pacem).

240 qui tollit crimina mundi: cf. John 1: 29 (Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi). When the phrase was adapted to hexameter verse, criminam replaced peccatum, as in Alcuin, Carm. cxvii. 1. 10 (Hic ecce Agnus et hic, qui tollit crimina mundi); Alcuin repeats the line verbatim at Carm. cxvii. 2. 2.

The transmitted text (*Ioannes decollate regnum celi precor a te*) is unmetrical. My assumption is that the line commenced with the (vocative) pronoun *tu*, and that this was explained by an interlinear gloss as *Ioanne*; a subsequent scribe incorporated the gloss into the hexameter, thereby destroying the metre.

The translation of St Cuthbert (on whom see above, note to line 82). The feast of the translation is recorded in Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars from as early as the ninth century; see R. RUSHFORTH, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (= Henry Bradshaw Society, 117), London, 2008, table IX (September).


*Celesti pascite pane*: cf. Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale* i. 91 (optatam tenuere uiam quae lege futura).

The poet encountered difficulties in trying to fit the names of the nine orders of angels into hexameters; thus he gave *Dominatio* in the singular (the plural *Dominatiónes* cannot be accommodated in a hexameter), and rearranged *Principatus-que* (which likewise would not scan: *Principátusque*) by means of tmesis to yield *Príncipt-qué-pátúṣ*.

297 For the scansion of äc with following vowel, see above, note to line 203.

299 The feast of St Michael is referred to in the Sarum Missal as Sancti Michaelis in Monte Tumba [i.e. Mont-Saint-Michel] (ed. WICKHAM LEGG, p. xxx); but Mönë Tumba would not fit into a hexameter, so the poet added the enclitic -que so as to provide an additional short syllable. The commemoration of the dedication of St Michael in Monte tumba was stipulated by the Council of Oxford in 1222. For the phrase Da requiem cell, cf. Carmina Sangallensia v. 11 (Ac requiem caeli da scandere terrea quæ).

302 St Frithuswith (Frideswide), allegedly an early eighth-century princess of Wessex (d. 727?), who is said to have founded a double monastery in Oxford, probably on the site of the present Christ Church: see J. BLAIR, St Frideswide Reconsidered, in Oxoniensia, 52 (1987), pp. 71-127; Id., St Frideswide’s Monastery: Problems and Possibilities, in Oxoniensia, 53 (1988), pp. 221-258; and Id., Frithuswith, Abbess of Oxford, in ODNB, vol. 20, pp. 50-51. The association of Frithuswith with the University of Oxford probably dates from the late twelfth century (and was widely accepted by the mid-thirteenth): see T. A. HESLOP, The Late Twelfth-Century Seal of St Frideswide’s Priory, in Oxoniensia, 53 (1988), pp. 271-274 (the seal shows Frithuswith, seated, holding an open book – an early depiction of her association with learning).

305 The line as transmitted is one syllable short: apparently a monosyllabic verb, the subject of which is mundus and which is qualified by the adverb lugiter, has fallen out. I have supplied del (but there are perhaps other possibilities to choose from, including dat, it, nat, quit, scit, stat, etc.).

314 dulci ... uino: cf. Horace, Carm. iii. 12. 1 (miserorum est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci I malis uino lauere).

318 O chorus angelice: cf. Dracontius, De laudibus Dei ii. 209 (Te chorus angelicus, laudans exercitus, orat); the phrase is frequent after Dracontius.

319 Cetus apostolice: the phrase is used to fill the first half of a hexameter by Alcuin (Carm. lxx. 2. 7), then frequently by Hrabanus Maurus (Carm. xliv. 1. 4; xlix. 4. 1; l. 3. 1; iii. 19) and other poets down to the twelfth century.

321 The noun uirgo is fem., and is correctly to be construed with an adjective conjugated as fem. (decora); however incongruous it might seem, the fem. form uirgo was applied to male virgins throughout the medieval period; see STOTZ, Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters, IV ... (see above p. 376), p. 158 (§ 78.8) with n. 231. (The incongruity was felt by some poets such as Aldhelm, who treated uirgo as a masc. noun when applied to male virgins: cf. his Carmen de virginitate 250 [uirgo sacer fuerat fama per saecula notus], 324 [quod Danihel semper virgo florescet almus]). However – to judge from the databases – the phrase uirgo decora was applied invariably to women (uirgo decorus does not occur), and typically to the Virgin Mary, as in the present poem at line 355; it therefore seems distinctly odd, if grammatically correct, to describe St Leonard as a uirgo decora.

324 Martis templa cremasti: according to the Legenda aurea of Iacopo da Varazze, St Theodore at his trial was granted a truce to allow him time to prepare his sacrifice (to the pagan gods); instead, in the time allowed him, he burned down the
temple of the mother of the Gods [viz. Juno]: *datis igitur induciis sancto Theodoru ut sacrificaret, templum matris deorum noctu sanctus introiuit et igne suppositori toutum illud succendit* (*Legenda aurea*, ed. MAGGIONI, II, p. 1131). In light of this passage, it is possible that the transmitted *Martis* should be emended to *matris*.

325 **celos penetrasti**: cf. Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. xix*. 651 (*effractisque abyssis caelos penetravit apertos*).

326 **tres defunctos**: St Martin is described as resuscitating two dead persons in Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* (*BHL* 5610), vii. 2-4 and viii. 2-3; a third resuscitation is described in the same author’s *Dialogi* ii. 2 (*BHL* 5615). It is possible that the author of MCPH knew both these sources, and combined them so as to arrive at his total of three resuscitations. More likely, however, is that he took the figure three from the *Legenda aurea* of Iacopo da Varazze, who had already made the combination, and thus could say of St Martin, *In eodem quoque dyalogo legitur qualiter tertium mortuum suscitauit* (*Legenda aurea*, ed. MAGGIONI, II, p. 1142).

331 **The dies natalis** of Edmund Rich, whose translation is commemorated earlier in the poem on 9 June (see above, note to line 166).

332 St Hugh of Lincoln was born at Avalon in France c. 1140; he was a Carthusian monk who later became bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200); he was canonized in 1220 and translated in 1280. He was trained in theology at Paris; at the time of his death he was regarded as the most learned monk in England. St Hugh’s College (formerly St Hugh’s Hall) is named after him. The principal source is the *Vita* by Adam of Eynsham (*BHL* 4018), ed. D. L. DOUÉ – H. FARMER, *The Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, Edinburgh, 1961-62 (for his learning, especially in canon law, see I, pp. xxx-xxxxiii; for his association with Oxford, see ibid., I, pp. xxviii-xxix); D. KNOWLES, *The Monastic Order in England. A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1963, pp. 381-391; *St Hugh of Lincoln. Lectures delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the Eighth Centenary of St Hugh’s Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln*, ed. H. MAYR-HARTING, Oxford, 1987; and H. MAYR-HARTING, *Hugh of Lincoln [St Hugh of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon]*, in *ODNB*, 28, pp. 621-624. A metrical Life of Hugh of Lincoln, in some 1,300 unrhymed hexameters (*BHL* 4021), was composed by Henry of Avranches: *Metrical Life of St Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln*, ed. J. F. DIMOCK, Lincoln, 1860; see also C. GARTON, *The Metrical Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, Lincoln, 1886. The feast is commemorated in Oxford calendars of the late Middle Ages (*OX* and *OX2*), but in neither the *Sarum Missal* nor the *Westminster Missal*.

333 **non erugo ... neque fures**: cf. Matth. 6: 20 (*Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo ubi neque erugo neque tinea demolitur et ubi fures non effodiunt*) and, in verse, Iuvencus, *Euangelia* i. 615 (*non aerugo illis tineaeae aut horrida furum / factio diripiet*).

335 Edmund, king and martyr, was an obscure king of East Anglia who was murdered by Vikings in 869. His cult was established by Abbo of Fleury’s *Passio S. Eadmundi* (*BHL* 2392), on which see A. GRANSDEN, *Abbo of Fleury’s «Passio
S. Eadmundi*, in Revue Bénédictine, 105 (1995), pp. 20-78. St Edmund’s Abbey at Bury St Edmunds was founded in his name at an uncertain date and refounded c. 1020. See RIDYARD, The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England... (see above p. 378), pp. 211-233; M. MOSTERT, King Edmund of East Anglia († 869): Chapters in Historical Criticism, Ann Arbor, MI, 1986; and A. GRANSDEN, Edmund, King of the East Angles, in ODNB, 17, pp. 754-755. Note that pigmenta originally meant “spiced wine”, but by the fourteenth century meant simply “drinks”: see Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, s. v. pigmentum, 3c.

337 desponsata. According to hagiographical accounts, beginning with Ambrose, St Caecilia had been betrothed to a young man named Valerianus, but had devoted herself utterly to Christ, wearing a hair-shirt under her wedding dress, and fasting and praying continually that He keep her body pure. The wording here may be indebted to the account in the Legenda aurea of Iacopo da Varazze, c. 165: Cum autem cuidam iuueni nomine Valeriano desponsata fuisset... (Legenda aurea, ed. MAGGIONI, II, p. 1181).

339 celesti luce: cf. the Karolellus v. 410 (celesti luce beatus) and Peter of Riga, Aurora, praef. i. 40 (quid nisi celesti luce ciboque frui).

344 The transmitted text of the first half of the hexameter (Et nos in me) is impossible for several reasons: it is metrically a syllable short, and -ine (not me) is required by the unison rhymes with Domine and Katherine in the previous line, and with Line at the end of the line. I have conjectured nos tecum retine to supply the required rhyme.

356 regnafutura: a cadence employed by Bonifatius (Carm. i. 9) and Hrabanus Maurus (Laud. fig. xiv. 25), as well as by various thirteenth-century poets.

362-370 The so-called “O” antiphons are a set of (originally seven) antiphons to the Magnificat, sung on each of the seven days preceding Christmas Eve: O sapientia, O Adonai, O radix Jesse, O clavis David, O oriens, O rex gentium, and O Emmanuel; during the early Middle Ages this number was increased to as many as twelve, by including such antiphons as O virgo virginum and O Thomas Didymo. See M. HUGLO, O Antiphons, in New Catholic Encyclopedia, Washington, DC, vol. 10, 1967, pp. 587-588; C. CALLEWAERT, De groote Adventsanifonen O, in Sacris Erudiri. Fragmenta Liturgica Collecta, Steenbrugge, 1940, pp. 405-418; and S. RANKIN, The Liturgical Background of the Old English Advent Lyrics: A Reappraisal, in Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England. Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. M.
METRICAL CALENDAR IN THE ‘PEMBROKE PSALTER-HOURS’ 387


363 splendor lucis: cf. Aldhelm, Carmen de virginitate 2320 (sed splendor lucis radianis ab axe polarum).


* * *

Abbreviations


MCPH = Metrical calendar in the “Pembroke Psalter-Hours”.


Résumé. Si le calendrier métrique conservé dans un psautier et livre d’Heures de la Vierge, richement illustré, du XVᵉ s., aujourd’hui à Philadelphie (Museum of Art, Philip S. Collins Collection, no. 45-65-2), était connu depuis longtemps, il n’avait jamais été édité ou étudié auparavant. Une expertise serrée indique que le poème fut composé en Angleterre, probablement à Oxford (vu que celui-ci est basé sur un calendrier liturgique suivant le rite de Sarum adapté pour Oxford), et manifestement dans la première moitié du XIVᵉ s., à en juger surtout d’après l’agencement élaboré des rimes. Le poème jette une lumière nouvelle sur la commémoration des saints anglais dans l’usage de Sarum, et offre un remarquable exemple du genre, peu étudié, des calendriers métriques en latin médiéval.

* See also above p. 370.