

FOUNDATIONS

**THE CUSTOMARY
OF THE SHRINE OF
ST. THOMAS BECKET
AT CANTERBURY
CATHEDRAL**

LATIN TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Edited and translated from Latin by

JOHN JENKINS

ARC HUMANITIES PRESS



FOUNDATIONS

Further Information and Publications

<https://www.arc-humanities.org/series/book-series>

**THE CUSTOMARY
OF THE SHRINE OF
ST. THOMAS BECKET AT
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL**

LATIN TEXT AND TRANSLATION

by

JOHN JENKINS

ARCHUMANITIES PRESS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

© 2022, Arc Humanities Press, Leeds



This work is licensed under Creative Commons licence CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

The authors assert their moral right to be identified as the authors of their part of this work.

Permission to use brief excerpts from this work in scholarly and educational works is hereby granted provided that the source is acknowledged. Any use of material in this work that is an exception or limitation covered by Article 5 of the European Union's Copyright Directive (2001/29/EC) or would be determined to be "fair use" under Section 107 of the U.S. Copyright Act September 2010 Page 2 or that satisfies the conditions specified in Section 108 of the U.S. Copyright Act (17 USC §108, as revised by P.L. 94-553) does not require the Publisher's permission.

ISBN (hardback): 9781641894487

e-ISBN (PDF): 9781641894494

www.arc-humanities.org

Printed and bound in the UK (by CPI Group [UK] Ltd), USA (by Bookmasters), and elsewhere using print-on-demand technology.

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| Acknowledgements | vii |
| Ground Plan of Canterbury Cathedral | viii |
| Introduction | 1 |
| The Manuscript | 2 |
| The Nature of the Customary | 3 |
| Reorganization and Recording in the Fifteenth-Century Cathedral | 7 |
| The Customary and the Management of the Shrine | 11 |
| The Afterlife of the Customary | 44 |
| Note on Text and Translation | 45 |
| The Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket – Text and Translation | 46 |
| Further Reading | 107 |

To my parents



Digital reconstruction of the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral ca. 1408. Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture, University of York, 2020.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I FIRST BECAME aware of the Customary of the Shrine though a footnote, probably in Ben Nilson's excellent *Cathedral Shrines in Medieval England*. From there I realized that the (now) Rev. Dr Peter Rowe had undertaken a transcription and translation of the Customary for his MA thesis at the University of London in 1990. Peter was extremely generous in sharing with me his thesis, his subsequent thoughts, and the advice he had been given by other scholars, and in giving his blessing to proceed on a new edition. I am profoundly thankful, along with so many others with an interest in medieval Canterbury, for the work he undertook, which for the last three decades has underpinned much of the of research on the cult of Thomas Becket in the later medieval cathedral. Few other MA theses can have had so much impact on a field. I started working on this new edition of the Customary in 2015, while engaged as a postdoctoral research assistant on the "Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past and Present" project at the University of York funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The Customary was a key source for the digital reproductions of Becket's shrine made in the course of that project, a still from which is reproduced opposite. It is testament to the extraordinary scope and vision of that project that the research outputs far exceeded expectations, and this edition is one of the unexpected surprises. The Principal Investigator on that project, Dee Dyas, has been a constant source of support and encouragement, and this edition would not have happened without her. Many of my ideas about how the shrine chapel was organized and furnished, and which provide the context to this edition, came about through the collaborative process of making the models, in discussions with the digital archaeologists who created the models of the shrine, Anthony Masinton, Geoff Arnott, and Patrick Gibbs, with invaluable input from Eamon Duffy and Louise Hampson.

Setting the Customary within the context of the later medieval cathedral involved a substantial amount of work in Canterbury Cathedral Archives over several years. My thanks are due to all the archivists and library staff, current and past, at Canterbury Cathedral Archives (hereafter CCA), particularly Cressida Williams and Daniel Korachi-Alaoui, who have not only gone to great lengths to help with the specificities of my queries, but also have made my research trips such fun. Thanks also to Chris Crooks, the Cathedral Vesturer, who showed me all the back rooms and upper spaces, and enthusiastically shared his vast knowledge of how the cathedral worked, and who first suggested to me that the wax chamber, now the vesturer's office, had a different function to the one traditionally ascribed. My thanks are also due to the staff of the British Library, and particularly of the Manuscripts Reading Room, I look forward to getting back there soon.

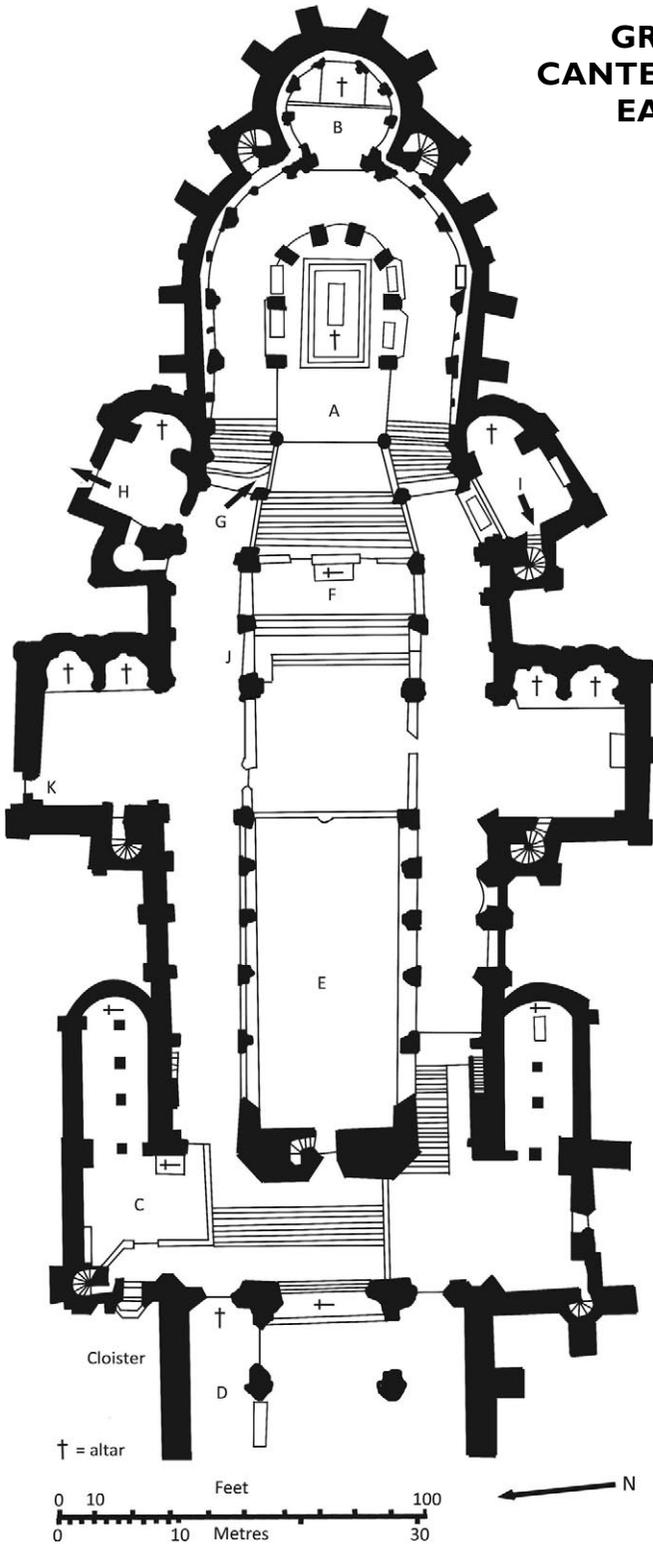
I would like to extend particular thanks to Anne Bailey, Anne Duggan, Kay Slocum, and Cressida Williams, along with the anonymous reader and the series editor, Chris Jones, who gave thorough, incisive, and generous comments on this edition in draft form. Any remaining errors in the text are my fault.

In deciding on a publisher, it was always my desire to have the Customary produced in a text-and-translation format. I am delighted that it could find a home in Arc Humanities Press's Foundations series, and offer my sincere thanks to my editor, Anna Henderson, for her support and forbearance. I am grateful to the Marc Fitch Fund for a grant towards the costs of publishing this book.

My principal thanks as ever are due to Sarah and my parents, for everything.

York, October 2021

GROUND PLAN OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, EAST END, IN 1428



- A: Shrine Chapel of St. Thomas, with central shrine on raised platform. Surrounding tombs are (clockwise from north) King Henry IV (d. 1413); conjectural double tomb of the Earl of Somerset (c. 1410) and the Duke of Clarence (d. 1421); Archbishop Courtenay (d. 1396); Archbishop Walter (d. 1205; against outer wall); The Black Prince (d. 1376).
- B: Corona Chapel with head shrine of St. Thomas.
- C: Martyrdom Chapel with Altar of the Sword's Point. Tomb of Archbishop Peckham (d. 1292) in northeast corner, door to crypt in southeast corner.
- D: Lady Chapel in the nave, with tomb of Archbishop Islip (d. 1366).
- E: Monks' choir, with the site of the great desk for readings marked on the steps to the east.
- F: High Altar. To the immediate north was the shrine of St. Alphege, to the south the shrine of St. Dunstan, and on a beam over the altar the shrine of St. Blaise.
- G: Door to the shrine vestry and wax chamber under the High Altar platform.
- H: Door to main vestry, through St. Andrew's Chapel.
- I: Steps up to shrine-keepers' rooms and watching chamber above St. Anselm's Chapel.
- J: Great relic cupboard in the north choir aisle.
- K: Door to the monks' night passage to the dormitory.

INTRODUCTION

THE DETAILS OF Thomas Becket's life and of the first fifty years or so of his cult are so well-known that they hardly bear retelling.¹ For the fifteenth-century monks who acted as custodians of his shrine there was a handy mnemonic for the most significant events of his path to sainthood—the Seven Wonderful Tuesdays—which they duly copied into the instructions written for their successors in the role.² According to this, Thomas Becket was born on Tuesday, December 21, 1120, the feast day of St. Thomas the Apostle, at a house on London's Cheapside. Passing over his chancellorship (1155–1162) and institution as archbishop of Canterbury in 1162, the next Wonderful Tuesday took place at the Council of Northampton in 1164, when Becket was condemned by the king and barons; and it was a Tuesday when, following this, he went into exile. During his exile in France, at the abbey of Pontigny, it was on a Tuesday when he received a heavenly vision informing him that he would suffer martyrdom for the Church. He returned to England on a Tuesday in 1170, landing at Sandwich on December 1, and less than a month later he was murdered in the north transept of Canterbury Cathedral on Tuesday, December 29. Finally, fifty years later, on Tuesday, July 7, 1220 he was translated from his original resting-place in the crypt to a glorious golden shrine in the chapel now known as the Trinity Chapel.³

For the next three centuries the shrine was to be the epicentre of the most important and resorted-to cult in England, with pilgrims regularly travelling to it from all over Europe.⁴ It was also the focal point of the monastic liturgy of the cathedral priory of Christ Church, one of the largest Benedictine houses in Christendom. Balancing these two functions was a delicate and difficult task.⁵ We are extremely fortunate in that in 1428 the monastic custodians of the shrine felt it necessary to record for their successors the precise manner in which they and their predecessors in the role had found it best to achieve this balancing act. The document they produced, now British Library,

1 The best modern biographies are Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1986); Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004).

2 For the development of the Wonderful Tuesdays in the cult, Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), 247–52.

3 For the early cult see Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin, eds., *The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c. 1170–c. 1220* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016); Rachel Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 139–200; Kay Brainerd Slocum, *The Cult of Thomas Becket: History and Historiography through Eight Centuries* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 15–140; John Jenkins, "Replication or Rivalry? The 'Becketization' of Pilgrimage in English Cathedrals," *Religion* 49, no. 1 (2019): 24–47 at 27–34; and for the cult in London see John Jenkins, "St. Thomas Becket and Medieval London," *History* 105, no. 367 (2020): 652–72.

4 Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 128–34.

5 Barrie Dobson, "The Monks of Canterbury in the Later Middle Ages, 1220–1540," in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay and M. Sparks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 69–153.

Add. MS 59616, is over nine thousand words long and full of unique information about the shrine and the cathedral. It offers an unparalleled window into the management and daily routine at one of Europe's premier medieval cult centres, one of its most important monasteries, and one of its most important cathedrals. For modern scholars wishing to understand the nature and experience of pilgrimage, the use of church space, or the daily monastic life at England's mother church, an understanding of how all these functions interacted with and affected each other must be the key to creating an accurate picture of the medieval experience in Canterbury Cathedral.⁶ The "Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas," as it is known, helps us to form such a holistic understanding as a snapshot of activities which took place around a major shrine in the early fifteenth century.

The Manuscript

Although the authors, the monastic shrine-keepers John Vyel and Edmund Kyngston, referred to their text as a "processus," historians have settled on the name of the "Customary of the Shrine" and this current edition follows that designation. It is a document of eleven folios measuring 35.5cm by 25cm (14 by 10 inches), with ruled margins of 5.5cm (2 inches) to the left, 4cm (1.5 inches) to the top, and 2.5cm (1 inch) to the right. There are around thirty-six lines of Latin text to each page, in one hand throughout, excepting occasional later corrections, in a neat Anglicana script of the first half of the fifteenth century. Blue ink is used for the initial capitals on the first and last pages, and red ink throughout for numerals, capitals, rubrics, and marginal headings. Decoration is limited to a tasselled manicule on fol. 4r pointing to the stipulation that the clerks should render all offerings to the shrine-keepers, and to a small face, possibly of a monk, drawn in the capital N of "Nunc" on fol. 5r. The document is now bound with two late-thirteenth century copies of French verse *Lives* of Thomas Becket by Beneit de St. Albans and Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence.⁷ These were probably also held at the shrine, as some of the binding material at the end of the volume is a damaged account of plate and vestments lent to Oxford colleges by the shrine-keepers in 1380.⁸

Following purchase of the Customary by the British Library (hereafter BL) from the long-running sale of the Phillipps Collection in 1975, its contents were précised by D. H. Turner in a brief but largely accurate article in the *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*, the

6 Simon Coleman and John Jenkins, "The Multivalent Cathedral," in *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Dee Dyas and John Jenkins (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2020), 147–68.

7 *A Life of Thomas Becket in Verse*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013); *La Vie de Thomas Becket par Beneit, poème anglo-normand du XIIe siècle*, ed. Börje Schlyter (Lund: Gleerup, 1941).

8 The British Library online catalogue <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8363> (accessed February 2, 2021) suggests that a line in this particular MS of Guernes' *Life* points to the document having been recited to pilgrims at the shrine. This is based on a line which is common to all of the copies of the *Life*, not only that bound with the Customary, and as such is no evidence of use.

annual periodical of the Friends of Canterbury Cathedral.⁹ Turner was only concerned with giving a taster of the contents, picking out the broad outlines of the shrine-keepers' duties and some of the more interesting passages, and passing over almost the entire ritual year to focus on the Customary's description of the Feast of the Translation as indicative of the level of detail provided for the rest. It was never his intention to provide a subsequent edition or fuller study, although he hoped that one would appear soon. Nonetheless for many subsequent historians interested in pilgrimage and shrine management his short article has provided the main point of access to the contents of the Customary.

The only edition of the Customary prior to this current work was produced in 1990 by Peter Rowe as a dissertation for the MA in Medieval Studies at Birkbeck College, University of London.¹⁰ This comprised a full transcription of the text, an abbreviated translation, and ten thousand word introduction. Despite efforts to work it up the dissertation was never published, although Peter Rowe has been generous in sharing his work with historians, including the editor of this edition. For this current edition, however, it was necessary to prepare an entirely new transcription from the original manuscript, forming the basis for a new and complete translation, supporting apparatus, and introductory analysis.

The Nature of the Customary

The authors of the Customary tell us much about the circumstances of its creation. They were monks of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, John Vyel and Edmund Kyngston, who were serving as the two shrine-keepers (*feretrarii*) in 1428. Both were monks of some seniority, Vyel having been professed in 1399 and Kyngston in 1401, indicating that both would have been in their mid-forties at the time they were writing.¹¹ Little is known of Kyngston's career apart from his tenure as shrine-keeper. Vyel, on the other hand, went on to hold the important position of sacrist for around ten years, indicating that he had a talent for administration. Indeed, we may pinpoint the finalization of the Customary to the first half of 1428, as at one point it names Prior Wodnesbergh, who died February 28, 1428, in terms which indicate he was still alive, and John Vyel can be seen operating as sacrist from June 1428. The Customary may have been planned by Vyel to set down his accumulated knowledge in anticipation of his change of office. The office of the shrine-keepers was itself one of considerable importance, responsible for overseeing a substantial and highly variable budget, supervising and performing a complex annual sequence of liturgical activities peculiar to the Shrine Chapel, and acting in many ways as the "outward-facing" link between the devotional life of the monks and that of visiting

⁹ D. H. Turner, "The Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket," *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 70 (1976): 16–22. The post-Reformation history of the Customary MS is detailed below, pp. 44–45.

¹⁰ Peter A. Rowe, "The Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket" (master's thesis, University of London, 1990).

¹¹ For all known details of Vyel and Kyngston, Joan Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c.1066–1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 214–15, 310.

laity and pilgrims. This was reflected in the fact that, along with the Treasurership and Chancellorship, it was one of the very few offices with two monks concurrently serving as “obedientiaris,” the term for the monks who had administrative roles within the community.¹²

The authors are seemingly transparent about the creative process, stating that they went through the year chronologically and wrote things down as they came to mind. This excuse is given at a few points in the text for the mispositioning of particular instructions, such as that towards the end of the section on the Mass of St. Thomas at the shrine, where we are belatedly told how the candles should be lit at the start of the Mass. However, the lack of additions and deletions indicate a more polished process than just jotting down from memory, although there are a few points where Vyel and Kingston did slip up. The wrong antiphon is given for Christmas night, although as both start “O beata” and were both Christmas antiphons the mistake is understandable as a slip of memory.¹³ Similarly understandable in this fashion is the confusion of Archbishop Arundel’s sisters, one of whom gave the hangings to be arranged over the shrine cover during the double octave of the Translation feast, attaching the title of one to the name of the other.¹⁴ In the sections on payments for the carriage of wax and the gifts of the servants there are a number of errors including “unda” for “unde,” and “ut” and “ex” where “et” is clearly meant. These are surely transcription errors from a rough draft in secretary hand, of the same kind as the surviving draft of a chamberlain’s customary from the cathedral.¹⁵ The prevalence of transcription errors in the sections on payments, compared to their relative absence from the section on the daily routine and the liturgical year, may point to these two parts having been drawn up by the two shrine-keepers individually, and the copyist having more difficulty reading one of the hands.¹⁶ It would have been appropriate for the liturgical sections to have been compiled by the shrine-keeper which the Customary designates as the “*spiritual*” and the administrative and accounting sections by the “*temporal*.”

Vyel and Kingston address their audience directly, greeting all the current and future monks of the cathedral in a somewhat florid preamble. They state that they wrote this “*processus*” to resolve disputes over the management and observances of the shrine and its chapel, the customary payments due from its revenues, and the duties of the shrine-keepers both within the chapel and to the wider community. The layout and the side-headings act as finding aids, so that the Customary can be used as a quick reference work in resolving any uncertainties. The layout is intended to be as familiar as possible to the readership, starting with an account of daily activities, then running through the liturgical calendar from the day after Michaelmas, mirroring the year as rendered in the financial returns of all the cathedral’s obedientiaris, and ending with a list of regular

12 R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral: A Study In Monastic Administration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 48.

13 See below, pp. 72–73.

14 See below, pp. 86–87.

15 CCA DCc–MSSB/C/112.

16 The Latin of the expenditure section.

payments and expenses. In a postscript they once again address this readership directly, asking them to supply corrections and matters wanting, but imploring them, through a sequence of Scriptural quotations and precedents, not to think ill of them, and to avoid deceitful or spiteful talk.

In form it has elements in common with customaries or “consuetudinaries” from other medieval monasteries. Many of these have survived from monasteries across Europe, dealing with the overall ritual and organizational practices of a particular house, or more particularly with the practices of an individual obedientiary within the house. They were partly intended to flesh out the bare bones of the order’s foundational Rule, and partly to reflect necessary adaptations of practice to local conditions.¹⁷ Around ten house customaries from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries survive from English Benedictine foundations.¹⁸ While many of these describe the general duties of the various obedientiaries, the more detailed responsibilities of each office were often the subject for specific customaries. Very few of these appear to have survived from England, and the fourteenth-century refectorian’s consuetudinary from Winchester Cathedral may be the only one to have yet received a modern printed edition.¹⁹

In the late eleventh century Archbishop Lanfranc drew up a set of statutory customs for the monastic community at Canterbury Cathedral, although it may also have been aimed at a wider Benedictine audience in England.²⁰ He dealt in turn with the ritual year beginning on October 1, the obedientiaries and their offices, and the daily lives of the monks. Parts of Lanfranc’s statutes were stated to still be in use at the cathedral at the turn of the fourteenth century, and at many points in the Customary of the Shrine it is possible to correlate the description of the ritual year in the fifteenth century with that stipulated by Lanfranc in the late-eleventh century.²¹ A copy of instructions for novices at Christ Church from the mid-thirteenth century, itself further explicating Lanfranc’s injunctions to new monks, is of interest in that in contrast with the plainly descriptive or prescriptive tone of the other documents considered here it shares with the Customary of the Shrine an explanatory and didactic approach to its subject.²²

17 For a recent overview of the historiography see Krijn Pansters, “Medieval Rules and Customaries Reconsidered,” in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 1–36.

18 Abingdon, Barking, Bury St. Edmund’s, Canterbury St. Augustine’s, Chester, Evesham, Eynsham, Norwich, Westminster, and York St. Mary. Bibliographic details in Christopher A. Jones, “Monastic Custom in Early Norman England: The Significance of Bodleian MS. Wood Empt. 4. Part I: Introduction,” *Revue Bénédictine* 113, no. 1 (2003): 143–46.

19 *A Consuetudinary of the Fourteenth Century for the Refectory of the House of St. Swithun in Winchester*, ed. George W. Kitchin (London: Stock, 1886).

20 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. David Knowles and Christopher Brooke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Points of correlation are referred to in the notes to the text and translation.

21 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi AD 1294–1313*, ed. Rose Graham, Canterbury and York Society 51–52, 2 vols. (1952–1956), 2:820, 2:822; BL, MS Galba E.iv, fol. 28r.

22 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 197–221.

Of particular contextual relevance to the creation of the Customary of the Shrine is the draft of a chamberlain's customary from Christ Church written in the late 1420s by the then-chamberlain Thomas Herne, a senior monk who had held a number of important obedientiary positions.²³ On the reverse and foot of a draft of the chamberlain's financial account for 1426/7, and in the same crabbed secretary hand, are a series of instructions for subsequent chamberlains as to the rules for washing and changing the monks' clothes and bedding at various times and points of the year, the ordering of beer and other victuals, and payments to servants. It is quite possible that this chamberlain's customary was composed at the same time as that of the shrine, and thus points to a general trend in the administrative record keeping of the priory at this time. Furthermore, eighty years later the *custos* of the Martyrdom Chapel, William Ingram, prefaced his account book with a brief description of the "burden of the office throughout the year."²⁴ These are no more than a couple of lines, discussed below, on the responsibility to celebrate a Mass on Tuesday mornings, the candles which must be kept lit, and a list of payments owed to those who assisted at the Mass in the chapel on the morning of the Feast of the Martyrdom. In this they replicate, in extreme miniature, many of the concerns as well as the general layout of the Customary. They are also prefaced by the oath sworn by the clerks of the Martyrdom, which is almost exactly the same as that sworn by the clerks of the shrine.²⁵

The Customary of the Shrine is a hybrid of the concerns of monastic customaries and of the obediential consuetudinaries. It is, as the authors state, a *processus*, an ordered account of some of the liturgical and para-liturgical rites of the chapel (which it notes are "not in all respects as in the choir") and a guide to the often fairly mundane duties of the shrine-keepers. It is a combination of the overriding concerns of Benedictine life: the *Opus Dei* and the *Opus manuum*—the service of God and the necessary administration, labour, and monastic life which underpinned it.²⁶ This is reflected as well in the division of labour between the two shrine-keepers, one of whom was to be the *spiritual* in charge of the religious services and the other the *temporal* in charge of administration.

The frequent use of rhetorical devices and framing material, unusual for a "customary" but similar in tone to the "Instructions for Novices" from the cathedral, indicates that it was intended to be read in its entirety as an instructional text. It not only explains how the cult operates within the chapel, and how the shrine-keepers must manage it, but also makes a case for the importance of the office and builds a picture of the mindset which should be brought to it. Pilgrims are presented in a generally positive light as pious and eager to learn, and negative elements such as their dirtiness or irritability are unavoidable by-products of their long journey. At many points the Customary explains

²³ CCA DCc-MSSB/C/112; Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, 197–98.

²⁴ CCA DCc-LitMS/C/11, fol. 37r–v; an overview of the contents is given in G. H. Rooke, "Dom William Ingram and his Account Book, 1504–1533," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 7, no. 1 (1956): 30–44.

²⁵ This may be found on p. 62 of the Latin text of this edition of the Customary.

²⁶ James G. Clark, "Introduction: The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism," in *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. James G. Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), 1–18 at 6.

not just what must be done, but why it is done, and how the practice came to be. There are explanations of the Seven Wonderful Tuesdays and the four teachings of St. Thomas, and an exhortation about the importance of the Feast of the Return. The Customary is more than a tool for dispute-resolution, or an orderly laying-out of rules and regulations: it is a guide for the conduct of future shrine-keepers.

The Customary perhaps invites comparisons with the well-known *Rites of Durham*, written 1593–1597, although the two documents are separated by almost two centuries and vast differences in terms of the context and purpose of their creation. The *Rites* was recreating (perhaps more accurately reimagining) the layout and practices in Durham Cathedral of a different time and space, ones that had been prohibited and destroyed. It may in part have been based on written sources similar to the Customary, or memories of them, but as these activities were no longer current it was necessary to describe the setting as well. Indeed, the most recent editors of the *Rites* convincingly show that the document was intended as a polemic directed against the Protestant desecration of the cathedral, seeking primarily to remember the lost fittings and ornamentation and then to set the proscribed Roman Catholic practices within the space.²⁷ By contrast, the Customary of the Shrine of St. Thomas was describing practices within the existing furnished space where it was designed to be read, and with reference to other monastic practices with which the audience would not only be familiar but which they would be performing on a daily basis. The Customary is primarily concerned with how things should be used or interacted with; there was no need to describe how those things looked or how they worked. Yet like the *Rites*, the Customary is also concerned with re-presenting, and occasionally inventing, past practice as part of a communal memory.²⁸

Reorganization and Recording in the Fifteenth-Century Cathedral

The Customary was drawn up at the very end of the priorate of John Wodnesbergh (1411–1428), following a period of great change at Canterbury Cathedral. Internal chronicles and obits describe Wodnesbergh's priorate as a time of much-needed and admirable governance, settling the vast debts accrued by his predecessors through the rebuilding of nave and cloister, and correcting administrative abuses.²⁹ As noted above, the concurrent creation of customaries by both the shrine-keepers and the chamberlain points to a more general trend of setting down the practices and duties of the obedientiaries at this time, fitting with the eulogists' picture of Wodnesburgh as a prior deeply concerned with restoring and maintaining order. Yet the desire to record may also have come from a new appreciation of the mutability of even the most permanent-seeming structures, born out of the major renovation of the cathedral church and the "revolution"

²⁷ William Claxton, *Rites of Durham*, ed. Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason, Surtees Society 228 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 2–4, 64–69.

²⁸ Pansters, "Medieval Rules," 23–24.

²⁹ C. E. Woodruff, "A Monastic Chronicle Lately Discovered at Christ Church Canterbury," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 29 (1911), 80–82.

in its administrative governance of the past forty years to which the most senior monks of the community could stand witness.³⁰

A highly-developed system of cathedral administration, and particularly of the financial organization of the individual offices around a central treasury or exchequer, had been established at Canterbury since the early-thirteenth century.³¹ From 1391 the successive priorates of Thomas Chillenden (1391–1411) and Wodnesbergh saw thorough reorganization of the monastic finances and in the central system of accounting.³² Previously the treasury of the cathedral had received all the priory's income and then paid it out again, with all incoming and outgoing expenses meticulously recorded by obedientiaries and rendered to the monastic exchequer. However, around the turn of the fifteenth century, as R. A. L. Smith argued, the prior and an inner circle of senior monks took control of the central financial system. The distribution of funds to the obedientiaries for the functioning of their office, amongst other key financial responsibilities, was removed from the treasurers and placed directly in the power of the prior's council. This period also witnessed the routinization, if not the introduction, of cross-payments between obediential offices which avoided any central accounting system, and of the acquisition by obedientiaries of endowments and assigned payments partially freeing them from dependence on centralized disbursements. In financial and administrative terms, the obedientiaries of the cathedral during Wodnesbergh's priorate had both a greater degree of independence than before, and, more than ever, were involved in a complex web of customary payments and dues for which they were personally responsible.

In part this aggregation of financial control into the hands of the prior and his select circle had been necessitated by the ambitious building programmes undertaken at the cathedral in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. From 1377 the nave, cloister, crossing and western transept, chapter house, dormitory, and various other claustral buildings and passages had been either entirely rebuilt or thoroughly renovated.³³ Also in that time the Shrine Chapel had seen the insertion of the tombs of the Black Prince (d. 1376), Henry IV (d. 1413) and his son Thomas, Duke of Clarence (d. 1421), John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (d. 1410) and Archbishop Courtenay (d. 1396), where previously

30 The description of the changes in financial administration as a "revolution" is from Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 191.

31 R. A. L. Smith, "The Central Financial System of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186–1512," *English Historical Review* 55, no. 219 (1940), 353–69; R. A. L. Smith, "The Financial System of Rochester Cathedral Priory," *English Historical Review* 56, no. 224 (1941): 586–95; R. A. L. Smith, "The Regimen Scaccarii in English Monasteries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 24 (1942): 73–94; Barrie Dobson, "The English Monastic Cathedral in the Fifteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 1 (1991): 153–55; Alisdair Dobie, *Accounting at Durham Cathedral Priory: Management and Control of a Major Ecclesiastical Corporation 1083–1540* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 47–75.

32 Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 190–96; Smith, "Central Financial System," 367–69; Dobson, "Monks of Canterbury," 127–28.

33 Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1997), 124–46; Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, 151–69, 171–73, 180.

no tombs had been allowed to crowd the shrine.³⁴ At the time the Customary was being written the southwest tower of the cathedral church was being rebuilt, and plans must have been afoot for the construction of a new massive central tower, now known as Bell Harry, of which the first stone was laid in 1433.

Some of these changes, such as the insertion of a crossing tunnel leading to the Martyrdom Chapel or the tombs around the shrine, may have had profound implications for how pilgrims moved around or experienced the cathedral, necessitating new thinking about the use of space. Others, such as the disappearance of a nave and cloister which had belonged to Lanfranc's eleventh-century church, and had thus witnessed Becket's martyrdom, may have provoked a desire to record both the present and the past for posterity. This desire is readily apparent in the contemporaneous writings coming from the cathedral at this time, most prominently in the chronicles of the Christ Church monks John Stone and William Glastynbury.³⁵ For Barrie Dobson these slim, inward-looking chronicles, dealing almost entirely with the affairs of the house and obits of its monks, were rather dismal evidence of an "obsessive...antiquarian curiosity" among the monks about the cathedral and its community at this time.³⁶ Antonia Gransden argued that the wider trend of monastic writing and recording of community history in the later Middle Ages were acts of pious remembrance by fellow-monks, in keeping with prevailing trends of memorialization, as well as attempts to bolster the reputation of the monastery partly in response to external criticisms of monasticism in general.³⁷ Gransden notes that the Christ Church chronicles were "unusual" for the time in that they were concerned with the liturgical life and monastic observances of the cathedral, rather than its external administrative affairs.³⁸ In the case of John Stone's chronicle, Gransden's suggestion that this was intended as a "precedent-book," even if just for private use, indicates something of the motives for the creation of written records at the cathedral at this time.³⁹ This is taken to its fullest degree in the account of the 1420 Jubilee of St.

34 Christopher Wilson, "The Medieval Monuments," in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, Ramsay, and Sparks, 472–75, 494–505. The tombs of Clarence and Somerset were moved from the Shrine Chapel in ca. 1440 to a triple tomb in St. Michael's Chapel with Lady Margaret Holland who was widow to them both.

35 Meriel Connor, "Reading, Writing and the Culture of Books at Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Fifteenth Century," in *Kentish Book Culture: Writers, Archives, Libraries and Sociability 1400–1660*, ed. Claire Bartram (Oxford: Lang, 2020), 32–42; C. E. Woodruff, "The Chronicle of William Glastynbury, Monk of the Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1419–1448," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 37 (1925): 121–51; ed., *Christ Church, Canterbury. I. The Chronicle of John Stone, Monk of Christ Church 1415–1471. II. Lists of the Deans, Priors, and Monks of Christ Church Monastery*, ed. William G. Searle (Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1902); Joan Greatrex, "Culture at Canterbury in the Fifteenth Century: Some Indications of the Cultural Environment of a Monk of Christ Church," in *Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. Clark, 169–77.

36 Dobson, "Monks of Canterbury," 112–13.

37 Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London: Routledge, 1974–1982), 2:342–424.

38 Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 2:415.

39 Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 2:417.

Thomas written by a monk of the cathedral, which not only describes the build-up and events of the day but sets down at length a justification of the indulgences on offer and the decisions taken on the part of Prior Wodnesbergh and the senior monks to act as a precedent for future Jubilees.⁴⁰

This was the administrative, architectural, and literary context of the creation of the Customary of the Shrine. The possible writing process has been discussed above, but we can interrogate further the authors' claim that they wrote things down as they came to mind. In some places there is clear evidence of compilation from other documentary sources. The most obvious example of this is in the oath sworn by the shrine clerks, which is separately preserved in almost identical wording.⁴¹ The final section on customary payments can be compared with the single surviving shrine-keepers' account roll from 1397/8, and it is clear that not only the sums but the order in which many of the payments are listed corresponds closely to that given in the roll.⁴² Other than this, however, there is no indication that the shrine-keepers were drawing on a pre-existing written shrine customary.

In referring to the general practices of the monastery, or liturgical customs specific to the cathedral, the Customary often remarks that decisions were made by "our fathers." Here the shrine-keepers were ultimately drawing on written testimony in the form of chapter acts. In the Customary these are hinted at, for example in the movement of the Feast of the Return of St. Thomas from December 1 to 2 to avoid clashes with the first Sunday in Advent and St. Andrew's Day, which "after sufficient deliberation our fathers formerly established and revised." While some acts of the medieval chapter survive with regard to these kinds of liturgical deliberations, particularly from the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth century, it has not been possible to find, and thus specifically date, those referred to in the Customary.⁴³ As such it is not clear as to the extent to which the shrine-keepers were compiling the Customary with these documents to hand. However, the evidence of the multiplicity of practices instituted by the chapter acts of the early fourteenth century, or referred to in the voluminous correspondence of Prior Eastry, and the many changes in the numbers and rankings of the year's liturgical feasts made clear by a comparison between the cathedral calendars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, should alert us to the fact that "customary" practices may often not have had much antiquity from the document in which they are recorded.⁴⁴

At other points they appeal to the traditions of the monastery and observed practice, and in these instances the Customary was then to become the written record. A good example of this is in the distribution of spice money at the end of Pentecost. This had previously involved the provision of spices to the convent by the shrine-keepers but now

40 Raymonde Foreville, *La Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIII^e au XV^e siècle (1220–1470): Étude et documents* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1958), 101–55.

41 CCA DCc–LitMS/C/11, fol. 37r, and see discussion on pp. 16–17 below.

42 CCA DCc–Feretrar/1.

43 For example CCA DCc–Register/A, fols. 389r–403v; BL MS Galba E.iv, fols. 71v–75r.

44 The early-thirteenth century calendar is BL MS Cotton Tiberius B III, fols. 2r–7v, the fourteenth century calendar partly survives in CCA DCc–Add. MS/6. The differences are discussed below.

the provision was in cash, and the process of commutation is laid out in the Customary presumably because it was recorded nowhere else. As Joan Greatrex notes, these sort of small gifts and payments were a common feature at all the English Benedictine cathedral priories, and in all cases they predate the earliest surviving account rolls of the late thirteenth century so it is by no means simple to trace their origin or development.⁴⁵ The Customary states that it was “supposed” that the spices had been provided in past times, but through expert counsel and unanimous agreement this had, at some point, been commuted to a monetary payment. In this as in many other places the Customary does not merely lay out practice, but presents an argument that the practice is legitimate. That the junior shrine-keeper should be the one who distributes this money was known to Vyel and Kingston because they “have often experienced it” (*frequenter sumus experti*), pointing to a purely oral or experiential source for this practice, albeit one that they had personally experienced for long enough to be sure that it was a customary practice. Similarly, the provision of tapers for the burial of paupers who died within the city of Canterbury was a custom that “we remember” of the actions of previous shrine-keepers.

Indeed, the shrine-keepers’ memories and handed-down traditions are stated to be the basis for most of the practices involving the shrine itself, as opposed to those involving interactions with the other obedientiaries or departments of the cathedral. There would have been several generations of shrine-keepers still in the monastic community, as the post was not often held for more than a few years. For example, the vastly-experienced Thomas Herne, author of the immediately contemporary chamberlain’s customary, had been shrine-keeper as long ago as 1396/7 and would have been on hand to consult on matters of tradition.⁴⁶ The very act of writing the Customary may have forced the shrine-keepers to engage with or solve long-standing disputes among the monks and between the past holders of the office over best practice. To this extent the Customary was creating the shrine’s “customary” practices, not only through the necessarily selective process of codification. The end of the chronological section of the Customary returns to the theme of memory, noting the importance of carrying out the Michaelmas processional preparations at the shrine “from memory” in honour of the saint and all the saints in heaven. The presence of the written account at the shrine was, as the preamble stated, to solve disputes when they arose, not to act as a substitute for the shrine-keepers’ responsibilities to commit their sacred duties to memory.

The Customary and the Management of the Shrine

I have attempted below to present a picture of various aspects of the management of the shrine of Thomas Becket at the time it was written, using the Customary and other contemporary evidence. I will deal in turn with the appearance and layout of the shrine and its chapel, the staffing arrangements, the daily and yearly routines, the management of pilgrims, and the regular outgoings and expenditure. Further explanations and expli-

⁴⁵ Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 247.

⁴⁶ Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, 197–98.

cations of specific points are included as notes to the text and translation. It has only been possible in many places to scrape the surface of the Customary, forming as it does a micro-study of monastic devotion and life within Canterbury Cathedral, always with the awareness that “a great church is like a small universe, capable of absorbing any amount of study.”⁴⁷

The Appearance of the Shrine

While Canterbury Cathedral had undergone major architectural changes in the fifty years from 1377, the Shrine Chapel and the shrine in particular had changed little in the two centuries preceding the writing of the Customary. The marble base, golden feretory, and painted wooden cover of the shrine were essentially the same as they had been at the 1220 translation, as were the surrounding marble pavements and pillars, and the early-thirteenth century stained glass depicting Thomas Becket’s life and miracles. The recent digital reconstructions of the Shrine Chapel (see p. vi, above) show it in ca. 1408, and the only substantial change to the area would have been the insertion of the tomb of Henry IV in the first bay of the north ambulatory arcade, and the tombs of his son and the Earl of Somerset in the bays to the east.⁴⁸ The area for which the shrine-keepers were responsible extended from the grille on the west known as “le Hake,” which was between the Shrine Chapel and the top of the presbytery steps, to the entrance of the Corona Chapel to the east, as well as on both north and south sides to the gates at the bottom of the steps leading up to the Shrine Chapel from the choir aisles. These grilles clearly demarcated the shrine-keepers’ responsibilities, and the Customary refers to the keys that they alone held for the gates.

In terms of the more mundane spaces of the Shrine Chapel, the upper chamber on the south side of the shrine almost certainly served as the shrine-keepers’ living quarters, particularly if we are to take literally the statement that the spiritual shrine-keeper will wake and go down (*descendet*) to prepare himself for Mass at the shrine each morning. As Toby Huitson has shown, this room was converted for use as living quarters in around 1400. It included a watching gallery over both the shrine and the choir which would have allowed the shrine-keepers, and perhaps one of the clerks of the shrine who may have slept there too, to monitor activity on the floor of the cathedral.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Richard Morris, *Cathedrals and Abbeys of England and Wales* (London: Dent, 1979), 56, quoted in Dobson, “The English Monastic Cathedral,” 160.

⁴⁸ For the shrine models, discussion and the relevant historiography, John Jenkins, “Modelling the Cult of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173 (2020): 100–123. On the inserted medieval tombs, Wilson, “The Medieval Monuments,” 494–505.

⁴⁹ Toby Huitson, “The Mystery of the So-Called ‘Old Bakery’ Chamber above St. Anselm’s Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral,” in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury*, ed. Alixe Bovey, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 35 (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 204–16; Toby Huitson, *Stairway to Heaven: The Functions of Medieval Upper Spaces* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), 184–86.

The chamber serving as the sacristy for the shrine was probably that now known as the “wax chamber” underneath the retrochoir platform and entered from the base of the steps to the shrine at the east end of the north choir aisle. That the door to this chamber is eastwards of the iron gate at the foot of the steps indicates that it was within the purview of the shrine, and it would have been an appropriate place for the storage of vestments, plate, and wax, and for robing. Multiple functions may be suggested by the differences in both the flooring and the carving on the rib vaults between the north and south halves of the room. It may also have been a room where the shrine-keepers could show items from the relic collections to higher-status pilgrims. The small, heavily-barred window on the east wall of the chamber which provides a view of the Tomb Chapel below has given rise to the suggestion that this was a watching-chamber for that site.⁵⁰ As the Tomb Chapel had its own custodian, it is perhaps more likely that this window allowed the shrine-keepers and their clerks to gauge the progress of processions and services at the Tomb, giving them time to prepare the shrine before the monks moved upstairs.

The shrine would have possessed a vast array of vestments, ornaments, and furnishings, and it is unfortunate that no inventory of the medieval shrine survives from Canterbury.⁵¹ In the early fifteenth century Prior Chillenden’s rule saw the acquisition of a full set of vestments of watered red silk (the colour appropriate for a martyr), with two copes, and five albs, stoles and maniples for the use of those celebrating the Thomas Mass, as well as a matching set of the total “apparatus” of liturgical vessels and ornaments for the shrine altar.⁵² Candles, torches, and tapers for lighting the shrine would also have been stored in the sacristy, and the lighting and extinguishing of candles occupies a considerable proportion of the Customary. In part this is a reflection of the importance and difficulty in illuminating such a large space in the era before gas or electric lighting, the expense of doing so, and the concomitant significance attached to the patterns and layouts of candles. The consuetudinary of the Winchester refectory shows a similar concern with the placing and lighting of candles, and who was responsible for their provision.⁵³ This aspect of the Customary has been comprehensively dealt with recently by Tom Nickson, including the tabulation of times at which various candles on and around the shrine were lit.⁵⁴

We can give some idea of how both monks and pilgrims approached and saw the Shrine Chapel. Unlike some other medieval churches, the walls and vaulting of later

50 Tim Tatton-Brown, “Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines in England,” in *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 90–107 at 103.

51 For the claim in Dobson, “Monks of Canterbury,” 131 that an inventory survives on the dorse of an Anniversarian’s roll see n132 below.

52 CCA DCc–Cart.Ant/C/166. List of Prior Chillenden’s “works’ printed in *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:112–13 and J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury* (Westminster: Constable 1902), 106 but both containing errors.

53 *A Consuetudinary*, ed. Kitchin, 20–22.

54 Tom Nickson, “Light, Canterbury, and the Cult of St. Thomas,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173 (2020), 78–99 at 88–93.

medieval Canterbury Cathedral were largely whitewashed, with the exceptions of some standalone figurative paintings.⁵⁵ For the monks in choir, the shrine formed a reredos to the High Altar to the east. The High Altar platform was raised from the choir pavement by eight broad steps, behind which at the top of a further eight steps was the stone archiepiscopal throne known as St. Augustine's Chair. Somewhere between the High Altar and the Chair was a beam on which stood the relics of St. Blaise and twenty large candles, and to the east of the chair was the iron grille known as "le Hake," also surmounted with candles. Through this mass of lights, ironwork, and furniture would be glimpsed the golden shrine, and processions to it would file either side of the High Altar and Chair through two small doors set into "le Hake." The Shrine Chapel, depending on the hour of the day and the time of the year, could blaze with lights on beams, in the triforium walks, and on the shrine itself.

Pilgrims at this time would enter the cathedral precincts through the Christ Church gate, passing through the alleyway of shops just inside the gate to the late-fourteenth century porch which stands at the southwest corner of the nave, or perhaps to the door in the south wall of the southwest transept. They did not, as is popularly supposed, go on a tour of the other Becket sites of the cathedral before reaching the shrine, but instead went directly up the south choir aisle to the shrine as their first port of call.⁵⁶ They would have passed the tombs of archbishops Robert Winchelsey and Simon Sudbury, which were provided with prayer-niches and where minor cults had flourished among pilgrims waiting their turn to get to the shrine.⁵⁷ Passing through the gate at the foot of the south choir stairs pilgrims would ascend to the Shrine Chapel which, again, may have been flooded with light. Arriving in the morning, as most pilgrims did, the shrine cover would be raised and the golden feretory on view.⁵⁸ From the ambulatories the shrine could only be glimpsed through the grilles and around the royal and archiepiscopal tombs, although if the shrine gates were open pilgrims would have been able to approach it. Turning round, the cathedral choir and the monastic liturgy would be laid out before them.

The Shrine Staff

In the later Middle Ages the number of monks at Canterbury varied between seventy and ninety and there were around twenty-five obedientiary positions, so at any time about a third of the monastic community was engaged in an administrative role.⁵⁹ As the

55 The most detailed contemporary description of the internal decoration and layout of fifteenth-century Canterbury is in Eugenio Sidoli, Margherita Palumbo, and Stephen Parkin, "A Florentine Merchant's Visit to Canterbury Cathedral in 1444," *Journal of Medieval History* 46, no. 5 (2020): 572–95 at 594–96. As noted on p. 39 below, the itinerary of this visit was unusual because of the status of the pilgrim and the time of the year.

56 Jenkins, "Modelling the Cult," 101–14.

57 Jenkins, "Replication or Rivalry," 34–38.

58 The daily variations in pilgrim activity are discussed on pp. 37–38 below.

59 Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priors*, 35; Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 36–48.

Middle Ages progressed at all monastic houses the obedientiaries tended to find individual expression in their offices, establishing something of a private life within the monastery, particularly in the case of those with more secular-facing burdens such as the cellarer.⁶⁰ The Customary points to the heavy administrative and liturgical burdens of the shrine-keepers' office, and the need for skilled and patient office-holders. From at least 1312 two monks served as shrine-keepers, reflecting the amount of work involved.⁶¹ Archbishop Sudbury had ruled in 1377 that the shrine-keepers "should not be changed too often," although it is difficult to tell how far this was followed.⁶² Notably, by comparison both with the other major obedientiaries at Canterbury and shrine-keepers at other cathedrals, Becket's shrine-keepers were appointed by the prior and chapter. At Worcester Cathedral, for example, the bishop and chapter appointed one each of the two shrine-keepers of St. Wulfstan's shrine and split the revenues accordingly.⁶³ That the monks of Canterbury had control over the appointment of the shrine-keepers, unlike the sacrist, subprior, cellarer, chamberlain, and precentor, all of which were appointed by the archbishop, indicates that they were able to maintain a level of control over Becket's shrine commensurate with their self-identification as the curators of his cult.⁶⁴

Both the importance of the office and its breadth, dealing with a large and varied budget while also being the focal point of a complex liturgical calendar, as well as being the most famous and popular pilgrimage destination in England, is reflected in the complexities of the staffing arrangements.⁶⁵ One of the shrine-keepers was in charge of the more religious or "spiritual" aspects of the shrine's affairs, while the other one was responsible for the more mundane "temporal" administration, and their daily duties are set out in detail below. As noted above, both shrine-keepers slept in the upper chamber on the south side of the Shrine Chapel each night, although it is worth noting that as this chamber was only renovated for this purpose in ca. 1400 this may have been a fairly recent innovation at the time of the Customary.⁶⁶ Despite the burdens of their office, requiring them both to sleep away from the communal dormitory, they were required to maintain a presence in the central elements of monastic life. Apart from the four weeks of the year following Easter, Pentecost, the Translation of St. Thomas, and Michaelmas, when, as we shall see, the numbers of laity visiting the shrine were at their highest, one or other of the shrine-keepers was expected to be present with the other monks of the house in the choir during service times, in the refectory at mealtimes, and in the chapter house for the daily meeting. In this sense the opening statement of the Customary that the shrine-keepers were connected like brothers and quick to anticipate each other's

60 Dobson, "The English Monastic Cathedral," 171.

61 The financial accounts for Michaelmas 1312 are the first to state that there were two shrine-keepers, CCA DCc-MA/2.

62 *The Register of Simon Sudbury: Archbishop of Canterbury 1375-138*, ed. F. Donald Logan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020), 42.

63 Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priors*, 14-16.

64 Jenkins, "Replication or Rivalry," 29-38.

65 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 128-34.

66 Huitson, "The Mystery of the So-Called "Old Bakery," 213-15.

actions points to the high degree of communication necessary to balance their obligations to the shrine and to the monastery. For occasions when neither shrine-keeper could be present in choir, two monks each year were nominated to do so in their stead. For this they were each paid 13s 6d annually, and at Christmas each was given a gift of a further 12d in person by the shrine-keeper who they were shadowing.

The Customary also touches on the duties of the Coronarian, the monk-custodian of the Corona Chapel to the east of the shrine which held the head reliquary of St. Thomas. He was “assistant, counsel, and aid” to the shrine-keepers, by virtue of both the proximity of his chapel and the similarity of his position as custodian of the second-most important relic of St. Thomas in the cathedral. As the Corona Chapel was only accessible through the Shrine Chapel, he was the only monk besides the shrine-keepers to possess a key to the area. He usually slept in the Corona Chapel, although it is not clear where, and if he was away from the cathedral overnight he had to leave his key with the shrine-keepers. It was thus the Coronarian who was to be the first choice of substitute if either of the shrine-keepers were incapacitated or absent, and if he was unable it was his responsibility to find someone to act in his place. In this capacity it might be expected that he, as the shrine-keepers, would have read the Customary on his entry to the position. It may be that this was also a position filled by former shrine-keepers in their old age who could then dispense advice to their successors, as was the case with John Vyel, author of the Customary, who was Coronarian in 1444 at a point when he would have been in his sixties, only a year before his death in 1445.⁶⁷

In common with all the custodians of altars and chapels in the cathedral, the shrine-keepers had stipendiary secular clergy to assist them in the daily running of the shrine and at its religious services. There were two shrine clerks, namely a first clerk with slightly more exalted duties and a higher wage who probably slept with the shrine-keepers in the Shrine Chapel, and a subclerk who slept in the crypt each night with the clerks of the chapels of the Tomb and Our Lady Undercroft. The clerks were paid weekly, every Sunday after the first Mass at the shrine, receiving 12d and 8d respectively, and each year were also given 20s and 6s 8d respectively for a clothing allowance. This was more than the clerks of the other chapels in the cathedral, whose wages were set at 7d per week, and reflected their higher status.⁶⁸ All stipendiary clerks serving chapels and altars in the cathedral church had to swear on entry to the position and were bound to particular duties. The oath and duties for these clerks were copied into the early-sixteenth century notebook of the *custos* of the Martyrdom.⁶⁹ The clerks swore to act faithfully and preserve the secrets of the monastery. They were not to be away from their station without the knowledge of the monk-custodian. They were to collect offerings and give them to the custodian. They were to instruct and aid pilgrims “with every gentleness, kindness, and deliberation” during the opening hours of the cathedral. At times when the church or chapels were closed, particularly in the morning and the din-

⁶⁷ Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, 310.

⁶⁸ CCA DCc-Register/K, fol. 207v.

⁶⁹ CCA DCc-LitMS/C/11, fol. 37r. The text of this oath is given in a note on p. 62 of the text of the Customary below.

ner hour, they were expected to deal with pilgrims seeking entry, alerting the monks to their presence and letting them know to open the chapel as soon as possible.

The oath and duties of the clerks of the shrine chapel were copied into the Customary. It is clear that the text was closely based on that pertaining to the other chapel clerks, albeit with some additions and emendations to reflect the more important status of the shrine. The shrine chapel was the one most sought by pilgrims, and the shrine-keepers appear to have had some responsibility over the opening and closing of the main doors of the cathedral church to admit them. As such, as part of their extra duties the shrine clerks were also instructed that if they came across pilgrims in the churchyard when the cathedral was closed then they were to beat on the front doors of the church to alert the shrine-keepers to open them as soon as possible. It may be that in the morning the clerks checked if there were any laity waiting to attend the first Mass while the shrine-keepers were rising. They laid out the vestments and altar furnishings for the day. They assisted at the daily Thomas Mass, where the first clerk censed the altar and shrine and carried the *pax* among the people, and it was the subclerk's role to cense the celebrant and carry away the altar furnishings at the close of the Mass. They were torchbearers in solemn Masses at the shrine, and at Matins in the choir on major feast days. The first clerk was the attendant at the shrine during the diocesan processions in Pentecost, and had to clear a path through the laity for the monastic processions on major feast days. The subclerk was responsible for the lighting and extinguishing of all the candles at the shrine. In general they assisted the shrine-keepers in the daily running of the shrine, in cleaning and maintaining it as much as in dealing with pilgrims.

The Daily Routine

The first section of the Customary provides an outline of the daily tasks of the shrine-keepers, and allows us to reconstruct how the activities at the shrine fitted in with the all-important monastic liturgy in the choir and elsewhere in the cathedral church.⁷⁰ The monastic *horarium* of the Benedictines prescribed the daily recitation in choir of eight offices: the midnight hour of Matins followed by Lauds and a return to sleep; then from daybreak Prime, Terce, Sext and Nones, their names reflecting the hours from dawn at which they were meant to be said; finishing with Vespers and Compline in the evening. The offices were of varying degrees of length, complexity, and expectation of attendance by the entire monastic community, from the lengthy sequences of early-morning readings and chants of a feast-day Matins to the more perfunctory daytime hours of Prime to Nones and the often semi-private night hour of Compline.⁷¹ While these hours

70 The standard works on the later medieval liturgy, and more particularly on that of the Benedictines, are John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, eds., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, TEAMS, 2nd ed. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005); Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Sally Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540* (New York: Garland, 1993).

71 The monastic *cursus* reconstructed for late-eleventh century Canterbury largely applies for

were set for all Benedictine monasteries, their timings, and those of meals, Masses, and other devotional and recreational activities were largely dependent on the custom of individual houses, and whether it was “summer” or “winter.” The Benedictine summer ran from Easter until September 30, with the rest of the year being designated as winter. On Wednesdays and Fridays after Pentecost and for the whole of the period between September 14 and Easter dinner was the only meal of the day and was taken after Nones. On fast days a light collation was allowed in the evening after Vespers instead of supper. These relatively straightforward regulations were complicated by the feast days of saints, dispensations for blood-letting, infirmity, or recreation, and various other irregular dishes and pittances which were accreted into the customs of individual Benedictine houses over the centuries.⁷² With these complexities in mind, the “standard” routine of the shrine-keepers will be set out below, followed by variations throughout the week, the practices laid out for major feasts, and some of the dispensations and pittances which applied at the cathedral in the fifteenth century.

The shrine-keepers were instructed to rise at 5 a.m. in summer and 6 a.m. in winter, perhaps an hour before their brethren in the communal dormitory had to rise to prepare themselves for Prime.⁷³ On every day except Tuesday they were to celebrate an early Mass of St. Thomas at the shrine. The Mass itself would not have taken place until at least an hour after the shrine-keepers had risen, not least because they would have needed the time to dress and prepare the altar. The Customary notes the popularity of this Mass with the laity, indicated not only by the ringing of a bell explicitly to summon them to this service, but also by the statement that it was the *temporal* shrine-keeper’s duty to open the doors of the cathedral church to visitors in the morning. The Thomas Mass was thus the first “public” religious service of the day. The cathedral and its precincts were closed to the laity overnight, and the Christ Church gate from the main square of the city only opened in the morning at the sounding of the “vigil” (“awake!”) for the dormitory monks.⁷⁴ In the nineteenth century the end of the curfew for the cathedral precinct was sounded at 5.45 in summer and 6.45 in winter, which may represent a continuity of the late medieval practice.⁷⁵ The early hour of the Thomas Mass may also

the central liturgy of the choir in the fifteenth century: Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, xxiii–xxiv. See also Roger Bowers, “The Liturgy of the Cathedral and its Music c. 1075–1642,” in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. Collinson, Ramsay, and Sparks, 409–10; Dobson “The Monks of Canterbury” 124; C. S. Phillips, *Canterbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages* (London: SPCK, 1949), 13; James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 93–102.

72 Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100–1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 38–46, 157–58; Clark, *Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, 118–20; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (1948; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:280–85.

73 A 7 a.m. rising time was the practice at Westminster Abbey, Durham Cathedral, and Ramsay Abbey in the fifteenth century, Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 156–58.

74 CCA DCc–Register/K, fol. 223v.

75 J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *The Church Bells of Kent: Their Inscriptions, Founders, Uses, and Traditions* (London: Stock, 1887), 125.

have made it popular with servants and workmen of the cathedral and city, who could attend before the start of their working day. It might be supposed that it was particularly popular with pilgrims who had stayed overnight in the cathedral's lodgings. Queen Margaret attended this Mass on a Monday morning in October 1454 when staying at the cathedral.⁷⁶ Yet, as discussed below, most pilgrims would have been staying outside the precincts.

The two clerks of the shrine prepared the altar. The Mass of St. Thomas would always be celebrated in the red vestments appropriate for a martyr, but it would be necessary for the vestments appropriate to the day's celebrations in choir to be prepared as well, so that the shrine-keepers could change into them for their choir duties later on. Furthermore, on feast days when the monks in the choir wore albs or copes during the celebration of High Mass, of which there were many, the shrine-keeper remaining at the shrine had to be vested in the same fashion. Having checked the solemnity and liturgical colour of the day with the shrine-keepers, they laid out the vestments in the shrine sacristy, and took out the liturgical vessels and implements, altar dressings, and candles for the Mass.⁷⁷ The subclerk lit four of the red and green gilded candles on the shrine along with various others including six of the twelve great square candles which stood on the beam to the east of the shrine, and the taper on the great wheel sent every three years by the barons of Dover. The spiritual feretrarian, as celebrant at the Mass, washed himself, and confessed his sins in the form of the private recitation of the *Confiteor* ("I confess," the penitential prayer) said while putting on his vestments in the shrine sacristy. After vesting, the spiritual shrine-keeper as celebrant and the temporal as deacon, together with the two shrine clerks as altar-servers vested in surplices, went to the altar and began the Mass.⁷⁸ This was a low Mass, without music or choir. Following the offertory prayers the first clerk censed the altar and the shrine, going along the north side and into each of the prayer niches, then returning along the south side and doing the same, then censing the subclerk who in turn censed the celebrant. The first clerk then took the *pax*, a small tablet with a Christological image, to be kissed by the gathered laity while the celebrant consumed the host. At the end of the Mass while the celebrant recited the opening verses of the Gospel of John the temporal shrine-keeper and one of the clerks gathered up the altar cloths and the ornaments and took them back to the shrine sacristy so that the laity could make their offerings on the altar, presumably watched over by the other clerk and the spiritual shrine-keeper.

One of the shrine-keepers was to be in the Shrine Chapel at all times, excepting certain meal times. As such, following Mass the temporal shrine-keeper stayed at the shrine receiving pilgrims while the spiritual shrine-keeper went to Prime in the choir. On Sundays the temporal shrine-keeper used this time to tally up the week's offerings and pay wages and dues from them, and it is likely that on other days the previous day's offerings

76 The Mass was "without music" (*sine nota*), *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 61.

77 See p. 13 above for the "wax chamber" as the location of the shrine sacristy.

78 For a standard late medieval Mass see Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 121–25.

were tallied at this time.⁷⁹ The two then swapped over, with the temporal shrine-keeper going to the Morrow Mass in the choir and then to the daily chapter meeting. On solemn feast days the spiritual shrine-keeper was expected to attend Terce, and he was also to be present at the conventual High Mass in the choir. There does not appear to have been any requirement to attend Sext or Nones, and following High Mass the Customary ceases to distinguish between the spiritual and temporal shrine-keepers and instead duties were alternated between the two daily.

Dinner in summertime followed Sext, while in winter it followed Nones. At the end of the relevant hour one of the shrine-keepers by turn supervised the locking-up of the Shrine Chapel. The chapel was cleared of laity and the first clerk searched the shrine for any potential thieves or stray animals. The shrine-keeper guarded the door, then locked up and went to eat in the communal refectory. By papal decree all Benedictine monasteries had to ensure that at least half the community were present in the refectory at mealtimes, and so to ensure this was the case every day one of the two shrine-keepers had to eat their meal there. The other shrine-keeper may also have eaten in the refectory, or in one of the places where dietary restrictions were relaxed, such as the Prior's Hall and the *Mensa Magistrorum* in the infirmary complex.⁸⁰ On certain major pilgrimage feasts, however, the shrine-keeper not eating in the refectory was instructed to stay behind at the shrine, and it was his companion's duty to save some food for him.

Following dinner in summer there was a communal siesta, and the cathedral precincts as well as the church would be cleared and shut during this time until the bell for "levee" ("rising") had been rung.⁸¹ When the monks had risen and sung Nones in the choir, the shrine-keeper who had closed the shrine before dinner personally opened the doors of the church and the shrine, in the same way as the temporal shrine-keeper had in the morning, then supervised the shrine throughout the afternoon. In winter the sequence was the same except, as Nones was before dinner and there was no siesta, the shrine was opened after the dinner hour. The other shrine-keeper was free until the evening Vespers in the choir and the subsequent processions, in which he was expected to be a participant.

After Vespers the shrine-keeper who had opened up the chapel after dinner went to supper, or to collation if it was winter or a fast day, while the other stayed behind to search and lock up the chapel once again before his own supper. The cathedral and its precincts were cleared of laity and locked up each evening at this time.⁸² Following Compline there was usually some kind of convivial drink with the other monks: a frequent target of visitation injunctions as it had a tendency to lead to drunkenness, late bedtimes, and subsequent non-attendance at midnight Matins.⁸³ The Customary alludes to these issues, instructing the shrine-keepers to return to the Shrine Chapel before the

79 The sixteenth-century account-books of the Martyrdom and Our Lady Undercroft show daily reckonings of offerings, CCA DCc-MS Lit/C/11, fols. 38r-41r; CCA DCc-MA/36.

80 Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 40-42; Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 240-43, 255-65.

81 CCA DCc-Register/K, fol. 223v.

82 CCA DCc-Register/K, fol. 223v.

83 Knowles, *Religious Orders*, 1:283; Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 158.

Table 1: Outline of the shrine-keepers' daily duties

| Spiritual | Temporal |
|--|-------------------------|
| Matins and Lauds (midnight) | |
| Bed (depending on feast/season) | |
| Rise (5 a.m. summer, 6 a.m. winter) | |
| Confession | Open doors |
| Wash hands | Ring bell |
| Instruct clerks about vestments etc. for the day | |
| Vest while altar is dressed | |
| Celebrate Mass | Assist at Mass |
| | Clear altar |
| Prime (Choir) | Calculate offerings |
| | Pay wages (Sunday) |
| At the shrine | Morrow Mass (Choir) |
| | Chapter (Chapter House) |
| Terce (Choir, if a solemn feast day) | At the shrine |
| High Mass (Choir) | |
| Alternating duties | |
| | Close shrine |
| Dinner | Dinner (Refectory) |
| Siesta (summer only) | |
| | Open shrine |
| Vespers (Choir) | |
| Close shrine | Supper/Collation |
| Supper/Collation | |
| Compline | |
| Communal drink (optional) | |
| Bed | |

curfew was sounded so that they would be “more fitting and worthy to God” in the mid-night and following day’s services. The curfew was probably sounded at around 8 p.m. in winter and 9 p.m. in summer.⁸⁴ On entering the Shrine Chapel both shrine-keepers had to offer a prayer to God and St. Thomas. If one was back to the shrine earlier than the other following Compline then he had to place his key to the chapel door in an agreed place so that his companion would know that he had already come in, and, presumably, that he should lock up after himself (Table 1).

⁸⁴ Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 158.

Tuesdays

Tuesdays differed in a number of respects from this standard day, as it had long been held sacred to St. Thomas both in the cathedral and, more recently, in the wider English church.⁸⁵ The Tuesday commemorations began on Monday evening with a weekly procession to the shrine after Vespers.⁸⁶ One shrine-keeper (presumably the one supervising the shrine that afternoon) stood at the shrine until the procession arrived there, when he handed a breviary to the celebrant of the day's High Mass, who would then sing the collects (prayers) proper to St. Thomas. The early-sixteenth century account-book of the Martyrdom Chapel states that the *custos* of that place was responsible for ensuring that there were candles burning at the altar there from Vespers on Monday evening until the end of the Mass of St. Thomas at the shrine on Tuesday morning.⁸⁷ In the morning the shrine-keepers rose as usual, opened the doors and rang the bell for the assembled pilgrims. The first low Mass of St. Thomas, however, was said in the Corona Chapel by the Coronarian. In the early sixteenth century there was also a dawn Mass in the Martyrdom Chapel.⁸⁸ The *custos* of the Martyrdom had to arrange for two candles at the High Altar and three before "the image of St. Thomas' in the Martyrdom Chapel to burn throughout every Mass on Tuesdays."⁸⁹

Following the daily solemn Mass of the Virgin in the Lady Chapel at the east end of the north nave aisle, on Tuesdays the monks and clerks who had celebrated that Mass were to go to the shrine and celebrate another solemn Mass.⁹⁰ They would have to go either to the vestry or the shrine sacristy to change from the white or blue vestments proper to the Mass of the Virgin into the red ones of a martyr's Mass. It is not easy to get a sense of when in the morning this took place, and the timing relative to other services

85 The commemoration of St. Thomas on Tuesdays in the cathedral is mentioned in a chapter act of 1304, so was already in place by then, CCA DCc-Register/A, fol. 389v. In 1398 the Convocation of Canterbury had decreed that St. Thomas was to be remembered in a weekly commemoration on Tuesdays throughout the archdiocese, David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae a Synodo Verolamensi anno 446 ad Londinensem 1717* (London: Gosling, 1737), 3:234.

86 This procession is mentioned in 1418, and was noted as having not taken place during a visit of Cardinal Beaufort in 1438, *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 9, 23.

87 CCA DCc-MS Lit/C/11, fol. 37r.

88 Despite this Tuesday Mass, the daily takings of the Martyrdom Chapel in the *custos'* notebook from 1504 to 1507 offer no indication that Tuesdays brought in more income than any other day, CCA DCc-MS Lit/C/11, fols. 37r, 38r-43v. It is worth noting that there would have been a number of other Thomas Masses in the cathedral throughout the week, as in 1285 the monks granted a large series of regular Masses to Edward I, namely that a daily Lady Mass was to be said by the *custos* of Our Lady Undercroft at his altar; also a daily Mass of St. Thomas, three per week by the Coronarian and the remaining four by the *custos* of the Martyrdom; and a daily mass to Saints Alphege, Blaise, Dunstan and all saints, three by the *custos* of the Tomb and four by the custodian of the relics, BL MS Galba E.iv, fol. 75r.

89 An iron bar was bought for the tabernacle of the image of St. Thomas in the Martyrdom in 1510, CCA DCc-MS Lit/C/11, fols. 37r, 51v.

90 There was also a Lady Chapel in the crypt. From 1455 the nave Lady Chapel was moved to the rebuilt chapel of St. Benedict adjoining the Martyrdom, Blockley, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*, 33-35.

may have fluctuated depending on the season.⁹¹ We have a much clearer idea of the composition of the attendance at the Mass of the Virgin, and consequently of the Tuesday Mass of St. Thomas. For thirty-seven weeks of the year the eight monks taking *deportum*⁹² that week, four from the lower and four from the upper stalls, were to celebrate these Masses.⁹³ Outside of the time when *deportum* was taken the celebrants were two monks, one from each side of the choir, specially attached to the Mass of the Virgin for that week together with the six hebdomadary monks on the rota for High Mass.⁹⁴ They were assisted by four secular clergy, named as the clerks of the Lady Chapels in the nave and the crypt, and those of the Martyrdom and Tomb of St. Thomas. As they were to be the cantors at the Mass, the clerks had to be examined by the Precentor for their competence in singing before being admitted to office.⁹⁵

At the shrine they were joined by the monks appointed as Gospeller and Epistoller for the week, who chanted the relevant texts during solemn Masses on major feast days and Sundays, and the Succentor who directed the singing vested in a cope.⁹⁶ Together with the shrine-keepers and the two shrine clerks, there would have been at least thirteen monks and six secular cantors celebrating the solemn sung Mass at the shrine every Tuesday. Twice as many candles were lit on the shrine as for the daily low Mass, and the shrine-keepers bore lit torches on either side of the altar from the end of the preface until the host had been consecrated. The audio-visual experience of this solemn Mass at the shrine was carefully curated, and it appears to have been popular with visiting dignitaries. The chronicler John Stone notes Queen Margaret's attendance at the Thomas Mass in September 1446, where it was said to be celebrated "with singing by the monks." The bishop of Ravenna attended the Mass while acting as papal legate in December 1454, and Stone also noted the presence of the archbishop of Narbonne with Charles "the Bastard" of Bourbon at the Mass in June 1467. The suffragan "bishop of the Isle" acted as celebrant at this Mass while staying at the cathedral in April 1465.⁹⁷

91 That it was a morning service is stated in CCA DCc-MS Lit/C/11, fol. 37r.

92 A period of blood-letting and absence from the choir, discussed below.

93 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:820–81.

94 BL MS Galba E.iv, fol. 71v; CCA DCc-Register/A, fol. 290r. It is also stated that the weekly Mass rota was drawn up by the Precentor on Sunday morning after the night offices. CCA DCc-MSSB/A/125 is an early-sixteenth century Mass rota-book of 46 folios, and together with CCA DCc-DE/69 (12 folios) and CCA DCc-DE/75 (22 folios), showing the daily rotas of monks saying Mass within the cathedral for ca. 1525 may have originally all been part of the same document. Bowers, "Liturgy of the Cathedral," 444 incorrectly states that the Lady Mass was celebrated daily by the Precentor and seven monks.

95 BL MS Galba E.iv, fol. 75r.

96 A chapter ordinance of 1305 allowed substitutes to be nominated as Gospeller and Epistoller at solemn Masses if the monks who had been assigned these positions in the rota did not have "solemn" enough voices, BL MS Galba E.iv, fols. 71v–72r.

97 *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 39–40, 62, 91, 100.

Feasts and Fasts

The concept of the “standard” Benedictine day is complicated by the liturgical calendar, with its regular cycles of feast and fast, and a proliferation of greater and lesser celebrations of saints’ days. Beside the universal Christian commemorations around Christmas and Easter, important traditions had coalesced at Pentecost/Whitweek, and various other points in the lives of Christ and the Virgin Mary were accorded increasing significance in the Church year. There were the universally-recognized feasts of the saints of the early Christian Church as well as a proliferation of local feasts at each individual church for saints of local or regional importance to them. The early thirteenth-century liturgical calendar from the cathedral and the fourteenth-century “Burnt Breviary” of the cathedral show the vast numbers of feast days of varying magnitude throughout the year, as well as their increasing proliferation.⁹⁸ At Canterbury, beside the several feasts of their most important sainted archbishops—Saints Thomas Becket, Dunstan, Alphege and Edmund of Abingdon—a further fourteen archbishops of Canterbury were recognized as saints and of these Saints Anselm (April 21), Odo (June 2), Theodore of Tarsus (September 19), and Aelfric (November 16) had feast days in the cathedral liturgy.⁹⁹ At least another fifty saints of regional or national importance, or of which the cathedral owned significant relics, had feasts celebrated by the monks of Canterbury with greater or lesser solemnity each year. The relics themselves had a feast, which the Customary stated was on St. Anselm’s day.¹⁰⁰ The most important of all these feasts were also observed for the seven following days, the “octave” of the feast. With such a vast number of feasts to be marked, most with their own office and according to particular rubrics about the colour of vestments, processional routes, and the lighting and positioning of candles it is no surprise that the Customary particularly enjoins the shrine-keepers and clerks to carefully ascertain the details of the day’s liturgical arrangements each morning. It also accounts for the large section of the Customary dealing with the duties of the shrine-keepers at these set points throughout the year, and how the shrine was incorporated into the cathedral’s liturgical calendar.

At Canterbury, as elsewhere, there was a set hierarchy of feast days, although the feasts themselves could be upgraded or downgraded.¹⁰¹ The lowest were feasts marked

98 The “Burnt Breviary” is CCA DCc-Add. MS/6, and partial transcriptions and notes at CCA DCc-Add. MS/6A; CCA-U530/3/1; CCA-U543/E/7. Phillips, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 20–26 gives an overview of the contents, and see also Neil Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969–2002), 4:303–5. The pre-1220 liturgical calendar is BL MS Cotton Tiberius B III, fols. 2r–7v, printed in Francis Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after AD 1100*, 2 vols. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1939–1946), 1:63–79, and see Rowe, “Customary” 19–21 for discussion.

99 Philips, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 23–24. St. Aelfric only had a commemoration, as his feast day fell on the more important Ordination of St. Alphege.

100 John Stone’s chronicle for 1458 gives the Sarum dating for the feast of relics—the Sunday after the Translation of St. Thomas. It is unclear whether he was just using a common dating system or this indicates a change in the festal arrangements at the cathedral, *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 74.

101 Phillips, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 26n1; Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 53–54.

by three lessons of the saint's office at Matins; all the more solemn feasts were marked with twelve lessons at Matins.¹⁰² For these lower feasts the monks in choir would be dressed in their normal habits, and higher feasts were marked by the wearing of long white albs or, for the highest grades, copes in the appropriate liturgical colour. The very highest grades at Canterbury were "secondary" (with or without a procession) and "principal" feasts. The Customary lists thirteen principal feasts: All Saints (November 1); Christmas (December 25); the Passion of St. Thomas (December 29); Epiphany (January 6); the Annunciation of the Virgin (March 25) on the rare occasions it fell after Easter Sunday; the Martyrdom of St. Alphege (April 19);¹⁰³ the Deposition of St. Dunstan (May 19); Ascension; Pentecost; Trinity Sunday; Corpus Christi; the Translation of St. Thomas (July 7); and the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15). Although Easter was not listed by the Customary, it was naturally a feast of the highest rank.

The difficulty of squeezing so many solemn celebrations into the calendar was a perennial problem, as evidenced by the efforts of successive chapters to resolve the clashes and alter the grading of feasts to ensure a balance within the year.¹⁰⁴ For example, as the Customary explains, the feast of the Return of St. Thomas had been moved from the date of his landing at Sandwich (December 1) to that of his arrival at the cathedral (December 2). After deliberation by chapter and in order that the Return might be celebrated with appropriate solemnity, the feast had been moved in order to avoid clashes with the first Sunday in Advent and St. Andrew's Day (November 30). By long-established custom when these two fell on the same day, St. Andrew's was displaced to the following day (December 1), so by permanently moving the Return to December 2 this occasional complication could be avoided.¹⁰⁵

Some of these feasts affected the shrine-keepers more than others. For all principal and secondary feasts the shrine was arranged with richly-decorated carpets, or *tapets*, which were placed before altars for the celebrants to stand on, and along the paths of solemn processions.¹⁰⁶ The lighting of the shrine played an important role in the staging of the festal office. At the start of Matins it was the subclerk's duty to light ten of the twenty candles which stood on the beam between the High Altar and the shrine, probably on top of the grille known as "le Hake." At the end of the responsory following the eighth lesson, and marking the end of the second and start of the third nocturn, the subclerk was to light the other ten candles, doubling the illumination of altar and shrine for the climactic part of the office. Also on these days the twelve painted and gilded can-

102 For a description of the form of lessons on feast days at medieval Benedictine Matins, see Thomas Heffernan, "The Liturgy and Literature of Saints' Lives," in Heffernan and Matter, eds., *Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, 65–94.

103 As the octave of this feast would usually coincide with Easter it was attached instead to the secondary feast of the Translation of St. Alphege (June 8), but only if there was no clash with Whitweek, CCA DCc–Add. MS/6a [Sanctorale transcription], 43–45.

104 CCA DCc–Register/A, fols. 389r–398r; BL MS Galba E.iv, fol. 71r–v; *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:813–15.

105 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 9.

106 See Wickham Legg and St. John Hope, *Inventories*, 330.

dles, four on the altar and eight on the shrine, were lit through the celebration of High Mass and through both of the evening Vespers, with their procession to the shrine, acting as an opulent backdrop to the liturgy of the choir. The shrine-keeper remaining at the shrine during High Mass nonetheless had to be vested as if he were in attendance. In such ways the links between the shrine and the liturgical rounds of its monastic custodians were made explicit to the visiting laity and pilgrims during the major feasts at which their attendance was most expected.

Processions played a similar function to the corporate liturgy of the house in showing the centrality of the shrine and the cult of St. Thomas. As no processional survives from the cathedral the Customary provides one of the best sources for understanding this important aspect of the medieval religious activity there. As noted above there was a procession from the choir to the shrine on Monday after Vespers, as well as one from the choir to Our Lady Undercroft on Fridays. These processions may have been simple point-to-point matters, while on Sundays before High Mass and on feast days they were marked with more complex routes and with decorated carpets arranged around the shrine.¹⁰⁷ Most festal processions seem to have taken roughly the same path around the cathedral but with variations depending on the solemnity of the feast, the saint in whose honour it was, some other meaningful consideration, or temporary limitations caused by building works, weather, or the participants. It is possible to garner an idea of the “normal” route from descriptions of occasions on which it was not possible to follow it. The account of the 1420 Jubilee states that “all requirements which pertain to procession were observed” as the monks went from the choir to the nave, through the cloister and up to the shrine of St. Thomas, then back to the nave where they heard a sermon, then finally returning to the choir.¹⁰⁸ The basic structure of processing through nave and cloister as well as to one or more altars, hearing a sermon, and then returning to the choir, holds for other descriptions which survive from the cathedral. In 1464 the procession after first Mass on Christmas Day went from the choir to the shrine through “le Hake” (the gated grille behind the high altar), then to the nave, but was unable to go through the cloister because of a great snowfall, so instead went back to the choir.¹⁰⁹ The procession on Rogation Tuesday in 1439 went from the choir to the shrine, down the south choir aisle to the nave, into the cloister and then, because it was raining, the monks went to the Infirmary Chapel for Mass while a friar preached a sermon to the people in the cathedral church. Following the Mass the procession went through the crypt and back up to the choir.¹¹⁰ On Rogation Monday in 1458 the procession took a

107 Margaret Sparks has suggested a route for Sunday processions at Canterbury based on comparable processions at Durham and taking in all of the cathedral’s principal altars, Blockley, Sparks, and Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*, 127.

108 Foreville, *Jubilé*, 142. Another route taken on this day by some of the monks with invited dignitaries straddles the boundary between procession and pilgrimage.

109 *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 90.

110 Woodruff, “Chronicle of William Glastynbury,” 134; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 256, fol. 119r. Woodruff incorrectly transcribes this as the procession going from the shrine “per latus chori ex parte orientali [*recte australi*],” although gives the correct translation “the south choir aisle.”

similar route, albeit unimpeded by weather, first going down from the choir to the nave, then through the cloister, past St. Thomas' well in the infirmary cloister, and into the Infirmary Chapel where Mass was celebrated and a sermon heard by the door to the *deportum*, then it returned back past St. Thomas' well, to the doors of the chapter house, then the shrine, and then back to the nave.¹¹¹

Turning now to some of the feast days dealt with at length in the Customary, the feast of the Return of St. Thomas was apparently only marked in the liturgy of two houses—the cathedral and Arbroath Abbey—but it had a great deal of significance for the monks.¹¹² As noted above, the date of the feast had been moved to commemorate the date of Thomas' arrival at the cathedral in 1170 rather than his arrival in England. This later date had also been the occasion of a great deal of ecclesiastical pomp and circumstance in and around the church, meaning that the liturgical and processional activities of the feast could potentially mirror the historic use of space.¹¹³ The Customary notes the importance of the day in both the story of St. Thomas and its relevance for the universal Church in its fight for liberty. It was the day when, in effect, through Thomas returning to his church, the Church publicly and demonstratively took possession of its own. The Feast of the Return would also have been given renewed significance by the actions of Archbishop Arundel (1395–1397, 1399–1414), at a time within memory of the authors of the Customary. According to the anonymous chronicle of a Canterbury monk, compiled around a decade before the Customary, Arundel, on his own return from exile in France in 1399, had first set foot in his cathedral church on the Feast of the Return of St. Thomas. To mark the occasion he appropriated the church of Godmersham to the monks, and ordained that every year on that day each monk of the cathedral should receive one gold noble (6s 8d) from the revenue of the church, in memory of him.¹¹⁴ The importance of the establishment of a perpetual financial memorial on the Feast of the Return to this archbishop (and also former chancellor), a prominent and generous benefactor of the cathedral whose own vision of the relationship between king and state owed much to the “Becket model,” should not be understated. It may have resulted in an increase in the status and a renewed appreciation of the feast at the Cathedral. In the calendar of the fourteenth century “Burnt Breviary,” compiled prior to Arundel's actions, the Feast

111 *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 73.

112 Arbroath was a Tironian house founded in 1178 in honour of St. Thomas by William I the Lion, king of Scots, which seems to have adopted the feasts of its patron saint directly from Canterbury Cathedral, Slocum, *Liturgies*, 248. An early-sixteenth century printed breviary which belonged to one of the monks of Arbroath has handwritten insertions including the feast of the Return on December 2 and a double octave for the feast of the Translation, J. B. L. Tolhurst, “Notes on a Printed Monastic Breviary Used at Arbroath Abbey,” *Innes Review* 5, no. 2 (1954): 104–18 at 113–14.

113 William Urry, *Thomas Becket: His Last Days* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 42–48.

114 Woodruff, “Monastic Chronicle,” 74. The chronicle incorrectly dates this event to 1400 when it must have occurred in 1399, as Arundel was frequently at the cathedral in early 1400, Richard G. Davies, “Thomas Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury 1399–1414,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 24, no. 1 (1973): 9–21 at 16. The appropriation of the church and the perpetual memorial of a gold noble to each monk on the Feast of the Return were noted in all the obits of Arundel produced at Canterbury, e.g., BL MS Arundel 68, fol. 57r; Lambeth Palace Library, MS 20, fol. 165v.

of the Return was graded as a feast “in copes,” yet in the 1428 Customary the relevant preparations at the shrine were to be in keeping with a secondary feast.¹¹⁵ It was also around the turn of the fifteenth century that the Feast of the Return was inserted into the Cathedral’s early-thirteenth century liturgical calendar.¹¹⁶ In the use of the liturgy to form links with past communities and sacred spaces the Feast of the Return was highly significant to the monks of Canterbury, and to the Church as a whole in its struggle for ecclesiastical liberty, perhaps more so in the early-fifteenth century than before.¹¹⁷

For the vigil and day of the Feast of the Return the Customary stipulates that the candles on the beam above the High Altar would be lit as for principal and secondary feasts. The eight painted and gilded candles on the shrine were also lit from the end of Nones on December 1 through to the end of Compline on the feast, illuminating the refectory throughout the night. There were processions to the shrine after Vespers on both the vigil and the feast day, signalling the beginning and end of the celebrations. Before Matins seven substantial candles were arranged before the relics in the choir to represent Becket’s seven years of struggle for the Church, and along with those on the High Altar beam these were lit at first alternately then fully at the end of the second nocturn.¹¹⁸ A solemn Mass at the shrine followed the Lady Mass in the nave in the manner described for the weekly Tuesday Masses above. After Vespers on the feast day it was the shrine-keepers’ responsibility to provide the community with “pittances” of food and drink in the Refectory, the bestowing of which was intended to mirror Becket’s own (supposed) conduct to the monks of Canterbury on returning to his cathedral.¹¹⁹

As Christmastide was focused on the High Altar and the chapels of the Virgin, the shrine mainly functioned as a backdrop to the liturgy throughout this period. Indeed, on Christmas Eve the shrine was closed all day from Lauds until the Thomas Mass at dawn on Christmas Day, to allow the shrine-keepers to participate in the important Christmas liturgy and to emphasize the importance of the day itself. It may also have given them time to decorate the shrine chapel, if not for Christmas then in preparation for one of the high points of their liturgical year on December 29: the feast of the Martyrdom.

The Martyrdom feast was the occasion for an elaborate liturgy linking together the sites in the cathedral of particular significance to St. Thomas. Pilgrims were expected to attend, and the shrine-keepers laid in bread, beer, cheese, and charcoal for their sustenance and warmth through the winter night’s ceremony. As on the feast of the Return the candles on the shrine were lit after Nones in the choir and seven candles were placed

115 CCA DCc-Add. MS/6a [Sanctorale transcription], 2.

116 BL Cotton MS Tiberius B III, fol. 7v.

117 For the links forged between the liturgy and architectural space in the early years of Becket’s cult at Canterbury see Katherine Emery, “Architecture, Space, and Memory: Liturgical Representation of Thomas Becket 1170–1220,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173 (2020): 61–77.

118 Seven candles were also provided to burn before the relics on the feasts of the Martyrdom and St. Anselm. The practice was later noted in the mid-fifteenth century, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 256, fol. 117v; Woodruff, “Chronicle of William Glastynbury,” 130.

119 For discussion of pittances and other gifts see pp. 41–42 below.

to burn before the relics in the choir, on this instance in memory of the Seven Wonderful Tuesdays of St. Thomas. Only for this feast were the 28 candles in the triforium wall-walk around the Shrine Chapel lit, from Vespers on the vigil, probably indicating two in each of the arcades, along with nine over the entrances to the shrine, perhaps referring to those on beams over the north and south gates to the inner shrine area. As with the candles on other principal feasts during Matins these were lit alternately until the end of the second nocturn when all would be lit, flooding the Shrine Chapel with light in the dead of winter.

At the start of Matins in the middle of the night the laity were admitted to the cathedral by the shrine-keepers. It is difficult to gauge an idea of their numbers, although the 56 pints of beer, around 14lbs of bread, and 7lbs of cheese provided for their refreshments and the inherent difficulties of travelling in winter suggests a small but committed attendance. The lessons of the first two nocturns at Matins told the story of Becket's life from his birth to his exile, while the third nocturn was comprised of a homily on martyrdom.¹²⁰ It is likely that the laity listened to this service from the nave, as, while there was a lectern in the choir, on major feast days the lessons were read from the great pulpit at the east end of the nave.¹²¹ The Customary's statement that "the life and development of the glorious martyr Thomas...customarily in that place is openly read in the mother tongue" points at least to a sermon delivered to the laity at this point, or perhaps to the lessons being given in English either parallel to, or even instead of, the Latin of the liturgy.¹²² In the absence of other evidence this may be too bold an interpretation, but at a time when the provision of vernacular religious instruction and the dangers of translating scripture were a subject of much controversy, offering English versions of the life of a saint in such a controlled and resolutely orthodox atmosphere may have been attempted as a potentially happy medium.¹²³ As vernacular translations of English saints' lives were themselves something of a fifteenth-century phenomenon, this custom on the Martyrdom feast at Canterbury may not have had a great deal of antiquity.¹²⁴ At the end of Matins the shrine clerks took the laity to one of the chambers of the monastic precinct where they had kindled a fire and laid out the refreshments, leaving the monks

120 Sherry Reames, "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (London: Routledge, 2001), 565–78; Slocum, *Liturgies*, 135–238; Anne Duggan, "Becket is Dead! Long Live St. Thomas," in *Cult of St. Thomas Becket*, ed. Webster and Gelin, 28–36; Emery, "Architecture, Space, and Memory," 63–68.

121 At Christmas Matins in 1295 Archbishop Winchelsey had read the final lesson from the great pulpit at the east end of the nave, "where the lessons are read," CCA DCC–Register/Q, fol. 40v.

122 My thanks to Helen Gittos for this suggestion.

123 For thoughts on the use of the vernacular in religious texts at this time, see Theresa D. Kemp, "The *Lingua Materna* and the Conflict over Vernacular Religious Discourse in Fifteenth-Century England," *Philological Quarterly* 78, no. 3 (1999): 233–57; Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 822–64.

124 Cynthia Turner Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives as History Writing in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2015); Catherine Sanok, *New Legends of England: Forms of Community in Late Medieval Saints' Lives* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia, 2019).

to complete Lauds. As is discussed below, on feasts of “solemn pilgrimage” such as this “noble and distinguished” pilgrims and laity were allowed greater access to the claustral buildings including the Refectory. However, in this instance, given the probable lower status of the lay attendees, it is more likely that one of the guest halls around the Green Court to the north of the cathedral would have been used for the event.¹²⁵

After Lauds on the Feast of the Martyrdom the shrine-keepers locked the Shrine Chapel in preparation for a series of Masses at the sites of major significance to the cult of Becket in the cathedral. Following a didactic pattern around the cathedral (often erroneously identified as the “standard” pilgrim route) the first Mass of the day was celebrated at the Martyrdom Chapel, followed by one at the Tomb Chapel, and a culminating Mass at the shrine. It is not clear whether the laity were also attendant at these Masses, although separate evidence from the Martyrdom Chapel indicates that they were lavish affairs and surely designed to be seen and heard.¹²⁶ In the early-sixteenth century notebook of the *custos* of the Martyrdom one of his chief duties of the year was to arrange this Mass on the morning of the Martyrdom feast, for which the celebrant was paid 4d, the Epistoller and Gospeller 2d each, the Third Cantor 2d for bringing the cope, the bellringers 4d, and the choristers given 2d for their breakfast.¹²⁷ A similar Mass took place at the Tomb, the progress of which could be monitored by the shrine-keepers through the window in the shrine sacristy, and the laity were finally invited to the most solemn Mass of all, celebrated at the shrine by the Subprior in person. This would have been accompanied by the most skilful singing and organ playing that the cathedral could offer, for which the shrine-keepers paid 4s per year for the services around the Martyrdom and Translation.¹²⁸ The shrine-keepers also paid 40s annually, divided between the Succentor and Third Cantor, for the provision of music at the shrine for solemn Masses throughout the year, but an extra 10s for music on the feasts of the Martyrdom, Translation, and Return, and on the Tuesdays in their octaves.¹²⁹

125 Such as that next to the kitchen renovated in the 1390s, Margaret Sparks, *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts: A Historical Survey* (Canterbury: Dean and Chapter, 2007), 28–29.

126 However, the weekly takings from the Martyrdom Chapel for 1504–1506 show only a miniscule increase in offerings around the time of the Feast of the Martyrdom, up to ten to fourteen pence (10d–14d) from previous weeks’ totals of 2d to 4d, CCA DCc–LitMS/C/11, fols. 38r–42r.

127 CCA DCc–LitMS/C/11, fol. 37v.

128 Stipulated in the Customary, but also seen in the shrine-keepers’ account roll of 1397/8 in the payment of 4s to “W. Bonynton and his companions,” a monk particularly noted for his skill at both, at the Translation and Martyrdom feasts, Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, 94; Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priors*, 265–70.

129 The 1298 injunctions of Archbishop Winchelsey instructed that the shrine-keepers render 40s annually as full payment for singers at the shrine on solemn occasions throughout the year, excepting the feast days of St. Thomas and the Tuesdays in the octaves of the feasts. Two-thirds of this sum was to be paid to the Succentor and the remaining third to the Third Cantor, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:815. These payments occur in both the 1397/8 shrine-keepers account roll and the Customary, albeit with the sum increased to 50s to include the payments during the feasts.

Not only the occasion, but the fully-lit shrine with candles in the triforium, the organs, the music, and the attending monks in red copes must have presented an amazing spectacle to the assembled pilgrims. On every day of the octave of the Martyrdom a solemn Mass was to be said at the shrine, and by great fortune the account of a lay witness to one of these has survived. In the recently-discovered journal of the Florentine merchant Mariano Ughi, he describes coming to Canterbury on December 31, 1444, the Thursday after the feast of the Martyrdom. He was led through the monastic choir, as was allowed to “distinguished and noble” visitors during the more important feasts, just as the solemn Mass at the shrine began: “And in fact we arrived just when Mass was being said at the altar of St. Thomas which, with the candles and those jewels and so great a quantity of gold it seemed as if Paradise was opening up.”¹³⁰

Moving forward in the year, although it is not mentioned in the Customary, perhaps because it was a general instruction, from the first Monday of Lent the shrine would have been veiled along with all the images and reliquaries in the cathedral.¹³¹ The shrine-keepers apparently used this time each year to perform stock-taking and maintenance. A thorough annual shrine inventory was to be compiled, and the twelve great square candles on one of the beams near the shrine were taken down, replenished with hot wax, and left to slowly cool on the shrine pavement until Maundy Thursday, in order to ensure that they set firmly.¹³² For the floor of the Shrine Chapel to be used in such a way indicates that very few laity were expected to visit at this time.

On Holy Saturday the shrine was part of the same ritual as the choir in the blessing of the year’s new fire. As with the choir, after Nones all the candles were extinguished. The monks processed to the cloister where a newly-kindled fire was blessed, and returned to the choir bearing a candle, lamp, and thurible lit from this. During the preface of the Mass in the choir, to musical accompaniment the cantors loudly sang “Light!” (*Accendite*) three times, following which the candles all around the choir and around the shrine were lit with the new fire.¹³³ In the middle of the night before Matins on Easter Sunday the community processed from the choir to the shrine, past the Easter Sepulchre which was sited behind the High Altar.¹³⁴ In Lanfranc’s *Constitutions* the procession on this

130 Sidoli, Palumbo, and Parkin, “A Florentine Merchant’s Visit,” 594.

131 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 19.

132 Dobson, “Monks of Canterbury” 131 states that an inventory of the shrine was incorporated into the 1447 anniversarian’s account roll. While there is a jotted heading for such an inventory from 1441 on the dorse of CCA DCC-Anniversarian/8 beginning “Registrum sui inventarium ad feretrum” it is, strangely, only a heading and never preceded an actual inventory. Some shrine inventories from St. Cuthbert’s shrine at late medieval Durham Cathedral survive and give an idea of the possessions of a major shrine chapel at this time, Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, Feretrar Status 1397, 1401, 1418.

133 The service for this ceremony is preserved in the late-fourteenth century Missal of Westminster Abbey, *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, 2 vols. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1891–1896), 2:cols. 574–83, 598, and in Lanfranc’s *Constitutions*: Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 43–46.

134 In 1448 the Easter Sepulchre (*Corpus Dominicum*) was mentioned as situated between the High Altar and the shrine of St. Thomas, *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 44.

occasion was to be made to the great rood, as it was at most other houses.¹³⁵ The inclusion of the shrine of St. Thomas at the start of the festivities for the holiest day in the monastic year is striking, as would be the lighting and extinguishing of the candles as the procession passed through the chapel. On Easter morning, as on Christmas Day, the *spiritual* shrine-keeper celebrated the normal low Thomas Mass at the shrine before the *temporal* celebrated the Mass appropriate to the day in white vestments at the shrine.

The period between Easter and Michaelmas was the “summer” liturgical season at the cathedral. From “Aprille with his shours soote” it was also the season of pilgrimage, when the shrine-keepers would spend most time dealing with the laity. While pilgrimage is dealt with below, it is worth noting here that this was also a period during which communal and corporate pilgrimages, of other religious houses and of the parishes of the diocese, were made to the cathedral. The Rogationtide processions brought the city and other religious houses of Canterbury into the ambit of the cathedral. The two other houses of regular religious in Canterbury, the Augustinian canons of St. Gregory’s Priory to the north of the city and the Benedictines of St. Augustine’s Abbey to the east, came to the cathedral in procession on Tuesday and Wednesday of Rogationtide respectively. They celebrated Mass in the choir then processed to the shrine, with greater pomp and circumstance on Wednesday to reflect the higher status of the monks of the Abbey. John Stone’s chronicle gives details, from various years, of some of the routes. On Rogation Wednesday in 1438, 1450, 1458, and 1465 the monks are recorded as going in procession to St. Augustine’s Abbey, although the reciprocal visit to the cathedral indicated by the Customary is not mentioned.¹³⁶ Some other processions around the cathedral during Rogationtide have been noted above.¹³⁷

Straddling the boundary between pilgrimage and yearly commemoration, Pentecost or Whitweek at medieval English cathedrals was a time when representatives of all the parishes in the diocese were enjoined to come to the cathedral in their deaneries, process through the church, pay their annual dues to the bishop, and collect the oil and chrism for use in the year.¹³⁸ This may have had additional resonance at Canterbury as Becket was consecrated as Archbishop in the octave of Pentecost 1162. The practice had been instituted in the twelfth century in England, and while there is some debate over the extent to which it was observed in the later Middle Ages there is evidence, through

135 Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 46; *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson, 2 vols. (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902–1904), 1:381.

136 *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 22, 73, 91.

137 There is no independent evidence of the Rogation Tuesday procession to the cathedral of the small community of St. Gregory’s Priory just outside the north gate of the city, although Stone’s chronicle shows the monks of Christ Church processing to the priory on St. Gregory’s Day (March 12), *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 85–86.

138 David Lepine, “And alle oure pairesshens’: Secular Cathedrals and Parish Churches in Late Medieval England,” in *The Parish In Medieval England*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Tyas, 2006), 29–53 at 43–44; Margaret Harvey, *Lay Religious Life in Late Medieval Durham* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), 33–35; Christopher Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon, 1999), 186–87.

renewed attempts at enforcement and disputes over precedence in processions, that there may have been a revival in the fifteenth century.¹³⁹ Including Canterbury itself there were eleven deaneries in the diocese, most of around twenty-five parishes but the largest (Lympne) of around forty and the smallest (Elham) of sixteen. Each parish was meant to be represented in person by their priest and a selection of the parishioners carrying the parish banner. The relatively small size of the diocese made this practicable, with none of the deanery churches, where the parishes might be expected to assemble, more than sixteen miles (25 km), and thus one day's journey, from the cathedral. The Customary suggests that each deanery had its own service at the cathedral during the week, of which either the whole or the final part took place at the shrine where the first clerk handed the breviary to the dean in order to say the collect. As well as the deaneries there were other cohorts. A charter of St. Martin's Priory, Dover, from the late thirteenth century established that, "during the week of Pentecost when all the churches of the diocese must visit the Cathedral" its dependent chapelries in Dover had to process in its section, rather than in their deaneries.¹⁴⁰ An archiepiscopal ordinance of 1350 stated that the Dover churches were to go to the Cathedral on Tuesday of Whitweek.¹⁴¹ The logistics of accommodating all the services must have meant that they were staggered throughout the week, offering an impressive spectacle of people, pageantry, processions, and song.

More impressive still was the feast of the Translation on July 7 and its succeeding double octave, which was one of the most important and well-attended pilgrimage festivals in Christendom.¹⁴² On July 5 following High Mass the Shrine Chapel was closed in order to perform the difficult task of removing the heavy wooden shrine cover, an operation which required six or seven men. The cover does not appear to have been detached from its pulleys, but drawn over to the gate on the north side of the inner chapel, to the west of the tomb of Henry IV, where it was anchored and would hang until July 21. The wooden cover was itself then covered in an embroidered cloth canopy, donated by Archbishop Arundel's sister and thus at the time of the Customary twenty years old at most.¹⁴³ The shrine-keepers alone were responsible for cleaning the shrine and the altar, scaling the marble base with ladders to get to the golden feretory and its valuable treasures. The Customary implies that this was done by the shrine-keepers rather than the clerks not for security reasons but because only the monks, with their contemplative and pure life, were worthy of the task.

As on the Feast of the Martyrdom the shrine-keepers laid in bread, beer, and cheese in the same quantities, although rather than as an early-morning repast this was intended to sustain the shrine-keepers and their assistants at their work through the days, and

139 Coleman and Jenkins, "The Multivalent Cathedral," 158–59.

140 Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 59, fol. 195v.

141 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348–1350* (London: HMSO, 1905), 508.

142 Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage c.700-c.1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 24, 117, 126.

143 In common with others, in my previous work I erroneously read this passage as meaning that this cloth canopy was placed over the shrine, not the cover, Jenkins "Modelling the Cult," 110.

for the sustenance of pilgrims particularly weakened by the journey, the weather, or the crush of the crowds. Pilgrims were mainly expected on the vigil and the feast day, when the doors of the church were to be fully open from dawn to dusk, and through the dinner hour as well if it was particularly busy. The shrine was to be attended throughout the day by the two clerks and at least one of the shrine-keepers. In addition to their normal duties the clerks also had to pay close attention to the cleanliness of the pavements around the shrine, sweeping them regularly to prevent clouds of dust, brought in on pilgrims' feet, being kicked up.

The liturgy of the feast began just before dinner on July 6, when the eight painted and gilded candles on the shrine were lit. There was a procession to the shrine after Vespers, and one following Vespers on every day of the succeeding double octave. Unlike the Feast of the Martyrdom, the cathedral does not appear to have admitted pilgrims to the midnight Matins, and there is no suggestion that the cycle of Masses at the various Thomas "stations" was a feature of the Translation.¹⁴⁴ As on the feast of the Martyrdom there was a solemn Mass at the shrine on the day of the Translation, celebrated by the Subprior and accompanied by paid singers and organists. Furthermore, this was repeated every day for the succeeding octave according to a rota prepared by the Succentor, the monk who assisted the Precentor in the organization of the liturgy. By comparison with the feast of the Martyrdom, the feast of the Translation as described in the Customary appears much less focused on providing a planned and didactic experience for the visiting pilgrims, and far more concerned with crowd management. Throughout the day, and for the succeeding days, the shrine would be the centrepiece of both the monastic liturgy and the devotions of pilgrims, and the first shrine clerk would almost certainly be made to work hard clearing a path for the monastic processions to the shrine. The press of pilgrims would have made for an experience quite particular to this annual feast, part of a varied ritual year at the cathedral which the Customary helps us to reconstruct.

Pilgrimage

The Customary only uses "pilgrim" or "pilgrimage" nine times in over nine thousand words, which serves to emphasize the monastic nature of the document. The Customary as a whole should stand as something of a corrective to the idea that Canterbury Cathedral, and even Thomas Becket's Shrine Chapel within it, was managed as a "pilgrimage church," or that pilgrims' needs were prioritized by the monks.¹⁴⁵ Yet the lack

144 For the feast-day liturgy see Slocum, *Liturgies*, 239–317; Sherry L. Reames, "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket," *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118–70; Reames, "Liturgical Offices," 578–91; Emery, "Architecture, Space, and Memory," 68–73.

145 For instance, Tatton-Brown, "Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines," 90–107; M. F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (1994): 19–52 at 43–47; Emma J. Wells, "Making 'Sense' of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church," *Peregrinations* 3, no. 2 (2011): 122–46; Conrad Rudolph, "The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages: Guide Culture and the Mediation of Public Art," *Art Bulletin* 100, no. 1 (2018): 36–67 at 41–43.

of attention to pilgrims outside of the feast of the Translation, when they were always expected in great crowds, also reflects the fact that the numbers and types of pilgrims arriving throughout the year were subject to a great deal of variation. As such they did not fit easily into the ordered layout of the Customary. The sections dealing with the needs of pilgrims are notable for the shift from prescriptive to suggestive language. The daily routine can be interrupted if "it is an occasion when a great crowd of people have come." The altar should be cleared after the first Mass "lest people are staying behind," and the shrine kept open through dinner on the feast of the Translation only "if a great crowd of people have gathered." As noted, one of the key functions of the shrine clerks was to deal with and aid pilgrims both inside the cathedral and outside waiting to enter, and as such their role in this regard would have been largely a responsive one. The needs, and the neediness, of pilgrims is hinted at in the Customary. Where they do appear in the text, they are often weary or impatient, "wishing and desiring quickly to offer their penny to God and the blessed martyr."

Recently, historians have begun to move away from an understanding of medieval pilgrimage as some form of "communitas" binding disparate actors in a shared experience, to embrace the diversity of behaviours and experiences that can fall under the heading of "pilgrimage." Those visiting the shrine of Thomas Becket, and thus classed under the heading of "pilgrim," might have traversed Europe to do so, or they may have lived within a couple of hours' walk. Their journey might have been direct to the shrine, or via a series of other holy places, or they may have been travelling through Canterbury for entirely secular reasons before deciding to visit the cathedral. They may have come to ask St. Thomas for a favour, or to give thanks for a benefit received, or as the travelling-companion of a friend or relative on such a pilgrimage. They may have arrived with thousands of others during the Feast of the Translation, or be one of a handful at the shrine in the middle of winter. A royal or noble personage, or a distinguished visitor with a letter of introduction from the archbishop, such as Desiderius Erasmus in the early sixteenth-century, could expect a far higher level of personal attendance from the monks, and greater access to the sacred treasures of the cathedral, than a London shopkeeper. Those with more to offer, whether in terms of the value of their donation or the worthiness of their cause, could demand more from their experience. As such the pilgrim experience in Canterbury Cathedral, as at all such sites, was a process of negotiation between pilgrims and the custodians of the sacred space. The cathedral was both a "landscape of pilgrimage" and a "realm of competing discourse" where expectations of behaviour and experience combined to individualize as much as homogenize the Customary's generic "pilgrim."¹⁴⁶

As I have discussed elsewhere, there was a vast difference between the pilgrim experience within the cathedral indicated by the hundreds of miracle stories from the earliest years of the cult in the 1170s, and that of the later Middle Ages at the Shrine Chapel of

146 Dee Dyas and John Jenkins, "Introduction," in *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals*, ed. Dyas and Jenkins, 6–14; Simon Coleman and John Elsner, *Pilgrimage Past and Present in the World Religions* (London: British Museum, 1995), 202–30; John Eade and Michael Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991), 3–5.

the 1420s.¹⁴⁷ The picture portrayed by the miracle stories of pilgrims staying overnight, often for weeks on end, at the tomb of the saint, wailing and even vomiting copiously, does not fit easily with, and in fact appears to be precluded by, the rules and regulations laid down in the Customary. Robyn Malo has argued that these rules were introduced at most important English shrines from the end of the twelfth century to circumscribe this more tactile, present, and potentially disgusting pilgrim behaviour.¹⁴⁸ More recently, Anne Bailey has convincingly argued that this picture of unconstrained pilgrimage is not actually representative of the normal atmosphere of twelfth century English cathedral shrines, but even then would be found only in the earliest stages of cult formation, or on a couple of allotted festivals throughout the year.¹⁴⁹ Certainly by the later Middle Ages at Canterbury, if not before, strict opening hours meant that pilgrims were excluded from the shrine, and the cathedral church as a whole, during the night and through the monks' dinner hour. Pilgrims still came to seek cures, such as Alexander Stephenson of Aberdeen, who came to Becket's shrine in 1445 in hope of a cure for his feet. From the description of his miraculous cure, wringing shrieks from him at the shrine on one day and restoring his ability to walk on the next, he may have been allowed to stay overnight in the Shrine Chapel, but it is more likely that he returned on successive days.¹⁵⁰ Given the close relationship between the shrine and the liturgy in the choir, to which it formed a backdrop, disruptive healing of this kind could not have been tolerated for long.

As pilgrims could not stay at the shrine, they had to find other accommodation. Pilgrims to later-medieval Canterbury could stay in one of the many inns, hostels, or hospitals in the city, including the famous cathedral-owned "Cheker of the Hope" near the Christ Church gate to the precincts.¹⁵¹ Within the precincts there were several halls and chambers available for guests and travellers, although it is not at all clear how many pilgrims and lay visitors were accommodated in-house, and what the criteria for accommodation would be.¹⁵² All monasteries had sizeable guest accommodation for the itinerant poor, for short-term visitors on business or social visits, and longer-term corrodians. As both one of the largest monasteries and the mother-church of England the cathedral could expect to have to accommodate a sizeable number of laity even before factoring in the lure of Becket's shrine. One apparent piece of evidence, Prior Eastray's complaint

147 Jenkins "Replication or Rivalry," 27–34. For a discussion of the pilgrimage experience at Canterbury in the fifteenth century in the context of the medieval city see Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Pilgrimage in 'An Age of Plague': Seeking Canterbury's "hooly blisful martir" in 1420 and 1470," in *The Fifteenth Century XII: Society in an Age of Plague*, ed. Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 56–77.

148 Robyn Malo, *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2013), 27–100.

149 Anne Bailey, "Reconsidering the Experience at the Shrine in High Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History* 47, no. 2 (2021): 203–29.

150 *Litterae Cantuarienses: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard, Rolls Series 85, 3 vols. (London: HMSO, 1887–1889), 3:191–92.

151 Sweetinburgh, "Pilgrimage in 'An Age of Plague,'" 71–73.

152 Dobson, "Monks of Canterbury," 139–41.

in 1318 that the chapter faced considerable expenses from their many visitors, is such a commonplace of late medieval monastic responses to royal impositions that it tells us nothing about the realities of how and why laity were housed in the precinct.¹⁵³ The 1298 injunctions of Archbishop Winchelsey command the monks to give at least one day and night's hospitality to men in religious orders and distinguished laity ("viri religiosi" and "seculares honesti") who asked for it, together with their servants and horses. This implied status, and the statement that by doing so the monks could expect their guests to confer benefits on them in return, indicate that, as others have also suggested, only the most important pilgrims, along with visitors on business, could expect to be lodged within the cathedral precincts.¹⁵⁴

As noted above, the earliest that pilgrims could enter the precincts, and the cathedral, was at around 5.45 a.m. in summer and 6.45 a.m. in winter, with the cathedral closing again at the end of Vespers.¹⁵⁵ The morning and afternoon opening hours of the shrine, divided by the period around midday when the cathedral closed at dinner, may have served different pilgrim needs. They would certainly have provided different sensory experiences. It was more usual for pilgrims to arrive in the morning, as it was expected that they would fast overnight before seeking the saint at the shrine.¹⁵⁶ As I have argued elsewhere, the supposed "pilgrim route" around the cathedral taking in the other Becket sites before the shrine is largely the creation of Victorian historians, and was certainly not the "normal" pilgrim path to the shrine.¹⁵⁷ Instead pilgrims entering the cathedral through the southwest nave porch or perhaps the southwest transept door went fairly directly to the shrine up the south choir aisle, offering their penny there before seeking out other sacred sites and relics.

Pilgrims visiting the shrine in the morning could expect to witness a religious service, and as such they could also expect that the shrine cover would be raised, as it probably was during services in the choir.¹⁵⁸ The first through the door each day probably came specifically to attend the Thomas Mass, while on Tuesdays the solemn Mass at the shrine which so impressed Ughi, as noted above, was probably an attractive weekly event.¹⁵⁹ As the shrine was open through High Mass each day it would also have provided a desirable vantage-point from which to be present at the Eucharistic celebrations. Outside of these times throughout the morning the pilgrim experience would have occurred at the same time as the hours of Prime, Terce, and Sext taking place in the adjacent choir. Visually and sonically there would have been a "discourse" between these acts of corporate monastic worship and the lay expectation and understanding of the

153 *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 1:44–45; Dobson, "Monks of Canterbury," 139.

154 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:822–23; Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 2000), 225; Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 183–86.

155 CCA DCC-Register/K, fol. 223v.

156 Jenkins, "Replication or Rivalry," 33–35.

157 Jenkins, "Modelling the Cult," 102–3.

158 Jenkins, "Modelling the Cult," 110.

159 See pp. 22–23 above.

space: the “landscape of pilgrimage” in the cathedral was heavily mediated both actively and passively by the monastic presence.¹⁶⁰

For the afternoon hours at the shrine, which always fell between the end of Nones and the start of Vespers, there would have been very few corporate acts of worship taking place in the cathedral. This probably also meant that the shrine cover would be down and the golden feretory no longer on view, unless it was a major feast day or during the double octave of the Translation. This may have been the time when more disruptive pilgrims such as Alexander Stephenson were brought to the shrine by their carers in search of a cure. This can only be conjectural for the shrine at Canterbury, although a 1446 miracle from Durham Cathedral indicates that the afternoon hours of the shrine there, between Nones and Vespers when there was no liturgical activity in the choir, was the appropriate time for cure-seekers who wanted to spend a longer period in supplication to the saint.¹⁶¹ According to this miracle, a gentleman from Devon, distraught in his mind and sick in his body, was brought to St. Cuthbert’s shrine at 8 a.m. on February 2 to give his penny, and then was taken away again as he “continued in his madness.” He was brought back at 2 p.m., the hour following Nones and the communal dinner, and was allowed to sleep at the shrine until 4 p.m. when he left, apparently cured. There was still a limit on behaviour during this time, as when he cried out too loudly in his sleep the shrine-keepers threw holy water on him. The picture of shrine management which can be gleaned from the Customary perhaps suggests a similar division of activity between morning and afternoon, when those with more complex problems, or perhaps those willing to pay for it, could get to spend more time in supplication at the shrine.

The time of year was also key to the pilgrim experience at the shrine. Pilgrimage was highly seasonal, as the Customary indicates in its suspension of the shrine-keepers’ usual monastic duties in the weeks following Easter, Pentecost, the Translation, and Michaelmas, in order for them to deal with the increased numbers of pilgrims.¹⁶² This increase was not merely a matter of seasonal travelling-weather, as a greatly-enhanced package of spiritual benefits in the form of indulgences was granted to pilgrims coming to the cathedral and offering at one or more of Becket’s shrines during these weeks. Pilgrims could also expect a particularly spectacular sensory experience at these times, when, as shown above, special attention was paid to the music, lighting, and, decoration of the cathedral church, and the shrine and other relics would be put on display.¹⁶³ By the late thirteenth century at the latest these, together with the feast of the Martyrdom, were

160 For the role of the senses in the medieval pilgrim experience see Dee Dyas, *The Dynamics of Pilgrimage: Christianity, Holy Places, and Sensory Experience* (London: Routledge, 2020).

161 Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, Misc. Chart 7159*; Jenkins, “Replication or Rivalry,” 41; transcribed and discussed in John Jenkins, “Time, Space, and Mass: The Lay Experience of Medieval Cathedrals,” in *The Lay Experience of the Medieval Cathedral: Proceedings of the 2021 Ecclesiological Society Conference*, ed. Mark Kirby (forthcoming).

162 Coleman and Jenkins, “The Multivalent Cathedral,” 157–60.

163 For the seasonality of pilgrimage in the twelfth century, and the clustering of miracles around times when relics would be on display in cathedrals and great churches, see Bailey, “Reconsidering the Experience.”

established as “feasts of solemn pilgrimage.”¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, from 1383 nine-day fairs were permitted in the precincts of the cathedral on the vigils and octaves of Pentecost, the Translation, Michaelmas, and the Martyrdom.¹⁶⁵ This would have radically changed the atmosphere around the cathedral at these important points in the year. As noted above the Customary takes a generally benevolent attitude to pilgrims, but there may have been some ambivalence amongst the monks over the inevitable disruption these fêtes and festivities caused to the monastic life. This is suggested by the verses written by the monk William Glastynbury in the mid-fifteenth century complaining of the noise and disturbance to the choir made by the festal activity outside the cathedral around these major feasts, as well as the profanation of the cemetery by merchants’ stalls.¹⁶⁶

Particularly important pilgrims were permitted a greater degree of access to some of the monastic claustral range, and especially so on these “feasts of solemn pilgrimage.” Seculars were not allowed to wander about the cloister, but “serious and distinguished men, and especially pilgrims’ were permitted to use the cloister walks appropriately. These pilgrims were also allowed to see the refectory, dormitory, and other private chambers, outside of meal and sleeping times and in silence, if they had received licence from the prior and were accompanied by two monks. “Noble and distinguished female pilgrims” were also allowed into the refectory under the same constraints, but only during the feasts of solemn pilgrimage.¹⁶⁷ In practice this would have applied only to high status pilgrims, especially those who might be guests of the prior or the monks during the major pilgrim festivals. It is notable that the wealthy Florentine merchant Ughi, who arrived at the cathedral during the octave of the Martyrdom feast, was a beneficiary of this relaxation, being shown through the choir, then around the refectory, dormitory, and even the chapter house by a monastic escort.¹⁶⁸ Ughi’s tour of the claustral buildings is a reminder that most eye-witness accounts of pilgrimage were written by those of such status as to afford them a particularly privileged experience, and also of the necessity of arriving at the right time.

Expenditure

The final section of the Customary deals with the dues of the shrine to the obedientiaries and officials of the Cathedral, and the apportioning of revenue to expenses. As noted above, the financial and administrative systems of the cathedral priory had been undergoing considerable change in the decades before the writing of the Customary.

164 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:817.

165 DCC-CCA-Register/A, fols. 102v, 110v; printed in Foreville, *Jubilé*, 175–76. In the early sixteenth century on the vigils of the Translation and Martyrdom there were also civic pageants in Canterbury telling the story of Becket’s life and death, Sheila Sweetinburgh, “Looking to the Past: The St. Thomas Pageant in Early Tudor Canterbury,” *Archaeologia Cantiana* 137 (2016): 163–83.

166 Woodruff, “Chronicle of William Glastynbury,” 137–38.

167 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:816–18. The wider prevalence of feasts of solemn pilgrimage and the greater access allowed to those of high status at cathedrals during these times is discussed in Jenkins, “Time, Space, and Mass.”

168 Sidoli, Palumbo, and Parkin, “A Florentine Merchant’s Visit,” 595.

There is clear evidence from the Customary of the characteristic features of the later medieval obedientiary system: cross-payments between offices to pay for running costs, and detailed prescriptions for the provision of gifts and pittances to the community on particular occasions. In terms of income, offerings at the shrine have been examined in some detail by Ben Nilson, although some revisions to his interpretation are offered below.¹⁶⁹ Some properties and rents had been gifted to the shrine, although the annual revenue from these does not seem to have exceeded £9, and a substantial portion of that was allocated to the maintenance of lights.¹⁷⁰ In 1427 a rare glimpse of the management of these rents indicates that they had a net revenue of only £3 6s 8d and were not administered by the shrine-keepers but by a monk-proxy.¹⁷¹

As noted above, the turn of the fifteenth century saw a change in the methods of financial accounting at the priory from a central treasury system to one controlled by the prior.¹⁷² As part of this the shrine keepers' gross annual income was no longer entered in the central financial accounts, with their expenditure also dealt with centrally, but instead the shrine-keepers and other obedientiaries administered both income and expenditure for the year and the central accounts only recorded the net surplus which was rendered to the treasury. As such, and as Nilson and others have noted, the income of the shrine as traced through the priors' account rolls appears to decline dramatically almost to nothing in the fifteenth century.¹⁷³ Once we see the vast undercurrent of regular payments between obediential offices at the cathedral in the later Middle Ages, however, it is possible to account for the otherwise startling drop in shrine revenue.¹⁷⁴

It is worth looking first at the only surviving shrine-keepers account roll from Canterbury, of 1397/8.¹⁷⁵ This only shows details of outgoings, with the income stated as a lump sum. By far the most important source of income for the shrine was the offerings of pilgrims and devotees. Although the total from these would have been subject to notable annual fluctuations based on a range of factors, in the late fourteenth and

169 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 144–54.

170 CCA DCc-Register/E, fols. 143r–144v.

171 Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 256, fol. 91r, printed in Woodruff, "Chronicle of William Glastynbury," 128.

172 See pp. 7–8 above.

173 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 147–52. Nilson's account of this is rather confused in places, not helped by a misreading of "de annuo" (yearly) on the shrine account roll as "de anima" (of the soul), which he then took as the basis for a curious division of income between oblations at Masses and those received otherwise.

174 There were four "term-days" (*termini*) at Canterbury when payments were made by the shrine-keepers to the various obedientiaries and to the rest of the community. These broadly map to the more general "quarter days" of medieval England, although here they were Easter, Pentecost, the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, and Michaelmas. These local term-days were adopted in all the later medieval accounting of the rents and dues of the Cathedral, although in dealing with secular rents the Easter term-day was exchanged with Christmas to give a more even spread throughout the year (e.g., *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:233–34). Christmas was also considered to be a "term-day" for gifts or oblations to other obedientiaries and monks of the house.

175 CCA DCc-Feretrar/1.

early fifteenth century they could be relied upon to cover almost £250 in yearly outgoings, of which perhaps only £20 in miscellaneous expenditure and for special Masses might not be regarded as “customary.” The total of the named regular expenses outlined in the Customary, including the price of wax but not of numerous irregular payments noted throughout, comes to almost £300 annually, albeit the Customary tells us that almost £200 of that owed to the Cellarer had recently (and probably permanently) been reallocated to the Warden of the Manors. The ability of the prior to reallocate these cross-payments, as he had done in the case of the shrine-keepers’ dues to the cellarer, in response to fluctuations in obediendary income, also mean that it is impossible to have any degree of certainty about the continuance of all these payments for any length of time. It seems likely that by the mid-fifteenth century income from offerings returned to the levels seen in the mid-thirteenth century, of between £50 to £100 per year, all of which was distributed in customary payments.¹⁷⁶

For some of the regular or irregular expenditures listed in the Customary it is probably a pointless exercise to try to reason why they were considered to fall within the duties of the shrine-keepers. The cost of repairing the maple-wood and gilt communal bowls at the monks’ dining tables when they were broken, or the provision of lights to the Prior’s Chapel, are most likely to have been allotted to the shrine-keepers by chapter act, and perhaps only because it was felt they were most able to bear the expense at the time. While some of the cross-payments to other obediendaries such as the wax for the sacrist or the payments to the Succentor and Third Cantor for their musical services through the year have clear reasonings, others appear to have been largely arbitrary based on ability to pay. In this latter category is the £20 annually paid to the Chamberlain, seen in both the account roll and the Customary, which was stipulated in a 1376 ordinance for no other likely reason than the high level of shrine income at that time.¹⁷⁷ The Customary implies that the shrine-keepers’ responsibility to provide food to those in the Infirmary on Thursdays in Advent and Lent was the result of a similar ordinance. Other gifts and payments formed a regular part of the late-medieval Benedictine obediendary system, such as the presents of money or wax to all the members of the community at Christmas, Purification, Easter, Pentecost, and Michaelmas.¹⁷⁸

The treatment of some other small expenditures by the Customary points to their not having been enjoined by chapter but adopted by the shrine-keepers as a way of affirming the centrality of the cult of St. Thomas to the communal life of the monks. The monks of Canterbury were aware of their prestigious situation as custodians of the shrine of the most renowned and important English saint, and the Customary shows how the shrine-keepers helped to instil this sense of the relationship between the monks and their saint from the earliest opportunity. The shrine-keepers treated each

176 Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, 212–15 for tabulated offerings from the shrine. These cross-payments would also have affected the reported incomes of other chapels within the cathedral. For example, from 1376, £10 was allocated to the anniversarian each year from the offerings at the Tomb Chapel: *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:5.

177 *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:6.

178 Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priors*, 247–51.

new cohort of novices to a meal at their expense, with the stated purpose that it would bind them in obligation to the shrine. Similarly, the brothers who went up to study at Canterbury College, Oxford were given a present of 5s by the shrine-keepers along with the blessing of St. Thomas. The cathedral priories of Canterbury and Durham had their own collegiate foundations at Oxford separate and pointedly distinct from the general Benedictine Gloucester College. As Barrie Dobson has argued, the special status of the monks of Canterbury as custodians of the shrine of St. Thomas (and similarly that of St. Cuthbert for the monks of Durham) was a key mark of that distinctness and of the communities' "inalienable immunities and prestige," even within the University.¹⁷⁹ By the time of the Customary there were normally only two or three monks besides the Warden at the College, and as the 5s was only given to those going up for the first time this was not a substantial annual expenditure.¹⁸⁰ The token sum and the blessing of St. Thomas, however, would have served to remind the monks of their connection to the mother house and the distinct status it conferred on them.

The Customary does make justifications for some of the annual provisions of food or "pittances" to their fellow monks during particular feasts or fasts. Unlike some of the other major Benedictine houses, Canterbury appears never to have had a "communar" or "pittancer" in charge of the distribution of special dishes on particular feast days and during Lent and Advent. This duty was instead divided between the anniversarian who organized the memorials and charitable legacies of deceased monks and patrons, the almoner who otherwise distributed alms, and, as the Customary shows, the shrine-keepers on the feasts of St. Thomas.¹⁸¹ On the feast of the Return it was the responsibility of the shrine-keepers to provide the "last pittance" after Vespers. This was the third dish at the conventual supper, which on major feast days would be both substantial and lavish.¹⁸² It was also of some significance in the overall commemoration of the feast itself, replicating in both form and intent the supposed benevolence of St. Thomas on that day in 1170.

The shrine-keepers had accumulated a number of responsibilities in providing for the *deportum* of the monks. This was a term seemingly local to Canterbury but which appears to have been another name for the usual Benedictine allowance for monks to undergo periods of blood-letting during which normal dietary rules were relaxed and they could eat meat taken in the infirmary or another allotted hall.¹⁸³ The Customary makes clear that *deportum* could be taken by the monks in the periods between the Feast of the Martyrdom and Ash Wednesday, and between Easter Monday and Mich-

179 Barrie Dobson, "The Black Monks of Durham and Canterbury Colleges: Comparisons and Contrasts," in *Benedictines in Oxford*, ed. Henry Wandsborough and Anthony Maret-Crosby (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1997), 61–78 at 65; Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 126–45.

180 Dobson, "Monks of Canterbury" 104–5. The 1397/8 shrine-keepers' roll shows it was paid to six monks that year.

181 Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 258–59.

182 Barbara Harvey, "Monastic Pittances in the Middle Ages," in *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition*, ed. Christopher M. Woolgar (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 215–27.

183 Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 281–88.

aelmas. The picture is complicated by the use of *deportum* to mean both the period of relaxation and the chamber set aside for that purpose. The injunctions to the monks in the registers of Archbishop Winchelsey in 1298 make it clear that this was a room within the precincts where eight monks each week, four from the upper and four from the lower choir stalls, might avail themselves of similar dietary freedoms as found in the infirmary. As noted above, these monks were also the celebrants and assistants at the daily Lady Mass in the nave and the solemn Thomas Mass on Tuesdays at times when the *deportum* was open, and they were also enjoined to be present at all processions, at Terce, High Mass, and Vespers.¹⁸⁴ In a community of ninety monks this meant that each monk might expect to spend either three or four weeks each year in *deportum*.

Historians have had some difficulty in locating the later medieval *deportum*, although the Customary and other fifteenth-century sources give some clue.¹⁸⁵ During the rule of Prior Chillenden (1390–1411) “a new place for *deportum* with, underneath, a cellar” was constructed in the precincts.¹⁸⁶ It is not obvious where in the precincts this new place for *deportum* was sited, although given the context of the list of buildings in which it appears, which has something of a spatial arrangement, it was perhaps in one of the now-lost chambers to the north of the Infirmary Chapel. In 1458 the Rogation Monday procession heard a sermon near the door to the *deportum* following a Mass in the Infirmary Chapel, further pointing to its position within the infirmary complex.¹⁸⁷ As the infirmarian had long overseen the provision of *deportum* it would have made good sense to re-site it there.¹⁸⁸ The chamber would only have needed to be big enough to provide sleeping, eating, and sitting quarters for eight monks. The monks in the *deportum* had their own chaplain, who was weekly supplied with candles by the shrine-keepers to light the brothers as they recited Matins in the night. As the monks were sleeping out of the communal dormitory they would not be able to take the night stairs to the choir to celebrate Matins, but would still be expected to recite the liturgy, presumably in the Infirmary Chapel. When the sacrist or his subordinates was present at the *deportum* the shrine-keepers were exempt from providing these candles as these would have been the officials with a readier supply of wax. As a convivial note, when one of the shrine-keepers was taking *deportum* in his turn, he took with him a gallon of wine to share with the others for the week so that they would “be glad that he is present among them.”

184 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:820–21; *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:5.

185 Willis suggested that it may have been joined to the western side of the Refectory in order to be close to the kitchen, and most subsequent historians have accepted this for lack of other evidence, Robert Willis, “The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury,” *Archaeologica Cantiana* 7 (1868): 59–61.

186 *Literae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:115. Margaret Sparks says this must have been abandoned because in the 1430s the Infirmary’s *Mensa Magistrorum* was described as the place where the monks ate when they were not in the Refectory. There were, however, many places outside Refectory where the monks took their food, most commonly the prior’s *camera*, and in the 1430s the *Mensa Magistrorum* was demonstrably not the only other place, Sparks, *Canterbury Cathedral Precincts*, 42; Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 241.

187 *Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. Searle, 73.

188 *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:819–20.

The Afterlife of the Customary

The manuscript of the Customary bears witness to the Reformation, as the name and titles of St. Thomas have been carefully erased from the first page and all the marginal headings. It may seem curious that the Customary to the shrine was kept, being dutifully amended according to the Henrician statute, when the shrine itself was destroyed. It may be that it was preserved on the chance that the shrine would be restored in future, and the erasures carried out to disguise its function from a cursory and poorly-Latinate inspector. After the Dissolution of Christ Church Priory and the destruction of the shrine to which it belonged, the manuscript, along with the French *Lives* of Becket with which it is bound, was in the library of the recusant Roman Catholic Hawkins family of Nash Court near Faversham in Kent.¹⁸⁹ It was presumably Thomas Hawkins (1487–1588) who acquired the documents, whose epitaph in nearby Boughton-under-Blean church states that he had served Henry VIII well and had been generously rewarded by the king, living to the ripe age of 101.¹⁹⁰ The document may have served a similar fashion to that posited for the *Rites of Durham*: “a source of nostalgia” and a reminder of the pre-Reformation forms of religious practice.¹⁹¹ It may also have allowed the owners a route into an imagined pilgrimage to the lost shrine of St. Thomas. It is possible that the family had a particular devotion to Becket, as their eldest sons were invariably called Thomas until the extinction of the male line in 1800, and many younger sons left to become Jesuit priests or Benedictine monks on the Continent.¹⁹² The Hawkins family remained at Nash Court until the nineteenth century, although the house was attacked by a Protestant mob during the Jacobite uprisings of 1715, and their library burnt.¹⁹³ Although Hasted claims the entire library was lost, some books were saved, perhaps indicating their particular value to the family. Notably these included the volume of the Customary with the two verse lives, and BL Add. MS 11307, a fifteenth-century manuscript containing three English verse meditations.¹⁹⁴ After the death of Thomas Hawkins in 1800 the estate was split amongst his daughters.¹⁹⁵ The remaining library was sold in 1806 and several books, including the pre-Reformation manuscripts, purchased by the antiquarian and bibliophile Joseph Haslewood (1769–1833). He gives the first notice of the Customary as a text, identifying in the volume “a Latin introduction [to the verse life of Guernes] enumerating the festivals and ceremonies to be kept in honour of the Saint.”¹⁹⁶ Haslewood put up many of his early books and manuscripts for auction in May 1809, where the

189 Turner, “Customary,” 16.

190 J. A. Boodle, “Boughton Under The Blean,” *Archaeologia Cantiana* 21 (1895): 331.

191 Claxton, *Rites of Durham*, ed. Harvey and Rollason, 69–74.

192 Christopher Buckingham, “The Hawkins of Boughton-Under-Blean: Some Genealogical Notes on a Kentish Recusant Family,” *The London Recusant* 2 (1971): 1–8.

193 Edward Hasted, *The Historical and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols. (Canterbury: Bristow, 1798), 7:10.

194 Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, 10 vols. (London: Bensley, 1805–1810), 4:393.

195 Kew, The National Archives, PROB 11/1351/24.

196 Brydges, *Censura Literaria*, 4:394.

Customary manuscript was purchased by his friend and fellow Roxburghe Club member Richard Heber (1773–1833) for £3 6s. Following Heber's death the manuscript was purchased at auction by Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), "the greatest collector of manuscripts ever," and catalogued in his library as MS 8113.¹⁹⁷

Note on Text and Translation

The Latin text has a number of later medieval characteristics, many of them common including the rendering of -ae as -e and the interchangeability of "t" and "c." The scribe writes the enclitic conjunctive -que (and) as a separate word, sometimes abbreviated and at other times written out. At some points in the text this makes it difficult to distinguish from the pronoun quae, which the scribe also renders either as que or with the same abbreviated form as used for -que. I have distinguished between these by attaching -que enclitics to their preceding words in the text. Otherwise, throughout I have rendered the Latin as it appears in the manuscript, retaining original spellings and offering corrections to errors in footnotes. Deleted and damaged text has been restored within square brackets where it has been possible to reconstruct the original text, or with ellipses in square brackets where this has not been possible. Punctuation and capitalization are retained as closely as possible. Marginal headings from the manuscript are placed within the Latin text as closely as possible to their positions, and indicated in bold italic font, but paragraph spacing has been retained. In the translation each side heading forms the start of a new section.

Given the official and technical nature of the document, and in order that the text and translation might be compared for accuracy, I have attempted as closely literal a translation as possible. Some of the larger sentences have been broken up for the purposes of readability in the translation. Individual technical terms relating to the liturgy or monastic life are glossed in footnotes, while for more complex concepts or practices readers are pointed to relevant sections of the introduction.

197 *The British Library Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts, New Series 1971–1975*, 3 vols. (London: British Library, 2001), 1:539–40; Turner, "Customary of the Shrine," 17; Cathleen Hayhurst Wheat, "Joseph Haslewood and the Roxburghe Club," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (1947): 37–49 at 40. Phillipps' catalogue correctly identifies the three constituent parts of the manuscript, and the Customary is described as "De Officiis Feretrariorum B. Thomae Cantuariae Johem. Vyel & Edmd. Kyngston 1428," *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps Bart. A.D. 1837* (Middle Hill: [n. pub.], 1837), 122).

**THE CUSTOMARY OF THE
SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET**
British Library, Add. MS 59616, fols. I–I Iv

SANCTI SPIRITUS ASSIT nobis gratia.¹ Omnibus dilectis sancte Cantuariensis ecclesie confratribus presentibus et futuris, confratres Iohannes Vyel et Edmundus Kyngyston, feretrarii sive custodes famosi feretri [sancti Thome archiepiscopi et martiris, qui] pro iusticia et iure ecclesie [dei conservandis] sub quatuor gladiis quatuor militum [impiorum occubuit], salutem in ipso qui digne pro meritis suos milites legitime certantes stola immortalitatis induit et corona glorie premiat feliciter et exornat. Quia frequenter contrariando opiniones varie oriuntur in observanciis, solucionibus, aliisque oneribus feretrariorum officium concernentibus, hic totis viribus cum dei adiutorio et assistencia [sancti Thome] prelocuti solerti studio operam damus, ut observancias aliaque premissa inscriptis veraciter redigamus, ut si quomodolibet ambigua sive dubia in predictis de cetero emergant pro omni ambiguitate evitanda et veritate ministranda prout patres nostri narraverunt nobis et nos ex eorum tradicionem didicimus ad presentem processum seriatim in suis locis ubi dubium exoritur celerius recurratur. Unde pro presenti processu principium ponere decernimus in crastino festi sancti Michaelis sicut ceteri officarii huius ecclesie incipere consueverunt prout in eorum compotis clarius elucescit ac deinde annum seriusius transcurrendo per singula festa explanando et annotando ea que sunt per predictos feretrarios exequenda sub anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo vicesimo octavo anno vero [a passione gloriosi martiris Thome]² CC^{mo} quinquagesimo octavo. Et anno serenissimi principis Henrici sexti regnorum Anglie et Francie regis sexto.

Igitur iuxta preceptum domini exhortantis et dicentis primum querite regnum dei et cetera.³ Et alibi, Incipite a sanctuario meo⁴ presentem processum merito incipere decernimus in obsequio divino dicendo in officio supradicto. *De obsequio divino dicendo* Nam duo feretrarii qui pro tempore fuerint in omni mansuetudine, mutua vicissitudine et vinculo unitatis sint semper et omnino coherentes tamquam fratres unitivi se se in amore et honore invicem prevenientes,⁵ ut alter alterius onera portet et reputet sicut sua. Quorum unus dicitur spiritualis et hic erit capellanus in omni servicie dicendo, et alter temporalis.

1 From a Pentecostal hymn popularly believed to have been composed by Robert II of France, Edward Dickinson, *Music in the History of the Western Church* (New York: Scribner, 1925), 147–48.

2 Partially erased.

3 A slight misquotation of both Matthew 6:33 (“Quaerite ergo primum regnum”) and Luke 12:13 (“quaerite primum regnum Dei”).

4 A slight misquotation of Ezechiel 9:6 (“et a sanctuario meo incipite”).

5 cf. Romans 12:10.

MAY THE GRACE of the Holy Spirit be with us. To all the beloved brethren of the holy church of Canterbury, present and to come, their brothers John Vyel and Edmund Kyngston, feretrarians or keepers of the famous shrine of St. Thomas archbishop and martyr (who for justice and the preservation of the rights of God's church died under the four swords of four impious knights), offer salutations in Him who, for their service, suitably clothes his justly fighting knights in the cloak of immortality and happily rewards and adorns them with the crown of glory. Because various conflicting opinions frequently arise concerning the observances, payments, and other duties of the shrine-keepers, herein we devote all our efforts in diligent study, together with the help of God and the assistance of the aforementioned St. Thomas, so that we may truthfully record these observances and other things. So that if in any way whatsoever doubts or uncertainties emerge in the future about the aforementioned matters, in order that all doubt should be avoided and the truth should be provided, just as our fathers told it to us and we have learnt it from their tradition, reference may quickly be made to the present orderly account at the relevant place where the uncertainty has arisen. Hence for the present account the beginning is set as the day after the feast of St. Michael¹ where the other officials of this church are accustomed to begin, as is clearly manifest in their accounts, and then will run through the year in full detail with each feast, explaining and noting that which is done by the aforementioned shrine-keepers. In the year of the Lord 1428, the 258th year from the passion of the glorious martyr Thomas and the sixth year of the reign of the most serene prince Henry VI, king of England and France.

On saying divine service

Thus, according to the precept of the Lord, exhorting and saying "Seek first the kingdom of God etc." and also "Begin at my sanctuary," we rightly decided to begin the present account with saying divine service at the said shrine. The two shrine-keepers, who for the time of their service are gentleness in all things, united by a mutual alliance and bond, should always and in everything be connected like brothers, in love and honour anticipating each other, so that they bear each other's burdens and shall think alike. One of them is called the "spiritual" and he is the chaplain in all of the designated services, and the other is the "temporal."

¹ Michaelmas is September 29, so the Customary runs from September 30, the last day of the monastic "summer" timetable.

Uterque pernoctabit in eodem loco Uterque eciam ratione officii et pro loco conservando in eodem loco pernoctabit, per quos eciam hore canonice dicentur in eodem loco tempore congruente missaque de sancto Thoma cum collectis consuetis sub modo et ordine qui secuntur. In die Dominica feretrarius spiritualis sumet exordium sui laboris cui secundum duo tempora anni distincta tempus surgendi in mane et missam celebrandi nisi tempore quo maior concursus populi confluat vel alius eventus insolitus emergat conveniens assignetur. Tempore vero brumali sive hiemali <1v> ad sex de orologio vel circiter. Et tempore vernali sive estivali ad quinque de orologio vel circiter tempus missam celebrandi satis conveniens adaptetur nisi talis vel consimilis casus¹ quem premisimus dictos feretrarios coherceat cicius et celerius id agendum.

Die Dominica Iccirco² die Dominica et sic septimanatim preter feriam terciam hora quae captata ut pretulimus feretrarii prenotati consurgent in mane quorum ille qui dicitur spiritualis descendet ad confitendum si consciencia remurmurans id deposcit ad abluendumque manus ac deinde se preparat et coaptet per uberiores cordis concusiones per iugem lacrimarum effusionem ad sacrificium deo placabile celebrandum tam pro vivis quam pro mortuis in quo nostre redempcionis summa consistit, attendatque iugiter ad illud domini exhortantis et dicentis mundamini qui fertis vasa domini.³

Ordo surgendi et aperiendi hostia Quo intervallo feretrarius qui dicitur temporalis hostia ecclesie patefaciet populo denunciens per sonitum campane trina vice tempus concurrendi ad missam sancti Thome peregrinosque et viatores siqui sint invitans et convocans ad eandem. ***Duo Clerici preparant altare*** Quo audito sonitu duo clerici servientes in officio prenotato confestim accelerabunt ac altare sancti Thome decenter cum honestis ornamentis adornabunt ceteraque preparabunt que diem instantem et missam ibidem celebrandam concernunt. Requirent insuper unum vel utrumque feretrarium de vestimento exponendo omni die qui diligenter considerabit diem instantem an sit trium leccionum, duodecim, in albis vel supra ex cuius consideracione, discrecione et assignacione illud quod magis adaptatur diei et festo instanti requirent et exponent.

1 causa

2 Idcirco

3 Isaiah 52:11.

Both will spend the night in the same place

Furthermore both of them, on account of their office and for safeguarding the place, shall spend the night in the same place,¹ so they say the canonical hours there at the appropriate time and the Mass of St. Thomas with the appropriate collects in the manner and order which is set out below. On Sunday the spiritual shrine-keeper will rise to start his work, with the time of his rising in the morning and the celebration of Mass according to the two distinct seasons of the year;² unless it is an occasion when a great crowd of people have come or another unusual event has been scheduled. The time in winter is around six o'clock, and the time in summer is around five o'clock, and Mass is celebrated at the conventional time unless such an occasion as we have mentioned above forces the shrine-keepers to conduct it before.

Sunday

Therefore on Sundays and during the week, except on Tuesdays,³ the shrine-keepers rise in the morning as noted above, at which time the one who is called the spiritual descends to confession if his fretting conscience demands it, and to wash his hands, and then prepares and fits himself, through copious prickings of the heart and through continual flowing of tears, to celebrate the sacrifice pleasing to God in which our redemption, as much for the living as the dead, wholly consists. He shall always pay attention to that which the Lord exhorts and says: "be clean, you who carry the vessels of the Lord."

The order of rising and opening the doors

During this time the shrine-keeper called the temporal will open the doors of the church to the people, announcing by ringing the bell three times that it is the time to assemble for the Mass of St. Thomas, inviting and summoning pilgrims and travellers, if there are any, to the same.

Two clerks prepare the altar

On hearing the bell, the two clerks serving the shrine will immediately make haste and appropriately adorn the altar of St. Thomas with worthy ornaments and in other respects prepare things according to the particular day and the mass to be celebrated. They will enquire of one or the other shrine-keeper as to the vestments to be set out each day, who will then carefully examine whether that day is a three-lesson feast, a twelve-lesson feast, a feast *in albis* or higher; and from this examination, discernment, and direction the clerks call for and set out that which is most fitting to the present day and feast.⁴ Then the spiritual shrine-keeper, cleansed through the influence of God's power from all

¹ This probably means the shrine chapel in general, but more specifically the upper chamber which was the shrine-keepers' living quarters. See introduction, pp. 12–13.

² Summer was from Easter to September 30; Winter from October 1 to Easter: Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, xxiii–xxiv.

³ For the Tuesday routine see the section below and discussion in the introduction, pp. 22–23.

⁴ For the grades of feasts see the introduction, pp. 24–26.

Tunc feretrarius spiritualis mundus per dei potencie influenciam ab omni rubigine peccati ad altare devote accedat missam celebraturus, cui feretrarius qui dicitur temporalis assistet obsequendo et ministrando in omnibus iuxta doctrinam ecclesie usitatam, finito offertorio primus clericus indutus super pellicio accedet cum turribulo cui celebrans inponet thimiama sive incensum incensetque¹ et thurrificet hostiam, calicem, et altare, deinde incedens per sinistram partem altaris circueundo feretrum cuius singula loca deprecatoria thurificet seu incenset, veniensque ad dextram partem altaris transvertat se et incenset socium suum de quo idem socius thurribulum mox resumat et incenset missam missam celebrantem. Hiis itaque peractis celebrans missam declinet ad medium altaris incipiens lavabo inter innocentes manus meas et cetera.² Cui transvertenti socius ut predicatur aquam manibus ministrabit, ac deinde ad altare denuo accedat residuum misse incepte devotissime impleturus a quo more solito Agnus dei dicto trina vice. Feretrarius astans et osculans prius altare sumet osculum pacis quod clericus prenotatus sumet per suum ministerium deferet ceteris astantibus ut unusquisque ad augmentum sue salutis tanti sacrificii particeps fieri mereatur³ missa itaque finita ad dei laudem et honorem ac Evangelio beati Iohannis incepto more consueto Feretrarius astans et ministrans et clericus festinanter accedant ad altare et involuant vestimentum cum tuellis in altari eadem auferendo omni possibili acceleratione ne populus ibidem in dicta missa moram trahens et ex frigore vel itinere forte lacessitus cupiens et affectans festinacius sua numera deo et beato martiri offerre sit prepeditus quomodolibet ab altari.

Cerei illuminandi Item in inicio misse sancti Thome de cuius observanciis prout memorie occurrebant superius pertractavimus Subclericus illuminare debet quatuor cereos super feretrum antedictum ac ceteros cereos et candelas, qui vel que in dicto officio ratione devocius reponuntur necnon super trabem duodecim cerei maioris et quadrate forme continue continentur quorum sex per alternos omni die ardebunt. Et quando festum in albis vel supra evenerit omnes seriatim illuminentur qui et omnes premissi tempore congruo per antedictum subclericum extinguentur.

Item missa peracta ut prefertur feretrarius temporalis faciet comptum de recepto ebdomade precedentis ac eciam solvet stipendia clericorum ac alia que sunt solvenda ut in quaterno de recepto eorumdem plenius continetur.

¹ possibly a mistake for incendetque.

² Psalm 25:6–12.

³ Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, IIIa q.82 a.4 contra: “Quicumque autem sacrificium offert, debet fieri sacrificii particeps.”

corrosion of sin, devoutly approaches the altar to celebrate Mass, at which the shrine-keeper called the temporal will assist, obeying and ministering in all things according to the customary teaching of the church. At the end of the offertory the first clerk clothed in a surplice shall approach with a thurible, which the celebrant fills with incense and sets alight, and censes the host, the chalice, and the altar. He then censes from the left part of the altar going around the shrine, which he censes in each of the places of prayer, coming to the right part of the altar he turns aside and censes his companion who takes the thurible next and censes the celebrant. And so with these things having been done the celebrant descends from the middle of the altar and begins the "Lavabo."¹ His companion (the temporal shrine keeper as stated above), going across, ministers to the water for his hands, and then the celebrant should approach the altar again, most devotedly finishing the rest of the Mass saying the "Agnus Dei" three times in turn, according to the usual custom. The shrine-keeper, standing and kissing the front of the altar, takes up the pax which the aforesaid clerk accepts, carrying it down as part of his ministry to the others who are standing by so that each one, to the advancement of his salvation, may earn the right to share in such a great sacrifice. And so with the Mass having ended to the praise and honour of God, and the Gospel of the Blessed John having been begun through the usual custom, the shrine-keeper standing and ministering and the clerk promptly go to the altar and wrap up the altar cloth with the towels on the altar, carrying them away with all possible speed lest people are staying behind at the aforesaid Mass and, perhaps provoked by the cold or their journey, wishing and desiring quickly to offer their penny to God and the blessed martyr, should have been in any way impeded from the altar.

Lighting the candles

At the start of the Mass of St. Thomas, of which observances we dealt with above just as the recollections came to mind, the subclerk must light four candles on the aforementioned shrine and the other candles and tapers which are most devoutly arranged in accordance with the said subclerk's duty, and also the twelve candles of large and square appearance which are always on the beam, of which six alternately will burn every day. And when it is a feast *in albis* or higher the whole row shall be lit. Any and all of the aforesaid will be put out by the said subclerk at the agreed time.

The Mass having finished as set out above, the temporal shrine-keeper will make a calculation of the money received in the previous week and pay the wages of the clerks and other things which have to be paid so that in the quarterly account these may be clearly seen.

¹ "I will wash my hands among the innocent," recited towards the end of the offertory and during which the priest washed his hands.

Sit unus feretrarius vel unus alius confrater ibidem presens Item feretrarius spiritualis post missam sancti Thome quolibet die nisi alia causa legitima obstiterit descendere potest ad audiendum missam de horis canonicis socio suo medio tempore in officio moram trahente, quia expedit et omnino convenit excepta hora refeccionis ut unus de feretrariis sit ibidem semper presens vel ad alterius eorum instanciam unus alius de confratribus subrogatus. Deinde feretrarius temporalis¹ descendat, preparet, et dirigat se ad missam domino celebrandam. In missa vero matutinali teneatur in propria persona chorum vestire, et hora capitulari pariter interesse. Insuper cum ad horam terciam signum sonuerit accedat celerius ad feretrum quo socius suus feretrarius spiritualis possit liberius ad terciam horam accedere, si tamen hora premissa sit solemnis, subsequenterque in summa missa interesse personaliter teneatur.

Fiat scrutinium in officio tam ante prandium quam post vesperas Item cum summa Missa fuerit finaliter peracta et novissima hora ante horam prandii incepta verciculo in eadem incepto feretrarius per suos ministros claudet seu obserabit tutissime hostia officii ac primus clericus cum aliquo instrumento invasivo vel defensivo, scrutinium diligenter faciet in singulis locis obscuris et angulis suspectis in quibus aliquis perniciosi ingenii latrocinium quod absit <2v> operaturus clamdestine latere posset vel in quibus aliquis canis relictus seu rabidus se latenter occultaret. Et dum hec aguntur feretrarius prudenter in propria persona apertum hostium conservabit ut nullus interim se ignorante exitum habeat vel ingressum, ut locus per dei gratiam et sancti martiris presenciam intus et extra sit tutus pariter et munitus, et sic omnibus caute clusis ad locum refeccionis sibi presignatum cum aliis confratribus² se divertat.

Feretrarius commedens in refectorio Item post refeccionem sive prandium conventus et pro generali regula teneatur quod tali die quo feretrarius vice sortis sue in Refectorio comederit postmodum singulos introitus ecclesie consueta patefaciet officiumque in propria persona per residuum diei tempus ad officium attendet hora cene solemnis seu private dumtaxat excepta hora collacionis secundum tempus anni quibus socius eiusdem diligenter ad officium devertet et attentius conservabit, usque ad explecionem cene predictae.

1 Word erased and temporalis inserted in a different closely contemporary hand.

2 Inserted superscript.

One of the shrine-keepers or one other brother shall be present

After the Mass of St. Thomas the spiritual shrine-keeper each day, if he has not been prevented by another legitimate cause, shall go down to hear the Mass of the canonical hours; his companion in the meantime stays behind in accordance with his duty, because it is expedient and entirely appropriate, except in the meal hour, that one of the shrine-keepers should always be present in that place, or one of their fellow-monks nominated to stand in for one or the other of them. Then the temporal shrine-keeper shall go down, prepare and set himself to celebrate the Lord's Mass. In this Morrow Mass he should personally adorn the choir with his presence, and equally he must be present at chapter. When the bell has been rung for the hour of Terce he shall quickly go to the shrine so that his companion the spiritual shrine-keeper may more freely go to the hour of Terce, if that hour is solemn, and subsequently be present at High Mass in person.

Let the shrine be searched before dinner as after Vespers

When High Mass has been completed and the versicle of the last hour before the dinner hour¹ has been started, the shrine-keeper will tell the clerks to securely close or bolt the doors of the shrine. The first clerk with some attacking or defensive instrument will make a careful search in every dark place and suspect corner in which anyone of wicked nature would have been able secretly to hide in order, God forbid, to commit robbery, or in which any abandoned or wild dog could have concealed itself unnoticed. While these things are being done the shrine-keeper, prudently, personally guards the open door so that no-one may enter or exit without his knowledge, so that the place, through the grace of God and the presence of the holy martyr, may be both safe and secured, and thus with everything having been carefully shut up he goes to the refectory with the other brethren.

The shrine-keeper eats in the refectory

After the conventual refecton or dinner (and as a general rule), it shall be maintained that on such a day when a shrine-keeper in his turn shall have eaten in the refectory,² afterwards he will open each customary entrance of the church, and for the remaining time of the day he will personally attend to the shrine until the hour of solemn or private supper,³ or the hour of collation according to the time of the year, during which the companion of the same will diligently go to the shrine and attentively keep watch over it until the end of the aforesaid supper.

1 Sext in summer, Nones in winter.

2 As at least half the monastic community had to be present in the refectory at each meal, there was a rota to ensure that this was the case, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:818. The shrine-keepers alternated which of them had to eat in the refectory that day.

3 Supper was provided from Easter to September 14 (not including Wednesdays and Fridays following Pentecost), outside of which a lighter collation was provided. See the Introduction for a discussion of this section.

Ordo aperiendi hosti post nonam Item aliis temporibus et diebus per anni circulum alter Feretrariorum alternis diebus post horam nonam idem onus aperiendi hostia et recipiendi peregrinos subeat et succumbat, cuius socius in vesperis de die in procesionibus et in exequiis solempnioribus cum et quandocumque contigerint personaliter perseveret, quibus expletis mox ad Feretrum redeat, et ille qui ibidem per ante steterat ad libitum recedat temporeque congruo ad locum cenandi sibi presignatum accedat.

Servatur prandium in cena pro feretrario tarde veniente Et nota quod uterque feretrarius tam in hora prandii quam in hora cene, si opus fuerit conservare debet ferculum competens pro socio suo altero feretrario, si tamen idem feretrarius ratione sui officii ad prandium sive ad cenam accelerandi fuerit prepeditus.

Completorum dicenda Item ut iidem Feretrarii apciores et deo digniores inventiantur nocte media in surgendo ac die subsequente celebrando, ante ignitegium cum omni maturitate se ad suum dirigant officium. **Reverencia sanctorum ab intrantibus debetur deo et beato martiri** Et intrantibus illis hostium officii vel altero eorum intrante honor precipuus et condigna reverencia deo primitus et beato martiri exhibeantur. **ponatur Clavis in signum sue presencie** Et si contigerit alterum eorumdem post alium forte propter necessaria retardare, ille qui primo intravit ac completoria compleverit ponat clavem officii in loco eminentiori in notabile signum, ut alius feretrarius subintrans ex hoc connicere possitque supputare socium suum fore presentem personaliter in officio sepe dicto. Summumque silentium inibi dictis completoriis observetur prout in Regula Beati Benedicti clarius elucessit.

The order of opening the doors after Nones

At other times and days in the yearly cycle, each of the shrine-keepers on alternate days after the hour of Nones¹ shall submit to and undertake the same work of opening the doors and receiving pilgrims. His companion shall personally participate in the day's Vespers and the processions and solemn exequies, when and whenever they occur, and when they have been completed he shall afterwards return to the shrine, and the one who remained at the shrine is free to retire, and at the agreed time go to the place where he will eat.

Keeping dinner or supper for the shrine-keeper who is held back

And note that one or the other shrine-keeper, both in the dinner hour and in the supper hour, if necessary must save adequate food for his companion the other shrine-keeper, if that same shrine-keeper has been impeded by reason of his duty from quickly going to dinner or supper.

Having said compline

In order that the same shrine-keepers may be found more fitting and worthy to God when rising in the middle of the night and when celebrating the subsequent day, they must direct themselves with all haste back to the shrine chapel before the curfew.

Reverence of the saints on entering is owed to God and the blessed martyr

And when both or one of them enter the door of the shrine chapel particular honour and appropriate reverence must be shown first to God and then the blessed martyr.

Placing the key to show his presence

And if it happens that one of them by chance has been delayed through necessity, the one who entered the shrine first and has finished Compline shall place the key of the shrine chapel in a prominent place as a clear sign, so that the other shrine-keeper coming in is able to see and compute from this that his companion is personally present in the shrine chapel as stated. Total silence is to be observed there following compline, as is clearly stated in the Rule of St. Benedict.

¹ Between Easter and September 14 the monks had a communal siesta after dinner, followed by Nones, during which time the cathedral and precinct were closed, CCA DCc-Register/A, fol. 223v.

<3r> **Processio in feria secunda** Omni feria secunda per anni revolutionem exceptis, Vigilia et die Natalis domini, Festo Pasche, Festo Pentecostes, et quatuor precipue festis beate virginis Matris dei Conventus in fine vesperarum deum collaudando in suo martire processionem faciet ad feretrum gloriosi martiris memorati in qua feretrarius stans in loco consueto anteque pene expleta deferet librum ad sacerdotem summe misse vel ad eiusdem subrogatum tradens eidem librum collectam dicendum in specie assignando, et dum Collecta solempni voce decantatur feretrarius tenebit locum proximorem post sacerdotem vel eius deputatum sicut consuetudo edocet hactenus usitata.

Feria tertia Tanto namque uberiore celebritate et ampliore devocione instinctu divino patres nostri antiquiores diem martis pre ceteris diebus Ebdomade venerari statuerunt in hoc loco quanto in die Martis septem miranda circa martirem sanctum Thomam christi militem invincibilem provenerunt, que septem annotanda et crebrius recitanda hic inserere serius affectamus.

Igitur sanctus Thomas in die Martis videlicet in die sancti Thome apostoli ex cuius nomine parentes sui nomen eidem imposuerunt, natus fuit in illa famosa Civitate que londoniensi Anno verbi dei incarnati millesimo centesimo vicesimo.

Item, in die Martis apud Northamtone Rex et principes regni et tenebrarum convenientes in unum sederunt adversus cristum domini videlicet sanctum Thomam in notabilem eversionem ecclesiastice libertatis Anno domini millesimo c^{mo} lxiii.

Item in die Martis quia sanctus Thomas prenotatus noluit obtemporare consiliis et petitionibus principum premissorum set se constanter opposuit murum pro domo domini¹ actus est in exilium cum tota cognacione Anno supradicto, videlicet anno domini M.C.lxiii.

Item ut ecclesia Dei universalis per immutabilem constanciam et passionem triumphalem² sancti Thome in suis libertatibus plenius effloret in die martis in monasterio Pontiniacensi insonuit eidem vox de sublimi dicens Thoma Thoma ecclesia mea glorificabitur in sanguine tuo.

Item sanctus Thomas septimo anno sui exilii sub pace simulanti reformata reveniens ab exilio in die martis videlicet in crastino sancti Andree apostoli applicuit apud Sandwych ipso ducente cui venti obediunt atque mare Anno domini M.C.lxx.

¹ Cf. Ezekiel 13:5, but also a common medieval metaphor; Nicholas Morton, "Walls of Defence for the House of Israel: Ezekiel 13:5 and the Crusading Movement," in *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 403–20.

² triumphalem

Procession on Monday

On each Monday throughout the cycle of the year, excepting Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, and the four principal feasts of the blessed Virgin Mother of God, at the end of Vespers the community, praising God in his martyr, will make procession to the shrine of the aforesaid glorious martyr, at which a shrine-keeper stands in the customary place. Just before the end of this he will carry the book to the celebrant of High Mass or to his substitute, handing over the same book so the appointed collect can be said. While the collect is being sung with solemn voice, the shrine-keeper will take his place quickly behind the priest or his substitute as custom teaches has been usual up to now.

Tuesday

As a day for even richer celebration and greater devotion, by divine inspiration our venerable fathers established Tuesdays to be honoured above all other days of the week in this place, because on Tuesdays seven miracles occurred regarding the martyr St. Thomas, invincible knight of Christ. Which seven we desire to insert here in fuller detail so they will be recorded and frequently read aloud.

(1) Thus St. Thomas was born on a Tuesday, on the day of St. Thomas the apostle whose name his parents gave him, in that famous city of London, in the year of the incarnate Word of God 1120.

(2) On a Tuesday at Northampton, the king and the lords of the realm (and of darkness) sat as one against the anointed of the Lord, which is to say St. Thomas, in their noted destruction of ecclesiastical liberty, in 1164.

(3) It was on a Tuesday that St. Thomas, refusing to submit to the counsels and petitions of the said lords but constantly opposed to them, as a wall for the house of the Lord, was driven into exile with all his family, in 1164.

(4) So that the universal church of God, through the constancy and triumphal passion of St. Thomas, might more fully blossom in its liberties, on a Tuesday in the monastery of Pontigny a voice sounded to him from on high saying "Thomas, Thomas, My church will be glorified in your blood."

(5) St. Thomas had been seven years in exile when, following a deceptive restoration of peace, returning from exile on a Tuesday, which was the morrow of St. Andrew the Apostle, he landed at Sandwich, with Him who the wind and the sea obey leading on, in 1170.

[I]tem¹ sanctus Thomas ut fortis Athleta et miles Christi intrepidus pro ecclesie libertatibus dimicaturus Anno domini Millesimo centesimo lxx. Ætatis sue anno 1^o cum octo diebus plenarie completis. Anno vero presulatus eiusdem octavo cum triginta septimanis plenarie additis et completis iiii^o kalende Ianuarii Feria tertia hoc est <3v> in die Martis hora vespertina sub quatuor gladiis quatuor militum nephandorum se ipsum et ecclesie causam, deo, beate marie, Sanctis patronis huius ecclesie, et beato Dionisio commendans spiritum triumphalem ad celestia dirigebat.

Item sanctus Thomas quod divine providencie ascribimus non humane Anno verbi dei incarnati millesimo cc^oxx^o, anno vero a passione eiusdem quinquagesimo in die martis de terra in sublime ad illud aureum reclinatorium gloriosissime est translatus. **Si natalis domini feria tertia contigerit** Unde propter ista septem notabilia et omni memorie commendanda patres nostri quorum conceptum celebrem prosequi intendimus in hac parte statuerunt ut semper in die martis excepta die Natalis domini in die Martis contingente: missa solempnis in feretro dicti martiris habeatur modo et ordine qui secuntur. Nam in die Martis ut predicatur generaliter de aliis diebus ordo pulsandi hostia hostia aperiendi in omnibus observetur. **Missam in Officio corone** Deinde coronarius sive custos sacrate corone Sancti Thome in suo officio missam celebrabit vel alium substituet celebrare.

Missam sancti [Thome] in die Martis solempniter Item eodem die missa de beate virgine in navi ecclesie per confratres ibidem finita omnes premissi confratres ad feretrum Sancti Thome cum maturitate concurrent ad missam ibidem solempniter² celebrandam, quam missam celebraturus unus Confrater positus in tabula vice ordinis sui septimanatim ac duo diaconi ebdomodarii Evvangelii, et Epistole accelerabunt. Cuius officium Succentor Capa decenter indutus incipiet continuans regendo et assignando que in dicta missa sunt exequenda. In qua eciam missa octo cerei super feretrum et ceteri cerei³ et candelæ per circuitum in dicto officio continue ardebunt ad laudem dei et sancti martiris supradicti. **Feretarii sint presentes** Duo feretrarii sint presentes sacerdoti ministrantes et iugiter attendentes ut ordo et observancie regulares secundum tempus in eodem loco pro loco et tempore tamen non omnes ut in oratorio semper et plenarie observentur. **Sacerdos incenset** Insuper sacerdos incenset et thurificet ut superius in die dominica pertractatur.

1 The red capital has not been drawn in.

2 Inserted superscript.

3 cerei

(6) St. Thomas, that mighty champion and intrepid knight of Christ, fought for the liberties of the church in 1170. He was fifty years and eight days old. He had completed eight years and thirty weeks of his bishopric and on the fourth Kalends of January, a Tuesday, at the hour of Vespers, under the four swords of four wicked knights, commending himself and the cause of the Church to God, the blessed Mary, the patron saints of this church and the blessed Denis, he directed his triumphant soul to heaven.

(7) Saint Thomas, which name we ascribe to divine not human providence, in the year 1220, which was the fiftieth year from his passion, on a Tuesday was translated from the earth on high into that glorious golden resting-place.

If Christmas Day falls on a Tuesday

From that time forward because of those seven remarkable things, and in order that they will be committed to every memory, our fathers, whose customs we intend to follow, established that on every Tuesday (except if Christmas Day falls on that day) a solemn Mass should be held in the shrine of the martyr in the manner and order which follows. For on Tuesday as has been said of the other days, the order of knocking on and opening the doors shall in all respects be observed.

Mass in the Corona Chapel

Then the Coronarian, the custodian of the sacred crown of St. Thomas, will celebrate Mass in his chapel, or he substitutes another to celebrate.

The solemn Mass of St. Thomas on a Tuesday

The same day when the Mass of the Blessed Virgin in the nave of the church has been completed by the brothers there, all those brothers with haste assemble at the shrine of St. Thomas to solemnly celebrate Mass in that place, which Mass the brother appointed on that week's duty-roster will celebrate with the two "gospeller" and "epistoller" deacons for the week. Which office the Succentor, appropriately vested in a cope, will begin, guiding and directing that which should be done in the said Mass. In this same Mass eight candles on the shrine and other candles and tapers around the shrine chapel continually burn to the praise of God and the holy martyr.

The shrine-keepers shall be present

The two shrine-keepers shall be present, ministering to the priest and continually ensuring that the order and the observances proper to the season in that particular place shall always and fully be observed, for the observances of the place and season are not in all respects as in the choir.¹

The priest censes

The priest censes as set out above for Sunday.

¹ The observances in the shrine differ from those which the monks would know from Masses in the choir, see discussion in the introduction, pp. 18–23.

Duo Clerici portabunt torticios Insuper prefacione Misse finita duo Clerici superpelliciis induti duos torticios accensos deferent ad altare, quos duo feretrarii vel duo alii confratres eorum vice tenebunt ibidem usque ad tempus conveniens usitatum. Vestimentum pro missa predicta secundum tempus per discrecionem et assignacionem feretrarii exponatur.

In qua eciam missa visus continua depressio, silentii iugis continuacio, et omnis honestatis accio conserventur.

Feria quarta Item sicut multi et innumerabiles per suffragia Sancti Thome spiritualiter reficiuntur quod in scriptis nonnullis ac oculata fide perspeximus ita statuerunt patres nostri ut plures ex bonis deo et beato martiri oblatis corporaliter reficerentur.

Pietancia sacerdotis in summa Missa Unde feretrarii omni feria quarta, vel saltem in Sabbato sacerdoti in summa missa unam pietanciam precii xii d ministrabunt. Et si pisces in foro non habentur tunc feretrarii mittent eidem xii d. Exceptis certis officariis prout hic plenius excipiuntur, <4r> videlicet Coronario, Sacrista, Subsacrista, Thesaurarii, Custode martirii, Custode in criptis, Custode Tumbae, Gardiano maneriorum, Elemosinario, Berthonario, Capellano. Granetario et Camerario, quibus feretrarii non tenentur pietanciam ministrare.

Coronarius Item quia Coronarius sive Custos sacrate corone sancti Thome Martiris gloriosi coadiutor in assistencia in concilio pariter et auxilio racione sui officii feretrariis fore dinoscitur hic quedam curabimus inserere de eodem. Coronarius pro ampliore loci conservacione solebat in suo officio pro maiori parte pernoctare. Et si alter feretrariorum quacumque causa racionabili fuerit prepeditus quo minus nocte dieque suum officium more solito frequentare valeat, tunc Coronarius vices eiusdem feretrarii gerere tenetur atque ibidem pernoctando divinum servicium dicendo missarum celebracione assistendo, ministrando, obsequendo, sicut alter feretrarius si personaliter interesset. **Coronarius iacebit in officio suo** Insuper si Coronarius premissus eciam prepeditus fuerit consimili causa prout de feretrario prenotatur tunc per licenciam supprioris subrogabit et substituet alium confratrem ad voluntatem et complacenciam Feretrarii qui pondus et estus¹ officii in sui socii absentia portabit pariter et subibit.

¹ Cf. Matthew 20:12.

The two clerks carry torches

When the preface of the Mass has been finished two clerks vested in surplices carry two lighted torches to the altar, which the two shrine-keepers or two other brothers hold in turn at that place until the customary time.¹ The altar-cloth for this Mass shall be set out according to the season at the discretion and direction of the shrine-keeper. During this Mass continually lowered eyes, continual silence, and completely honourable behaviour should be maintained.

Wednesday

Since many and numberless people are spiritually restored through the intercession of St. Thomas, as we have seen in several writings and with our own eyes, so our fathers established that many should be restored in body through the things offered to God and the blessed martyr.

The pittance of the priest of High Mass

As such the shrine-keepers each Wednesday, or if not then on Saturday, give to the priest of High Mass a pittance of fish worth 12d. And if there are no fish to be had in the market then the shrine-keepers will give him 12d. Certain officials are excepted from this, the full list of those excluded being: the *coronarius*, the sacrist, the subsacrist, the treasurers, the custodian of the martyrdom, the custodian in the crypt, the custodian of the tomb, the warden of the manors, the almoner, the bartoner,² the prior's chaplain, the granator,³ and the chamberlain, to whom the shrine-keepers do not have to give a pittance.

The Coronarian

Because the Coronarian, or the custodian of the sacred crown of St. Thomas the glorious martyr, is equally assistant, counsel, and aid, by reason of his position, to the shrine-keepers, as has been seen, we will ensure to deal with him here.

The Coronarian sleeps in the Corona chapel

For the greater protection of the place the Coronarian has been accustomed to spend the night in the Corona chapel for the most part. And if either of the shrine-keepers shall have been impeded by reasonable cause, and through this is less able to continue in his customary duty, then the Coronarian is bound to take his place and spend the night in the shrine chapel, saying divine service, assisting, ministering, and obeying at the celebration of Masses, just as if the shrine-keeper were present. If the Coronarian is also impeded through a similar cause as the shrine-keeper then by licence of the subprior he nominates and substitutes another brother at the will and pleasure of the shrine-keeper who will equally bear and carry the burden of office in the absence of his companion. Nevertheless, no brother so admitted shall keep or carry the key to the doors of the shrine chapel in his hands during that time.

1 Until after the consecration of the host.

2 The monk in charge of the home farm of the Cathedral.

3 The monk responsible for the Cathedral's grain stores.

Coronarius egressurus tradet clauem officii Feretrariis Nichilominus talis confrater admissus ut prefertur nullam Clavem hostiorum dicti officii medio tempore supradicto penes se custodiet vel portabit. Coronarius eciam foris pernoctans extra septa monasterii Clavem officii feretri egressurus Feretrariis teneatur tradere conservandam.

Duo Clerici servientes ad Feretrum Item antiquorum patrum nostrorum discreta tradicio pro ampliore in omnibus conservacione loci statuens preordinavit, ut semper duo Clerici seculares pro rato et notabili stipendio forent in eodem officio servientes obsequentes et in omnibus feretrariis subditi et subiecti. Et quandocumque ex vacacione alterius Clericorum premissorum alter fuerit ad idem officium requisitus.

Iurabunt de tribus conservandis Feretrarii prudenter coherceant eundem in ingressu suo per iuramentum prestitum super Evvangelia sancta dei de tribus inviolabiliter conservandis, videlicet, de Fidelitate, sine finctione integraliter continuanda, de consilio loci et tocus monasterii sine prodicione probabiliter concelando, et de honore ecclesiam concernente sine hesitacione perpetualiter conservando. Item¹ Idem Clerici se sollicite gerent in omnibus ad idem officium spectantibus oblaciones absque fraude recipiendo quicquid inventum fuerit in eodem officio Feretrariis fideliter reddendo. Item neuter se absentabit ab officio aliquo tempore Feretrariis ignorantibus aut inconsultis. Semper et omnino peregrinos cum omni mansuetudine, affabilitate, et morositate convocando alloquendo respondendo. Item Subclericus in Criptis pernoctabit pro loci ampliore tuicione. Item cum contigerit sicut frequenter contingit peregrinos in ecclesia vel in Cimiterio adesse in mane, hora prandii, vel quaquumque hora, non valentes ad **<4v>** Feretrum accedere predicti Clerici et precipue Subclericus ad hoc diligenter attendentes mox Feretrariis de acceleracione et mora premissorum innotescere teneantur.² Et si talis casus ut predicatur utputa in estate evenerit, tunc Clerici predicti habent pulsare et tundere hostia in anteriore parte ecclesie, ut ex hoc Feretrarii connciant populum introitum expectasse, vel saltem tempus conveniens hostia aperienda.

¹ A marginal manicule with a tasselled sleeve points to this line.

² The same oath, in a slightly different form but making clear that this was common to all the secular clergy of the cathedral church, is preserved in the early sixteenth-century accounts of the Martyrdom chapel at Canterbury CCA DCc–LitMS/C/11, fol. 37r: “Nota de Iuramento clericorum in ecclesiam Christi Cantuarie in Ingressu primo in officio eorundem. Quandocumque ex vacacione clericorum in quolibet officio in ecclesiam predictam alter fuerit ad officium requisitus. Dominus prior seu custos eiusdem officii pendentis coherceat eundem in ingressu suo per iuramentam praestit super evangelia dei. De tribus involabiliter concervandis. Primo de fidelitate sine ficcone integraliter continuanda. Secundo de concilio loci et tocus monasterii sine prodicione probabiliter conservandis. Tercio de honore ecclesiam concernente sine hesitacione perpetualiter conservandis. Eciam non qua se absentabit aliquo tempore ab officio custodi ignorante vel inconsulto. Eciam semper et omino peregrinos cum omni mansuetudine affabilitate et morositate convocando alloquendo et respondendo. Eciam idem clericos se sollicite geret in omnibus ad idem officium exspectantibus, viz oblaciones absque fraude recipiendo fideliter reddendo. Et cum contigerit sicut frequenter contingit peregrinos in ecclesia adesse horam prandii et quacumque hora non valentes ad officum accedere, predictos clericos ad hoc diligenter attendes, mox custodi de acceleracionem mora premissorum innotescere teneatur.”

The Coronarian on leaving hands over the keys of the shrine to the shrine-keepers

The Coronarian, when spending the night abroad outside the walls of the monastery, on leaving shall hand over the key of the shrine chapel to the shrine-keepers for safe keeping.

The two clerks serving at the shrine

A prudent tradition of our venerable fathers, established for the greater protection of all things in the place, ordained that two secular clerks, for a fixed and specified wage, should always be serving obediently in the shrine, and in all things subordinate and subject to the shrine-keepers. And whenever there is a vacancy of one of the aforesaid clerks, another shall be requisitioned to the same office.

They swear to preserve three things

The shrine-keepers prudently constrain the clerk on his entry to the position by taking an oath on the Holy Gospels to devoutly observe three things, namely, 1) he will always act faithfully, entirely without guile; 2) he will, without treachery, commendably keep secret the counsel of the place and of the whole monastery; 3) he will always, without hesitation, conserve the honour of the church. The same clerks will carefully conduct themselves in all things, watching at the shrine, taking receipt of the offerings without fraud and faithfully handing over to the shrine-keepers anything found in the shrine chapel. Neither of them shall be away from the shrine at any time without the shrine-keepers' knowledge or without asking. Always and in every way pilgrims are to be gathered together, spoken to, and answered with every gentleness, friendliness, and deliberation. The subclerk will spend the night in the crypt for the better protection of the place. When it happens, as it frequently does, that pilgrims are present in the church or in the churchyard in the morning, at the hour of dinner, or at any other hour when they are not allowed to enter the shrine, the aforementioned clerks, and particularly the subclerk, diligently attend, soon making it known to the shrine-keepers about the need for haste and the delay to the pilgrims. And if such a case as this should occur, for example in summer, then the aforesaid clerks have to knock on and beat the doors at the front of the church, so that from this the shrine-keepers know that the people expect to be let in, at least at a time when it will be convenient to open the doors.

Item quanto dies per Annum occurrit solempnior, tanto concedet in dicto officio deo et sancto Martiri amplioerem reverenciam exhibere. **Festa Principalia et Secundaria** Unde in festis Principalibus et Secundariis, ad utrasque vespervas et in summa Missa octo Cerei super Feretrum et quatuor super altare accendantur. In principio equidem matutinarum subclericus accelerans ad idem officium accendet alternos Cereos de premissis, et octavo Responsorio incepto in choro omnes Cerei antedicti sint accensi. Item ponat tapetum ante altare. Et si Archiepiscopus in tali nocte ut premittitur in propria persona Matutinas celebraverit, tunc in principio illius psalmi Benedictus ambo Clerici presentes deferent in chorum duos torticios ministrantes lumen Archiepiscopo thurificanti summum Altare feretrum et cetera loca consueta. Si vero dominus Prior id executus fuerit tunc Subclericus tantum ibidem pesens¹ portabit sive deferet Torticium modo et ordine supradictis.

Festa principalia per annum viz xiii² Item certa Festa in suis circibus occurrunt que inter nos sunt festa principalia vulgariter nuncupata videlicet, Festum Omnium Sanctorum, Natalis domini, Passionis sancti Thome, Epiphantie domini, Annunciacionis beate virginis contingentis tepore³ Paschali, Sancti Elphegi, Sancti Dunstani, Ascencionis domini, Pentechoste, Sancte Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, Translacionis sancti Thome, et Assumpcionis sancte Marie, quolibet premissorum viginti Cerei in magna trabe supra maius altare tempore summe misse et utroque tempore vesperarum continue ardebunt et in matutinis tantum alterni usque ad Octavum Responsorium quo incepto cum eisdem ceteri illuminati ardebunt et more solito extinguantur. **Viginti Cerei super Trabem**

Item notandum est quod in die Omnium Sanctorum serei supradicti ardebunt ut predicatur, ac eciam dum placebo in Choro integre decantatur, nisi idem dies Omnium sanctorum Sabbato contigerit, quia cum E. sit littera dominicalis, ipso Anno dies Omnium sanctorum cadit in Sabbato quo die placebo in Choro non pretermittitur⁴ et cerei.

1 presens

2 “viz xiii” in black ink above.

3 tempore

4 The *Placebo* was omitted on Sundays, so as the sentence stands the “non” is a scribal error. There may have been some confusion between “pretermittitur” and “permittitur.”

Principal and Secondary feasts

As many solemn days occur throughout the year, so it is fitting to exhibit even greater devotion to God and the holy martyr in the shrine. Whence on the principal and secondary feasts, at both vespers and at High Mass, eight candles are lit on the shrine and four on the altar. At the beginning of Matins the subclerk, hastening to the shrine, shall light the alternate candles as set out above,¹ and when the eighth responsory has begun in choir all the said candles shall be lit. He places the carpet before the altar. And if the archbishop on such a night celebrates Matins in person, then at the beginning of the *Benedictus* both clerks carry torches into the choir, giving light to the archbishop as he censes the High Altar, the shrine, and the other customary places. However if the lord Prior does this then the subclerk alone carries or brings down a torch in the specified manner and order.

Principal feasts throughout the year, namely thirteen

Certain feasts occur in their turn, which we commonly call the Principal Feasts, which is to say: All Saints; Christmas; the Passion of St. Thomas; Epiphany; the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin if the feast occurs in Eastertide; St. Alphege;² St. Dunstan;³ the Ascension of the Lord; Pentecost; Trinity Sunday; Corpus Christi;⁴ the Translation of St. Thomas; and the Assumption of St. Mary.

The twenty candles on the beam

On these feasts twenty candles on the great beam above the High Altar burn continually through High Mass and both Vespers, and at Matins only alternate candles are lit until the beginning of the eighth responsory when the others shall be lit, and shall be put out in the usual manner.

¹ Actually set out below, perhaps the copyist's error.

² His Martyrdom on April 19. His Translation (June 8) and Ordination (November 19) were also celebrated at Canterbury, the liturgy for all three feasts partially survives in the Cathedral's fourteenth century "Burnt Breviary," CCA DCc-Add. MS/6a [Sanctorale transcription] 26-28, 43-45.

³ His Deposition on May 19. His Ordination (October 21) was also celebrated, the liturgy for both partly survives in the "Burnt Breviary" CCA DCc-Add. MS/6a [Sanctorale transcription] 36-40, 83-84.

⁴ Corpus Christi was given the status of a principal feast in the cathedral by a chapter ordinance of 1323, CCA DCc-Register/A, fol. 390r.

Dies Omnium sanctorum <5r> supradicti extinguantur ordine consueto. Item in hoc festo aliisque festis principalibus prenotatis sive secundariis vel quandocumque processio solempnis ad feretrum venerit, tapeta circa Feretrum decenter reponantur, secundum discrecionem feretrariorum. Et si Archiepiscopus vel Prior presens fuerit, tunc super pavementum ante feretrum una formula, scabellum, sive sedile cum¹ cooperatorio decencius collocetur cum Cereis super Feretrum et altare ut dicitur in predictis.

Feretarii debent vestiri in summa missa Item in omni festo quo Conventus revestitus fuerit in choro, consimili modo Feretrarii in suo officio revestiri pariter teneantur.

Dies Regressionis Nunc² Calamum nostrum quem spiritus sancti influencia iugiter inauret cum cordis iubilo attrahamus, diemque Regressionis invicti militis sancti Thome qua nostra vera mater ecclesia militans, inestimabilis gaudii augmentum noscitur assumpsisse cum suis observanciis diligentius pertractemus, licet enim martir prenotatus feria tertia in Crastino sanct³ Andree apostoli, apud Sandwycum noscitur applicuisse nichilominus patres nostri sufficienti deliberacione prehabita statuerunt et recenserunt ut solempnitas Regressionis eiusdem in die sequente qua in matrem suam sanctam Cantuariensem ecclesiam gressus felices direxit, dignis preconiorum laudibus celebraretur. Cuius memoria non delebitur per secula infinita. Igitur feretrarii in officio premissis ministrantes sint solliciti satagentes ut presens dies Regressionis in omnibus tanto celebrrior habeatur, quanto in eodem universalis ecclesia cum triumpho peracto in suis libertatibus propensius respirabat, ut felices sint locus et ecclesia in quibus Thome viget memoria. Unde in vigilia huius Regressionis hora finita in oratorio ante horam prandii mox octo Cerei super feretrum accendantur, qui continue ardebunt usque in finem et explecionem Completorii in choro in die subsequente.

1 Inserted superscript.

2 The capital contains a sketch in red of a tonsured head.

3 sancti

All Saints

Note that on the day of All Saints the above-mentioned candles burn in the said manner, and also while the *Placebo* is being fully sung in choir, unless All Saints falls on a Saturday (when E is the dominical letter, in that year All Saints falls on a Saturday), when the *Placebo* is not sung in the choir and the said candles are extinguished in the customary order.¹ On this feast and other principal and secondary feasts, or whenever a solemn procession comes to the shrine, carpets are appropriately arranged around the shrine, according to the discretion of the shrine-keeper. And if the archbishop or the prior are present then on the pavement before the shrine a bench, stool, or seat with suitable coverings is placed, with candles on the shrine and altar as is set out above.

The shrine-keepers should be vested at High Mass

In all feasts where the community is vested in the choir, in similar fashion the shrine-keepers should equally be vested in the shrine chapel.²

The feast of the Return of St. Thomas

Now let us draw our pen (may the inspiration of the Holy Spirit continually enrich it) with joyful heart, and let us diligently describe with its observances the day of the return of that invincible knight St. Thomas, on which our holy mother, the Church militant, found an increase of inestimable joy. Although, as noted above, the martyr is actually known to have landed at Sandwich on a Tuesday, the day after the feast of St. Andrew, nevertheless after sufficient deliberation our fathers formerly established and revised it that the solemnity of his Return was to be on the next day, when he set his happy feet in his holy mother church of Canterbury, so it could be celebrated with the appropriate dignity of worship. May its memory never be erased! Therefore the shrine-keepers ministering in the shrine should work diligently for the greater renown of the day of the Return to all (as through the same the universal Church has breathed more readily with complete triumph in its liberties) so that the place and the church in which St. Thomas' memory thrives shall be happy. As such, on the vigil of the Return when the hour before dinner³ is finished in the choir the eight candles on the shrine should next be lit, and continue to burn until the end and completion of Compline in the choir on the following day.

1 The instruction is given in the rubric of the "Burnt Breviary" that from All Saints' Day to the Feast of the Purification (Feb 2nd), with the exception of Christmas week or when the following day was a feast of twelve lessons, the *Placebo* was to be sung in the choir after Vespers, and the following day after the second nocturne of Matins the *Dirige* was to be sung with its associated psalms, lessons, and responses. As Sundays were always a feast of twelve lessons, if All Saints' Day fell on a Saturday then in accordance with this rubric the *Placebo* would not be sung after Vespers. CCA DCC-Add. MS/6a [Sanctorale transcription], 86-87.

2 On feast days *in albis* or *in capis*, when the monks wore albs or copes in choir, the shrine-keepers should wear theirs at the shrine.

3 Nones, as it was winter.

Item Clericus sive Serviens Subsacriste eodem die requiret a feretrariis septem Cereos septem librarum deferetque eosdem in Chorum collocans ante Reliquias ecclesie, qui in vespers utriusque diei et in summa Missa continue ardebunt, et in matutinis alterni usque ad viii Responsorium, ac deinde omnes sint accensi in notabilem memoriam septem Annorum in quibus vir dei nonnullas iniurias, contumelias, dampna graviora, livoresque enormes pro iure ecclesie est expertus. Et expleto servicio utriusque diei supradictus serviens predictos Cereos ad Feretrum denuo reportabit. Item utroque die processio solemnns ad feretrum dirigitur ordine consueto. Item in hoc Festo recollendo illi xx^{ti} cerei in magna trabe supra maius altare ardebunt prout supra in Festis Principalibus plenius explanatur. Item in die huius Regressionis missa de beata virgine in navi ecclesie finaliter peracta, missa solempnior quo fieri possit mox ad feretrum celebretur, quam missam Confratrem celebraturum et utrumque diaconum Succentor ratione sui officii subrogabit, nisi iste <5v> dies evenerit die martis. Item Succentor portabit Capam in ista et in omni Missa solempni inibi de predicto martire celebranda. Item subsequenter post vespers signo facto a presidente Claustri tempore congruo ad ultimam potacionem in Refectorio: Feretrarii in refeccionem Conuentus ibidem providere et transmittere tenentur in Refectorium eadem hora ii libri et dimidiam Confectionum, i libri et dimidiam drageti, iii lagenas vini, et si opus fuerit hiis maiora provideant, in signum excellentissime caritatis sancti Thome et memoriale perhenne quatuor notabilium que isto die idem gloriosus pontifex suo Conventui ostendere est dignatus videlicet Formam humilitatis ostendendo, modum oracionis faciendo, osculum pacis exhibendo et specierum ac potuum habundanciam graciosissime largiendo, in cuius memoriam talis consuetudo prenotata inolevit ac per successus temporum ad nostra presencia tempora divinatur.

Pietancia Conventus in aduentu domini Quia in adventu domini algor asperiorsolet inhorrescere ac alimenti maioris substanci dinoscitur esse restrictio quibus subiecti humani fragilitas minus fortis perhibetur ad [orans] in oratorio toleranda que merito maiore sollicitudine hiis diebus ad laudem dei excercetur inito consilio antiquorum patrum recensetur ut Feretrarii predicti omni feria quinta adventu domini, confratres comedentes ad Mensam Magistrorum in infirmaria [et] in Cameris ipsius Infirmarie egrotantes reficire teneantur cum quadam pietancia ex tribus generibus Piscium vel saltem ex duobus cum aliquo pulmento [a]dd[enda et] confectione sufficienti. Et si Copia Piscium in ipsa die minime inveniatur [.....]¹ Feretrarius temporalis accedet ad Capitulum ipso die se suumque socium sedens [in or]dine suo plenarie excusaturus, innuens Conventui illud vulgare. Quod differtur non aufertur. Quod quidem supplebitur proximiori die quo copia piscium affore dinoscetur.

¹ Two words lost.

On the day of the feast the clerk or the subsacrist's servant asks the shrine-keepers for seven candles of seven pounds, which he takes down to the choir, arranging them before the relics of the church. These burn continually through Vespers and High Mass on both days, and at Matins they are lit alternately until the eighth responsory, and then all shall be lit in particular memory of the seven years in which the man of God was tested by many injuries, insults, oppressive damages, and immense bruises for the sake of the rights the church. And after the service on both days the aforementioned servant once more carries the said candles back to the shrine. On each day a solemn procession is made to the shrine in the usual manner. On this feast it will be remembered that twenty candles burn on the great beam over the High Altar just as fully explained above for the principal feasts. On the day of the Return, the Mass of the Blessed Virgin in the nave of the church having ended, an even more solemn Mass (as far as that is possible) should be celebrated next at the shrine. At which Mass the Succentor, by reason of his office, shall nominate the brother celebrating and both deacons, if that day is not a Tuesday.¹ The Succentor wears a cope in this and in every solemn Mass of the said martyr celebrated in that place. Subsequently, after Vespers, the Subprior signals for the last pittance in the Refectory at the appropriate time. For the maintenance of the community the shrine-keepers are bound to provide and give out in the refectory at that hour: two and a half pounds of comfits; one and a half pounds of sweetmeats; and three gallons of wine, and if needed they provide more than this, as a sign of the most excellent charity of St. Thomas and in perpetual memory of the four notable things which on that day the glorious bishop deigned to show to his community, namely: the appearance of humility which is to be exhibited; the manner of prayer which is to be adopted; the kiss of peace which is to be presented; and the abundance of spices and drinks which is most graciously to be bestowed. In memory of these the excellent custom noted above grew, and is seen through successive ages to our present time.

Pittances of the community in Advent

Because in Advent the cold tends to bite more savagely, and the restricted provision of sustenance is felt,² which makes a man become frail and lessens his strength to bear <praying> in the choir, though greater solicitude on these days, to the praise of God, it is practiced, as decided by our fathers of old, that the shrine-keepers every Thursday in Advent are bound to go to the afflicted brothers eating in the *Mensa Magistrorum* in the infirmary³ <and> in the rooms of the infirmary, with a certain pittance of three kinds of fish, or at least of two and another cooked dish, and sufficient dessert. And if fish can only be found in short supply on that day <.....>, then the temporal shrine-keeper shall go to chapter, his companion staying behind <in> his place, and fully explain, saying to the community that, as is commonly said, "that which is postponed is not taken away". Because, indeed, it will be supplied on the next day when plentiful fish will be found in the markets.

1 If the Return fell on a Tuesday then there would be monks designated to celebrate a solemn Mass at the shrine anyway, but otherwise the Succentor would choose from those who had been present at the Lady Mass and were not otherwise due to celebrate Mass that day.

2 Advent was a period of fasting.

3 The dining hall of the infirmary.

Siquidem sub brevioribus verbis tractavimus de Adventu domini et ex hoc intueri quisquis potest quod terminus Natalis domini propius instat erga quem terminum feretrarii prudenter preparent et preordinent tanquam fideles ministri martiris gloriosi pecunias pro oblacionibus Confratrum ac eciam pro quibusdam et certis servientibus infra scepta Monasterii prout in Rotulis de temporibus elapsis plenius continetur. Unde in vigilia Natalis domini vel die precedente per unum confratrem ad hoc subrogatum transmittere teneantur in nomine et auctoritate sancti Thome cuius beneficia tam validis quam languidis extenduntur. **Oblaciones fratrum in festo Natalis domini** Suppriori iii s. Magistro Theologie ii s. Doctori iuris ii s. Tercio priori ii s. Quarto priori ii s. duobus Penitenciariis iii s. Lectori ii s. Subcelerario ii s. Subcapellano ii s. **<6r>** portitori dicatarum oblacionum xii d. pro suo labore. **Officarii excipiuntur** Cuilibet feretrariorum xii s. ac cuilibet alteri confrati in monasterio conversanti xii d. exceptis Officiariis subscriptis, videlicet, Coronario, Sacrista, Subsacrista, Thesaurariis, Precentore, Succentore, et Tercio Cantore quia percipiunt stipendia ibidem, Custode Martirii, Custode in Criptis, Custode Tumbe, Gardiano, Celerario, Elemosinario, Berthonario, Granetario, Camerario, et Capellano, quos omnes consuetudo laudabilis excipit et excusat.

Portabunt oblaciones alternis vicibus Item duo Feretrarii habent duos confratres conductos pro stipendio competenti custodientes servicia predictorum feretrariorum qui et portabunt alternis vicibus oblaciones eorumdem.

Quanto¹ inter cetera anni festa recolenda sacratissima dies Natalis domini merito prefulget, qui pro redempcione generis humani vasti temporaliter voluit prodiens ex matris utero, qui erat patris imperio,² tanto quisquis se obligacionem conspiciat seque instancius coaptet ad divina obsequia in hac solempnitate tam celebri exequenda. **Vigilia Natalis domini** Item licet vigilia³ Natalis domini domini⁴ feria secunda evenerit nulla erit processio ad feretrum, nec umquam in die Natalis domini. Igitur in vigilia huius Natalis domini duo Feretrarii sicut omnes alii confratres in monasterio conversantes preter ipsos quos molestia cuiuscumque egritudinis prepediit ad laudes videlicet Iudea et ierusalem in oratorio solempniter decantandas accedant pariter et concurrent, ut ex hoc labore tam exili noctis dieique sequencium onera maiora in obsequio divino subeant apciores.

¹ A large red capital I has been mistakenly inserted before the Q of Quanto.

² Taken from part of the seventh lesson of Christmas Day Matins according to the "Burnt Breviary": "...quia in eo christus pro redemptione mundi nasci corporaliter uoluit, prodiens ex uirginis utero qui erat in patris imperio..." CCA DCc-Add. MS/6a [Temporale transcription], 11.

³ Inserted superscript.

⁴ sic

Gifts of the brothers at Christmas; the excepted officials

We have, certainly, treated Advent in few words, and from this anyone is able to see that the term-day of Christmas is very near, towards which term-day the shrine-keepers, as faithful servants, prudently prepare and set in order, as faithful ministers of the glorious martyr; money for the gifts of their fellow monks and likewise for those, of certain and fixed position, serving in the precincts of the monastery, just as is fully set out in the rolls of times past. Whence on Christmas Eve, or the day before, they are bound to send, through a brother nominated for this purpose, in the name and authority of St. Thomas, whose blessings are extended as much to the strong as to the weak: to the Subprior 3s; the Master of Theology 2s; the Doctor of Law 2s; the Third Prior 2s; the Fourth Prior 2s; the two Penitentiaries 4s; the Lector 2s; the Subcellarer 2s; the Subchaplain 2s; the carrier of these offerings 12d for his labour. To each of the feretrations 12d and to each of the other brothers dwelling in the monastery 12d excepting the officials here written: the Coronarius, the Sacristan, the Subsacrist, the Treasurers, the Precentor, the Succentor, and the third Cantor, because they are paid at that time. Laudable custom removes and exempts the Custodian of the Martyrdom, the Custodian of the Crypt, the Custodian of the Tomb, the Warden,¹ the Cellarer, the Almoner, the Bartoner, the Granator, the Chamberlain and the Chaplain from all of this.

They bring the gifts in turn

The two shrine-keepers have two fellow monks, hired on an appropriate wage, taking care of the services of the aforesaid shrine-keepers, to whom they bring gifts in turn.²

Christmas Eve

As much as among the other feasts of the year the recollection of the most holy day of the birth of the Lord rightfully shines, “who for the redemption of the whole human race wished to come forth at that time from his mother’s womb, at the command of his father;” so everyone should be more bound to observe and urgently fit themselves to perform divine service in this solemnity, so widely renowned. If it happens that Christmas Eve falls on a Tuesday there will be no procession to the shrine, nor should there ever be on Christmas Day. Therefore on Christmas Eve the two shrine-keepers, like all the other brothers dwelling in the monastery except those who are hindered through the trouble of some sickness, shall both go to and assemble at Lauds, namely the solemn chanting of “Judea et Jerusalem”³ in the choir, so that by this little labour they will be better prepared for the great burden of divine office during the following night and day.

1 The Warden of the manors.

2 Two monks acted as the substitutes of the shrine-keepers in choir when either or both were performing their duties in the shrine.

3 The first antiphon of Lauds on Christmas Eve, CCA DCc–Add. MS/6a, 10.

Cerei accendantur Item in principio laudum predictarum Subclericus accedet et accendet illos viginti Cereos in trabe magna supra maius altare moram trahens ibidem dum laudes decantantur, medioque tempore utroque inferiore hostio obserato. **Processio in Criptis** Item subsequenter in nocte Natalis domini duo Feretrarii descendent et coniungent se¹ conventui in processione cum illa devota antiphona. O beata lactencium. Item uterque Feretrarius in missa ante lucanum, et in Missa oriente aurora teneatur personaliter interesse quibus ad laudem dei finaliter peractis Feretrarii recedant ab oratorio et aperiant hostia more solito ac ille qui dinoscitur spiritualis celebret missam de sancto Thoma in vestimento rubeo qua finita confestim accedat alter feretrarius celebraturus de die Natalis domini in vestimento albi coloris. **Dies natalis domini** Insuper notandum est quod licet dies Natalis domini Feria tertia evenerit missa solemnis per notam de sancto Thoma omnino omittitur illo die. **In die Natalis domini non erit Missa solemnis ad Feretrum** Item in matutinis, in processione, in missa ante lucanum et laudibus predictis illi viginti cerei supra maius altare continue ardebunt prout supra dicitur in Festis Principalibus. **Dies sancti Iohannis** In die sancti Iohannis Apostoli et Evvangeliste illi xx^{ti} cerei in magna trabe supra maius altare in summa Missa tantum accendantur. <6v>

Dies Passionis [sancti Thome] Festo Passionis Sancti Thome Martiris gloriosi appropinquante. In vigilia eiusdem feretrarii recipient de Celerario septem panes Monachales. vii li. Casei. vii lagenas Servisie quarum portitor recipit de Feretrariis ii d. pro suo labore. Item carbones competentes recipiunt de Coquina pro quibus portitor recipit i d. pro suo labore. Hec predicta Feretrarii recipiunt pro relevacione peregrinorum viatorum concurrencium in nocte passionis sancti Thome in qua plenius dicitur.

1 Two words inserted superscript.

The candles shall be lit

At the beginning of the aforementioned Lauds, the subclerk will go and light the twenty candles on the great beam over the High Altar, staying there while Lauds is sung, and in the meantime both lower doors are shut.

Procession to the crypt

Next on Christmas Night the two shrine-keepers will go down and unite themselves with the convent in procession with the devout antiphon “O beata lactencium.”¹

On Christmas Day

Each shrine-keeper is bound to personally attend Midnight Mass and the Dawn Mass, and with these having been completed to the praise of God, the shrine-keepers return from the choir and open the doors according to custom, and the one who is the spiritual celebrates the Mass of St. Thomas in red vestments, and when it is finished the other shrine-keeper will quickly come to celebrate the Christmas Mass in white vestments.

On Christmas Day there is no solemn Mass at the shrine

As noted above, when Christmas Day falls on a Tuesday the solemn choral Mass of St. Thomas is always omitted on that day. Furthermore, at Matins, in procession, at the Midnight Mass and at Lauds the twenty candles above the High Altar burn continuously as is set out above for the principal feasts.

The Feast of St. John

On the feast of St. John the Evangelist the twenty candles on the great beam above the High Altar are only lit during High Mass.

The Feast of the Passion [of St. Thomas]

The feast of the Passion of the glorious Martyr St. Thomas approaches. In the vigil of this feast the shrine-keepers receive from the Cellarer seven monk’s loaves,² seven pounds of cheese and seven gallons of beer, the carrier of which receives 2d for his labour. They receive sufficient charcoal from the Kitchener, for which the carrier receives 1d for his labour. The shrine-keepers receive these things for the relief of travelling pilgrims coming together on the night of the Passion of St. Thomas, about which much will be said.

¹ An error for “O beata infantia.” Surviving English Benedictine breviaries have “O beata lactentium” as part of the second nocturn of Matins on the Feast of Holy Innocents (December 28) (www.cursus.org.uk/ed/c3995; accessed October 9, 2020). In the late twelfth-century Constitutions of Lanfranc it is stated that at the end of Matins on Christmas night the monks sang the antiphon “O beata infantia” as they processed to the Lady Altar (Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 12), and this is confirmed by the Coldingham Breviary as a memorial of the Virgin (<http://www.cursus.org.uk/ms/coldingham#Cdm.02122500>; accessed October 9, 2020). The Lady Altar in the crypt at Canterbury would have been that of Our Lady Undercroft.

² The standard Benedictine “monk’s loaf” was around 2 lbs (0.9 kg), Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 59.

Igitur in vigilia Passionis Sancti Thome ultima hora post summam missam finaliter expleta confestim reponantur octo Cerei accensi super Feretrum et cetera sicut in Regressione Sancti Thome. Item Clericus sive Custos hostii Chori recipiet de Feretrariis septem Cereos ponendo eosdem ante reliquias ecclesie et ardebunt ut supradicitur in Regressione sancti Thome in memoriam et perhenne memoriale illorum septem notabilium presagiorum que provenerunt circa martirem prenotatum in die Martis prout superius serius explanantur. Item ad primas vespervas omnes Cerei ordine solito sint accensi. Item in utroque introitu versus Feretrum novem Cerei et in Aluris supra et¹ circa Feretrum Viginti Octo Cerei ardebunt sicut dicitur de Festis Principalibus, qui Cerei tantum in isto Festo Passionis accenduntur. Item processio solempnis ad Feretrum erit utroque die. Item in nocte sequente congruo tempore signis sonantibus ad Matutinas, Feretrarii moti pietate hostia aperiant populum nocturnis et devotis excubiis prestantem intrare permittant quorum multi maiore devocione excitati accedunt ut vitam et vite processum gloriosi martiris Thome que ibidem solet aperte in lingua materna legi mente intenta percipiant corde benivolo que recondant. Qua finita duo Clerici servientes ibidem, populum forte tedio lacesitum ad ignis calorem preparatum prece pertrahant, et miticent² ministrantes eisdem panem, Caseum, et serviciam sufficienter prout superius pertractauimus de eisdem. Item horis Matutinis, in oratorio pene expletis Feretrarii denuo obserent hostia officii ac subsequenter Missa ad Martirium finaliter et Missa ad tumbam sancti Thome pene expleta, Feretrarii ad terciam Missam in suo officio celebrandam per signum populo denuncient, hostia aperiant, vestimenta, lumina, et cetera ornamenta tam celebrem Missam celebrandam concernencia preparent et procurent. Item si ista dies Passionis sancti Thome Feria tertia contigerit predictam Missam ille confrater qui ponitur in tabula cursorie et duo Ebdomodarii Evvangelii et Epistole exequi teneantur. Alioquin Succentor racione sui officii premissa providere teneatur et alios huiusmodi onus subeundum tempore debito subrogare. Nichilominus Supprior ex sua benevolencia singulis annis si nullum aliud obstaculum interveniat, predictam Missam in propria persona solet solempnius celebrare.

¹ “conjunct se” inserted superscript before “et” in the MS, corrected here.

² Probably mitigent intended.

On the vigil of the Passion of St. Thomas, when the last hour after High Mass has finished, eight lit candles should be quickly placed on the shrine, and the rest as on the Return of St. Thomas. The clerk or guardian of the door of the choir will receive from the shrine-keepers seven candles to be placed before the relics of the church and they will burn as is said above in the Return of St. Thomas, as a memory and perpetual memorial of those seven notable things that happened concerning the martyr on Tuesdays, as said above. At first Vespers all the candles shall be lit as is customary. In both the entrances facing the shrine nine candles, and in the passages¹ over and around the shrine twenty-eight candles, will be lit, as for the principal feasts, which candles are only lit at the feast of the Passion.² There is a solemn procession to the shrine on both days. During the night, at the proper time for the ringing of the bells for Matins, the shrine-keepers having been moved by pity shall open the doors³; they shall allow the people, waiting in nocturnal and devoted vigils, to enter. Many of them come having been roused with greater devotion, in order that they may learn with eager minds and store in devoted hearts the life and development of the glorious martyr Thomas, which customarily in that place is openly read in the mother tongue.⁴ Which having finished, the two clerks in that place shall at the prayer⁵ firmly conduct the people, who may be challenged by weariness, to the heat of the fire which has been prepared,⁶ and they shall refresh them, serving them sufficient bread, cheese, and ale from the supplies set out above. When the morning hours⁷ are nearly finished in the Choir, the shrine-keepers shall once again bolt the doors of the shrine area, and after Mass at the martyrdom has finished and Mass at the tomb of St. Thomas is almost over, the shrine-keepers through a sign make it known to the people that a third Mass will be celebrated in the shrine. They open the doors, and they procure and prepare the vestments, lights, and other equipment needed for the celebration of the renowned Mass. If the day of the Passion falls on a Tuesday, then the brother who is named on the weekly rota and the two who are “gospeller” and “epistoler” of the week are bound to say that Mass. Otherwise the Succentor, by reason of his office, is bound to provide for the aforesaid, and to elect others who should carry the burden at this time. However, every year the Subprior through his benevolence, if no other obstacle should occur, is accustomed to solemnly celebrate the said Mass in person.

1 The wall-walk around the triforium of the Shrine Chapel, cf. Huitson, *Stairway to Heaven*, 68–70.

2 This seems to indicate that candles were only lit in the triforium and above the shrine entrances at this feast, but that they were lit in accordance with the practices for lighting candles at principal feasts outlined above.

3 The doors of the cathedral.

4 The twelve lessons of Matins on the Feast of the Martyrdom of St. Thomas tell the story of his life from birth to his exile, followed by a homily on martyrdom, Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, 174–202. This appears to indicate that they were being read in the vernacular, for a discussion of this point see the introduction, p. 29 above.

5 The prayer which signalled the start of Lauds, cf. Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 7.

6 In one of the chambers of the monastery precinct.

7 Matins and Lauds.

Item per istas octavas singulis diebus Missa solempnis continuatur ad Feretrum prenotatum. Item nota diligenter quod si dies passionis sancti Thome dominica evenerit eodem die deportum incipitur, et a Fratibus¹ <7r> excercetur. Alioquin die dominica subsequente idem deportum est incipiendum et a Fratibus excercendum.

Festum Purificacionis In Festo Purificacionis beate marie matris dei feretrarii ex sua industria et preordinatione ministrabunt per suos servientes omnibus et singulis Confratribus tam infra quam extra scepta monasterii moram trahentibus Ceram, videlicet, Domino Priori iii li. Suppriori ii li. Precentori ii li. Celerario ii li. Lectori ii li. Refectorario ii li. Et cuilibet confratri alteri i li. cere. Item nota quod licet in die Purificacionis beate marie² sit processio solempnis per Clastrum cum Cereis accensis prout trahitur in usum annuatim ipsa die ad Feretrum minime declinabit.

Quadragesima Ulterius advertendum est de observanciis aliis que oneribus que emergunt in quadragesima. Unde in Feria secunda prime Ebdomade quadragesime, Feretrarii cum Cerefactore assistente solent deponere illos duodecim Cereos magnos et³ quadratos super trabem viciniorem Feretro ut plenarie renouventur erga Festum Pasche, ad quos renovandos liberantur comiter ducente libre et dimidia centena Cere, qui permittuntur iacere super pavementum utque ad Festum Pasche ut ardor ignis ab eisdem penitus excuciat, ac solidiores inveniantur in ardendo. **Scrutinium in officio** Item in Ebdomada supradicta Feretrarii predicti cum suis servientibus faciant singulis annis debitum scrutinium in officio de omnibus et singulis vestimentis, ornamentis, iocalibus per unum inventarium pro quibus fideliter conservandis suos Clericos servientes ibidem studeant arcus exhortari.

1 Fratibus

2 Inserted superscript.

3 Inserted superscript.

Throughout the octave each day a solemn Mass is held at the shrine as noted. Note that if the day of the Passion of St. Thomas falls on a Sunday then that same day *deportum* is begun, and is exercised by the brothers. Otherwise on the Sunday following *deportum* shall be begun and exercised by the brothers.¹

The feast of the Purification

On the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary mother of God, the shrine-keepers, by their diligence and foresight, will supply through their servants to each and every brother, whether they are staying inside or outside the monastic precinct, wax in the following quantities: to the Lord Prior 3 lbs; the Subprior 2 lbs; the Precentor 2 lbs; the Cellarer 2 lbs; the Lector 2 lbs; the Refectorian 2 lbs; and to the other brethren 1 lb of wax. Note that although on the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary there shall be a solemn procession through the cloister with lit candles, just as it is usually held on that day every year, it will not go to the shrine.

Lent

Further note should be made of the observations and other burdens which arise in Lent. From the Monday of the first week in Lent, the shrine-keepers with the assistance of the Chandler usually take down the twelve great square candles on the beam nearer the shrine, so that they may be fully renewed in time for Easter. To which renewal they are given as a sign of good will two hundred and fifty pounds of wax, which is permitted to stand on the pavement until Easter so that the heat of the fire is thoroughly cast out of them, and they shall be found more solid in their burning.²

Examination of the shrine office

In the aforesaid week the said shrine-keepers with their servants each year shall make a proper examination in the shrine office for every and each vestment, ornament, and jewel, by means of one inventory, for the faithful preserving of which they shall apply themselves to more strictly exhort their clerks serving in that place.

¹ See the introduction, pp 42–43.

² Presumably, this means that the candles were allowed to stand on the pavement over Lent because of their size, to ensure that the middles had set and they would burn soundly. Given that there were twelve candles *renewed* with 250 lbs of wax they would have each weighed at least 20 lbs 13 oz (9.44 kg), assuming they had completely burned down, a volume in bees wax of about 11.3 litres, or square candles of *at least* 22.5cm in each dimension.

Arthocopa Item omni Feria quarta in quadragesima, Feretrarii transmittent Presidenti in Refectorio hora prandii xxiiii panes vocatur vulgariter arthocopa, quorum precium extenditur ad xii d. de quibus presidens ibidem solet mittere domino Priori duo et cetera discrete dividere per confratres in Refectorio consedentes. Item omni feria quarta in quadragesima Feretrarii predicti invenient unum denariatum ostiarum in Refeccionem confratrum quos in Mensa Magistrorum in Infirmaria ipso die in prandio contigerit interesse. Item omni Feria quinta in quadragesima Feretrarii prenotati preordinabunt et invenient unam pietanciam de tribus generibus piscium vel saltem de duobus cum additamento alicuius confeccionis vel pulmenti et cetera prout superius dicitur in adventu Domini. Item nota quod in Cena Domini Feretrarii non dabunt pietanciam Conventui quia comedunt ex laudabili consuetudine in Refectorio, set proximiori die precedente in eadem Ebdomada quo Copia piscium in foro reperta fuerit seu inventa. Et notandum est quod pietancia concernens istum diem ad Custodes Annversarii dinoscitur pertinere. Item idem Feretrarii in Cena domini ministrant **Mandatam Domini prioris** Capellano Domini Prioris pro Mandato eiusdem in sua Camera eodem die quatuor solidos, iiii denarios, pro xiii. pauperibus quorum quilibet capit iiii d. quibus dominus prior lavabit pedes et manus ut annuatim extitit usitatum. **Novi Cerei reponantur** Item eodem die videlicet, In Cena domini post prandium, Feretrarii vel alter eorum cum assistencia Cerifactoris reponent et collocabunt seu reponet et collocabit illos xii Cereos magnos et quadratos in loco suo super trabem unde fuerant innovandi sublatis ut superius est pre-tactum. Item in qualibet istarum trium noccium unus Feretrariorum alternis noctibus descendet in fine Matutinarum in oratorio ad disciplinas capiendas cum ceteris confratribus et alter moram trahet ad Feretrum et extinguet lumina circa Feretrum tempore illius post Benedictus in oratorio ordine consueto.

Arthocopa

On each Wednesday in Lent, the shrine-keepers will send to the presiding monk of the refectory at the hour of dinner twenty-four loaves which are commonly called *arthocopa*,¹ the price of which extends to 12d, of which the presiding monk in that place is accustomed to give two to the lord Prior, and to divide the rest separately among the brothers sitting together in the refectory. On each Wednesday in Lent the said shrine-keepers will manage to get a penny-worth of oysters to the Refectory of the brothers who happen to be present in the *Mensa Magistrorum* in the infirmary at dinner on that day.² On each Thursday in Lent the said shrine-keepers will prearrange and manage to get a pittance of three kinds of fish, or at least of two with the addition of some confection or pottage, and the rest just as was said above in Advent. Note that on Maundy Thursday³ the shrine-keepers will not give a pittance to the convent, because by praiseworthy custom they eat in the refectory, but on the nearest day preceding in that same week where plentiful fish may be found or obtained in the market. And note that the pittance in regard to that day [Maundy Thursday] is known to pertain to the Anniversarians.⁴

The maundy of the lord Prior

On Maundy Thursday the shrine-keepers supply to the chaplain of the lord Prior for the maundy of the same in his chamber on that day 4s 4d for thirteen paupers, of which each of them takes 4d; the lord Prior will wash the hands and feet of these paupers as has been the yearly custom.⁵

The new candles are put back

On the same day, which is to say Maundy Thursday, after dinner the shrine-keepers, or one of them, with the help of the Chandler put back and set into position the twelve great square candles in their place on the beam from where, as stated above, they were taken down for renewing. On each of the three nights one of the shrine-keepers, alternating nightly, will go down at the end of Matins in the choir to receive the discipline with the other brothers, and the other will stay behind at the shrine and extinguish the lights around the shrine after the *Benedictus* in the choir, in the customary order.

1 *Panis artocopis*, also known as simnel bread, of fine flour.

2 That is, to the refectory of the *Mensa Magistrorum*.

3 The Latin term is *Cena Domini*—the Lord's Supper

4 The Anniversarians provided the conventual pittance.

5 On Maundy Thursday at Durham “xiii poore aged men” were appointed to come to the cloister and have their feet washed by the prior and monks at 9 a.m., on a long bench moved there for the purpose. The prior dried and kissed the men's feet, then gave each of them 30d, seven herrings, and refreshments of bread and drink, Greatrex, *English Benedictine Cathedral Priories*, 259–61; Claxton, *Rites of Durham*, ed. Harvey and Rollason, 287–88.

Novus ignis in Sabato sancto Item in sancto Sabbato dum Archiepiscopus sive Dominus prior cum Conventu descenderit in Claustum ad benedicendum thimiama sive incensum et novum ignem omnia lumina circa Feretrum et officio sint extincta, ac subsequenter cum processio denuo in chorum fuerit reversa cum novo lumine Clerici sive servientes Feretrariorum confestim mutuabunt lumen de premissis novo lumine ac Cereos singulos circa Feretrum accelerabunt accendere cum eodem, tamen in exordio Summe Misse. **Oblaciones confratrum** Item in isto termino Pasche Feretrarii predicti preordinabunt et distribuent oblaciones per Conventum sicut superius in termino Natalis domini plenius pertractatur.

Festum Pasche Quanto plenius generaliter superius explanavimus de Festis famosioribus, videlicet principalibus tanto minus hic inserere requiritur de sacratissimo Festo Pasche. **Processio in nocte** Nichilominus in nocte dominice Resurreccionis dominus Archiepiscopus, sive dominus Prior, vel uterque totusque Conventus ante Matutinas decenter revestiti, cum solempni processione exhibunt a choro more solito ad Feretrum sancti Thome, in qua processione Feretrarius temporalis intererit, et Feretrarius spiritualis revestitus moram trahet ad Feretrum preparans ibidem tapeta honestiora circa Feretrum, sediliaque pro Archiepiscopo vel priore, et ut omnes Cerei in officio more solito sint accensi processioneque paulatim recedente iterum extinguantur. **Due Misse eodem die** Item in die Resurreccionis domini ordine consueto observatis observandis Feretrarius spiritualis celebrabit Missam de sancto Thoma, ac immediate Feretrarius temporalis celebrabit Missam in eodem altari de die sicut consuetudo laudabilis edocet ab antiquo. **Processio eodem die** Item in die pasche processio solempnis et generalis erit semper, et si ad Feretrum veniet necne stat in **<8r>** arbitrio illius quam inibi contigerit preminere.

New fire on Holy Saturday

On Holy Saturday while the archbishop or the lord Prior has gone down to the cloister with the convent to bless the incense and the new fire, all the lights around the shrine and the shrine area shall have been extinguished, and afterwards when the procession has returned to the choir again with the new light, the clerks or servants of the shrine-keepers quickly take a light from the aforesaid new light, and with the same hasten to light all the candles around the shrine, during the preface of High Mass.

Offerings of the brothers

On this term-day of Easter the shrine-keepers put aside and distribute offerings among the convent just as is fully set out above at the term-day of Christmas.

Easter

As we have previously fully explained the generalities of the more renowned feasts, which is to say the principal feasts, so less is needed to be put here concerning the most sacred feast of Easter.

Procession in the night

Nevertheless on the night of the Sunday of the Resurrection,¹ before Matins the lord archbishop or the lord prior, or both of them, and the whole convent shall go in solemn procession, appropriately robed, from the choir in the customary manner to the shrine of St. Thomas, in which procession the temporal shrine-keeper shall be present, and the spiritual shrine-keeper, robed, stays in the shrine, preparing the place with more worthy carpets around the shrine and chairs for the archbishop or prior. And all the candles in the Shrine Chapel, according to custom, shall be lit, and as the procession gradually moves off they shall be put out again.

Two Masses on the same day

On the day of the Resurrection of the Lord after the customary order of observing what has to be observed, the spiritual shrine-keeper shall celebrate the Mass of St. Thomas, and next the temporal shrine-keeper celebrates the Mass of the day at the same altar, as praiseworthy custom teaches of old.

Procession on the same day

On Easter Day there is always a solemn and general procession, and whether it shall go to the shrine or not is the decision of whoever taking part happens to be most senior.

¹ That is, the night of Holy Saturday/Easter Sunday.

Feretrarii deportantur Item quatuor termini occurrunt in anno in quibus per Ebdomadam integram duo Feretrarii deportantur, exonerantur, et excusantur ab omnibus oneribus oratorii, Refectorii, et Capituli, ut suo officio vacacius intendant, et populo concurrenti, videlicet. terminus Pasche, terminus Penthecoste, terminus Translacionis sancti Thome, et terminus sancti Michaelis, in quibus predicti Feretrarii sunt liberi ut predicatur per integram septimanam. **Deportum incipitur** Item in Octavis Pasche deportum incipitur, et a confratribus frequentatur, **Capellanus deporti capit candelas a Feretrariis** quorum Capellano septimanatim usque ad Festum sancti Michaelis Feretrarii ministrabunt Candelas iuxta discrecionem eorundem pro Matutinis media nocte dicendis, attamen in illa ebdomada in qua Sacristam, vel Subsacristam, vel unum de tribus minoribus Sacristis contigerit esse in deporto, Feretrarii nullam liberacionem Candelarum Capellano tunc existenti vel petenti assignare seu ministrare tenentur prout consuetudo hactenus edocet manifeste.

Dies sancti Anselmi In Festo sancti Anselmi in quo solempnis memoria Omnium sanctarum reliquiarum ecclesie sub una celebritate veneratur, Feretrarii per se vel per suos ministros tradent seu liberabunt Clerico seu Custodi hostii chori septem Cereos, qui ponentur et ardebunt iuxta reliquias ecclesie in choro in vesperis utriusque diei, et in summa Missa prout in Regressione sancti Thome scripsimus de eisdem.

Rogaciones In hiis tribus diebus Rogacionum Feretrarius spiritualis exhibit cum processione ad loca exteriora et consueta, nisi id mutabile inter se Feretrarii statuunt vel discernant. **Conventus sancti Gregorii** Item Feria tertia cum Conventus sancti Gregorii compleverit Missam suam in choro, solet processio dirigere ad Feretrum sancti Thome, in qua processione quatuor Cerei circa premissum Feretrum sint accensi.

The shrine-keepers are exempted

Four term-days occur in the year in which, for a whole week, the two shrine-keepers are exempted, disburdened, and excused from all the duties of the choir, refectory, and chapter, so that they may more freely attend to the shrine and to the people flocking to it, namely the term-day of Easter, the term-day of Pentecost, the term-day of the Translation of St. Thomas, and the term-day of Michaelmas, from which the said shrine-keepers are free as stated for the whole week.¹

Deportum is begun; the chaplain of the deportum takes candles from the shrine-keepers

In the octave of Easter *deportum* is begun, and is frequented by the brothers;² the shrine-keepers will, at their discretion, supply candles to the chaplain of the *deportum* each week until Michaelmas, for saying Matins in the middle of the night. However, in those weeks in which the Sacristan, or the Subsacrist, or one of the three petty sacrists are in the *deportum*, the shrine-keepers are bound to distribute or supply none of the allowance of candles then allocated to or requested by the chaplain, as custom hitherto manifestly teaches.

The Feast of St. Anselm

On the feast of St. Anselm,³ during which the solemn memory of all the holy relics of the church are venerated in one celebration, the shrine-keepers themselves or through their servants hand over or remit to the clerk or the custodian of the doors of the choir seven candles, which shall have been placed and will burn next to the relics of the church in the choir in both Vespers of the day and in High Mass, just as we have written about the same candles in the Return of St. Thomas.

Rogation Days

On the three Rogation Days the spiritual shrine-keeper shall go with the procession to the customary outside places, unless the shrine-keepers should arrange or decide to alter this between themselves.

The Community of St. Gregory's⁴

On the Tuesday [in Rogationtide] when the community of St. Gregory's have completed their Mass in choir, they customarily process to the shrine of St. Thomas, in which procession four candles are lit around the said shrine.

¹ The octaves of these major feasts.

² See the Introduction for a discussion of the *deportum*.

³ April 21.

⁴ An Augustinian priory outside Canterbury's Northgate, believed to have been founded by Archbishop Lanfranc. The house was meant to have thirteen canons but there were often fewer; Martin Hicks and Alison Hicks, *St. Gregory's Priory, Northgate, Canterbury: Excavations 1988–1991*

Item quia Canonici pauci cernuntur in Conventu ecclesie sancti Gregorii patres nostri statuerunt quod nos ratum et gratum pro posse ministrabimus ut duo Clerici sive servientes de Feretro superpellicis suis ornati accedant et teneant duos torticios in elevacione sacramenti in Missa premissorum. **Conventus sancti Augustini** Item Feria quarta cum Conventus sancti Augustini sub processione sua in chorum venerit cum Responsorio Descendit de celis, omnes Cerei super trabem desuper summum altare et per totam Missam sint accensi, qua expleta, processionem faciunt ad Feretrum sancti Thome ubi prius octo Cerei super Feretrum quatuor super altare sint accensi, sedile honestum preparetur pro domino Abbate tapetaque decenciora sternentur per circuitum Feretri ac omnes cerei et candeles ut in Festo principali illuminentur ad laudem dei et honorem gloriosi Martiris prenotati. Item nota quod duo Clerici de Feretro superpellicis decenter induti, dum prefacio in dicta Missa canitur, tenebunt duos <8v> torticios accensos iuxta Feretrum sancti Blasii quousque duo Monachi quorum intererit capiant eos de manibus eorum quorum officio expleto predicti clerici iterum resumant dictos torticios et extinguant.

Festum penthecoste Instante termino Penthecoste ut supponitur Feretrarii solebant retroactis temporibus providere species generum diversorum pro Conventu in termino antedicto, set postmodum prehabito salubriori consilio peritorum pariter ac assensu species supradicte fuerant merito commutate in pecunias numeratas. Unde Feretrarii supradicti ministrabunt modernis diebus pro dictis speciebus domino Priori xx s. Suppriori iiii s. et cuilibet ceterorum confratrum sive infra septa Monasterii sive extra moram trahencium ii s. quos Iunior Feretrarius ut frequenter sumus experti baiulabit et ministrabit propriis manibus per singula capita premissorum.

Because there are only a few canons in the community of the church of St. Gregory our fathers approved that we will be able to assist, so two clerks or servants of the shrine, wearing surplices, shall be present and hold two torches at the elevation of the sacrament in the said Mass.

The Community of St. Augustine's¹

On the Wednesday [in Rogationtide] when the community of St. Augustine's shall have come in their procession to the choir with the responsory *Descendit de celis*,² and through the whole of the Mass, all the candles on the beam above the High Altar shall be lit; when the Mass is finished, they process to the shrine of St. Thomas where the eight candles on the shrine and the four on the altar are already lit. A worthy seat shall have been prepared for the lord abbot and more appropriate carpets shall be spread around the shrine, and all the candles and tapers shall be lit as in the principal feasts, to the praise of God and the honour of the aforementioned glorious martyr. Note that the two clerks of the shrine, having dressed themselves appropriately in surplices, while the preface of the said Mass is being sung, will hold two lit torches by the shrine of St. Blaise³ until such time as the two monks whose role it is shall take them from their hands; which office having been completed the said clerks shall once again take the said torches and extinguish them.

Pentecost

At the term-day of Pentecost, so it is supposed, the shrine-keepers were accustomed on the said term-day to provide spices of various kinds for the convent, but afterwards both through the salutary counsel of the wise and by agreement the said spices were rightly commuted into monetary reckonings. Whence the said shrine-keepers shall give in present times for the said spices: to the lord Prior 20s; to the Subprior 4s; and to each of the other brothers whether they are staying inside or outside the monastic precinct 2s; which the more junior shrine-keeper, as we have often experienced, shall carry and serve with his own hands to each of the aforesaid people.

(Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2001).

1 Major Benedictine abbey just outside Canterbury's city walls to the east.

2 The final responsory of Matins on Christmas Day, but appropriate to a procession entering the Cathedral during Rogationtide because when a procession reached a church during this time, "the cantor shall begin the antiphon or responsory of the saint in whose honour the church was founded," Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 50. Canterbury Cathedral was, of course, dedicated to Christ.

3 Canterbury laid claim to major relics of St. Blaise, and the monks recorded four miracles performed by the saint at the Cathedral in the fifteenth century, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 159, fols. 159v-160r. The shrine of St. Blaise was on a beam between the High Altar and the archiepiscopal throne, Wickham Legg and St. John Hope, *Inventories*, 35, 80.

Feretrarii excusantur Item Feretrarii in ista Ebdomada excusantur ab oneribus chori prout plenius dicitur in termino Pasche. Item in Ebdomada penthecoste ut laudabilis consuetudo annuatim edocet Frequentata, singuli decanatus diocesis Cantuariensis processionaliter solempni cantu visitant feretrum sive Memoriam sancti Thome, quorum ibidem Responsorium finito vel ante terminata, numquam Monachus set primus Clericus deferet librum pro Collecta dicenda decano, **Clericus portabit librum decano** seu illi qui inter ceteros dinoscitur preminere, quibus expletis recedunt in anteriorem partem ecclesie et solvunt ibidem sacriste ecclesie [T]ri[but]um¹ Cathedraticum debitum ab antiquo.

Festum Translacionis [sancti Thome] Nunc brevius quo possit percurrat calamus observancias et cetera seriusius que concernunt Festum Translacionis beati Thome cuius signa singulos agunt in stuporem.² **Cooperimentum Feretri deponitur** Nam in vigilia vigilie memorate Festivitatibus, in fine summe Misse hostiis officii undique obseratis, duo Feretrarii vel alter eorum, duo Clerici officii, Clericus sive serviens in officio corone, ac duo alii quos Feretrarii pro ampliore expeditione elegerint vel admiserint ministrantes cuilibet eorum pro suo labore ii d. festinanter subtiliterque accedent et deponent illud coopertorium Anglice, le casse, feretri sancti Thome trahentes idem ad introitum ex parte boreali ibique pendeat diebus noctibusque statutis videlicet xv diebus ac deinde reponatur supra Feretrum, **Canopeum** et collocetur cum pendilibus suis illud Canopeum laudabili opere decenter intextum quod quondam bone Memorie Domina Iohanna Comitissa Cancie et soror Reverendissimi patris domini Thome Arundel tunc Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis obtulit ad Feretrum sancti Thome quem semper sincere dileccionis et devocionis amplexibus studuit venerari que omnia predicta denuo commutentur in die sancte Praxedis.

¹ Damaged and illegible, but Tributum seems likely.

² From the second antiphon at Lauds of the Office of the Translation of St. Thomas. Reames, "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket," 577.

The shrine-keepers are excused

In that week the shrine-keepers are excused from the duties of the choir, as is more fully set out at the term-day of Easter.

The clerk carries the dean's book

In the week of Pentecost, as the praiseworthy custom of the years shows has often taken place, each deanery of the diocese of Canterbury, in procession with solemn song, comes to the shrine or the memorial service of St. Thomas, the responsories of which in that place having been finished, or before the end, not a monk but the first clerk shall carry the book to the dean for the saying of the collect, or to the one who among the others is seen to be pre-eminent; this having been completed, they return to the front part of the church and in that place pay to the Sacrist of the church the *Cathedraticum*¹ owed from ancient times.

The Feast of the Translation [of St. Thomas]

Now, more briefly where possible, the pen will run through the observances and other things in fuller detail which concern the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, "whose miracles move everyone to amazement."

The covering of the shrine is lifted off; The canopy

On the day before the vigil of the said feast, at the end of High Mass, the doors of the shrine area having been bolted, the two shrine-keepers, or one of them, the two clerks of the shrine, the clerk or servant in the office of the Corona, and two others who the shrine-keepers for greater expediency shall have chosen or admitted, attending (to each of which for his labour 2d), quickly and carefully shall go and remove that covering (in English called "le case") of the shrine of St. Thomas, drawing the same to the entrance on the north side. And there it shall hang through the statutory days and nights, namely fifteen days, and then is put back on the shrine. And it shall be arranged with its hangings, that canopy of praiseworthy work appropriately embroidered which formerly Lady Joan of happy memory, Countess of Kent and the sister of the most reverend father lord Thomas Arundel,² then Archbishop of Canterbury, offered to the shrine of St. Thomas which she always sincerely strove to venerate through the embraces of love and devotion. All the aforesaid things shall be changed back again on the feast of St. Praxedis [July 21].

¹ The annual payment from the parishes to their cathedral church.

² Thomas Arundel's sisters were Joan de Bohun *née* FitzAlan Countess of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton (1347–1419), and Alice (d. 1416), Countess of Kent from 1381 to her husband Thomas Holland, 2nd Earl of Kent's death in 1397, so the authors have conflated the name of one with the title of the other. In my previous work I erroneously interpreted this passage as meaning that the canopy was hung over the shrine, Jenkins, "Modelling the Cult," 110.

Feretrum mundatur Item ante premissum Festum Translacionis duo Feretrarii vel alter eorum ascendat Feretrum tempore <9r> congruo set numquam secularis, et mundet omnia iocalia et monilia ibidem, altareque et cetera ornamenta omnia loca ut munda sint omnia hiis qui ferre debent vasa domini,¹ quia omnia munda mundis² ut sancta Cantuariensis ecclesia et precipue in hoc loco tanquam Rachel formosa facie et non Lya deformis appareat domesticis fidei et singulis peregrinis.³ **Duodecim Cerei renovantur** Item ante idem Festum Feretrarii omni quarto anno videntur renovare de novo ibid **xii** Cereos pictos quorum quilibet pond⁴ **iii li.** videlicet octo pro Feretro quatuor pro altari, qui decenti pictura rubei et viridis coloris debent adornari, unus rubii et alter viridis coloris cum rosis et floribus de auro et aliis coloribus subtiliter insertis, qui accenduntur in vesperis processionibus et summa Missa, et Missa solempni de sancto Thoma, et tantum in Festo Translacionis. **Panis, caseus, et servicia** Item in vigilia huius translacionis Feretrarii recipient de Celerario panes, Caseum, et serviciam, in omnibus prout in Festo Passionis sancti Thome plenarie est locutum, et causa non modica subinfertur. Nam in isto tempore quanto maior concursus populi solet confluere, tanto perseverancius oportet Feretrarios attendere ad oblata. Et quia frequenter onerosum est Feretrariis vel alteri eorum moram continuam ibidem contrahere provisum sint a patribus nostris ut de predictis pane, et caseo, et servicia se interim reficerent. Item si peregrinus vel peregrina vel plures a casu ex nimio itinere vel ardore solis, seu ex inmoderata temperie in inevitabilem et nimiam lassitudinem labarentur, in eodem loco Feretrarii per suos servientes tales ex eventu sic lassessitos cum pane et potu predictis omni festinatione et mansuetudine confortare et reficere teneantur.

1 Cf. Isaiah 52:11: “mundamini qui fertis vasa Domini.”

2 Titus 1:15.

3 Cf. *The Rule of St. Benedict*, chap. 53, para. 2: “et omnibus congruus honor exhibeatur, maxime domesticis fidei et peregrinis.” *The Rule* itself takes “domesticis fidei” from Galatians 6:10.

4 pondo

The shrine is cleaned

Before the feast of the Translation the two shrine-keepers, or one of them, shall go up onto¹ the shrine at the proper time, but never with seculars,² and shall clean all the jewels and brooches in that place, and the altar and the other ornaments; every place is cleaned, all by “those who are bound to carry the vessels of the Lord,” because “to the pure all things are pure,” so that the holy church of Canterbury, and especially in this place, shall appear just as Rachel with a beautiful appearance, and not as Leah with deformities,³ to those who are “of the household of the faith and to all pilgrims.”

The twelve candles are renewed

Before the same feast the shrine-keepers every four years are seen to renew afresh in that place twelve painted candles of which each weighs 3 lb, namely eight on the shrine, four on the altar which should be adorned by appropriate painting in red and green colour, one of red and the next of green colour with roses and flowers of gold and other colours delicately worked in; which are lit during Vespers, processions and High Mass, and the solemn Mass of St. Thomas, and also during the Feast of the Translation.⁴

Bread, cheese, and beer

On the vigil of this Translation, the shrine-keepers will receive from the Cellarer bread, cheese, and beer in all respects as has been fully set out with regard to the Feast of the Passion of St. Thomas, and the occasion here subjoined is no small one. For at this time such a great crowd of people is accustomed to gather that it is necessary that the shrine-keepers more continually attend to the offerings. And because it is frequently burdensome for the shrine-keepers, or one of them, to stay continually together in that place, it was provided by our fathers that from the aforesaid bread, and cheese, and beer, they may feed themselves in the meantime. If a male or female pilgrim, or many, by chance through too great a journey, or the heat of the sun, or from immoderate weather, in unavoidable and excessive weariness shall have been weakening, in the same place the shrine-keepers through their servants shall be bound with all speed and clemency to strengthen and feed those who as it happens are so wearied with the aforesaid bread and drink.

1 At all other points in the Customary the term used for going to the shrine is “*accedere*,” so the use of “*ascendere*” here points to the shrine-keepers scaling the shrine with ladders in order to clean the golden feretory.

2 “*seculari*” probably encompassing both the “*secular*” clerks of the shrine and any laity.

3 Rachel and Leah were sisters both married to Jacob in Genesis 29:16–35. Rachel was “of attractive appearance” (*decora facie*) but Leah had “bleary eyes” (*lippis erat oculis*). Despite this God blessed Leah with many children, so in medieval Christian symbolism Rachel was taken as representative of the monastic/contemplative and Leah of the secular/active life, thus furthering the emphasis of this passage of the Customary on the need for the shrine-keepers, as monks, to undertake the cleaning of the shrine themselves without help from seculars.

4 Previously the Customary stated that these candles were only lit at these times on major feasts, not every day as seems to be suggested here.

Candela novanda Item illa longa Candela contenta in quadam rota baronum ville dovorie omni tercio anno contra Festum Translacionis sancti Thome sub forma que sequitur renovatur. Unde in tercio anno cum premissa candela pene vel totaliter consumpta fuerit vel perusta, Feretrarii tempore oportuno ante Festum Translacionis sancti Thome predictam rotam nudam transmittent per aliquem conductum pro vi d. ad domum seu habitationem maioris ville dovorie qui suis aliorumque baronum sumptibus ibidem novam candelam fieri faciet, Cuius longitudo continebit ambitum sive circuitum dicte ville ac predictam candelam transmittet ad Feretrum sancti Thome ante diem Translacionis eiusdem per duos portitores quibus Feretrarii solent exhibere ii s. pro suo labore.

Candela in rota ardebit Item predicta candela ardebit singulis diebus in Missa sancti Thome in omnibus processionibus ad Feretrum necnon in vesperis Matutinis et Missis maioribus cuiuslibet festi principalis sive secundarii occurrentis. **Si pauper obierit** Item si pauper vel egenus auxilio destitutus obierit in Civitate, Feretrarii habent ministrare candelas de Rota supradicta pro tumulatione sive sepultura eiusdem sicut predecessores nostri ut memoriter tenemus idem observare solebant. Item in vigilia et in die Translacionis sancti Thome si maior concursus populi confluerit tempore prandii et per totum diem lucescentem hostia ecclesie sint patefacta pariter et aperta. Item hora prandii unus Feretrariorum moram continuabit ad Feretrum cum duobus servientibus pariter et omnino, ac alter Feretrarius se reficiet ad Mensam cum aliis <9v> confratribus conservans ferculum competens pro suo socio quem post suam refeccionem promittet a Feretro descendere et se reficere secundum quod tempus exigit et requirit.

Pavimentum mundetur Item in vigilia et in die Translacionis duo servientes vel alter eorum cum scopis mundabunt seu mundabit aliisque temporibus cum opus fuerit pavementum ne post conculacionum pedum peregrinorum, aer infectivus et exhorrendus emergens invalidudines ex eventu inducat quomodolibet seu causetur.

The taper will be renewed

That long taper, stretched on a certain wheel of the barons of the town of Dover, every third year approaching the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas is renewed in the form which follows.¹ Whence, in the third year when the taper is nearly or entirely used up or completely burned, the shrine-keepers at a suitable time before the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas shall send the said empty wheel, by means of someone hired for 6d, to the house or residence of the mayor of the town of Dover who, through his own and the other barons' expense, shall cause a new taper to be made in that place, the length of which will comprise the circuit or circumference of the said town, and the said candle will be sent to the shrine of St. Thomas before the day of the Translation of the same by means of two porters, to whom the shrine-keepers are accustomed to give each 2s for his labour

The taper on the wheel will burn

The said taper will burn every day during the Mass of St. Thomas, in all processions to the shrine, and also during the Vespers, Matins, and greater Masses of whichever principal or secondary feasts occur.

If a pauper dies

If a pauper or one destitute in want of aid should have died in the city, the shrine-keepers have to supply tapers from the aforesaid wheel for the interment or burial of the same just as our predecessors, as we remember, were accustomed to observe.

On the vigil and the day of the Translation of St. Thomas, if a great crowd of people shall have gathered at dinnertime, and through the whole day while it is light, the doors of the church shall be both open and unobstructed. At the hour of dinner one of the shrine-keepers will stay in the shrine with the two servants, both together, and the other shrine-keeper will feed himself at the table with the other brothers, keeping back an agreeable dish for his companion; after his meal, he shall send his companion from the shrine to go down and feed himself in accordance with the demands and needs of the time.

The pavement shall be cleaned

On the vigil and on the day of the Translation the two servants, or one of them, shall clean the pavement with brooms, as at other times when needed so that after the trampling of the feet of pilgrims no infected and abhorrent air, rising, should as a result induce or in any similar way be alleged to cause poor health.

¹ For this taper see Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Wax, Stone and Iron: Dover's Town Defences in the Later Middle Ages," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 124 (2004): 183–208 at 184–88; Nickson, "Light, Canterbury, and the Cult," 88.

Octo Cerei accendantur Item in vigilia Translacionis hora ante prandium pene completa confestim accendantur octo Cerei super Feretrum qui continue ardebunt per octavas, et in ultimo die octavarum quatuor extinguantur, et quatuor ardebunt in toto per xv. dies et per tot dies continuatur processio ad Feretrum antedictum, quia in Festo Passionis eiusdem in vigilia et in die processio tantummodo exercetur propter solemnitatem festorum tunc concurrentium.

In die vero Translacionis sancti Thome ad Feretrum eiusdem Missam solempnem solet Supprior celebrare, qui si aliunde preocupatus fuerit Succentor pro ipsa missa ordinet tam pro sacerdote quam pro diaconibus nisi iste dies feria tertia contigerit, sic que Missa solemnis subrogata per Succentorem ibidem continuabitur quolibet die per octavas, **Cantores recipiunt ii s.** pro cuius continuacione et labore Cantores, et organiste recipiunt de Feretrariis ii s. et in Festo Passionis eiusdem totidem que solidos predicti organiste recipiunt a Feretrariis memoratis. **Feretrarii excusantur** Item sicut superius in Festo Pasche plenius dictum est uterque Feretrarius in ista Ebdomada Translacionis excusatur et exonoratur a onere et labore chori ut diligentius attendat ad officium et ad eius commodum per populum confluentem.

Terminus sancti Michaelis In termino sancti sancti¹ Michaelis Feretrarii providebunt et ministrabunt pecunias priori et ceteris confratribus pro suis speciebus in genere et in specie prout plenius continetur et predicatur in Festo Penthecoste. Item in die sancti Michaelis processio solemnis quolibet anno frequentatur pro qua tapeta sternentur lumina consueta preparantur ac cetera omnia concernencia diem consimilem sicut superius dicitur de Festis Secundariis ad laudem et honorem sancti Michaelis cuius intercessione suffulti sumus necnon ceterorum celestium spirituum ratione omni devocione memoriter exequentur.

Igitur observanciis Feretrariorum prout nostris affectibus occurrebant per stilum rudem et insipidum in presenti et exili processu memorie commendente ad soluciones, stipendia, et alia onera quas vel que Feretrarii subire solent aut solebant stilum <10r> dirigimus ut soluciones, stipendia, et alia onera ut predicatur patula veritate reluceant intuentibus quo omne ambiguum emergens seu opinio contrarians eminus evitentur.

¹ sic

Eight candles shall burn

On the vigil of the Translation when the hour before dinner has almost finished the eight candles on the shrine shall quickly be lit, which will burn continuously through the octave, and on the last day of the octave four shall be extinguished, and four will burn through fifteen days in total; and through so many days procession is continuously made to the said shrine, because during the feast of the Passion of the same procession is only made on the vigil and on the day, on account of the solemnity of the feasts then coinciding.¹

The cantors receive two shillings

On the actual day of the Translation of St. Thomas, at the shrine of the same the Subprior is accustomed to celebrate a solemn Mass, but if he has been prevented by some other reason the Succentor will arrange the Mass for him, as well as for the priest and the deacons, if it does not fall on a Tuesday; which solemn Mass will be continued in that place by those nominated by the Succentor on every day throughout the octave, for which continual practice and labour the cantors and the organists receive from the shrine-keepers 2s, and just as much on the Feast of the Passion of the same, which shillings the aforesaid organists receive from the said shrine-keepers.

The shrine-keepers are excused

As has been fully set out above with regard to Easter, each shrine-keeper in the week of the Translation is excused and exonerated from the burden and labour of the choir in order that he may attend more diligently to the shrine, and at his convenience to the people flocking there.

The term-day of Michaelmas

At the term-day of Michaelmas, the shrine-keepers will provide for and supply money to the Prior and the other brothers for their spices, in general and in particular, just as may be more fully found above with regard to Pentecost. On the day of Michaelmas a solemn procession is repeated each year for which carpets will be laid out, the customary lights will have been prepared, and all other things concerning similar days (just as has been set out above concerning the secondary feasts) with every devotion we will carry out from memory to the praise and honour of St. Michael, by whose intercession we have been supported, and of the other heavenly spirits.

Therefore the observances of the shrine-keepers, just as they occurred to our minds, through an uncultured and dull pen in this present and lacking account are commended to memory; we turn the pen to the payments, wages, and other burdens which the shrine-keepers are or have been accustomed to bear, so that the payments, wages, and other burdens as aforesaid may shine with clear truth, observing which all emerging ambiguity or contrary opinion shall be easily circumvented.

¹ That is, the Passion fell during Christmastide, so the octave had a number of other major feasts within it precluding procession to the shrine. Thus a double octave of processions was held around the Translation instead.

Celerarius Celerarius solebat recipere de Feretrariis pro suis dietis quolibet die per annum vi s viii d summa patet.

Summa per annum communem Cxxi li xiii s iiii d. Quibus in anno bisextili adduntur vi s viii d. quia unus dies augetur[.] Summa per annum bisextilem Cxxii li.

Item idem Celerarius solebat recipere de Feretrariis pro sua ordinacione quolibet termino principali xii li x s Summa patet. Summa per annum l. li. Summa utriusque in anno communi Ciiii^{xx} li xiii s iiii d summa in anno bisextili Ciiii^{xx} xi li Nichilominis quia modernis diebus quod dolenter referimus frequencia populi subtrahitur devocioque eiusdem frigessit pariter et tepescit Dominus Iohannes Wodnysbergh Prior prehabita maturiore deliberacione cum summa supradicta oneravit Gardianum Maneriorum quousque oriens ex alto ex affluencia sue pietatis et meritis Meritis¹ Martiris prenotati populi devocionem visitet augiundo.

Tercius Prior Item tercius Prior capit quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis vii s vi d summa patet. summa per annum xxx s.

Quartus Prior Item quartus prior capit quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis v s. Summa patet. Summa per annum xx s.

Succentor Item Succentor capit quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis vii s xi d. Summa patet. summa per annum xxxi s.

Tercius cantor Item tercius Cantor capit quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis iiii s vii d summa patet summa per annum xviii s iiii d.

¹ sic

The Cellarer

The Cellarer was accustomed to receive from the shrine-keepers for his daily allowance each day of the year 6s 8d total. The total sum per year is £121 13s 4d. To which in a leap year is added 6s 8d because one day is added. The sum per leap year is £122. The Cellarer also was accustomed to receive from the shrine-keepers for his allowance at each principal term-day £12 10s total. The total per year is £50. The total of both in a normal year is £180 13s 4d,¹ the total in a leap year is £191.² Nevertheless, because in modern days, as we sorrowfully report, the attendance of people is lessened, and the devotion of the same becomes both cold and tepid, the lord Prior John Wodnesbergh has formerly through much considered deliberation burdened the Warden of the Manors with the aforesaid sum, until such time as he shall see, arising from on high, from abundance of their piety and through the merits of the Martyr, the devotion of the said people increase.

The Third Prior

The Third Prior takes at each principal term-day from the shrine-keepers 7s 6d total. The total per year is 30s.

The Fourth Prior

The Fourth Prior takes at each principal term-day from the shrine-keepers 5s total. The total per year is 20s.

The Succentor

The Succentor takes at each principal term-day from the shrine-keepers 7s 11d total. The total per year is 31s.³

The Third Cantor

The Third Cantor takes at each principal term-day from the shrine-keepers 4s 7d total. The total per year is 18s 4d.

1 Actually £171 13s 4d.

2 Actually £172. The errors in these two sums may have been transcription errors from the draft to the fair copy in this section, for others see the introduction, p. 4.

3 The correct sum is 31s 8d. This and the payment to the Third Cantor were established by Archbishop Winchelsey's injunctions of 1298, in which 40s was to be paid annually by the shrine-keepers for the singers at solemn Masses at the shrine, two-thirds to the Succentor and one-third to the Third Cantor, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, ed. Graham, 2:815. The increase of this sum to 50s by this period probably includes the payments made for singers on Thomas' feast days and on Tuesdays in the octaves of his feasts, which were excluded from the 1298 injunction.

Camerarius Item Camerarius recipit de Feretrariis in termino Pascha C s. Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino Penthecoste C s. Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino Translacionis sancti Thome C s. Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino sancti Michaelis C s. Summa per Annum - xx li.

Capellanus Item Capellanus domini Prioris recipit de Feretrariis in termino Penthecoste pro falcacione feni xl s. summa patet[.] Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino sancti Michaelis pro ordinacione sua C s. summa patet. Summa utriusque vii li.

Sacrista Item Sacrista recipit de Feretrariis M^l CCC et dimidiam centenam Cere Item idem recipit de Feretrariis in termino sancti Michaelis C s. pro quibus tenentur reparare et renovare quodcumque opus fuerit omnes Fenestras in officio Feretrariorum¹ tam in ferrura quam in vitro tecturamque superius in muris meremio quam in plumbo.

Granetarius Item Granetarius recipit de Feretrariis in termino Pasche pro sua ordinacione xx s.

Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino Penthecoste xx s. Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino Translacionis sancti Thome xx s. Item idem recipit de eiisdem in termino sancti Michaelis xx s. Summa totalis - iiiii li.

<10v> **Feretrarii** Item duo Feretrarii recipiunt pro suis oblacionibus in termino Natalis domini xxiiii s. quilibet eorum capit xii s. Item iidem recipiunt ex causa premissa in termino Pasche xliiii s. quilibet eorum capit xxii s quilibet eorum capit per annum xxxiiii s. Summa utriusque per annum lxxviii s

Duo confratres Item duo Confratres Iuniores custodientes servicia Feretrariorum in oratorio et alibi recipiunt quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis vi s. viiii d. quilibet eorum capit iii s. iiiii d.

Summa patet quilibet eorum capit per annum xiii s. iiiii d. Summa utriusque per annum xxvi s. viiii d.

¹ Feretrariorum

The Chamberlain

The Chamberlain receives from the shrine-keepers at the term-day of Easter 100s. He receives from the same at the term-day of Pentecost 100s. He receives from the same at the term-day of the Translation of St. Thomas 100s. He receives from the same at the term-day of Michaelmas 100s. The total per year is £20.¹

The Chaplain

The Chaplain of the lord Prior receives from the shrine-keepers at the term-day of Pentecost for mowing hay² 40s total. He receives from the same at the term-day of Michaelmas for his allowance 100s total. The total of both is £7.

The Sacristan

The Sacristan receives from the shrine-keepers 1300½ lbs of wax.³ He receives from the shrine-keepers at the term-date of Michaelmas 100s for which he is bound to repair and renovate, whenever it is needed, all the windows in the shrine chapel, both in the iron and the glass, and the covering above in the wall, in the wood and the lead.⁴

The Granator

The Granator receives from the shrine-keepers at the term-day of Easter for his allowance 20s. He receives from the same at the term-day of Pentecost 20s. He receives from the same at the term-day of the Translation of St. Thomas 20s. He receives from the same at the term-day of Michaelmas 20s. The total is £4.

The Shrine-keepers

The two Shrine-keepers receive for their gifts at the term-date of Christmas 24s, each of them takes 12s. They receive for the same reason at the term-day of Easter 44s, each of them takes 22s. Each of them takes 34s per year. The total for both per year is 68s.

Two brothers

The two more junior brothers maintaining the services of the shrine-keepers in the choir and elsewhere receive at each of the principal term-days from the shrine-keepers 6s 8d, each of them takes 3s 4d. The total each of them takes per year is 13s 4d. The total for both per year is 26s 8d.

¹ Stipulated by a chapter ordinance of 1376: *Litterae Cantuarienses*, ed. Sheppard, 3:6.

² The Prior's Chaplain was administrator of the Prior's estates, and this payment was to defray labour costs on the Prior's manors.

³ The sacrist's roll of 1429 shows this same payment of wax, stated to be £2 8s per hundredweight (50.8 kg) for a total of £31 10s that year, CCA/DCC/Sacrist/25.

⁴ The "covering" was the external head drip of wood with lead flashing.

Primus Clericus Item Primus Clericus capit qualibet Septimana de Feretrariis xii d. summa patet summa per annum lii s.

[...]¹

Item idem capit pro vestura sua in termino Translacionis sancti Thome xx s. Summa patet. Summa totalis per annum iii li. xii s. [...] ² Item idem capit quolibet die principali ut moveat pressuram populi a conventu in processione ad Feretrum unum panem Monachalem et unam iustam secunde servicie.

Subclericus Item Subclericus capit qualibet septimana de Feretrariis viii d. summa patet summa per annum xxxiiii s. Item idem capit pro vestura sua in termino Translacionis sancti Thome vi s. viii d. summa patet.

Vinum Conventus Item Feretrarii cum fuerint requisiti solvunt ad vinum Conventus xxx s.

Deportum Item Feretrarii solvunt servienti de deporto omni Ebdomada qua idem deportum a confratribus frequentatur iii s. summa patet. Unde quandoque contingunt in anno xxxviii septimane, et tunc summa in anno se extendit ad Cxiiii s. Item quandoque contingunt in anno nisi xxxvii septimane et tunc summa in anno se extendit ad Cxi s.

Feretarius capit deportum Item Feretrarius capiens deportum vice ordinis sui solet ex mansuetudine speciali senilum in eadem Ebdomada in augmentum recreacionis grantanter exhibere unam lagenam vini ut eum ex hoc ceteri assedentes inter se gaudeant affuisse.

Novicii Item cum Conversi sunt ad habitum Monachalem inter nos admissi Feretrarii solent ad suum placitum aliquam summam exilem in pecunia Magistro ordinis contradere qua suos novicios reficiat tempore oportuno ut et ipsi ex hoc diligencius attendant ad ea adque se voluntate spontanea obligarunt.

¹ An entire line has been erased here, and the line above inserted above it.

² The previous total was £3, and the words Summa patet in red ink deleted and replaced with 12s in black ink.

The first clerk

The first clerk takes each week from the shrine-keepers 12d total. The total per year is 52s. [...]¹ He takes for his clothing at the term-day of the Translation of St. Thomas 20s total. The total per year is £3 12s.² He takes on each principal feast, in order that he shall remove the press of the people from the community during procession to the shrine, one monk's loaf and one monastic allowance of second-best beer.³

The subclerk

The subclerk takes each week from the shine-keepers 8d total. The total per year is 34s.⁴ He takes for his clothing at the term-day of the Translation of St. Thomas 6s 8d total.

The wine of the community

The shrine-keepers when they have been required provide to the wine of the convent: 30s.

Deportum

The shrine-keepers provide to the servant of the *deportum* each week when the *deportum* is frequented by the brothers 3s total. From which whenever it occurs through 38 weeks of the year then the total in that year extends to 114s. Yet whenever it occurs through 37 weeks of the year then the total in that year extends to 111s.

The shrine-keeper takes deportum

The shrine-keeper taking *deportum* in his ordered turn, in the same week, from long-established special clemency and for the increase of refreshment is accustomed to joyfully present one gallon of wine, in order that through this the others sitting there shall be glad that he is present among them.

Novices

When the converts to the monastic habit have been admitted among us, the shrine-keepers are accustomed to provide some small sum in money to the Master of the Novices, at his plea, with which he shall feed his novices at a suitable time, so that from this they have bound the novices in obligation that they shall more diligently attend to the shrine-keepers and to him of their own spontaneous goodwill.

1 An entire line has been erased here, and the weekly allowance inserted above it.

2 The sum has been changed from £3 to £3 12s.

3 This was a reward for his labours in crowd-control rather than to be used as inducements for the people to come away from the shrine.

4 Actually 34s 8d.

Iuvenis celebrans primam Missam Item cuilibet confratri ad gradum sacerdotii noviter provecto Feretrarii solent ex speciali fraternitate die quo primam Missam celebrat unam lagenam vini contribuere, et si carencia fuerit vini denarios secundum vini precium et valorem.

<11r> ***Iuvenis ad studium missus*** Item cum frater fuerit ad exercitium studii in universitate Oxoniensi nominatus pariter et assignatus recipiet de Feretrariis cum benedictione sancti Thome v s. tantum prima vice.

Cereus ardebit de nocte in Capella domini prioris Item ob reverenciam quinque gaudiorum beate virginis Feretrarii sepedicti providebunt et ordinabunt quinque Cereos in Capella domini Prioris collocandos ibidem in trabe Ferrea quorum unus quolibet die in fine Completorii in choro accendetur per tercium Capellanum et sic per noctem integram ardebit, et in mane post sonitum in dormitorio immediate denuo extinguetur. Et ut hec debite observentur ac fragmenta et residua dictorum Cereorum fideliter ad officium Feretrariorum reportentur predictus tercium Capellanus capit quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis xx d. summa patet. Summa per annum vi s. viii d. Item Feretrarii invenient unum torticium tantum pro Capella domini Prioris quod in aliis locis facere non tenentur.

Ciphi renovantur Item veterum Ciphorum reparacio solomodo de Murra qui communi usui deputantur utpote in Refectorio, in Camera domini prioris, in Mensa Magistrorum, et in deporto, ad Feretrarios dinoscitur pertinere sumptibus officii pariter et expensis. Et nota quandocumque contigerit aliquem Ciphum de quatuor locis prenotatis aliquam lesuram habere aut fracturam Refectorarius vel Magister Mense deferet predictum Ciphum cum tali fractura vel ruptura ad Feretrarios cerciorando eosdem de tali negocio oraculo vive voce quia nulli licebit nisi tantum Feretrariis pactum seu convencionem facere cum aurifabro pro aliquo Ciphos confracto de quatuor locis superius prenotatis.

Navigium et cariagium pro Cera empti Item Feretrarii omni anno coguntur pretextu sui officii prout opus fuerit emere et providere Ceram pro suo officio ac eciam pro officio sacriste de quo superius est notatum. Unda¹ nauta conductis² pro navigio capit a Londoniis usque Feversham pro qualibet Centena Cere i d. pro Millena viginti³ d. et sic de ceteris. Et pro cariagio a Feversham usque in Cimiterium ecclesie capit pro qualibet Centena Cere ii d. pro Millena iii s. iiiii d. et sic de ceteris.

1 Unde

2 conductus

3 The original figure in red ink has been erased and "viginti" inserted in black ink.

Junior brothers celebrating their first Mass

To each brother recently advanced to the level of priest, the shrine-keepers are accustomed, from their particular brotherhood on that day when they celebrate their first Mass, to contribute a gallon of wine, and if there shall have been a lack of wine then money according to the price and value of the wine.

The junior brothers sent to study

When a brother shall have been called and assigned to the pursuit of study at the University of Oxford he will receive from the shrine-keepers with the blessing of St. Thomas 5s on the first occasion.

A candle shall burn at night in the chapel of the lord Prior

Out of respect for the Five Joys of the Blessed Virgin, the oft-mentioned shrine-keepers will provide and arrange for five candles in the chapel of the lord Prior, which shall be set in position there on the iron beam, of which one shall be lit each day by the Third Chaplain at the end of Compline in the choir, and thus shall burn through the whole night, and in the morning immediately after the bell in the dormitory shall be put out again. And in order that these dues shall be observed, and the fragments and residues of the said candles faithfully carried back to the shrine-keepers' office, the said Third Chaplain takes each principal term-day from the shrine-keepers 20d total; the total per year is 6s 8d. The shrine-keepers shall provide one torch for the chapel of the lord Prior so that they are not bound to do so for any other places.

The bowls are renewed

The restoration of the old bowls which are assigned for common use in the refectory, in the chamber of the lord Prior, in the *Mensa Magistrorum*, and in the *deportum*, is only to be done in maple-wood, and is seen to pertain to the shrine-keepers, to both the expenses and outlays of the shrine. And note that whenever it shall have happened that any bowl from the aforesaid four places should be damaged or broken the Refectorian or the Master of the Table shall deliver the damaged or broken bowl to the shrine-keepers officially informing them of the problem, because it will not be permitted, if not so done, for the shrine-keepers to make an agreement or compact with the goldsmith for any broken bowl of the four places noted above.

The shipping and carriage of bought wax

The shrine-keepers each year are compelled by reason of their office to buy and provide wax when it shall have been needed for the shrine, and also for the office of the Sacristan as has been noted above. Whence the sailor hired for shipping from London to Faversham takes for every hundredweight of wax 1d, for every ton 20d. And for carriage from Faversham to the cemetery of the church he takes for every hundredweight of wax 2d, for every ton 3s 4d, and so on.

Cera facta Item Feretrarii solvunt annuatim Cerefactori pro qualibet centena Cere de novo fiendo xii d.

Oblaciones serviencium Item ut servientes nostri per ambitum Monasterii ut¹ recognoscant et senciant relevamen et refugium pro parte sua sicut et Monachi pro parte sua in sancto Thoma Martire glorioso Feretrarii in Festis Natalis domini et Pasche donant ex² exhibent eisdem servientibus Oblaciones sicut in Rotulis antiquis et modernis in officio reservatis plenius continetur in nomine Claustralium quos multociens habundancia pecunie refugit et recusat.³

Feretrarius est absolutus ab officio Item licet in suo loco minime presignetur hic tamen advertendum est quod quacumque die, quacumque causa Feretrarius absolutus vel amotus fuerit a suo officio et exoneratus in nocte subsequenti exceptis certis officiis ad Matutinas in oratorio teneatur cum aliis confratribus concurrere et in earum pondere et labore iugiter et finaliter interesse, nec eidem licebit ut quidam volunt tempus prorogare usque ad horam primam diei crastine subsequentis.

<11v> Iccirco prudens et diligens lector hinc processui sive operi exili iuxta capacitatem sensus nostri finem ponimus in quo si quomodolibet per inculca verba peccavimus, aut per ignoranciam quicquid omisimus hic quod nos inservisse decuisset aut si amplius ex improvisa deliberacione apposuimus corrige libenter, pacienciam habe in nos et prohibe linguam tuam a malo et labia tua ne loquantur dolum iuxta vaticinium Ieremie dicentis, Sagitta vulnerans lingua dolosa.⁴ Unde quidam metrice. Missa sagitta redit mittentem vulnere ledit.⁵ Omnem livorem sive invidiam eminus expelle pariter et devita. Attende iugiter et considera nostrum prothoplaustum quomodo ex invidia diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum,⁶ Secundum apostolum. Attende iugiter et considera dictum per psalmistam dicentem, Detrahentem secreto proximo suo hunc persequer.⁷ Et post pauca subinferentem, diabolus stet a dextris eius cum iudicatur exeat condemnatus.⁸

1 Inserted superscript.

2 et

3 “refugit et recusat” is an error here, although it is found in Augustine and from there in later medieval *sententiae* including those of Peter Lombard to describe how one with a pious mind “sensu autem carnis refugit et recusat,” so may have been a familiar phrase (St. Augustine of Hippo, *Epistolae*, 140, chap. 6, para. 16, in Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, *Opera omnia*, 2, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina 33 (Paris: Migne, 1902), col. 544; Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, bk. III, d.17 c.2 n.3, 2 vols. in 3 (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1971–1981) 2:107). The correct verbs, with “habundancia” as the subject, may be something like “refulget et recusat” having been incorrectly expanded from an abbreviated first draft.

4 A paraphrase of Jeremiah 9:8 “Sagitta vulnerans lingua eorum, dolum locuta est.”

5 Untraced.

6 Wisdom 2:24: “Invidia autem diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum.”

7 Psalm 100:5.

8 Psalm 108:6–7.

The wax having been made

The shrine-keepers pay the chandler yearly for every hundredweight of wax of new making 12d.

Gifts of the servants

In order that our servants through the whole of the monastery shall both acknowledge and feel solace and refuge in St. Thomas the glorious Martyr, for themselves and also for the monks, the shrine-keepers at Christmas and Easter give and present to the same servants gifts, just as is fully found in the ancient and modern rolls kept in the shrine office, in the name of the monks of the cloister, in which often an abundance of money [shines out and recurs].

A shrine-keeper is released from his office

Although in its proper place nothing may have been written, nevertheless here attention ought to be drawn to this matter: on whichever day, through whatever cause, a shrine-keeper being freed or retiring from his office and, having been discharged, on the following night, fixed duties having been removed, he shall be bound to assemble at Matins in the choir with the other brothers, and in their burden and labour continually and purposefully take part; nor will it be allowed to him, as some wish, to defer this time until the hour of Prime on the subsequent day.

Therefore, prudent and diligent reader, here we put an end to this account or work, poor like the capacity of our senses, in which if in whatever way we have erred through uncultivated words or we have omitted anything through ignorance here that we had ought to insert, or if we have added more from ill-considered deliberation, gladly correct it! Forbear with us and restrain your tongue from evil, and may your lips not speak deceit, as the prophecy of Jeremiah says: "A wounding arrow is the deceitful tongue." Whence a certain verse: "The released arrow returns, it inflicts a wound on the one who sent it." Both expel beyond reach and avoid all envy or hatred. Always attend to and consider our first father Adam, how "through the devil's spite death entered into the world," according to the apostle.¹

¹ Actually quoted from the Book of Wisdom.

Attende iugiter et considera quot adversa evenerunt decem filiis Iacob propter linguam dolosam et invidiam qua Ioseph in egiptum dinoscuntur severius¹ vendidisse.² Attende iugiter et considera longam iudeorum captivitatem qui per invidiam Mansuetum dei filium morte turpissima non sunt veriti condempnare. Secundum illud Ieremie, Morte turpissima condempnemus eum.³ Set perfecta caritate prehabita loquere et discerne absque lingua corosiva ut hoc facias aliis quod tibi vis fieri, ut perfecta semper fraternitate tuam linguam dirigas et in⁴ Christo domino qui te et nos meritis et precibus invictissimi Militis sancti Thome ad illud inestimabile celi lumen provehat feliciter et perducatur. AMEN.

1 Probably a transcription error for "servitutum."

2 Genesis 37:12–36.

3 Wisdom 2:20.

4 Inserted superscript.

Always attend to and consider the word of the psalmist: "He who secretly slanders his neighbour, him I persecuted." And a little later saying: "let the devil stand at his right hand, when he is judged." Always attend to and consider how many adversities befell the ten sons of Jacob on account of their deceitful and spiteful talk by which they were seen to sell Joseph into Egyptian slavery. Always attend to and consider the length of the captivity of the Jews who through spite did not fear to condemn the gentle son of God. According to the same Jeremiah: "Let us condemn him to a most shameful death." But always speak and see in perfect charity, without corrosive tongue, so that you do unto others as you would be want them to do to you, so that you guide your tongue always in perfect brotherhood, and in Christ the Lord, who shall happily carry and lead you and us, through the merits and prayers of the most invincible knight St. Thomas, to that inestimable light of heaven. AMEN.

FURTHER READING

Thomas Becket and his Medieval Cult

- Barlow, Frank. *Thomas Becket*. London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1986.
- Beer, Lloyd de and Naomi Speakman. *Thomas Becket: Murder and the Making of a Saint*. London: British Museum, 2020.
- Duggan, Anne. *Thomas Becket*. London: Bloomsbury, 2004.
- Foreville, Raymonde. *La Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIII^e au XV^e siècle (1220–1470): Étude et documents*. Paris: SEVPEN, 1958.
- Jenkins, John. "St. Thomas Becket and Medieval London." *History* 105, no. 367 (2020): 652–72.
- Nickson, Tom, ed. "The Cult of St Thomas Becket: Art, Relics and Liturgy in Britain and Europe." Special issue, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173, no. 1 (2020).
- Slocum, Kay Brainerd. *The Cult of Thomas Becket: History and Historiography through Eight Centuries*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2019.
- Urry, William. *Thomas Becket: His Last Days*. Stroud: Sutton, 1999.
- Webster, Paul and Marie-Pierre Gelin, eds. *The Cult of St. Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c. 1170–c. 1220*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016.

Canterbury Cathedral

- Blockley, Kevin, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave*. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1997.
- Collinson, Patrick, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks, eds. *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Greatrex, Joan. *English Benedictine Cathedral Pories: Rule and Practice c. 1270–1420*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Jenkins, John. "Modelling the Cult of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral." *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 173 (2020): 100–23.
- Legg, J. Wickham, and W. H. St. John Hope. *Inventories of Christchurch Canterbury*. Westminster: Constable, 1902.
- Phillips, C. S. *Canterbury Cathedral in the Middle Ages*. London: SPCK, 1949.
- Smith, R. A. L. *Canterbury Cathedral: A Study In Monastic Administration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943.
- Sweetinburgh, Sheila. "Pilgrimage in 'An Age of Plague': Seeking Canterbury's 'hooly blisful martir' in 1420 and 1470." In *The Fifteenth Century XII: Society in an Age of Plague*, edited by Linda Clark and Carole Rawcliffe, 56–77. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013.
- Woodman, Francis. *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

Shrines and Pilgrimage

- Bailey, Anne. "Reconsidering the Experience at the Shrine in High Medieval England." *Journal of Medieval History* 47, no. 2 (2021): 203–29.
- Dyas, Dee. *The Dynamics of Pilgrimage: Christianity, Holy Places, and Sensory Experience*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Dyas, Dee and John Jenkins, eds. *Pilgrimage and England's Cathedrals: Past, Present, and Future*. Cham: Palgrave MacMillan, 2020.
- Jenkins, John. "Replication or Rivalry? The "Becketization" of Pilgrimage in English Cathedrals." *Religion* 49, no. 1 (2019): 24–47.
- Koopmans, Rachel. *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Malo, Robyn. *Relics and Writing in Late Medieval England*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2013.
- Nilson, Ben. *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998.

Monastic Customaries

- Claxton, William. *Rites of Durham*. Edited by Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason. Surtees Society 228 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2020).
- A Consuetudinary of the Fourteenth Century for the Refectory of the House of St. Swithun in Winchester*. Edited by George W. Kitchin. London: Stock, 1886.
- Lanfranc, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*. Edited by David Knowles and Christopher Brooke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Pansters, Krijn, ed. *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*. Leiden: Brill, 2020.

Monastic Liturgy

- Harper, John. *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Heffernan, Thomas J. and E. Ann Matter, eds. *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. TEAMS, 2nd ed. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005.
- Pfaff, Richard W. *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Reames, Sherry L. "Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket." In *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head, 565–78. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . "Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket." *Speculum* 80 (2005): 118–70.
- Roper, Sally. *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure, and Content of the Monastic Votive Office, c. 950–1540*. New York: Garland, 1993.
- Slocum, Kay Brainerd. *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004.