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Cover Page Footnote

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The Rogationtide Processions of Wilton Abbey

Alison Altstatt

The Benedictine convent of Wilton Abbey, an Anglo-Saxon royal foundation at the former capital of Wessex, was among the wealthiest women's religious communities of medieval England and home to an elite school for noble women.¹ Until recently, a late thirteenth-century manuscript processional from Wilton was known only from a hand-copy made around 1860 at the Abbey of St. Pierre de Solesmes in France by Dom Paul Jausion. The original manuscript was presumed lost.² The recent identification of 37 leaves of the original manuscript offers primary sources for the study of Wilton's liturgy, and a means by which to assess the reliability of the nineteenth-century copy.³

Two of the 37 recovered folios transmit processional antiphons, litanies, and stational masses for the "Major Litanies" or "Major Rogations" of April 25, and nine more transmit chants for the "Minor Litanies" or "Minor Rogations" (hereafter "Rogationtide"): three days of open-air penitential processions that involved the participation of the laity and took place just prior to the Feast of the Ascension, accompanied by chanting, prayers, fasting, vernacular sermons, and the blessing of the crops. These nine folios are marked with asterisks in Table 1 (see supplemental file on article's download page). The processions of Rogationtide were clearly of great importance at Wilton Abbey, whose enormous repertoire of 46 chants dwarfs that of nearby Salisbury Cathedral, which contained a mere 11.

The purpose of this study is twofold: to situate the three-day Rogationtide liturgy within its historical context and to offer a reconstruction of its processional routes. This reconstruction gives insight into the abbey's liturgy and the sacred landscape of Wilton, including the possible locations of churches and other landmarks that no longer exist. The Rogationtide processions mixed piety with politics: at a time when the abbey's autonomy was increasingly challenged, the processions reasserted the abbess's seigneurial authority and reaffirmed the house's position within the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. Bearing the relics of its patron, St. Edith, in procession, the abbey extended the power of the saint beyond its walls, reminding outsiders of her role as a powerful intercessor, and of the abbey's as a site of miraculous healing. Rogationtide was an annual chance for the nuns to see their landholdings and to pray for their fields, their flocks, and those who worked them, as well as for the town of Wilton, its people, churches, and clergy. The visibility of the nuns and the singular sound of women's voices chanting furthermore served as a reminder of the community's central role as intercessor and guardian of the shrine of St. Edith.

¹ See Stephanie Hollis, "Wilton as a Centre of Learning," in *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of*

² For a description and analysis of Solesmes Ms. 596 (Jausion's copy), see Georges Benoît-Castelli, "Un processional anglais du XIV-ième siècle: le Processional dit 'de Rollington,'" *Ephemerides liturgicae* 75 (1961): 281–326.

³ See Alison Altstatt, "Re-membling the Wilton Processional," *Notes: The Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 72/4 (June 2016): 690–732.

The History of Wilton and Its Abbey

From the time of its ninth-century foundation to its dissolution in 1539, Wilton educated girls from English noble families. Royal women educated at Wilton Abbey include Edith (961–984), the daughter of Edgar the Peaceful (r. 959–75), later canonized as St. Edith of Wilton; Edith of Wessex (1025–1075), wife of Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–1066); and Matilda of Scotland (ca. 1080–1118; also christened Edith), wife of King Henry I (r. 1100–1135). The abbess of Wilton was the equivalent of a baron: she collected tithes from her numerous manors, and her abbey hosted a royal eyre, or itinerant court of law. In addition to the abbey church, the abbess possessed “advowson” over numerous prebends: the churches on her rural manors and in the town of Wilton. This meant that she held the right to the parish’s tithe and rental income and the right to present (appoint) its priests, subject to the confirmation of the king.

Paradoxically, the Wilton liturgy, like that of all female religious communities, depended on the presence of the male clergy to administer the sacraments and to offer certain prayers. Moreover, despite its status as a royal convent and school, Wilton in the late thirteenth century was subjected to legislation that demanded the enclosure of all female religious communities in England, with the result that the convent’s dependence on its priests in practical matters likely increased. In this context, the processions of Rogationtide offered an annual opportunity for the nuns to renew, in person, the abbey’s relationships with churches within the town of Wilton, their clergy, and their saints.

Despite the restrictions on female religious—or perhaps because of them—some medieval theologians believed the prayers of virgins to be especially effective, due to their close proximity to God.⁴ The Rogationtide processions represented a rare opportunity for these prayers, and the voices of the women and girls who chanted them, to be heard outside the abbey. The chants of the Rogationtide processions address God in supplication, teach and console in the words of Christ, praise the saints and beg for intercession, and intercede and instruct on behalf of the monastic community, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the secular world. And yet, another audience was present: Rogationtide was one time during the year when the Wilton nuns were visible and audible to the laity.

Challenges to the reconstruction of Wilton’s processional routes are numerous: the manuscript has few rubrics (liturgical assignments and performance instructions, usually written in red ink), and the liturgical instructions of the abbey’s ordinal have not been preserved. Many of the churches and other landmarks of medieval Wilton do not survive. The founding of the town of New Salisbury in 1227 and the rapid growth of its markets led to an economic downturn for Wilton, whose markets had previously provided an important source of income for both the town and abbey. The construction of Ayleswade Bridge in Harnham in 1244 furthermore diverted Salisbury-bound traffic that had previously passed through Wilton,

⁴ Gisela Muschiol, “Time and Space: Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages, in *Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti, trans. Dietlinde Hamburger (New York: Columbia University Press: 2008), 195.

resulting in a loss of tariff income.⁵ (Harnham lies just south of Salisbury, across the River Avon, about three miles east of Wilton.) By the late thirteenth century, when the processional was made, the town and abbey were already in a state of financial decline. By the time of the abbey's dissolution in 1539, many of Wilton's medieval churches lay in ruins. King Henry VIII granted the abbey and its properties to the earl of Pembroke, who constructed Wilton House where the abbey once stood. The exact location of the abbey church and the fate of its altars, tombs, and relics are unknown.⁶

Despite these challenges to reconstruction, the ordering of the chants themselves, along with their dedications, indicates the location of stations where the procession stopped, thereby providing information about chapels that lay within the abbey and Wilton churches that have long since disappeared. These indications, combined with evidence from other monastic manuscripts, ecclesiastical and landholding records, and maps, support a hypothetical reconstruction of the Rogationtide processions and help put their music into context.

The History and Theology of Rogationtide

Western medieval Christianity observed two penitential periods during the Paschal season that involved fasting, prayer, and processions to stational churches where Mass was said.⁷ The older of the two, the so-called Major Rogations or Major Litanies of April 25, are a Christianized vestige of the Roman festival of Robigalia, during which propitiatory sacrifices were offered to protect crops from disease. The chants for the Major Rogations are among the oldest recorded in the chant repertoire.⁸

The so-called Minor Rogations or Minor Litanies were observed over the three days preceding the Feast of the Ascension. The observation of the Minor Rogations originated in fifth-century Gaul, where they were introduced by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne in the Rhône Valley, following a series of natural calamities.⁹ While the Council of Orléans ordered the observation of the Minor Rogations, they were not incorporated into the Roman Rite until the time of Pope Leo (795–816).¹⁰ Throughout the Middle Ages, they were more widely observed north of the Alps than the Major Rogations of April 25.¹¹ In his influential liturgical commentary *Liber de divinis officiis* (Book of Divine Offices), written between 1108 and 1111, the Benedictine monk Rupert of Deutz reminds the reader that Bishop Mamertus introduced

⁵ "Wilton: Decline," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 15–16; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp15-16> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁶ Restoration work undertaken between 1988 and 1992 revealed the bases of twelfth-century stone pillars beneath the southeast corner of Wilton House.

⁷ David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 51.

⁸ Joyce Hill has shown that the distinction between "major" and "minor" litanies is not medieval in origin. See Joyce Hill, "The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia, and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts, and Traditions," *Early Medieval Europe* 9/2 (2000): 211–46.

⁹ See Hill, "Litaniae maiores and minores," 211–12.

¹⁰ See Helen Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134.

¹¹ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 134.

the Rogationtide processions to beseech Christ's mercy most intensely in the days just prior to his ascension to heaven, where, according to 1 John 2, he advocates on behalf of the sinner to the Father.¹² The chants of Rogationtide transmitted in the processional are at once penitential and festive: they beg for mercy and deliverance from calamity, but end with a festal Paschal character through the incorporation of the Alleluia.¹³

Rogationtide was known in Old English as *gangdagas* (walking days), or *bendagas* or *gebeddages* (petition days or prayer days), reflecting its processional and penitential nature, respectively.¹⁴ The earliest evidence of its observation in England is in Cuthbert's letter on the death of Bede from the year 735. On the Wednesday before the Feast of the Ascension, Cuthbert and his fellow monks left Bede's bedside in order to process "with the relics, as the custom of that day required."¹⁵ Ten Rogation antiphons appear in Alcuin's *De laude* (On Praise), and injunctions from the 747 Council of Clofesho show that the processions were popular with the laity, who evidently celebrated the occasion with a variety of entertainments:

And also, according to the custom of our forefathers, the three days before the Ascension of the Lord into the heavens are honored with a fast up to the ninth hour and with the celebration of Masses, not mixed with vanities—as many are in the habit of doing—or levities, or vulgarities, that is in games and horse-races and huge feasts, but rather with fear and trembling, with the sign of Christ's passion and our eternal redemption and when the relics of his saints have been carried before, all the people, with bended knee, humbly petition divine forgiveness for their sins.¹⁶

The laity are also present in the large corpus of Rogation homilies in Old English. The homilies describe processions led by a barefoot clergy who bore relics, books, and crosses, with lay people following behind.¹⁷ The open-air processions made their way along a rural circuit, blessing crops, the forest, and livestock: "our worldly riches, that is the fields and woods and our cattle."¹⁸ The processions arrived at a nearby chapel, where Mass was said.¹⁹ Stations along the processional route were sometimes made at churches and other local landmarks.²⁰ Helen Gittos has observed that the choice of churches visited along a processional route reflected a "surprising degree of cooperation" between the various institutions, even those whose "relations were strained." She concludes that such processions functioned as demonstrations of the unity of the church, meant to ease tensions between institutions: "[t]he ceremonial linking together of places was presumably designed to address these problems,

¹² Nils Holger Petersen, "Biblical Reception, Representational Ritual, and the Question of 'Liturgical Drama,'" *Sapientia et Eloquentia* 2009: 184.

¹³ See Terence Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, Studies and Texts 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1971), 134–35.

¹⁴ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 134.

¹⁵ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 134 n. 98.

¹⁶ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 134–36 n. 99.

¹⁷ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 136.

¹⁸ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 136 n. 102.

¹⁹ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 136. Gittos notes that in England as in early medieval Europe, the processions visited other chapels, and did not trace parish boundaries, as was the later custom of parish churches.

²⁰ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 138 n. 112.

even publically to deny them.”²¹ This explanation of the processions’ function is fitting in the case of Wilton Abbey, which was tied to the region and its churches through complex networks of patronage.

Wilton Abbey and the Diocese of Salisbury

In the late thirteenth century, two important issues shaped the interactions between the Diocese of Salisbury and Wilton Abbey, which lay within five miles of Salisbury Cathedral. The first issue had to do with the enclosure of female religious communities, legislated in England from 1268 on. The second was the increased scrutiny of the abbey’s advowson over its possessions, including its rights to collect income from its prebends and to present priests to these institutions. These two questions challenged the abbey’s autonomy and its right to independently manage its spiritual and temporal affairs.

The first legislation calling for the universal enclosure of all orders of religious women came in a legatine decree written by Cardinal Ottobuono de’ Fieschi, papal legate to England from 1265 to 1268, who later became Pope Adrian V. Canon 52 of the Legatine Council of St. Paul’s, London, held in April 1268, *Quod moniales certa loca non exeant* (That nuns should not leave certain places), called for strict enclosure for all religious women in England.²² Ottobuono wrote that having renounced the world for Christ, nuns “should preserve their innocence of mind and body” by remaining within the walled cloister.²³ Lay people were forbidden from entering the convent, except with just cause. Nuns were forbidden from speaking with anyone, religious or secular, unless in public and with another nun present. All travel outside the cloister was strictly regulated; even the abbess was to remain within the cloister, except in cases of urgent necessity. Ottobuono’s canon went so far as to prohibit nuns from processing outside the cloister.²⁴

And we abolish the custom of the land of our legation [England], by which nuns have been in the habit of going out on the occasion of processions, no matter how public and solemn. We firmly establish that the nuns should not go out of their aforesaid monasteries, but should rather carry out processions within the bounds of the monastery at those solemn times when the faithful have been accustomed to assembling in procession.²⁵

²¹ Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Spaces*, 144 n. 146.

²² Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298–1545* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1997), 38.

²³ Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women*, 38.

²⁴ Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women*, 37–39. At the same council, Ottobuono ordered that the week after Pentecost, public processions were to be held in thanksgiving for peace, to avert the wrath of God, and to pray for the recovery of the Holy Land. See Björn Weiler, “Symbolism and Politics in the Reign of Henry III,” in *Thirteenth-Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001*, ed. Michael Prestwisch, Richard Britnell, and Robine Frame (Woodbridge, Conn.: Boydell Press, 2003), 26–27.

²⁵ “In terris quoque nostrae legationis consuetudinem abolemus, qua moniales monasteria consueverunt exire occasione processionum, quantumcunque fuerint publicae et solennes; firmiter statuentes, ut occasione praedicta monasteria non exeant moniales, sed intra septa monasteriorum processionum solennia peragant temporibus, in quibus consueverunt fideles in processionibus convenire.” In David Wilkins, ed., *Constitutiones Dom. Othoboni, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae a synodo verolamiensi* (London: R. Gosling, 1737), 2: 18. I am grateful to

In this final stipulation, Ottobuono privileged the ideal of female enclosure over liturgical custom, which required the processions of Rogationtide to exit the monastic enclosure to visit a stational church within the vicinity, where Mass would be said.

How widely Ottobuono's directives were implemented is difficult to determine. Nevertheless, the legislation established a legal precedent for stricter control of English religious women's movement and processional liturgies. The Wilton nuns' continued practice of holding elaborate public processions in defiance of—or perhaps indifference to—this legislation underscores the importance of the Rogationtide processions, which annually strengthened the spiritual relationship of the abbey to the surrounding land, the people, the churches, and their saints.

Another area in which the rights of the abbey were increasingly questioned was in the appointment of priests to the abbey church and to its possessions, both within the town of Wilton and on its numerous rural estates. These appointments were extremely important because at least some of the priests of Wilton's rural churches held stalls within the abbey church and thus were present during some of its liturgies. Some of the priests resided near or even within the abbey. The scribes of Bishop Simon of Ghent wrote in 1312 that the priest of North Newton, a prebend of Wilton,

customarily . . . holds a residence either in the aforementioned monastery, or makes it near the monastery of Wilton, that he might help the ladies, in time of necessity, offering advice and help when asked to do so. He should have, at the location of the prebend, a vicar priest continually in residence there to celebrate Mass.²⁶

Thus at least some of the abbey's prebendaries lived closely with the nuns, with frequent opportunities for contact over years, decades, or even a lifetime. The abbess's right of advowson was therefore crucial to the management of the spiritual and temporal affairs of the community.

An important challenge to the abbey's right to appoint its priests occurred in 1248, when Bishop William of York appropriated the earnings and advowson of St. Peter, Bulbridge, a possession of the abbey that lay just to the southwest of the monastery.²⁷ In a lengthy letter to the abbess of Wilton, the bishop confirmed that, with the agreement of the abbey, two-thirds of the parish's earnings would be appropriated to Wilton to fund the repair of the abbey's decaying buildings, while the bishop would control the advowson, transforming the parish into a vicarage. While the arrangement was intended to provide the abbey with additional income, it

Lori Kruckenberg for bringing this source to my attention. See Lori Kruckenberg, "The Medieval Cantrix in the Latin West: Toward a European Context for *Codex Las Huelgas* and the Nuns of Burgos," presented at "Iberian Polyphony in the Middle Ages: New Sources, New Hypotheses," international symposium at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, Basel, May 8–9, 2015.

²⁶ C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, eds., *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo Diocesis Saresbiriensis, A.D. 1297–1315*, Canterbury and York Series 41 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 19), 2: 789.

²⁷ William Henry Rich Jones, ed., *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, *Rerum Britannicorum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, or *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages* 97 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891), 313–14.

also established a permanent episcopal presence at St. Peter, Bulbridge, presumably giving the bishop a voice in the abbey's affairs.

Rogationtide in the Wilton Processional

In his assessment of Solesmes Ms. 596, the nineteenth-century copy of the Wilton processional, Georges Benoît-Castelli dated the original manuscript to 1250–1320, based on a reconstructed calendar of feasts.²⁸ The presence of an antiphon for St. Dominic on the second day of Rogationtide confirms that the processional must have been written after 1245, when the Dominican house was established in West Street in Wilton.²⁹ Following the identification of original leaves of the processional, Christopher de Hamel and Scott Gwara have offered a revised date of about 1280, based on stylistic characteristics of the manuscript's illuminated opening folio.³⁰ An examination of late thirteenth-century hands of manuscripts held in the Salisbury Cathedral library supports this assessment. The manuscript's scribal hand uses forms comparable to those found in Salisbury, while retaining certain conservative elements. The relative conservatism supports the hypothesis that a convent scribe, and not a scribe from the cathedral, copied the text of the processional.³¹

Table 2 (see supplemental file on article download page) indexes the Rogationtide processions of Wilton and transcribes their accompanying rubrics.³² Chants that appear in

²⁸ Benoît-Castelli, "Un processionnal anglais," 288–89. Benoît-Castelli noted that the manuscript must postdate 1246, the date of the canonization of St. Edmond the Archbishop. He further observed that the manuscript lacks the Feast of Corpus Christi, which was instated by Urban IV in 1264, but not imposed on the church until 1312. Benoît-Castelli notes that the feast was not adopted at Cluny until 1315. He dismisses contrary evidence in the inclusion of the Feasts of the Transfiguration and Edmund the Martyr in the following manner: he explains that although the manuscript transmits the Feast of the Transfiguration, instituted by Calixtus III in 1497, the feast was already celebrated in Cluny by the twelfth century. A Cluniac influence is supported by the manuscript's transmission of chants taken from the Office of the Transfiguration composed by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny. Similarly, though St. Edmund the Martyr was not canonized until the fifteenth century, his feast was celebrated in England as early as 1247, when his office was included in the antiphoner Worcester F. 160. Benoît-Castelli does not mention that the processional also assigns a chant for St. Dominic, canonized in 1234, to Tuesday of Rogations (see Solesmes Ms. 596, f. 95v).

²⁹ "Houses of Dominican Friars: Wilton," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 330–31; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp330-331> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

³⁰ Christopher de Hamel and Scott Gwara, personal communication. The opening folio is reproduced in Altstatt, "Re-membering the Wilton Processional," 696, fig. 1.

³¹ For example, the forms of the straight-backed letter *d* and slanted ampersand that appear without exception in the Wilton processional are also present in Salisbury Cathedral Ms. 153, a lectionary copied before 1277. Yet the scribe of Ms. 153 occasionally uses the newer forms of the Gothic sloped-back letter *d* and Tironian *et*, as seen on f. 2v, column a. For further discussion of the processional's scribal and notational hands, see Altstatt, "Re-membering the Wilton Processional," 718–22.

³² Table 2 adopts the following abbreviations from Floyd's "Processional Chants in English Monastic Sources:" CAN: Durham, University Library, Cosin V.V.6 (gradual from Christ Church, Canterbury late 11th c.); TYN: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 4 (processional from Tynmouth priory, Northumberland, cell of St. Albans's, 12th c.); WOR: Worcester Cathedral, Chapter Library, F.160 (complete liturgical chant repertory from Worcester, 13th c.); DUR: London British Library, Royal 7.A.vi (miscellany from Durham, 14th c.); BUR: Norwich, Castle Museum, 158.926.4g(4) (processional from Bury St. Edmunds, 15th c.); CAS: Norwich, Castle Museum, 158.926.4e (Cluniac processional from Castle Acre priory, Norfolk, 14th c.); OSY: Oxford Bodleian Library, Laud

incipit in the source are indicated with an asterisk. Column 6 gives the unique identification number for each chant assigned by the Cantus Database for Ecclesiastical Chant. Columns 7 and 8 compare the Wilton repertoire to those of the fourteenth-century processional of the use of Sarum (Salisbury Cathedral) and the fifteenth-century ordinal of the women's Benedictine community of Barking Abbey.³³ Columns 9 and 10 compare the Wilton repertoire to Michel Huglo's typology of processional sources and to Malcolm Floyd's index of English monastic processionals, respectively.³⁴ The eleventh and final column lists which pieces have been transcribed in the editions of Terence Bailey (Sarum), Marie-Noëlle Colette (Poitiers), and James Borders (Nonantola).³⁵

The enormous Wilton Rogationtide repertoire shown in Table 2 is much larger than that of Sarum, which contained only 11 chants (Table 2, col. 7).³⁶ Like many late Rogationtide repertoires, the Wilton repertoire drew freely from those chants proper to the Major Litanies of April 25, as identified by Michel Huglo (Table 2, col. 9). Other English monastic processionals (Table 2, col. 10) also contain repertoires much broader than that of Sarum, yet Wilton's is still more extensive than any of these.³⁷ Overall, the Wilton repertoire is most similar to that transmitted in the thirteenth-century monastic antiphoner from Worcester Cathedral, but transmits additional chants for the Major and Minor Litanies, including antiphons for mercy, for favorable weather, and for the transport of relics that are found in no other English source.

It seems clear that Wilton received an independent transmission of Rogationtide repertoire from northern France, which is consistent with Benoît-Castelli's findings and with Susan Rankin's analysis of the processional's *Visitatio sepulchri* Resurrection play.³⁸ A comparison with the rubrics from the uses of Salisbury Cathedral and Barking Abbey further suggests that

misc. 329 (processional from St. Osyth, Essex, 15th c.); BRE: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 9 (processional, ordinary of mass chants and sequentiary from Breamore, Hampshire, 13th c.).

³³ See Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, and J. B. Tolhurst, ed., *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey (University College Oxford Ms. 169)*, vol. 1: *Calendar and Temporale* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1926).

³⁴ See Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, International Inventory of Musical Sources B, XIV, 2 vols. (Munich: Henle, 1999, 2004); and Malcolm Floyd, "Processional Chants in English Monastic Sources," *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 8 (1990): 1–48.

³⁵ See Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*; Marie-Noëlle Colette, *Le répertoire des rogations d'après un processional de Poitiers (XVI^e siècle)*, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes: Bibliographies, Colloques, Travaux Préparatoires, Série Bibliothèques anciennes (Paris: Éditions du Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1976); and James Borders, ed., *Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, part 3: *Processional Chants*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance 32 (Madison: AR Editions, 1996).

³⁶ Wilton transmits 10 of the 11 chants used at Sarum: compare with Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, 120–21.

³⁷ Bailey counts fourteen processional antiphons in the Sarum repertoire (see Bailey, *Processions of the Sarum and Western Church*, 120–121.) Because this number includes three antiphons assigned to Ash Wednesday, I have revised Bailey's count to eleven. Bailey omits from his count office antiphons sung for patron saints, items of the Mass, psalms sung in full, litanies along with their associated antiphons, and repetitions of processional antiphons on the second and third days of Rogationtide. These same criteria result in a count of forty-six processional antiphons in the Wilton repertoire.

³⁸ See Benoît-Castelli, "Un processional anglais," and Susan K. Rankin, "A New English Source of the Visitatio Sepulchri," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 4 (1981): 1–11.

the Wilton processions were relatively long in distance and duration, and that they visited an unusually large number of stations in the vicinity of the abbey.

As noted above, many of the chants in the Wilton repertoire have previously been transcribed from other sources in studies by Bailey, Colette, and Borders. My transcriptions below include several chants that were particularly significant in the Wilton liturgy, along with several previously untranscribed chants that include unica from the Wilton repertoire.

As for the format of the processions, Bailey has noted that the liturgies of the Major Rogations of April 25 and the three-day Rogationtide prior to the Feast of the Ascension both involved the singing of special antiphons and “when necessary, the Penitential Psalms and a litany.”³⁹ As the procession passed by stational churches on its route, “a responsory would be sung for the saint whose church it was, followed by an appropriate versicle and prayer, followed by the *preces in prostratione* (prayers [said] in prostration) and a Mass. A litany was then sung on the return to the home church.”⁴⁰ Like that of Salisbury, the Wilton liturgy adhered to this general format, with adaptations and expansions prompted by the relationship between the abbey and the stational churches it visited in procession.

Mapping the Routes

Each day of Rogationtide at Wilton Abbey was marked by a procession of a different character (see Fig. 1). On Monday, the abbey processed along a rural route that proceeded southwest through the village of Washern to the Church of St. Peter, Bulbridge. The Tuesday procession was civic in character, taking an urban route that visited eight stational churches within the town of Wilton, to the northwest of the monastery. Mass was celebrated at the Church of St. Mary, Bread Street, over which the abbey held advowson. Wednesday’s procession went to the north and east, traversing the Little Marsh before arriving at St. Peter, Fugglestone, a parish in possession of the abbey, where the nuns sang the Mass for the Vigil of the Ascension. The following reconstruction must remain somewhat conjectural for the reasons outlined above.

³⁹ Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, 52.

⁴⁰ Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, 52.

Figure 1: Map of Rogationide Processions of Wilton Abbey. Credit: Ann Altstatt.

Monday

On Monday, the first day of Rogationtide, the procession probably convened in the abbey chapel in the afternoon (Fig. 1, a).⁴¹ At Barking Abbey, the ringing of the bells summoned a lay congregation, and it is possible that the same occurred at Wilton.⁴² At Wilton, as at Barking and Salisbury, the antiphon *Exsurge domine* began the processional liturgy, followed by the psalm *Deus auribus nostris*. Together, the antiphon and psalm beg for divine assistance and delivery, in accordance with ancestral injunction:

Exsurge domine adiuva nos et libera nos propter nomen tuum alleluya
Ps. Deus auribus nostris audivimus patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis

Arise, Lord, help us, and free us through your name, alleluia.
 Ps. O God, with our ears, we have heard. Our fathers have given warning to us.

At Sarum and Barking, the procession then exited the church through the nave, bearing banners, the cross, candles, and finally, the relics of its saints. At Wilton, the procession may have borne the elaborate golden reliquary of St. Edith, which, according to Goscelin of St. Bertin, King Canute commissioned for her translation.⁴³ As at Barking and Sarum, the English processional antiphon *Surgite sancti* invoked the saints whose relics were carried for blessing and protection.⁴⁴

Surgite sancti de mansionibus nostris loca sanctificate
plebem benedicite et nos humiles peccatores in pace custodite alleluya

Arise, you saints, from our mansions, make holy [this] place.
 Bless the people and keep us humble sinners in peace, alleluia.

This striking text locates the saints within the houses—literally, the *mansiones*, or manors of the abbey. As will become evident below, this wording reflects the community's special position as guardian not only of the relics housed within the abbey church, but also of the relics of those saints honored in the churches that lay in town and on the abbess's rural estates.

The medieval church attributed to relics great power to sanctify and to heal. Through procession, their power extended past the walls of their home church and into the vicinity through which they processed. As Marie-Noëlle Colette has observed in her study of the Rogationtide processions of Poitiers:

⁴¹ At Salisbury, the procession followed the office of Sext, and at Barking, the office of None. See W. G. Henderson, ed., *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum* (Leeds: M'corquodale and Company, 1882), 103; and Tolhurst, *Ordinale and Customary*, 124.

⁴² Tolhurst, *Ordinale and Customary*, 124.

⁴³ Michael Wright and Kathleen Loncar, eds., "The Translatio of Edith," in Hollis and Barnes, *Writing the Wilton Women*, 78–79.

⁴⁴ This antiphon is found in the repertoire of Poitiers, and in English sources. Strangely, Huglo does not mention it. A related text also appears as a chapter (capitulum) in Chapter XVII of the eleventh-century *Navigatio sancti Brendani abbatis*, transmitted in Bibliothèque municipale d'Alençon, Codex 14, ff. 1r–11v; digital transcription by Guy Vincent, https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost10/Brendanus/bre_navi.html (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

The transport of relics, attested to in numerous places for the Rogation processions and those of St. Mark, conferred on them a great solemnity. The sacred bodies must have, in their passing, purified the places they traversed, in the same way as the holy water of the Sunday procession, and the presence of the relics in the churches themselves.⁴⁵

De Ierusalem, which follows, likens the procession of relics from the church to a salvific force emanating from Jerusalem and Mount Sion:

*De Ierusalem exeunt reliquie et salvatio de monte Syon
propter ea protectio erit huic civitati
et salvabitur propter David famulum eius alleluya*

From Jerusalem the relics go forth, and salvation from Mount Sion.
Through them, protection will be on this city
and it will be saved by David, her servant, alleluia.

The text's reference to Jerusalem takes on additional meaning when considered within the context of the Paschal liturgy at Wilton, when the abbey was symbolically transformed into the city of Jerusalem. In their exit from the Jerusalem of the abbey, the relics—and the nuns—prefigured the Division of the Apostles, which the abbey commemorated ten days later on the Feast of Pentecost in dramatic ritual. If the abbey was the city of Jerusalem, then their destination, the Rollington (Fig. 1, e), can be read as the nuns' Mount Sion.

Wilton abbey's practice then seems to have departed from that of other English churches by adding several stations prior to exiting the monastic enclosure. The antiphons *Amicus dei* for St. Nicholas and *Andreas dei famulus* for St. Andrew, followed by the antiphon *Oremus omnes* for confessors, indicate the presence of stational altars or chapels for these saints, both of whom were honored in churches controlled by the abbey. The Church of St. Nicholas in Atrio, which stood at an undetermined site adjoining the Wilton marketplace, was first mentioned in 1226.⁴⁶ St. Nicholas's was appropriated to the abbey at an early date, and the abbess appointed its prebendaries without episcopal institutions.⁴⁷ While neither the exact site of the church nor the details of its demise are recorded, by 1366 the ruinous state of St. Nicholas's necessitated the relocation of its congregation to the nearby Church of St. Michael, Kingsbury.⁴⁸ In light of its institutional and financial relationship with St. Nicholas in Atrio, it is not surprising that the abbey would have possessed a portion of its relics. As for the latter saint, in addition to the Church of St. Andrew, Ditchampton, located within Wilton on West Street, the fourteenth century saw the construction of a chapel for St. Andrew in Bemerton, which lay within the abbey's parish of St. Peter, Fugglestone, possibly reflecting an earlier devotion. An ancient dedication to St.

⁴⁵ Colette, *Répertoire des rogations*, 20.

⁴⁶ "Wilton: Churches and Protestant Nonconformity," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 28–33; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp28-33> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁴⁷ "Wilton: Churches."

⁴⁸ "Wilton: Churches." See also John Bacon, *Liber Regis vel Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (London: John Nichols, 1786), 897; and J. E. Jackson, "Ancient Chapels, etc. in County Wilts," *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 10 (1867): 320.

Andrew is also probable at the abbey's property of South Newton.⁴⁹ It seems reasonable that through the practice of the division of relics, the abbey might have possessed relics from the churches located within its extensive landholdings.

After the relics of these saints were honored, the nuns sang another antiphon, *Cum iocunditate*, that traditionally accompanied the procession of relics:

*Cum iocunditate exhibitis et cum gaudio deducimini
nam et montes et colles exilient expectantes vos cum gaudio alleluia*

With happiness let us go forth, and with joy let us be led,
for the mountains and hills, exiled, await you with joy, alleluia.

As with the reference to Mount Sion above, these words were particularly apt for the route that followed to the Rollington, the hill at the center of the abbey's most ancient landholdings to the south and across the River Nadder.

Two antiphons for Mary Magdalene follow, indicating that the procession may have stopped in one of two locations: the first possibility is the chantry chapel of Mary Magdalene, documented as existing within the abbey from 1302 (Fig. 1, a).⁵⁰ The other possible station was the hospital of the same dedication that stood just outside the abbey gate, established for 12 poor bedesmen to pray for the soul of St. Edith, the abbey's patron (Fig. 1, b).⁵¹ The first antiphon, *Intercede supplicans*, calls on Mary Magdalene for intercession, while the second, *Venit Maria nuncians*, recounts Mary Magdalene's announcement of the Resurrection to the disciples. Together, the pair of antiphons succinctly position the abbey in intercessory and apostolic roles, in relationship both to the hospital and to the outside community.

The procession then headed southwest toward the Church of St. Peter in the hamlet of Bulbridge (Fig. 1, f), likely proceeding through the abbey's grounds and crossing the River Nadder somewhere near the current-day dairy bridge.⁵² Unlike at Barking and Salisbury, the Wilton processional indicates further stations prior to the arrival at the church where Mass was said. The procession passed through the village of Washern, which was the center of the abbey's agricultural and herding operation and the site of its great tithe barn, Washern Grange (Fig. 1, c). As the procession passed through Washern, a rubric indicates that the antiphon *Tu per [Thomae] sanguinem* for St. Thomas of Canterbury should be sung, possibly before the vicarage of St. Peter, Bulbridge, formerly located in the village.⁵³

⁴⁹ For St. Andrew, South Newton, see Bacon, *Liber Regis*, 897; for St. Andrew, Bemerton, see "Fugglestone St. Peter," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 37–50; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp37-50#h3-0008> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁵⁰ "Hospitals: The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Wilton," in *A History of the Country of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 367–68; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp367-368> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016). An altar dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene is also mentioned in a marginal addition to f. 8v, owned by the University of South Carolina.

⁵¹ "Hospitals: The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Wilton," 367–68.

⁵² Bacon, *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticum*, 396. See also Benoît-Castelli's notes on the rogation processions in "Un processionnal anglais," 307–10.

⁵³ By the time of dissolution, the vicarage of St. Peter, Bulbridge, stood in Washern between the River Nadder and Greenhay, adjoining Washingmead. See Charles Robert Straton, ed., *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of*

Five processional antiphons follow that urge atonement, beg God for forgiveness, and promise God's mercy. These five antiphons, given in incipit in Table 2 and all borrowed from the Major Litanies of April 25, presumably accompanied the procession as it headed eastward toward the next station at the "Wodemille" or "Woodmill" (Fig. 1, d), a fulling mill located on the River Nadder used to clean and felt woven woolen cloth by beating it with a series of water-driven hammers.⁵⁴ The adjacent "Woodmylmeade" (Woodmill Mead) was where the abbey's flocks were annually washed and sheared.⁵⁵ Thus both the mill and the meadow were central to the abbey's production of woolen cloth and represented an important source of income.

Simultaneously, the prayers at Wodemille reflected the abbey's reciprocal responsibility for the well-being of those who worked its farms and flocks. Arriving at the Wodemille, the nuns sang the supplicatory antiphon *Parce domine*, also borrowed from the Major Litanies of April 25:

*Parce domine parce populo tuo
quem redemisti Xriste sanguine tuo
ut non in eternum irascaris nobis alleluia alleluia*

Spare, O Lord, spare your people
Whom you redeemed, Christ, through your blood.
Do not be eternally angry with us, alleluia, alleluia.

Rubrics then instruct the abbey to sing the seven penitential psalms "apud Rollington" (at Rollington), bookended by the spectacular antiphon *Oremus dilectissimi nobis* (Ex. 1). The Rollington ("Rolandune," or "Roland's estate," Fig. 1, e) was a wooded hill that stood to the south of the village of Washern, granted by King Edmund to the nun Ælfgyth in 955.⁵⁶ While the exact location of the station at the Rollington is unknown, it is likely that the procession climbed the hill, achieving an overlook from which the abbess and her nuns could view their surrounding estates, as the earl of Pembroke is reported to have done following dissolution.⁵⁷ *Oremus dilectissimi nobis*, chanted before and after the seven psalms, is shared with other continental and English monastic sources, but appears in neither the Sarum nor the Barking use. Its text invites prayers for those suffering from a variety of ills:

Pembroke; Transcribed from Vellum Rolls in the Possession of the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1909), 12, 185. It is possible that the vicarage stood on land granted to the vicar of St. Peter's in 1236 by Thomas Tut; see "Wilton: Churches and Protestant Nonconformity," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 28–33; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp28-33> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016). A shrine to St. Thomas of Canterbury at the vicarage would have been a logical precedent for the chantry chapel later dedicated to the saint at St. Peter, Bulbridge, in 1325. See J. E. Jackson, "Ancient Chapels."

⁵⁴ Jackson, "Ancient Chapels," 291–94.

⁵⁵ Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, 16–17.

⁵⁶ The earl of Pembroke later enclosed the village of Washern within Wilton Park and demolished its buildings. The text of the charter may be found at <http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=get&type=charter&id=493> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016). See also "Houses of Benedictine Nuns," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956) 231–242; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp231-242> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁵⁷ The 1568 survey notes: "et facte sunt in Middel Rollington in bosco ibidem diverse et pulchre perambulaciones et unam Standinge in quo dominus stare potest ad supervidendum diversa loca pro placito suo . . ." See Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, 14.

Let us pray, dearly beloved, to God the almighty father that he may purge the world of all errors,
Eliminate disease, drive out famine, open prisons, [and] break the chains of captives.
To the wandering, may he grant return; to the sick, health; to those at sea, safe harbor; and grant peace in
our days; repel the rebellious enemies, and deliver us from the grip of Hell, for his name's sake, Amen.⁵⁸

Example 1: *Oremus dilectissimi*

f. 80v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

O - re - mus _____ di - lec - tis - si - mi no - bis

de - um pa - trem _____ om - ni - po - ten - tem _____

ut _____ cunc - tis _____ mun - dum _____ pur - get er - ror - ri - bus _____

mor - bos _____ au - fer - rat _____ fa - mem re - pel - lat

a - pe - re - at car - ce - ros _____ vin - cla - re _____ sol - vat _____

pe - re - gri - nan - ti - bus re - di - tum -

f. 81 (Solesmes Ms. 596)

in - fir - man - ti - bus sa - ni - ta - - - tem _____

na - vi - gan - ti - bus por - tum sa - lu - tis in - dul - ge - at _____

⁵⁸ Translation adapted from Borders, *Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, xlvii.

Example 1, cont'd.

et pa-cem tri-bu-at in di-e bus no-stris

in-sur-gen-tes-que re-pel-lat i-ni-mi-cos

et de-ma-nu in-fer-ni li-be-ret nos

prop-ter no-men su-um

a-lle-lu-ya

From the vantage point of the Rollington, the nuns extended their prayers from the abbey's landholdings to the whole world, echoing the "salvation from Mount Sion" chanted at the beginning of the procession.

Next followed the antiphons *Oportet nos* (Ex. 2) and *Benedicat nos trina maiestas* (Ex. 3), which were sung as the procession crossed back through Washern. Perhaps in counterweight to the worldly concerns of the previous antiphon, *Oportet nos* invokes the concept of contempt for the world—an ideal of the contemplative life in general, and of the claustration of nuns in particular. The ordering of these antiphons seems to remind the nuns to pray for the secular world, but not to be wooed by it. *Oportet nos*, a chant found in no other English source, translates:

It behooves us to shun the world, so that we may follow Christ, the Lord:
 Let us not throw away perpetual life for the meaningless glory of this world.
 We praise you, almighty Lord, you who sit above the cherubim and seraphim, hear us.
 The angels and archangels praise you, the prophets and apostles venerate you;
 We worship you, we pray to you O great redeemer,
 Whom the Father sent to the sheep as their shepherd, alleluia, alleluia.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Translation adapted from Borders, *Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, lvi.

Example 2: *Oportet nos*

f. 81 (Solesmes Ms. 596)

O - por - tet nos mun-dum con - temp - ne - re ut po - ssi-mus se - qui Xri - stum — do - mi - ni

f. 81v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

ne per - da - mus vi - tam per - pe - tu - am pro - pter va - nam hu - ius mun - di — glo - ri - am

te — lau - da - mus do - mi - ne om - ni - po - tens qui se - des su - per che - ru - bin et se - ra - phin ex - au - di — nos

te — lau - dant an - ge - li et ar - chan - ge - li te ve - ne - ran - tur pro - phe - ta et a - po - sto - li

te a - do - ra - mus te de - pre - ca - mur mag - num re - demp - to - rem quem pa - ter mi - sit o - vi - bus pa - sto - rem

a - lle - - - - - lu - ya

It can be no accident that this antiphon, with its image of Christ as the good shepherd, was sung just as the procession again passed through the center of the abbey's herding operation. The procession then approached the Church of St. Peter, Bulbridge (Fig. 1, f), whose advowson the bishop of Salisbury held from 1248. As the procession approached the church, the nuns sang the lengthy antiphon *Benedicat nos trina maiestas*, which appears in no other English processional source:⁶⁰

May the Lord bless us in his threefold majesty.

May the Holy Spirit, who, like a dove on the River Jordan, rested on Christ, bless you.

May he who deigned to descend from heaven to Earth and redeem us with his holy blood bless us.

May the Lord bless the great priesthood and your entrance, alleluia.

⁶⁰ *Benedicat nos trina maiestas* appears in London, British Library Add. 19768 (St. Alban's, Mainz, ca. 960) and in later sources from Chartres, Limoges, and Yrieux. See Bailey, *Processions of Sarum and the Western Church*, 123, 140. The text of the Wilton version is unusual in that it replaces "us" (*nos*) with "you" (*vos*) in the second line, and, in the last line, "our priesthood" (*sacerdotium nostrum*) with "the great priesthood" (*sacerdotium magnum*), and "our entrance" (*introitum nostrum*) with "your entrance" (*sacerdotium vostrum*). See Paul Cagin, *L'euchologie latine: Étudiée dans la tradition de ses formules et de ses formulaires*, Scriptorium Solesmense I:1: *Te deum ou Illatio? Contribution à l'histoire de l'euchologie latine a propos des origines du Te deum* (Solesmes: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1906), 207–08.

With these words, the nuns prayed and prepared the entrance for the vicar of St. Peter's Church, who represented the bishop. The sound of the stunning mode 3 antiphon would have been unfamiliar to a canon of Salisbury:

Example 3: *Benedicat nos trina maiestas*

f. 81v (Solesmes Ms. 596) f. 82r (Colby)

Be - ne - di - cat nos tri - na ma - ie - stas do - mi - ni

be - ne - di cat vos spi - ri - tus sanc - tus

qui in - spe - ci - e co - lum - be in lor - da - ne - flu - vi - o

su - per Xri stum re - qui - e - vit

i - lle nos be - ne - di - cat

qui de ce - lis dig - na - tus est de - scen - de - re in ter - ris

et de su - o san - cto san - gui - ne nos re - de - mit

be - ne - di - cat do - mi - nus sa - cer - do - ti - um mag - num

Example 3, cont'd.

O ianitor celi, a simple, formulaic mode 2 antiphon, was sung for the patron of the church as the procession entered St. Peter, Bulbridge, where the stational Mass was offered. This antiphon, unique to the Wilton repertoire, again references the image of Christ as good shepherd:

*O ianitor celi qui accepisti claves regni celorum
precamur te pastor bone intercede pro nobis*

O gatekeeper of heaven, who accepted the keys of the kingdom of heaven,
We pray to you to intercede for us to the good shepherd.

The texts for the proper chants of the Mass that followed are in keeping with the character of the Rogationtide processions that were at once penitential and festive. Their texts speak in direct personal prayer. The Introit, stated in first person, asserts that God has heard the supplicant's voice:

*Exaudivit de templo sancto suo vocem meam alleluia
et clamor meus in conspectu eius introivit in aures eius alleluia
Ps. Diligam te domine virtus mea
dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus*

He heard, from his holy temple, my voice, alleluia.
And my cry before him came to his ears, alleluia, alleluia.
Ps. I have loved you, Lord, my strength. The Lord is my firmament, my refuge, and my liberator.

The Alleluia urges the community to give thanks for God's mercy:

*Alleluia. v. Confitemini domino quoniam bonus
quoniam in seculum misericordia eius*

Alleluia. v. Let us give thanks to the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endures forever.

The Offertory offers an affirmation of gratitude in the first person:

*Confitebor domine nimis in ore meo et in medio multorum laudabo eum
qui astitit ad dexteram pauperis ut salvam faceret a persequentibus animam meam alleluia*

I shall give thanks to the Lord exceedingly with my mouth. And in the midst of many I shall praise him, who aids at the right hand of the poor, that he might bring salvation to those things that persecute my spirit, alleluia.

The Communion echoes the day's Gospel reading from Matthew 7:7, which promises that prayers will be answered:

*Petite et accipitis querite et inuenietis pulsate et aperietur vobis
omnis enim qui petit accipit et qui querit inuenit pulsanti apperietur alleluya*

Ask, and you shall receive; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened for you.
For he who asks shall be given everything, and he who seeks, finds,
and for him that knocks, it shall be opened, alleluia.

Following the Mass, the procession set forth on the return journey to the abbey. While the processional does not specify which music was sung, additional chants may have been drawn from the large collection given for the next day, discussed below. As the procession approached the abbey church of St. Edith, the antiphon *Saluator mundi salva nos* was sung, as at Barking and other English monastic houses, but not at Sarum. An undated marginal addition in the Wilton manuscript indicates that the cantrix intoned this antiphon:

*Saluator mundi salva nos omnes
sancta dei genitrix virgo semper Maria ora pro nobis
precibus quoque sanctorum apostolorum martiremque confessorum
atque sanctarum virginum suppliciter petimus ut a malis omnibus
nunc et semper perfrui mereamur*

Savior of the world, save us all.
Holy mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, pray for us.
By the prayers of the holy apostles, martyrs, and confessors, and of the holy virgins, we beseech with
supplication that we might avoid every evil, and that now and forever we might enjoy every good.

The litany of the saints then followed. A marginal annotation indicated that, as at Barking, six young girls (*iuvencule*) assumed the cantorial parts of the litany that invoked the names of the saints, to which the rest of the community responded with prayers for intercession.⁶¹ As was the custom at Salisbury and Barking, the choir sang an antiphon proper to the community's patron as the procession entered the home church. At Wilton, this was the antiphon *Regi in mare* for St. Edith (Ex. 4), whose text draws on a miracle from Goscelin's vita of St. Edith, in which King Canute found himself in danger of shipwreck and called on St. Edith to save him. In the words of the antiphon:

The king having invoked [her, she] appeared and said, "Here I am—Edith."
And immediately, the storm ceased. Be here, too, as our suffragist to the Lord."

The story demonstrates Edith's power and her receptivity to prayer. It is clearly reminiscent of a similar miracle from the vita of St. Nicholas, who was also revered at Wilton. It serves as a reminder of the spiritual power that the saint and her community wielded over secular authority. With this antiphon ended what must have been an exhilarating and exhausting day of walking, praying, and singing outside the walls of the abbey.

⁶¹ The Barking ordinal assigns the leading of the litany to the *scholares*, or older girls. See Tolhurst, *Ordinale and Customary*, 125.

Example 4: *Regi in mare*

f. 86v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Re - gi in ma - re nau - fra - gan - ti

in - vo - ca - ta a - ppa - ru - it

et e - go a - ssum E - dy - tha di - xit

sta - tim - que tem - pe - stas ce - ssa - vit

no - bis - quo - que in do - mi - no su - ffra - ga - trix a - ssit

Tuesday

On Tuesday, the second day of Rogationtide, the procession took an urban route, and its prayers were accordingly more civic in character. As on the first day, the processional antiphons *Exsurge*, *Surgite*, *De Ierusalem*, and *Amicus* for St. Nicholas were sung, but this time in choir. An antiphon for St. Clement followed, possibly sung at a stationary altar for the saint:

*Oremus omnes ad dominum Ihesum Xristum
ut ostendat nobis martiris sui corpus*

Let us all pray to the Lord Jesus Christ,
that he might show to us the body of his martyr.

The music of this mode 7 antiphon is simple and formulaic. The text's emphasis on St. Clement's body suggests that the abbey likely possessed his relics. The origin of these relics might have been the chapel of St. Clement, documented from 1319 in Fisherton Anger on the outskirts of Salisbury, but evidently much older.⁶²

As on the first day, an antiphon for St. Andrew followed. The antiphon *Cum iocunditate* for the carrying of relics was repeated from the previous day as the community exited the abbey church.

⁶² "Fisherton Anger," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1962), 180–94; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp180-194#h3-0005> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

An enormous repertoire of 29 antiphons follows in the manuscript, many borrowed from the Major Rogations of April 25. This repertoire includes antiphons for mercy, for the transport of relics, for penitents, and for protection against both drought and flooding. This unrubricated collection seems to represent a font of supplicatory antiphons from which the cantrix could draw, according to current needs. A similar, though smaller, range of optional antiphons is provided for Monday of Rogations in the Sarum processional. Why were they listed instead on Tuesday at Wilton? One explanation has to do with the civic nature of the Tuesday procession. Unlike the Monday and Wednesday processions, which headed toward rural destinations, Tuesday's procession was contained within the town of Wilton, where it visited eight of the city's churches. The procession likely moved more slowly as it prayed for the town, its churches, and its inhabitants. Possibly, greater lay participation on this day resulted in more crowding along the route, further slowing the procession's movement. Thus the need for additional antiphons may have been motivated by practical considerations as well as the community's current circumstances.

The next two antiphons, *Archangele Christi* and *Michael archangele veni*, invite the intercession of the archangels, in particular the protection of St. Michael. These antiphons could have been sung at two possible stations: the Church of St. Michael, Kingsbury (Fig. 1, m) or the Church of St. Michael, South Street (Fig. 1, g). I find the latter possibility more likely for two reasons: first, the longer walk to St. Michael, South Street, would have allowed time for a greater number of the collection of antiphons described above to be sung. Second, St. Michael's in Kingsbury Square was in the patronage of the Priory of St. John, a congregation whose growing influence put it in competition with Wilton Abbey for patronage. It seems more likely that the women stopped there toward the dramatic culmination of the procession just before the Mass (described below).

After stopping at St. Michael, South Street, the procession would have continued northward along South Street, reaching the Church of the Holy Trinity, which lay across the market square from the Guild Hall (Fig. 1, h). Here, the nuns sang the antiphon *Gloria tibi trinitas* for the Trinity. Continuing westward onto West Street, the procession arrived first at the Church of St. Dominic (established in 1245), where the antiphon *Magne pater sancte Dominice* was sung for the patron (Fig. 1, i).⁶³ The procession then visited the Church of St. Nicholas (on the site of the present-day St. Mary and St. Nicholas Church; Fig. 1, j), where the nuns sang the antiphon *O pastor eterne*. Continuing westward, the nuns stopped at the Church of St. Andrew, Ditchampton, where they sang *Tunc sanctus Andreas* for the patron. Elizabeth Crittall places the Church of St. Andrew on the south side of West Street (Fig. 1, k).⁶⁴ The antiphon *Parce domine* followed, with Psalm 118 (119), *Beati immaculati*, whose opening images use an extended metaphor of walking a path for

⁶³ A community of Dominican monks had established the church and house in Wilton in 1245, but ultimately relocated to Fisherton Anger, a suburb of Salisbury three miles away in 1280. A cell was maintained there; one monk remained in 1538, when the house was dissolved. It is not clear on which side of the street the church stood. See Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, liii. See also "Houses of Dominican Friars," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 330–31; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp330-331> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁶⁴ "Churches: Wilton."

abiding by the law of God: an apt accompaniment for the procession's movement west. The 176 verses of *Beati immaculati* would have provided more than enough time to arrive at the chapel of the Priory and Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Ditchampton, just outside Wilton's western gate (Fig. 1, l).⁶⁵ The Priory of St. John was a relative newcomer in Wilton. The first mention of the hospital was in a land grant dating from 1195, and the hospital's chapel was dedicated in 1217. The priory's membership in the thirteenth century included sisters as well as brethren.⁶⁶ The priory quickly accrued land within Wilton granted by benefactors, including properties in Washern, in the abbey's possession, and in the Little Marsh to the north of the monastery. Visiting Wilton in March 1218, Henry III requested the bishop of Salisbury to grant the advowson of St. Michael, Kingsbury, to the Priory of St. John.

In light of the competition for patronage between the Priory of St. John the Baptist and Wilton Abbey, the next antiphon, *Amor dei* (Ex. 5), is particularly meaningful. Its text draws on the parable of Matthew 22, in which a guest is ejected from a wedding for lacking the proper garment. In the antiphon, the wedding garment serves as a metaphor for the love of God and neighbor:

Let the love of God and neighbor adorn us forever.
May the bridegroom not find us nude when he enters into the wedding feast.

Example 5: *Amor dei*

f. 96r-v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

A - mor - de - i - et _____ pro - xi - mi

nos a - dor - net in _____ se - cu - li

ne - nos - nu - dos _____ in - ve - ni - at

spon - sus in - trans _____ ad _____ nup - ti - as

⁶⁵ The nuns of Barking sang selected verses of *Beati immaculati* following the seven penitential psalms on Monday of Rogationtide. See Tolhurst, *Ordinale and Customary*, 125. For more on St. John's, see Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, liii.

⁶⁶ "Hospitals: St John the Baptist, Wilton," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 364–67; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp364-367> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

The antiphon invites love between the nuns of Wilton and their neighbors—and in particular, the brethren and sisters of the Priory of St. John, calling for forgiveness and the renewal of a loving friendship.

It appears that the nuns then headed back east, possibly making a stop to pray at St. Edith's Fountain, the exact location of which is not known.⁶⁷ There, they sang the antiphon *O sancta Edytha* (Ex. 6), unique to the Wilton repertoire:

O holy Edith, shining above the stars of heaven,
Venerable virgin of Christ,
With resounding voice, ceaselessly pray to him for our salvation.

The “resounding voice” of the antiphon is distinguished not only by its high range, but by an unusual scalar passage that ascends through B-flat to high E, emphasizing the interval of a tritone between these pitches.

Example 6: *O sancta Edytha*

f. 96v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

O sanc - ta E - dy - tha su - per a - stra ce - li

vir - go e - fful - gens ve - ne - ran - da Xri - sti

ip - sum to - nan - tem iu - gi - ter pro no - stra o - ra sa - lu - te

Next, the nuns sang *Omnipotens deus supplices te rogamus* (Ex. 7), which begs for the protection of the archangels, indicating that the next station was probably the Church of St. Michael, Kingsbury (Fig. 1, m). This spectacular antiphon culminates in the threefold angelic cry of “Sanctus,” drawn from the vision of Isaiah:

Almighty God, we supplicants beg and beseech you, that the angels Michael and Gabriel, together with Raphael, intercede for us to the Lord, so that we might be worthy to offer hosts to the Lord at the altar; and we may come before the Savior through the intercession of the nine ranks of angels, thrones and dominations, principalities and powers and virtues, with cherubim and seraphim, that they may intercede for us, ceaselessly crying out, saying, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, king of Israel, who reigns without end, deign to hear your servants, alleluia!”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This landmark is known from a mid-thirteenth-century record of a gift from the Abbey of Wilton to the Hospital of Mary Magdalene of “the reversion of a house in Wilton, opposite St. Edith’s fountain.” See “Hospitals: St Mary Magdalene, Wilton,” in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 367–68; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp367-368> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁶⁸ Translation adapted from Borders, *Medieval Chants*, lviii.

Example 7: Omnipotens deus supplices

f. 96v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Om - ni - po - tens _____ de - us _____

su - ppli - ces _____ te ro - ga - mus et _____ pe - ti - mus

ut _____ in - ter - ce - ssi - o arch - an - ge - lo - rum

sit pro no - bis _____ ad _____ te _____ sem - per

Mi - cha - el et Ga - bri - el

pa - ri ter - que et _____ ra - pha - el

ut di - gni _____ o - ffe - ra - mus - ti - bi ho - sti - as

ad al - ta - re

Example 7, cont'd.

f. 97r (Saskatoon)

ut a - ppa - re - a - mus an - te te per in - ter - ce - ssi - o - nem

no - vem or - di - nem

an - ge - lo rum thro - ni et do - mi - na - ti - o - nes

prin - ci - pa - tus et po - te - sta - tes et vir - tu - tes

cum che - ru - bin et se - ra - phin

Ut ip - si in - ter - ce - dant pro no - bis

qui non ce - ssant cla - ma - re vo - ce

San - ctus san - ctus san-ctus do - mi - nus de - us ex - cer - ci - tu - um

Example 7, cont'd.

rex Is - ra - el qui re - gnas si - ne fi - ne

di - gna - re fa - mu - los tu - os

ho - di - e ex - au - di - re

A - lle -

f. 97v (Saskatoon)

lu - ya

The next antiphon, *Celi regina letare* (Ex. 8), which appears in incipit only, is a variant of the text of the Marian antiphon *Regina caeli laetare* for Paschaltide. *Celi regina letare* was first sung at Wilton during the Major Rogations of April 25, where it is notated in full. The dedication to Mary strongly suggests that on both occasions the nuns processed through the market square to the Church of St. Mary, Bread Street (Fig. 1, n), which was in the possession of Wilton Abbey and was the largest and most important church in the medieval town.⁶⁹ Its text translates:

Queen of heaven, rejoice, alleluia,
 For he whom you deserved to bear, alleluia,
 Has risen again, as he said, alleluia.
 Pray for us, we beg, alleluia.

The antiphon's mode 2 melody is found in no other documented source.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ "Churches: Wilton."

⁷⁰ Examples of this chant listed in the Cantus Database with melodic information belong to modes 1, 3, 5, and 6. A version in I-Rvat SP B.79 whose mode is described only as "D" has a different melody.

Example 8: *Celi regina laetare*

f. 73v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Ce - li re - gi - na le - ta - re a - lle - lu - ya

qui - a quem me - ru - i - sti por - ta - re a - lle - lu - ya

re - su - rre - xit si - cut di - xit a - lle - lu - ya

f. 74r (Illinois)

o - ra pro no - bis ro - ga - mus a - lle - lu - ya.

A notated incipit of the Introit *Exaudivit* indicates that the penitential Mass from the previous day was repeated at St. Mary's, as it was on the Major Litanies of April 25.⁷¹

As they processed back to the abbey after the Mass, the nuns repeated the antiphon *Salvator mundi* from the previous day, followed by a litany. Entering the abbey, the nuns sang the antiphon *Ave preclara gemma* (Ex. 9) for their patron, St. Edith. The antiphon addresses Edith as the noble spouse of Christ and begs for intercession, while continuing the theme of angelic intercession from *Omnipotens deus supplices*:

Hail, shining gem of heaven above,
And hail, Edith, noble spouse of God.
Save every Christian people
And beg the Lord for the peace of the angels.

⁷¹ Solesmes Ms. 596, f. 73v.

Example 9: Ave preclara gemma

f. 99 (Solesmes Ms. 596)

A - ve pre - cla - ra ge - mma reg - ni su - pe - ri

[lacuna]

A - ve et spon - sa de - i E - dy - tha no - bi - lis

f. 99v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Su - rre om - ni Xri - sti - a - no po - pu - lo

et pa - cem an - ge - lis im - pe - tra a do - mi - ni

Thus ended Tuesday of Rogationtide, and the most intensive of Wilton's processional routes.

Wednesday

On Wednesday, the third day of Rogationtide and the Eve of the Ascension, the abbey took a rural route north- and eastward to the Church of St. Peter, Fugglestone, where Mass was said. The procession's route may have been determined by the belief that Christ ascended in the East, from whence he would return, as reflected in the text of the Communion antiphon for the Mass of Ascension Day:

Psallite domino qui ascendit super caelos caelorum ad orientem, alleluia

Sing psalms to the Lord, who ascends above the heavens of the heavens to the east, alleluia.

Wednesday's route was the simplest of the three days, and yet it is the most difficult to reconstruct due to the silence of the processional's rubrics and the disappearance of landmarks within the Wilton landscape. The rubrics indicate that the first three processional antiphons sung on the previous days were repeated: *Exurge*, *Surgite*, and *De Ierusalem*. These were followed by the antiphons *Amicus* for St. Nicholas, *Andreas* for St. Andrew, and *Oremus* for St. Clement. It seems likely that these antiphons would have been sung in choir, as on the previous day.

No antiphons are specified for the procession as it exited the abbey's gate and headed northward toward St. Peter, Fugglestone. The absence of stationary churches along the route suggests that the procession did not travel through the town. More likely, it took a road first documented in 1309 and described in the 1568 survey of the lands of the earl of Pembroke as

“an old road formerly used from Wilton to Fugglestone.” This road ran northward through Little Marsh, where the abbey held property. Known as “Y Street,” the road crossed the two streams of the River Wylde, first at Mathilda Bridge (“Mithilde Bridge” or “Mechildebrigge”; Fig. 1, o), across from the abbey gate. After passing through the area now known as “the Island,” the procession crossed the second stream at Fugglestone Bridge (Fig. 1, p) to the Church of St. Peter (Fig. 1, q).⁷² The antiphon *Parce* and a litany are given the somewhat puzzling rubric “item bacbrigge.” Possibly *bac* is the Middle English *bak* (modern English *back*), meaning, in the sense of motion or direction, “to, or toward the rear” or “farther to the rear, farther away.”⁷³ Thus the rubric could have referred to the Little Marsh, the area behind Mathilda Bridge, or perhaps to Fugglestone Bridge, further from the abbey.

Several antiphons follow the litany of the saints; it is not at all clear where these were to be sung. Perhaps the antiphons were merely sung en route, but it is also possible they were sung at small wayside shrines that once stood at crossroads or on bridges, where travelers might rest and make an offering for the maintenance of the bridge or road.⁷⁴ The first of these antiphons is *Precursor domini*, for St. John the Baptist, possibly sung as the procession passed through land belonging to the Priory of St. John in Little Marsh. The next is an antiphon unique to Wilton, *Exarsit terra* (Ex. 10), which prays for rain:

The earth is inflamed and the rivers will run dry
But you, Lord, grant us rain.

Psalm 85 (86), *Benedixisti domine*, which begins “Lord, you have blessed your land,” follows the antiphon. What is unusual is that every verse is written out in full and notated. The text of this psalm has to do with the theme of forgiveness for sins and the resulting fecundity of the earth, thus linking the penitential processions to a successful harvest. The psalm concludes:

Etenim dominus dabit benignitatem et terra nostra dabit fructum suum
Iusticia ante deum ambulabit et ponet in via gressus suos

The Lord shall indeed grant [his] bounty and our land shall yield its fruit.
Righteousness shall go before him, and peace shall be a pathway for his feet.

⁷² The road was described as “unam veteram viam olim usitatem ab Wilton usque Foughleston.” See Straton, *Survey of the Lands of William First Earl of Pembroke*, 180. See also “The Borough of Wilton: Introduction,” in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 6, ed. Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria Country History, 1962), 1–7; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol6/pp1-7> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016). The name “Mechildebrigge” appears in the Bradenstoke Cartulary no. 308, in Vera C. M. London, ed., *The Cartulary of Bradenstoke Priory*, Wiltshire Record Society 35 (Devizes: Wiltshire Record Society, 1979), 102.

⁷³ *Middle English Dictionary*, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED3477> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁷⁴ Jackson, “Ancient Chapels,” 255.

Example 10: *Exarsit terra*

f. 99v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Ex - ar - sit te - rra a - ru - e - runt flu - mi - na

f. 100r (Solesmes Ms. 596)

set tu - de - us no - ster do - na no - bis plu - vi - am

Be - ne - di - xi - sti do - mi - ne te - rram tu - am a - ver - ti - sti cap - ti - vi - ta - tem Ia - cob

Re - mi - si - sti in - i - qui - ta - tem ple - bis tu - e o - per - ru - i - sti om - ni - a pe - cca - ta e - o - rum

Mi - ti - ga - sti om - nem i - ram tu - am a - ver - ti - sti ab i - ra in - dig - na - ti - on - nis tu - e

Con - ver - te nos de - us sa - lu - ta - ris no - ster et a - ver - te i - ram tu - am a no - bis

f. 100v (Solesmes Ms. 596)

Num - quid in e - ter - num i - ra - sce - ris no - bis aut ex - ten - des i - ram tu - am in ge - ne - ra - ti - o - ne in ge - ne - ra - ti - o - nes

De - us te con - ver - sus vi - vi fi - ca - bis nos et plebs tu - a le - ta - bi - tur in te

Example 10, cont'd.

O - sten - de nobis do - mi - ne mi - se - ri - cor - di - am ssuu - am et sa - lu - ta - re tu - um da no - bis _____

Au - di - amquid lo - qua - tur in me quo - ni - am lo - que - tur pa - cem in ple - bem su - am _____

Et su - per sanc - tos su - os et in e - os qui con - ver - tun - tur ad cor _____

f. 101r (Wadsworth)

Ve - rump - ta - men pro - pe ti - men - tes e - um sa - lu - ta - re ip - si - us ut in - ha - bi - tet glo - ri - a in te - rra no - stra _____

Mi - se - ri - cor - di - a et ve - ri - tas ob - vi - a - ve - runt si - bi iu - sti - ti - a et pax o - scu - la - te sunt _____

Ve - ri - tas de te - rra or - ta est iu - sti - ci - a et de ce - lo pro - spe - xit _____

Et e - nim do - mi - nus da - bit be - ni - gni - ta - tem et te - rra no - stra da - bit fru - ctum su - um _____

Iu - sti - ci - a an - te de - um am - bu - la - bit et po - nit in vi - a gre - ssus su - os _____

Antiphons for St. Leodegarius and St. Catherine follow, possibly indicating further wayside stations, or perhaps sung in honor of the relics of those saints held by the abbey or its possessions. Episcopal records indicate that the abbey had right of presentation of St. Leonard (Leodegarius) in Semley by 1339, providing a possible origin of this dedication.⁷⁵ The abbey's

⁷⁵ Thomas Phillips, *Institutiones Clericorum in Comitatu Wiltoniae, ab Anno 1297, ad Annum 1810* (Salisbury: Typis Medio-Montans, 1825), 35. Elizabeth Crittall writes that the parish of Semeley was likely included in King

village of Netherhampton, located southeast of the Rollington, was home to a Church of St. Catherine, perhaps explaining the connection to this saint.⁷⁶ An antiphon for St. Edith, *Virgo Edytha inter astra* (Ex. 11), follows:

Virgin Edith, shining among the stars,
and heavenly golden image of exceeding brightness,
kindly pray for those present, your family.

Example 11: *Virgo Edytha inter astra*

f. 101v (Wadsworth)

Vir - go E - dy - tha in - ter a - stra ful - gens ce - li au - re - a

sig - nis et ni - tens plu - ri - mis o - ra pro pre - sen - ti tu - a

cle - men - ter fa - mi - li - a

This was followed by the great penitential antiphon *Timor et tremor* (Ex. 12), which narrates the destruction of the Babylonian city of Nineveh. Its text translates:

Fear and trembling descended upon the great city of Nineveh, on account of which the wicked were called upon to fast, and the sorrowful multitude wore sackcloth. Indeed, it happened that the king came down from his throne, so that he would be closer to all those doing penance. And he proclaimed throughout the entire kingdom: "Let no man or woman eat anything, let the oxen and cattle not be grazed on the grasses of the earth, let neither babes nor calves suck the breasts of their mothers, but, instead, let them cry out in steadfastness to God in strength for three days, that they may not suffer as did Sodom." And you, almighty God, merciful and compassionate, you are merciful to the wretched. We are but the works of your labor, whom you offered to your son as his inheritance. Do not shut your ears to our prayers, but relieve, O kind one, the suffering of the people, granting that which you promised, saying "Return to me and I shall come back to you." Alleluia.⁷⁷

Eadwig's gift to the abbey in the year 955 of 100 hides at Chalke. "Houses of Benedictine Nuns: Abbey of Wilton," in *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, vol. 3, ed. R. B. Pugh and Elizabeth Crittall (London: Victoria County History, 1956), 231–42; *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol3/pp231-242> (accessed Sept. 15, 2016).

⁷⁶ "Houses of Benedictine Nuns: Abbey of Wilton."

⁷⁷ Translation adapted from Borders, *Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, xlv–xlv. (Compare with note 59.)

Example 12: *Timor et tremor*

f. 101v (Wadsworth) f. 102 (Amherst)

Ti - mor et ___ tre - mor ve - nit ___ in ___ Ni - ni - vem _____

ci - vi - ta - tem _____ ma - gnam _____

per quod _____ sce - ler - ra - te ple - bi _____

in - di - ci - tur ___ ie - iu - ni - um et lu - ctu - o - sa _____ plebs

in - du - i - tur ci - li - ci - o con - ti - git ___ au - tem

et _____ re - gem ___ no - bi - lem _____

de so - li - o su - o de scen - de - re _____

ut ___ e - sset ___ hu - mi - li - or cun - ctis lu - gen - ti - bus

Example 12, cont'd.

f. 102 (Amherst)

et — pe - ri - bu - it — per u - ni - ver - sum — re - gnum

om - nes — vi - ri et se - xus fe - mi - ne - us —

non gu - stent — quic — quam bos — et — pe - co - ra

non — pa - scan - tur — her - bis — ter - - - re

f. 102v (Amherst)

pu - e - ri et — vi - tu - li non su - ggant ma - trum u - be - ra —

set — cla - ment ad — de - um in — for - ti - tu - di - ne

[lacuna]

tri - bus di - e - bus ne pa - ci - an - tur ut — So - do - ma

set — tu de - - - us — om - ni — po - tens

Example 12, cont'd.

f. 102v (Amherst)

mi - se - ri - cors et mi - se - ra - tor mi - ser - tus sis — mi - se - ris —

nos su - mus — o - pe - ra — tu - a — quos de - di - sti

fi - li - o tu - o in he - re - di - ta - tem — tu - - - am —

no - li — clau - de - re au - rem — tu - am ad pre - ces no - stras

set su - lle - va — cle - mens a - fflic - ti - o — nem — po - pu - i -

f. 103 (Massey)

i - llud re - vol - vens quod po - lit - ci - tus et — di - cens con-ver - ti - mi - ni ad — me

et e - go — re - ver - tar — ad — nos

a - lle - - - - - lu - ya

This lengthy and dramatic antiphon is the highpoint of the entire three-day period of procession and fasting. With this, the procession reached the Church of St. Peter, Fugglestone, where it entered with the antiphon *Symon bariona* for the patron saint. The abbey then sang the joyful vigil Mass of the Ascension. The text of the Communion imagines Christ's intercession to his father after having arrived in heaven:

*Pater cum essem cum eis ego servabam eos quos dedisti michi alleluia
nunc autem ad te venio non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo
Set ut serves eos a malo alleluia alleluia*

Father, when I was with them, I served them, whom you had entrusted to me, alleluia.
Now, I come to you not to pray that you should take them from the world,
But that you might save them from evil, alleluia, alleluia.

Thus the three days of penitential processions ended in the promise of Christ, upon his Ascension, to intercede on behalf of his followers for a kind of earthly salvation.

Returning to the abbey, the nuns sang the antiphon *Salvator mundi*, as on the previous days, followed by the wide-ranging litany *Rex Kyrie*. Upon entering the abbey church, the nuns sang a final antiphon for St. Edith, *Styrps regalis*, which hearkened back to her royal origin:

Royal stem of worthiness, shining gem of England,
Edith, flower of chastity, model of modesty,
Spurning luxury, you navigate, led by the nurturing wind,
You wed the king of majesty beneath the sacred veil.

Example 13: *Styrps regalis*

f. 105v (Cincinnati)

Styrps — re — ga — lis dig — ni — ta — tis —

ge — mma iu — bar — An — gli — — e —

[lacuna]

flos E — dy — tha — ca — sti — ta — tis for — ma — pu — di — ci — ci — e

sper-nans lu — xum na — vi — ga — tis — al — mo — do — eta — fla — mi — ne

nu — bis — re — gi ma — ie — sta — tis sa — cro — sub

[corrected from a]

ve — la — — — — — mi — mi — ne

This reconstruction of the processional routes of Wilton has offered a framework in which to interpret the Rogationtide processions transmitted in the processional. The processions extended the intercessory power of the relics of St. Edith and her community beyond the walls of abbey and into the surrounding sacred landscape. The routes reaffirmed Wilton's landholdings and advowsons within the vicinity of the abbey, and the reciprocal relationships of prayer shared with the laity and the clergy of local churches. This was of particular importance for an enclosed women's convent, whose communications with and visual presence within the greater community were increasingly restricted. At the same time, the processions must have served an educational and memorial function for the younger members of the community, instructing them about the abbey's landholdings, its institutional relationships, and its spiritual role as intercessor on behalf of the locality. Wilton Abbey's extensive repertoire of chants for Rogationtide, and its persistence in holding public processions despite legislation curtailing nuns' freedom of movement, speak to the importance that this occasion and its liturgy held for the abbey, and to the ambition of its chant practice. The choice and ordering of the processional liturgy, moreover, reflected the abbey's history and its relationship with local churches, and with the land and those who worked it. Through procession, the abbey became audible and visible as landholder, patron, and powerful intercessor.