

THE CUSTOMARY OF THE SHRINE OF ST. THOMAS BECKET

British Library, Add. MS 59616, fols. 1–11v

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 traditione 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 transcurrento 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 (“Quareite 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 Idcirco² 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 preparet et coaptet per uberiores cordis compunciones per iugem lacrimarum effusionem ad sacrificium deo placabile celebrandum tam pro vivis quam pro mortuis in quo nostre redemptionis 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 preparent 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 lectionum, duodecim, in albis vel supra ex cuius consideratione, 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 thurificet 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 predicitur 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 duoedecim cerei maioris et quadrate forme continue continentur quorum sex per alternos omni die ardebunt. Et quando festum in albis vel supra e venerit omnes seriatim illuminentur qui et omnes premissi tempore congruo per antedictum subclericum extinguuntur.

Item missa peracta ut prefertur feretrarius temporalis faciet compotum 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 vespas Item cum summa Missa fuerit finaliter peracta et novissima hora ante horam prandii incepta vericulo 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 consuetos 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 refection 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 vespers de die in proces-sionibus 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.

Completoria 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 eminenciori in notabile signum, ut alius feretrarius subin-trans 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 revolucionem 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 proximiorum 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} lxiiii.

Item in die Martis quia sanctus Thomas prenotatus noluit obtemperare 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.lxiiii.

Item ut ecclesia Dei universalis per immutabilem constanciam et passionem triumphalem² sancti Thome in suis libertatibus plenius effloresceret in die martis in monasterio Pontiniaciensi 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 iii^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 solemnis 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. **Missa in Officio corone** Deinde coronarius sive custos sacrate corone Sancti Thome in suo officio missam celebrabit vel alium substituet celebrare.

Missa 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 oblati 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 officiariis 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 ratione 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 rationabili 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 celebratione 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 absencia portabit pariter et subibit.

I 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 coerceant 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 hesitatione 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 evenierit, tunc Clerici predicti habent pulsare et tundere hostia in anteriore parte ecclesie, ut ex hoc Feretrarii conniciant populum introitum expectasse, vel saltem tempus conveniens hostia aperiendi.

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 coerceat 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 hesitatione 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 solicite 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 ampliorem 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, Epiphanie 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 predictur, 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 solemnis ad feretrum venerit, tapeta circa Feretrum decenter reponantur, secundum discrecionem feretrariorum. Et si Archiepiscopus vel Prior presens fuerit, tunc super pavimentum ante feretrum una formula, scabellum, sive sedile cum¹ cooperatorio decencius collocetur cum Cereis super Feretrum et altare ut dicitur in predictis.

Feretrarii 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 diligencius 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 celebrior 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 solemnis ad feretrum dirigetur ordine consueto. Item in hoc Festo recolendo 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 solemnior 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 solemni 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 transmittre 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 divinator.

Pietancia Conventus in aduentu domini Quia in adventu domini algor asperiorssolet 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 servantibus 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 iiii s. Lectori ii s. Subcelerario ii s. Subcapellano ii s. <6r> portitori dictarum 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 obligaciorem conspiciat seque instancius coaptet ad divina obsequia in hac solempnitate tam celebri exequenda. **Vigilia Natalis domini** Item licet vigilia³ Natalis domini domini⁴ feria secunda evenit 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 Bartonier, 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 accendit illos viginti Cereos in trabe magna supra maius altare moram trahens ibidem dum laudes decantantur, medioque tempore utroque inferiore hostio observato. **Processio in Criptis** Item subsequenter in nocte Natalis domini duo Feretrarii descendunt et coniungunt 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 Evangeliste 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 prestolantem intrare permittant quorum multi maiore devocione excitati accedunt ut vitam et vite processum gloriosi martiris Thome que ibidem solet aperte in lingua materna legimur intenta percipiant corde benivolo que recondant. Qua finita duo Clerici servientes ibidem, populum forte tedio lacescitum ad ignis calorem preparatum prece pertrahant, et mitcent² 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 ratione 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 "conjungent 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 evenierit eodem die deportum incipitur, et a Fratibus¹ <7r> excercetur. Alioquin die dominica subsequente idem deportum est incipiendum et a Fratribus 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 Claustrum 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 renouentur 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 invenientur 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 Refectionem confratrum quos in Mensa Magistrorum in Infirmania 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 **<7v> Mandatum 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 Clastrum 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 Resurrectionis 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 Resurrectionis 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 superpelliciis 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 sternerentur per circuitum Feretri ac omnes cerei et candelae ut in Festo principali illuminentur ad laudem dei et honorem gloriosi Martiris prenotati. Item nota quod duo Clerici de Feretro superpelliciis 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 Cathedriticum 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 Festivitatís, 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 expedicione 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 boriali 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 iiii 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 servicia, 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.

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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 conculcationum 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 excercetur propter solempnitatem festorum tunc concurrencium.

In die vero Translacionis sancti Thome ad Feretrum eiusdem Missam solempnem solet Supprior celebrare, qui si aliunde preocupatus fuerit Succentor pro ipsa missa ordinabit tam pro sacerdote quam pro diaconibus nisi iste dies feria tertia contigerit, sic que Missa solempnis 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 exhonoratur a onere et labore chori ut diligencius 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 solempnis 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 devotione memoriter exequuntur.

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 Fere|trariis 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 Fere|trariis 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 Nichilhominis 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 augiendo.
| |

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

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

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

Tercius cantor Item tercius Cantor capit quolibet termino principali de Fere|trariis 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 tenetur reparare et renovare quandocumque 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 lxviii s

Duo confratres Item duo Confratres Iuniores custodientes servicia Feretrariorum in oratorio et alibi recipiunt quolibet termino principali de Feretrariis vi s. viii 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. viii d.

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. [...] 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 Ciphio 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. iii 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 inculta 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 mittemtem 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 persequabar.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 recursat" 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 condemnare. Secundum illud Ieremie, Morte turpissima condemnemus 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 “servitutem.”

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.

