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A Twelfth-Century Service for Enclosing an Anchorite or anchoress: Introduction, Latin Text, and Translation

Luke Ayers and Victoria Bahr

Perhaps one of the most distinctive religious practices of the Middle Ages was the life pursued by anchorites and anchoresses, holy men and women living enclosed in small cells attached to the outside of church buildings. These recluses had considerable spiritual authority in their communities, and many of the most noteworthy medieval figures partook in this unique form of cloistered life. Anchoritism appears to have been an especially important (and perhaps empowering) mode of religious expression for women: the first book written by a woman in English was by an anchoress, Julian of Norwich, while Goscelin of St. Bertin's *Liber Comfortatorius* (*Book of Consolation and Comfort*) was written to guide another anchoress, Eve, in her new profession. Once they were enclosed, anchorites and anchoresses never left their cells, and the ritual surrounding their enclosure therefore took on considerable religious significance: it served, in many ways, as their funeral. Various forms of the rite of enclosure survive from late medieval England, the earliest being preserved in a twelfth-century pontifical (or book of bishop's services) that is now London, British Library MS Vespasian D. xv, fols. 61r-65r.¹ After a brief historical and linguistic introduction, the Latin text of that service, as well as some shorter related texts, are translated here in English for the first time.

ANCHORITES, ANCHORESSES, AND RITES OF ENCLOSURE

Though it could certainly never be described as popular or commonplace, anchoritism gained increasing prominence as a mode of vowed religious life in the European Middle Ages. Beginning with the religious reforms of the late eleventh century, anchorites and anchoresses came to be seen as practitioners of the most elite form of medieval monastic living.² In their cells, under the care of the local bishop, the anchorite devoted themselves to prayer and meditation. They were provided with an allowance of food and clothing, both rather plain, and though they had left the outer world behind, they were not entirely without human contact. From a window in their cell, the anchorite could see into the adjoining church and take communion, and through another window they could speak to visitors and make confession.³ Such contact was greatly restricted, however—the anchorite was discouraged from speaking to others through the church window, and the visitor’s window was covered by a curtain.⁴ In general, anchorites spent their entire lives praying and meditating in near isolation, except for instances of religious (and institutionally-sanctioned) communication.

The specific dimensions and locations of an anchorhold differ from church to church. One set of regulations says that a cell should measure twelve feet by twelve feet and be made of stone, while another text describes a wooden loft, and an anchorhold attached to Chichester Cathedral in southeastern England measures nearly seven hundred square feet. The cell’s placement was likewise not standardized. It could be built on any side of the church, though there is some evidence of a preference for building against the north wall.⁵ Regardless, it was generally agreed that these cells should be sparse and small, consisting of no more than a few rooms.

Since they were his spiritual responsibility, it fell to the bishop to install new anchorites and anchoresses in their cells, and the earliest services for their enclosure are therefore, like the consecration of a church or the ordination of priests, preserved in pontificals, books used by bishops in the liturgy. By definition, pontificals were not widespread, since bishops were a limited class of clergy. The earliest surviving *Servicium Recludendi*, or service for enclosure, appears in one of these books, apparently made to be used somewhere in the vicinity of Exeter, England.⁶ As noted by its editor, H. A. Wilson, this form of the *Servicium* was likely to have been used more broadly in the south of England, since its manuscript, Vespasian B. xv, shares other texts (though not this one) with another pontifical, Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226, which is associated with Hereford and Canterbury.⁷ Wilson suggests that Vespasian was likely entrusted to an assistant bishop, but it could also have been used by the bishop himself traveling throughout his diocese.⁸

The enclosure service was made to be incorporated into the celebration of the mass. Given the geographical placement of Vespasian, this is likely to have been a mass according to the particular local ordering called the Use of Sarum, or at the very least something quite similar to it.⁹ A typical Sarum Use mass would have been structured as follows:¹⁰

1. The choir sings the Introit.
2. While the celebrant, a priest or bishop, is vesting, *Veni Creator Spiritus* is sung.
3. The *Kyrie eleison* is sung.
4. The *Gloria in excelsis* is sung.
5. The Collect (prayer for the day) is read.
6. The Epistle is read by the subdeacon.
7. The Gradual is sung.
8. The *Alleluia* is sung.
9. The Gospel is read by the deacon.
10. The celebrant may give a sermon and offer prayers relevant to the readings or circumstance.¹¹
11. The Nicene Creed is said.
12. Bread and wine are brought to the altar.
13. The eucharist is celebrated.
14. The people are dismissed.

The *Servicium Recludendi* would have prompted some changes to both the beginning and end of this structure. It seems that the *Veni* is moved from the beginning of the mass to a point after the reading of the Gospel. Additionally, the *Kyrie* would likely have been replaced with the Litany of the Saints, which begins and ends with the *Kyrie* text.¹² The *Gloria* would have been omitted, as it was not included in masses for the dead, which the *Servicium* mirrors (more on this below), and the *Alleluia* would likely be absent for the same reasons.¹³ The Epistle was replaced by an Old Testament reading.¹⁴ The *Servicium* is unclear on the treatment of the Gradual. The liturgy also mandates that the priest give a sermon and offer corporate prayer for the recluse, before which the recluse genuflects at the altar and places candles on it. The portion of the *Servicium* beginning with the phrase “*Qua finita*” (“When this is finished”) takes place after the eucharist and completes the liturgy. In addition to specifying the readings and describing various ritual actions, most of the service consists of psalms and antiphons (sung at the beginning and end of psalms, and supporting a specific interpretation of them), which are referenced in the text by their opening phrases only.¹⁵ Presumably whoever used the pontifical would only need these brief prompts to know the text specified thereby.

As already suggested, the enclosure service is closely related to the rites of Christian burial, and, in particular, the Vespasian *Servicium* shares substantial material with (and likely was based on) the service *De sepultura mortui* (“On the burial of the dead”) in the Magdalen pontifical. These services share a selection of psalms and antiphons, as well as longer prayers, two of which (at the end of the *Servicium*) are repeated in their entirety. The use of the same biblical and liturgical texts in burial and the enclosing of an anchorite, in addition to practices such as sprinkling dirt over the object of the liturgy (anchorite or casket), speaks to the perceived similarity between the anchorite and the dead. Initially, that is, an anchorhold also served as the tomb of its inhabitant—once they entered, they quite literally never left, though the practice of burying the anchorite in their cell eventually fell out of favor, and the anchorite was instead buried in a nearby churchyard. Still, as late as 1328 a dying anchorite expressed his wish to be buried outside his cell, specifically *contrary* to what he identifies as the custom, and so it is quite possible that those enclosed in the *Servicium* would remain in their anchorhold even after death.¹⁶

Even after anchorites were no longer commonly entombed in their anchorhold, death was still a constant companion. Often, the anchorhold was located within a cemetery, and the anchorite’s grave was dug before they even entered their cell, remaining open and in view of the anchorite.¹⁷ The *Servicium* also calls for the celebrant to recite the *Commendatio animae* (“Commendation of the soul”), another part of the burial rite. Reciting the *Commendatio* so early before their death (since the anchorite could live for decades in their cell) demonstrates either the difficulty of unsealing an anchorhold, or more likely, the status of the anchorite as dead to the world, with their enclosing as a kind of funeral.¹⁸

All this morbidity promotes mindfulness of the anchorite’s mortality and emphasizes the impermanence of earthly things, especially compared to the eternity of heaven. And in this regard, the enclosure service was in keeping with the literature of spiritual advice aimed at anchorites and anchoresses. The thirteenth-century *Ancrene Wisse*, for example, instructs the anchoress to contemplate her own death each day.¹⁹ Goscelin of St. Bertin, already mentioned, writes of solitude as a kind of earthly purgatory and of the anchorhold as, colloquially, heaven’s waiting room.²⁰ Though anchorites were often seen as deeply pious figures, even as living saints, having left the world behind, they still had to take considerable care not to fall prey to the sins of the body or mind.²¹ Anchorites would therefore devote themselves to prayer, employing fasting or self-flagellation to quell gluttony, sloth, and other sinful urges of the body.²² The anchoritic life was far from effortless, and though entering an anchorhold may bring one closer than most to Paradise, it was, apparently, no

guarantee of entry into heaven. Dead to the world, the anchorite still had to work to secure a place in heaven.

THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF *SERVICIUM RECLUDENDI*

In its choice of words and phrasing, the Vespasian *Servicium* casts light on its author’s views of the life of anchorites and anchoresses. The *Servicium* refers to the anchorhold on five different occasions, using four different terms. The first, *reclitorium*, most literally means “the place for the recluse,” but is translated below as “anchorhold.” The use of the *-orium* ending conveys that the anchorhold is clearly designated for the purpose of housing an anchorite. The second, *habitaculum*, literally means “little dwelling place,” with the diminutive *-culum* making clear that the dwelling ought to be small. The term is thus both descriptive and prescriptive. The third, *domum*, is repeated (as *domus*) at the end of the text, and it simply means “home.” The repeated use of this word conveys that the anchorhold is meant to be the true home of the recluse, the place where they carry out every activity. Finally, the fourth term is *sepulchrum*, “tomb.” The use of these distinct words serves to convey, very succinctly and clearly, how the anchorhold is to be viewed: as both the anchorite’s home and grave.

The grammar of the *Servicium* is fairly straightforward, often repeating verbs that could otherwise have been omitted, such as the repetition of *iaceat* (“let him/her lie”) in the first few lines, or the inclusion of various forms of *esse* throughout the text. This unnecessarily repetitive style makes the text easier to comprehend, reflecting its instructional and practical nature: this text was meant to be used in the course of a service in the church. Similarly, the use of the present active participle without a finite verb reflects the same stylistic priorities: this is used throughout the *Servicium* and is sometimes difficult to translate into English. This use of participles, paired with a liberal application of the ablative absolute, emphasizes the simultaneity of events. The priest, for instance, begins an antiphon at the same time as he sprinkles dust over the anchorite and at the same time as the chorus is singing. Such a construction could obscure the precise order of actions, but it could be that the order was known to the *Servicium*’s reader (or, perhaps better, user), or perhaps what action happened mattered more than when it happened.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

In adapting the text from H. A. Wilson’s Henry Bradshaw Society edition of 1910, several editorial decisions were made that are worth noting. Wilson italicizes the instructional or directional portions of the text (those that describe actions to be done), while parts to be spoken were in plain type, but for ease of

reading we have decided to set everything in plain type, with spoken phrases set off in quotation marks or, in one case, as a block quotation. Paragraph breaks have been revised, and punctuation was also standardized according to modern conventions. Wilson reproduced the punctuation of the manuscript, using periods in many cases as commas and *puncti elevati* for commas, colons, or semicolons. In some instances, this punctuation served no grammatical purpose. We therefore generally disregarded the punctuation while translating, and afterward added new punctuation to the Latin based on our reading, reflecting modern usage. Consonantal *u* in Bradshaw has been changed to *v* in our text, while *ç* and, where appropriate, *e* have been changed to *ae*. While most other scribal spellings were left unaltered, in cases of potential confusion or ambiguity we have standardized the text. All annotation has been reserved for the translation.

SERVICIUM RECLUDENDI

Si est femina, primum iaceat in occidentali parte ecclesiae ubi mos est feminis habitare. Si masculus et laicus, ad ostium chori iaceat. Si clericus vel sacerdos, prostratus in medio choro nudis pedibus in oratione iaceat. Tunc duo clerici stantes ante gradus decantent totam letaniam alta voce, choro per singula respondente et dicente semper: “Ora pro illo.” Cum autem venerint ad sanctum loci, nominent eum ter inclinatis capitibus.

Finita vero letania, veniat episcopus si affuerit indutus sacerdotalibus vestimentis praeter casulam cum diacono et subdiacono ad prostratum illum, cum cruce ante illum posita et cum aqua benedicta et thuribilo, et prius aspergat eum ter in circuitu, et postea incenset similiter. Quod si episcopus defuerit, sacerdos idem faciat.

Tunc sublevant eum duo seniores, sacerdos videlicet et quem ipse adhibuerit, dantes ei in manibus duos cereos ardentes, ut fervens sit in dilectione Dei et proximi. Quos singulis manibus tenendo, sollicite audiat subdiaconum hanc lectionem legentem:

Vade, populus meus, intra in cubicula tua. Claude ostia tua super te, abscondere modicum ad momentum, donec pertranseat indignatio. Ecce enim Dominus egredietur de loco suo, ut visitet iniquitatem habitatoris terrae contra eum, et revelabit terra sanguinem suum et non operiet ultra interfectos suos. In die illa visitabit Dominus in gladio suo, duro et grandi et forti, super Leviathan serpentem vectem, et super Leviathan serpentem tortuosum, et occidet caetum qui in mari est. In die illa vinea meri cantabit ei. Ego Deus qui servo eam, repente propinabo ei. Ne forte visitetur contra eam, nocte et die servabo eam. Indignatio non est mihi, dicit Dominus omnipotens.

Post haec legatur evangelium secundum Lucam: “Intravit Iesus in quoddam castellum.” Quo finito incipiat cantor alta voce: “Veni creator spiritus,” quod pie decantet omnis chorus.

Tunc supradicti seniores accipientes recludendum ex utraque parte deducant ad altare choro festive ymnum concinente. Quo finito, flectat recludendus ter genua sua dicenter hunc versum: “Suscipe me Domine secundum eloquium tuum et vivam, et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.” Quo ter dicto offerat super candelabra cereos suos et iterum cum silentio sedeat vel iaceat prostratus. Sacerdos vero vel alia persona exponat populo lectionem et evangelium, et commendet populo recludendum, ut orent pro illo. Deinde dicat missam de sancto Spiritu sacerdos vel recludendus si fuerit sacerdos.

Qua finita, supradicti seniores accipiant recludendum ex utraque parte et deducant eum in reclusorium suum, incipientes hanc antiphonam: “In paradisum deducant te angeli,” choro cantante psalmum: “Confitemini Domino,” cum eadem antiphona. Cum autem pervenerint ad ostium, incipiat ipse recludendus antiphonam: “Ingrediar,” et chorus cantet psalmum: “Quaemadmodum,” et sic intrent habitaculum cum cruce et thuribilo et aqua episcopi benedicta. Tunc sacerdos aspergat totum domum et postea incenset, et tunc peragat omne officium unctionis, incipiens antiphonam: “Ingressus Raphael archangelus.” Et ita sacerdos incipiat omnes antiphonas, choro de foris psalmos cum eisdem antiphonis decantante. Similiter et commendationem animae faciat, usque ad impositionem defuncti super feretrum, ne forte praeventus morte careat hoc sancto servicio. Quibus magna veneratione peractis, aperiat sepulchrum, quod ingrediens ipse recludendus incipiat antiphonam: “Haec requies mea,” choro de foris cantante psalmum, “Memento Domine David,” cum eadem antiphona. Tunc aspergente sacerdote parum pulveris super eum, incipiat antiphonam: “De terra plasmasti me,” choro cantante psalmum: “Domine probasti me,” et repetente antiphonam. Post haec exeant omnes, sacerdote parum remanente et praecipiente recluso ut per obedientiam surgat et in obedientia reliquum vitae finiat. Et sic obstruatur ostium domus eius, finitoque psalmo cum antiphona et orationibus, scilicet “Temeritatis quidem” et “Deus vitae dator,” omnes in pace discedant.

THE SERVICE OF A RECLUSE

If it is a woman, first let her lie in the west part of the church where the women customarily dwell. If it is a man and not ordained, let him lie in the choir²³ towards the door. If he is a cleric or a priest, let him lie prostrate in the middle of the choir, with bare feet, in prayer. Then let two clergymen, standing before the steps, chant the entire litany in a loud voice with the chorus responding

after each petition and always saying: “Pray for him.”²⁴ When they reach the sanctuary, with their heads bowed, let them name him three times.

When the litany is finished, let the bishop, if he is present, having put on all his priestly vestments but his chasuble, come with the deacon and subdeacon towards the prostrated person, with a cross placed before him and holy water and a thurible, and let him first sprinkle him, circling him three times, and then let him cense him in the same way. But if the bishop is absent, let a priest perform this action.

Then let two elders, that is the priest and someone he has appointed, raise him up, giving him two burning waxen candles in his hands, that he may be burning with love of God and neighbor. When he is holding them, one in each hand, let him eagerly hear the subdeacon reading this lesson:

Go, my people, enter into your bedrooms. Close your door over you, hide for a short while, until the indignation might pass away. For, behold, the Lord will come out from his place, in order to visit the iniquity of the inhabitant of the earth against him, and the earth will reveal its blood and will no more cover the slain. On that day, with his sword, hard and great and strong, the Lord will visit Leviathan the bar serpent, and Leviathan the twisting serpent, and will kill the assembly which is in the sea. On that day there will be singing in the vineyard of true wine. I am the God who protects it: suddenly I will give it drink. So that violence does not visit it, I will protect it by night and by day. There is no indignation in me, says the Lord almighty.²⁵

After this, let the Gospel according to Luke be read: “Jesus entered into a certain village.”²⁶ When this is finished, let the singer begin in a loud voice: “Come creator spirit,”²⁷ which the whole choir should sing piously.

Then let the aforementioned elders take the recluse from each side and lead him to the altar as the choir festively chants a hymn. When this is finished, let the recluse genuflect three times, saying this verse: “Receive me, Lord, according to your word and I will live, and let me not be ashamed by my hope.”²⁸ When this has been said three times, let him place his waxen candles upon the candelabra, and let him again sit in silence or lie prostrate. Let the priest or another person expound the lesson and Gospel to the people, enjoining them to pray for the recluse. Then let the priest, or the recluse if he is a priest, say a mass of the Holy Spirit.²⁹

When this is finished, let the aforementioned elders take the recluse on either side and lead him into his anchorhold, with them beginning this antiphon: “Let the angels lead you into Paradise,”³⁰ and with the choir singing the psalm: “Give praise to the Lord,”³¹ with the same antiphon. When they reach the door, let the recluse begin the antiphon: “I will go in,”³² and let the choir

sing the psalm: “As the deer,”³³ and thus let them enter the dwelling with the cross and the thurible and the water blessed by the bishop. Then let the priest sprinkle and cense the whole house, and then let him complete the whole office of anointing, beginning the antiphon: “The Archangel Raphael entered.”³⁴ And in the same manner let the priest begin all the antiphons, with the choir chanting the psalms with the same antiphons from outside the anchorhold. Likewise, let him perform the commendation of the soul,³⁵ up until the imposition of the dead person on the bier, so that he does not lack this holy service when he is overtaken by death. When all of this has been done with great veneration, let the tomb be opened and let the recluse enter it and begin the antiphon: “This my rest,”³⁶ with the chorus outside chanting the psalm, “O Lord, remember David,”³⁷ with the same antiphon. Then, as the priest sprinkles a little dust over him, let him begin the antiphon: “From the earth you formed me,”³⁸ with the chorus singing the psalm: “Lord, you have tried me,”³⁹ and repeating the antiphon. After this, let all depart, with the priest remaining for short time and teaching the recluse, so that he may rise up through obedience and in obedience complete the remainder of his life. And then let the door of his home be barricaded, and when the psalm with the antiphon has been completed, as well as the prayers beginning “It is temerity indeed” and “God, giver of life,”⁴⁰ let everyone go in peace.

RELATED PRAYERS FROM THE MAGDALEN PONTIFICAL

The following material was edited by Wilson from Magdalen College MS 226, the pontifical that, as noted above, appears to be related to Vespasian. All of these texts are referenced at some point in the *Servicium Recludendi*, but they appear in Magdalen as part of different services. The first two are prayers from the burial rite, *De sepultura mortui*, mentioned at the very end of the Vespasian enclosure service.

Temeritatis quidem est, Domine, ut homo hominem, mortalis mortuum, cinis cinerem tibi Domino Deo nostro audeat commendare. Sed quia terra suscipit terram et pulvis convertitur in pulverem, donec omnis caro in suam redigatur originem, inde tuam Deus piissime lacrimabiliter quaesimus pietatum, ut huius famuli tui animam quam de huius mundi voragine caenulenta ducis ad patriam, Abrahae amici tui sinu recipias, et refrigerii rore perfundas. Sit ab aestuantis Gehennae truci incendio segregatus et beatae requiei te donante coniunctus, et quae illi sunt Domine dignae cruciatibus culpa, tu eas gratia mitissimae leniatis indulge, nec peccati recipiat vicem, sed indulgentiae tuae piam sentiat bonitatem, cumque finito mundi termino supernum cunctis illuxerit regnum omnium sanctorum

caetibus aggregatus, cum electis resurgat in parte dextere coronandus. Per Dominum [nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen].

It is temerity indeed, O God, that a person would dare to commend a person, a mortal commend the dead, ashes commend ashes to you, Lord God, but since earth receives earth, and dust is converted into dust, while all seeds are returned to their origin, we therefore with weeping ask your pity, most holy God, that you lead the soul of this your servant from the filthy chasm of this world to his homeland, that you receive him in the bosom of your friend Abraham, and that you bathe him with the soft waters of rest. Let him be kept away from the fierce fires of seething Gehenna and be joined by your gift to blessed rest. And those things which, Lord, have merited his torture, forgive them by the grace of your most gentle mildness, and do not let him receive the vice of his sin, but let him feel the pious goodness of your pardon, and when at the end of the world he will light up the heavens, joined to the vast hosts of all your saints, let him arise again crowned with the elect at your right hand. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Next, a much shorter prayer cited immediately after the last in the *Servicium*, also from the Magdalen text of *De sepultura*.

Deus vitae dator et humanorum corporum reparator, qui te a peccatoribus exorari voluisti: exaudi preces quas speciali devotione pro anima famuli tui N. tibi humiliter fundimus, ut liberare eam ab inferorum cruciatibus et collocare inter agmina sanctorum tuorum digneris, veste quoque caelesti et stola immortalitatis indui, et paradisi amoenitate confoveri iubeas. Per [Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen.]

God, giver of life and renewer of human bodies, you who wanted sinners to entreat you: hear the prayers which, with particular devotion, we humbly pour out to you on behalf of your servant N., that you would deign to free his soul from the sufferings of hell and place him among the flocks of your saints, and clothe him, too, with heavenly vesture and the stole of immortality, and command him to be cared for by the loveliness of paradise. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Finally, the commendation of the soul, excerpted from the rite for the visitation of the sick (*Ad visitandum infirmum*) in Magdalen. This prayer is referenced in the *Servicium* before the priest is to sprinkle dirt on the enclosed.

Tibi Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui N., ut defunctus saeculo, tibit vivat: et quae per fragilitatem mundanae conversationis peccata ad

misit, tu venia misericordissimae pietatis absterge. Per [Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Amen.]

To you, Lord, we commend the soul of your servant N., that dying to this age, he might live to you. Whatever sins he committed through the frailty of worldliness, wash away with the grace of your most merciful holiness. Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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NOTES

- 1 The text is printed in *The Pontifical of Magdalen College, with an Appendix of Extracts from Other English MSS of the Twelfth Century*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society (London: Harrison and Sons, 1910), 243–44. For a comparison of other later texts, see E. A. Jones, “Rites of Enclosure: The English *Ordines* for the Enclosing of Anchorites, s. XII–s. XVI,” *Traditio* 67 (2012): 145–234.
- 2 See Ann Waren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), and, more generally, Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 3 Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914), 106 and 79.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 83.
- 6 *Pontifical of Magdalen*, ed. Wilson, xxix.
- 7 *Ibid.*, vii.
- 8 *Ibid.*, xxviii.
- 9 Frederick Thomas Bergh, “Sarum Rite,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, newadvent.org/cathen/13479a.htm (accessed 29 April 2017).
- 10 See *The Liturgy of the Church of Sarum*, tr. Charles Walker (London: J. T. Hayes, 1886).
- 11 See Richard H. Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: Norton, 1978), 122.
- 12 John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 116; see *Pontifical of Magdalen*, ed. Wilson, 97–98.
- 13 *Pontifical of Magdalen*, ed. Wilson, 42.
- 14 Harper, *Forms and Orders*, 116.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 69–72.
- 16 Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 113–14.
- 17 Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950–1200*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 125; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 144.
- 18 Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, 124.
- 19 See Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 114.
- 20 See Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, 120 and 124.

- 21 *Ibid.*, 125.
 22 *Ibid.*, 135.
 23 Here “choir” refers to a section of the church; later in the text it describes a group of singers.
 24 This is a reference to *Litania Sanctorum* (“Litany of Saints”), for which see *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 97–98.
 25 Isaiah 26:20–27:4.
 26 Luke 10:38, presumably intending to describe the reading of this entire biblical episode, ending at 10:42.
 27 A medieval hymn attributed to Hrabanus Maurus.
 28 Psalm 118:116
 29 In this context, “mass” refers specifically to the liturgy of the eucharist, rather than the entire service. The specification “of the Holy Spirit” indicates the specific prayers that are to be used in the mass.
 30 This antiphon appears earlier in the *Pontifical*, in the service *De sepultura*, ed. Wilson, 197 and 193.
 31 Psalm 117
 32 *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 198.
 33 Psalm 41.
 34 The antiphon draws from Tobit 5:11.
 35 The *Commendatio animae* is a prayer dating to the third century. See *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 191. An excerpt is quoted and translated below.
 36 *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 198.
 37 Psalm 131
 38 *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 198.
 39 Psalm 138
 40 *Pontifical*, ed. Wilson, 200 and 198, respectively; these prayers are quoted and translated in full below.

Jane Austen’s Artful Buildings: Embodying the *Bildungsroman*

Natalie Carrier

Throughout her literary career, Jane Austen regularly made use of architectural settings to embody crucial issues in her novels. Such settings in Austen’s work often function firmly within the popular attitudes of her age, serving as symbolic representations of status for her characters and operating on the associations coded by a society characterized by class tensions. For example, from her first published novel to her last, Austen makes use of the dichotomy between grand English country houses of the landed gentry and the pastoral cottages of peasants. In *Sense and Sensibility*, the Dashwood family’s harsh relocation from the family estate to “cottage” life unambiguously represents a class demotion central to the novel’s plot. In *Persuasion*, the Elliots face a similar fate, though in a more nuanced manner, when members of the working class move into Sir Walter’s Kellynch Hall estate and Anne meanwhile encounters pastoral peasant locales on her journeys to Winthrop and Lyme, signifying a blurring of boundaries between two worlds defined by their physical spaces.

In contrast, Austen’s approach to architecture, which employed contemporary intellectual and aesthetic ideas to relate more specifically to character, provides what is perhaps a more complex and fruitful way to understand the author’s general storytelling formula. In many cases, her architectural settings serve as the site of and stimulus for a pivotal shift in the heroine’s develop-