

Appendix F: A Proposed Order for the Homilies

Morin, in his seminal article, arrives at an order which closely follows Paris n.a. 1450, which restores I.6 to its rightful place, but relegates I.13 to the end.¹ Hurst seems somewhat bewildered by what he sees as the confused and random ordering of the Advent and Christmas homilies, along with the attribution of a post-Epiphany homily to the feast of St Andrew and a Lenten homily to the feast of St Matthew.² He attempts to restore them to what he considers a more natural order.

Hurst's ordering is greatly influenced by liturgical manuscripts, and in the places where his ordering differs from that of the main manuscripts it is because he prefers to follow the evidence of liturgy. It is, however, notable that across manuscripts produced hundreds of miles and hundreds of years apart, there is for the most part a close agreement about the place in the liturgical year of a particular homily. Part of this is connected to the Gospel readings, which are, if nowhere else, quoted in the homily, or are the first words given in the contents page of the manuscripts. A narrative of Christ's birth is not likely to be used outside the Christmas season; similarly, when Bede discusses the story of Pentecost, the homily is less likely to be given at another time and season.³ It is in the case of the more flexible homilies that Hurst uses the liturgical evidence to fix their rightful place.

No matter where their manuscript placing, whenever the liturgical date of homilies I.1-I.4 is mentioned, it is given as during Advent. Some manuscripts may give a more specific date.⁴ All manuscripts agree, including those of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, in the days given for homilies I.5-I.11. There is a little more confusion over the Epiphany homilies (I.12, I.14, I.15, I.19), but they are all associated with that feast. I.13, is, as Hurst noted, subject to more difficulty. It is included in only seven manuscripts; in only four of those is it assigned a day: Zurich to the vigil of St Benedict, Boulogne 75 and Paris 2370 to the feast of St Benedict (but this latter manuscript assigns it to later in the year – to the feast of St Benedict, founder of the Benedictine order).⁵ I.16 is one of the examples of Hurst going against the manuscript evidence, as all the manuscripts assign it to either the vigil or the feast of St Andrew, and place it later in the year.⁶ The same is true of I.20

¹ Morin, 'Le recueil primitif', pp. 325-6.

² Hurst, CCSL 122, p. vii.

³ See p. 47.

⁴ See appendix C.

⁵ See p. 121 for the importance of I.13 in the categorising of manuscripts of the homilies.

⁶ See table 50, pp. 187-8.

(assigned by Hurst to the Cathedra of St Peter, rather than the feast or vigil of Ss Peter and Paul) and I.21 (assigned by Hurst to Lent, rather than the feast or vigil of St Matthew). For I.16, Hurst follows the evidence of the Burchard Gospels (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mp.Th.F.68) in categorising the homily as a post-Epiphany one; for I.21 he follows the Lindisfarne Gospels in placing it as a Lenten homily. Both these manuscripts contain evidence of the Roman-Neapolitan liturgy, which form was probably followed to a large extent of Wearmouth-Jarrow, with an admixture of the Roman and Gallican usages.⁷ It is the Gallican usage (as given in the Luxeuil lectionary (Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 9427) and the Bobbio Missal, (Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 13246) which Hurst follows in his assignation of I.20 to the Cathedra S. Petri – the manuscripts all follow the Roman-Neapolitan usage in assigning it to the feast of Ss Peter and Paul.

I propose a general ordering of the homilies based upon the order of the two oldest manuscripts, Boulogne 75 and Zurich C42, taking account of the disorder of the Advent and Christmas homilies. For fine-tuning the dates to which the homilies may have been assigned, both the manuscript and the liturgical evidence will be used, giving due regard to the Neapolitan usage which seems to have been predominant in Northumbria at that time.⁸

Homilies I.1 and I.2: there is no evidence for placing them anywhere else or in any other order, in manuscript or liturgy. Liturgical and manuscript evidence place I.3 and I.4 next, with Munich 4533 confirming this order. I.5 is equally clearly for the Christmas vigil. Some of the liturgical evidence suggests that I.6 comes first, and the manuscripts are all consistent in placing I.7 before I.8. The sequencing of I.9, I.10, I.11 and I.12 is not in any doubt, nor are the dates given for I.9-I.11. I.12 is, in the manuscripts, given for both Epiphany and the Octave of Epiphany, with a serious divergence between the Zurich and the Boulogne manuscripts. However, let us tentatively assign it to the Epiphany, as both the Luxeuil Lectionary and Bobbio Missal assign the pericope to that date. Four of our manuscripts assign I.14 immediately after I.12, and some manuscripts (though not the oldest) assign it to the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany. In any case, this is before the feast of Benedict Biscop. I.19 is in some manuscripts assigned to the first Sunday after

⁷ Hurst, CCSL 122, pp. vii-viii.

⁸ M. P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, pp. 155-8.

Epiphany, though this is incidental. Hurst places it as late as he does purely on the liturgical evidence.⁹ Hurst notes that I.13 is celebrated on the day before the Ides of January.¹⁰ This is of course a fixed date around which the Epiphany homilies are arranged. Unlike Hurst, I prefer to take the manuscript evidence, unless that is manifestly faulty, rather than the liturgical evidence. Though Wearmouth-Jarrow was partly involved in the production of the Lindisfarne Gospels, we cannot rule out some variation in liturgical practice, and if we are to override the manuscript evidence, we must presume a very early manuscript at the head of most of the continental transmission in which the homilies were reordered for local liturgy. It is clear that this can happen, as is witnessed by the Jura manuscripts. However, these are later manuscripts, during which time a good deal of liturgical change may be posited. I am reluctant to assume large-scale reordering so early in the tradition, though the textual divergence between Zurich C42 and Boulogne 75 is already considerable, but several minor textual variants are very different from reordering the entire manuscript.

All manuscripts and liturgical sources agree in placing I.15 after Epiphany. Some sources assign it to the first Sunday after Epiphany, but there is a degree of flexibility here.¹¹ Hurst and the manuscripts agree about I.18 being assigned to the Purification (though this is one homily which is strongly affixed to that date by virtue of its Gospel story). Three of the manuscripts (including the two oldest) assign I.17 to the Sunday after this feast; the only evidence against it is contained in Paris 2369 (one of the manuscripts from the Jura region, which was somewhat reordered) and in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Both of these assign I.17 to a date after Epiphany. However, the manuscripts consistently place I.17 after I.18, and it seems likely therefore, that the first assigned date is the correct one. Homilies I.22-I.25, II.1 and II.2 are firmly set in Lent by both Hurst and the manuscript evidence; the only question is about the order in which they occur. The ordering of these homilies is remarkably stable, as can be seen in table 48. The major divergences with Hurst's scheme for Lent arise with homilies II.6 and II.4, which he assigns to Holy Saturday and *Maioris Hebdomadae* respectively. These two homilies are attributed to many

⁹ The Lindisfarne Gospels and the Burchard Gospels both assign the reading for I.19 to the fourth Sunday after Epiphany.

¹⁰ CCSL 122, p. 88.

¹¹ Engelberg 47, Paris 2369, Karlsruhe 37 and the Lindisfarne and Burchard Gospels assign it to this date.

dates in the manuscripts, though all are consistent in placing II.6 much earlier in the ordering of homilies than Hurst does. None of the manuscript dates given match Hurst's reading. Here, II.6 and II.4 are placed in the order in which the manuscripts suggest, with the date as given in Zurich C42 and Boulogne 75. The other manuscripts assign it to a date much later in the year, despite the fact that it is included in the midst of the Lenten homilies. This may suggest that, if the readings were not considered suitable for the time of year, it was the rubrics that were changed, and not the ordering of the homilies.

The ordering of the homilies for Holy week and the week leading to the Octave of Easter is highly consistent in the manuscripts. If the manuscript ordering is followed, the relation between the assigned date and the Gospel reading makes more sense. Hurst correctly assigned II.3 to Palm Sunday and II.5 to Maundy Thursday. Hurst, following the evidence of the Burchard and Lindisfarne Gospels, assigned II.7 to Holy Saturday, as does Engelberg 47 and Munich 18120. However, Zurich C42, Paris 2369 and Munich 4534 assign it to the Easter Vigil, as does the Luxeuil Lectionary and the Bobbio Missal. Given the importance of Zurich C42 and Munich 4534, I would tentatively prefer to assign this homily to the Easter Vigil, though it may also have been designed for the day mass on Holy Saturday. The Gospel reading is that of the two Marys visiting the tomb, which may incline one to assign it to the Easter Vigil mass.

The evidence for II.10 is scant, but the two oldest manuscripts are united in assigning this homily to Easter day. This is again an account of the women visiting the tomb, and it would seem logical that this would be the reading given on Easter Sunday. Hurst assigns II.8 to Easter day, though the pericope given is that of Jesus appearing in Galilee. This homily is assigned by five manuscripts to the Saturday in holy week, and II.9 is assigned by the same five manuscripts to the third day of holy week. The liturgical evidence for II.9 suggests a similar date for this reading. The Burchard Gospels support assigning II.8 to the later date also.

Hurst's ordering of II.11-II.13 follows the ordering of the readings assigned in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Mine follows that of the manuscript ordering, with the number of Sunday after Easter taken from Engelberg 47, Boulogne 75 and Karlsruhe 37 manuscripts. My ordering for homilies II.14-II.20 accords with Hurst's. The dates to which they are assigned in substantially the same, though Hurst assigns II.14 to *Litaniis maioribus*, rather than the minor Rogation Sunday

before Ascension. (Here I follow Boulogne 75 and Engelberg 47). II.16 Hurst assigns generally to ‘After Ascension’, whereas I follow the majority of manuscripts in assigning this homily to the Sunday after Ascension. II.17 Hurst and I assign to Pentecost; a few manuscripts (Paris 2370, Paris 2369 and Engelberg 47) assign it to the Vigil of Pentecost and Munich 4534 assigns it to ‘After Pentecost’. However, the Luxeuil Lectionary and Lindisfarne Gospels and Zurich C42 and Boulogne 75 assign it to Pentecost, so this would seem the preferable attribution. Karlsruhe 37 assigns II.18 to the feast of the Finding of the Cross, though this would appear to be a local peculiarity.

At this point, most of the manuscripts place I.20, followed by II.22. Munich 18120, Paris 2370 and Paris 2369 have II.22 followed by I.20. These two homilies are assigned by the manuscripts to the vigil of Ss Peter and Paul (II.22) and to the feast of Ss Peter and Paul (I.20). The Lindisfarne and Burchard Gospels also assign I.20 to this feast. The Zurich manuscript simply assigns both homilies to the feast of Ss Peter and Paul. The evidence is clear that I.20 is strongly associated with that feast day, whether for the vigil or the day itself. I prefer to follow the ordering of Munich 18120, and can only assume that some confusion with the rubrics or the ordering arose at an early stage.

II.21 follows, which Hurst, following the Lindisfarne and Burchard Gospels, assigns to the feast of Ss John and Paul. The manuscripts which mention a day are united in assigning this homily to the feast of St James, and this is the date I have preferred. II.23-II.25 occur in the order given in Hurst, assigned to the same occasions.

Finally, the manuscripts indicate that I.21 and I.16 (in that order) are to be assigned to the feasts of St Matthew and St Andrew respectively, and not to the period between Christmas and Easter.

There are still some areas of uncertainty in this ordering (particularly with regard to I.20 and II.22), though the general outline seems clear. The assignation of a homily to particular occasions may still be negotiated, as it is unclear to what extent the Wearmouth-Jarrow liturgy differed from that at Lindisfarne, and to what extent the homilies were reordered or rerubricated on the continent.

Table 50

Order	Day (where known)	Pericope	Story
I.1	Advent	Mark 1:4-8	John preaching and baptising
I.2	Advent	John 1:15-18	John bears witness to Christ
I.3	Advent	Luke 1:26-38	Annunciation
I.4	Advent	Luke 1:39-55	Visitation
I.5	Vigil of Christmas	Matt. 1:18-25	Joseph's dream
I.6	Christmas	Luke 2:1-14	Birth of Christ
I.7	Christmas	Luke 2:15-20	The shepherds' visit
I.8	Christmas	John 1:1-14	'In the beginning...'
I.9	John the Evangelist	John 21:19-24	Jesus' final appearance: his words to Peter and John
I.10	Holy Innocents	Matt. 2:13-23	The flight to Egypt and the slaughter of the Innocents
I.11	Octave of Christmas	Luke 2:21	Jesus' circumcision
I.12	Epiphany	Matt. 3:13-17	Jesus' baptism
I.14	After Epiphany	John 2:1-11	Wedding at Cana
I.19	After Epiphany	Luke 2:42-52	The boy Jesus at the temple
I.13	Benedict Biscop	Matt. 19:27-29	Give away all: receive one-hundredfold
I.15	After Epiphany	John 1:29-34	Jesus' baptism
I.18	Purification of Mary	Luke 2:22-35	Purification of Mary; Simeon
I.17	Sunday after Purification of Mary	John 1:43-51	The calling of Philip and Nathanael
I.24	Lent	Matt. 16:27-17:9	Coming of the Son in glory
I.22	Lent	Matt. 15:21-28	Healing of the Canaanite woman's daughter
I.25	Lent	John 8:1-12	The adulterous woman
II.6	Lent	Mark 7:31-37	Healing of the deaf-mute
II.1	Lent	John 2:12-22	The cleansing of the Temple
I.23	Lent	John 5:1-18	Healing at the pool of Bethzatha
II.2	Lent	John 6:1-14	Feeding the 5000
II.4	Lent	John 11:55-12:11	Mary anoints Jesus' feet
II.3	Palm Sunday	Matt. 21:1-9	Jesus enters Jerusalem
II.5	Maundy Thursday	John 13:1-17	Washing the disciples' feet
II.7	Easter Vigil	Matt. 28:16-20	Two Marys go to the tomb
II.10	Easter	Luke 24:1-9	The women go to the tomb
II.9	Feria ii of Easter	Luke 24:36-47	Jesus appears to the Apostles in Jerusalem
II.8	Feria vi of Easter	Matt. 28:16-20	Jesus appears at Galilee
II.13	2 nd Sunday after Octave of Easter	John 16:16-22	Jesus prophesises his return to the Father
II.11	3 rd Sunday after Octave of Easter	John 16:5-15	Jesus prophesises about the Spirit
II.12	4 th Sunday after Octave of Easter	John 16:23-30	'Ask anything of the Father...'
II.14	Rogation Sunday	Luke 11:9-13	'Ask and it will be given...'

Appendix F

II.15	Ascension	Luke 24:44-53	Ascension
II.16	Sunday after Ascension	John 15:26-16:4	Jesus tells of the coming of the Spirit
II.17	Pentecost	John 14:15-21	'If you love me...'
II.18	Octave of Pentecost	John 3:1-16	The kingdom of heaven
II.19	Vigil of Birth of John the Baptist	Luke 1:5-17	Zechariah's vision
II.20	Birth of John the Baptist	Luke 1:57-68	John's birth
II.22	Vigil of Ss Peter and Paul	John 21:15-19	'Feed my sheep'
I.20	Ss Peter and Paul	Matt. 16:13-19	'Who is the Son of Man?'
II.21	St James	Matt. 20:20-23	Sons of Zebedee
II.23	Beheading of John the Baptist	Matt. 14:1-12	Beheading of John
II.24	Church Dedication	John 10:22-30	'My sheep hear my voice...'
II.25	Church Dedication	Luke 6:43-48	'No good tree bears bad fruit...'
I.21	St Matthew	Matt. 9:9-13	Jesus calls Matthew, the tax-collector
I.16	St Andrew	John 1:35-42	John the Baptist points out Jesus