(Review) De sancti Hugonis actis liturgicis

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Comments

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Aragon and Castile, and finally his involvement in southern France, culminating with disaster and his death at the battle of Muret. Historians of the Reconquest will not be pleased to note Bisson’s crediting the victory of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 to Pere, a conflict in which he commanded only one wing of the Christian army, without the hint of a supporting source. Pere’s activities led to absentee countship in Catalonia, a major rise in Catalan resistance to his fiscal exactions, and the need to add a system of credit financing to take up the slack. Guilem Durfort, with the aid of Pere Sacristan of Vic, utilized his considerable accounting skills to assure that the borrowing did not overbalance the potential revenues from the domains. However, institutionalized finance could make no real progress in the face of Pere’s hectic last years.

Bisson concludes by comparing the Catalan advances with the fiscal structures of contemporary northern Europe, particularly with those of Capetian France and Angevin England. He concludes that the comital records were less useful for budgeting purposes than the English rolls. The Catalan baiulús is likened more to the French prévôt than the bailie. However, these bailiffs were more closely associated with the curia than their northern counterparts, a supervision process which strikes Bisson as the progressive aspect of Catalan fiscal operations in the later-twelfth century. He concludes cautiously that “better perhaps than any other such records of their time, the early fiscal accounts of Catalonia evoke the disturbing ambiguities of an evolution from patrimonial exploitation to public administration. They offer precious witness to a distinctively Mediterranean administrative culture in its formative age” (p. 158).

The remainder of volume 1 then provides useful lists and descriptions of the bailiwicks and domains, lists of accountants, auditors, scribes, vicars, bailiffs, saigs, and other very useful information for effectively using the documents. Volume 2 presents the edited documents with extensive explanatory commentary, closing with two indices of names and of other words. The editing is of the highest order, an example to others who follow Bisson in these kinds of materials. Extensive knowledge of the archives and collections is everywhere in evidence. Medieval administrative historians and Iberians are in his debt for making this rich vein of archival materials available.

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This volume brings together materials bearing on the person and liturgical works of Hugh of Agnano, bishop of Volterra (1173–84) and saint. Put together for the celebration of the eighth centenary of his death, it is meant to “initiate” rather than to conclude research (p. 2). The documents in the volume, which are transcribed rather than edited, will be of interest to liturgists, canonists, and students of the life of cathedral canons in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The text is clearly printed, but the lack of indices, notes, or apparatus makes the material difficult to use, and whereas the liturgical books shed much light on twelfth-century ritual in the diocese of Volterra, the part that Hugh may have played in their composition is not at all clear.

In his preliminary remarks Bocci prints some unedited seventeenth-century biographical matter on Hugh, previous catalogue descriptions of the liturgical manuscripts that he has transcribed, and the material from the guard folios of one of them.
He notes the difficulties of considering Hugh the author of the liturgical texts, but does not argue forcefully against them. He presents no systematic inquiry of the evidence and, in the end, his confidence in Hugh’s authorship rests on traditions considerably younger than the twelfth century.

The first of the liturgical documents is an *ordo officiorum* for the cathedral of Volterra completed in 1161. It is transcribed from two nearly identical and roughly contemporary copies. The author of the *ordo* calls himself “Hugo Vulterrane ecclesie . . . archipresbiter.” The identification of this author with Bishop Hugh rests on a Renaissance tradition that the latter was for many years an archpriest of the cathedral chapter at Volterra. The difficulties with this identification, which Bocci noted previously in an article on St. Hugh in the *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, are mentioned only obliquely here. The fact that there were four canons named Hugh at the cathedral of Volterra in the mid-twelfth century and the presence of an archpriest Hugh serving under Bishop Hugh (attested to from more than one source) render suspect the notion that St. Hugh was the author of the *ordo*.

But the *ordo officiorum* is interesting quite apart from its possible connection with St. Hugh. Addressed to the parish priests and chaplains of the diocese of Volterra, who had asked for a book of liturgical instructions from the diocesan see so that they might bring themselves into accord with its usages, the *ordo* covers the whole liturgical year and, for the most part, presents the sequence of prayers and responses for individual feasts and Sundays. Unlike a sacramentary or pontifical, however, the *ordo officiorum* has a theoretical as well as a practical purpose. Its author not only presents the observances customary at the cathedral, but comments on them, often at some length. For example, it was customary at Volterra not to mention the names of saints at vespers on the octave of their feasts. The reason for this, the author tells us, is that vespers signifies the final resting place of the soul, and the saints do not yet dwell in their final resting place (c. 31). The octave of a feast has a relation to the *vita eterna*, to the end of time (c. 59), and to eternal beatitude (c. 40). Such remarks reveal some of the richness of the medieval liturgy — a bit of the semantics of its ritual language.

The theoretical nature of the *ordo* also explains the wealth of canonical texts interspersed among the directives. The copious material on baptism, penance, and ordination included in the section on the Easter season is especially interesting. The author had access to numerous canonical collections, among which were certainly the *Polycarpus* of Bishop Gregory of St. Chrysogonus and the works of Ivo of Chartres. There is no evidence, however, of any familiarity with Gratian’s *Decretum*. The lack of index or apparatus is especially frustrating here and makes the identification of canonical texts difficult, but there is much of value for those interested in the relations between law and liturgy in the twelfth century.

The second liturgical document is a twelfth-century missal-ritual originally from the archive of the cathedral at Volterra. It contains a calendar; forty-one masses for various occasions; *ordines* for preparation before mass, baptism, the visitation and anointing of the sick, penance, and death; masses for the dead; and a series of benedictions. Bocci notes where musical notation occurs in the manuscript. He admits that he is not able to argue at this time that the book was ever the property of St. Hugh (p. 15), but titles it “Il messaletto votivo e rituale di Ugo.” The *ordines* are of particular interest and will bear comparison with others of the twelfth century, in Italy and elsewhere. The emphasis of the book is pastoral and reflects the merging of the rituals of anointing, penance, and the old Roman *ordo in agenda mortuorum* that had become the standard ritual response to death and dying in medieval Europe by the late-ninth century.
The death ritual is different from the rite implied by the indications at the end of the *ordo officiorum* (cc. 275–84), which discuss an essentially Benedictine response to dying, emphasizing the value of group prayer and the presence of demons at the deathbed. The difference suggests that the latter indications were drawn from the customs of the cathedral canons themselves while those in the missal-ritual reflect more general pastoral practice.

The final document transcribed is a record of an inquest held around the year 1205 concerning the bishop's right to elect canons to the cathedral chapter at Volterra. Its manuscript source and its place in canon law and in the history of the communal politics of thirteenth-century Volterra are briefly mentioned, but no other information is provided. The twenty-one depositions preserved in this document have the inherent fascination of all such testimony. Behind the third-person narrative, one can hear the voices of the actual witnesses, relating their memories of elections in the time of St. Hugh and his predecessor, Bishop Galganus. This inquest almost certainly led to a decretal of Pope Innocent III preserved in the *Corpus iuris canonici* (*Decretales Gregorii IX* 1.6.31).

This volume should indeed initiate research. It brings to light two important twelfth-century liturgical texts and a document of no small interest to the history of electoral procedures and the life of cathedral canons in the later-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. It is only regrettable that, given the high quality of most other recent publications of liturgical and canonical texts, there could not have been more than a bare transcription of these materials. Even if critical editions were not possible, indices, comparisons with other texts of similar type, or identification of possible sources or parallels for canonical and liturgical materials would have made the documents printed here more usable and would have aided in bringing any research initiated by their publication to a more rapid conclusion.

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This volume more than adequately replaces a piece of Walter Skeat's juvenalia, one of his first published book-length works (Early English Text Society, extra series 1, 1867). Bunt performs a careful and conservative job which will surely serve the next century's worth of readers as well as Skeat has the last. It's a pleasure that this attractive (if typically overlong) alliterative poem — two noble lovers and their faithful tutelary werewolf rewarded — is available with comprehensive modern apparatus.

Bunt's work falls in that category of editions which Thorlac Turville-Petre has called "standard," rather than "speculative." As Turville-Petre points out (*English Studies* 61 [1980], 302), preparation of such editions is endemic to the study of Middle English alliterative works: in this poetic tradition, poems surviving in multiple copies are the exceptions. Bunt, like the editors of many alliterative poems, is confronted with a single surviving manuscript of dubious antecedents, particularly minimal evidence on which to base a text. In this context Bunt follows the course Turville-Petre has recommended: his edition is a masterpiece of conservatism.