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The Trustees of Douai Abbey,
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(+44) 0118 9715300
info@douaiabbey.org.uk
weldonpress@douaiabbey.org.uk

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A LITURGICAL CONUNDRUM

By the second century the Christian community had ceased to follow the Jewish dating for the crucifixion to Passover using the lunar calendar, as reflected in the Gospel of John, which shows Jesus having been crucified while the lambs were being sacrificed in the Temple. In Rome the Crucifixion was dated to 25 March according to the Julian, solar, calendar, and in Asia Minor to 6 April, a difference of twelve days. The Resurrection would soon always be celebrated on a Sunday, regardless of the day of the week on which the calendar date fell, and in time the Sunday of the Resurrection was standardised throughout the Christian West. Holy Week, the 'Great Week' as it was called, was celebrated in Jerusalem by the end of the fourth century, and there is a detailed description of the week's events extant in the account of the pilgrim, Egeria (circa 388), who followed the services with close attention.[1]

Four new feasts were introduced into the Roman calendar in the late seventh century: in Spring, two feasts of the Lord (Candlemas on 2 February, and the Incarnation on 25 March [later to become the Annunciation]); and in the Autumn, two feasts of Our Lady (her Dormition on 15 August, and her Nativity on 8 September). The feast of the Incarnation/Annunciation was certainly celebrated with solemnity in Rome under Pope Sergius (687–701), as was the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September. The liturgical calendar of the Anglo-Saxon Saint Willibrord, for example, marks both the Crucifixion and the sacrifice of Isaac on 25 March, the latter being understood as an Old Testament type of the former.[2] Ancient martyrologies also mark the day of Christ's Crucifixion on 25 March, along with the creation and fall of Adam, the fall of Lucifer, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the crossing of the Red Sea: a significant day indeed. Tertullian († 225), for example, asserted that Jesus was crucified on 25 March, and many ancient calendars followed him.

This introduced a problem for the celebration of the feast of the Incarnation/Annunciation, in that 25 March always falls in Lent, and according to the variable dating of Easter, sometimes on 25 March itself.[3] One solution, followed by the Gelasian Sacramentary, simply celebrated the Incarnation/Annunciation in March without reference to Lent. The papal liturgy for the feast at the Lateran basilica included a reference to the relationship between the Incarnation and the Crucifixion in the post-communion prayer, the prayer familiar to us from the daily recitation of the Angelus:

> Pour forth, we beseech thee, O Lord thy grace into our hearts that we to whom the incarnation of Christ Thy Son has been made known by the message of an angel, may, by His Passion and Cross, be brought to the glory of His Resurrection.[4]

The prayer is found in the *Hadrianum*, a sacramentary given by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 785–86, where it appears as a post-communion prayer for the feast of the Annunciation on 25 March.

The prayer looks back to a third solution to the relationship between the two feasts of the Incarnation and the Crucifixion in an edition of the *Paduense*, a revision of a papal sacramentary dating from 670–680 for the use of pilgrims visiting Saint Peter's in Rome, where it is found as the opening prayer of the Mass entitled *VIII kalendas* [*aprilis*] *Adnuntiato sanctae Dei genitrices. Et passio eiusdem Domini* ('the eighth day before the calends of April, the Annunciation of the holy mother of God and the Passion of the same Lord'). Éamonn Ó Carragáin explains the relationship:

> Thus, perhaps from the 670s onwards, the liturgy of St Peter's annually presented 25 March as a feast of the Passion as well as the Incarnation of Christ. In the Vatican Mass for 25 March, the Lenten feast of the Annunciation of the Lord is as closely associated with the lunar cycle (of Holy Week and Easter) as it is with the solar cycle of the Incarnation (centred on Christmas).[5]

John Donne, the seventeenth century Anglican cleric and poet, touched on the same theme in his long poem, *Upon the Annunciation and Passion falling upon one day, 1608*:

> …At once a Sonne is promis'd her, and gone,
> Gabriell gives Christ to her, he her to John;…
>
> All this, and all between, this day hath shown
> Th'abridgement of Christ's story, which makes one

(As in plaine maps, the furthest West is East)
Of the Angel's Ave and Consummatum est
How well the Church, God's Court of Faculties,
Deals, in some times, and seldome joyning these!...
Death and conception in mankind is one...[6]

A VISUAL RESOLUTION

What Donne, as well as early liturgical prayer, solved textually, the artists of the Middle Ages in England and Wales solved visually in the lily crucifix. In it is a crystallisation of the mystery of Redemption, from the Conception of Our Lord to his saving Death and Resurrection in one densely rich image.

Often in depictions of the Annunciation, between the angel and Our Lady can be seen a small vase, or pot, containing a lily. Initially this was simply a flower, reflecting Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's (1090–1153) assertion that the Annunciation occurred in Spring, 'the time of flowers,' reflected in the name *Nazareth*, which means 'shoot' or 'stem.' As the *Golden Legend* has it, 'the flower willed it to be born of a flower, in a flower, at the time of flowers.'[7] On the continent, this flower had been identified as a lily by the early fourteenth century. Scholars suspect that this use of the lily emerged much earlier in England. Examples can be found on the twelfth-century crossing towers of Southwell Minster in Nottinghamshire, and a Norman font at Upavon in Wiltshire.

Mary Rogers suggests the urn in which the lily grows represents Mary's womb, and the lily denotes the Lord's virginal conception.[8] Certainly, the Anglo-Saxon poem *Solomon and Saturn* has Solomon inquiring 'which is the happiest of plants,' and is answered 'the lily is that plant for it denoteth Christ.' Further, an English medieval version of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* suggests that Mary is the rod from Jesse's root, and that her Son is its flower (as shown the many Jesse windows, such as the one in Ludlow, which probably dates from the mid-fifteenth century). The poem continues:

A man is strengthid noblye
That he no payne may fele,
Of this floure, Crist-on-Cross
Behalding the coloure.[9]

A Jesse tree commissioned by the Guild of Our Lady for the ceiling of Saint Helen's, Abingdon, completed in 1391, develops this theme in an important way. There are 52 panels in all, arranged in pairs from Jesse and David to Our Lady, connected by a vine trail. The last two panels, on the Lady chapel roof, depict Our Lady of the Annunciation, and Christ crucified and hanging on a vine which bears lily flowers, his head drooping in death. This latter image seems to be found only in Britain, and appears to be a transitional image, not quite the later lily crucifix, but a development of the tree of Jesse. The Crucifixion imposed on a lily is often linked with the iconography of the Annunciation. Sometimes such images actually omit the cross, Christ being nailed directly to the sprouting lily, as on the Abingdon church ceiling which is one of the earliest depictions surviving. This might be contrasted with a mural, painted circa 1450 at All Saints, Godshill on the Isle of Wight, also showing the lily crucifix (sometimes interpreted as the *arbor crucis*), but with Christ smiling, and the crown of thorns transformed into a regal crown:[10] death leads to life, the image of the Crucifixion heralds the joy of the Resurrection.

In a paper read in March 1924, W. H. Hildburgh identified eight examples of the lily crucifix, later listing three more examples.[11] Subsequently, more examples have been located. At present it is estimated that there are possibly twenty examples of the lily crucifix remaining, preserved in various media. Some are quite crude in design, some very sophisticated. It is likely that many examples were destroyed during the puritan destruction of images in churches during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, a misericord in the church at Tong, Shropshire (below) shows a lily crucifix at the centre of

a scene depicting Gabriel's annunciation to Mary. A similar scene is depicted on a misericord in All Saints, Gresford in Clwyd; in this image, however, Gabriel and Mary remain while the figure between them, perhaps a lily crucifix, has been defaced. Many more images must have been lost similarly through wanton destruction, as well as by the passage of time.

There is one final—iconographically if not chronologically—development of the theme seen in the late fifteenth-century chancel screen at Saint Andrew's, Kenn near Exeter, which links the motif with a trinitarian image, the throne of grace (God the Father, with a lost figure of the Holy Spirit—presumably as a dove—presenting the dead Christ enthroned on the Father's knees). This damaged image has a dowel hole which presumably allowed for a peg to affix the missing Holy Spirit.

A similar scene can also be found in an English alabaster of the late fourteenth century now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington. The shrine case is possibly German, but the alabaster it houses is English, circa 1375, and there is photographic evidence that the head of Christ and the lily were present in 1922, but subsequently lost.[12] This can be compared with a rather cruder late fifteenth-century representation of the Trinity and the Annunciation—the Annunciation above, with Our Lady and the angel, and between them a lily with God the Father above, and the Holy Spirit as a dove issuing from his mouth; and underneath, the Father and the Holy Spirit, supporting a limp Christ who has an orb beneath his feet.[13]

Here, in the more complex image of the lily crucifix and throne of grace, is drawn together the fulfilment of the theme. The whole pattern of human Redemption is condensed into one image: the proclamation of the Incarnation with its consummation on the Cross, and the final taking to heart of this saving mystery in the loving and merciful embrace of the Father.

REV DR PETER PHILIPS
Diocese of Shrewsbury

CATALOGUE

1. *The Llanbeblig Hours*, National Library of Wales, Add Ms 17520A, fols 1-2v, Aberystwyth; late fourteenth century, Welsh?

> E. J. M. Duggan, 'Notes concerning the Lily Crucifixion in the Llanbeblig Hours,' *National Library of Wales Journal* (January 1991), 39–47.

2. Carved alabaster panel housed in a painted wooden case, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington; English, 1375.

> Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 167.

3. Lady Chapel, Saint Helen's Abingdon; roof panel, 1391.

4. Saint John the Baptist, Wellington, Somerset, Lady aisle; fourteenth century stone window mullion.

5. All Saints, Tong, Shropshire; misericord, master's stall, 1410.

6. Saint Mary, Nottingham; carved stone (alabaster) tomb panel of John de Tannesley († 1414).

7. York Minster, north choir aisle; stained glass, Bowett window, Christ surrounded by gold patterning, associated with the Christmas scene, circa 1415.

8. Godshill, Isle of Wight; mural, circa 1450.

9. Saint Mary, Westwood, Wiltshire; east window, probably originally in the Lady chapel and part of an annunciation scene, stained glass, circa 1475.

10. Victoria and Albert Museum; panel-painting (W 50–1921), 1470–90.

11. Cope belonging to Cardinal Morton (1420–1500), textile fragment, possibly from an original annunciation scene, late fifteenth century.

> M. M. Brooks, 'The raiment of the Lord: Investigating the Morton Cope,' *The Douai Magazine* 180 (2018), 33–35; M. M. Brooks, S. O'Connor, with C. Caple, P. Graves, and A. Quye, 'Fragments of faith: Unpicking Archbishop John Morton's vestments,' *The Antiquaries Journal*, 2020, 1–30.

12. Saint Michael at the North Gate, Oxford; stained glass, circa 1450.

13. Great Barton, Suffolk; parclose screen painting, late fifteenth century (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum).

14. Saint Andrew, Kenn, near Exeter; chancel screen painting, late fifteenth century, linked to the Throne of Grace.

> G. M. Rushford, 'A lily-crucifix and an unidentified saint in Kenn Church, Devon,' *The Antiquities Journal* (January 1927), 72–73.

15. All Saints, Gresford, Clywd; misericord, with evidence of either a lily pot or a lily crucifix, now lost, between Gabriel and Mary, fifteenth century.

16. Saint Nicholas, South Kilworth, Leicestershire; roughly-carved stone tomb panel of Richard de Whitenhall (now set in the wall of the Lady Chapel), undated but from the fifteenth century (below).

17. Saints Peter and Paul, Wittering, Sussex; carved stone tomb panel of William Earnley († 1545), but the tomb dates from 1530.

18. Clopton chapel, Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk; stained glass, fifteenth century.

19. Queen's College, Oxford; stained glass, sixteenth century, much altered in the eighteenth century.

20. Victoria and Albert Museum; tomb lid? (see Hildburgh, cited in note 12 below, possibly a reference to #10 above).

21. Our Lady at Smith Gate chapel, now Hertford MCR, Oxford; stone, annunciation scene, with lily damaged and crucifix, if ever present, obliterated.

NOTES

1. Anne McGowan and Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2018).

2. Richard N. Bailey, *The Meaning of Mercian Sculpture,* Vaughan Paper 34 (University of Leicester, 1990), 12.

3. For the following, see Daniel McCarthy in *The Tablet*, 16 and 23 December 2006, 30 & 13 respectively; and Éamonn Ó Carragáin, *The City of Rome and the World of Bede*, Jarrow Lecture (Newcastle, 1994).

4. This prayer now occurs as the opening prayer for the fourth Sunday of Advent, and for the feast of the Holy Rosary, 7 October.

5. Ó Carragáin, 23.

6. Cited in Ó Carragáin, 33.

7. Cited in Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image* (New York & London: Harper & Row, 1972), 244.

8. Mary Rogers, 'Crucifix and Lily,' *Oxford Today*, 9, 2 (Hilary Term, 1997), 23.

9. Cited in M. D. Anderson, *History and Imagery in British Churches* (London: John Murray, 1971), 110.

10. Mary Rogers, op. cit.

11. W. L. Hildburgh, 'An Alabaster table of the Annunciation with Crucifix,' *Archaeologica*, 74, 203–232; see also W. L. Hildburgh, 'Some further notes on the Crucifix on the Lily,' *The Antiquaries Journal*, 12, 1 (January, 1932), 24–26; and W. L. Hildburgh 'English Alabaster Tables of about the Third Quarter of the Fourteenth Century,' *The Art Bulletin*, 32, 1 (March, 1950), 1–23.

12. See Francis Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 167.

13. Cheetham, 110.

The *Ordo Romanus Primus* Revisited

In assessing the *Ordines Romani*, *ordo* is best translated as 'order of service.' Also, the term *Ordines Romani* generally denotes the fifty medieval texts which form Michel Andrieu's edition of 1931/61. Though previous writers have stated that the *Ordo Romanus Primus* (O.R.I) is the earliest complete account of the Mass at Rome, this is not correct, since Justin Martyr's description of the Roman Sunday Mass about the year 150 is complete, though short. O.R.I describes the papal stational Mass of Easter Sunday at Saint Mary Major, then called *Sancta Maria ad Praesepe* ('Saint Mary of the Crib'), doubtless because it has relics of the infant Jesus' crib before the high altar. It also came to be used, not only for Easter, but also for other particularly important Masses, according to MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. Lat. 487.

While not neglecting solid earlier writing, this paper will include as much as possible of the latest scholarship about O.R.I in a suitable form for the non-specialist reader, since knowledge of this document is essential for understanding the evolution of the Mass. Accordingly, this paper's discussion will open by explaining what O.R.I is, and why it is so important for understanding the rite of Mass and of Roman church history. A description of O.R.I's order of Mass will then follow as this paper's centrepiece. The discussion will then move on to the reception of O.R.I in Francia (the Frankish domains), and how it was used socially and politically there, while the concluding sections will offer material for further reflection.

Authorship and Date

We know very little about O.R.I's original author, except that he was probably the official titled *Ordinator* in the text. However, we are on slightly surer ground in identifying a reviser. O.R.I received some slight but discernible changes from the period before it left Rome, and the reviser did not see a need to imitate the earlier work stylistically. Archdeacon Theophylact may well have been the reviser, if the

considerable authority which the later material assigns to the archdeacon is anything to go by.

Fortunately, we have considerably more material about O.R.I's date. The twelfth-century liturgist who compiled MS Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare 65 maintained the view, usual for the time, that Pope Gregory the Great had edited all of the medieval Roman Gradual. While such a view is uncommon nowadays, O.R.I indeed stands at the end of the Gregorian period of the liturgy's evolution; it 'represents an epoch when the Roman liturgy had not yet undergone a hybridisation through contact with Franco-German uses.' The earliest date for it may be 693, reputedly the year when Pope Sergius I (687–701) put the *Agnus Dei* into the Roman Mass. This chant is mentioned both in the ninth-century MS St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 614 (G), usually believed to be the earliest manuscript of O.R.I, and in the longer recension (L.R.) given in all other manuscripts. John F. Romano believes that O.R.I dates from Sergius I's reign itself, while Cyrille Vogel has noted that it was probably put together early in the eighth century, at or after the end of Sergius' reign. Barry Craig has dated it to soon after Sergius' death, a most satisfactory opinion.

Moreover, Andrieu believed that there was an early manuscript recension of O.R.I, probably between 775 and 780, or at any rate before 787, presumably in Francia (all surviving manuscripts of the *Ordines* being Frankish). Alan Griffiths has amplified Gregory Dix's opinion, and attributed the emergence of the manuscript tradition in L.R. to the ninth century as a whole. He has taken the majority view that G is O.R.I's earliest manuscript and has used it critically, using other manuscripts for articles 1–23, which G lacks. While G does not commonly show signs of having been retouched, a rubric in it at article 95, about the archdeacon making the sign of the cross over the chalice, seems to be later than the rest. The same is true regarding the consecrated particle left on the altar in G's text of article 105. The reason which G gives—that the particle remained there in order not to leave the altar lacking consecrated Bread while the solemn liturgy continued—is almost certainly a gloss from at least fifty years after O.R.I's original text, unlikely to have come from Rome in the first instance, and supplied because the original reason had been lost.

Significantly, Romano has disparaged the idea that G represents a shorter, earlier version of O.R.I. Instead, he has argued that G's Frankish scribe used an incomplete, damaged manuscript, filling in its lacunae as best he could. Therefore, on this view, G does not seem to have had a manuscript tradition of its own, although this view's acceptance involves not only the abandonment of Andrieu's well-argued contrary opinion, but also a questioning of parts of his analysis of the different families of manuscripts of O.R.I, which is, at least otherwise, masterly.

WHY O.R.I WAS WRITTEN

While the Roman sacramentaries provided the prayers of the Mass, major guidance was lacking as to its actions. O.R.I was meant to guide practice, not for purely academic study. It is a practical—and very convenient—document, meant primarily for popes and bishops, ministers, masters of ceremonies, members of the papal court, and priests in Rome. It is written in popular, not literary, Latin, presumably for ease of reading. One reason to compile O.R.I was to assist the priests of Rome's titular churches, who celebrated Mass with much less solemnity than the great papal liturgies. However, they needed a set of notes for good celebration from the point of view of liturgical technique. Another reason to put together O.R.I was to specify, and help preserve, the often precious objects required for the liturgy. Many of these are listed in O.R.I, articles 19–22.

Two further reasons for O.R.I derived from Christianity's new status as the emperor's religion, under Constantine, and then officially as the state religion of the empire under Theodosius II (emperor 379–395). One of these was the liturgical change from the simple forms of the late antique period. The other was the clergy's greatly altered civil status, resulting from a new estimation of the clergy, affecting the higher clergy most of all. In particular, bishops became part of the state's civil, and particularly juridical, administration.

So later, because of the demise of the emperors' rule in the western empire, the popes' standing rose greatly in terms of the authority they gained in the West, most of all in Rome, of which the pope became, in practice, the governor. Thus O.R.I shows the pope as a political as well as a Church leader. In particular, the increase in numbers and

importance of the papal court meant that it was important to record who did what, and who had precedence over whom, especially in terms both of the court itself and of its relationship with the Roman people. One instance of the introduction of secular court ceremonial into O.R.I was the entrance procession with music, lights, and incense. Another was the kissing of the pope's feet by the deacon who read the gospel—significantly, a rite not observed for other bishops. In short, 'in describing the solemn Mass of the Roman Church, [the whole text of O.R.I] offers a portrait of the city of Rome some two centuries after the collapse of the [western] Empire.' Since O.R.I's liturgy is a stational Mass, it is important to see what that means.

THE ROMAN STATIONAL TRADITION

Because O.R.I describes a stational liturgy, one needs to note the evolution of Rome's stational system. The oldest stational Mass was at Saint John Lateran on the first Sunday of Lent. This might go back to about 400, since Pope Anastasius I celebrated that Mass there annually in his short reign. There is some further evidence from the Gregorian era, since Pope Gregory the Great would announce the station at Saint Peter's on Ember Saturday. Indeed, Gregory may have determined the order of the stations, since he died in 604 and the list of Roman stations, which Gregory described in his preaching, dates mostly from the first quarter of the seventh century (and is recorded completely in an early eighth century Würzburg manuscript). The early seventh century is also the date of the Verona Sacramentary (MS Verona, Biblioteca capitolare LXXXV), which includes some prayers of the stational Masses at Rome, though the prayers themselves may well predate the manuscript. In the early eighth century, but after O.R.I, Pope Gregory II completed the series by determining the stations for the Lenten Thursdays.

Later on, when O.R.I was recast and amplified in the eighth century, and before it was taken to Francia in the middle of that century, it received a new cycle of stational churches for Easter Week. Saint Mary Major was important enough, and accessible enough from the Lateran palace, to have ten stational days in the year, and the Easter Sunday station was still there in the late twelfth century.

The Roman system of stational Masses was imitated outside Rome. This can be seen at Tours from as far back as the late fifth century, and

at Metz from Chrodegang's episcopate of 753–766, as well as 'at Ravenna, Liège, Vercelli, Strasbourg, Cologne [and] Paris.' Again, the bishop of Regensburg devised for his city a Roman-style series of liturgical stations. It is easy to overlook the importance of such geographically-wide imitations, since medieval England did not use stational liturgies. However, in describing O.R.I in the light of the whole stational tradition at Rome, some specific study of its eucharistic liturgy is essential.

O.R.I'S EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

The entrance procession at the start of O.R.I's Mass had a grandeur reserved in earlier times for emperors and very high civil dignitaries. Here, it was the first of the four major liturgical elements before the readings—the introit, *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, and the opening prayer—which O.R.I 46–53 describe. As to the entrance chant, and indeed all the music at papal Masses by about 700, the congregation's response was in decline and the people no longer sang or responded to the prayers. For example, the congregation's responses to the *Kyrie*, still present in Gregory the Great's time, had died out by the time of O.R.I. So the singing was confined to the schola. The style of chant is associated with Gregory the Great, though the antiphon *Gaudeamus omnes*, probably composed in 591–2, 'appears to be Gregory's only contribution to the chant repertory of the Mass.'[13] However, that antiphon will have become particularly relevant for Saint Mary Major, since it was later extended to Marian use.

In 595, Pope Gregory the Great had stopped the practice of ordaining men as deacon solely on account of their good singing voice. Therefore, the schola in O.R.I included clergy of the ranks of subdeacon and below, as well as *infantes*, presumably boy trebles (who, when they left the schola as youths, did so in the order of acolyte). One rite still observed in O.R.I was that two acolytes showed to the pope particles of the Sacred Bread consecrated at a Mass on an earlier day. These were to be put into the chalice before the fraction, that is, the breaking of bread, rites of which more will be said later. In the *Kyrie*, the text has been shortened from its earlier form. The *Gloria*, present here, appears earlier as a concluding hymn at Lauds. John Harper dates the *Gloria*'s first

appearance in the papal Mass to about 500, and that of the opening prayer to about 440; these dates seem near enough.[14]

The description of the readings, their ceremonies, and the chants between them occurs at O.R.I 56–65. At Rome, the number of scripture readings at Mass was reduced from three to two during the Gregorian period, in Franck Quoëx's view,[15] which seems reasonable. After the first reading, generally from the New Testament other than the gospels, the schola sang the responsorial gradual chant and then the gospel acclamation, the *Alleluia* (omitted in Lent). The gospel procession included incense and lights; at least two Ravenna mosaics from about 550 show both a thurible and a gospel book being carried. Likewise, O.R.I provides the first recorded instance of two candles being carried in this procession at Rome. The candles represented honour to Christ, who proclaims his own Good News; they were thus not there simply to give light to the deacon who read the gospel. Afterwards, everyone in the sanctuary kissed the gospel book, which an acolyte then put back in its case and returned to where it belonged (*ad locum suum*).[16] It is not said here that the acolyte took the book straight back to the Lateran, but this reference has been understood to mean precisely that, most likely because the manuscript would have been particularly finely made, and its covers would probably have been set with precious stones.[17]

The homily is, from today's perspective, conspicuous by its absence. In Gregory the Great's time there seems to have been a homily at least sometimes at stational Masses. One of Gregory's homilies was preached at the station at Saint Laurence's-outside-the-Walls on Septuagesima, while another has been assigned to Sexagesima, which almost certainly meant a station at Saint Paul's-outside-the-Walls. However, by O.R.I's time the homily was almost always omitted at Rome. Apart from such exceptions as Leo the Great and Gregory the Great, popes seemed generally not to preach. Moreover, they did not give their approval to their priests to preach, and rather disapproved of other bishops doing so. Also, there was no dismissal of the catechumens because these were now few, given the decline of paganism and the rise of infant baptism.

While considerations of space preclude an extended description of the remarkably detailed ceremonies of O.R.I's solemn Mass, a more detailed account of one section may be useful, namely from the offertory to the commingling of the species consecrated at that

celebration. O.R.I describes the full Roman offertory of the time, accompanied by the offertory chant. A corporal covering the whole altar was unfolded. All the laity who could do so provided small loaves of bread and phials of wine. By O.R.I's date, the offertory procession had fallen into disuse, in favour of confining the gifts to bread and wine and collecting them from the congregation's different groups where they were. The implication drawn by Kimberly Hope Belcher, that there was an offertory procession, is thus incorrect.[18] The pope first went to the male donors of bread and wine of the senatorial, noble class, an action which reinforced the imperial social structure,[19] and collected their offerings of bread; the archdeacon and other clergy collected the wine. The pope then went to the women's side of the church and did likewise.

When all the congregation's gifts had been collected, the archdeacon arranged on the altar the bread needed for communion, including the two loaves of the pope's own offering (for his own communion and that of the higher clergy). The chalice was also prepared, as was the *scyphus*, a large vessel with wine for the communion of the lower clergy and the congregation. Once the chalice was on the altar, the most senior member of the schola added water to it. The schola's gift of water associated them with the celebration, since they did not give bread and wine, as their singing precluded their reception of communion during the Mass.[20]

The prayer of consecration then began almost at once, after the pope had washed his hands (in L.R.), and recited the prayer over the gifts, of which O.R.I 87 quotes the ending. The *Sanctus*, following the preface, came into the Roman eucharistic prayer about 400. While the schola sang it here, the *Sanctus* became one of the texts in which Charlemagne sought some congregational participation. There is also here a use of the term *canon* in a sense familiar to later centuries, since in O.R.I the canon was clearly considered to begin after the *Sanctus*, not with the preface. Among the first list of saints in the canon, Peter and Paul are the patrons of Rome, while Andrew, patron of Constantinople, points to the period of Byzantine influence in Rome, circa 500–750.[21]

The Lord's Prayer must have come straight after the canon, since O.R.I 94 unmistakably quotes part of the embolism inserted after the Lord's Prayer in the Gregorian reform in about 600. Barry F. H. Graham's comment that the Lord's Prayer was left out inadvertently is thus not

entirely correct.[22] Then came the *Pax*.[23] The fraction rite begins at O.R.I 97. The pope started it by breaking one of his own bread-offerings 'on the right side.' The part broken off was left on the altar, according to G 105. This action refers to the obsolescent rite of the *fermentum*, meaning 'leaven,' by which the pope sent from the Lateran, by means of acolytes, a piece of the Sacred Bread consecrated at his Mass to each titular church, which the priests would put into their chalices during the *Pax* in their own Masses, a sign of the unity of the Church in Rome under the pope. A rite derived from this is the reason for the two pyxes shown to the pope in the entrance procession. Andrieu explains, with sound conjecture:

> One would have had, in order not to alter [the fermentum's] original significance, to suppress [the rite] when the Pope himself was going to officiate. But perhaps people were afraid, by this retrenchment, of mutilating the ceremonial.[24]

The pope then presided from the throne over the major, and solemn, part of the fraction. This took place in two simultaneous ways. Acolytes, carrying linen bags, went to the altar, where the archdeacon placed Sacred Bread from the altar into their bags, and they then went to the bishops and priests to have the Bread broken and replaced in the bags (O.R.I 101–102). Meanwhile, two district subdeacons took the paten, which held the Sacred Bread offered by the pope (minus the particle mentioned in O.R.I 97 and G 105) to (presumably) a position before the throne, where the deacons broke these pieces of the Sacred Bread at a signal from the pope.

G 105 is interesting. The altar had by that time been left without Sacred Bread save for the particle broken off by the pope at O.R.I 97, which remained. Despite the gloss in G about leaving it on the altar for reasons of reverence during the rest of the Mass, the particle seems to have been destined to go in the pyxes to be shown to the pope at a future Mass. Also according to G 105, the archdeacon signed to the schola to sing the *Agnus Dei*. Pope Sergius I, 'by nationality a Syrian, of the district of Antioch, born in Palermo, Sicily…laid down that "Lamb of God, who take away the sins of the world, have mercy on us" was to be sung by the clergy and also by the people at the time of the breaking of the body of the Lord,'[25] though in O.R.I it was sung only by the schola.

The fact that the *Agnus Dei* is directed to God the Son shows that it comes from outside the Roman tradition, part of which was that prayer

was addressed to God the Father. The *Agnus Dei*'s symbolism derives from the Syrian Liturgy of Saint James, and may well occur here because Sergius evidently refused to accept the ruling of the Council in Trullo, in Constantinople (692) against symbolically depicting Jesus as a lamb, maintaining instead that this scriptural symbol deserved to be retained. [26] Next, the pope consumed a fragment from a piece of his own offering, and put the rest of the piece into the chalice (O.R.I 107). Again, the symbolism of this commingling of the species consecrated at the same Mass is Syrian, dating from before 400. The separation of Christ's Body and Blood represented his death, and their reuniting symbolised his resurrection. Afterwards, the congregation received at Holy Communion the nourishment of the Risen Lord's life.

The accompanying prayer, for the saving effects of Holy Communion, was probably introduced at Rome, following Pope Sergius I's addition of the *Agnus Dei*, by an unknown eastern pope in the period 700–750. The difficult word here is *consecratio*, apparently a Latin equivalent for the Greek *hagiasmos*, referring to holy perfection, manifest in the unification of the sacred species. Here, too, one should note a parallel with Syria, particularly with the commingling formula in the Liturgy of Saint James, where the sacred species are 'united and made holy and perfected in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.'[27] The announcement of the next day's station (O.R.I 108) followed the pope's communion directly. This may date the announcement to a point prior to the list of stations becoming fixed, as well as providing useful information for those not receiving Holy Communion.[28]

It is now appropriate to discuss O.R.I's widespread effect on later books for the celebration of Mass, and to see how O.R.I, and particularly its Eucharist, were to influence life in Francia and lands beyond, not only in their liturgy but also in their social and political structures.

THE RECEPTION OF O.R.I IN FRANCIA

One point from Arthur Westwell's doctoral thesis is specially important, namely that 'what was "Roman" and "correct" was decided by individuals, each in their own case, and they created and edited texts for what they needed.'[29] That is to say that, while Pepin the Short and his son Charlemagne introduced the Roman liturgy to Francia, they did not

specify how this was to happen in terms of local needs for adaptation. Pepin brought in Roman chant with episcopal support, and therefore took on the Roman liturgical year and its chant texts. The importation into the Frankish empire of the Roman rite was thorough as well as fast.

Yet, though Charlemagne firmly specified the Gregorian Sacramentary as the form of the Roman rite to be used in his dominions, with or without its supplement (probably the work of Benedict of Aniane), he did not likewise specify the use of the *Ordines Romani*. Even so, O.R.I became, among other things, an essential handbook for Frankish priests who used the Gregorian Sacramentary of Padua, a ninth-century manuscript (MS Padua, Biblioteca capitolare, D.47) of a liturgy datable to circa 675, probably exported from Rome in the first half of the eighth century, and meant for presbyteral celebrations of Mass.[30]

Since all manuscripts of the *Ordines* are Frankish, the Frankish elements in them help us see how the Frankish clergy changed the Roman rite by adding material which they considered to be lacking, and subtracting material which they thought superfluous. They would have been able to experience the papal liturgy when Pope Stephen II visited Francia in 753–755 with a large clerical entourage. Accordingly, perhaps, they adopted specifically Roman ceremonies from O.R.I, such as the commingling of the sacred species consecrated at the same Mass, both in the celebrant's chalice, and (in either species) for consecration-by-contact of the wine for the people's communion.

Moreover, since obtaining liturgical books from Rome was often difficult, the copying of their texts in the Frankish empire itself was very important, and this was certainly true of O.R.I. In this regard, some liturgical changes are interesting. By O.R.I's time the number of invocations in the *Kyrie* was no longer specified, instead becoming whatever the pope decided. In O.R.I itself one change was the ordinance, seemingly interpolated into O.R.I 58, that a priest could read the gospel if there were no deacon. It reflects a situation which could not pertain in Rome but which certainly occurred in large Frankish dioceses with few, if any, available deacons. Moreover, the Frankish clergy gave up commingling Sacred Bread consecrated beforehand, since they must have found the Roman practice of the *fermentum* unworkable in their large dioceses and its symbolism therefore difficult

to retain. Again, the elevation of the elements at the end of the canon must have been unfamiliar in Francia, since it was made less prominent later on. The Franks also adopted more music and more devotion to Roman saints, who replaced local saints in the sacramentaries, apart from Saint Martin, who occurred in both the Gallican and the Roman rites. There is, also, a notable connection with the liturgy of three later monastic orders, since O.R.I closely influenced Cluny, and Cluny directly influenced both Cîteaux and La Grande Chartreuse.[31]

So, as Westwell goes on to explain, '[For the Franks] a Roman text was not…the authoritative end to all speculation and experimentation, but a start for it; an *ordo romanus* was…a proposition from which liturgy could be constructed.'[32] One early ninth century manuscript of several *Ordines*, including O.R.I, is MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 4175, which helps show how the *Ordines* were redacted, and enacted, in Francia. Not all change was well managed; in O.R.VI, a shortened version of O.R.I written after 850 in northern Europe, the redactor changed the text's content about Roman vestments and rites through ignorance. In addition, the Frankish bishops must at times have adapted the *Ordines* themselves, since they had to celebrate so many liturgies in the pope's stead. In this regard, another particularly useful source is a letter partly preserved in MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. Lat. 1341. That gives a partial description of Mass as celebrated at Fulda, presumably at the abbey there. It both interprets O.R.I in terms of new rites arising from Frankish needs, and helps show that not only O.R.I but other *Ordines* directly influenced monastic liturgies, particularly the Mass, in northern Europe.[33]

One important instance of Frankish adaptation consisted in supplying the episcopal blessing before Holy Communion, which did not appear in the Roman texts, and was employed to symbolise the dignity and authority of Frankish bishops, as well as seemingly anticipating 'a strategy to emphasise the power of bishops in the later ninth and early tenth centuries.'[34] Under northern influence, the ceremonial became more extravagant, for example in the ceremonies surrounding the gospel. There was likewise a multiplication of incensations and prayers, especially private prayers for the celebrant in which he, a sinner, hoped to receive God's mercy by offering Mass devoutly. In the communion rite, the celebrant's prayers *Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei vivi, Perceptio*, and *Quod ore sumpsimus* are examples of

this private prayer type. Moreover, the celebrant was directed to say the private prayers with hands joined, a northern custom, as opposed to extended, a Roman custom.

Even so, the *Ordines*' use north of the Alps helped preserve the ceremonies. Nancy Spatz relates, '[i]n Rome the local liturgical tradition had decayed and many ceremonies were lost ca. 850–900,'[35] because of the difficult politics of the time. Yet one should remember that O.R.I was used—albeit in a shortened form—as part of the Romano-German pontifical from circa 950, mainly using material on the processions before and after the liturgy. The Romano-German pontifical reintroduced the Roman liturgy to Rome itself, even though that liturgy now existed in versions much influenced by northern Europe.[36] Therefore O.R.I's wider significance in Francia must be considered.

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL USE OF O.R.I IN THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

The words *reformatio* and *reformare* were known to the clerics of the Carolingian renaissance, particularly through their reading of the Latin Fathers. Carine van Rhijn has determined that in Charlemagne's day these two words were only applied to individuals, not to bodies of people or to institutions (though these changes in application were to take place in the tenth and eleventh centuries).[37] Therefore, the Franks of the eighth and ninth centuries, during their renaissance, understood Rome in different ways at the same time, individually as well as collectively. In particular, they sought to take on Christian Rome's history as the Frankish church's history. Knowledge of Rome's layout was also important for understanding O.R.I in order to try to 'get inside the text' when adapting it to Frankish requirements.

The adaptation of northern European church interiors to Roman layouts was also important here. So, too, was the Frankish clergy's wide, perduring search for Roman saints' relics. Placing these in Frankish churches showed the Franks' desire to place themselves under Roman saints' patronage and so be heirs to Roman church history. Again, some Frankish manuscripts of adapted *Ordines* also provide writings on Roman history, geography, and law which provided a means for readers to appreciate the *Ordines*' background, to interpret their texts, and so to

enter into Roman culture understood in terms of Frankish social needs. [38]

Within this context, O.R.I was once more uniquely important in implementing the Roman liturgy in Francia under Charlemagne, who—as a new western and Christian emperor—saw the advantages of a single form of worship in his dominions, and chose the Roman rite for this purpose. He was helped by those of his subjects who, having seen the Roman rite's solemn liturgies, wanted to introduce them in Francia, adapted to take account of changed circumstances. Importantly for the social use of O.R.I, Charlemagne's wish to import the Roman liturgy was part of a programme of Christian instruction and so of *correctio*, that is, moral improvement, which included such instruction and therefore education. In particular, one major function of monasteries—supported by the empire—in the domains of Charlemagne and his son, Louis the Pious, was to 'become examples to their surroundings, and lift up the *ecclesia* in the process.'[39]

All this shows a dynamic interpretation, not a static re-enactment, of O.R.I, of its rites and of the later *Ordines* derived from it. In addition, public worship in Francia at this time, including the use of O.R.I, contained an undertone of political as well as religious authority and fealty. For instance, monastic life in Francia involved giving up earlier traditions if they were at variance with the aims of the imperial court, and eighth-century Benedictine monasticism helped to disseminate the Roman liturgy by specifying a Roman structure for the choir offices, such that it made good sense to celebrate the Roman Mass as well.[40] Another reason for Romanising the liturgy was to strengthen the bond between the papacy and the Frankish rulers. Furthermore, from 700–1000, those rulers wished to continue to spread what had come to be considered as the Roman rite, again for reasons of prestige but now also for the public display of religious devotion, presumably to maintain the best possible relations with the papacy. In the light of all the material presented so far, it is useful briefly to apply O.R.I to the present.

O.R.I'S RELEVANCE TODAY

The main way to see O.R.I's ongoing relevance is in the development of codification. Texts of the liturgy, as used for celebration, have shown the liturgical action at specific times and places, including here and now.

Frequent reproduction of the texts has resulted in frequent alterations to the originals, since regional, or even local, peculiarities have had to be accommodated.

In describing Rome's papal liturgy circa 700, O.R.I has provided the material which, in simpler versions, became the Roman Mass of the later Middle Ages and after. So cathedral, monastic, parish, and even private Masses all derive from O.R.I, even though a medieval understanding of 'private' may be cognate with 'deprived,' meaning that a celebration for a small congregation could be reduced in solemnity.

This last is the form which the Mass took in the first half of the thirteenth century among the priests of the papal court. In turn, that version engendered the Mass of Pope Pius V in 1570. It then, in 1970, engendered the Mass of Pope Paul VI, which identified with earlier forms and so to an earlier version of the rite, shorn of later medieval accretions.

Between 1931 and 1961, Andrieu published fifty *Ordines* in critical editions. This more intellectual twentieth-century development has tremendously helped researchers into the *Ordines*, who should, however, be aware that the texts they study are primarily meant for worship and so deserve to be treated with the reverence which is their due. Even so, with regard to Andrieu's work, his interpretation of O.R.I may be too French in its picture—now thought to be over-simplified—of Franks seeking to impose order on the previously Gallican church, and having their work taken up by Frankish monarchs in order to unify church life in the Frankish empire.[41]

O.R.I is also particularly helpful for understanding the Roman stational liturgies today. Having fallen into disuse during and after the Avignon papacy, they were restored by stages, most of all in Lent, in the twentieth century, though nowadays the pope does not usually celebrate them himself. Again, just as the Middle Ages saw the emergence of stational Masses away from Rome, so they can nowadays take place thus, including the present writer's experience in England. In addition, the great international eucharistic congresses, held every four years in different cities worldwide, have developed the idea of a stational liturgy as s*tatio urbis*, a 'station of the city,' found particularly in O.R.I, by celebrating the great closing Mass as a s*tatio orbis*, a 'station of the world,' a term which J. A. Jungmann employed and both Pope

John XXIII and Pope John Paul II took up.[42] It now remains to present some final arguments by way of conclusion.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

One distinct cause for further conclusions is O.R.I's eucharistic liturgy. Since its merits and demerits have produced warm debate, some of the scholars involved should be allowed to speak for themselves. Gregory Dix has contended that O.R.I stands in the same tradition as Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition* in that 'they are both in broad outline the same "way" of doing the rite.' Following him, Hugh Wybrew has claimed that O.R.I's Mass 'retains much of the direct simplicity of the early Eucharist.'[43] However, Theodor Klauser, developing this, points out that O.R.I's liturgy shows forth the temporal power of the Church at the expense of the Last Supper. J. A. Jungmann is more positive:

> And still, through all this luxuriant growth, the bold outlines of the Christian eucharistic solemnity stand out clearly in all their essentials: the gorgeous pomp is suddenly quieted when the canon begins, and does not burst forth again until it is concluded.[44]

Klauser, meanwhile, firmly states an alternative view, which cannot be easily dismissed:

> [In O.R.I] the whole of the sacred action has become enmeshed in a network of complicated rites drawn from court ceremonial... In fact we can scarcely recognize this overburdened liturgy for what it was supposed to be—an imitation and a recalling of that simple memorial meal instituted by Our Lord.[45]

Gordon Jeanes corroborates this insofar as he minimises in his work 'the manoeuvres of a cloud of dignitaries hovering around the pope's every movement,'[46] as the present writer has done in this paper. Notably, J. H. Emminghaus makes a very worthwhile point in terms of time: that, in the early centuries of their widespread use, O.R.I and the other *Ordines* were very convenient, but that they later helped to promote rubricism rather than dynamism by ossifying the liturgies which they represented.[47]

Reflecting on these findings, the views of Jungmann, Herman Schmidt,[48] and especially Klauser show up those of Dix and Wybrew as somewhat blithe. Jungmann's view, correct as regards the canon, does not mention the other major eucharistic elements as identified

elsewhere by Dix, namely the offertory, the fraction, and the communion. These, though recognisable to the initiate, took place masked by much pomp, and so overlaid with ceremonial as not to allow people to appreciate the rites' antiquity. For many Catholics today, it will surely not be easy to see the early Church's simple Eucharist underneath the weight of O.R.I's complex ceremonies. A useful summary might be that those with a working knowledge of liturgy may discern the shape of the earlier rite behind the complex ceremonies, but that others will probably not do so and instead be presented with what they might see as an overblown, overly-stylised rite.

Two further points of fact call for comment. First, *Ordines* I–X have collectively been mentioned several times as texts for the liturgy which the pope celebrated. This is not so: *Ordo* II enumerates the differences of ceremonial when another bishop, presumably a suburbicarian one, is celebrating a stational Mass in the pope's stead. Again, the last four of the six fragments which make up *Ordo* III were written outside Rome and show Gallican influence. Meanwhile, the complete Franco-Roman description of Mass in *Ordo* IV in its single surviving manuscript[49] was compiled, probably in the late eighth century, for use outside Rome, so that the presiding bishop would not, in practice, be the pope. To take account of the Frankish clergy's needs, it also contains instructions to the clergy, as well as changes to the prayers and actions. *Ordo* IX, from the late ninth century, contains a purely episcopal Mass, celebrated in the papal liturgy's style but with reduced solemnity. A second factual point is that at least two previous commentators on O.R.I have described Rome's titular churches as parish churches. This is incorrect: a titular church did not have a set area like a parish.

Let Romano have the last word. In his very thorough paper on O.R.I, he notes that his work 'hints at how we might trace the history of other documents that have received less scholarly attention than O.R.I and what we might gain from this engagement.'[50] If this present paper has helped establish a grounding in O.R.I which will facilitate research into medieval Western liturgies, it will have attained its objective.

REV NICHOLAS PAXTON
Diocese of Salford

NOTES

1. Justin Martyr, *Apologia* I, 67. Text in e.g. R. C. D. Jasper & G. J. Cuming (eds), *Prayers of the Eucharist: Early and Reformed* (3rd ed.: Collegeville, 1990), 29–30; L. Deiss (ed), *Early Sources of the Liturgy* (London, 1967), 25–26. See also W. O. Daniel Jr., *Christ the Liturgy*, PhD Thesis (University of Nottingham, 2013), 172.

2. B. F. H. Graham, 'Ordo Romanus Primus (OR 1) in English: The Earliest Complete Structural Description of a Roman Rite Mass,' *Studia Liturgica*, 44 (2014), 172.

3. B. M. Jensen, 'Gregory the Great in Medieval Manuscripts in Piacenza,' in G. Guldentops, C. Laes & G. Partoens (eds), *Felici Curiositate: Studies in Latin Literature and Textual Criticism from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century, in Honour of Rita Beyers* (Turnhout, 2017), 473–474.

4. F. Quoëx, 'Ritual and Sacred Chant in the *Ordo Romanus Primus*,' online at https://sicutincensum.files.wordpress.com/2019/07/ritual-and-sacred-chant-in-the-ordo-romanus-primus.docx [last accessed 14/06/2023] [English translation of 'Ritualité et chant sacré dans l'*Ordo Romanus Primus*,' *Ævum*, 76 (2002), 253–265].

5. J. F. Romano, 'The Fates of Liturgies: Towards a History of the First Roman Ordo,' *Antiphon*, 11, 2 (2007), 46, 49; C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington D.C., 1986), 159–160; B. Craig, *Fractio Panis: A History of the Breaking of Bread in the Roman Rite* (Rome, 2011), 137–139.

6. M. Andrieu, 'Note sur une ancienne rédaction de l'Ordo Romanus Primus,' *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 1921 [hereafter Andrieu, 'Note'], 385; M. Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 2 (Louvain, 1971) [hereafter Andrieu, *Ordines*, 2], 5–27.

7. Craig, 134; A. Griffiths (ed), *Ordo Romanus Primus: Latin Text with Introduction and Notes* (Norwich, 2012), 16–17; Vogel, 138; A. Westwell, 'The Dissemination and Reception of the *Ordines Romani* in the Carolingian Church, c.750–900,' PhD Thesis (University of Cambridge, 2017) [hereafter Westwell, Thesis], 256; Romano, 49–50. https://www.amc.lel.ed.ac.uk/amc-projects-hub/project/elalme [accessed 1/3/2024]

8. J. H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegeville, 1978), 62–63; J. Metcalfe, 'The Didache and the Ordo Romanus Primus: Their Social Imaginaries and Contemporary Liturgical Implications' (2011), online at https://catholiccommons.wordpress.com/2011/11/03/the-didache-and-the-ordo-romanus-primus/ [last accessed 1/03/2024]; T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections* (Oxford, 1979), 62, 71; J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Missarum Sollemnia*, 1 (New York, 1950), 68–69.

9. Griffiths, 23.

10. G. G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, 1968), 33; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne* (London, 1931) [hereafter Duchesne, *Worship*], 140; N. Spatz, 'Church Porches and the Liturgy in Twelfth-Century Rome,' in T. J. Heffernan & E. A. Matter (eds), *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, 2005), 317, 319; E. G. C. F. Atchley (ed), *Ordo Romanus Primus* (London, 1905), 32.

11. Willis, 15; see also, 3, 56, 87; Romano, 55, 71; Spatz, 320, 373; Griffiths, 11; A. Westwell, 'The Ordines Romani and the Carolingian Choreography of a Liturgical Route to Rome,' *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, 31 (17 N.S.), 2019 [hereafter Westwell 2019], 73.

12. Romano, 71; Westwell, Thesis, 280; Spatz, 320, 323; Willis, 15, 87; Griffiths, 11.

13. Jensen, 478.

14. Andrieu, *Ordines*, 2, 40; Atchley, 39–40; J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1991), 111; P. G. Cobb, 'The Liturgy of the Word in the Early Church,' in C. Jones, G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold, & P. Bradshaw (eds), *The Study of Liturgy* (London, 1992), 223–224; Klauser, 63; Jungmann, 1, 70; B. D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day* (London, 2013), 202.

15. Quoëx, loc.cit.; Klauser, 63–64; Duchesne, *Worship*, 167–168.

16. Duchesne, *Worship*, 167; Jungmann, 1, 70–71; Atchley, 11; G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London, 1945), 418.

17. L. Weston, 'Gothic Architecture and the Liturgy in Construction,' PhD Thesis (University of Kent, 2018), 15–18.

18. K. H. Belcher, *Eucharist and Receptive Ecumenism: From Thanksgiving to Communion* (Cambridge, 2021), 124.

19. Metcalfe, loc. cit.

20. Klauser, 65; Jungmann, 1, 71–72; Duchesne, *Worship*, 174; D. Ganz, 'Giving to God in the Mass: the experience of the Offertory,' in W. Davies & P. Fouracre (eds), *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2010), 23; G. Schembri, 'The Offertory Rite in the Ordines Romani,' *Melita Theologica*, 27, 1–2 (1975), 41.

21. Duchesne, *Worship*, 176; Harper, 111; U. M. Lang, 'The Frankish Adoption and Adaptation of the Roman Rite—A Short History of the Roman Rite of Mass: Part IX,' *Adoremus*, 25 (October 2021); G. P. Jeanes (ed & transl), *The Origins of the Roman Rite* (Bramcote, 1991), 38; D. M. Hope, revised G. Woolfenden, 'The Medieval Western Rites,' in Jones et al, *The Study of Liturgy*, 268; Andrieu, 'Note,' 388–389.

22. Graham, 172.

23. M. P. Foley, 'The Whence and Whither of the Kiss of Peace in the Roman Rite,' *Antiphon*, 14, 1 (2010), 62–63.

24. Andrieu, *Ordines*, 2, 63.

25. L. Duchesne (ed), *Le* Liber Pontificalis*: Texte, Introduction et Commentaire* (Paris, 1886), 1, 371, 376.

26. See e.g. Isa. 53: 7; Jn 1: 29, 36; Apoc. 5: 6–7.

27. B. Capelle, *Travaux liturgiques*, 2 (Louvain, 1962), 341; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford, 1956/7), 1, 62.

28. Jeanes, 39.

29. Westwell, Thesis, 2.

30. C. van Rhijn, 'Introduction: rethinking the Carolingian reforms,' in A. Westwell, I. Rembold, & C. van Rhijn (eds), *Rethinking the Carolingian Reforms* (Manchester, 2023), ch.1; Lang, loc. cit.; Jungmann, 1, 76; Westwell, Thesis, 4; Vogel, 159, Griffiths, 13; J. Deshusses (ed), *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (Fribourg, 1979), 1, 56–57; R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2009), 56.

31. Jungmann, 1, 75–76; Vogel, 137; Romano, 69, 71, 72; Dix, 454–455; Griffiths, 17–18; Craig, 126–127.

32. Westwell, Thesis, 290.

33. Westwell, Thesis, 8–9, 172, 175, 281; Romano, 69–70, 72.

34. H. Gittos, 'Researching the History of Rites,' in H. Gittos & S. Hamilton (eds), *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Abingdon, 2016), 22.

35. Spatz, 306.

36. Jungmann, 1, 77–78; Lang, loc. cit.; Klauser, 60; Spatz, 306. For a different view, see H. Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge, 2015), 183–211.

37. Van Rhijn, loc. cit.

38. Westwell 2019, 63–64, 75.

39. R. Kramer, 'Teaching Emperors: Transcending the Boundaries of Carolingian Monastic Communities,' in E. Hovden, C. Lutter, & W. Pohl (eds), *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasi*a (Leiden & Boston, 2016), 312. See also Romano, 66; Lang, loc. cit.; Van Rhijn, loc. cit.

40. Griffiths, 9.

41. Griffiths, 8.

42. J. F. Allen, *The International Eucharistic Congresses: A Spiritual Odyssey* (Leominster, 2013), 23–24, 137, 190–191, 225.

43. Dix, 589; H. Wybrew, 'The Setting of the Liturgy: Ceremonial,' in Jones et al, *The Study of Liturgy*, 488; Klauser, 69; Emminghaus, 62.

44. Jungmann, 1, 73. See also W. K. Thompson in *The Tufts Historical Review*, 8, 1 (2015), 109–111.

45. Klauser, 69.

46. Jeanes, 35.

47. Emminghaus, 62.

48. H. A. P. Schmidt, *Introductio in Liturgiam Occidentalem* (Rome, 1965), 360.

49. MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 974.

50. Romano, 77.

A Triune Throne

All institutions have a tendency to hoard superfluous or damaged items, monasteries included. The decision to restore an old chair prompted me to compose this article.

For over a century since the monks transferred in 1903 from Douai in France to Woolhampton in England, an old chair has been in storage and has been transferred from one storage space to another. Recently, it was dated by furniture specialists to around 1840, three years after the young Victoria became queen. It is made of carved walnut in the style of French furniture made in the reign of Louis XV (1715–74). Originally, the chair (right) had a tapestry cover depicting some near-eastern townscape, but this was well-worn, the chair having been in frequent use at some time.

The crucial piece of evidence regarding its use is a small crucifix placed at the top of the chair's back, formed by a pearl cross to which is attached a metal figure of the crucified Christ (left).

Two carved wooden stools, which formed a set with the chair (below), have also survived and have remained in Saint Mary's church at Douai Abbey since 1903.

The crucifix suggests that the three pieces of furniture, known as sedilia, had a liturgical function, providing seating for the officiating priest, deacon, and subdeacon. Saint Mary's College and church in Upper Woolhampton were staffed by

secular clergy from the diocese of Southwark until 1882, and from that date until 1903 by clergy from the diocese of Portsmouth which had been erected in 1882. The fabric on the sedilia was restored by Sally Fish, the seamstress at Douai Abbey, in October 2023. She used a modern fabric for the restoration of the chair that is close to the style and colour of the original tapestry.

Saint Mary's church, a neo-gothic building which was once Douai School's chapel, was opened in 1848, and these three items of liturgical furniture seem to pre-date the opening. If they are of English manufacture, they may been transferred from the simple chapel erected on the site of the old school tower in 1791, as a result of the Relief Act of that year, which permitted English Catholics to construct their own chapels. This chapel was in use until the opening of the grander, neo-gothic church in 1848.

The three items, however, are certainly not neo-gothic in style. They seem to have survived in Saint Mary's and were clearly still in the church in 1903 when the monks from Douai in France acquired the college and the church. It has been suggested that, given their eighteenth-century French style, the three items may have been brought to England from Douai in France in 1903, but Douai's chapel was arguably designed by the distinguished architect Augustus Welby Pugin (1812–52), a gothic fanatic, and all the surviving ecclesiastical items which found their way from the Douai chapel to Woolhampton in 1903, such as the two cantors' stools, are gothic in style.

In 1900, the three oldest English Benedictine priories—Downside, Ampleforth, and Douai—were raised to abbeys. After the Douai community's transfer to Upper Woolhampton in 1903, the chair described here was adapted as the new abbot's throne in Saint Mary's, which served as a temporary abbey church until 1933, together with the two stools which were placed on each side of this first abbatial throne. The throne remained in position on the north side of the sanctuary of Saint Mary's.

Sometime before 1916, this temporary throne was replaced by a neo-gothic throne carved in oak and gilded, which was more in keeping with the gothic architecture of the church, and deliberately evoked the coronation chair of Saint Edward the Confessor found in Westminster Abbey. This new throne had been made for the Douai monk, Bishop,

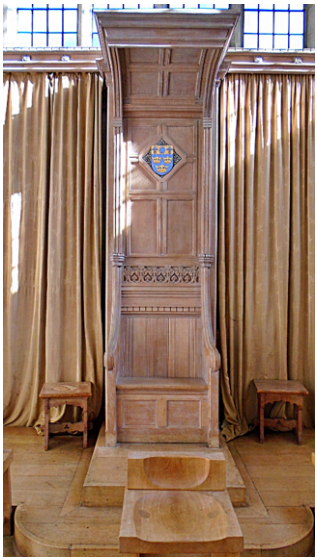
later Archbishop, Benedict Scarisbrick (1828–1908), who had been bishop of Port Louis in Mauritius, and who had retired to Douai's dependent priory at Great Malvern, where he died in 1908. The priory church at Great Malvern, and its furnishings, including the throne, were financed from the diplomatic pension awarded to Scarisbrick by the British government. Before the archbishop's death in 1908, the throne (right) was moved to Saint Mary's, Woolhampton. It was used to install Stanislaus Taylor at his blessing as third abbot of Douai on 12 January 1906.

In 1913, to commemorate the two distinguished brothers and Douai monks, Bishop Austin O'Neill (1841–1911), bishop of Port Louis, and Prior Oswald O'Neill (1643–1910), the last prior of Douai in France, the sanctuary of Saint Mary's was enhanced by the erection of carved oak panelling and an alabaster altar with a large reredos, both decorated by Gabriel Pippet (1889–1962) with scenes from the life of Saint Benedict. It was planned to transfer this altar to a new abbey church to be built sometime in the future. The Scarisbrick throne was given a carved gothic canopy (left), incorporated into the oak panelling. It remained in Saint Mary's until the drastic renovation of the church in 1977, when the reredos, panelling, and throne were removed.

The throne was used by various abbots at pontifical liturgies until the building of the first section of the present abbey church between 1929 and 1933. At this latter date, the throne was moved from storage in Saint Mary's and became the abbot's throne in the new abbey church, placed at the east end of the monastic choir stalls. On its back was then affixed

a coloured and gilded carved wooden copy of the new arms granted to the abbey and school by the College of Heralds in 1929 (right). In 1937, two red velvet cushions, embroidered with the Douai arms and for use at pontifical ceremonies at the throne, were made and donated by the Misses Cammack (1903–71) of Ormskirk, sisters of the Douai monk Father Dunstan Cammack (1903–72).

The Scarisbrick throne was transferred from Saint Mary's to the new abbey church in 1933, and remained there until 1951 when further enhancements to the abbey church's interior were made. These included a white, gilded baldacchino, or canopy, over the high altar, designed by the eminent designer of church furnishings, Geoffrey Webb (1879–1954), a silver tabernacle, and two silver hanging sanctuary lamps, all purchased from a legacy left by the sisters of Abbot Stanislaus Taylor (abbot 1906–1913). At the same time a new cased choir organ was completed in the southern bay of the abbey church.



Webb was also commissioned by Abbot Sylvester Mooney (1886–1988) to design a new abbatial throne, more in keeping with the light gothic interior of the new church. Webb's design was executed by the firm of Robert Bridgeman & Sons, woodcarvers of Lichfield. Webb rejected the suggestion that the new throne should be painted white to match the baldacchino, preferring, partly because it was cheaper, that it should be in limed oak to match the monastic choir stalls. This was a happy decision, for the throne and stalls thus complemented each other. The throne of 'impressive stateliness' (left)

was completed, in 1951, and incorporated the 1929 coat of arms of Douai Abbey and a passion flower frieze (below).

The throne was attached to the north east wall of the sanctuary, its correct liturgical position. In 1977, a new central altar was constructed in the abbey church, and the throne was moved to the east end where Webb's baldacchino had once stood. It remains today in this commanding position.

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

Pruning the Fig Tree: an Unlikely Pairing of 60s Prophets

The death of pope benedict xvi brought the conciliar era to an end in a way we probably do not yet fully comprehend. As Cardinal Frings' theological expert, the rising young theologian Joseph Ratzinger was at the heart of the Second Vatican Council, and it can be said without risk of hyperbole that he was one of its principal shapers. As cardinal and, later, as pope he was in an unimpeachable position—historically, theologically, and magisterially—to interpret the Council according to the intentions of both the Council fathers and its theological experts, of whom he had been one.

In recent years the rediscovery of a prophetic radio address given by Ratzinger has been part of the initiative of the more thoughtful to assess the older pope in the light of the younger theologian, and so to see more clearly the remarkable consistency in the trajectory of Ratzinger's thought. This radio address reveals a striking congruence with another prophetic Catholic figure of the 1960s, one with whom such an affinity of thought would not usually be suspected: Ivan Illich.

RATZINGER

Ratzinger gave a series of radio homilies in late 1969 on the Hessian state broadcaster, Hessischer Rundfunk, with the last being broadcast on Christmas Day.[1] As a homily, it is free from excessive theological complexity. Ratzinger began with a frank and confident statement of the fundamental rigour of the gospel way:

> The future of the Church can and will issue from those whose roots are deep and who live from the pure fullness of their faith. It will not issue from those who accommodate themselves merely to the passing moment or from those who merely criticize others and assume that they themselves are infallible measuring rods; nor will it issue from those who take the easier road, who sidestep the passion of faith, declaring as false and obsolete, tyrannous and legalistic, all that makes demands upon men, that hurts them and compels them to sacrifice themselves.

Such people—'saints'—will, he said, 'probe deeper than the slogans of the day,' possessing an 'unselfishness…attained only through the patience of small daily acts of self-denial.' He linked the contemporary unawareness of God to individuals' flight 'from the depths of our own being by means of the narcotic of some pleasure or other.'

Recognising thus the contemporary state of humanity (western humanity at any rate) was the prerequisite to understanding why 'the big talk of those who prophesy a Church without God and without faith is all empty chatter.' There is no need for

> …a Church that celebrates the cult of action in political prayers. It is utterly superfluous. Therefore, it will destroy itself. What will remain is the Church of Jesus Christ, the Church that believes in the God who has become man and promises us life beyond death.

Drilling down into the structures and activity of the Church as developing at the end of the 1960s, he maintained that

> [t]he kind of priest who is no more than a social worker can be replaced by the psychotherapist and other specialists; but the priest who is no specialist, who does not stand on the sidelines, watching the game, giving official advice; but in the name of God places himself at the disposal of man, who is beside them in their sorrows, in their joys, in their hope and in their fear, such a priest will certainly be needed in the future.

In light of the trends then emerging and taking root, he saw through the prophetic lens the inevitable advent of a disturbingly different Church. Heard in our day, one may marvel at its manifest accuracy:

> From the crisis of today the Church of tomorrow will emerge—a Church that has lost much. She will become small and will have to start afresh more or less from the beginning. She will no longer be able to inhabit many of the edifices she built in prosperity. As the number of her adherents diminishes, so it will lose many of her social privileges. In contrast to an earlier age, it will be seen much more as a voluntary society, entered only by free decision. As a small society, it will make much bigger demands on the initiative of her individual members.

Ratzinger guessed that part-time priests, pursuing another profession from day to day, would emerge to serve 'many smaller congregations or…self-contained social groups,' though they would serve alongside a continuing, and presumably much reduced, 'full-time ministry of the priesthood [which] will be indispensable as formerly.'

He stated bluntly that 'the Church is facing very hard times. The real crisis has scarcely begun. We will have to count on terrific upheavals.' Yet his mood was not one of oppressive gloom, but of resignation ennobled by hope, an evangelical hope not facile optimism regarding

> …what will remain at the end: not the Church of the political cult, which is dead already, but the Church of faith. It may well no longer be the dominant social power to the extent that she was until recently; but it will enjoy a fresh blossoming and be seen as man's home, where he will find life and hope beyond death.

This remnant Church 'will be a more spiritual Church, not presuming upon a political mandate,' though he was just as convinced that

> [i]t will be hard going for the Church, for the process of crystallization and clarification will cost her much valuable energy. It will make her poor and cause her to become the Church of the meek.

This period of ecclesial ascesis he saw as being much like the 'long and wearisome…road from the false progressivism on the eve of the French Revolution—when a bishop might be thought smart if he made fun of dogmas and even insinuated that the existence of God was by no means certain—to the renewal of the nineteenth century.' In other words, he saw the crisis of the contemporary Church as neither unique nor terminal, but as good as inevitable.

Ratzinger's depiction of the Church's crisis could still be easily ignored at the time for, despite the turmoil in both Church and state in the 1960s, and the mass of defections from the priesthood and the religious life that had already begun, the Church was, to all appearances, still strong in wealth, numbers, and socio-political influence. His prognosis that the impending crisis would be caused in large measure by the complacency fostered by this material and demographic prosperity ensured that his words would not attract any serious attention until what he foresaw had undeniably come to pass.

Such words from the mouth of a respected theologian, seen in 1969 as solidly progressive, were jarring and it was easier just to evade their challenge by closing one's ears. The cries of alarm from those termed conservative, very often shrill alarm, were starkly contrary to the prevailing *zeitgeist* and thus more easily dismissed. However, the voice of a true radical did make itself heard, even as it was poorly understood. Ivan Illich, being a true radical, refused to be identified with either end of the ecclesio-political spectrum, and thus was a conundrum to both.

When his words became too challenging and inconvenient, his voice was marginalised in the Church even as wider society took note of it.

ILLICH

Ivan Illich (1926–2002)[2] was born and raised in Vienna to parents of Balkan extraction and part-Jewish heritage, fleeing aged sixteen to Italy to escape Nazi persecution. A prodigiously clever student, he attained fluency in five European languages, as well as a certain mastery of English, Ancient Greek, Latin, and Hindi. After studies at the Gregorian in Rome, residing at the oldest of the Roman colleges, the Capranica, he was ordained a priest in 1951 and began ministry in Washington Heights, a Puerto Rican neighbourhood of New York. Cardinal Francis Spellman (till his death a dogged supporter of Illich) made Illich America's youngest monsignor in 1957. However, Illich's assignment to Washington Heights would begin the process of his turning away from the ecclesiastical preferment for which he was being marked out, to become a contrary and disruptive voice in a Church he saw as grievously flawed and in need of reform, but in danger of being reformed along lines that were problematic, even positively destructive. By both conservative and progressive he was misunderstood, and so was readily dismissed by the former, while largely confounding the latter.

In the early 1960s, having served from 1956 to 1960 as a turbulent vice-rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico, he moved to the Mexican city of Cuernavaca to found the Center for Intercultural Formation (CIF), with support from Spellman and funding from the American bishops' National Catholic Welfare Conference. The centre offered intensive courses in Spanish and missiology, ostensibly to prepare the waves of North American clergy and religious who were answering John XIII's call for missionaries to Latin America. It would take years for his American backers to realise Illich's true purpose:

> Rather than encouraging the sort of volunteerism and 'development' that he saw as so damaging to Latin America, he wanted to form a radical alternative that would oppose the missionary initiative and similar North American mischief.[3]

He made the courses at CIF intensive and demanding, and the centre's atmosphere personally challenging, in the hope that the

missionary candidates would themselves decide against the missionary enterprise altogether, and counsel against it on their return home.

'THE SEAMY SIDE OF CHARITY'

By 1967 Illich was prepared to signal his intentions openly, with regard to both the missionary initiative in Latin American and the post-conciliar reform in the wider Church. He did so in two explosive articles published in the United States. The first was published in the January 1967 issue of the prominent Jesuit journal *America*, entitled 'The Seamy Side of Charity.' In it he noted that of the desired ten percent of North American clergy the pope sought for service in Latin America, only another 1,622 Americans had made it there. His questioning conclusion to this statistic was deliberately provocative:

> Numerically, the programme was certainly a flop. Should this fact be a source of disappointment or relief?[4]

He would make it clear enough that he felt it a relief. This was not because he devalued evangelisation. Rather it was because, however well-intentioned, the largely North American missionary influx was 'part of the many-faceted effort to keep Latin America within the ideologies of the West.' The North American missionaries inevitably carried 'a foreign Christian message, a foreign pastoral approach and a foreign political message…[and] bear the mark of North American capitalism of the 1950s.'[5]

Tellingly, he noted also that any charity so encumbered imposed its own, and unnecessary, burdens on its recipients:

> During the past five years, the cost of operating the Church in Latin America has multiplied many times. There is no precedent for a similar rate of increase in Church expenses on a continental scale. Today, one Catholic university, mission society or radio chain may cost more to operate than the whole country's Church a decade ago.[6]

Such extravagant foreign generosity, planting a structure funded by the North American and some European churches, erected an enduring institutional edifice that would drain the relatively meagre resources of the Church in Latin America, while also sitting uneasily within the Latin American cultures in which the local Church had grown. Thus, Illich argued, a relationship of dependency was created which would keep the

Latin Americans reliant on, and therefore subservient to, their foreign benefactors:

> Instead of learning either how to get along with less money or close up shop, [Latin American] bishops are being trapped into needing more money now and bequeathing an institution impossible to run in the future... A patently irrelevant pastoral system is artificially and expensively sustained, while basic research for a new and vital one is considered an extravagant luxury.[7]

Such sentiments would not have surprised those who myopically viewed Illich as a leftist radical. However, in identifying another source of funding for the institutional growth of the Church in Latin America, Illich made a simplistic characterisation of his position problematic. He was no Marxist even as he was no capitalist. His concern was the outcome for the Church in Latin America. While foreign Church support was a problem, the funding by governments or commercial interests that came with it only exacerbated the problem:

> The Church has become an agent trusted to run programs aimed at social change. It is committed enough to produce some results... Church discipline assures the donor that his money does twice the job in the hands of a priest. It will not evaporate, nor will it be accepted for what it is: publicity for private enterprise and indoctrination to a way of life that the rich have chosen as suitable for the poor. The receiver inevitably gets the message: the 'padre' stands on the side of W. R. Grace and Co., Esso, the Alliance for Progress, democratic government, the AFL-CIO and whatever is holy in the Western pantheon.
>
> Opinion is divided, of course, on whether the Church went heavily into social projects because it could thus obtain funds 'for the poor,' or whether it went after the funds because it could thus contain Castroism and assure its institutional respectability.[8]

In all this, Illich saw the gospel and its fundamental precepts disappearing beneath the growing burdens and demands of the institutionalisation, along Western lines, of the Church in Latin America. He saw missionaries from the global north implanting less of the gospel and more of the ecclesiastical institution to which they were accustomed, with its attendant cultural ideologies, regardless of whether they suited the culture of the local Church:

> Massive, indiscriminate importation of clergy helps the ecclesiastical bureaucracy survive in its own colony, which every day becomes more foreign and comfortable. This immigration helps to transform the old-style hacienda of God (on which the people were only squatters) into

> the Lord's supermarket... Churchgoers, accustomed to priests, novenas, books and culture from Spain (quite possibly to Franco's picture in the rectory), now meet a new type of executive, administrative and financial talent promoting a certain type of democracy as the Christian ideal. The people soon see that the Church is distant, alienated from them—an imported, specialized operation, financed from abroad, which speaks with a holy, because foreign, accent.[9]

Moreover, he saw that many of these foreigners were coming to Latin America to further ideologies which they were unable to promote with any real success in their own countries:

> Latin America can no longer tolerate being a haven for U.S. liberals who cannot make their point at home, an outlet for apostles too 'apostolic' to find their vocation as competent professionals within their own community. The hardware salesman threatens to dump second-rate imitations of parishes, schools and catechisms—out-moded even in the United States—all around the continent. The traveling escapist threatens to further confuse a foreign world with his superficial protests, which were not viable even at home.[10]

Illich's concluding remarks are resonant in the context of the Church of the Global West in our own day, and in the light of Ratzinger's 1969 radio broadcast:

> We are tempted to shore up and salvage structures rather than question their purpose and truth. Hoping to glory in the works of our hands, we feel guilty, frustrated and angry when part of the building starts to crumble. Instead of believing in the Church, we frantically attempt to construct it according to our own cloudy cultural image… In fear, we plan our Church with statistics, rather than trustingly search for it.[11]

At the heart of Illich's critique of the 1960s Western missionary enterprise in Latin America is his perception that it was more cultural than evangelical, too focused on structures and too blind to the role of personal relations in spreading the gospel, too unconsciously ideological, too desirous of social acceptance and even dominance, and too unwilling or unable to think beyond an institutional model of a particularly contingent type.

'THE VANISHING CLERGYMAN'

The second revelation of Illich's true thinking was made a few months later in the pages of *The Critic*, in an article entitled 'The Vanishing

Clergyman.'[12] This article provoked a reaction which would provoke an inquiry by the Holy Office in 1968 and, after it imposed a ban on clergy or religious attending his centre in Cuernavaca though without any sanction on him personally, he would decide in 1969 to step back from active, formal priestly ministry (though he never sought dispensation and kept his priestly vows till his death).[13]

It was as much the tone of the article as its content that provoked reaction. His many deliberate provocations were consciously strategic. In his preamble to the republication of the article a few years later in *Celebration of Awareness*, Illich explained the purpose the article was intended to serve:

> Great changes must take place in the structure of the Catholic Church if it is to survive. I believe that such changes will come about and, moreover, that they can now be visualized in terms consistent with the most radically traditional theology. Nevertheless, such changes would thoroughly upset the idea of the Catholic Church deeply embedded in the imagination of Catholics and non-Catholics alike… I preferred to illustrate my general thesis by indicating what, in my opinion, will happen to the 'clergyman'… I did not want to say anything theologically new, daring or controversial. Only a spelling out of the social consequences would make a thesis as orthodox as mine sufficiently controversial to be discussed within the overwhelmingly conservative majority of the Church.[14]

In the preamble he also confessed to a parallel desire to 'render the discussion relevant to the "Catholic left",' among whom reforming the Catholic priesthood was a primary focus in the 1960s. Yet he deemed the 'left's' suggestions 'to be neither sufficiently revolutionary to be worth while…nor sufficiently faithful to fundamental traditional positions—which I would not want to see compromised…'[15] The problem in the arguments of both the 'conservative majority' and the 'Catholic left' was that both were constrained by an overriding conception of the Church in terms of its contemporary institutional manifestation, instead of its enduring and fundamental social purpose.

The 'clergyman' is thus the emblem for his critique of a Church he sees as ossified by institutionalism; that is, an overemphasis on organisational structures to the detriment of the more fundamental elements of its life and mission. Illich saw in his day that the 'Roman Church is the world's largest non-governmental bureaucracy' whose '1.8 million full-time workers…work within a corporate structure which an

American business consultant firm rates among the most efficiently operated organizations in the world.' Indeed,

> [t]he institutional Church functions on a par with General Motors and the Chase Manhattan. This common knowledge is accepted, sometimes, with pride. But to some its machine-like smoothness itself seems to discredit it. Men suspect that it has lost its relevance to the Gospel and to the World. Wavering, doubt and confusion reign among its directors, functionaries and employees. The giant begins to totter before it collapses.[16]

Noting that many of the full-time workers in the Church were responding to the emerging crisis in many different ways, Illich suggested that 'we welcome the disappearance of institutional bureaucracy in a spirit of deep joy.' Yet Illich was no naïve denier of the inescapability of the Church's institutional aspect, for 'the complete disappearance of its visible structure would contradict sociological law and divine mandate.'[17] An invisible Church could not fulfil Christ's Great Commission. Moreover, whenever people unite to work towards a particular end beyond the present moment, they have formed an institution. The problem, in Illich's view, lies in the improperly regulated and inadequately constrained growth of the institution, a problem he saw as the cause of the Church's inability to engage fruitfully with a radically changed world.

From this perspective Illich saw, in the late 1960s, that the 'institutional Church is in trouble,' not least because the clergy and the religious on which it relied for its efficiency were abandoning it. He saw that the problem did not lie with 'the "spirit" of the world, nor with any failure in generosity among the "defectors," but rather with the structure itself,' which had developed 'as a response to past situations vastly different from our own.' It was to such structural issues, exemplified in the ordained priesthood, that Illich devoted his attention.

He advocated a 'radical reduction in the number of persons dependent on the Church for their livelihood,' concerned that at present 'habit or collar, not competent productivity, assures one's status and living.'[18] He explicitly addressed a Church he felt was excluding laity in the administration of the Church, evidently assuming that increased lay involvement would see an increase in competence, and allow the possibility of returning many clergy to 'parish work [from]

paper pushing.' Yet he was sufficiently aware that this would merely be tinkering at the edges of a greater and more fundamental problem:

> At the same time, the traditional demand for increased personnel at the parish level and the simultaneously burgeoning process of over-inflated bureaucratic machinery masks the increasing irrelevance of both these aspects of the [ecclesiastical] structure. Organizational explosion results in a feverish search for more personnel and money. We are urged to beg God to send more employees into the bureaucratic system and to inspire the faithful to pay the cost.[19]

What we call institutional bloat was, for Illich, the principal danger to the Church inherent in such a corporate mindset. Even in 1967 the Vatican offered, to his eye, a prime example of this way of thinking and its effects:

> The Vatican itself best illustrates the complex problem. Post-conciliar administrative growth supersedes and supplants the old machinery. Since the end of the Council, the twelve venerable curial congregations have been increased by the addition of numerous intermeshing and overlapping post-conciliar organs—commissions, councils, consultative bodies, committees, assemblies, synods. The bureaucratic maze becomes ungovernable. Good. Perhaps this will help us to see that principles of corporate government are not applicable to the Body of Christ… And we may come to recognize that efficiency corrupts Christian testimony more subtly than power.[20]

While the burgeoning centre of the structure was problematic enough, Illich saw that the simultaneous programme for promoting ecclesiastical decentralisation only exacerbated the problem:

> Since the end of the Council, attempts at collegial decentralization have resulted in wildly uncontrolled growth of bureaucracy reaching to the local level… The bishops develop the bureaucratic mentality necessary to keep up with the merry-go-round character of increasingly frequent meetings.[21]

Illich was unsparing in his critique of what has been termed clerical careerism, when 'service at the altar is united with clerical power and privilege,' and Illich's radical proposal was to advocate 'the ordination of secularly-employed men' as an effective way to overcome the union of the sacramental with the clerical in the received model of priesthood, a 'union [which] helps to maintain the existing structure' of institutional bloat.[22] Furthermore, Illich notes the emergence in the Church then of what has become almost standard today, as

> [d]ioceses and religious congregations increasingly use consultants, whose criteria of success are taken from the American Management Association, and whose premise is that the present structure must be maintained… A retreat only serves to confirm a man's personal commitment to the structure… Is this structure rooted in routine or revelation?[23]

In the rest of this paper Illich articulates a vision of a different model of priesthood, which he sees as better able to serve the fundamental mission of the Church while breaking free of its institutional constrictions and compromises. He foresaw, alongside this radical model of priesthood, the demise of the parochial structure, a concept no less threatening than the demise of the present ministerial structure:

> An adult layman, ordained to the ministry, will preside over the 'normal' Christian community of the future. The ministry will be an exercise of leisure rather than a job. The 'diaconia' will supplant the parish as the fundamental institutional unit in the church. The periodic meeting of friends will replace the Sunday assembly of strangers.[24]

He envisaged many of such de-clericalised priests being married. The liturgy would move back to the home, such that '[c]elebration will sanctify the dining room, rather than consecrated buildings the ceremony.' Yet Illich was no Vandal, and he held that some church buildings, especially the cathedrals, would still be needed, 'as a kind of testimony in stone, whose beauty and majesty reflect the splendour of Christian truth.' Just as Ratzinger envisaged in 1969, he saw that the 'ordinary' priest would earn his living outside the Church, which would not be so much his employer as the object of his charity and zeal. He would preside over a a meeting of a dozen, mostly married, deacons, reading scripture and studying 'the bishop's weekly instruction' together with them. The priest would 'visit his various "diaconias" and preside at their occasional Mass,' and sometimes several of these diaconias would gather for a more solemn Mass in a church building or, failing that, a rented hall. All this would be based on an 'ordained non-cleric,' a de-clericalised priest.[25]

In this new reality, celibacy would be optional, but for that reason more highly valued as a charism of its own in the Church, rather than a juridical obligation attached to certain offices within the institution. Celibacy would be chosen as 'pure risk in faith, the result of the intimate and mysterious experience of his heart,' which would nothing less than

choosing 'to live now the absolute poverty every Christian hopes to experience at the hour of death.'[26]

Moreover, celibacy would be more honoured in the Church, not by a juridical act 'but through a liturgical celebration of a mystical fact,' yet only after celibates had spent 'many years living their renunciation in secular life.' Such a liturgy of recognition of the commitment to celibacy, a celibacy removed from institutional and juridical demands, would see the Church manifesting 'its willingness to entrust the testimony of a mystery to the fidelity of these new 'monks".'[27]

Illich's vision of a radically re-oriented priesthood is not to be too quickly identified with other contemporary models for radical reform to ordained ministry. He was not concerned with any campaign for married clergy as such, but for a priesthood that would not be reduced to some sort of sanctified means for earning a living. His vision applied just as much to lay involvement in the mission of the Church, and he had no desire to replace stipended clerical bureaucrats with salaried lay bureaucrats at even greater cost. Evangelisation, for Illich, was corrupted utterly when reduced to a means for earning a living, rather than as a personal, gratuitous witness to the truth of the Gospel.

A SHARED PROPHETIC VISION

One might be forgiven for any initial inability to see how Illich's 1967 vision of the Church coincides with that of Ratzinger in 1969. After all, Illich enthusiastically welcomed, and even promoted, the ecclesiastical decline he saw as well underway in his day, due in no small part to misguided reform, while Ratzinger seemed to be stoically, if hopefully, resigned to its inevitability. Many of Illich's proposals, and their rhetoric, were deliberately provocative, though not insincere. His intention was to portray as desirable two phenomena that Ratzinger saw as sadly inevitable: the decrease of the institution and the increase of what he calls 'testimony,' which is to say, the Church's Christian witness, its *martyria*, above all in the lives of individual Christians.

Both men could see what was happening in the Church of the 1960s, and where it would, and even should, lead. Both saw that the reforms in which the Church was so breathlessly and uncritically engaged were flawed, and would ultimately be in vain, if maintenance of the institutional Church in its comfortably familiar form remained their

primary aim. Both could conceive of a re-configured presbyterate, non-stipendiary, serving freely much reduced, socially-disempowered, but more intimate congregations of committed faithful. Both saw the demise of the institutional as offering an opportunity to enhance the evangelical in the Church as it adapted to a rapidly and radically changed world. Ratzinger sighed over it and Illich embraced it, but both discerned a providential opportunity for pruning the post-conciliar ecclesial fig tree, that it might bear fruit in yet greater abundance from the stony soil of our times. Perhaps both men speak with a prophetic voice that we need at last to heed today.

HUGH SOMERVILLE KNAPMAN OSB

NOTES

1. Later published in, Joseph Ratzinger, *Faith and the Future* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1971); republished under the same title in 2009 by Ignatius Press (San Francisco).

2. A potted, but not inadequate, biography of Illich can be extracted from, Todd Hartch, *The Prophet of Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich and the Crisis of the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

3. Hartch, 62.

4. Ivan Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' *America*, 116, 21 (January 1967); reproduced in, Ivan Illich, *Celebration of Awareness: A Call for Institutional Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Pelican Books, 1976), 49.

5. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 50.

6. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 50.

7. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 51.

8. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 52.

9. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 53.

10. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 57.

11. Illich, 'The Seamy Side of Charity,' 58.

12. Ivan Illich, 'The Vanishing Clergyman,' *The Critic*, 25 (June–July 1967); reproduced in Illich, *Celebration of Awareness*. The first draft of the article was actually made much earlier, in 1959.

13. David Cayley (ed.), *The Rivers of the North: The Testament of Ivan Illich* (Toronto: Anansi, 2005), 11.
14. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' (in *Celebration of Awareness*), 58.
15. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 58.
16. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 61.
17. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 61.
18. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 62–63.
19. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 63.
20. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 62–63.
21. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 65.
22. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 66.
23. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 67.
24. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 69.
25. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 70–71.
26. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 74.
27. Illich, 'Vanishing Clergyman,' 76.

Vale Cold Ash Convent

Douai Abbey had only been at Woolhampton nine years when, in 1912, Lady Alice Fitzwilliam donated her home, Saint Finian's, at Cold Ash to the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary (FMMs) to start a school for 'poor girls of the Roman Catholic faith.' The FMMs had been founded by Blessed Mary of the Passion in 1877. Theirs is a universal mission, but directed especially to the poorest and most abandoned. Their spirituality is built on daily adoration before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. Today they are present in 73 countries.

The first sisters arrived at Cold Ash in 1913. A Douai monk called on them during their first week, and since that time the two communities, only five miles apart, have been closely linked, something that has been chronicled in *The Douai Magazine* over the years.

Before any children arrived, the situation created by the First World War saw the convent provide convalescent accommodation for forty Belgian soldiers injured in the fighting. The first children came in 1915 and by 1920, the school was boarding fifteen girls.

In 1929 the convent changed its name to Saint Gabriel's, though the school retained the name of Saint Finian. As time went on the school developed into a convent school for girls, including boarders, with boys also accepted up to the age of seven. Most of the teaching was done by the sisters, who shared with their pupils facilities such as the kitchen and the chapel. Later, when there were fewer sisters, the FMMs were no longer able to sustain the school, it became the Thatcham parish primary school and was entirely separated from the convent. The wing built in the 1930s was demolished, and a new school was built in 1977, no longer attached, but still next door, where it flourishes today.

The original house remained at the centre of the buildings which developed over the years on both sides of it. On its east side buildings for the school were erected, while on the western side of the house a large building was constructed which was to house the novitiate, which had moved to Cold Ash, as well as providing accommodation for sisters on vacation from the missions. Abbots of Douai officiated at the clothings and professions of sisters. On 29 November 1935, Abbot

Sylvester Mooney laid the foundation stone of the chapel, which was designed by the Catholic architect Wilfred C. Mangan of Preston.

A regular highlight for Douai School's choir and altar servers used to be the annual Corpus Christi procession in the convent grounds, followed by a 'sumptuous tea,' as recorded in *The Douai Magazine* for Autumn 1949:

> On June 16th, we had another holiday, this time to celebrate Corpus Christi. This was especially an occasion for the choir and servers, who, in the early afternoon, mounted a coach and proceeded to the Convent at Cold Ash. As usual, they sang and served in the procession. After Benediction, they were entertained by their kind hostesses to a sumptuous tea. They then looked round the establishment and were particularly interested in the prize boar at the pig farm. This monster was simply enormous and showed a glaring little eye and enough russet-stained tusk to make even the boldest chorister keep his distance.[1]

Sister Mechtilde was more than able to keep both the boar and any hungry Douai boy under control. It is worth recalling that Cold Ash had a flourishing farm under the jurisdiction of Sister Mechtilde, whose boars frequently serviced Douai's pigs until, as the Spring 1960 issue of *The Douai Magazine* records, 'Eight new gilts have been purchased and in the near future it is hoped to purchase a new boar from Cold Ash Convent,'[2] after which Douai no longer needed the services of Cold Ash. Monks continued to meet Sister Mechtilde at Newbury's cattle market.

Following the Second Vatican Council, there was a requirement to provide theological teaching for sisters, so for some years Father Michael Young used to go to Cold Ash to teach theology, and Father Gervase Holdaway to teach scripture. When the liturgical changes began to take effect in the late 1960s, Father Gervase celebrated the Easter Triduum at Cold Ash for several years, as the sisters' own resident chaplain decided he could not cope with the new rites.

In their early years at Cold Ash the sisters had their own resident chaplain, the last of whom was a Douai monk, Father Dunstan Cammack. After he died in 1972, they no longer had a permanent chaplain. Monks from Douai went to celebrate Mass each weekday morning on a fortnightly rota. On Sundays the sisters had to go to their parish church in Thatcham, although one or two regularly came to the parish Mass in Saint Mary's at Douai.

After the novitiate and formation work was moved elsewhere, the convent developed a retreat centre, and a retirement/nursing home was established there for sisters back from the missions. As a result, Douai monks conducted many of the sisters' funerals and burials in the convent cemetery. Douai monks also gave retreats to the sisters from time to time, as well as at their retreat centre as part of its programme.

Over the years the monks have heard many heroic tales from sisters who have returned from the missions in many parts of the world, including the indomitable Sister Paddy, who it is said had to be secretly smuggled out of Pakistan after burning the Koran. Their narratives concerned not only foreign parts; Sister Tess single-handedly and successfully ran a hostel for ex-prisoners in north London for many years. She learned that rules should be few, but clear, and most importantly, enforced.

Saint Gabriel's, Cold Ash, with Saint Finian's school at right

The last of their sisters left at the beginning of October 2023, going to purpose-built nursing accommodation at their community house in Canning Town, London. For 108 years the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary have been an important part of the monks' ministry. The FMMs

are experiencing growth in Asia and Africa, but not in Europe. Apart from Canning Town, they still have several houses in England.

If you visit Douai now you will notice a tank of tropical fish at reception. It was a parting gift from the sisters of Saint Gabriel's Convent, at Cold Ash. *Valete!*

GERVASE HOLDAWAY OSB

NOTES

1. *The Douai Magazine,* XV, 4 (Autumn 1949), 164.
2. *The Douai Magazine,* XXI, 1 (Spring 1960), 10.

The Abbot Down Under

It was all such a surprise! An emailed letter arrived from the Archbishop of Melbourne. He was holding his annual clergy conference in June 2023. It was to be on *Liturgy and Worship*, and he was inviting me to be the keynote speaker. Soon a Zoom call was arranged, so that we could speak about what he hoped the conference would achieve.

Archbishop Peter Comensoli (seen, at right, with Abbot Paul) outlined that the gathering would be contextualised by *Desiderio desideravi* (DD). This apostolic letter of Pope Francis was promulgated in 2022 to address the liturgical formation of the people of God. As Archbishop Comensoli described the composition of the Catholic Church in Melbourne, the proposition before me morphed from a daring task into an invigorating challenge. Around 160–170 priests would be in attendance. He also explained that both the theological perspectives and the ethnicities of the presbyterate of Melbourne would present a broad diversity, not only in the ecclesiological sense of grappling with differing models of the Church, but in the difficulties of reconciling multivalent priorities in a rapidly changing Australia.

The archdiocesan Clergy Life and Ministry team were administering the conference, and the archdiocesan communications team could not have been more helpful, generous, or efficient before, during, and after the event. The archbishop's secretary offered me the chance to visit another city in Australia after the work was done, and so the opportunity to visit Sydney was realised.

Upon arrival in Melbourne after travelling for twenty-three hours, I was met at the airport by Father Cameron Forbes, rector of Corpus Christi College, the provincial seminary for the states of Victoria and Tasmania, and after settling into the quarters assigned, I was able to offer Mass immediately. Arriving a week in advance of the conference allowed me the invaluable opportunity to acclimatise, and also space to explore something of Melbourne, meeting old friends now living there, and listening to the experiences of the seminary's staff and students.

The seminary community could not have been kinder. On Sunday 11 June, I preached at the Corpus Christi procession that marked the centenary of the opening of the college by Archbishop Daniel Mannix at its original location at Werribee Park. Moved by hymns to the Blessed Sacrament that were sung with as much gusto on the other side of the world as they are here, the following observation found space in my homily:

> We look to Christ in the Blessed Eucharist to nurture us from the purview of his completed awareness, while his protective wings mould us as they heal us, lest we fail to persevere: 'Save us for still the tempest raves; Save, lest we sink beneath the waves…'

The clergy conference was held at the Royal Automobile Club of Victoria's golf resort at Cape Schanck on the Mornington Peninsula, south of the city of Melbourne, from 12–16 June. On the first of two days my presentations were motivated by DD 10: 'Here lies all the powerful beauty of the Liturgy.' They considered *ars celebrandi*, the art of celebrating, as the way of communion, and included questions of anthropology, music, and art. I had been persuaded by words of Archbishop Vittorio Viola, who teaches *Liturgy of the Sacrament of Holy Orders* at Sant'Anselmo in Rome, who explained at a colloquium in Paris only a couple of weeks prior to my visit to Australia:

> The intention is to offer a 'different' word on the liturgy…to get the liturgical question out of the quagmire of polemics…. It cannot be reduced to aestheticism, rubricism or superficial functionalism; it arouses genuine wonder in the face of the paschal mystery.
>
> (*author's translation*)

The invitation to present two workshops deriving from DD 10 were lively occasions of group work and discussion. The first was, *'Rite to Ritual' or 'Ritual to Rite' as the 'Art of Celebrating' the rites of life and death*. This asked how liturgy constructs an evangelising dialogue where

there is neither straitjacket (inability to hear the symbols uppermost in the rites or in the prevailing culture), nor scapegoat (where ideologies take over and project their frustrations). Then I set a question to provoke spirited participation: *How can we help the rites assist a pastoral response to God's people in ritual?*

The next day, *Liturgy is everyone's business* was my text. It proved the incendiary device needed for clergy to speak to together despite diverging perspectives. *How do we exercise 'distinctive leadership' towards encouraging God's people in effective planning of the Sacred Liturgy?* was the question set for discussion. I had quoted Elizabeth Scalia, who had exhorted the gathered clergy in a Zoom presentation from New York the previous day: 'Be beautiful in your worship, in your speech, in your liturgical prayer. In how you say Mass—don't under do, don't over do.'

The following extract from my presentation to the clergy responded to this highly emotive question:

> 'Liturgical preparation is everyone's business'... This sets the bar high for us particularly, because it means that the extent to which 'Father knows best' is revealed through the Holy People of God who form the liturgy groups that prepare what is everyone's business. If we are not to degenerate into a mutual 'pooling of ignorance,' it is worth remember-

ing that wisdom prepared its dwelling in Christ as the first of the 'O-antiphons' that prepare for the coming of the Incarnate Son of God. Wisdom had built its house, its pillars robust, that we should be 'resilient' in ministry for mission. It is no less worth bringing to mind where the wisdom that imbued the Christ came from: *ex ore altissimi*.

We need to make the same antiphon our prayer as we look at the practical considerations of liturgical groups in parishes, since the liturgical life celebrated there will form everything in its train. If liturgy gets 'out of kilter,' everything is lopsided. Liturgy is everyone's business. We can't fulfil promises of the life it offers alone. It isn't simply that we are pulled in all directions. There are consequences, probably on a priest's mental health (for a start) when the very liturgy that unites us becomes disunited, or is rendered dysfunctional on account of ecclesiologies that risk incompatibility. I came across a study written by a priest of this archdiocese, Father Frank O'Loughlin, who as a subtitle to his study, *Gathering the People of God*, makes the following point:

> The liturgy is not the priest's prayer in which the people participate but the whole people's prayer in which the priest has a role of distinctive leadership. (F. O'Loughlin, *Gathering the People of God: Renew the Liturgy–Renew the Church* [Bayswater, Vic: Coventry Press, 2020], 68.)

On the Sunday following, I was invited to preach at Saint Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, and to concelebrate with Archbishop

Comensoli at the Solemn Mass. Matthew 10:8 could hardly have been a more challenging text after such an intense week: 'You received without charge, give without charge.'

On Monday 19 June, I flew to Sydney, accompanied by Father Forbes, and stayed there a week. My first engagement was to speak to the Maximus Men's Ministry Network that evening. The Men's Ministry Network is a large network of support groups that offer opportunities for parishes to broaden beyond normally accepted professional groupings, financial status, social class, and ethnic origin, to provide a lifeline for Catholics who are struggling with any number of issues, whether practical, emotional, addictive, or spiritual. It was an opportunity to be with group leaders providing support in many of Sydney's suburbs, above all to listen to them, and to respond to the title sent to me in advance: 'How do men pray?' That evening was a challenging but deeply illuminating experience. Here is some of what I said in response to the title set:

> To quote the Prologue of the Rule of St Benedict: 'Do not be daunted immediately by fear and run away from the road that leads to salvation. It is bound to be narrow at the outset.' On the face of it, men pray the same way as women do, I suppose. I remember a book written more than a generation years ago now by John Gray, *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus*. Gray made the following observation: 'As a man matures he also learns that he may be giving up himself, but his major change is becoming more aware of how he can succeed in giving. Likewise, as a woman matures she also learns new strategies for giving, but her major change tends to be learning to set limits in order to receive what she wants.' I googled 'how do women pray?' but what came up were prayer guides for muslim women.
>
> Keep on keeping on, however seemingly pointless. For, when you 'make yourselves available,' which is the secret ingredient for the disposition of prayer, it is the Spirit of God already at work in you. Then, a different question might surface, the question which to me is the point: What does God do when we pray? Jesus takes our human nature, yours and mine, to the heart of God. Then the offering of our prayer is complete.

My visit to Saint John's College within the University of Sydney on 21 June was a delight. A dinner was held in the Senior Common Room, at which I gave a vote of thanks. The hospitality of Dr Mark Schembri, the rector, included a tour of what resembled an Oxbridge college in the Antipodes, but for Catholics. I knew myself to be on hallowed ground upon seeing the portraits of Archbishop Bede Polding OSB, first

Archbishop of Sydney and Visitor of Saint John's 1858–1877, his successor Archbishop Bede Vaughan OSB who resided at Saint John's, and Father David Francis Barry OSB, an Australian monk of our community professed at old Douai, who was rector of Saint John's 1884–1887. We cannot forget that, here at new Douai, Father Hugh Somerville Knapman is an alumnus of Saint John's. This college, dating from 1858, demonstrates in its grand architecture of the Gothic Revival the influence of A. W. N. Pugin on the college's architect, William Wardell.

Soon there followed a fraternal visit to Jamberoo Abbey, a monastery of nuns recently admitted to the English Benedictine Congregation. Father Forbes and I drove down by the coast road south from Sydney, the Princes Highway. Along the route, we experienced a coastal surge of the sea at Kiama Headland. Received with particular warmth and kindness at Jamberoo, after vespers and dinner there was a lively conversation with Abbess Hilda Scott and the community. In the morning, I celebrated Mass and preached before returning to Sydney. Aptly, 23 June extols the Holy Nuns of England. From my homily, by way of summary:

> Today's liturgical memorial of the holy nuns of England reminds us that the light shines in the darkness of our corners. That light, the Light of humanity, is Jesus Christ… It is only because Saint Etheldreda, that most venerated female saint from Anglo-Saxon times, founded a mixed monastery of men and women in 673, 1450 years ago, that I dare to reflect in your midst, contextualised by the holy nuns of England. Many were these holy nuns, alongside Saint Etheldreda, whose name translates as 'noble strength,' and Saint Mildred, whose name denotes 'gentle strength.' I 'boast only of my feebleness,' as Saint Paul expressed

it…

On Sunday, I celebrated Solemn Mass at Saint Augustine's in Sydney's inner western suburb of Balmain, a parish founded by Archbishop Polding, and where I was staying with Father Richard Waddell, who was a most attentive host throughout my stay in Sydney. We were all invited to lunch at Archbishop's House in Sydney with Archbishop Anthony Fisher OP, who spoke warmly of his time in Oxford. Afterwards, the cathedral dean, Father Don Richardson, gave us the grand tour. It was evocative to kneel at the burial place of Cardinal Pell, with whom I had spent happy times in Rome and in Cork, and to pray for him, while acknowledging his higher gift of faith.

No trip to Sydney would be complete without considerable time for sight-seeing, and especially for an in-depth tour of its Opera House. This landmark stands among much else that makes Sydney such a world destination.

My return to the UK provided a stop in Singapore. Once there, a 'Singapore Sling' beckoned. Fig trees, date trees, guava trees, and such deep colour everywhere overwhelmed me and feasted my eyes. The immensity of the experience made me realise how much our eyes are shown, and our ears confronted by noise, and these, over and against how little we understand. Immense gratitude stirs within me for those in Melbourne who instigated the trip, and who made it possible. Similarly, I can only express admiration and appreciation for the hospitality throughout my stay.

It was all such a surprise! A medallion on the shores of Sydney Harbour, quoting Jack London, the American novelist and adventurer, shone up at me, summing up the experience of humanity in harmony with God:

> Man's chief purpose is to live, not to exist; I shall not waste my days… I shall use my time.

PAUL GUNTER OSB

Disrupting the Trajectory in Beekeeping

☞ *This is an edited version of a paper presented to the Newbury & District Beekeeping Association on 21 November 2023*

Since resurrecting the Douai Abbey apiary in 2015 I have questioned most beekeeping orthodoxy about progress in the craft, the type of bee we keep, selective breeding of the honeybee, the way we treat the parasitic mite, *Varroa destructor*, the modern methods by which we house and manage our colonies, and our attitudes to wild swarms. From originally favouring selectively-bred Buckfast bees and an emphasis on maximising honey production, I have developed an increasing interest and enthusiasm for locally-adapted bees and treatment-free beekeeping as the only sustainable and sensible way to progress in apiculture. Failure has even become a viable option for me, as the worst that can happen is that I learn something; while the alternative is that we learn nothing, keep doing the same things, and continue getting the same results.

Beekeeping, I have argued in my book, *Minding The Bees*, has become locked in a trajectory based on a misguided definition of progress for the last century and a half that has sent the craft down a cul-de-sac. Until the nineteenth century beekeeping was a relatively simple, unscientific craft of rural peasants who did very well, encountering none of the problems that have plagued us since the introduction of modern beekeeping techniques. The invention of the wooden frame hive in the nineteenth century, and a new kind of beekeeper determined to promote apiculture along strictly scientific principles, launched a determined campaign against old country ways and the old-fashioned traditional straw skep that were maligned in the beekeeping journals for decades into the twentieth century as superstitious, unenlightened, and unhygienic.

This beekeeping revolution was given added impetus by significant developments in the science of apiculture: the anatomy of a honeybee colony and the distinctive roles of its members; Mendel's principles of

heredity; and the biology of honeybee mating and advances in methods of selective breeding and the use of instrumental insemination, which were put to use in an effort to domesticate the honeybee along the lines of other organisms, with a view to maximising their commercial potential. The discovery of many sub-species of the Western honeybee, all with different traits, led to the importation of foreign queens such as the Italian (*Apis mellifera ligustica*), Syrian (*Apis mellifera syriaca*) and Cyprian (*Apis mellifera cypria*), and their hybridisation with the native British Black bee (*Apis mellifera mellifera*) from the middle of the nineteenth century. The aim was to develop and fix certain desirable traits, such as docility, fecundity, and productivity in order to make beekeeping easier, more accessible to more people, and to increase honey production. Among such breeders was F. W. L. Sladen, an English breeder who used the developing science of genetics to create a cross between the Italian and the British bee, called the British Golden, the first advance in creating a bee with all the desirable characteristics of the Italian bee combined with native genes adapted to the British climate.

Such apparent progress in beekeeping, however, was soon to prove detrimental to the bees and to British beekeeping. Not long after hybridisation with the native bee was underway, beekeepers began to notice an emerging bacterial disease, called Foul Brood, which many traditional beekeepers claimed had been unknown before modern methods. On its heels came the mysterious Isle of Wight Disease, emerging in 1904 on the Isle of Wight and spreading across the mainland, which by the First World War had almost completely wiped out the native British bee.

Modern beekeepers at the time were quick to scapegoat the old-fashioned skep and antiquated methods for both Foul Brood and Isle of Wight Disease, with long-running arguments throughout those years in articles and correspondence in the beekeeping journals, and calls for legislation to outlaw the use of skeps and consign them for ever to history.

By 1919 beekeepers, like Brother Adam Kehrle of Buckfast Abbey, who took over the monastery's apiary that year, argued that there were no native bees left in Britain, though I have found evidence of eye-witnesses and beekeepers in the *British Beekeepers Journal* that Brother

Adam was mistaken; there were, in fact, beekeepers who were never affected by the disease, and wild colonies living in trees and buildings that survived the mysterious plague. On the basis of his erroneous belief, however, and the concern that in some parts of the country orchards and other crops were insufficiently pollinated due to the reduced bee population, Brother Adam embarked on his life-work to produce a selectively-bred, disease-resistant bee from survivor stocks of Isle of Wight Disease at Buckfast (Italian and native Black) that would answer the demands of the increasing commercialisation of beekeeping. After the war there was a food crisis and a sugar shortage; Britain needed bees urgently to increase food production and to provide its own alternative to sugar.

The trajectory towards the importation of foreign bees and selective breeding, initiated by hobbyists, stepped up between the wars as a necessity. Bees were sought from Italy, France, and Holland to help the British bee population recover, while Brother Adam looked further afield in his search for the best traits to develop his strain of the Buckfast bee. Over decades he was to trial crosses between many sub-species, recording the genetics and heritability of docility, fecundity, hygiene, disease-resistance, and productivity of honey and propolis, until he had refined his super-bee for commercial use.

But no one really had asked some important questions in those years:

1. Had Foul Brood and Isle of Wight Disease been caused somehow by the indiscriminate hybridisation of our native bee, in ways we might yet need to discover?

2. Were foreign bees suitably adapted to our climate?

3. Were bee diseases caused, at least in part, by misapplied modern methods, and if so, how?

4. Were frame-hives in some way to blame?

5. Could honeybees be domesticated in the same way as other organisms, given the lack of control we have over their mating?

6. What was the effect at a genetic level of the increasing hybridisation of distinct ecotypes throughout Europe as more breeders, such as Brother Adam, moved bees around and experimented with hybridisation?

7. Could the consequence of the loss of distinct ecotypes such as the native British bee be a loss of the genetic diversity that bees need?

8. How might the selective breeding of honeybees compromise the very genetic diversity needed by bees and hard-wired into their breeding biology through strategies such as polyandry?

As a result of cross breeding the Eastern honeybee (*Apis mellifera cerana*) with the Western honeybee (*Apis mellifera mellifera*) during these decades, another problem emerged, exacerbated by the widespread importation of bees across the world: the Eastern honeybee was infected by a parasitic mite, known as *Varroa destructor*, to which it had resistance. Through cross breeding, the mite jumped to the Western honeybee, which had no resistance, and spread throughout Europe in the 1980s, arriving in Britain and becoming a problem by the early 1990s.

For some years there were no miticides or other chemical treatments, and many beekeepers found themselves unable to keep their bees alive. At this time Douai's beekeeper, Father Robert Biddulph died, and the apiary came to an end due to the increasing challenges posed by *varroa*.

According to records Father Robert left, and the testimony of monks who knew about his beekeeping practices, he had moved from keeping Ligurians, a sub-species of the Italian bee from the Alps, which he was inseminating artificially, in a probable effort to develop a rival bee to the Buckfast strain (Ligurians are a foundational bee in the Buckfast strain's genetics). His appointment in the 1970s to a parish in the Lake District had probably necessitated the abandonment of his selective breeding in favour of a hardier, more locally-adapted bee that could cope with the Cumbrian climate. Of particular interest to me is that on his return to Douai, he was catching swarms from our buildings that we know were living there at least from the 1970s and 1980s, if not before. By the end of his life it is clear that he was catching and using these swarms, despite earlier advice in his records that one should never use wild swarms for fear of introducing disease. It is possible that as *varroa* tightened its grip on Britain's bees, Father Robert saw wild swarms as a likely source of uncontaminated stock.

Since methods of *varroa* management became available, including chemical treatments, beekeepers have been locked into an obsession with *varroa* and the need to treat their stocks at least once a year,

usually in the autumn. Consequently, mites have become more resistant to treatments, while bees have become weakened by the constant mite-load compromising their health, as mites vector a variety of viruses to the bees. The prevailing view among orthodox beekeepers, therefore, is that if you do not treat your bees you will lose them, at least within a year of two.

When Douai's Buckfast stock needed re-queening after my first two or three years as monastic beekeeper, I was faced with certain choices: to buy more Buckfast queens (as Buckfast bees do not breed true), or to allow the bees to re-queen themselves and for the new queens to hybridise indiscriminately with drones from local stocks in the wild. Not only would this dilute the characteristics of the Buckfast strain, such as high yield, but it might also result in a deterioration of the temperament of the bees in a phenomenon bee breeders call F1 aggression. Brother Adam demonstrated that particular crosses would produce aggressive bees. However, knowing that Buckfast Abbey no longer produces their eponymous bee, and that it is now imported from as far away as Germany and Norway, I rejected this option. Moreover, I had begun to question the trajectory of selective breeding by people such as Brother Adam, with all its consequences for local ecotypes, and the biosecurity threats of importing bees evidenced by the introduction of the *varroa* mite.

At the same time I was becoming more interested in the way beekeepers might break the stranglehold of *varroa*, and it seemed to me that the only way forward was to explore the possibility that the Western honeybee might develop resistance to the mite in the same way the Eastern honeybee had. But continuing to treat our bees, *ad infinitum*, seemed to me absurd. With bacteria, the overuse of antibiotics only results in superbugs, some of which are resistant to treatment; so, too, overuse of miticides and chemicals simply produces super-mites and weakened bees. Moreover, at least one miticide mixed with a well-known agricultural fungicide that bees bring to the colony produces a toxin that is known to kill stocks. There is also the issue that honeycomb is an environment, like our gut, with countless beneficial bacteria that are destroyed by chemicals used to control *varroa*.

An interest in locally-adapted bees turned my attention to the bees living in our buildings. I began to ask myself if perhaps they were a

possible way out of the need to treat. This was backed up by research done by Thomas Seeley of Cornell University in New York, who identified stable numbers of wild colonies in the 1990s that had survived since the 1980s in the Arnott Forest of New York state. They had *varroa* but were surviving. This was corroborated by colonies in other parts of the world, such as Sweden and Russia. Observations of other organisms making rapid adaptations, under pressure of natural selection, to changing circumstances has led to the discovery that evolution can happen much faster than was previously thought. Seeley asserted that untreated colonies can achieve resistance to *varroa* within as little as five years.

Could it be, I wondered, that bees living wild in our buildings since the 1980s might be already resistant to *varroa*? Could it be that the bees in the Douai apiary, if left untreated, might develop the same resistance, especially if I were to allow natural mating, which might help introduce resistant genetics from the wild into the apiary?

From 2017 I stopped applying treatments to the bees. It was a high-risk strategy, because I might easily have lost the lot within a year or two. To offset the expected losses every winter from sending the population of our bees through a genetic bottleneck, I raised new colonies every summer, enough to identify a few survivor stocks each year, from which I continued raising new queens and colonies each year. At the same time, from May to June each year I began catching swarms with traps on the refectory roof, which attracted up to ten new swarms every year. These colonies were monitored, in the hope that any that were wild stocks might also have resistance. They would also be an insurance policy if I ended up losing all the bees in the apiary.

The first few years resulted, as expected, in heavy losses, sometimes losing eighty per cent of the stocks, due as much to adverse weather as *varroa*; but each year I began to identify stocks that seemed to be surviving. I also began to see expression of the gene for hygienic behaviour—workers uncapping brood and pulling out larvae infected with developing mites. Six years later, going into the seventh year without treatments, I have two lines of queens descended from the stocks I stopped treating in 2017, and though they have mites they continue to survive. At the start of February 2024 my percentage losses this winter are so far the lowest, for this stage in the year, I have had

since going treatment-free. Despite a number of nights with temperatures down to -11°C, losses have been negligible. A colony with a queen from 2021 is still going strong, and another with a queen from 2022, while colonies with queens descending from these survivor queens seem to be surviving. Casualties this winter are mostly from swarms, probably lost by beekeepers who treat for *varroa*.

My interest in locally-adapted, treatment-free bees is not just a way out of the obsession with *varroa* and its stranglehold on beekeeping in recent decades; I am also increasingly concerned that the trajectory over the last century and a half could take us into uncharted waters, with dire consequences, unless we begin to question modern methods and to disrupt the trajectory. In our preoccupation with selective breeding for efficiency and high yield, we are opening the door to genetically-modified (GM) and transgenic bees. Over the last decade scientists in Germany and Japan have produced transgenic queen bees in the laboratory. What Brother Adam took fifty years to accomplish in an imprecise breeding project can now be achieved in a couple of years with incredible precision in the laboratory.

The *Genetic Technology* (*Precision Breeding*) *Act* was passed in 2023, which aims to make the United Kingdom a leading force in the technology of breeding transgenic and GM crops and animals. Professor Lord Robert Winston, famous in his field of *in vitro* fertilisation, addressed to the House of Lords his own reservations about the new technology's drawbacks: that gene insertion often produces horrible or unexpected mutations, and that it is not as precise as its name suggests. He also cited the dangers of allowing agrochemical companies to monopolise the technology and its products, as has happened with Monsanto and GM seeds.

One of the unexpected consequences of transgenic and GM technologies is in the relatively new area of genetics known as epigenetics, the science exploring the understanding of the ways that environmental and dietary factors can create changes outside the DNA of an organism by switching on or off certain genes. This explains how, for example, twins can be genetically identical but one of them might develop a disease. Honeybee queens are produced by epigenetics: the eggs that produce female workers and queens are genetically identical, but an increased diet of queen jelly turns certain eggs into queens.

Similarly, I am currently keen to investigate the epigenetics of sexual development and sex ratios in Endler guppies. Some fish keepers think that a higher temperature produces more female young, but if you drop the temperature just a couple of degrees male characteristics will be expressed. Other anecdotal evidence suggests that pH differences might have an effect, or that perhaps temperature and pH combined might influence the ratios of males to females. There does seem to be a degree of epigenetics at work.

Significantly, we now know that epigenetic changes can also be heritable for several generations. What epigenetic modifications, we might wonder, could be unleashed by GM or transgenic organisms, either in themselves or upon other organisms affected by them environmentally or by eating them? Indeed, one wonders if the Isle of Wight Disease a hundred years ago might have been triggered by epigenetic modifications caused by environmental stresses upon imported queens and hybrids with our own native bee, weakening native stocks to the point that they were exposed to a disease that might also have been imported and to which they had never been exposed before. Conjecture? Yes. Plausible? It certainly is.

I am also opposed to the importation of foreign queens, not only because I believe that historically this practice had dire consequences for our beekeeping and our native bees, but also because this is how *varroa* arrived, and how further parasites and emerging diseases might arrive. Just as we are more aware of the need for biosecurity around the importation of trees and plants, we need to be as aware of the biosecurity risks around importing honeybees. Australia has recently become the latest continent to fall to *varroa* because they would not stop importing bees. Now there are also new mites and diseases; indeed an emerging new mite is prevalent in an area of Italy known for the highest number of exports of queens to the United Kingdom. It is another accident waiting to happen.

My experience as beekeeper with the Douai apiary bears no comparison with the extraordinary knowledge and work of Brother Adam at Buckfast Abbey. Yet I am convinced that we each make our own unique contribution to apiculture, not measured by the legacy of fame or fortune. While I admire his work, and his monastic dedication to his goal in apiculture, I consider those goals already outdated and out

of step with modern beekeeping and its challenges, which belong to a very different world. The challenge to beekeeping today is to help nature survive in the way she always has—under pressure of natural selection. That is what nature has done for millions of years and it has worked very well for honeybees, not least of all because nature wants to survive and will always find a way if we resist interfering.

By daring to allow nature to work for me I have proved, at least to myself, that there is a way through *varroa*, a future beyond imported bees, and a kind of beekeeping that is content with less honey but healthier bees. That is better for everyone, especially the beekeeper. Douai Abbey's bees are surviving, as Professor Seeley said they could, as the evidence proves they can. There are still losses year on year, but beekeepers have always had losses, and many wild colonies are also lost. One of the fallacies of modern beekeeping is that you can and should keep all your colonies alive. As I know from experience, you can treat your bees and do everything to keep them alive and you can still lose them. Losses are part of animal husbandry.

The facts speak for themselves. If I have achieved nothing else in my short time as a monastic beekeeper it has been to question and to test. True science does not trust the science; it is an unscientific statement to say 'trust the science,' because real science only advances when someone does not trust the science but tests it. Science then moves forwards. I have questioned and tested the scientific dogma in beekeeping that you have to treat your bees, and that if you do not, you will lose them in a year or two. As the Douai apiary heads into its seventh year treatment-free, the bees are still alive, as are other survivor bees in nature and around the country in other apiaries, where beekeepers like me are quietly proving that if we let bees do what they have done so well for millions of years (instead of thinking we have to save the bees), we might actually be humbled into learning the greatest lesson of all—that we are not actually in control after all. Maybe we should also question whether we keep the bees at all; whether, in fact, it is nearer the truth to suggest that disrupting the trajectory of modern beekeeping is important because the bees are actually keeping us in ways we hardly realise.

GABRIEL WILSON OSB

The Society of Saint Edmund at Douai Abbey

At the end of 2023 a new initiative was launched publicly, with little fanfare or hype, but with a firm intention to succeed in assisting the monks of Douai Abbey flourish in their life and witness within and for the Church. The monastic community has ideas, but is also aware that other possibilities may emerge naturally, or even providentially, as we move forward. *The Society of Saint Edmund at Douai Abbey* (SSEDA) has been set up to encourage others to help the monks achieve these aspirations.

The site which the monks call home has been developed over the last 120 or so years, with buildings added or refurbished according to need and resources. Much of that effort went into our former school and the work of education the monks undertook there. With the closure of the school, the community has been seeking ways to enhance both its monastic life and its outreach to the wider Church and to society more generally.

At the heart of monastic witness is the celebration of the Church's liturgy, both at Mass and in the Liturgy of the Hours. Though reduced numbers in the community have restricted the community's life in some ways, the arrival of new monks has encouraged the community to look at how we might use our resources, the abbey church in particular, to further our mission, especially the *opus Dei,* by enhancing the dignity and beauty of our worship of God. At the very least we envision improvements to the abbey church and the sacristy, as well as to our *ars celebrandi*—the art of celebrating—that should distinguish the liturgical life of Benedictine monks. This is something the friends of Douai Abbey might wish to make a contribution.

The monastic community at Douai is conscious that we are privileged to have such a significant plot of land so well placed in the

Home Counties. Already we welcome visitors and residential guests to the monastery to share in our liturgical life and worship, to find space and support for spiritual and personal renewal, and to make use of our library and archival holdings (the latter including the archives of several religious orders and communities). Yet there is scope for further outreach, both to the Church and beyond, including the unchurched. There are parts of our property that are ripe for reconfiguration and improvement for this purpose, enabling an important enhancement of Douai Abbey's charitable aims. Again, we have ideas, but we need help to refine them and to begin to bring them to fruition.

SSEDA is a more formal means for all friends and well-wishers of Douai Abbey to support the monastic community and its work, by means of various levels of annual giving. Already some have joined SSEDA, especially from among our parishioners. The abbot and community of Douai Abbey are inviting others to join in prospering our vocation in and for the Church.

There is more information at SSEDA's website, www.sseda.uk. There you will find information about the various levels of membership and support. SSEDA has four funds into which giving may be directed: Liturgy, Monastic Formation, Library & Archives, and Unrestricted. If you are a UK taxpayer your giving could attract extra benefits to the community through Gift Aid, since SSEDA is part of the Douai Abbey charitable trust.

If you wish to become a member of SSEDA, or make a donation through it, please email info@sseda.uk. You can always donate using the *Dona* button on the SSEDA website, or even by standing order to the Douai Abbey bank account, sort code 60-15-07, account number 65317459. If giving by standing order, please email us to let us know to which fund(s) you would like your giving directed.

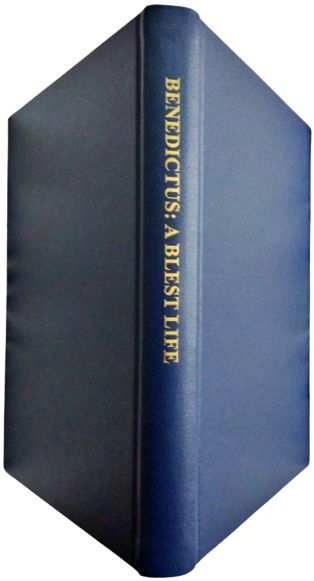
The abbot and community of Douai Abbey are immensely grateful for the generous support that we have received over past years, and our benefactors are remembered daily in our prayers, and weekly at Mass. You can join them as part of our future, that we may serve God, His Church, and wider society with greater fruitfulness, so that, as the Benedictine phrase puts it, *ut in omnibus glorifcetur Deus*—that in all things God may be glorified.

HUGH SOMERVILLE KANPMAN OSB

Book Reviews

Stella Fletcher (ed), *Benedictus: A Blest Life. Essays in Honour of Abbot Geoffrey Scott.* Smith Settle for Weldon Press, 2023. xvi+360pp. H/B, £80. ISBN 978-0-9955853-4-8.

No one can deny how ripely Abbot Geoffrey Scott merits a *festschrift*. In age, he is poised between the psalmic seventy and eighty for those who are strong. For nearly a quarter of a century he served as abbot of Douai. The long litany of his historical publications is sung in six pages of the bluely-imposing volume under review.



The book is noble and dignified: its size is A4; its blue cover and lines suggest the PhD dissertation; it aspires to the (academic) library shelf rather than to the airport bookshop. Alternatively, with its fabric bookmark, it might sit without embarrassment on a church lectern. Despite the nectar within, there is no florid dust-jacket to entice the swarm of buyers. Indeed, on Amazon I sought it, but found it not. Contemplating the physicality of the volume is, I suggest, germane to this review. It cannot be the case that the design escaped the honorand's minute attention, and therefore it can be read as a self-expression of how he wishes to be perceived and remembered.

The volume falls into two parts. The first presents in seventy pages a biography of the subject, written by twelve authors, selected no doubt by Abbot Geoffrey himself. The second and longer part (269 pages) offers a series of fourteen scholarly articles, arranged in chronological order of theme, all loosely connected with history and showing the breadth of the honorand's interests. They start in the early medieval monastery of Lindisfarne and conclude in our own times. Naturally, the authors are all friends or colleagues of Abbot

Geoffrey. Four of the articles are by academics whose secondary education was at Douai School; four others are by clergy.

I shall not comment on the individual contributions found in the second part of the *festschrift*. Varying between the micro and the macro, between technicality and a more popular approach, they offer a winding journey across 1,700 years of Christian history in which the stopping-points are sometimes unexpected and always illuminating. The first four deal with the medieval period; then, as might be expected in the light of Geoffrey Scott's own scholarship, six follow which all circulate around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The last four pick up some modern historical or artistic themes.

But now let us consider the person who inspired the *festschrift*. For a simple scheme of his interests and concerns, we might study the index of the volume. Here is a table:

SUBJECTS	NUMBER OF REFERENCES
Cities (*only those with eight or more references; curiously, London is not mentioned in the index*)	Paris & Rome passim, Douai 28, Oxford 28, Birtley 22, Brussels 20, Durham 15, Antwerp 13, Winchester 13, Reading 12, Birmingham 11, Cambridge 9, Newcastle 9, Venice 9, Liège 8
Douai monks (*only those with six or more references*)	Andrew Gibbons 8, Wilfrid Sollom 8, Silvester Mooney 7, Gregory Freeman 6, (Charles Walmesley 6)
Monasteries (*omitting Douai in its three historical sites*)	Downside 11, Stanbrook 8, Ampleforth 7
Royal figures (*only those with seven or more references*)	Old Pretender 20, Young Pretender 14, Mary of Modena 14, Louis XIV 13, Charles II 9, Louis XV 9, James II 7
Saints (*only those with six or more references*)	Newman 14, Augustine of Hippo 11, Aquinas 8, Cuthbert 8, Benedict 6
Other	Vatican II 16, Oscott 15, Lonergan 11

Realising, of course, the limitations of this method, the results are none the less suggestive: the world of Abbot Geoffrey is Euro-cultural

with an emphasis on recusant sites; the academic is well represented, as is the local, both in the South and the North-East of England. The references to Douai monks suggest an order of influence on him, and the Stuart and Bourbon monarchs are noticeably present in his mental world. The saints are ones we might expect, hardly devotional but intellectually important (with the local exception of 'Cuddy'). The historic houses of the English Benedictine Congregation are naturally there and, however augustly historical he may be, he is willy-nilly a child of Vatican II. In fine, if someone had no idea who Geoffrey Scott was, and were presented with this list, it would be possible to construct a not-inaccurate pocket biography of him.

I suppose it is unusual for the recipient of a *festschrift* to be so pervasively present in the planning of it. In the biographical section, where, presumably, the honorand himself selected the contributors, I had an uneasy sense of the historiography being controlled. Clearly, for many of the chapters, the choice of people who knew the period was limited. It is rather surprising, however, that the very short assessment of his abbacy (only six pages), a period occupying over forty percent of his monastic life, should have been written by a secular historian who knew only what he told her. Admittedly, this fact is acknowledged in the text: 'the following survey of Geoffrey's abbacy could only have been written on the basis of information gleaned from his diaries and conveyed by the man himself' (p.65). The first page of this chapter, by the way, includes an error: 'in 1998 the abbatial election was held on 3 September' (p.65). The facing page, in Father Alban Hood's chapter, states the correct date: 1 September 1998 (p.64). All in all, it would have been far more interesting to have had a survey written by one or more members of the community, rather than have the abbot emeritus essentially write an assessment of himself.

That said, these chapters provide an absorbing account of 75 years of English Catholic history. While the common thread is Geoffrey Scott, a number of the contributions tell a much broader story. There is a nostalgic sense of a faded world: the struggles and devotions of a north-eastern parish in the 1950s, for example, or the 1970s Oxford of Father James Forbes OSB.

Sometimes, nostalgia bravely shows its face regarding a context that, from today's perspective, was bleak, shabby, even shocking. I found the chapter on Douai School in the 1960s quite masterful in its balance between the horrible, the holy, and the humorous, between 'rooting, a right asserted by the 5th formers to kick the 4th formers' (p.31), the 'stunning, embroidered vestments' (p.25) of the solemn liturgy, and the macabre 'Maisie's leg' dessert on 'hog days' (ibid). This is not, of course, to deny that many pupils did emerge radiantly from this vale of soul-making. The welcoming school matron, for the record, was Bridie Canning, not Cumming (p.23).

But who, in fact, is Geoffrey Scott? Maybe such a question is impertinent. Can anyone know the essence of another person? Even if speculation is allowed, is it not better suited to the art of obituary? Is Geoffrey just too alive for this exercise? Despite such misgivings, I would like to draw out some implications of what is presented to us in the *festschrift*. Particularly telling chapters are those on his early years (1947–1952), on the school (1962–1966), and on the first years in the monastery (1966–1971), because they indirectly offer us a key: Geoffrey as the outsider seeking acceptance.

The warmth and support of his north-eastern family context does not quite dismiss a sense that, in the long run, he would never be fully at home there. The Douai School years with the 'culture shock' (p.23), with his efforts to fit in, and with his intelligent, somewhat detached perceptiveness, suggest a strength of character and an independence of spirit, making the best of both adversity and opportunity. The chapter on the novitiate becomes more explicit: 'he had a wry, humorous, slightly cynical view of life within the community' (p.35); 'Geoffrey was always very keen to take part in these activities…he dreaded being labelled an "intellectual"'(p.36); 'Geoffrey was not included. This was very difficult for him, because it felt like a rejection' (ibid). So we have the scholar aspiring to the scoutmaster, or, in American jargon, the nerd seeking his inner jock. I wondered what line this chapter might have taken, had another of Geoffrey's contemporaries in formation been asked to write it.

The task of the reviewer is, of course, to review the book. The editor, however, will surely and kindly allow some further comments from someone who first met the honorand in 1967 and who has walked the

same monastic path, sometimes nearer and sometimes farther, for over half a century. From a plethora of memories, I pull out two, telling moments that indicate Geoffrey's endearing taste for the bizarre.

The first deals with the Inverness cape, which is not a geographical feature of Scotland, but rather an article of clothing. He found an old one that had belonged to Father Oswald Dorman (1893–1973). Sherlock Holmes apparently wore one, although his is sometimes, erroneously, referred to as an Ulster cape. Geoffrey delighted in walking out in it through the Berkshire lanes. It was eccentric in such a context. In that period *The Times* included, and maybe still does, letters on whimsical phenomena, such as the appearance of the first cuckoo of Spring. When a correspondence opened on the Inverness cape, I was able to write to the newspaper, presenting Brother Geoffrey Scott, as he then was, as the Kiff Green 'Cape-ist.' He relished the notoriety.

The second memory goes back to the early 1980s, when Geoffrey was a teacher in Douai School. For Religious Studies in the Upper Sixth, we would invite visiting speakers, both internal and external, on a range of topics. At that time Geoffrey was interested, and probably still is, in Dada. His lecture was on 'Religion & Dada.' The pupils were shown Luis Buñuel's 1929 film *Un chien andalou*. I do not know what they made of it. They were left with several questions to discuss, of which the first two were: 'Do you find God fun?' and 'Do you find God funny?' We see here examples of Geoffrey's creative and humorous eccentricity.

But to speak more seriously, what we seem to have is a sensitive nature setting up protective devices that include detachment and self-sufficiency, a notable work ethic, and a tendency to historicise the personal. I was absent in Rome for the entire period of his abbacy, so I contemplated it from a position of detachment punctuated with occasional visits. With the passage of the years, I found he tended to operate more at the level of the broad sweep rather than of the details. His homilies were often historical reflections. Perhaps this is normal for an abbot towards the end of a quarter-century of service. 'The years like great black oxen tread the world, and God, the herdsman goads them on behind, and I am broken by their passing feet.' The

poet who wrote that, W. B. Yeats, was born just forty two miles from the Vale of Avoca, the place of origin of Geoffrey's mother's family.

I remember mischievously discussing something in Rome a few years ago with a person of roughly my age. There was also a young man present who suddenly burst out, 'It's your generation that ruined everything.' Generalisations are always hazardous: the young man was not English, and English irony, what continentals sometimes call 'black humour,' is not always understood by other cultures. A thing I always appreciated about Geoffrey, and about many at Douai, was the freedom to discuss anything. There are the people, unfortunately, with whom you cannot discuss this or that subject, because their eyes would flare up with offence and indignation. But the negative side of the witty evasiveness, the *bon mot*, the playing with words and ideas, the refusal to show your hand, is that the inner man (or woman, although I think this is more a male phenomenon) is rarely encountered head on.

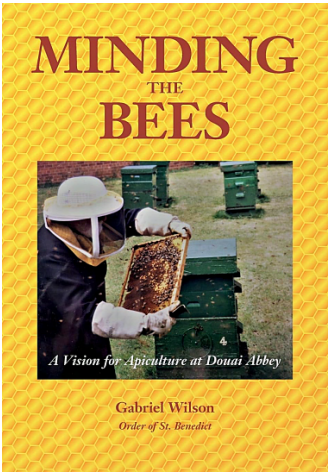
There is no chapter on the inner life of Father Geoffrey. When his early spiritual master, Father Andrew Gibbons, was sent in the 1970s to prepare the Douai parish of Cleator in Cumbria for handing over to the diocese, that monk wrote a letter inspired by the biblical text 'for here we have no lasting city' (Heb 13:14). Geoffrey's journey continues. In anticipation of the heavenly liturgy, what provides solace for his soul? Despite his genial pragmatism and his workaholic disposition, I suspect he still breathes willingly the fragrant smoke of Benediction, still hears happily the cadences of Gregorian chant and Cassinese tones, still casts upward eyes at the soaring and spiring of medieval architecture, still makes his own the words of his namesake and fellow author, Sir Walter Scott: 'Grey towers of Durham, yet well I love thy mixed and massive piles, half church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scot.'

Yes indeed, the blue tome under review is a fitting tribute to him: learned and lightsome, quills and biros, wisdom and whimsy. Not unlike himself.

EDMUND POWER OSB

Gabriel Wilson, *Minding the Bees.* Northern Bee Books, 2023.
364 pp. P/B, £30. ISBN 978-1-914934-59-9.

REGULAR READERS OF *The Douai Magazine* may recall an article in its 2022 edition, in which Father Gabriel Wilson, keeper of the bees at Douai, recounts his discovery of the grave of William Woodley in the churchyard of nearby Stanmore. The queen bee carved on the headstone hints at a life in which bees and beekeeping had played a large part, though today his contribution to apiculture has largely been forgotten.



In *Minding the Bees* Father Gabriel has analysed Woodley's contribution through his contemporary writing in the bee journals of his day, and has attempted to explain his motivation in defying the recommendations of the beekeeping establishment at a time of great social change, when rural life, including beekeeping, faced an uncertain future. Woodley is seen as worthy of our respect, not so much for his opinions as for his independence of thought in the face of widespread opposition.

Father Gabriel has distanced himself from the pursuit of honey farming on an industrial scale, and the breeding of a hybrid super-bee, which was the life's work of Brother Adam of Buckfast Abbey, describing this as a cul-de-sac, akin to intensive agriculture, requiring frequent inputs, and with undesirable consequences. Rather, his approach reflects an objective reappraisal of beekeeping, and a desire to achieve a sustainable and benign management of colonies amid today's new but equally daunting challenges.

This is not a primer for new beekeepers, but would entertain those with some experience who wish to take a step back and re-evaluate what they do, and why, and consider whether they should embark on a path at variance with the perceived wisdom of the current bee establishment. To the non-beekeeper, it may come as a surprise that bees face so many challenges, and that beekeepers are faced with so

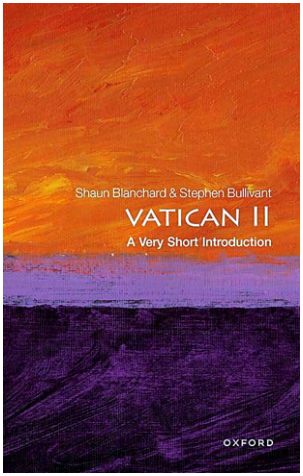
many dilemmas and different management options. Ultimately, it is a good outcome if colonies survive and thrive, and any surplus honey crop is a bonus.

The historical narrative is interwoven with vignettes of nature through the seasons and the overwhelming sense is of a love of the bees and of the natural world that they inhabit, whilst striving to put their wellbeing at the heart of husbandry.

MARTYN CRACKNELL
President
Worcestershire Beekeepers' Association

Shaun Blanchard & Stephen Bullivant, *Vatican II: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford University Press, 2023. xxiv+139 pp. P/B, £8.99. ISBN 978-0-19-886481-3.

Given the forests of trees and the rivers of ink that have been expended over sixty years in discussion of the Second Vatican Council, it might seem inconceivable that a 'very short introduction' to the council were even possible without doing that sacred synod an injustice. Somehow, Doctors Blanchard and Bullivant have managed the apparently inconceivable. Their book is in the compact A-Format, a tad smaller than a Penguin paperback, so it is a feat indeed that its 117 pages of main text are able to convey so much, and so accessibly.



Clearly, in order to conform their volume to the constraints of OUP's excellent, extensive, and affordable *Very Short Introductions* series, the authors made some initial, fundamental decisions about content. Their work is not a history of the council, though the third chapter gives the highlights of 'what happened and when.' Likewise, it is not a history of the controversies following the council, nor of the circumstances that led up to it, though its second chapter deals with the 'roots of reform' before the council, and the final chapter supplies tools to help

make sense of the 'debates over Vatican II' after it. Nor indeed, finally, is this a theological commentary on the council.

While of great use to an informed Catholic reader, the book is aimed as much at those who know little of real substance about the council beyond all the shouting, cheering, and sloganeering. The book is neither catechetical nor apologetical in its approach or tone, and the authors display a notable even-handedness in discussing some of the thornier conciliar issues. One could even assume they had no horse in the race (or should that be, no dog in the fight?).

Ironically, this means Blanchard and Bullivant (hereafter B&B, to conserve ink) can occasionally and indirectly undermine some of the established 'party' paradigms in the usual interpretation of the council. The reader is left with a distinct impression that the council was not, in fact, the greatest thing to happen since the coming of the Messiah, and also that it is unjust to demonise the council as if it were *the* cause of all our woe today. While many might reasonably lament the pastoral crisis in the Church over the decades following the council, it must be acknowledged that there was already an emerging pastoral crisis before the council, a crisis which was a prime factor in its calling. This fact can be seen, to supply one simple example, in the title of a 1949 book by the eminent French urban missionary, Abbé Godin: *France, Pays de Mission?;* the title of Maisie Ward's 1950 volume on Godin inspired by this very book identifies the crisis even more starkly: *France Pagan?* The fact that Ward was writing for an anglophone readership shows that she recognised the crisis was not confined to France.

More positively, the reader gets a sense of the nobility of the council's goals and of its participants' aspirations, and an insight into the complex politics and human dynamics at work in any assembly on this scale, and the inevitable influence on it of the world 'outside' the council, especially with regard to the role of the media and the speed and reach of its new electronic means of communication.

The number four is structurally important to B&B's volume. Rather than attempt an exhaustive conspectus of the council's proceedings and documents, they devote a chapter to each of four key conciliar topics: liturgy, revelation, the Church in itself, and the Church in the world. Likewise, the final chapter, on 'making sense of the debates over Vatican II,' sorts the debaters into 'four major positions' regarding the

council: the traditionalist rejection or suspicion of it as too revolutionary; the progressivist dismissal of it as not revolutionary enough; the 'Spirit-Event' celebration of it as an enduringly-relevant phenomenon; and the 'Text-Continuity' embrace of it when strictly understood in its full and proper context. The discussion here is accessible, and even informed Catholics will find it enlightening.

The last few pages offer a fascinating estimation of Pope Francis—the first truly post-conciliar pope—in relation to the council, as someone for whom the council is quite simply a given, a fact of life not a phenomenon or programme to be debated. B&B here are free from any polemic or obvious partiality, which allows for a dispassionate assessment of an undoubtedly controversial pope. Invoking a conjectured 'Vatican III,' B&B point to his role in establishing the Global South as providing the major players at such a council, displacing in large measure the dominance of Europeans and anglophones—the Global West—in the life of the Church. So, too, the concerns of the Global South—such as Islam, Pentecostalism, persecution, et al—are set to displace the Global West's obsessive and febrile debates over gender, sexuality, and 'reproductive rights.' Synodality, B&B suggest, whatever else it does, will have conditioned the Church to the necessity of listening to its primary stakeholders at any Vatican III; and these stakeholders will be predominantly from the Global South.

As one would expect from OUP, this book is well produced, especially given its modest price. The typeface is admittedly rather small, but this is presumably to maximise content in such a petite volume. There are no foot- or end-notes, but there is a valuable index, and each chapter has its own up-to-date, helpful, and detailed bibliography. Of use to the conciliar novice is a short glossary of crucial terms. An especially effective feature employed by B&B is the use of highlighted contemporary quotations and cartoons, which add substantial impact to points raised in the text.

My one niggle is the intrusion of split infinitives into an otherwise admirable and effective text. Yet, perhaps this lament is the fruit of that sort of nostalgia which is no longer to be encouraged among Catholics. Besides, divided infinitives did not preclude my undivided attention to a book that every thoughtful Catholic would do well to read.

HUGH SOMERVILLE KNAPMAN OSB

Obituaries

PHILIP GEOFFREY MACDONALD, 1956–2023

Until becoming its headmaster in 1987, I had been the first director of studies for Douai School, and I asked Philip to succeed me in that role. We got on very well, his office below mine. He was a respected presence among staff and pupils, always immaculately turned out and unflappable, and a gifted head of classics. While at Douai, he married Michelle, and Father Bosco, his brother, and I were present at their wedding in Bath. It was no surprise that he moved from Douai to become a deputy head and then headmaster of two schools before his retirement.

Quisquis es, amissos hinc iam obliviscere Graios; noster eris…

Virgil, *Aeneid*, II:148

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

Philip came to Douai to teach classics under Father Boniface in 1985, later taking over as head of classics when Father Boniface was unwell. He felt deeply about the ethos of the school, and the monks and the monastery which informed his own life as a teacher, and later as a headmaster. He enjoyed the challenge of teaching boys of all abilities, and the satisfaction that comes from helping others achieve their potential.

During Father Geoffrey's headmastership he was asked to be director of studies, which further exercised his mind in formulating timetables and managing the change to GCSEs after their introduction in 1987. A wearer of glasses since his youth, he had an antipathy to games, avoiding sport at school in Bristol by fair means or foul. But one weekend, volunteering to drive a minibus of Douai schoolboys to a rugby away match, he realised at half time, as they stood by him expectantly, that he should say something rousing to turn around a first half loss. Summoning up some generic phrases of exhortation, and including the captain in this effort, he managed to keep his lack of

sporting knowledge hidden and his standing with the boys seemingly intact.

Philip was born the fourth child of a large and loving family in Bath. Family life revolved around the Church, schools, and hobbies. He was a very happy individual, clever and engaged at school, and involved at home in adventures with his siblings, inventing and making things: carting oil drums from the local scrapyard for a raft to float his sister down the River Avon; digging a tunnel in the back garden and incurring his parents' wrath when it later collapsed; and long summer holidays away in his mother's native Tipperary, visiting family and helping on their farms.

He had been brought up to give something back, and in his first job at Rougemont School in Newport, Gwent, he enjoyed leading a school trip to Kenya to build parts of a new school building. At Douai he took part in a trip to the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse with Father Peter Bowe, managing to avoid the three-day minibus trip with the excuse of being best man for Phil Hollywell, who taught games and geography.

He had become a teacher almost by accident. After studying classics at Oxford, he went to Italy for three years to tutor in English, returning home part way through to gain a PGCE qualification, and so decided to make teaching his career. During his time in northern Italy—in Venice, Treviso, and Milan—he translated into English two books about the lives of Blessed, now Saint, Don Orione and Saint Maria Bertilla.

Upon our marriage in 1990 he started to look for promotion to a headmastership, and in 1992, by then with one daughter, he moved to the Marist girls' school near Ascot as deputy head. Three more children were born, two boys and a second daughter. In 1998 he was honoured to be appointed headmaster of Mount Saint Mary's, the Jesuit school in Derbyshire. Philip led it through some hard financial and emotional times, but succeeded in his goal of raising the level of pupils' achievements, while taking the school to 400 pupils and so bringing financial stability.

With the confidence born of this achievement, he returned to the south in 2015 to the City of London Freemen's School in Ashtead, Surrey, a very academic school with strong links to the City of London, and he found the school very supportive. With more free time at the weekends, Philip was able to be more active in the local parish, joining the choir

and enjoying the banter of the back-row basses, and carrying on a family tradition of playing practical jokes by wearing his joke false teeth to rehearsal.

In work, in volunteering, and at home, he turned his mind and hands to many things, working his way methodically through a situation. The early experiences with the oil drum raft evolved into DIY around the house, knocking through old fireplaces, building extensions, and dabbling in plumbing and electrics. His phrase on fixing something was often, 'I've improved on the design'; he enjoyed bettering the original designers.

His practical mind focused on the endpoint of a project or issue, breaking it down into the necessary steps to get there without incident. As a headmaster, he led planning for building projects in both his schools, one on a small budget re-using existing buildings, and the other a large-scale project from the ground up. Site visits in hard hats and steel capped boots were a very welcome change from paperwork. When he could not do DIY in a school house, he would work on building sets for school plays, or making a new kitchen table. At home he was happiest when up to his ankles in wood shavings, or bent over a car engine persuading a reluctant starter motor to cooperate.

He would always do the right thing regardless of whether it made him popular, and was fearless and determined in school dealing with the problems that arose, from a recalcitrant teenager wearing the wrong colour shoes, to complex employment issues that others had feared to face. He was once pleased that, at a tribunal, the opposing barrister could not believe he and his deputy had put the case together without legal help. But he had a gentler side, believing in the Christian attitude of giving others a second chance after they had done wrong.

He took retirement in 2015 and, back in the family home in Ascot, was free to indulge those practical skills that made him happy, and which necessitated investing in a boiler suit. He also looked outward, serving as chairman of his parish advisory committee, and in quiet, useful work for the SVP. Links with Douai had continued over the years with visits from Father Geoffrey, as well as attending Mass at Douai during school holidays, after which he enjoyed catching up with the monks he had known from his time at the school. He was delighted to be asked to contribute a chapter to the *festschrift* by Father Geoffrey.

In late 2019 Philip was diagnosed with incurable lung cancer. His faith remained a source of strength and consolation. He trusted implicitly in his excellent medical team, was thankful for their skill, knowledge, and kindness during treatment, and dealt with the occasional reverses of a serious illness with great fortitude. He died very peacefully having received visits and blessings from Father Geoffrey, who remained a friend to the end. Philip was a true stoic in the classical sense, and a true Christian living a courageous and virtuous life; someone who, while loving that life, knew that when death came it would not be the end, and that he would meet again the family who had gone ahead of him.

MICHELLE MACDONALD

✝

CECILIA PRIMAVESI, 1943–2024

(*Cecilia died just after the close of 2023, but given the close ties she and her husband Greg have with Douai, an obituary has been included in this edition of the Douai Magazine.*)

Born during the Second World War, when large cities were still suffering heavy bombing, including the city of Hull where her family home was situated, Cecilia grew up in the aftermath of the war, a time marked by rationing and shortages. Her childhood was spent between Hull, Birkenhead, and Nottingham, the daughter of a teacher, in whose steps she would eventually follow.

It was probably from her father that she learnt to take on board the Church's teaching on social justice, as he had dedicated himself to those who needed his skills in the deprived areas in which he taught. Sadly, he was no longer alive to see how well she had taken his example to heart.

She went to the Notre Dame College of Education to train as a teacher, after which she moved back to Hull, where she taught at schools in deprived areas, as her father had done before her. She saw her pupils and their parents as real people who should be encouraged to feel that they could achieve anything, and that through education they could look forward to a better future. She was a supportive colleague,

made friends easily, and would do all in her power to help those having difficulties. She was a warm, but firm, educator.

In 1969 she married Greg. Their shared faith was an inspiration not only to their family, but also to those they met, especially within the parish setting. She was always welcoming to newcomers. In 1972 they moved to Theale, a second child on the way, but that did not stop her enthusiasm for getting involved. Father Terence FitzPatrick was then priest-in-charge of Theale, and he had a knack of tapping in to talent.

The congregation at Saint Luke's was committed to raising £15,000 for Hugh Faringdon School, and so the first annual garden fête took place. Cecilia was on the organising committee, which met in her home, and grand plans were made with the aid of a glass of wine. In those days there were quite a few young families in the parish, and these events became part of village life. With no hall at that time, prayers for a fine day were required, and usually they were answered.

5 November saw another event in which she was involved, with a bonfire in the church carpark, and fireworks set off from the porch roof. Father Terence was not popular with Cecilia when he set off a firecracker in a dustbin, with her first thought being that Greg had been blown up.

In time Father Godric Timney replaced Father Terence, and by now Cecilia was a catechist, holding classes for children every Saturday morning. She served in this role for many years, and a number of these children still live in the village and remember her with great fondness

At Christmas and Easter she would devise prayerful liturgies, with the children acting out the appropriate scenes from the gospels. Those of us who were present at the Masses where these took place found them profoundly moving and we still remember them.

Christian Meeting Point was another initiative which she took on, where parishioners from the local United Reformed church, Holy Trinity, Saint Mark's anglican church in Englefield, and Saint Luke's met in each others homes for prayer and discussion. These were well attended and played a valuable part in the ecumenical life of the area. An offshoot was the setting up of 'Fishers,' an after school group which ran for about ten years, and which was open to all, with many of the

children who attended not going to church on a regular basis, so outreach was extended to all.

When Cecilia returned to full-time teaching at the Oratory Preparatory School, she continued to support the parish, though the school was now the beneficiary of her expertise in inspiring and involving children in liturgical practice. Around 1987 it was decided to build a preparatory school on the site of Saint Joseph's convent. She was very generous with her time, looking over the plans and giving excellent advice on the internal layout. She was amused that the school was built on the old piggery, and would often ask after the piglets.

Her retirement from teaching coincided with the retirement of Saint Luke's sacristan, Anne Devlin, so she now took on this role. Of all the people who come to church, few have much idea of the amount of work involved in the sacristy, from laundering the linen to the care of the sacred vessels, maintaining the vestments, ordering hosts, candles, and other consumables, quite apart from ensuring that the correct vestments are laid out at each Mass, and the altar prepared. She also managed the altar servers, and ensured they were well turned out. For a number of years she was the registrar for weddings, alas not a burdensome job these days.

Cecilia was so committed to the Church she loved and to her faith that nothing was ever too much trouble. When Greg would be doing essential maintenance in church on a Saturday morning, she would be there as well to see that he, and anyone helping him, were well supplied with coffee and nibbles to keep them going—iced Belgian buns were a favourite.

Suffice it to say that she, with Greg, have been a mainstay of Saint Luke's in Theale, and her happy disposition is greatly missed.

MONICA MORRIS

✢

PHILIP MOLYNEUX, 1940–2023

Charles Philip Molyneux was born on 22 September 1940, the second child of Oswald and Jane Molyneux. He joined a sister, Margaret, and was followed two years later by Mary.

From an early age Philip was interested in horses, and spent many happy times riding with his sisters and cousins around the farm. As he grew older, he developed an interest in show-jumping, and as a teenager he was a well known competitor at local shows, and achieved some good results.

After leaving school he joined the family farming partnership with his father, and for many years the family worked very well together, rapidly expanding and earning a fine reputation for hard work and high-quality produce.

In his early twenties Philip met Eva, a farmer's daughter from County Sligo in Ireland, and following a short courtship, they were married in 1965. The following year, Charles was born, then Paula, and finally Richard completed the family.

Philip was an active member of Southport, and later Ormskirk, Catenians for many years, and also a school governor and member of the parish council.

Around 2017 Eva began showing signs of Alzheimers, which progressed slowly at first, but she became more dependent on Philip as time went by. Over the course of the next two years, Eva gradually deteriorated to the point where Philip could no longer care for all her increasingly specialised needs, so Eva was moved to a care home in July of 2021.

While Philip was saddened by this separation, he was also relieved that Eva was safe, and the family thought that now he would at least have time to enjoy his own life without the burden of excessive worry.

Philip was always a very keen gardener, and in his last few years, somewhat against the advice of his family, he was still active in cutting hedges, and he loved mowing the grass and tending to his shrubs, especially the roses. Philip loved reading and keeping up to date with current affairs, and was very knowledgeable on a wide range of subjects.

It was only a few weeks after Eva moved to the home when Philip began complaining that he was struggling to swallow, and within a few weeks he was diagnosed with cancer of the oesophagus. He then had an intensive course of radiotherapy and chemotherapy, which was completed before Christmas 2021. This eased his symptoms considerably, and for the next six months or so he was almost back to

his usual robust health. He remained active, and would walk his dogs twice daily, and in latter years joined the bowling club at the Saracen's Head, which he enjoyed immensely, particularly its social aspect.

As the time went on, he again found it difficult to swallow, and had several treatments, always remaining positive. During the last months it was obvious that his condition was worsening, and that he was in significant pain, but he still continued to walk his dogs most days, and kept his positive attitude.

Philip was an active and supportive member of the parish at Saint Elizabeth's in Scarisbrick, and the family would like to thank Father Hugh and Father Godric for their support over the years, and particularly during this difficult time.

CHARLES & LORRAINE MOLYNEUX

Philip's wife, Eva, died on 19 February 2024. (*Ed.*)

✝

JOHN SHAW, 1939–2023

John arrived at Douai School in 1969 to take up the position of groundsman, and began to play cricket at the Douai Society's cricket week in the same year. By 1971 he was officially listed as the 'cricket professional,' and had become games' master the following year. From this time, he was heavily involved in school affairs, not bound as were other staff by a particular academic department, but enjoying a popularity and a freedom of movement among the various interest groups in the school. In this role, he acted as glue quietly uniting the disparate interests. After Father Wilfrid Sollom became headmaster, John became the head's assistant, taking over the supervision of the early morning disciplinary parades. He continued in this role when I became headmaster in 1987. We met each week and John, among other things, provided me with details of any underground life present.

Although his eagle eye noticed everything, he was never able to prevent that caper traditionally known as Marquee Night taking place before Parents' Day each year, when the boys outwitted even John. Nevertheless he continued to contribute a great deal to the life of the

school until his retirement and was duly honoured by the large number of Old Dowegians who attended his Requiem Mass at Douai.

GEOFFREY SCOTT OSB

My first meeting with John was the day I arrived at Douai, having applied for the post of Head of Physical Education. This was the second of three interviews in three days for me: the first at a school in Norwich, the second at Douai, and the third near my home in Sussex. This was a rather daunting prospect for a twenty-one year old applying for head of department post straight out of college, at a prestigious independent Catholic school, with my humble background being in state education. This said, everyone at Douai was friendly and made me feel at ease, none more so than the then headmaster Father Brian Murphy OSB, and the games master, John Shaw. I left Douai for my third interview but spent the next two days hoping, but hardly expecting, to get the Douai job.

Having been offered the post and accepting, I returned several days later with Shirley, my fiancée at the time. She first met John when we were, much to our surprise and overwhelming joy, shown to the house which came with the post, the lovely Wynfield on the Bath Road. Shirley, like me, immediately took to John with his happy, friendly, and positive welcome and we were, of course, over the moon about the house. We married shortly before my first term began.

Thus started an association with John, his wife Angela and all their family and, of course, all at Douai. Trying to build a PE department from scratch had its challenges, but John was always on hand with helpful advice and support. As well as being good friends, we worked closely together on the games fields, and as the years passed, we both took on more pastoral responsibilities. It is testament to the respect the pupils had for John that despite being master in charge of discipline, which often involved getting pupils up when it was still dark to send them on their morning punishment run for some misdemeanour or other, I can honestly say I never heard a bad word said about John by any pupil.

We shared many happy and often successful times together. John's first love was cricket, and though rugby was the main winter sport at Douai, one of my roles was to build up soccer. We often talked about beating Charterhouse on their own ground, as well as R.G.S. Worcester,

two very prominent soccer schools. John was the first to congratulate us when our daughter Laura was born and, as was often the case, we met up at the Rowbarge pub in Woolhampton on the Saturday evening, only to be joined by some of the sixth form who were welcomed by John and then sent packing back up the hill.

John liked the odd drink and horse racing, and I remember on the soccer tour to Bristol he asked if I could manage the Saturday fixture against the Bristol University Second Xl whilst he had a couple of hours at the Cheltenham races. It all seemed quite normal then; how times have changed. We worked closely together as colleagues and friends for twenty five years, and we were all devastated when John lost his job, but none of us knew then that the school was soon to close, and the rest of the staff followed John not long after.

We will miss John, but I am happy to have been his colleague and friend for so many years, left with many memories. All who came into contact with John will surely have their own personal and happy memories as well.

ROGER AYLWARD

✝

Requiescant in pace.

Community Chronicle 2023

January

Abbot Geoffrey marked the ruby jubilee of his ordination on the feast of Saint Benet Biscop, 12 January, by celebrating the conventual Mass which was sung using the Cassinese tones for the prayers, epistle and gospel, heard for the first time at Douai in many years. After Mass, there was a festive lunch with members of his family and the community.

Nine professors of philosophy and theology had a quiet writing week in the guesthouse and library from 9–15 January. They spent the days in silence, only speaking at supper and in the evenings. There was a small exhibition of books they had written in the public cloister.

Father Peter left on 15 January to go to south India, whence he returned in time for Holy Week. He was based at the Benedictine monastery at Asirvanam, visiting other Benedictine monasteries as well as Reaching-the-Unreached Children's Home, which the Woolhampton parish had supported as its annual charity, and which he had visited, with a group of parishioners, just before lockdown.

Over the weekend of 20–22 January, Saint Luke's with Christchurch, Chelsea stayed on a parish retreat. Parishioners from this anglican parish had formerly come on retreat here for several years before the Covid lockdown. From 24–26 January twelve youth-workers from the anglican diocese of Oxford made a retreat in the guesthouse, also their first since Covid.

On 30 January there was a community meeting to discuss proposals for monasteries to cooperate in providing novitiate formation.

February

A group of parishioners from Saint Mary's, Hampstead came on retreat for the weekend 3–5 February.

From 7–10 February the RAF Pastoral Advisory Group, with their chaplain, Bishop Paul Mason, met in the guesthouse.

Father Finbar was hospitalised with pneumonia from 7–16 February.

From 14–16 February Douai hosted a group of the Catholic bishops' interns working in Parliament and similar bodies, and running concurrently was a retreat for the deaf.

Then, from 17–19 February, Douai welcomed a meeting of university chaplains.

The oblate retreat at the start of Lent was led by the oblate director of Saint Gregory's (formerly at Downside), Father James Hood. At retreat's end Martin Zetter and Mario Pirozzollo became oblate novices.

On the weekend of 24–26 February Douai hosted a retreat for the staff of Blessed Hugh Faringdon School, and another for the Teams of Our Lady group from Fareham.

On the last day of the month, twenty six Portsmouth clergy came to Douai for a quiet day.

March

From 3–5 March parishioners from Chichester's anglican cathedral came for a retreat. The same weekend the Servants of the Word met in the cottages and conference centre.

On 7 March Father Oliver represented the community at the funeral of George Benbow, a former master in Douai School. On his way back Father Oliver visited Downside and received wonderful hospitality from the Manquehue community there.

On 10 March the Portsmouth diocesan spirituality team spent the day at Douai, while a youth group from Saint Elizabeth of Portugal parish in Richmond, spent the weekend of 10–12 February in the cottages.

On 16 February members of the Historic Churches Committee for the southern region were at Douai for their first meeting of the year.

At a parish meeting on 20 March Father Abbot announced that, from the end of April, the Sunday Mass in Saint Mary's, Woolhampton would cease, and from 7 May there would be one Mass in the abbey church. This Mass would be moved to 10.30am, combining the monks' conventual Mass with the Mass for the Woolhampton area of the parish. Declining parish and monastic numbers made two Sunday morning celebrations in Woolhampton untenable.

On 25–26 March a retreat for the Knights of Malta was led by Father Abbot, the first they had held here since Covid.

Concerts in the abbey church have become an important aspect of the monks' outreach, and on the last weekend of the month the Nonsuch Singers gave a concert of liturgical music, both classical polyphony and contemporary. This allowed music composed for the liturgy, much of which is sadly not sung in the modern liturgy, to be heard in church.

Religious Communities Caring for the Sick, a network of people who look after sick and elderly members in religious communities, held its first in-person meeting at Douai, from 28–30 March, hosted by the infirmarian, Brother Christopher. The sessions were open to all the community, with topics such as caring for the dying, the spirituality of ageing, grief and bereavement, funding, and accessing services being discussed.

April

On the first of the month Father Peter, recently returned from India, gave an illustrated talk about his experiences there.

The principal pastoral programme event each year is the Easter Retreat, and as usual it was fully booked, about half the participants being people who had come for the first time. It was was directed by Dr Caroline Farey, a former parishioner of Woolhampton, who had taught at the Maryvale Institute and at the School of the Annunciation at Buckfast Abbey.

The congregations attending the Triduum this year were back to pre-Covid numbers, including a good attendance at the Easter Vigil. Continuing our practice of commissioning new liturgical music, this

year Matthew Martin composed the responsory *Ingrediente Domino in sanctam civitatem,* sung at the end of the procession on Palm Sunday. Also sung was Terence Charleston's *Hosanna Filio David*, which was composed for Douai in 2018.

Sisters and collaborators of the Sisters of the Good Samaritan from Australia had made annual visits to Benedictine sites in England until interrupted by Covid. Happily, this year they have been able to resume their visits. On 14 April a party of the 'Good Sams' arrived, stopping with us between stays at Ampleforth and Downside, the latter the monastery where their founder, Archbishop Bede Polding, had been a monk.

From 18–20 April the English Benedictine Congregation's visitation committee held a three-day meeting at Douai to discuss changes in the visitation procedure.

From 18–23 April there was a second writing retreat for theologians along the same format as in January.; and on 25 April the guild of vergers from the anglican diocese of Oxford came for their annual retreat day.

The next day an army chaplain brought a group of soldiers from the Royal Military School of Engineering at Aldershot for a twenty-four hour stay, during which they combined quiet time with straightening the gravestones in the monks' cemetery, as well as joining us for some of the offices and Mass. Their commanding officer joined them for supper.

The 44th annual EBC History Symposium was held under Father Geoffrey's direction from 26–27 April. Talks included *A new look at the dissolution of Reading Abbey* by Professor James Clarke, and *Benedictine Nuns from Exile to Exile 1793–1839* by Dr Scholastica Jacobs, describing the sad story of the English nuns driven from the continent by the French Revolution.

An oblates' retreat took place the last weekend of the month, at which Caroline Shepherd became an oblate novice.

May

On 2 May, during a thunderstorm, at the final versicle of vespers, there was a violent flash of lightning followed by a deafening clap of thunder, after which the lights went out at the final *Amen*, an occasion of surely supernatural scripting. The power outage lasted ten hours, so an early

night was had by all—and a silent one, as all electrical equipment, not least computers, lay dormant. Power was restored at 4.28am. Minor damage was done to some electrical equipment, such as a washing machine, and the venerable automatic bell system in the cloister was wiped of all it settings, which are yet to be fully restored. The power cut offered a salutary lesson given our modern reliance on technology.

The same day Gerard Flynn arrived to begin his period as an alongsider.

The *Schola Gregoriana* held a three-day meeting in the guesthouse, during which they studied chant and sang Mass each day in Saint Mary's, as well as joining the monks for office.

On 6 May Charles III was crowned as king. There were no guests that weekend, the pastoral programme having been cleared for the coronation weekend—its competition was too great! The community was able to watch the event on a large screen and celebrate as a family by itself. It also happened to be the first weekend that the Sunday conventual Mass was celebrated at 10.30am. Afterwards, the congregation was invited to drink a toast to the king with the community in the refectory. Sunday Mass is now followed by coffee in the guest refectory, an innovation enabling several groups to recreate together: monks, parishioners, retreatants, and any other guests.

Each year the Newbury Spring Festival holds a concert in the abbey church. This year it was given by the Tallis Scholars, who sang a programme of unaccompanied liturgical music to a capacity audience.

From 9–11 May Douai hosted the national oblates retreat, the first time it has been held in person since Covid. Father Martin, oblate director at Pluscarden, led the retreat.

During the month an automatic gate was fitted at the entrance to the grounds to enhance security during the night hours, when a code is needed to open the gates from outside.

Most years, around Pentecost, we host a retreat for those who are to be ordained deacons in the summer. This year there were two retreats, the first for nine ordinands from Saint Mary's University, Twickenham, was led by retired Archbishop Kevin McDonald from 23–28 May.

Ryan Cox arrived to begin postulancy on 26 May.

An oblate retreat began on 30 May, at which Joyce Potter, a relative of the late Father Basil Griffin OSB became an oblate, at 96 our eldest.

June

On Trinity Sunday Father Abbot flew to Australia for a month, to lead clergy workshops and meetings in Melbourne and Sydney, and visiting the nuns at Jamberoo Abbey, who joined the English Benedictine Congregation last year.

From 3–7 June was the second retreat for those to be ordained deacon. This group of nine was from Allen Hall in Chelsea, and was led by Father David Barrett.

On 5 June Father Oliver flew out to the USA for an EBC bursars' meeting at Portsmouth Abbey in Rhode Island.

On 6 June about 200 pupils from Blessed Hugh Faringdon School in Reading, came for a Corpus Christi procession in our grounds.

Also on 10 June Father Geoffrey was one of the speakers at a symposium on Saint Oliver Plunkett at the Brompton Oratory.

Douai hosted a retreat for military chaplains from 13–16 June, which was led by Bishop Paul Mason.

On 14 June 14 Father Geoffrey spoke at an Athenaeum Club lunch on English Benedictine libraries at the end of the eighteenth century. A few days later he preached at the Catholic Studies Centre in Durham.

On 20 June anglican and Catholic clergy held a day of recollection together at Douai. Next day, the Thatcham Rotarians came to visit the library, and the day after that about thirty scouts came from Burghfield for compline.

The annual Mass in the abbey church for local Catholic primary school leavers was held on 23 June, followed by a picnic in the grounds.

From 27 June Douai hosted a Dominican study retreat for young Catholics, mainly students from various Catholic chaplaincies. There were twenty one taking part, with several friars and nuns leading them.

July

On 1 July there were over thirty participants at a meeting of the Catholic Union, a body which seeks to ensure that the Catholic voice is heard in national life. Father Oliver celebrated Mass for them in Saint Mary's.

The premiere of *The Arc in the Sky,* by American composer Kile Smith, was given by Reading Bach Choir in the abbey church on 8 July.

From July 9 to 14 we had the first of two visits from Brother Cassian Shayo from Ndanda Abbey in Tanzania, while on long vacation from studies in Rome. He also visited our parish at Ormskirk in Lancashire.

From 19–21 July Douai hosted the Millionminutes.org Summer School *Adventurous Accompanying Young People*, attended by invited representatives of various British and Irish organisations. Fully booked, its purpose was to develop training in faith accompaniment.

On 23 July students from Portsmouth Abbey School in Rhode Island, USA, attending a summer school in Oxford, came to celebrate Sunday Mass with us and remained for lunch, accompanied by Father Edward Mazuski OSB from Portsmouth and Father Augustine Wetta OSB from St Louis. By coincidence, Abbot Gregory Mohrman of St Louis happened to be staying here before travelling to Buckfast for congregational meetings.

We welcomed our old friends, Bernadette Douchet and Marie Delecambre from Douai, France, who came to use the archives, while researching our buildings and time in Douai, on behalf of the William Allen Association, which concerns itself with the English Catholic Douai connection.

The weekend of 28–30 July we welcomed the annual retreat for people living with and affected by HIV, the first since Covid.

August

On Saturday 12 August most of the resident community went to Saint Gabriel's Convent in nearby Cold Ash for the Mass farewelling the sisters before they leave. Bishop Philip celebrated the Mass, but fittingly Father Abbot preached the homily, since the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary have been our near neighbours since their arrival in 1915, just twelve years after our own arrival from France.

On Sunday 13 August there was an organ recital of popular pieces given by Toby Wright, a student at Royal Holloway College, which was very well attended.

At the end of August, for most of which month the guesthouse is closed, the community retreat was given by Abbot Christopher Zielinski OSB on Benedictine hospitality. This year we restored an earlier custom of clothing novices on the last evening of the retreat, so on 31 August Gerard Flynn was clothed as a novice, taking the name Brother Tobias. He had spent two months as an alongsider before the summer break.

September

On 8–10 September Douai hosted the symposium *Making Faith Sense of HIV* to celebrate the 21st anniversary of CAPS (Catholics for AIDS Prevention & Support) and the 20th anniversary of Positive Faith. The papers are published in *The News*, the annual magazine of CAPS.

Requiem Mass for Philip MacDonald, who had been deputy headmaster in our former school, was celebrated by Father Geoffrey on the 14 September in the abbey church.

A retreat for anglican consecrated women and men was given by the anglican bishop of Wakefield from 15–17 September.

On 16 September Harry Cooper arrived to begin as an alongsider.

On 18 September Father Geoffrey was an invited guest at the opening of the Museum of Faith at Bishop Auckland, covering the history of all religions. It has been financed by the Rothschild and Ruffer families.

On 22 September Father Gabriel was invited by the Newbury beekeepers to give a talk on his approach to beekeeping.

From 25–29 September Portsmouth's clergy filled the guesthouse for a retreat given by Bishop Peter Doyle, emeritus bishop of Northampton.

On 27 September Requiem Mass was celebrated in the abbey church for Ron Laker, husband of oblate Kate. For many years Ron drew up rotas for various ministries in the abbey church and served as a welcomer.

Then, on 29 September, we heard that Cecilia Primavesi, the wife of Greg, our clerk of works, had died in the Royal Berkshire Hospital after a long and debilitating illness. Celia and Greg have been part of our parish at Theale for many years, and a few years ago were made confraters of the monastic community.

From 28–30 September Father Geoffrey took part in a three-day conference in Oxford, celebrating 400 years since the founding of the English Jesuit province, at which he gave a lecture on the Jesuit library at Scarisbrick Hall, Lancashire which is within our parish at Scarisbrick.

October

The priests of the diocese of Arundel and Brighton were at Douai on retreat from 2–6 October.

The following Saturday youth leaders from the anglican diocese of Oxford held a day of reflection at Douai.

On Thursday 12 October all the monks gathered at Douai for a safeguarding training day.

The weekend following we welcomed the Carlo Group, six men from Bath, who came for a weekend retreat.

An oblates retreat was held the weekend of 20–22 October, led by Roddy Maddocks, a delegate at the international oblates' congress held in Rome the previous month, using some of the material which was provided at the congress.

On Saturday 21 October the Reading Phoenix Choir gave a recital of liturgical music, mostly motets.

On 24 October Fabian Samengo-Turner's Requiem was celebrated in the abbey church. He was a long-time parishioner.

The same day a five-day theologians writing retreat took place in the guesthouse. This time it included doctoral students writing their theses, as well as their professors.

In the monastery reception area an exhibition was set up by Father Oliver on *Ditchling & Douai*, illustrating links between Douai and the artists community of the Guild of Saint Joseph and Saint Dominic. On show are various items Douai has that were made at Ditchling. Last year the Stations of the Cross carved by Ditchling's Joseph Cribb were installed in Saint Mary's, having come from the seminary at Wonersh. An exhibition leaflet has been produced by Father Oliver using Perpetua, a typeface designed by Eric Gill of Ditchling.

November

Father Boniface became unwell on All Saints, and a few days later he was admitted to hospital. He remained there for several weeks.

On All Souls a group of parishioners from Ormskirk came to stay in the guesthouse until Sunday. One of them, Pat McManus, made oblation after midday prayer the next day.

On Saturday 4 November Father Oliver represented the community at the annual Basil Gwydir lecture at the Douai Park pavilion, given this year by Old Dowegian Tim Benbow. Father Basil was a Douai monk and military chaplain who died early in the First World War.

From 7–9 November the senior staff of the anglican bishop of Ely met at Douai for the first time since the pandemic.

On 12 November Father Abbot left for the bishops' conference meeting in Leeds, after which he went to Ampleforth for an abbots' meeting.

From 24–26 November Douai hosted a meeting of the lay helpers of the Passionist order.

On the afternoon of the Solemnity of Christ the King, a group of Catholic pupils from Winchester College were administered the sacrament of Confirmation by Father Abbot in the abbey church.

An oblates retreat, from 28–30 November, was led by Brendan Grimley, another delegate at the international oblates' congress. At the end of the retreat Marie Thomas More Wykes made oblation.

On 29 November Father Boniface left hospital and moved to the care home at Holy Cross Priory, at Heathfield in East Sussex, which is run by the Benedictine Sisters of Grace and Compassion.

December

The weekend of 1–3 December Douai welcomed *YouCAN*, the Young Catholic Adult Network, monasteries' group. They attended the offices in the abbey church, listened to talks, and had a session of *lectio divina*.

Early in the month Brother Aidan was elected students' representative at Blackfriars Hall in Oxford.

On 5 December, for the first time in five years, children from the primary schools situated within our parish boundaries came for a carol service in the abbey church. For many of the children this might be the only chance they have of hearing the true Christmas story. This annual event first took place in 1994.

The next day, priests of the Portsmouth diocese came for a day of recollection at Douai.

Father Finbar was taken to hospital on 12 December, returning in time for Christmas.

Elstree School, just down the road from Douai, held its carol service on 13 December in the abbey church.

The middle of the month saw the completion of the installation of new lighting in the abbey church over the previous few weeks. The LED lighting has removed many of the hitherto dark areas in the nave.

The third weekend in Advent, the Dominican friars organised a retreat for young Catholic adults. Several of the retreatants had been on the previous study retreat, while others booked through the internet. They filled the guesthouse.

The New Year's Eve concert was given by the Rodolphus Choir. Extra seating was needed to accommodate the large audience. The choir was conducted by its founder, Ralph Allwood, with Elinor Cooper.

GERVASE HOLDAWAY OSB

Monastic Community 2024

Rt. Rev. Paul Gunter was elected abbot in 2022. He also leads the liturgy office of the bishops of England and Wales. (Professed 1987)

Very Rev. Gabriel Wilson is prior, novicemaster, vocations' director, and beekeeper. (Professed 2008)

Rt. Rev. Geoffrey Scott is titular abbot of Lindisfarne, having served as abbot of Douai from 1998 to 2022. He is parish priest of Alcester (Warks), librarian and archivist, juniormaster, and annalist of the EBC. (Professed 1967)

Rt. Rev. Finbar Kealy is abbot emeritus, having served as abbot from 1990 to 1998. He is also cathedral prior of Canterbury. (Professed 1962)

Rt. Rev. Edmund Power is titular abbot of Saint Albans. He teaches at Collegio Sant'Anselmo in Rome, and also serves as Roman procurator for both the English and the Sankt Ottilien Benedictine congregations. (Professed 1972)

Fr. Benjamin Standish serves as subprior and assistant guestmaster. (Professed 1990)

Very Rev. Godric Timney is cathedral prior of Worcester, parish priest of Ormskirk (Lancs), and episcopal vicar for religious in the Liverpool archdiocese. He is also chaplain to the Douai Society. (Professed 1963)

Fr. Gervase Holdaway is director of oblates, organist, jam-maker, and manager of the bookshop. (Professed 1955)

Fr. Boniface Moran is in care in East Sussex, and maintains an active apostolate of prayer. (Professed 1961)

Fr. Peter Bowe is director of the pastoral programme. (Professed 1962)

Fr. Austin Gurr is parish priest of Andover (Hants). (Professed 1969)

Fr. Oliver Holt is bursar and guestmaster, sits on the abbot's council, and is the community's liaison with the Douai Society. (Professed 1969)

Fr. Alexander Austin is the parish priest of Stratford-on-Avon (Warks). (Professed 1976)

Fr. Francis Hughes is the parish priest of Kemerton (Glos), serves on the marriage tribunal for Clifton diocese, and sits on the abbot's council. (Professed 1982)

Fr. Richard Jones is the parish priest of Fishguard and St Davids (Pemb), and edits the EBC's liturgical *Ordo*. (Professed 1984)

Fr. Alban Hood is parish priest of Woolhampton and monastic choirmaster. (Professed 1986)

Fr. Benedict Thompson serves as parish priest of Studley (Warks). (Professed 1994)

Br. Christopher Greener is the monastic infirmarian. (Professed 2000)

Br. Simon Hill serves as assistant to the bursar and zelator to the novicemaster. (Professed 2001)

Fr. Hugh Somerville Knapman is parish priest of Scarisbrick (Lancs) sits on the abbot's council, and serves as webmaster and publisher at the Weldon Press. (Professed 2002)

Br. Aidan Messenger is in the juniorate, and is reading philosophy and theology at Blackfriars, Oxford. (Professed 2021)

Br. Tobias Flynn is in his first year of novitiate.

This list does not necessarily include all of the work undertaken by members of the community.

Please pray for us, as we do for you.

Ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus

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