

The Cluniac Death Ritual in the High Middle Ages
A Reconstructive Edition

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English Translation

This is a work in progress. It is called a “reconstructive edition” because it creates a text that never existed as such in the Middle Ages. The monastic customs of Cluny, as recorded by Ulrich of Zell in the early 1080s for Abbot William of Hirsau, at the urging of Abbot Hugh of Cluny, which are the basis of the edition and translation (along with the roughly contemporary customs of Bernard, written at and for Cluny), describe the death ritual in detail, along with much else about life at Cluny, but they refer to prayers, responses, psalms, antiphons and other such spoken or sung elements only by incipit. In order to reconstruct not just what happened and when, but what was said and sung, I have reconstructed the full texts of all these elements from other sources, filling out the truncated references in the customs.

The driving force for this work has been my teaching over the last eight years at the School of Music-Thanatology at the Chalice of Repose Project in Missoula, Montana. Therese Schroeder-Sheker, the founder of the project and the dean of the school, saw in the death ritual at Cluny a historical precedent for the palliative care of the dying that has become the field of Music-Thanatology. To that end, she published my translation and commentary of Bernard’s and Ulrich’s chapters on death, dying and commemoration (*A Medieval Latin Death Ritual: The Monastic Customaries of Bernard and Ulrich of Cluny*, Studies in Music-Thanatology 1 [Missoula; St. Dunstan’s Press, 1993]), which I had originally submitted as a Master’s Thesis to the University of Washington in 1980 under the direction of Caroline Walker Bynum. But as I taught successive classes of students preparing to serve the needs of the dying with music, I found that earlier work increasingly limited. It outlined and interpreted the basic lines of the ritual action, but could not get at the deeper spirituality encoded in the spoken and sung words that made up the majority of what happened in the infirmary, at the vigil over the corpse, and at its burial. This reconstructive ritual attempts to make that possible. It is dedicated to Therese, to the faculty and staff of the Chalice Project and to all of the students who have studied at the School of Music-Thanatology.

Publishing this over the internet allows me to correct and update the text at any time, so I will be particularly grateful for feedback from readers. Scholars will want to access both the Latin and the English versions, since the notes were written with a facing-page English/Latin print format in mind.

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Book Three, chapter 28; On anointing one of the brothers

A brother who, in his growing weakness, senses that he is about to depart from this world, confesses in all good conscience to the lord abbot or prior and asks to be anointed with the oil of the sick. Two brothers then lead him to the chapter house, supporting him between them if he is very sick, and he prostrates himself, and confesses his guilt and his many acts of negligence against God and against the community.¹ The prior grants him absolution, and the rest respond *Amen*. He does the same for them.² He is then led back to the infirmary and laid on a bed so placed that the brothers are able to stand around it on all sides. After chapter, the priest of the week, dressed in alb and stole, leads the way with the oil of the sick, holy water, a cross, and two candles in candlesticks. The rest of the community follows.³

Psalm (50)⁴ Have mercy on me, oh God, according to thy great mercy.
And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my iniquity.
Wash me yet more from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.
For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me.
To thee only have I sinned, and have done evil before thee: that thou
mayst be justified in thy words and mayst overcome when thou art judged.
For behold I was conceived in iniquities; and in sins did my mother
conceive me.
For behold thou hast loved truth: the uncertain and hidden things of thy
wisdom thou hast made manifest to me.
Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed: thou shalt
wash me, and I shall be made whiter than snow.

¹ The term *petit veniam* can be translated as ‘begged pardon,’ ‘genuflected’ or ‘prostrated oneself.’ In his *Statutes*, Peter the Venerable noted that prostration in chapter and genuflexion to a priest carrying the eucharist were commonly called *veniae*; see J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1976) s.v. *venia*. Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor* (Ithaca 1992) 183, writes that “penitential supplication was so important to the life of a Cluniac monk that the first thing a novice learned upon entering the monastery was ‘how...to beg pardon [*veniam petere*] according to our custom.’ This custom required the novice to ‘beg pardon’ on his hands and knees three times before the abbot, always turning in a circle upon his haunches, and finally prostrating himself in prayer.” (citing Ulrich 2.1).

² Neither Ulrich nor Bernard mention, even by incipit, the prayers involved in this ceremony, except the *Amen* that follows the absolution of the moribund man by the prior; they probably were the *Confiteor* and *Misereatur*, from the Mass, as presented in the section on the final communion below. They are mentioned in the earlier Cluniac Customary known as the *Liber Tramitis* (thanks to Susan Boynton). Bernard (ed. Herrgott, p. 190) makes the meaning of the last action clearer: “He absolves the community of anything they have done to him and they all bow deeply” (*omnesque de suis sedibus altius inclinant*), another striking ritual gesture.

³ Bernard notes (ed. Herrgott, p. 190) other psalms that could be sung if necessary after psalm 50: 53, 56, 66, and 69.

⁴ I have used the Catholic numbering throughout since it corresponds to the Vulgate text the monks of Cluny used. The medieval and modern Catholic version of the psalms derives from Jerome’s translation from the Greek Septuagint. The Revised Standard, King James, and other English versions in the Protestant tradition derive from Jerome’s translation from Hebrew, and number some of the psalms differently. The English text is the Douay-Rheims translation. I would like to thank the Douay-Rheims Bible Project for on-line access to this public domain text at www.cybercomm.net/~dcon

To my hearing thou shalt give joy and gladness: and the bones that have been humbled shall rejoice.
Turn away thy face from my sins, and blot out all my iniquities.
Create a clean heart in me, O God: and renew a right spirit within my bowels.
Cast me not away from thy face; and take not thy holy spirit from me.
Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and strengthen me with a perfect spirit.
I will teach the unjust thy ways: and the wicked shall be converted to thee.
Deliver me from blood, O God, thou God of my salvation: and my tongue shall extol thy justice.
O Lord, thou wilt open my lips: and my mouth shall declare thy praise.
For if thou hadst desired sacrifice, I would indeed have given it: with burnt offerings thou wilt not be delighted.
A sacrifice to God is an afflicted spirit: a contrite and humbled heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.
Deal favourably, O Lord, in thy good will with Sion; that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up.
Then shalt thou accept the sacrifice of justice, oblations and whole burnt offerings: then shall they lay calves upon thy altar.

After psalm fifty has been sung, the priest first says this prayer:⁵

All-powerful, eternal God, who said through your blessed apostle, “Is any among you sick? Let him inform the elders of the church, and let them pray for him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith will save the sick man; and the Lord will raise him up; and if he is in sin, his sins will be forgiven,” we humbly entreat you that this your servant, through the ministry of our anointing and the gift of your holy piety, be granted forgiveness for his sins and be worthy of entering into life eternal.

Seven psalms with these antiphons are sung. Meanwhile the priest administers the unction in this manner: He smears the oil with his thumb and makes with it the sign of the cross upon the eyes on both sides saying:

Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through sight.

Antiphon⁶ Heal me, Lord, for my bones are troubled and my soul is sorely troubled;
but turn, Lord, and save my soul.

⁵ I have departed from standard English translations of scriptural texts when the Latin originals depart from the Vulgate, as they do in the embedded quotation from the epistle of James in this prayer and in some of the antiphons below. Except for psalms and other scriptural texts, however, translations are my own.

⁶ The source of this antiphon is the psalm it introduces (verses 3-5).

Psalm (6)⁷ O Lord, rebuke me not in thy indignation, nor chastise me in thy wrath.
Have mercy on me, O Lord, for I am weak: heal me, O Lord, for my bones
are troubled.
And my soul is troubled exceedingly: but thou, O Lord, how long?
Turn to me, O Lord, and deliver my soul: O save me for thy mercy's sake.
For there is no one in death, that is mindful of thee: and who shall confess
to thee in hell?
I have laboured in my groanings, every night I will wash my bed: I will
water my couch with my tears.
My eye is troubled through indignation: I have grown old amongst all my
enemies.
Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the
voice of my weeping.
The Lord hath heard my supplication: the Lord hath received my prayer.
Let all my enemies be ashamed, and be very much troubled: let them be
turned back, and be ashamed very speedily.

On both ears: Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you
whatever you have sinned through hearing.

Antiphon There was an official whose son was ill at Capernaum. When he heard that
Jesus had come to Galilee, he asked him to heal his son.

Psalm (31) Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are
covered.
Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin, and in whose
spirit there is no guile.
Because I was silent my bones grew old; whilst I cried out all the day
long.
For day and night thy hand was heavy upon me: I am turned in my
anguish, whilst the thorn is fastened.
I have acknowledged my sin to thee, and my injustice I have not
concealed. I said I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord:
and thou hast forgiven the wickedness of my sin.
For this shall every one that is holy pray to thee in a seasonable time. And
yet in a flood of many waters, they shall not come nigh unto him.
Thou art my refuge from the trouble which hath encompassed me: my joy,
deliver me from them that surround me.
I will give thee understanding, and I will instruct thee in this way, in
which thou shalt go: I will fix my eyes upon thee.
Do not become like the horse and the mule, who have no understanding.
With bit and bridle bind fast their jaws, who come not near unto thee.

⁷ The first of the seven penitential psalms. The penitential psalms were regarded as a group from the sixth
century; the rest follow in order as the anointing proceeds.

Many are the scourges of the sinner, but mercy shall encompass him that hopeth in the Lord.

Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, ye just, and glory, all ye right of heart.

On both lips: Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through taste.

Antiphon “Lord, my servant is lying paralyzed at home, in terrible distress.” “Amen I say to you, I will come and heal him.”

Psalm (37) Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation; nor chastise me in thy wrath. For thy arrows are fastened in me: and thy hand hath been strong upon me. There is no health in my flesh, because of thy wrath: there is no peace for my bones, because of my sins. For my iniquities are gone over my head: and as a heavy burden are become heavy upon me. My sores are putrified and corrupted, because of my foolishness. I am become miserable, and am bowed down even to the end: I walked sorrowful all the day long. For my loins are filled with illusions; and there is no health in my flesh. I am afflicted and humbled exceedingly: I roared with the groaning of my heart. Lord, all my desire is before thee, and my groaning is not hidden from thee. My heart is troubled, my strength hath left me, and the light of my eyes itself is not with me. My friends and my neighbours have drawn near, and stood against me. And they that were near me stood afar off: And they that sought my soul used violence. And they that sought evils to me spoke vain things, and studied deceits all the day long. But I, as a deaf man, heard not: and as a dumb man not opening his mouth. And I became as a man that heareth not: and that hath no reproofs in his mouth. For in thee, O Lord, have I hoped: thou wilt hear me, O Lord my God. For I said: Lest at any time my enemies rejoice over me: and whilst my feet are moved, they speak great things against me. For I am ready for scourges: and my sorrow is continually before me. For I will declare my iniquity: and I will think for my sin. But my enemies live, and are stronger than I: and they hate me wrongfully are multiplied. They that render evil for good, have detracted me, because I followed goodness. Forsake me not, O Lord my God: do not thou depart from me. Attend unto my help, O Lord, the God of my salvation.

On the nose: Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through smell.

Antiphon Do not despise a broken and contrite heart, O God, but in accordance with your great mercy, have mercy on me.

Psalm (50)⁸ Have mercy

On the hands (on the outside if he is a priest) Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through touch.

Antiphon "Lord, come down and heal my son before he dies." Jesus said to him, "Go, your son lives;" and he himself believed and all his household.

Psalm (101) Hear, O Lord, my prayer: and let my cry come to thee.
Turn not away thy face from me: in the day when I am in trouble, incline thy ear to me. In what day soever I shall call upon thee, hear me speedily.
For my days are vanished like smoke: and my bones are grown dry like fuel for the fire.
I am smitten as grass, and my heart is withered: because I forgot to eat my bread.
Through the voice of my groaning, my bone hath cleaved to my flesh.
I am become like to a pelican of the wilderness: I am like a night raven in the house.
I have watched, and am become as a sparrow all alone on the housetop.
All the day long my enemies reproached me: and they that praised me did swear against me.
For I did eat ashes like bread, and mingled my drink with weeping.
Because of thy anger and indignation: for having lifted me up thou hast thrown me down.
My days have declined like a shadow, and I am withered like grass.
But thou, O Lord, endurest for ever: and thy memorial to all generations.
Thou shalt arise and have mercy on Sion: for it is time to have mercy on it, for the time is come.
For the stones thereof have pleased thy servants: and they shall have pity on the earth thereof.
And the Gentiles shall fear thy name, O Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.
For the Lord hath built up Sion: and he shall be seen in his glory.
He hath had regard to the prayer of the humble: and he hath not despised their petition.
Let these things be written unto another generation: and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord:

⁸ As above.

Because he hath looked forth from his high sanctuary: from heaven the Lord hath looked upon the earth.

That he might hear the groans of them that are in fetters: that he might release the children of the slain:

That they may declare the name of the Lord in Sion: and his praise in Jerusalem;

When the people assemble together, and kings, to serve the Lord.

He answered him in the way of his strength: Declare unto me the fewness of my days.

Call me not away in the midst of my days: thy years are unto generation and generation.

In the beginning, O Lord, thou foundedst the earth: end the heavens are the works of thy hands.

They shall perish but thou remainest: and all of them shall grow old like a garment: And as a vesture thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed.

But thou art always the selfsame, and thy years shall not fail.

The children of thy servants shall continue: and their seed shall be directed for ever.

On the feet Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through going about.

Antiphon “Lord, I am not worthy to have you come under my roof; but only say the word, and my servant will be healed.”

Psalm (129) Out of the depths I have cried to thee, O Lord:
Lord, hear my voice. Let thy ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication.
If thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities: Lord, who shall stand it.
For with thee there is merciful forgiveness: and by reason of thy law, I have waited for thee, O Lord. My soul hath relied on his word:
my soul hath hoped in the Lord.
From the morning watch even until night, let Israel hope in the Lord.
Because with the Lord there is mercy: and with him plentiful redemption.
And he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.

On the groin, from below:
Through this anointing and his most pious mercy, may the Lord forgive you whatever you have sinned through the heat of desire

Antiphon Now when the sun was setting, all those who had any that were sick with various diseases brought them to Jesus, and they were cured.

Psalm (142) Hear, O Lord, my prayer: give ear to my supplication in thy truth: hear me in thy justice.

And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight no man living shall be justified. For the enemy hath persecuted my soul: he hath brought down my life to the earth. He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been dead of old:

and my spirit is in anguish within me: my heart within me is troubled.

I remembered the days of old, I meditated on all thy works: I meditated upon the works of thy hands.

I stretched forth my hands to thee: my soul is as earth without water unto thee.

Hear me speedily, O Lord: my spirit hath fainted away. Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.

Cause me to hear thy mercy in the morning; for in thee have I hoped. Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk: for I have lifted up my soul to thee.

Deliver me from my enemies, O Lord, to thee have I fled:

teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God. Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land:

for thy name's sake, O Lord, thou wilt quicken me in thy justice. Thou wilt bring my soul out of trouble:

and in thy mercy thou wilt destroy my enemies. And thou wilt cut off all them that afflict my soul: for I am thy servant.

The priest washes his hands and the water from washing is thrown out only in the clean and hidden place.⁹ Then, if the sick man is not to receive communion, the priest adds all these prayers preceded by these verses:

Verse Make your servant well

Response Trusting my God

Verse Send him aid Lord from the sanctuary

Response And from Sion

Verse Let no enemy prevail against him

Verse Be a tower of strength to him Lord

Response In the face of his enemies

God, who gave fifteen years to the life of your servant Hezekiah, in the same manner, through your power, raise this your servant from his sickbed and to health.

⁹ That is, the *sacrarium*, a “drain in church or sacristy, leading into the ground, into which water from the chalice, etc. was thrown;” D. Knowles, ed., *The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc* (London 1951) 121.

Be mindful, Lord, of your sick servant N. suffering in the infirmity of his body, and revive the soul that you created, so that, corrected through chastisements, he may forthwith be cured through your medicine.

God, you who always governs your creatures with loving affection, incline your ear to our supplications, and, appeased, be mindful of your servant N., who is suffering in ill health. Grant the medicine of heavenly grace and visit him with your health.

God, you who gives the gifts of the return of health and eternal life to the human race, maintain the gifts of your virtues in your servant N., and grant that he feel your remedy not only in body but in soul.

God of heavenly virtues, you who, through the power of your command, drives out every disease and sickness from human bodies, gracious God, be present to this your servant N. so that, his sicknesses having fled and having gained strength, he may, restored to health, uninterruptedly bless your holy name.

Lord, holy omnipotent father eternal God, you who confirms the fragility of our condition through the honor of your power, poured over us so that through the wholesome remedies of your love our bodies and limbs are invigorated, gracious God, stretch forth [your hand] over this your servant, so that, removed from all the force of bodily infirmity, the perfected grace of former health may be renewed in him.

Hear, Lord, our prayers, and forgive the sins we are confessing to you, so that the guilt of conscience that accuses us may be absolved through the indulgence of your mercy.

May you come before this your servant in your mercy, we pray Lord, so that, through swift indulgence, all of his evil deeds may be obliterated.

Lord our God, you who does not vanquish [us] because of our offense but may be appeased through satisfaction, be mindful, we pray, of this your servant who confesses that he has sinned gravely against you. Absolution for crimes and forgiveness for sins is yours to give, you who said that you preferred the penance of sinners to their death. Allow him therefore Lord, to complete the rites of penance to you, and, all his acts having been corrected, let him rejoice in the eternal joy you shall confer upon him.

Be present, Lord, through our supplications, and let not the mercy of your clemency be distant from this your servant. Heal his wounds and forgive his sins, so that separated by no evil from you he will always be found worthy of being close to you Lord.

Be present, Lord, through our supplications, and hear me first with indulgence, I who also stand in need of your mercy. Give me the confidence of your gift in what follows, so that he whom you have made the minister of this work, not through the choice of merit but through the gift of your grace, may perform this our ministry, which is [the product of] your affection.

Grant, we pray Lord, the worthy fruit of penance to this your servant, so that he may, innocent of guilt through being forgiven, be restored to your holy church, from whose unity he had, through sinning, wandered.

God, most benign author and most merciful reformer of the human race, you who through the blood of your only son redeemed man from eternal exile through the snares of the devil, vivify this your servant whom you by no means wish to see die. You who does not abandon [us] in out of the way places, take up this reformed man. May the tearful sighs of this your servant, we pray, Lord, move your affection to heal his wounds. Extend your health-giving hand over him lying here. Let not your church be wasted of a portion of its body. Let not your flock sustain a loss. Let not the enemy exult in the damnation of your family. Let not the second death possess [him] who has been raised up through the healing bath.¹⁰ We pour forth our suppliant prayers to you, therefore, Lord, a lamentation of the heart. Spare the one confessing to you, so that, since he weeps over his sins in this life, he may, thanks to your help, escape the sentence of eternal damnation on the trembling day of judgment, and not know what he fears in the darkness, what hisses in the flames, and thanks to your help, returned to the road of justice and from the way of error, may he be by no means injured by other wounds, but let that which your grace confers and your mercy has reformed be to him whole and enduring.

If, however, the dying man is going to receive holy communion, the preceding prayers are said by the others. The priest, meanwhile, leaving the cross and the holy water behind, returns to the church, with the two candles, to obtain the body of the Lord.¹¹ He first genuflects in front of that which he is about to receive. He then censes the altar, and breaks off a piece, holding the part that is to be carried above the chalice. The chalice itself, which is in the hands of the priest, is covered with a piece of pure white linen. Whoever meets him on his way genuflects.¹²

¹⁰ In *De bono mortis* 2.3, St. Ambrose wrote of three deaths: the death of sin, the mystical death in baptism, and the physical death of the body; see *S. Ambrosii de bono mortis*, ed. William Theodore Wiesner (Washington, D.C. 1970). The wording here suggests another scheme, whereby dying to the world in baptism was the first death, bodily death the second, and the death of the soul the third.

¹¹ Bernard (191) notes that the priest “when bringing unction or communion to the infirmary, always goes through the Church of Our Lady, unless the community is there, and returns through the parlor.” The ground plans in N. Hunt, *Cluny under St. Hugh, 1049-1108* (London 1967), plates VIII and IX, show how this would create a circular pathway through the complex.

¹² For this genuflection, see above note 1.

In the meantime, care is taken to wash the dying man's mouth to prepare it to receive the body of the Lord, which he does after it has been dipped in wine. Before he receives communion, he says

I confess to God, and to the blessed Mary and all the saints, and to you brothers, that I have sinned grievously in thought, word, and deed; because of my guilt, I beseech you to pray for me.

and the brothers responds in common with

May the omnipotent God have mercy on you and forgive all of your sins; may he deliver you from all evil, confirm and preserve you in all good works, and lead you to eternal life.

The priest alone says

May the omnipotent and merciful God grant you indulgence and remission of all your sins, the grace and consolation of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life.

After he has swallowed it, he should drink the water from washing the chalice, and the water used to wash the priest's fingers, and, a third time, that from washing the chalice again. The cross is then brought to the dying man so that he can kiss it. He kisses as well, as a final farewell, first the priest, then all the brothers and finally all the young boys. The community leaves, beginning once again

Psalm 50 Have mercy on me, etc.

Chapter 29, What is to be done at death

After the brother has become this weak, a servant is provided who has nothing to do except care for him. Moreover, at night the servants who are in the infirmary keep watch attentively so that his death does not occur without warning. A cross is placed on his face and candles are left burning until morning.

If any brother is so devoted that it pleases him for any reason to keep vigil himself with the dying man, the prior will most assuredly acquiesce, especially if he is of the sort who regularly sings the hours to a sick brother, and reads the passions to one who is approaching death.¹³

Servants who are well trained and highly skilled in such matters, after seeing that the hour of his departure is at hand, spread a hair shirt out, sprinkle ashes on it from above,

¹³ Bernard (193) adds that it was customary for the monk who kept track of the hours to check on the dying man in the infirmary before calling the community to the divine office, so that they would not occur near the death of the monk "out of negligence" (*neglencia eveniat*).

raise the sick man from his bed, and lower him onto the hair shirt.¹⁴ Then one of them strikes the tablet against the door of the cloister continually over and over. Because this sound means that someone may be about to die, all the brothers run to the infirmary immediately upon hearing it. Although a man of our order is usually prohibited from ever exceeding a grave and temperate step no matter what, he is expected to run to a fire, and to the dying.

If, however, the boards are struck when one of the two masses or one of the divine offices is being sung, whoever is standing outside the choir will run, but those in choir only if the prior gives them a sign or if they have important roles in the funeral ceremony.¹⁵

If they are sitting in the refectory at the time and the reading is not yet finished, those same ones should jump up, but after the body of the deceased has been washed and brought into the church they should return there anew to finish the lesson and sing the customary psalm. The ones who are running, moreover, chant the *Credo* over and over so that brotherly faith will bring aid to the one about to make his departure.¹⁶

I believe in one God the father almighty creator of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, born of the father before time, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the father through whom all things are made, who for us and for our salvation descended from heaven, and was born of the Holy Spirit and of the virgin Mary, and was crucified as a man, and died for us under Pontius Pilate and was buried and resurrected on the third day according to scripture,

¹⁴ I have discussed the history of the training such servants might have had in “*Signa mortifera: Death and Prognostication in Early Medieval Monastic Medicine*,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 67 (1993) 631-50. Bernard (192) adds that the ashes are sprinkled in the shape of a cross. The earlier eleventh-century customary from the reign of abbot Odilo of Cluny (994-1049), the *Liber tramitis*, ed. P. Dinter, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 10 (Siegburg 1980) 272, says that this is done because *filius christiani non debet migrare nisi in cinere et cilicio sicut iam in multis exemplis sanctorum experti sumus*.” The primary example was St. Martin of Tours, who said to his disciples on his deathbed *Non decet ... christianum nisi in cinere mori*, that is “It is not fitting for a Christian to die other than on ashes.” See J. Fontaine, ed. and trans., *Vie de Saint Martin*, Sources chrétiennes 133 (Paris 1967) 340.

¹⁵ Bernard (192) adds that the monks in choir are to “move as if they wanted to run” and everyone leaving the church to attend a death rise from the genuflection “in the manner of coming, not going,” that is *veniendi, non abeundi*.

¹⁶ The chanting of the *Credo* while gathering at the bedside of a dying monk seems to have been a specifically Cluniac innovation. It was also one of the most successful, showing up first in the *Liber tramitis* and then in customaries of cloistered communities regularly throughout the Middle Ages. The prayer was so well known that it was seldom written out. The text here is taken from the so-called Sacramentary of Winchcombe, written in the last quarter of the tenth century at an English house with close ties to the monastery of Fleury (St-Benoît-sur-Loire); *The Winchcombe sacramentary*, ed. Anselme Davril, HBS 109 (London 1995) 898, no. 423. Bernard (192) adds that, if the monk has already died, they should “go quickly but moderately, singing *Placebo domini in regione uiuorum*,” that is, “I will please the lord in the land of the living.” This antiphon (taken from Psalm 114.9) is usually associated with the vespers of the dead, but I do not know when it was first used in this manner. St. Ambrose referred to this psalm verse in *De bono mortis* 9.39 to make the point that this life is the land of the dead and the afterlife the land of the living; ed. Wiesner, 130, 231.

ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the father, and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead, whose reign will never end; and in the Holy Spirit, lord and living, who proceeds out of the father and the son, who with the father and the son is simultaneously adored and glorified, who was spoken of by the prophets; and I confess of holy, catholic and apostolic church, one baptism for the remission of sins: and I look forward to the resurrection of the dead and everlasting life.

But if it looks like his death will be postponed, the lord abbot himself, or the prior, pronounces the litany, adding “Pray for him” to each of the names of the saints. It is to be continued in accordance with considerations of time and according to whether the time of his death can be estimated or foreseen. After the litany of the saints, the following are added:¹⁷

Be merciful,	spare him Lord.
Be merciful,	free him Lord.
From the evil sword,	free him Lord.
From perpetual death,	free him Lord.
From the weight of sin,	free him Lord.
From the dark land,	free him Lord.
Through your cross,	free him Lord.
Through the intercession of your saints,	free him Lord.
Sinners,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you remove him from the source of your wrath,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you free his spirit from the distressful place,	we beseech you, hear us.
That he see with trust the day of judgement,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you count him among the ones pleasing to you,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you have him go forth from among the evil ones,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you bid him to stay in the region of the living in eternal joy,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you have him reach the reward of eternal life,	we beseech you, hear us.
That you find him worthy to defend from death by the cruel ravager,	we beseech you, hear us.
Lamb of God who takes up the sins of the world,	spare him Lord.
Lamb of God, etc.,	give him peace.
Lamb of God, etc.,	have mercy on him.

¹⁷ Neither Ulrich nor Bernard included the introductory invocations or saints’ names of the litany, therefore, I have omitted them here. DAE 3.15.8 and 3.15.13 have full texts. Since all four sources present the final invocations, I have too.

If he has not yet died, the community leaves and the few who remain begin the psalter. When, however, there is no doubt in their minds that he has died, the priest recites these prayers:¹⁸

Through the pious disposition of remembrance, most dear brethren, let us commemorate our dear N., whom the lord has called from the temptations of this world; begging the mercy of our God, that he deign to grant him a quiet and pleasant dwelling, and that he remit all sins of momentary thoughtlessness; that, having been granted the grace of full indulgence for whatever crimes he committed in this world, God may in his ineffable mercy and goodness compensate him in full. May he deign to grant this, who with the father and the holy spirit lives and reigns, God, for ever and ever.

God in whom all live, and through whom our bodies do not perish by dying but are changed into something better, as suppliants we entreat you to order the soul of your servant N. to be gathered up, through the hands of the blessed angels, let down in the bosom of your friend Abraham the patriarch, and brought back to life on the last day of the great judgment. Through the indulgence of your mercy, wash away whatever stain of vice he may have, under the sway of the devil, contracted.

Receive, Lord, the soul of your servant, which you have deigned to call forth from the prison of this world, and free it from the princes of darkness and from the places of pains, so that, freed from the fetters of all sins, it may enjoy to the full the blessedness of quiet and eternal light, and deserve to be brought back to life among his saints and chosen ones in the glory of the resurrection. Through our lord Jesus Christ his son, who with him lives and reigns in unity with the Holy Spirit, God, forever and ever.

As the community is going out, they assemble in the choir of the Lady Chapel and sing the vespers and matins of the dead, always ending with this prayer and no other:¹⁹

¹⁸ DAE 3.15.8 and 3.15.13 have the absolution, *Domine, animam famuli tui*, spoken at this point by the abbot or prior. Ulrich places it at the burial (see below) and Bernard both there and at the church vigil. Although Ulrich does not, Bernard makes shorthand reference to the Lord's Prayer and a series of verses and responses to be spoken at this point; they are also in DAE 3.15.8 and MW, but not in DAE 3.15.13. Bernard also adds (193) that if the death is prolonged, the abbot or prior will take charge of the continued vigil and the community will gather again, as many times as necessary, when death appears imminent, because "a brother ought never to die without all being present" (*nunquam enim debet finire frater, quin ibi adsint omnes*).

¹⁹ Only DAE 3.15.8 gives the full text of this prayer, but its oldest form is in the Vatican Gelasian, ed. Mohlberg et al. (above note 23), no. 1662, where it is a prayer for a dead layman. The office of the dead had its roots in Roman practice, but was organized by Carolingian liturgists in the eighth century and spread throughout Europe after 800; see Paxton, *Christianizing death*, 134-36, and Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with saints: Prayer for the dead in early medieval France* (Ithaca and London 1994) 40-41.

All-powerful and eternal God, who is never supplicated without hope of mercy, be mindful of the soul of your servant, so that he who has departed from this life confessing your name might be added to the number of your saints.

And if the brother dies while the community is at the divine office or mass, then they should proceed to the infirmary, not running, but with moderate steps, singing the vespers of the dead.²⁰

As soon as he has died, the *conversi* run forth to the other side and ring all the bells, copiously, so that they bring another cross, holy water, candles, and a thurible to that place. When those have been brought, the deceased is censed from above, and holy water is sprinkled on him. Then the body is taken and placed in the antechamber together with the other things that have been brought so that it can be washed. But no one carries, washes, or places the body in the grave except other brothers who are his equals, either with or without ordination.²¹

It is the task of the infirmarian to provide pure water, and that of the chamberlain to provide those things that they will put on the body. The deceased is put on a table provided for that purpose alone, unclothed, and washed from the top of his head to the soles of his feet, except for the genitals, which are covered with an old wool shirt. He is dressed in a wool shirt, cowl, night slippers and a sudary, which is of the same cloth as the wool shirt and the slippers. The latter are longer than other slippers and are not open at the end but sewn together. The hood of the cowl is sewn against the breast over the face from both sides. Above that also the hands are folded on the cowl and the cowl itself is drawn together by sewing through that place so that no part is loose. Then the night slippers are sewn together. While washing the body, the attendants sing several psalms. They do not stop the psalmody and the priest says the prayer, *Receive, Lord, the soul of your servant*.²²

After he has been clothed, the incense, which has been burning continuously the whole time, is sent above him and holy water is sprinkled over him. He is placed on the bier and the cover is raised from above. It is carried right to the door of the choir.²³ The prior notices when the end of a psalm has been reached and strikes the board once. That stops the psalmody and all say the Lord's Prayer, bowing:²⁴

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily

²⁰ Bernard refers to the Vespers of the dead by its incipit, *Placebo domine*.

²¹ The meaning of the Latin text is obscure here. I believe the reference is to holy orders, so that monks would attend to other monks, and monk-deacons, monk-priests, and so on to other of equal rank.

²² A second time, since it was said after the death, too (see above).

²³ The term *conventum*, used here, could mean also the chapter hall, but the context makes it clear that the entrance to the choir is meant.

²⁴ I present the standard Catholic version of the Lord's Prayer, which favors certain variants of the Vulgate texts of Mt 6.9-13, and Lk 11.2-4.

bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us

The prior And lead us not into temptation
but deliver us from evil.

From the gate of hell
Rescue his soul, Lord.

The Lord be with you.
Let us pray.

Prayer God, giver of life and restorer of human bodies, you who wish to be appealed to by sinners, hear the prayers that we mournfully pour out with such devotion for the soul of this your servant .N. May you see fit to free him from the torments of hell and gather him up among the company of your saints, clothe him as well in a celestial and immortal garment, and order him to be cared for in all the pleasantness of paradise.

Another God, you who are the eternal lover of human souls, deliver the soul of this your servant .N., which kept the faith while in its body, from all the torments of hell, so that, far from the infernal prisons, it might be united with the community of the saints.

To which the response is intoned,

Bring aid, saints of God; hurry, angels of the Lord, taking up his soul, offering it before the eyes of the most high.

And also Woe is me Lord because I have sinned greatly in my life. What can one so wretched as I do; where can I flee if not to you? My God, have mercy on my when you come on the last day.

In the procession the boys follow the cross, then come the choir monks, then the *conversi*, and finally the bearers of the deceased. The body is then placed in front of the altar of Our Lady until this prayer has been said for him

God, forgiver of sins and author of our salvation, we seek your clemency, so that through the intercession of blessed Mary ever virgin you may allow the brothers and sisters of our congregation who have passed over from this world to obtain perpetual blessedness with all your saints.

They begin the response,

Do not recall my sins, Lord, when you come to judge the world through fire

and then, My daily sinning and not doing penance and the fear of death disturbs me because there is no redemption in hell. Have mercy on me God and save me.

While all the bells have begun to ring, he is carried into the main church, and placed on the structure there. Then a cross and candle are placed at its head.

From that hour up until the time when he is carried to the grave the psalmody does not cease, unless general mass or a regular hour is sung at which, when the first bell is rung, the psalmody stops. The only exception is at nocturnes when it is continued until the entrance of the boys.²⁵ When the community is in chapter or in the refectory, the prior sees that some of the brothers remain.

If it is the time around the middle of the day when the brothers usually sleep, they will not on that day. If the deceased dies at any time before the alarm sounds in the dormitory, he will be buried that same day, by no means another. And another night is divided into three vigils: the right choir keeps the first; the left the second; and the last the boys and their masters after matins.²⁶

If it is a winter night, from the first of October to Holy Thursday, then at the vigil the whole psalter is to be said. *Verba Mea* is added at Vespers and Matins of the Dead. If it is summer, then no fewer than 100 psalms are to be said. And if the brother dies after compline the psalter is not to be begun unless it has first been completed. After he has died, Vespers and Matins of the Dead, and *Verba mea*, are to be said for him.²⁷

Antiphon The bones that have been humbled shall rejoice

Psalm (5) Give ear, O Lord, to my words, understand my cry.
 Hearken to the voice of my prayer, O my King and my God.
 For to thee will I pray: O Lord, in the morning thou shalt hear my voice.
 In the morning I will stand before thee, and will see: because thou art not a
 God that willest iniquity.
 Neither shall the wicked dwell near thee: nor shall the unjust abide before
 thy eyes.

²⁵ Nocturnes, also called night matins or vigils, is the divine office that began about 2:30 a.m. At Cluny, nocturnes and matins referred to what is more commonly known as matins and lauds.

²⁶ That is, morning matins, or lauds, as it is otherwise known.

²⁷ Since psalm 5 was said especially for the dead man at the offices of the dead, I add it here, with the antiphon (ps. 50:10) that Bernard mentions, repeatedly, although Ulrich does not. It actually is a shorthand reference to a group of 5 (and sometimes 6) psalms “for the dead” said at Cluny after chapter for the monks whose deaths were remembered that day and at other times. They began with psalm 5 and included also psalms 114, 115, 129 (and 142). They are mentioned repeatedly in the oldest Cluniac customaries (from the tenth and early eleventh centuries), but by the later eleventh-century, they must have been so standard that it was only necessary to note the first of the group in the customs. Bernard supplies the antiphon (psalm 50:10)

Thou hatest all the workers of iniquity: Thou wilt destroy all that speak a lie. The bloody and the deceitful man the Lord will abhor.

But as for me in the multitude of thy mercy, I will come into thy house; I will worship towards thy holy temple, in thy fear.

Conduct me, O Lord, in thy justice: because of my enemies, direct my way in thy sight.

for there is no truth in their mouth; their heart is vain.

Their throat is an open sepulchre: they dealt deceitfully with their tongues: judge them, O God. Let them fall from their devices: according to the multitude of their wickedness cast them out: for they have provoked thee, O Lord.

But let all them be glad that hope in thee: they shall rejoice for ever, and thou shalt dwell in them. And all they that love thy name shall glory in thee:

For thou wilt bless the just. O Lord, thou hast crowned us, as with a shield of thy good will.

The morning mass is sung for him, and everyone should be there so that they can offer it for him. Afterwards, the deacon censes the altar and the dead monk. When the grave has been prepared, the following prayer is said over it

God who laid the foundation of the earth, who formed the heavens, who fixed the laws of all the heavenly bodies, who retrieves the captive man from the snare of death through baptism, who noted down both in the book of life and in the dignity of complete glory the burials of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in a cave, see fit to bless this grave of your servant, and let him rest here, and deem him worthy of being gathered up in the bosom of Abraham, you who wanted those believing in you to rise again, our Lord Jesus Christ your son, having conquered death. Look down upon this grave. Descend here, Lord, Holy Spirit, so that by your command, he might sleep quietly in this place and be resurrected with all the saints on Judgment Day. Through the Lord. May the blessing of God, omnipotent Father + and of the Son + and the Holy + Spirit come down upon this grave.

After high mass, along with the aforementioned vesper prayer, the prior strikes one of the big bells a little three times (or, if it is Lent, a small bell is rung at vespers). The brothers gather together and candles are distributed by the attendants. The priest who is going to bury the deceased is dressed in alb and stole. The *armarius*, having selected another brother to help, begins the *Kyrie*, to which all respond together humbling themselves and bowing

Lord have mercy
Christ have mercy
Lord have mercy

The priest, without salutation, says these prayers with responses, etc., interspersed

Do not enter into judgment with your servant .N. lord. Since no man will be justified in your presence unless remission of all sins is granted through you, we therefore do not ask [that] your judicial sentence favor him, whom the true supplication of Christian faith commends to you, but [that] through the aid of your grace, he who was marked with the sign of the trinity while living may be found worthy of evading the judgment of vengeance.

Grant this mercy, Lord, we beseech you, to your dead servant .N. Let he who kept your will in vows not receive recompense in suffering for his deeds, so that, just as here true faith joined him with the crowds of the faithful, so there your mercy will allow him to associate with the angelic choirs.

Incline your ear, Lord, to our prayers, through which we suppliants beg your mercy, so that you will set the soul of your servant .N., which you have ordered to depart from this world, in the realm of peace and light, and order it to be among the company of your saints.

Response Deliver me, Lord, from eternal death on the day of trembling when heaven and earth will be moved and you will come to judge the world through fire.

The priest censes the high altar and the body of the deceased the same number of times and (as the procession to the cemetery begins) intones the antiphon

May angels lead you into paradise; may the martyrs receive you at your arrival; and may they lead you into Jerusalem, the holy city.

with psalm 113.

When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a barbarous people:
Judea made his sanctuary, Israel his dominion.
The sea saw and fled: Jordan was turned back.
The mountains skipped like rams, and the hills like the lambs of the flock.
What ailed thee, O thou sea, that thou didst flee: and thou, O Jordan, that thou wast turned back?
Ye mountains, that ye skipped like rams, and ye hills, like lambs of the flock?
At the presence of the Lord the earth was moved, at the presence of the God of Jacob:
Who turned the rock into pools of water, and the stony hill into fountains of waters.

Not to us, O Lord, not to us; but to thy name give glory.
 For thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake: lest the gentiles should say: Where
 is their God?
 But our God is in heaven: he hath done all things whatsoever he would.
 The idols of the gentiles are silver and gold, the works of the hands of
 men.
 They have mouths and speak not: they have eyes and see not.
 They have ears and hear not: they have noses and smell not.
 They have hands and feel not: they have feet and walk not: neither shall
 they cry out through their throat.
 Let them that make them become like unto them: and all such as trust in
 them.
 The house of Israel hath hoped in the Lord: he is their helper and their
 protector.
 The house of Aaron hath hoped in the Lord: he is their helper and their
 protector.
 They that fear the Lord hath hoped in the Lord: he is their helper and their
 protector.
 The Lord hath been mindful of us, and hath blessed us. He hath blessed
 the house of Israel: he hath blessed the house of Aaron.
 He hath blessed all that fear the Lord, both little and great.
 May the Lord add blessings upon you: upon you, and upon your children.
 Blessed be you of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.
 The heaven of heaven is the Lord's: but the earth he has given to the
 children of men.
 The dead shall not praise thee, O Lord: nor any of them that go down to
 hell.
 But we that live bless the Lord: from this time now and for ever.

The procession is changed in that the novices and the *conversi* follow the boys, and
 afterwards come the choir monks. The sick stand too with candles in the Church of Our
 Lady. The community then coming forth into the cemetery expands itself into the form of
 a circle and during the burial this psalmody with antiphons is sung:

Antiphon Open to me the gates of justice: I will go into them, and give praise to the
 Lord. This is the gate of the Lord, the just shall enter into it.

Psalm (117) Give praise to the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.
 Let Israel now say that he is good: that his mercy endureth for ever.
 Let the house of Aaron now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
 Let them that fear the Lord now say, that his mercy endureth for ever.
 In my trouble I called upon the Lord: and the Lord heard me, and enlarged
 me.
 The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me.
 The Lord is my helper: and I will look over my enemies.
 It is good to confide in the Lord, rather than to have confidence in man.

It is good to trust in the Lord, rather than to trust in princes.
 All nations compassed me about; and in the name of the Lord I have been
 revenged on them.
 Surrounding me they compassed me about: and in the name of the Lord I
 have been revenged on them.
 They surrounded me like bees, and they burned like fire among thorns:
 and in the name of the Lord I was revenged on them
 Being pushed I was overturned that I might fall: but the Lord supported
 me.
 The Lord is my strength and my praise: and he is become my salvation.
 The voice of rejoicing and of salvation is in the tabernacles of the just.
 The right hand of the Lord hath wrought strength: the right hand of the
 Lord hath exulted me: the right hand of the Lord hath wrought strength.
 I shall not die, but live: and shall declare the works of the Lord.
 The Lord chastising hath chastised me: but he hath not delivered me over
 to death.
 Open ye to me the gates of justice: I will go into them, and give praise to
 the Lord.
 This is the gate of the Lord, the just shall enter into it.
 I will give glory to thee because thou hast heard me: and art become my
 salvation.
 The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the
 corner.
 This is the Lord's doing: and it is wonderful in our eyes.
 This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us be glad and rejoice
 therein.
 O Lord, save me: O Lord, give good success.
 Blessed be he that cometh in the name Lord. We have blessed you out of
 the house of the Lord.
 The Lord is God, and he hath shone upon us. Appoint a solemn day, with
 shady boughs, even to the horn of the altar.
 Thou art my God, and I will praise thee: thou art my God, and I will exalt
 thee. I will praise thee, because thou hast heard me, and art become my
 salvation.
 O praise ye the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.

Antiphon I shall enter into the place of the wonderful tabernacle, even to the house of God.

Psalm (41) As the hart panteth after the fountains of water; so my soul panteth after thee, O God.
 My soul hath thirsted after the strong living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God?
 My tears have been any bread day and night, whilst it is said to me daily:
 Where is thy God?

These things I remembered, and poured out my soul in me: for I shall go over into the place of the wonderful tabernacle, even to the house of God: With the voice of joy and praise; the noise of one feasting.

Why art thou sad, O my soul? and why dost thou trouble me? Hope in God, for I will still give praise to him: the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

My soul is troubled within myself: therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan and Hermoniim, from the little hill.

Deep calleth on deep, at the noise of thy flood-gates. All thy heights and thy billows have passed over me.

In the daytime the Lord hath commanded his mercy; and a canticle to him in the night. With me is prayer to the God of my life.

I will say to God: Thou art my support. Why hast thou forgotten me? and why go I mourning, whilst my enemy afflicteth me?

Whilst my bones are broken, my enemies who trouble me have reproached me; Whilst they say to me day by day: Where is thy God?

Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why dost thou disquiet me? Hope thou in God, for I will still give praise to him: the salvation of my countenance, and my God.

Antiphon This is my rest forever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it.

Psalm (131) O Lord, remember David, and all his meekness.
How he swore to the Lord, he vowed a vow to the God of Jacob:
If I shall enter into the tabernacle of my house: if I shall go up into the bed wherein I lie:
If I shall give sleep to my eyes, or slumber to my eyelids,
Or rest to my temples: until I find out a place for the Lord, a tabernacle for the God of Jacob.
Behold we have heard of it in Ephrata: we have found it in the fields of the wood.
We will go into his tabernacle: We will adore in the place where his feet stood.
Arise, O Lord, into thy resting place: thou and the ark, which thou hast sanctified.
Let thy priests be clothed with justice: and let thy saints rejoice.
For thy servant David's sake, turn not away the face of thy anointed.
The Lord hath sworn truth to David, and he will not make it void: of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne.
If thy children will keep thy covenant, and these my testimonies which I shall teach them: Their children also for evermore shall sit upon thy throne.
For the Lord hath chosen Sion: he hath chosen it for his dwelling.
This is my rest for ever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it.
Blessing, I will bless her widow: I will satisfy her poor with bread.

I will clothe her priests with salvation: and her saints shall rejoice with exceeding great joy.

There will I bring forth a horn to David: I have prepared a lamp for my anointed.

His enemies I will clothe with confusion: but upon him will my sanctification flourish.

Antiphon You fashioned me from earth, you clothed me in flesh, Lord my redeemer, revive me on the last day.

Psalm (138) Lord, thou hast proved me, and known me:
thou hast know my sitting down, and my rising up.
Thou hast understood my thoughts afar off: my path and my line thou hast searched out.
And thou hast foreseen all my ways: for there is no speech in my tongue.
Behold, O Lord, thou hast known all things, the last and those of old: thou hast formed me, and hast laid thy hand upon me.
Thy knowledge is become wonderful to me: it is high, and I cannot reach to it.
Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy face?
If I ascend into heaven, thou art there: if I descend into hell, thou art present.
If I take my wings early in the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea:
Even there also shall thy hand lead me: and thy right hand shall hold me.
And I said: Perhaps darkness shall cover me: and night shall be my light in my pleasures.
But darkness shall not be dark to thee, and night shall be light as day: the darkness thereof, and the light thereof are alike to thee.
For thou hast possessed my reins: thou hast protected me from my mother's womb.
I will praise thee, for thou art fearfully magnified: wonderful are thy works, and my soul knoweth right well.
My bone is not hidden from thee, which thou hast made in secret: and my substance in the lower parts of the earth.
Thy eyes did see my imperfect being, and in thy book all shall be written: days shall be formed, and no one in them.
But to me thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened.
I will number them, and they shall be multiplied above the sand: I rose up and am still with thee.
If thou wilt kill the wicked, O God: ye men of blood, depart from me:
Because you say in thought: They shall receive thy cities in vain.
Have I not hated them, O Lord, that hated thee: and pine away because of thy enemies?

I have hated them with a perfect hatred: and they are become enemies to me.

Prove me, O God, and know my heart: examine me, and know my paths.
And see if there be in me the way of iniquity: and lead me in the eternal way.

Antiphon Enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight no man living shall be justified.

Psalm (142) Hear, O Lord, my prayer: give ear to my supplication in thy truth: hear me in thy justice.

And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight no man living shall be justified.

For the enemy hath persecuted my soul: he hath brought down my life to the earth. He hath made me to dwell in darkness as those that have been dead of old:

and my spirit is in anguish within me: my heart within me is troubled.

I remembered the days of old, I meditated on all thy works: I meditated upon the works of thy hands.

I stretched forth my hands to thee: my soul is as earth without water unto thee.

Hear me speedily, O Lord: my spirit hath fainted away. Turn not away thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit.

Cause me to hear thy mercy in the morning; for in thee have I hoped. Make the way known to me, wherein I should walk: for I have lifted up my soul to thee.

Deliver me from my enemies, O Lord, to thee have I fled:

teach me to do thy will, for thou art my God. Thy good spirit shall lead me into the right land:

for thy name's sake, O Lord, thou wilt quicken me in thy justice. Thou wilt bring my soul out of trouble:

and in thy mercy thou wilt destroy my enemies. And thou wilt cut off all them that afflict my soul: for I am thy servant.

Antiphon Let every spirit praise the lord.

Psalm (148) Praise ye the Lord from the heavens: praise ye him in the high places.

Praise ye him, all his angels: praise ye him, all his hosts.

Praise ye him, O sun and moon: praise him, all ye stars and light.

Praise him, ye heavens of heavens: and let all the waters that are above the heavens praise the name of the Lord.

For he spoke, and they were made: he commanded, and they were created.

He hath established them for ever, and for ages of ages: he hath made a decree, and it shall not pass away.

Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons, and all ye deeps:

Fire, hail, snow, ice, stormy winds which fulfil his word:

Mountains and all hills, fruitful trees and all cedars:

Beasts and all cattle: serpents and feathered fowls:
Kings of the earth and all people: princes and all judges of the earth:
Young men and maidens: let the old with the younger, praise the name of
the Lord: for his name alone is exalted.
The praise of him is above heaven and earth: and he hath exalted the horn
of his people. A hymn to all his saints: to the children of Israel, a people
approaching to him. Alleluia.

Antiphon Absolve, Lord, the soul of your servant of all the chains of sin, so that in
the glory of the resurrection he may breathe again, brought back to life
among your saints.

Canticle Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; because he hath visited and wrought
the redemption of his people:
And hath raised up an horn of salvation to us, in the house of David his
servant:
As he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets, who are from the
beginning:
Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us:
To perform mercy to our fathers, and to remember his holy testament,
The oath, which he swore to Abraham our father, that he would grant to
us,
That being delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve him
without fear,
In holiness and justice before him, all our days.
And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest: for thou shalt
go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways:
To give knowledge of salvation to his people, unto the remission of their
sins:
Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, in which the Orient from on
high hath visited us:
To enlighten them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death: to
direct our feet into the way of peace.

When he first comes to the grave, the priest says this prayer

Eternal and omnipotent God, who deigned to create man in your image,
we beseech your mercy, that you might receive with grace and compassion
the spirit and soul of your servant .N., which you have ordered this very
day to be removed from human affairs and to approach you; let not the
shadows of death rule over him, nor chaos and the fog of hell cover him,
but freed of the stain of all sin, and gathered into the bosom of the
patriarch Abraham, let him rejoice over reaching the place of light and
refreshment; and when the day of judgment arrives, order him to be
brought back to life among your saints and your chosen ones.

Another

God with whom the spirits of the dead live and in whom the souls of the elect, having laid down the burden of the flesh, rejoice in complete happiness, be present to us supplicating [you], so that the soul of your servant .N., which lacks the transitory power of seeing this light, may acquire the solace of that eternal light; may he not come into contact with the torment of death, may the pain of the frightening vision not afflict [him], the fear of punishment not torture [him], the heavy fetters of guilt not constrain [him], but, having been granted forgiveness of all his sins, may he pursue the promised joy of hoped-for rest.

The grave is censed after the body is received and holy water is sprinkled into it. A wooden cover is placed on the deceased and the priest, sending a little dirt down onto him with a shovel, adds these prayers

Let us pray, dearest brethren, for the spirit of our dear .N., whom the lord has deigned to free from the fetters of the world, whose body is carried today to burial, that the mercy of the lord may find him worthy of being gathered into the bosom of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob; that when the days of judgment come, God will bring him back to life among the saints and his chosen ones gathered together on his right hand, through the offering of our lord Jesus Christ, who with the father and the holy spirit lives and reigns God, forever and ever. Amen.

God, you who always responds to righteous supplications, who [always] deigns to consider a pious vow, grant your servant .N., whose funeral rites we perform today, along with your saints and faithful ones, a share in the blessed gift [of paradise].

Fulfilling the funeral rites owed to the human body in the manner customary among the faithful, we beg God in whom everyone faithfully lives to revive the body of our dear .N., buried here by us in weakness, among the company of his saints, and order his spirit to be joined with the saints and the faithful, with whom he may merit fully enjoying indescribable glory and lasting happiness, through the sacrifice of our Lord God Jesus Christ who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

It is indeed audacious, Lord, for a man, mortal, ash, to dare to commend to you our lord God, another man, mortal, ash; but because earth receives earth, and dust is changed back into dust, till at length all flesh is brought back to its origin, we tearfully beseech your mercy, God most merciful father. Receive into the bosom of your friend Abraham the soul of this your servant .N., which you are leading home out of the muddy abyss of this world. Pour over him the dew of refreshment. Let him be saved from the raging fires of hell and, thanks to your gift, find blessed repose; and if he has any sins which deserve punishment, Lord, forgive them through the

gentleness of your most mild grace. May he not receive the recompense of sin, but rather experience the merciful boon of your indulgence; and when the celestial kingdom dawns, at the final end of the world, may he arise crowned with the chosen ones, among the company of all the saints, on the right hand [of God].

That done, he goes away from the grave together with the cross and moves to the middle of the cemetery where the boys, who have been singing psalms with their faces turned towards the east, just as the whole community has been doing, are standing. Then in silence the aforementioned Lord's Prayer is said, adding,

And lead us not into temptation
but deliver us from evil.

Verse Do not enter into judgment with your servant, Lord.

Prayer We commend to you, Lord, the soul of your servant .N., so that, dead to the world, he may be alive to you; and if he has committed sins through the frailty of worldly association, do, by the grace of your most merciful piety, wipe them away.

Psalm fifty follows the extinguishing of the candles. Again with the Lord's Prayer, the verse

From the gate of hell.
Lord, save his soul.

After the prayer,

God, in whose mercy the souls of your faithful servants rest, grant merciful forgiveness of sins to all who repose here and everywhere in Christ, so that absolved of all remaining wrongdoing, they may rejoice with you without end.

has been said with the customary inclinations,²⁸ and beginning the seven psalms, they all return, with this change, that after the boys the choir monks come first. When they have finally come into the choir in this order, they prostrate themselves with those psalms. The priest, now divested of alb and stole, says this prayer

Absolve, Lord, the soul of your servant of all the chains of sin, so that he may breathe again in the glory of the resurrection, brought back to life among your saints.

The bells, which began to ring as the deceased was being brought out to the grave, do not

²⁸ Bernard calls this the *ante et retro*, a term Herrgott defined as “a bow that begins toward the east and ends facing west.”

stop before the priest leaves the gravesite.

On the day that the deceased is buried, all the priests sing a mass for him. Then on the following day whatever wine and bread is left over from dinner is given to the poor for him. Then his *septenarius* and *tricenarius* is begun. The *septenarius* so, that for seven days the office and mass are sung for him by the community in general. The *tricenarius* so, that for thirty days his prebend, the full allotment, is generally given to the poor. And the psalmody which is usually said after matins (is said for him) and the psalm *Voce mea*, which is usually said at all hours.²⁹ Then the *Verba mea* is also said for him and thirty masses by six priests, beginning with the prior. When each one of them has finished he announces it in chapter so that the next day another can begin, for it is never interrupted except five days a year, i.e., Christmas, Easter, and the three days that precede it.

His clothing, too, once it has been washed, all except his cloak, is carried into chapter and divided among the brothers, if they have need. And whoever accepts something of them is instructed by the prior to remember the dead man with some manner of psalmody or with several masses if he is a priest, in accordance with what seems warranted. The cloak is not brought in, nor is it given there, for the reason that the brothers have it more as a dispensation than because of any regular institution; St. Benedict does not refer to it.

When everything has been finished, the prior grants him absolution once again. As for the rest, whenever his anniversary comes around, his prebend is given to the poor. A mass ought also to be sung for him then, or at some other time if it interferes with a feast. From that time on, whatever masses are said for the dead are said no less for him than for the others, and he is remembered whenever *Verba mea* is sung.

²⁹ I assume that this means the four *psalmi familiares* or “familiar psalms,” said for relatives, which the Cluniacs added to all the divine offices.