Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office
A guide to their organization and terminology

Many books discuss the theology and doctrine of the medieval liturgy: there is no dearth of information on the history of the liturgy, the structure and development of individual services, and there is much discussion of specific texts, chants, and services. No book, at least in English, has struggled with the difficulties of finding texts, chants, or other material in the liturgical manuscripts themselves, until the publication of *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office* in 1982.

Encompassing a period of several centuries, ca 1200–1500, this book provides solutions for such endeavours. Although by this period the basic order and content of liturgical books were more or less standardized, there existed hundreds of different methods of dealing with the internal organization and the actual writing of the texts and chants on the page. Generalization becomes problematic; the use of any single source as a typical example for more than local detail is impossible.

Taking for granted the user's ability to read medieval scripts, and some codicological knowledge, Hughes begins with the elementary material without which the user could not proceed. He describes the liturgical year, season, day, service, and the form of individual items such as responsory or lesson, and mentions the many variants in terminology that are to be found in the sources. The presentation of individual text and chant is discussed, with an emphasis on the organization of the individual column, line, and letter. Hughes examines the hitherto unexplored means by which a hierarchy of initial and capital letters and their colours are used by the scribes and how this hierarchy can provide a means by which the modern researcher can navigate through the manuscripts. Also described in great detail are the structure and contents of Breviaries, Missals, and the corresponding books with music. This new edition updates the bibliography and the new preface by Hughes presents his recent thoughts about terminology and methods of liturgical abbreviation.

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The Ranworth Antiphonal, f 1, Advent Sunday (see page 311)

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One of the assessors spoke of the nightmare the typesetters would have in the printing of this book, with its complex tables and many changes of typeface. For conventional typesetting, the nightmare would have been real. In fact, the setting was done almost entirely under my supervision by three typists entering the text directly into the terminal of a typesetting computer. It took some three or four weeks. All the typists worked long hours in order to complete the input before one of the deadlines: to Lynn West and Daniel Neff, both of the Opera School of the Faculty of Music, many thanks; to Elizabeth Brickenden especial thanks for her loyal and hard work. If any bassoons have crept into the text, it is entirely Elizabeth's fault: for every other blemish I am responsible. The tabular material was prepared by Howarth and Smith, the professional typesetters. Even this material, however, was proof-read and changed as necessary at the terminal by the typists, just as was the normal text. I must thank Phil Bellamy, of

Howarth and Smith, for steering the work through the typesetting computer, and Ian McLean, also of Howarth and Smith, for his careful work on the tabular material and for coping with the special intricacies of the Ordo in section **741.**

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Andrew Hughes
Vigilia Nativitatis 1980
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Preface

1 This book originated to fill a practical need. It is to introduce students of the later middle ages to the manuscripts of the liturgy. Even for the person able to read the script and abbreviations of the period, working with liturgical books is difficult, and acquiring the necessary skills and experience even more so. The difficulty stems, I believe, from three principal factors which are outlined in the introduction. My purpose is to show the reader how liturgical books are organized and how they may be used for research: it is not to write yet another elementary introduction to the liturgy. Nevertheless, the person who lives the day-by-day Latin liturgy, and the scholar who knows that the Lauds antiphons are very stable from era to era and place to place, may gain little from the first part of the book, where essential preliminary information is presented. But I hesitate to characterize even that information as elementary because, seeking to avoid the superficial survey and the broad generalization and using numerous published descriptions as well as many manuscripts, I have tried to show discrepancies, variants, alternatives, exceptions, and modifications. Much of the first part, up to chapter 5 but excluding chapter 3, summarizes material to be found in previously published books. There are so many publications that it may be several years before the reader realizes, as I eventually came to realize, that not one describes in more than an elementary way how the liturgical services are arranged in the manuscripts and how their texts, music, and rubrics are presented on the page. The organization, content, layout, and writing of liturgical manuscripts are so varied, in fact, that the generalizations by which complex topics can be made comprehensible are hardly possible.

The variability is in the presentation of detail. Just as the general shape of the liturgy and the order of services is consistent, so is the overall organization of the liturgical book: the difficulties lie in the exceptions, in the variants from season to season, from church to church, and from century to century, and in the alternative methods of presentation. Hence the emphasis in the first part of the book on differences separating use from use. Such differences may help us to localize and to date the sources. Much of the book therefore consists of factual description, often in the form of 'And next there follows ...'

This approach has been very difficult to avoid, and, if thereby the book has become tedious to read from cover to cover, I hope that its value as a reference book for specific occasions will not be lessened. In particular there is a certain amount of repetition. The information of the first part had to be recalled as individual manuscripts were described in the second. I was tempted to consolidate the two parts into one single section: in place of repetition there would then have been endless qualifications, exceptions, clauses and subclauses, and notes, which would have obscured the principle in a mass of detail. Essential repetitions from part to part have been allowed to stand. Repetitions from smaller section to section also seemed unavoidable, especially if sections were to be more or less self-contained. If the same material may appear in four or five different forms and in different contexts in as many different places in the liturgical books, then in the descriptions of those places the material recurs and the same things have to be said about it. Instructions concerning the ordinary of the Mass, for example, may occur in the Temporale of Graduals or of Missals and Noted Missals, requiring a reference when each book is described, or in the Ordo misse, or in the Kyriale, requiring two additional references. Wherever possible, I have tried to eliminate obtrusive repetition by using cross-references or by presenting figures or typographical 'facsimiles' to demonstrate the visual format of the original.

2 For manuscript sources I have used a great many which were to hand on microfilm, taking into account the fact that many users of liturgical books of the middle ages can do so only by way of films; these were often available because of some importance other than that they were liturgical books. Many, for example, contain particularly interesting decorations, or have polyphonic music on flyleaves. Hundreds of other manuscripts were investigated in personal trips to European and North American libraries when I was engaged on other research. The selection of sources was, then, quite arbitrary, but as balanced as possible. I have included only books directly relevant to Mass and offices; Breviaries and Antiphonals, Missals and Graduals, and the smaller 'books' which are usually included within those compendia. Many others are necessary in order to gain a complete picture of any one rite. The decision to eliminate Processionals, Pontificals, Ordinals, Manuals, and others was made on the basis of availability, the already increasing length of this study, and on the belief that once the principles of the main books are understood, it becomes easy to use the others.

3 Several matters of style and presentation need comment. To facilitate references and to avoid the extra stage required for the production of a conventional index, I have numbered the paragraphs; those of the preface take single digits; the introduction begins with **10**, chapters 1, 2, ... 9 begin respectively with **100, 200, ... 900**; Appendices I-IX begin with **1000-9000** respectively. Occasionally several short paragraphs stand under a single number. Whenever a boldface number appears in this book, including the Index, it refers to the bold number which stands at the margin in the indentation for paragraphs. On the other hand, numbers in normal type following a letter, eg, M7, A22, refer to the manuscript sources listed at the end

of the book. There is a potential ambiguity: A22 may mean ms A22 or (mostly in diagrams and formulas) 'twenty-two antiphons.' The context and the normal use of 'ms' or 'source' will make the meaning clear.

Immediately after this preface are lists showing the numerous abbreviations used in the book. The algebraic strings resulting from an excess of abbreviations are graceless and difficult to read. Nevertheless, without such shortening many of the figures would have been impossibly large, and extra repetition would have crept into many sections. Furthermore, the difficulty of digesting in one's mind a serpentine and endless paragraph such as immediately follows would usually force the reader to evolve for himself a written formula such as that shown afterwards.

On this feast, the items recorded for Matins are the invitatory and hymn, both given in incipit only. In the first nocturn, there are three antiphons, given complete, and the incipit of the dialogue, followed by the three lessons given complete. The first two responsories appear in incipit only, and the third is complete. In the second nocturn, all three antiphons and the dialogue are given in incipit: the three lessons are complete, as are responsories four and six, although responsory five appears only as an incipit. In the third nocturn the three antiphons and dialogue are given in incipit: all three lessons are complete and all three responsories, seven to nine, are given in incipit.

Although this example is of course tendentious, services will often have to be described in similar detail. The alternative 'notation' may seem just as indigestible but it is much more concise and, once the reader has acquired a familiarity with the abbreviations, it has the advantage of demonstrating the patterns more clearly. We could use:

On this feast, Matins is presented as follows:

ih AAAd LrLrLR aaad LRLrLR aaad LrLrLr.

Even more concisely:

ih A3d LrLrLR a3d LRLrLR a3d (Lr)3.

We need to evolve convenient tools for comparing liturgical manuscripts and collating their contents in a form which is immediately striking: some condensed way of recording the contents is therefore suggested here. Despite the usefulness of these formulas, I have tried to avoid over-using them in the running text.

Certain words which some authors begin with a capital letter are here not printed in this way. In particular the genre names lack capitals: names of the books retain the capital. Thus, the gradual chant is found in the Gradual. Incipits of texts receive the customary capital. Thus, the alleluia chant of Mass is distinct from the textual Alleluia which is appended to many chants during Easter. The consistent use of italics proved difficult to maintain. In general I have used them for a first reference to a foreign term such as *prosa* and thereafter to accept it as an Anglicized word not needing the typographical

differentiation. The exemplification of rubrics and incipits within them has also been the cause of some difficulty: normally the rubric has been printed in italic, to indicate the original red script, and the black incipit in normal type. Occasionally, however, it has been necessary to reverse that principle. No ambiguity, I think, will result. Wherever confusion might result I have explained the methods, special abbreviations, and signs.

Preface to the Paperback Edition

I have taken the opportunity in this new edition to correct typographical errors, and to clarify a few confusing matters, especially in the Figures. Otherwise, it has not been possible to make substantial changes to the text, and in general it has not been necessary. I should have liked to meet one reviewer's wish: to do for manuscripts existing before the twelfth century what I attempted to do for those appearing after that date. Such an enterprise would, however, require considerable time with sources that are often quite different in structure, if not in content, and would be effective only with several more facsimiles. For some understanding of the most important of the earlier sources, I direct the reader to Hesbert's *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, a detailed and comprehensive inventory of a dozen secular and monastic sources, from which some sense of their structure can be assembled.

Several publications that address the issues of liturgical abbreviation, terminology, and manuscript structure and design have been added to the bibliography. I have also briefly appended my own recent thoughts about terminology (immediately below), and methods of liturgical abbreviation (in a supplement to the Abbreviations): the need for establishing some consistency in both areas seems more urgent now that computers and databases have become so important to research in the humanities. Following Appendix I, on page 280, is a brief but important note about the Kalendar dates of saints' feastdays.

TERMINOLOGY

One of the purposes of this text is to identify and categorize as many variants of terminology as possible, taking into account only the texts and chants of the services themselves. In the more general sense, ecclesiastical terminology remains a problem: what is Use, rite, ceremonial, or liturgy itself? What are the terms for administrative structures and procedures of the church?

These matters have been well addressed by John Harper in his book *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy* ... (1991), which presents more simply and in a wider context some of the material to be found in exhausting detail in this book. Assessing Harper's book for publication, I referred to it as a book I wished I had written.

It has become clear, too, that English terms for smaller elements of the liturgy need to be much more carefully used. Unambiguous definitions are probably not possible, and in some cases it may be necessary to surround with cumbersome qualifications an otherwise simple word that in the context of the original sources

may be clear. Three words that have given particular problems or created misunderstandings since the first edition appeared are text, chant, and office.

Texts and chants

Texts in the liturgy are performed in one of four ways: silently, in a spoken voice, sung to a (reciting) tone, or sung to a melodic chant. Rarely is there any difficulty in distinguishing among these categories. My own preference for the way the words text and chant should be used is implicit in the preceding sentence: text refers to the words, and chant to the plainsong. Others prefer to use the word chant to refer to texts that are sung to plainsong (synonym: plainchant), regardless of whether the music is actually present or even known. To refer to 'chant' when no music is present or mentioned, however, is misleading. Moreover, to allow an unambiguous description of a text separated from its music, it would be necessary to resort to the inelegant and tautologous 'a chant without its plainchant' or to 'a chant without its music.' Nevertheless, the issue is not quite so clear: we *should* distinguish between texts that are sung and those that are not, and the simple word 'text' is not adequate for that purpose. We must either use as many words and qualifications as are necessary to be quite explicit, or we must coin some new terms.

Cryptographers use the term 'cleartext' to refer to a text before it is encrypted. Surely, for a discipline as complex as liturgical studies, we should anticipate the need for new terms of a similar kind where it is necessary to be precise. For the four categories mentioned above, I would suggest *silenttext, spokentext, intonedtext,* and *sungtext*; for the most part, identification of the genre will obviate the need for these somewhat cumbersome neologisms. The last is the simplest to accept, and takes care of the most contentious ambiguity, distinguishing between texts sung to melodic plainsongs and all others.

I have already begun consistently to use the term *chantword* to refer to a single word of text together with the chant that accompanies it (see 'Chantwords ...' in the supplement to the Bibliography). By extension, *chanttext* would refer to the whole text of a genre with its plainsong; *sungtext* could then signify the text of any item sung to plainsong without necessarily implying that the music was present. Many may prefer to be explicitly accurate: 'an antiphon text' or 'an antiphon plainchant,' or 'the text and chant of a hymn.'

Office and historia

At least three uses for the word office are current. All are correct and can be justified by medieval usage. Various meanings attach to the word depending on the interests of the user, and are presumably understood by the user. But not necessarily by the audience. In some circumstances it will be appropriate to use office to refer to the whole matter of the feastday: all of its various texts, chants, and gestures. Alternatively, it can refer only to the office hours of the feastday, or only to Mass. On other occasions, the term is implicitly used to refer to the lessons and prayers, the *intonedtexts*. Other scholars interested in the parts of the feastday that are sung to plainsongs may use the word to mean the *sungtexts*.

Of the two terms, *officium* and *historia* are not clearly defined or unambiguously used in the Middle Ages: for both of these terms the meanings are as varied as are those for the English word 'office,' although *historia* (in the later Middle Ages, at least) probably refers more usually to the *sungtexts* rather than to the *intonedtexts* or the office as a whole. Tempting though it may be, to try to impose on these normal words a rigid meaning would be impossible.

For the office as a whole – texts, chants, gestures, processions, censing, and so on – the word *rite* (with a lowercase letter) would serve (the distinction is set out clearly in Harper, p. 13): 'the rites of Christmas Day' (as distinct from the Roman Rite) is unambiguous and unexceptional. For the office as a collection of all its texts, or its *sungtexts*, or its *intonedtexts*, the matter is not so simple, short of adjectival or parenthetical appendages. To refer to all of the texts without distinguishing among their categories, the word *formularies* could be used, a more or less conventional and probably unexceptional usage. But it will still need to be attached to the word 'office' or 'Mass.' For the other options I see no convenient alternative other than to add to the words 'office' or 'Mass' the precise texts that are intended: 'the office hours (*sungtexts*) for Thomas of Canterbury,' or 'the *sungtexts* of the office for ...,' or 'the antiphons and responsories of ...'

Fortunately, such inelegant constructions may be avoided when the context is apparent: in a volume concerned only with the *sungtexts* of the office hours (as is my recent book *LMLO*) a more casual terminology may be acceptable.

Some addenda to the first edition

In the interests of a comprehensive listing of terminology and liturgical usage as it appears in the original sources, I here provide a brief list of matters, mostly words, that do not appear in the first edition. I have not systematically collected new material, and the additions are thus mercifully few. Since it was not possible to add these to the body of the book or to the index, readers may wish to make a suitable notation next to the relevant sections or in the index. Some points set out below are little more than undocumented and unresearched issues that came to my attention in the course of other, quite different work: some of these would provide excellent material for detailed study.

- *additiones* a term referring to suffrages after Lauds (Austria, Innsbruck, University Library, ms 351)
- *apparitio* Epiphany
- homily: was the homily after the Gospel at Matins announced by name? References to it, for example, *Omelia sancti Gregorii*, are normally in rubrics. Yet the edition, *Divine Office*, prints this text in black, perhaps reflecting modern practice.
- Matins in which all antiphons are together and all responsories together, instead of alternating in nocturns: this arrangement is characteristic of Beneventan and Carthusian manuscripts (for Benevento, see Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant*; for Carthusian, see, for example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms 371)
- *memoria* can refer to a full proper service or to an isolated suffrage or prayer

- *ps* although apparently referring to *psalmus*, this abbreviation is often used before the repetenda of responsories (see, for example, several Avignon office manuscripts).
- Sarum: some evidence suggests that the liturgy of this Use was made artificially consistent by deliberate rearrangement and editing.
- Vespers: According to the Benedictine rule, Vespers has four antiphons. In the introduction to *Analecta Hymnica* (vol 5, pp. 10–11) Dreves sets out the number of antiphons used by various orders: Cistercians 4; Franciscans and Benedictines 5; Dominicans 1 (and Cistercians are said to have a single antiphon at Lauds, and proper antiphons for each of the little hours). Although aware of this problem for a number of years, I have not pursued the issue in documentary sources, and have come to no clear conclusion in casual investigation of the liturgical books themselves. Clearly there is some confusion, probably arising from the method by which the proper items are distributed in the sources. The possibilities for such confusion and how the confusion might be resolved are precisely what this book tries to present: where there is a single antiphon, presumably proper, are the others supplied from the Common? How many?
- *victatorium, vitatorium* these terms for the invitatory are somewhat more common than **218**n36 leads the reader to suppose: Beaune, bibl. municipale ms 26; Clermont-Ferrand, bibl. mun. ms 842; Montserrat, monastic library ms 880; and other sources. The invitatory is often special in ways other than its form or the Psalter used for its text: it occurs only in a few of the eight modes; in regularly rhymed offices it is often in Classical metres or prose rather than accentual poetry; in Paris, bibl. nat. ms 12036, only the invitatories are fully noted. See also Vatican, bibl. apost. ms Barb. lat. 408.

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Abbreviations

4 In order to reduce the cumbersome nature of some of the discussions, and to make many of the figures possible, I have abbreviated the different genres and items of the services to a single letter, normally the letter with which the usual name begins, or to a symbol. Where texts are concerned, the lower case letter is used to indicate that only an incipit of the item occurs. Services, seasons, and sections of books are also shortened to their initial letter, and different type-styles have been used to distinguish these abbreviations. The following styles of type occur:

roman – used for genres other than those in boldface, for seasons, and (preceded by 'ms' or 'source') for referring to sources;
boldface – used for the sung items of Mass;
script – used for services (where possible these will be spelt in full in normal type);
sans serif – used for sections of books.

Despite the adoption of various type-styles, some letters in the same style still refer to more than one item: G, for example, stands for both the Gloria and the gradual. Where the context and knowledge to be gained from this book are not sufficient to eliminate the ambiguity, clarification will be included in the text. Letters-followed-by-numerals represent the original sources and are preceded by the word 'source' or 'ms'. The abbreviations are separated according to their meaning (type-style) in the following lists; in each list they are in alphabetical order. Frequently in the captions to the figures within the book, unusual abbreviations will be expanded as a reminder to the reader of their meaning.

I have tried to avoid using abbreviations within the running text when they are not necessary: their justification appears in the preface. Here it remains to explain how the abbreviations are combined to present services in concise formulas: a numeral following the abbreviation specifies the number of repetitions of that item which are consecutive at that point in the service; a numeral following parentheses shows the number of repetitions of the items

within the parentheses. Thus Ap stands for an antiphon with its psalm-incipit, Ap3 for a single antiphon covering three psalms shown in incipit, (Ap)3 for three antiphons each with its own psalm-incipit. Different services will be separated by a slash / where necessary, sometimes with a reference to the abbreviation for (or full name of) the service. Often the presence of certain genres identifies the service sufficiently: only Vespers, for example, ends with the Magnificat M, or with the Magnificat and prayer, MO.

Bibliographical references are sometimes by short titles, or by citations such as Frere (1901), or by the occasional abbreviation: all of these are explained in the bibliography.

Supplement to the Paperback Edition

The decisions about the nature and style of liturgical abbreviations for the first edition were made before the ubiquitous availability of computers had made research simultaneously more complex and more simple. In the intervening years, I have devoted a major part of my activities to the computerization of liturgical research, and to the indexing of texts and chants by means of databases and other computer programs, particularly with the repertory of late medieval offices. This venture has come to fruition in the publication of my recent volumes under the siglum *LMLO* (see the supplement to the Bibliography).

Reliance on and the limitations imposed by the use of the computer has forced some changes to the abbreviation system developed for the first edition of this book. More details regarding these constraints are in *LMLO.* In particular, the method by which identical letters are distinguished in the present volume – by the use of distinct typefaces – proved impossible to preserve (and indeed, unsatisfactory in many respects). To distinguish different typefaces in a computer text requires the addition of cumbersome and intrusive codes that complicate indexing and printing. Moreover, using different typefaces makes it impossible to use these abbreviations in handwritten notes, where a chief benefit is to be gained.

I am still convinced – now even more so – of the need for abbreviation and concise methods of recording liturgical phenomena. *LMLO* sets out a system, more complete than but to a large extent using and extending the one laid out here. In place of different typefaces, various symbols are used as prefixes and suffixes to distinguish the various categories of abbreviations separated into the six lists below. Such a scheme also makes it possible to remove some of the ambiguities (e.g., C for both Credo and communion chant) of the system used here. It also makes possible the use of mnemonic letters in place of the typographic and not always meaningful symbols of List 1f.

Details of the new schemes cannot be presented here. The following outlines some of the chief characteristics:

- the principal difference in the abbreviations are in (1) List 1a, where E now represents the Gospel antiphons (*ad Evangelium*) previously recorded as M, B, and N; and (2) in an expansion of Lists 1b and 1c with additional genres and

services, including W for second vespers, E for Eucharistic propers, and O for the Ordinary of Mass;

- to distinguish ambiguities, for example, A for antiphon and A for Agnus, the service letter must precede the abbreviation for a genre;
- services, genres, and the number of the genre within a service are now associated with the equals sign in a formulation generalized as SGN. In narrative text, where no ambiguity arises, the letters and numbers of SGN alone may suffice, as with MR9 for Matins responsory 9. Elsewhere and in cases of ambiguity =SGN may be preferred: for example, the Agnus at Mass would be =OA, the fourth antiphon at Vespers =VA4. For descriptions of services, the formulation S=GNGN ... is useful: the hypothetical matins service laid out on page xiii would now appear as M=ih.A3d{LrLrLR}.a3d{LRLrLR}.a3d{Lr}3;
- various prefixes to the =SGN codes may identify the liturgical season, and suffixes may identify other details such as the feria of a week or the musical mode of the chant. Generally, these prefixes and suffixes are designed to be self-explanatory, and yet (for the most part) to allow sorting in the correct liturgical order: for example, 1=Adv.2=LA4.5c for the fourth antiphon of Lauds in the second week of Advent, in mode 5 ending on c;
- sections of book identified in List 1e and one or two items from List 1f are now associated with the numeral 2 and a hyphen. This allows the sectional arrangement of books (as described in **749–751** and **889–897**) to be clearly distinguished (and isolated by computer processes if necessary) from other similar formulas: 2-TKPSC or 2-TKPCS.

For a few purposes in this text, for example, distinguishing the antiphons for *Benedictus* from *Magnificat* and *Nunc dimittis* (all now designated as E), the new schemes would themselves be unsatisfactory. In any case, to change the schemes running throughout this text would have required revisions far more extensive than was possible. The new schemes are therefore not implemented here.

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Symbols

LIST 1a

A antiphon
B Benedictus or the Benedictus antiphon
C chapter
D dialogue or preces (see also □ in list 1f below). The versicle of a dialogue will end with ':' (or ... if incomplete), and the response or its incipit will then be shown. See *D*.
D the liturgical greeting, *Dominicus vobiscum: Et cum ...*
E epistle
G gospel
H hymn
I invitatory
K canticle, lesser or major
L lesson, reading (may be a chapter, epistle, or gospel or homily, but normally refers to the lessons at Matins)
M Magnificat or Magnificat antiphon
N Nunc dimittis or Nunc dimittis antiphon
O oratio, collect, secret, post-communion, etc (ie, any prayer)
Ø great O antiphons
P psalm
Ps used for a specific psalm, followed by a number
R responsory
V verse, of a responsory, gradual, or alleluia, etc: the versicle and response of a dialogue are abbreviated under D

LIST 1b

Mass chants

A Agnus *or* alleluia
B Benedicamus Domino
C Credo *or* communion chant
G Gloria *or* gradual
H Hymnus trium puerorum
I Ite missa est *or* introit
K Kyrie
O offertory chant
S sanctus
T tract
V verse of a gradual or alleluia

LIST 1c
Service or action

$\mathscr{C}$ Compline
$\mathscr{H}$ Hours
$\mathscr{L}$ Lauds
$\mathscr{M}$ Matins
$\mathscr{N}$ Nones
$\mathscr{P}$ Prime
$\mathscr{S}$ Sext
$\sim$ sprinkling of holy water
$\mathscr{T}$ Terce
$\sim$ thurification, ie, censing
$\mathscr{V}$ Vespers ($\mathscr{V}_1$ $\mathscr{V}_2$ for first and second Vespers)

LIST 1d
Season or feast

Adv	Advent	Nat	Nativity (Christmas)
Asc	Ascension	Pas	Pascha (Easter)
CX	Corpus Christi	Pen	Pentecost (Whitsun)
Epi	Epiphany	QT	Quatuor Tempora (Ember days)
L	Quinquagesima	Tri	Trinity
LX	Sexagesima	XL	Quadragesima (Lent)
LXX	Septuagesima		

LIST 1e
Section of a book

A Aspersion (see $\sim$ in list 1f)
C Common of saints
D Dedication feast
H Hymnal
I Invitatorium
K Kalendar
O Ordo
Ø Ordinary of the Mass, Kyriale
P Psalter
R general rubric (a major section of a book:
for incidental rubrics see $=$ and $\neq$ in list 1f below)
S Sanctorale
T Temporale
V Votive services, to the Virgin (see $\oplus$ in list 1f below)
W Votive services in general

LIST 1f

✠ benediction (text, including *Deo gratias* and *Benedicamus Domino*, or action)
→ procession
~ distribution, as of ashes or palms, censing (thurification), or aspersion
† office or Mass of the Dead
⊕ memorial or suffrage, and general votive services, including V of list 1e above
● doxology
• doxology incipit
⊥ Tonary
= incidental rubric
≠ incidental rubric with incipits
□ a substantial section of preces
○ abbreviations within ○ or ⊂⊃ etc represent material gathered into stocks
■ miscellaneous additions
* this symbol is used, by modern convention, to show where the solo incipit of a chant ends

MANUSCRIPTS OR PRINTED SOURCES

The sources or manuscripts which are referred to by abbreviations such as source A1 or ms B1 are listed and described on pages 390 to 408.

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Introduction

10 'The history of medieval liturgy must be treated as one of the main sources of western culture.'[1] This judgment, by eminent contemporary liturgists, must be endorsed by all who deal with the medieval world. Christian civilization and devotion were based on and inspired by the liturgy: the development of chivalry and ethics to some extent stems from the 12th-century growth of Marian worship. 'The clergy . . . absorbed all the functions of a literary class'[2] since the arts of drawing, writing, and painting were confined almost exclusively to liturgical books prepared by clerics, and since medieval writers examined the principles of thought, language, speech, and grammar through the exegesis of liturgical texts. The influence of the Franciscans on poetry, at least in England, has been widely explored; largely unknown is the influence of truly liturgical poetry in such genres as the *prosa* and rhymed office. Education began with the Psalter, and readings and chants were carried into daily life to inspire love songs and epics:[3] computation, formula, and calculation derive from work with problems of the calendar. From the need to explain and summarize the increasing complexity of the services, the principles of organization, abstraction, and generalization were worked out. Whether cloistered or not, man ordered his day by the services and the church bell signalling them, and his year by the succession of church feasts, and he examined all his actions and related them to his religion. It is surprising therefore that no serious effort has so far been made to present in simple terms to the student of the medieval period the basic information he needs in order to examine for himself and to understand the liturgical background as transmitted in the primary sources, the manuscripts.

11 Liturgical studies must start from the texts. Facts about gesture, ceremonial, actions, vestments, and other such matters, although important as secondary and perhaps corroborative evidence, can tell us little about the character and development of a rite that is not better obtained by studying the texts themselves. This is certainly the view of Vogel,[4] resulting in his adoption of liturgical manuscripts as the fundamental sources of knowledge. He means quite strictly those books which contain what was actually said and sung in the services in a regular and repeated manner, extending this definition only to

include certain Ordines which, by listing incipits, give essential information about the order and presence or absence of items at certain times. Excluded are such publications as exegetical tracts, sermons, and commentaries on liturgical matters, athough these, and especially the last, may provide information about ceremonial, action, and methods of performance, as well as rules for adapting service because of coincident feasts.

But, as Vogel states elsewhere, there appears to be 'une certaine désaffection des médiévistes pour les documents du culte chrétien ...'[5] He continues with a reference to the difficulties often experienced in orienting oneself in the discipline of liturgical studies. The primary difficulty, for the beginner and often for the more experienced researcher, seems to me to lie in the difficulty of orienting oneself in the manuscripts. With such skill learned, the business of orientation within the discipline should follow more easily. Difficulties with the use of liturgical manuscripts derive principally from three interrelated factors, and from a combination of the first two which amounts almost to a separate factor in itself.

12 First, by ordering our year according to a secular calendar of months and weeks, we have become ignorant of the church year upon which any understanding of the liturgy and its sources must be based. Second, the Reformation of the 16th century and the more recent enactments of the Roman church have made the Latin service something of a rarity so that students do not have the benefit of the modern ritual as a starting point. Third, even for the trained medievalist, the organization and paleographical format of the liturgical manuscript may present severe problems, most of which are exacerbated when the study must be done, as is frequently the case, from microfilm or other black-and-white reproductions. Familiarity with the Kalendar,[6] the structure of the services, and with the detailed arrangement of the manuscripts is an essential before any truly liturgical studies can be undertaken. Expertise in the first two does not necessarily make the liturgical book comprehensible since the first element, the Kalendar, constantly modifies the way in which the second, the order of the services themselves, is presented in the books. Thus, even if the user thoroughly knows the detailed internal structure of a service he will never find that service presented in that way in the sources because, to choose only three examples, items which are repeated in fact are not repeated in writing; or various items are distributed between various books so that no one book is complete without the others; or a particular item, instead of being listed as it appears in the service throughout a season, may be given in a stock of such items appearing only at the beginning of the season or perhaps quite separately elsewhere. These and other variable factors are combined in different ways according to the season, the day, and perhaps even according to the hour. A fourth element must therefore be added, to lie third in the sequence of essential prerequisites to liturgical study: Kalendar, service, variability, manuscript organization.

13 Information on the first two may be obtained from any number of books: discussion of the latter pair is almost non-existent. This book is designed to fill

the gap, and thus chapter 3, dealing with the problems of variability, and chapter 6 to the end, describing numerous medieval manuscripts, form the most important sections. The preceding and intervening chapters, discussing the Kalendar and the structure of the services, will appear unnecessary since information on these topics has so frequently been presented. Apart from the desirability of including this material within the same covers, these chapters are present for another reason. To cull the facts from previously published material would require the perusal of a multitude of books, some designed not to inform on this particular subject but to introduce the reader to the history of the church, to its dogma, or to the religious and spiritual significance of the texts, or to some other special aspect, each viewing the matter from a different perspective, none viewing it as a prerequisite to the study of the primary manuscripts. In most general descriptions of the Kalendar and the services there is, furthermore, the natural tendency to use the Latin liturgy as established by the 16th-century enactments of the Council of Trent. Thus a standard and modern terminology is likely to be used. Sexagesima Sunday will probably be so named, in English or in Latin (*Dominica in sexagesima*), so that the appearance in a medieval manuscript of *Dominica secunda in septuagesima* or even *Dominica octava post Epiphaniam*, both of which refer to that day, may hinder the inexperienced student for a considerable time. In addition, many authors assume that the reader is already familiar with some sort of church year. Unfortunately, even though Christmas and Easter still provide some landmarks, the organization of our secular year by months rather than by church festivals has caused our knowledge of the latter method of temporal order to fall into disuse. Conscious reflection that Easter is a movable feast and Christmas is not reminds us that somewhere in the year there must be an adjustment to account for the extra or missing weeks. The absence in secular life of any special observance on prominent feasts which we all know, such as Ascension and Pentecost, and the emphasis on Sunday as the special day, make it difficult for the inexperienced to remember that feasts may fall on weekdays. Hence, the novice may be considerably confused to discover in a manuscript that feria vi (Friday) follows immediately after the feast of Ascension. The present chapter on the Kalendar, then, is given in order to alert the user to the ambiguities and alternatives of terminology and to give him sufficient flexibility that the medieval manuscript no longer presents such formidable difficulties in this respect.

14 Publications describing the structure of the services, like those discussing the Kalendar, are often written with a different purpose and just as frequently assume a great deal of knowledge, often beginning from the modern services. I know of no text which gives the information necessary for the student to fill in the details of the services throughout the year: none explains in sufficient detail so that the beginner has some landmarks to guide him through the bewildering, although usually logical, maze of unparagraphed text and rubrics. None explains, for instance, what the word *Per.* at the end of a prayer, or *Tu.* at the end of a reading, may mean: ignorance of such apparently elementary matters,

astonishing perhaps to many, is common. Too often, moreover, the modern scholar of the medieval liturgy states or implies that the practice of the middle ages must have been so-and-so because that is the way it is done nowadays (that is, before Vatican II, 1962-5). This reliance on tradition rather than on evidence documented in contemporary sources surely stems from the very difficulty of finding the latter in many instances: much of liturgical practice was so much a part of everyday custom, known to all, that it did not need to be explained or prescribed, or, therefore, written down. When such evidence does exist it is often in quite unexpected places, either in a book which is not strictly liturgical at all, or incidentally in some passing rubric buried within the liturgical book: the expenditure of effort tracing such evidence, if possible at all in North America, is not worthwhile for most needs. One quite basic matter may be cited, and will be discussed at more length later. Although easy to document the antiphonal performance of psalms, it is extremely hard to discover clear information stating whether the choirs alternate on half-verses, or on complete verses. Virtual silence on such a fundamental matter is surprising. I cannot claim to have searched all, or even many, Customaries, Ordinals, and other such books, where such information may occur, but books of this kind tend to concern themselves with practices which are special to a particular place rather than universal. So far as is possible here, I have tried to find medieval evidence where necessary, and have tried to avoid the tendency to make from particular evidence statements which are general in nature. The middle ages is a series of periods in which inconsistency and lack of standardization was the rule, universality the exception.

15 Inconsistency is epitomized in the ways in which the same service will vary throughout the year. The variability of items in all services is described by using qualifying terms such as proper, common, ferial, ordinary, or seasonal – words which have such limited meanings for the modern reader that their use for qualifying the medieval liturgy may be questioned. The whole matter of proper versus common has previously been told much too simply, if at all: nevertheless, the terms must be retained because of the force of centuries of tradition. One example may be cited of the way in which special kinds of variability can cause one to doubt one's senses or, worse, to doubt the accuracy of other scholars. Mass on the Day of Great Scrutiny, the Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent, is said to have two graduals and a tract:[7] examination of that day in manuscripts will disclose only the two graduals except in a few sources which do give the opening words of the tract. Having gone to manuscript after original manuscript to 'make sure of the facts,' one is now tempted to revise the statement: 'Mass on the Day of Great Scrutiny normally has two graduals, which in rare cases may be followed by a tract; the statement made by X is therefore incorrect.' Only an examination of the Mass of Ash Wednesday, four weeks and many pages earlier, discloses that its tract is to be repeated on all Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of Lent, and is thus indeed to be sung on the day in question. Here, then, an item common not to the whole year, nor to a season, nor to a week, but common to Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in Lent has

caused a problem. To the expert already familiar with such intricacies, this kind of difficulty may seem to be simple of solution and, alerted once to such a situation, the attentive scholar should not be similarly misled on a second occasion. But the liturgy is bursting with such traps. A fairly detailed description of the kinds of repetition and the kinds of change which normally take place may help to show the reader where and how such traps occur: I have tried to alleviate the tedium of minutely factual reporting by means of figures and diagrams.

16 The reader must always bear in mind the inconsistency of the middle ages, and this applies to the element of variability in another way: the kind of variability itself may change from source to source. Thus what is proper then common at certain points in one manuscript may be common then proper at the same points in another. Nevertheless, by and large such differences between sources and between uses do not appear to be great, nor are they difficult to follow once the basic principles are mastered. Despite the relative uniformity in this matter, for describing the principles it seemed necessary to use a single and easily accessible source against which the others may be compared. Convenience rather than any liturgical preference dictated the choice and, unless there is a note to the contrary, the published Sarum (Salisbury) Breviary and Missal are cited.[8] For the former book I have used the edition originally printed in 1531 and, occasionally, another printed in 1555. It may be that these prints and the few others used here have been included under the term 'manuscripts' where the word 'sources' should have appeared. Some of the other books printed more recently, such as the Sarum Missal (published in 1861 and another in 1916), are editions of manuscripts, as were the books printed early in the 16th century. The Roman Missal printed in 1474,[9] which is more central to the practices of the later middle ages and to subsequent use, has also been used as a standard: the Sarum books, however, are more convenient in many ways as a basis from which to draw comparisons. The English use of Sarum in the middle ages, far from being provincial, was 'not only universally admired, it was perhaps the most widespread of any.'[10] Moreover, it is the only use of the middle ages, including Roman, Franciscan, Dominican, and Benedictine, for which the majority of liturgical books have been recently published, in either facsimile or edition. The Missal, Breviary, Gradual, Antiphonal, Tonary, Ordinal, Customary, and Manual are all accessible in indexed and well-presented modern editions. Monastic, that is Benedictine, use is well represented by the edition of the Breviary of Hyde Abbey,[11] the introduction to which has one of the best descriptions of the office hours and how they differ in secular and monastic rites. Franciscan and Dominican practices, although of enormous importance for the codification and standardization of the later medieval liturgy, are not represented in modern editions (apart from those books, no doubt differing little, actually used by the two orders in recent times). The reforms of the former order and many of the books transmitting its rituals are described in detail by Van Dijk,[12] who relates them to the incipient standardization of the Roman practices: the earliest books of the Dominicans, also produced in the

13th century, have frequently been described,[13] although none edited from the originals. Because of the relative uniformity of Franciscan and Dominican practices, at least from the early 14th century, manuscripts from these orders have not generally been compared with each other here: secular in format, representative sources of each have been included with the other secular sources.

17 Printed editions with spacing, paragraphs, running heads to indicate the liturgical date, and various type-styles to distinguish rubrics and texts, are probably the best intermediary between the basic knowledge so far described and its application to an actual manuscript, and can enable the user to learn, by thorough page-by-page collation, the format of his manuscript. A second stage might be the use of published facsimilies which have indices of texts with their liturgical occasions,[14] or which have running heads printed above the facsimiles.[15] But the use of such aids can only be a temporary crutch, and eventually the user will have to come to his own conclusions about how the very different layout of a manuscript can be handled without assistance of this sort. The features described in this book are also crutches of a kind, but they are inherent in the sources themselves and were surely understood and used by the original readers.

Finally, we arrive at the manuscripts. My purpose here is to provide some visual clues to the structure of liturgical manuscripts. Work can then proceed until the familiarity with texts, and the knowledge of what should occur where, makes the visual organization merely a complement to quicker methods of orientation. Much has been published on the illumination and decoration of manuscripts, very little on the relation of the initial to the structure of the book or to the item it begins. The problems are not purely paleographic, although the layout of liturgical manuscripts does present peculiarities to be examined later. Apart from having the ability to read the scripts and abbreviations, which must be taken for granted here, the user of a Missal, or Breviary, or Gradual must know what to expect, and herein lies the origin of many errors and misunderstandings. Since in most cases the knowledge must come from the manuscripts themselves, few scholars nowadays are familiar enough with the Latin liturgy to be able to identify texts and their liturgical occasions instantly. Yet such a skill, fundamentally a matter of memory, is of the greatest assistance in working with service books of all kinds.

Music

18 If it is true that liturgical studies must start from the texts, then it must be acknowledged that music is an essential component of most of those studies. Of the texts used in the liturgy, at least half of the different categories, and the same proportion of the items used on any one day, are sung to music ranging from the simple chant to the very elaborate. Many of the remaining texts are sung to some form of more or less elaborate musical recitation in which there are passages which may be distinctive and informative. Only those items such as prayers and dialogues which are either not sung at all or are sung to a monotone

pitch throughout offer little or no help to the scholar seeking musical evidence. With the majority of liturgical texts therefore (although perhaps not with those which are most frequently studied) there may well be additional information to be gained from an examination of the music. For the non-musician, reluctance to work in this specialized field perhaps results from a feeling of inadequacy with respect to 'musicianship' or 'musicality.' No one knows how these concepts relate, if at all, to the medieval period and the application of modern beliefs about them is clearly to be avoided: work with the musical aspects consists of down-to-earth physical observation as much as does work with the scripts, and similarly may be treated as an exercise in symbol-recognition. Certainly to be stressed is the importance of liturgical knowledge for many kinds of musical research, and of musical knowledge for most liturgical study.

Medieval music is overwhelmingly liturgical. One of the important tasks for scholars is the identification of texts set to music or of plainsongs used as the basis for compositions. For various reasons, indices of incipits and of melodies are not usually much help in this process (see **612, 8001**), and until the liturgy can be more easily explored the discovery of crucial information often remains a matter of chance.[16] Unfortunately, it is still possible for editors to misinterpret the meaning of *novem lectionum* or to think that *sequentia* announcing the continuation of the gospel reading at Mass is the musical *sequentia* more properly called *prosa* which may occur in the same place.[17] An example not of error but of confusion resulting from ignorance may be cited with respect to the *Vespro della beata Vergine* of 1610, by Monteverdi: most editors of this work have 'run into difficulties . . . because of insufficient attention to these [liturgical] matters.'[18] The exact contents and correct order of the items within the work can be determined only by a study of the practice regarding Marian Vespers in the composer's time. A similar study of the Roman or Sarum services of the early 16th century is essential for a full understanding of the transition from Catholic to Lutheran or Anglican services, and to appreciate the origin of such important musical forms as the anthem, chorale, and oratorio. It is commonly said, for example, that Evensong is modelled on Vespers, although such a statement is merely a loose approximation: the same is true of the generalization usually made about Luther's changes to the Mass.

19 Matters of performance practice can sometimes be settled, or at least more correctly approached, through a consideration of the liturgical setting. The solo or choral performance of polyphonic items may be cited: fundamentally important features of this kind can be deduced for polyphony of the Notre Dame school of about 1200, or for polyphony from major manuscripts such as the source of Easter processional music, British Library Egerton 3307,[19] or even for isolated compositions.[20] Such items as these are, in any case, usually incomplete in the polyphonic source and the full rendering can be obtained only through the addition of plainsong at the correct points, determined from the plainsong manuscripts themselves. To choose a more contemporary instance, Stravinsky's Mass (1948) follows proper liturgical procedure by omitting from the setting the priest's solo intonations of Gloria and Credo: professional choirs

only too often make nonsense of these texts by failing to draw a suitable intonation from a liturgical source.

Some knowledge of liturgical use also helps us to understand how composers' attitudes have changed through the centuries. The earliest composers emphasize sequences, *prose*, a para-liturgical form not truly part of the ritual but added to it, and, until the St Martial school of about 1100, composers still preferred to set non-ritual items such as devotional songs. The position of such items within the liturgy can be determined in some instances by the inclusion within the setting of 'cues': a *conductum* (spelt thus) setting in the Calixtinus manuscript of the mid-12th century, for example, must serve as a processional piece before the gospel at Mass because it is preceded by a setting of the words *Lector lege . . . Jube domne*[21] with which the reader requests the celebrant's blessing in Mass. Through the 12th century we may see composers beginning to set solo items from the liturgy itself, especially responsorial forms such as gradual and alleluia and responsory. In the 13th century, a period of great upheaval in liturgical matters and in the organization of liturgical books, the setting of liturgical texts to part-music fades in importance, and when it revives, in the 14th and 15th centuries, musicians are more interested in setting the choral items of the services, the ordinary of the Mass, and devotional pieces such as antiphons which may or may not find a regular place in the established ritual. In the late 15th and 16th century yet other parts of the liturgy attract the attention of composers, particularly psalms, readings, and even versicles and responses or prayers normally reserved for spoken or intoned performance. The composition of Preces, especially by Anglican musicians, may be cited. Lamentations, elaborate readings from Holy Week, were very popular in the 16th century, and here the inclusion of a special termination, not part of the biblical text or the usual *Tu autem* formula with which Matins lessons normally end, has often caused bewilderment, especially among those not aware in the first place of such formulas.

20 Finally, to return to the 7th and 8th centuries, the earliest liturgical manuscripts, textual or musical, probably represent the written-down versions of orally-transmitted material.[22] Comparison of different versions may illuminate how words and music are transmitted by such a method: the middle ages may in fact be a storehouse of information on this subject for the ethnomusicologist or anthropologist.

The other side of the musico-liturgical coin may be revealed, to demonstrate some of the possible ways in which musical evidence may be used by the liturgical scholar. As has already been implied, most such evidence derives in the first place from a visual examination producing factual results rather than from an aural, aesthetic, and therefore ambiguous, examination requiring musicianship. The notation of plainsongs is probably the most immediately useful factor; by the later middle ages at least it is describable just as accurately as are script and decoration, although there remain some matters whose precise significance is not understood. Like script and decoration too, and perhaps in a few cases more accurately than either, the notation can identify provenance and

date. In some cases it may even help to identify the cleric for whom a manuscript was destined: the careful and unusually complete presentation of reciting tones, visually grouped to clarify the declamation of the syllables, for example, suggests that the cleric who performed such items was the intended user of the book, as is the case with certain sources of the 14th-century English coronation which seem to have been prepared for the archbishop or abbot.[23]

21 Incidental variants in the musical melody, which can be ascertained even from an uncomprehending visual collation of the notation, are just as significant in liturgical study as are variants in the text and may reinforce or set in doubt conclusions derived from the texts alone. The methods of comparison and 'textual' analysis are much the same, although complicated by several extra dimensions such as the spacing of the notes vis-à-vis syllables, the use of several apparently equal alternatives for many of the symbols, and the difficulty of distinguishing error from legitimate variant (see **612, 8001**). I am practically certain from other research in progress that it is possible by this means to draw conclusions about sources which are copied from each other or through intermediaries, or which are unrelated, and perhaps even to identify the styles of certain ateliers. Apart from refining, correcting, or endorsing evidence provided by the texts, occasionally the plainsongs may supply evidence obtainable in no other way. In the case of English manuscripts transmitting the office of Thomas Becket, for instance, there are notational or melodic variants which seem peculiar to either Sarum or York or another local use, and sometimes this information canot be gained from any other evidence. Similar information about provenance or intended destination may be deduced from the changing association between texts and melodies: within the large repertory of hymns and sequences in particular, the same text may be set to several different tunes or one tune may be used for different texts. Completely different melodies are not uncommon in the standard repertory: one text in the Becket office has two melodies, one of which seems to be English, the other perhaps French. The same is true of one antiphon in an office of the conception of the Virgin. The antiphon *Unxerunt Salomonem* has several tunes dependent on century and geography. Failure to recognize such musical differences or even to consider them can lead to erroneous conclusions.

It would seem feasible to compile lists of musical variants alone from which it would be possible immediately to distinguish between major uses, orders, and perhaps individual institutions, as well as eras. The task would be enormous.

22 Differences between musical styles, also ascertainable from visual inspection of the notation, are easy to identify in most cases. As will be shown later, certain musical styles tend to be related to kinds of genre so that identification of the former can help with the identification of the latter. A responsory and verse may be distinguished from a versicle and response or from an antiphon which happens to have a verse. In this respect I have particularly in mind the Mandatum service of Maundy Thursday, where the naming of items may be haphazard and a musical definition may enable a more precise terminology to be used. Nevertheless, as has been stressed numerous times already, the middle

ages is not necessarily consistent, even in its use of musical styles, and we should probably not force consistency onto its forms.

Paradigms

23 It is easiest to describe variants against an acceptable and widely accepted standard. This is where the existing descriptions of the services, especially those which are concise, tend to be misleading. There is no standard service of Matins, or ferial Mass, or whatever, in the middle ages, and the variants are from source to source, century to century, season to season, week to week. What then can be accepted as the recognized normal ritual, what as variants from the normal, what as accretions?

In its two thousand years, a good many centuries of which are moderately well documented, the liturgy has not remained static: additional texts, substitute texts, occasional texts, flow in and out of use, making it difficult to establish either a basic order of liturgical practice or the sequence or presence of texts within that order. During the 13th century, however, and mainly consequent upon the foundation and different requirements of the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans, a reform and gradual standardization of the liturgy and its books originated at the papal court in Rome.[24] No one single reference book, from which all others were copied, seems to have resulted: it is not yet clear how consistent are later Franciscan books, but the Breviary and Antiphonal of the order, *secundum ordinem curie Romane*, were sent to the twenty provinces in 1230. The Dominicans, following cosely in the steps of their less learned brothers, produced a *summa* of Dominican practice in the form of a comprehensive manuscript authorized in Paris in the 1260's and copied for the use of the master-general, from which all further copies were supposed to be made.[26] Although they have not been systematically identified and collated, Dominican books from that time are probably more consistent than those of any other single use.

24 The reforms and codifications seem to have been chiefly concerned with ritual actions and the order of the services, that is, with the establishment of a Ordinal, and only secondarily with the overgrowth of additional texts and services which had characterized the previous centuries. The result was a clearer establishment of a universal ritual, so that we can state that a certain order of services is to be expected, and that certain items within the services are normal, and that certain items are additional accretions. This general standardization makes the publications of paradigms less objectionable, provided that suitable caveats are appended. The texts within the services remain flexible to a great extent, even though we may be sure that an invitatory or a hymn is to be expected; the tunes remained variable from use to use; numerous accretions of different kinds in different places were retained. It is still possible and indeed essential to speak of uses although the number of distinctly different forms is certainly less than it was earlier in the middle ages. The main uses of importance in the later centuries are:[27] Benedictine, Cistercian, and other monastic rites; Franciscan-Roman, Dominican, and other regular rites; secular rites. Of the

secular uses, many have yet to be identified and their differences noted: only the English rites of Sarum, York, and Hereford have been investigated to any extent. Paris has been virtually unexplored, although Chartres, Rouen, Lyons, and Lille have been examined. The Ambrosian rite of Milan has been discussed quite extensively. A number of publications are concerned with the rites of Scandinavia and Germany, but the remainder of Europe is still virtually unknown. Only in the 16th century, with the reforms of the Council of Trent, were local variant and accretions of all kinds eliminated, creating a moderately uniform Missal and Breviary for the whole of Europe.

25 Before the 13th century, then, the liturgy is fraught with great variability and uncertainty of order and of precise text as well as with extreme problems of documentation. Subsequent to the 16th century there are few radical differences. The intervening centuries – the 13th to the 15th – lavishly supplied with manuscripts, offer challenges of both kind and quantity. Moreover, they are unquestionably of most general use to the scholar who is not particularly concerned with origins.

The difficulties and dangers of presenting paradigms of the services are obvious. Yet such formulas are necessary. I hope that the later chapters of this book, which deal with the way services are presented in numerous manuscripts, will help to loosen the rigidity of the skeletons in the earlier chapters. In every case, the skeleton must be clothed with the flesh of more precise information. Thus, if one wishes to state that a particular service was conducted in a specific manner, the precise date and year, together with a precise place, ought to be appended. In many cases this is, of course, not possible, and fortunately such exact detail is rarely necessary.

Terminology

26 An awkward problem in any field, terminology is at its most cumbersome in liturgy. Exact definitions are often impossible and, in good medieval fashion, the meaning of a word as well as its spelling may change with each appearance. I cannot claim to have been entirely consistent in the matter of spelling, especially in the matter of classical as opposed to medieval practices, and do not think the fact troublesome: I have, however, tried to be reasonably consistent as to the meaning which attaches to each word. In quotations, of course, the usage of the original document determines the meaning(s). Ambiguities and variant meanings are noted when terms are introduced.

In most cases, Latin has been retained in quotations simply because it is the language of the originals. Even with a minimum knowledge, the student can understand most liturgical instructions: here it is not usually necessary to understand the texts themselves. There are certain occasions where the original terminology can be made more precise in translation: *antiphona*, for instance, is normally translated quite satisfactorily as antiphon, but in certain contexts it may be more precisely rendered as votive or devotional antiphon. The qualification distinguishes the antiphon without a psalm from the normal psalm-antiphon. Votive antiphons are used to venerate the Virgin or a saint in contexts

outside the set services. Names of seasons and days have normally been translated into English, except where there is no equivalent. Some names, with no precise equivalents in English and equally cumbersome in both languages, have been paraphrased. The feasts of Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, and Corpus Christi, which sometimes need to be discussed together, may be called 'the spring feasts' even though Corpus Christi sometimes falls in summer.

I have tried to use terms as precisely as possible. Distinctions such as those between ecclesiastical and liturgical, between biblical and sacred, are important.

History

27 To study the history and origins of the material is a lifetime's work in itself, and I refer to such information only when it illuminates the practices of the period under discussion. Nevertheless, in order to place in a historical context some of the additions and accretions referred to in subsequent chapters, I present the following briefest outline of church history.

Christianity grew out of the Jewish religion and in the first centuries interaction between the two was common, the ceremonies and rituals changing considerably. Illegal in this period, the new religion began with services which were essentially private and, as far as the minimal evidence allows us to judge, lacking uniformity. From the 4th century, with the legalizing of Christianity and the consequent adoption of public services, more standardization of ceremony had to be introduced. To the readings, prayers, and recitation of psalms which had predominated in the ritual taken from the Jews, there were added certain non-scriptural texts such as hymns; the construction of large churches prompted choral rather than solo singing of psalms. During the 4th century and continuing the separation of public and private worship, the Christian society began to split formally into secular and monastic communities, the former concerning themselves with pastoral ministry and attending to the everyday spiritual needs of the people, the latter with seclusion from everyday life and a constant round of devotion to God. The secular churches naturally emphasized the public offices and seem to have looked with disfavour upon any newly composed non-scriptural poetry; moreover, until the establishment of professional bodies of singers, the kind of devotional music sung must have been very restricted. The monastic communities, on the other hand, reaching a pinnacle of organization and codification with the work of St Benedict, ca 530, developed the full round of services throughout the day, welcomed and preserved non-scriptural items, and had resident choral bodies, to put their musical abilities on a high level.

28 The different attitudes and practices continued until perhaps the 6th century when, under the influence of the basilican monks of St Peter's, Rome, the secular liturgy began to adopt monastic customs to a large degree. The first codification of general liturgical practice, which was attempted by Pope Gregory the Great, ca 600, is of immense importance in this respect. At this time many additions were made to the Roman Liturgy from monastic and Byzantine examples, more or less establishing the services as we now know them. This first

series of additions, forming the basic liturgy, was not completed until the 11th century, however, since a few isolated items such as the Credo were very slow to appear in Roman practice. Meanwhile a whole new series of additions had encroached on the fundamental offices and became an inessential, massive, and disturbing imposition onto the underlying services.

29 As the Roman services gradually solidified in the 7th to 12th centuries, the main centre of liturgical development, as well as of learning and literature and music in general, shifted to Gaul where the renaissance of the 9th century provided the impetus for the writing of much new sacred poetry which was added to the normal items of the liturgy in the form of tropes. This trend was to increase, maintain a flourishing life, and survive until the 16th century. Charlemagne's attempt in the 9th century to impose an empire-wide liturgy failed, but in the process of drawing from Roman, Byzantine, English, and Gallican rituals, texts, and chants, he certainly laid the foundation for what is now called, erroneously, Gregorian chant.[28] French monasticism, and especially the reforms of the Benedictine monastery of Cluny in the 10th century, played an important role in making the liturgy even more elaborate with textual and musical additions. In addition to the newly inserted texts, there were also complete new services. The desire for devotion to particular saints and an increasingly fervent veneration of the Virgin Mary led to the creation of numerous memorial or commemorative services for the Virgin, for the Dead, for All Saints, etc, and to the creation of a duplicate set of offices and Masses modelled on the fundamental series. Memorials were said in addition to the normal round: a duplicate office would usually replace the normal services on one of the weekdays. At the same time, smaller services consisting of prayers and psalms and commemorating secular persons such as benefactors or monarchs were added. The purpose of the church, the worship of our Lord, was in serious danger of being swamped by extra-liturgical accretions. Besides services within the day, the addition of feast days themselves, celebrating individual saints, mushroomed in the centuries from 800 to 1500. The special services for these days may in theory have been intended for performance in addition to the regular offices, either on the same day or in the case of a real collision between important festivals on successive days. But in practice the performance of new feasts soon came to replace the normal services. Thus the proper purpose of the liturgy was changed in favour of special devotions directed not at God but at individual saints.

Although subjected to constant criticism from various quarters, such accretions remained a standard part of liturgical practice all over Europe, with the exception of the rites of certain monastic and regular orders to be mentioned, until the 16th century. They produced a system which is enormously more complicated than modern liturgical practice can even suggest. Evidently a day so full of devotion could have been accomplished most easily in monastic circumstances, although many extra services did creep into secular uses.

30 In the course of the 12th century the emphasis moved back to Rome despite

the importance of Cîteaux, and monastic practices of the preceding centuries were adopted, at least in part: hymns were finally introduced, together with most of the other accretions. Opposing the tendency toward proliferation of ornament and service, however, the Cistercian monks began a reform designed to strip the services of many of their unnecessary texts, chants, and memorials. The austerity of worship which came to be characteristic of the Cistercians was a necessary first step towards the reforms instituted by the mendicant orders of the following century. For that century, the 13th, saw the rise of religious groups which were to play a fundamental role in the firm establishment of the Roman service, specifying more precisely those parts which were basic and those which were inessential accretions. St Francis and St Dominic founded orders of regular monks, not bound to houses but itinerant. Still expected to recite the daily offices, at least to themselves, clergy who travelled could not carry with them the paraphernalia required for all the accretions: indeed they were not supposed to own books at all. The peculiar needs of these two mendicant orders, then, forced upon the Roman curia a reorganization of liturgical practices, and this resulted in an even stricter codification of customs and rituals. Outside the Franciscan, Dominican, and Cistercian orders, however, most of the accretions remained in force in many secular establishments as well as in monasteries until the 16th century, when the pressures of the Reformation caused the church to try to return to the original liturgy shorn of its inessental overgrowth. Of course, the authorities at that time did not know, any more than we do now, what the original liturgy was, but we may assume that the intention was to restore to their rightful significance the fundamental services worshipping God rather than those petitioning saints.

This book will be concerned with the practices in force during and after the Franciscan and Dominican reforms of the 13th century and before the 16th century, and how these practices may be discovered from the liturgical books of the period.

MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS FOR MASS AND OFFICE

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The Liturgical Time

THE YEAR

100 A ritual which is to be used daily and for year after year must have both variety and repetition. A statement of what is repeated or varied and where those repetitions and variations occur could be presented, although cumbersomely, in a simple list of the complete practices day by day throughout the year. The services, their texts, music, and ritual differ on each day of the week, Sunday being more elaborate than the weekdays. Such daily changes would not invalidate our day-by-day list, since Sundays always fall on Sundays. But many special feasts, Christmas Day for example, fall upon an invariable date. These occasions have their own special and more elaborate texts and music. They will fall on a different day of the week as the years progress and in one year their special features may have to be adapted and mingled with the daily ritual for Sunday, in another year with the ritual for Wednesday. The adaptation of a normal Wednesday, for example, is quite familiar to us when we go to special Christmas services on that day. A comprehensive list adapting the feasts of fixed date to all seven days of the week, made more complex by the irregularity of leap years, is evidently out of the question for practical purposes. To increase the complexity, another variable occurs. For reasons which we need not discuss, the date of the main feast of the church is itself variable. Easter Sunday, the day which commemorates the resurrection, may fall on any one of thirty-five different dates: this too is familiar in everyday life. Since the resurrection, with the incarnation at Christmas, is the main event around which the whole of Christian life is built, so Easter Sunday is the day around which the most important part of the church year is ordered: the six weeks of Lent, before Easter, and the whole of the Easter season always vary their position within the church year in the same way as does Easter Sunday. For Masses, but not for other services, all of the relatively unimportant Sundays of summer vary similarly. The date of Easter must therefore be established before any details of the yearly variations can be elucidated. Liturgical books thus conventionally begin with a Kalendar from which, by means of formulas, the date of Easter Sunday can be determined. The method by which this is done will be examined, together with other information contained in the Kalendar, in appendix I. The

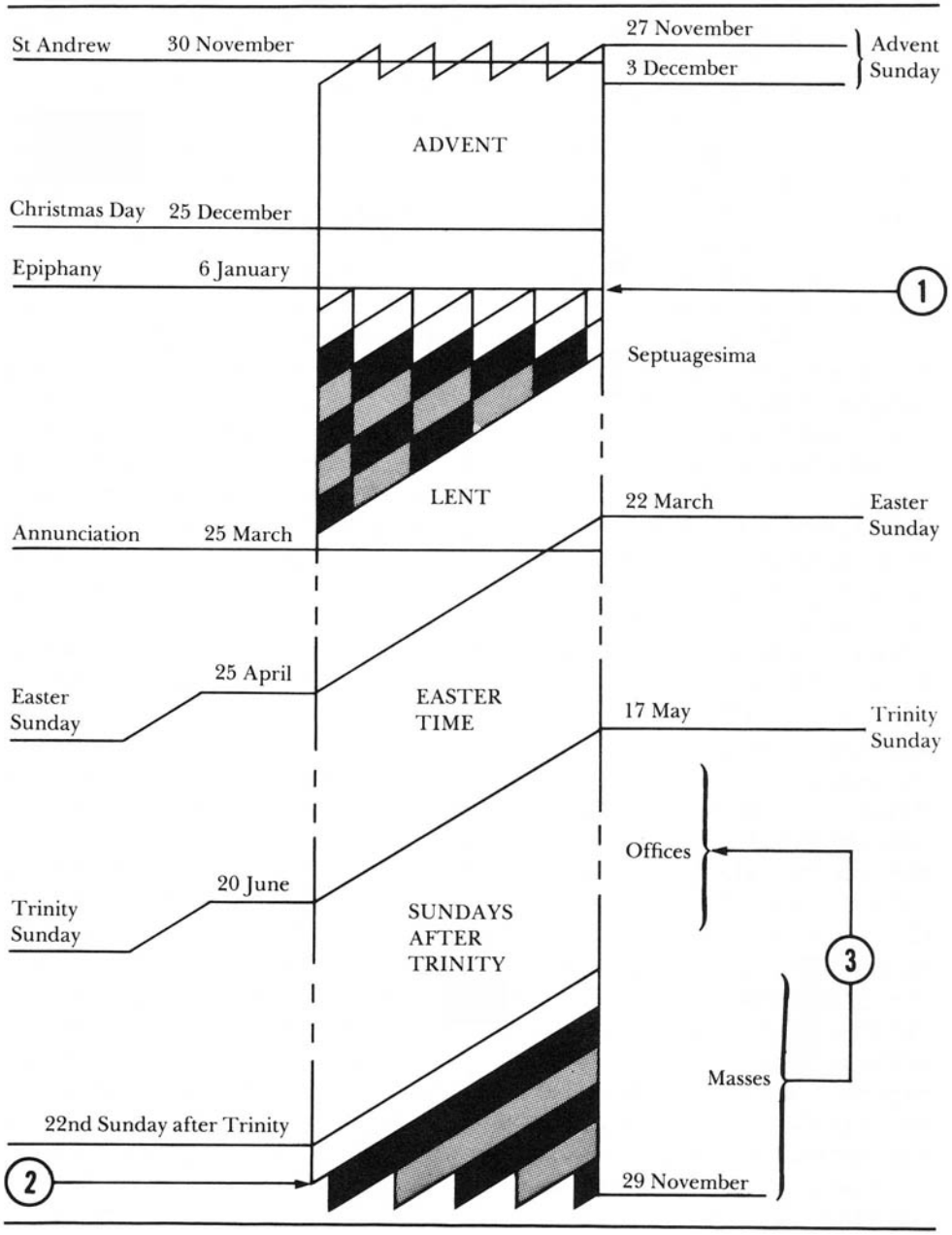
constant concern with the mathematics of the yearly calendar and of the heavenly spheres, the sun and moon especially, is one reason for the emphasis placed on arithmetic and astronomy in the system of medieval education. Within the Quadrivium, the close connection of music with both of these subjects in the middle ages hardly needs stressing; neither does its intimate connection with the liturgy.[1]

101 The year is organized in two periods. One is based around the incarnation, the fixed-date festival of Christmas, whose services may occur on any one of the seven days of the week; the other is based around the movable feast of the resurrection, Easter, whose services may fall on any one of thirty-five dates. Figure 1.1 shows the year from Advent to Advent, horizontally. Thirty-five years, one for each possible date of Easter including leap years, have been arranged so that successive Easter Sundays fall on consecutive dates of the year, a convenient sequence which nevers occurs in practice. Advent Sunday, shown by the dotted line, may fall on any of the seven dates from 27 November to 3 December. Occurring on the former date at the beginning and top of the diagram, it falls on 29 November a year later, at the top right-hand corner. The 'serrations' show its movement within the seven days. The feast of St Andrew, 30 November, may therefore fall before Advent, after Advent Sunday, or on that day. The season of Advent extends up to Christmas and, including Advent Sunday but not Christmas Day itself, always has four Sundays. As with any feast of fixed date, Christmas Day and Epiphany, 6 January, may occur on any day of the week. In the 'season' after Epiphany there is always at least one Sunday, together with its six weekdays, and separating that Sunday from Epiphany may be any number of weekdays from none to six (in the latter case, Epiphany would itself fall on a Sunday). This period, consisting thus of seven to thirteen days, is represented in figure 1.1 by the blank parallelograms.

At this point, and as it were grinding against the 'serrations' of the seven-day variations, the period variable by thirty-five days 'meets' the weeks after Epiphany. If Easter falls on 22, 23, or 24 March, the earliest dates possible, this period directly follows the first complete week (Sunday to Saturday) after Epiphany, as shown at (1) in figure 1.1. When Easter is very late, the period cannot follow directly and a hiatus occurs. According to the date of Easter any number from one to five extra weeks, distinguished in figure 1.1, have to be added. The major part of the year, beginning two and a half weeks before Lent, continuing through that season, past Easter Sunday, through Easter time up to Trinity Sunday, contains the most important and often the most ancient services that the church celebrates. Following Trinity Sunday is the summer, a season almost devoid of important festivals, because of the medieval preoccupation with the harvest. At least twenty-two and at most twenty-seven Sundays follow Trinity.[2] When Easter is very late, on 24 or 25 April, Advent Sunday of the next liturgical year follows directly after the twenty-second Sunday, as at (2) in figure 1.1. Otherwise, one to five extra weeks occur which complement the extra weeks after Epiphany and whose ritual is often drawn from that period. Liturgical adjustments for these extra weeks of summer occur at the end of the season

FIGURE 1.1
The calendar year (showing the arrangement as Easter moves)

Parallelograms represent complete weeks, triangles incomplete weeks.



1 Quinquagesima directly follows the first complete week (Sunday to Saturday) after Epiphany.
2 Advent Sunday directly follows the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.
3 The extra weeks are placed at the end of the summer for Masses, and after Trinity Sunday for the offices.

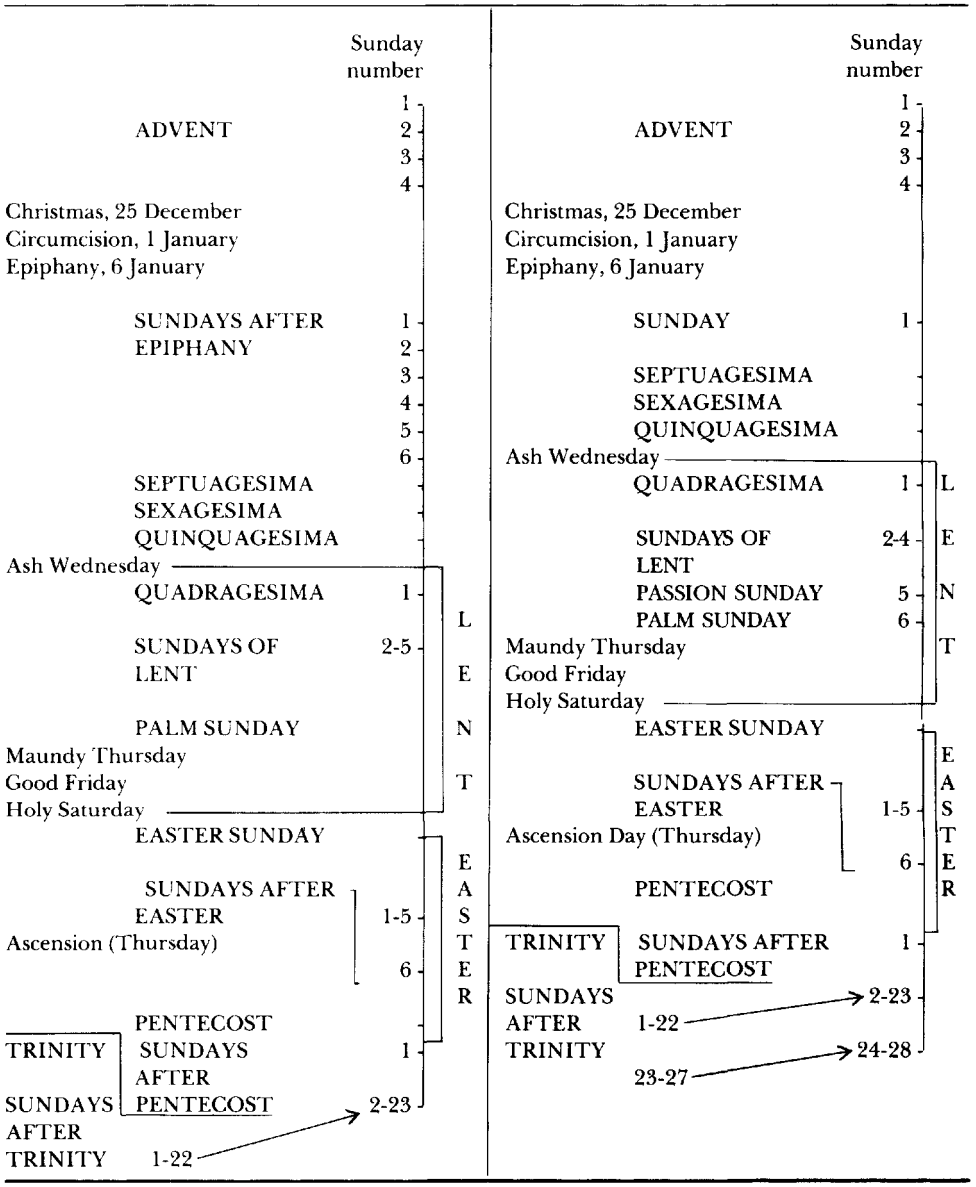
for Masses, and near its beginning for the offices: see (3) in figure 1.1, and sections **726, 835, 871.**

102 In the earliest days of Christianity the only services required were those devoted to our Lord, commemorating the important times of his life. The round of such services is therefore known as the Temporale [Domini nostri Jesu Christe], 'the Time of our Lord'. Conventionally, the liturgical year begins with Advent, but this practice was not universal in the earlier middle ages and reminders of alternative practices sometimes occur.[3] In chronological order, then, the important occasions are (1) the preparation for Christ's coming, (2) his birth, (3) his circumcision, (4) the manifestation to the Gentiles, or the adoration of the Magi, called Epiphany, (5) his forty-day fast, (6) his entry into Jerusalem along roads strewn with palms, (7) the Last Supper, (8) the betrayal and crucifixion, (9) his resurrection, (10) his ascent into heaven, (11) the descent of the Holy Ghost. These special events form the feasts or main seasons of the Temporale, and all are quite familiar, although their Latin names may not be in current use: (1) *Adventus*, (2) *Nativitas*, (3) *Circumcisio*, (4) *Epiphania*, (5) *Jejunium*, literally a 'fast,' infrequently used because there are other ways of referring to the days of Lent, (6) *Dominica in ramis palmarum* 'Palm Sunday,' (7) & (8) the *triduum*, that is, the three days preceding Easter Sunday: *Cena domini* 'the Feast of our Lord' or 'Maundy Thursday,' and *Parasceve* 'Good Friday,' and *sabbatum sanctum*[4] 'Holy Saturday,' (9) *Dominica resurrectionis*, (10) *Ascensio*, (11) *Pentecostes* 'Whitsunday.'

Sunday, *dominica*, is not usually referred to by the term *dies*, 'a day,' except in the case of Easter Sunday itself, where *in die resurrectionis* is commonly found. Feasts such as Christmas and Ascension are usually named *die nativitatis, die ascensionis,* or *in die* . . . The former, using the ablative of *dies*, is presumably an abbreviation of the latter phrase. An elementary knowledge of Latin or Greek makes self-evident the names for most liturgical occasions and further explanation will be presented only where necessary.

103 The individual feast days mentioned above have their own special and proper services which are naturally more elaborate than those of other days in the year, when Christ is remembered in more general ways. Nevertheless, to some extent each day has its own proper texts, ceremonial, and music, even though repetition from week to week may occur. The special, variable material for feasts and for everyday use is referred to as *Proprium de Tempore*, 'the Proper of the Time.' Certain minor elements which are common to many days or to all days will be examined in detail later. Feast days are preceded by their eve, and in most cases are followed by an octave. As with so many liturgical terms, in the later middle ages it is difficult to attach a precise and invariable meaning to the term used for 'eve,' namely *vigilia*. Even though its origin in the night-long vigil beginning on the evening before the feast is clear and the same limitation of time continues to apply on most occasions, the word *vigilia* can also refer to the complete day preceding the feast and also to its vigil beginning on the evening before. This is true, for example, of the day before Christmas and that before Pentecost and such 'eves' are characterized by many proper texts for all their services, from first to second Vespers. The extent of the *vigilia* can be

FIGURE 1.2
The main seasons and feasts of the temporale



determined from the context. The latter term octave, refers to the same day one week later[5] as well as to the intervening days. In Latin, the meanings are distinguished by preposition and case: *infra octavas* or *infra octavam, in octavis* or *in octava* 'within the eight days,' *post octavas* or *octavam* 'after the eight days' or

'after the eighth day,' and *in octavam* 'on the eighth day.' The occurrence of octaves affects the naming of certain Sundays, as we shall see. We can now itemize the sequence of the Temporale and give names to many days of the year. Figure 1.2 presents the material schematically and introduces one additional feast of the Temporale. It shows the two extreme versions of the year, when Easter is very early and very late: either diagram may be followed in the subsequent discussion.

Temporale and Sanctorale

Henceforth, without special warning, the word Temporale will refer to the round of services through the year, and also to the book or section of a book in which they are written down. Similarly, Sanctorale will refer to the services for the saints and to the place where they are written down.

Advent and Christmas

104 Advent always has four Sundays, henceforth Advent 1, 2, 3, 4.[6] Christmas Day always falls after, and its Eve may fall on, the fourth Sunday. In the latter case, with Advent 4 on its latest possible date, the Sunday ceremonial will have to adapted to allow for the rituals of Christmas Eve. Furthermore, in this case the Sunday after Epiphany is on its earliest possible date and only one other Sunday intervenes between Christmas and Epiphany:

December	January
24 Advent 4 and Christmas Eve	1 Circumcision
25 Christmas Day	2
26	3
27	4
28	5 Vigil of Epiphany
29	6 Epiphany
30	7 Epiphany 1 Sunday
31 Sunday	

Since Christmas Eve can fall on six other days of the week, this situation is unusual and in all other cases there are two intervening Sundays between Advent 4 and Epiphany 1. Christmas, Circumcision, and Epiphany, feasts of fixed date, may fall on these Sundays.

This chapter is concerned with occasions commemorating Christ. Nevertheless, we must introduce some feasts venerating saints. In the early days of the church the number of saints was so few that a separate book gathering their feasts was not needed and the details of their services were included with the services of the Temporale in chronological order. Even when a Sanctorale was evolved, the feasts of saints occurring in the days after Christmas and commemorating events from the earliest days of Christianity were often retained in the Temporale.[7] Their celebration within the complex octave of Christmas, and the constant adaptation caused by the further superimposition

of a movable Sunday ceremonial, made lengthy and detailed instructions necessary. Some more organized and universal uses from the later middle ages, the Cistercians and Dominicans in particular but not the Franciscans nor the Roman curia, prefer to place these feasts in the Sanctorale.[8] But to remove these saints' feasts from the Temporale into another book or section of a book made it necessary each year to combine two physically separated sequences of feasts for the same few days. Most uses retain the traditional arrangement. Even though a separate Sanctorale had appeared as early as the 8th century in the Gradual of Monza and in early Breviaries of the 10th and 11th centuries,[9] the services for one saint canonized in 1173 were nevertheless added to the Temporale and retained in that position where the other Christmas saints were also thus retained. The services of Thomas of Canterbury occur on 29 December, within the octave of Christmas.[10] In many liturgical books, therefore, the section devoted to the Temporale of Christmas includes these feasts:

December
25 Christmas Day
26 St Stephen, protomartyr
27 St John, apostle
28 Holy Innocents, remembering the massacre of the children after Christmas
29 St Thomas of Canterbury
30 *sexta die post nativitatem*
31 St Silvester, bishop of Rome, d. 335, and the Vigil of Circumcision

January
1 Circumcision
2-4 octaves of Stephen, John, and the Innocents
5 Vigil of Epiphany, with a memorial to St Thomas
6 Epiphany

The phrase *sexta die*, for a day which may be Sunday, should be observed.

Epiphany to Palm Sunday

105 One Sunday, Epiphany 1, with its complete week, always follows Epiphany. If Epiphany itself is a Sunday, Epiphany 1 is the following Sunday, the octave, and there are two complete weeks from Epiphany to Septuagesima. When Epiphany is not on a Sunday, Epiphany 1 falls within the octave and is therefore sometimes called *Dominica infra octavas Epiphanie.* In the event of Easter being late there are up to five extra weeks between Epiphany 1 and Septuagesima Sunday: *Dominica (2-6) post Epiphaniam,* now referred to as Epiphany 2-6. An alternative terminology sometimes found is *Dominica (1-5) post octavas Epiphanie.* As with other days where the name can be expressed in several equally correct ways, the usage of the source in question must be ascertained. This period, and the Sunday which begins it, is also known as the season, or Sunday, *Domine ne in ira* from the incipit of the first responsory of the first Sunday, Epiphany 2.

Moreover, if the period contains no extra Sundays, or one or two, it may be referred to as *tempus breve*, if three, *tempus equale*, if four or five, *tempus prolixum*.[11] The following Sunday, sometimes called the sixth Sunday [after the octave] of Epiphany, is Septuagesima Sunday, so called because it falls within seventy days but more than sixty days before Easter. The next Sunday is within sixty, Sexagesima, the next within fifty, Quinquagesima. Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima are in fact short seasons within which the Sunday occurs. The correct terminology is therefore *Dominica infra Septuagesimam*, etc. Sexagesima and Quinquagesima are sometimes referred to as first and second Sundays within Septuagesima. Falling within forty days of Easter (excluding Sundays) the next Sunday is Quadragesima or *Dominica 1 in Quadragesima*, henceforth XL 1 (these seasons are often abbreviated to LXX, LX, L, and XL in the sources and will often be so written here). Some items such as alleluias appear inconsistently between Septuagesima and Lent since, when the latter period was extended backwards **(902)**, they were sometimes replaced with penitential items such as tracts. The season of Quadragesima extends to Easter and has five ordinary Sundays, XL 1-5, of which the first may be known as *in albis*,[13] the fourth as *Letare*, and the fifth as *Dominica in passione*, Passion Sunday. Palm Sunday, *Dominica in ramis palmarum*, follows. This season of Lent with its forty weekdays (that is, not Sundays) commemorates Christ's fast.

Holy Week and Easter

106 The week preceding Easter Day, Holy Week or *Hebdomada sancta* or *major*, is very special, remembering as it does Christ's last days. Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday have already been mentioned and their services will be examined in more detail in chapter 9. After Easter Day is a season of rejoicing to celebrate the resurrection, the season of Easter time, *tempus paschale*, which extends from Easter Sunday to the Saturday after Pentecost, inclusive.[14] The season has seven Sundays, the first six being either Sundays after Easter, *Dominica (1-6) post Pascham*, or the octave of Easter and five Sundays after the octave. The octave itself may be called *Dominica in albis depositis* or, confusing it with XL 1, *Dominica in albis*: an alternative name is *Quasimodo*.[15] The Sunday, Pascha 6, falls within the octave of Ascension Day (Thursday) and is sometimes called *Dominica infra octavas ascensionis*. The name Pentecost, given to the seventh Sunday, derives from its position as the fiftieth day after Easter.

Trinity and the summer

107 The remaining Sundays of the year may be numbered after Pentecost, for example, *Dominica 21 post Pentecosten*, Pentecost 21, in which case there will be at least twenty-three or if Easter is early at most twenty-eight. However, made obligatory in 1334 but certainly celebrated much earlier in some places was the feast of Trinity Sunday, a week after Pentecost.[16] Some sources therefore number the remaining Sundays after Trinity. Pentecost 21 will then be the same as Trinity 20, and so forth. According to Fr. Dominique Delalande, *Le Graduel des*

Prêcheurs (Paris, 1949) page 282, in *later* Dominican sources Sundays are numbered after the octave of Trinity. Even after Trinity was established some sources still preserve the numbering after Pentecost so that there are several alternatives:

Pen.	Pen.	Pen.	Pen.
Tri.	Tri.	Tri. = oct. Pen.	Tri.
Pen. 2	Tri. 1	1 post oct. Pen.	Tri. oct.
Pen. 3	Tri. 2	2 post oct. Pen.	1 post Tri. oct.
Pen. 19	Tri. 18	18 post oct. Pen.	17 post Tri. oct.

In the last case, there appear to be four Sundays where there are in fact only three: the services for the octave of Pentecost, displaced by those of Trinity, have been retained in the source. The effect of the insertion of Trinity on the disposition of the services in the summer has not, as far as I know, been carefully examined. Frequent general statements occur, such as the one that the Mass for the octave of Pentecost was shifted to the next free weekday, the usual procedure when two Masses coincided. But the sources are inconsistent in their handling of the difficulty. As will be seen in a later chapter, the sources are also often confused and inaccurate about the numbering of the Sundays, especially later in the season. The only safe method of finding the correct number is to count from Pentecost.

The presence of Trinity may be used as one piece of evidence for dating a source after 1334. Another feast of the Temporale added during these weeks was Corpus Christi. Celebrated at least in Liège from about 1246, it was authorized for universal use by 1264.[17] The Thursday after Trinity is set aside for the feast, and the following Sunday may therefore be referred to as *Dominica infra octavas Corporis Christi*. Some examples of the manner in which this feast disturbs the arrangement of services will be presented.[18] Divided into several short periods, the weeks of the summer are frequently known by names which derive from either the Matins responsory with which they begin or the book of the Bible from which the daily readings are drawn. The arrangement of these periods will be examined in detail later.

Trinity 1: *Deus omnium* (R) or 'Kings,' *Liber regum*
1st Sunday after 28 July: *In principio* (R) or 'Wisdom,' *Liber sapientie*
1st Sunday after 28 August: *Si bona* (R) or 'Job'
1st Sunday after 11 September: *Peto Domine* (R) or 'Tobias'
1st Sunday after 20 September: *Adonay* (R) or 'Judith'[19]
1st Sunday after 27 September: *Adaperiat* (R) or 'Machabees'
1st Sunday after 28 October: *Vidi Dominum* (R) or 'Ezechiel'

It is evident from the above table that after the first Sunday of Trinity all subsequent Sundays vary in date by up to seven days: Trinity 1 will of course vary by up to thirty-five, according to the date of Easter. As far as the offices are concerned, the return from a variation of thirty-five days to one of seven days takes place by adjusting the number of weeks in the first season of the summer, *Deus omnium*. For Masses, the adjustment takes place at the end of the summer,