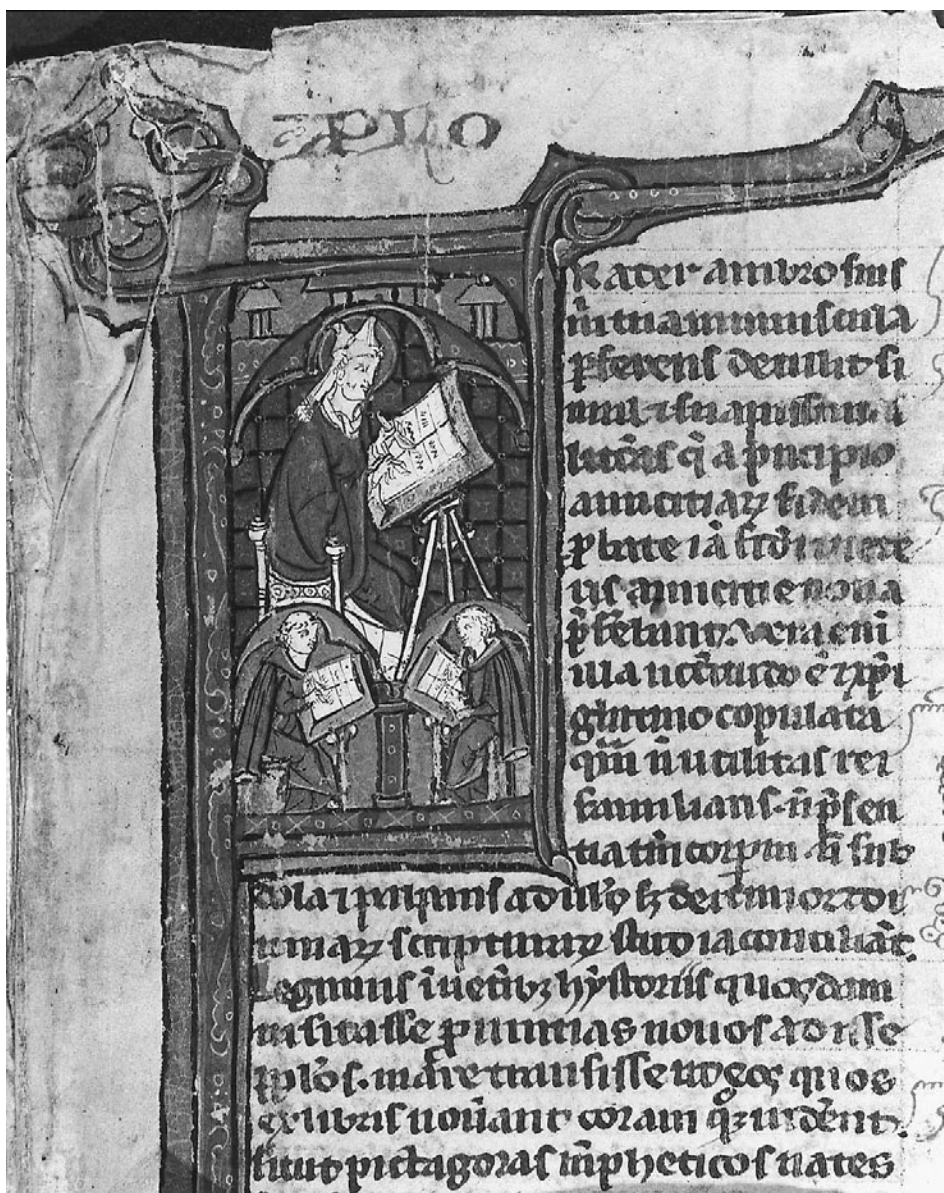


**The Divine Office in the
Latin Middle Ages:
Methodology and Source
Studies, Regional
Developments, Hagiography**

*MARGOT E. FASSLER
REBECCA A. BALTZER,
Editors*

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE DIVINE OFFICE
IN THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES



Frontispiece: A sainted bishop and two clerics copying, beginning Jerome's general prologue to the Old Testament. Plate from f.1r of Beinecke MS. 206, a Northern French Bible from the late thirteenth century. Published with the permission of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.



THE DIVINE OFFICE IN THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES

Methodology and Source Studies,
Regional Developments,
Hagiography

Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner

Edited by

MARGOT E. FASSLER

REBECCA A. BALTZER

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This volume is dedicated to Ruth Steiner, in gratitude for her scholarship and her generous spirit, which have shaped not just this book but the field of chant studies as a whole.

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Preface

Having catalogued the several hours of the Divine Office, supplying scriptural justifications for each of them, Basil the Great spoke of the importance of rendering daily praise at set times throughout the day:

Not one of these times is to be overlooked by those who have earnestly dedicated their lives to the glory of God and Christ himself. Moreover I think it useful to have diversity and variety in the prayer and psalmody at these appointed times, because somehow the soul is frequently bored and distracted by routine, which by change and variety of the psalmody and prayer at each hour its desire is renewed and its concentration restored. (*MECL*, 68)

The quotation begins with the warning that “not one of these times is to be overlooked,” and they were not: for over one thousand years every monk, nun, canon, or friar in the Christian West sang some form of the hours of daily prayer; through books of hours and other devotional materials, the Office was brought to the laity in later centuries as well. To be “a religious” meant, first and foremost, to be a person who joined in formal and set communal prayer, the *opus dei*, which was at the heart of the monastic vocation and incumbent upon clerics as well. The fear of boredom Basil mentions was an ever-present problem for those who prayed the Office: medievals not only were attentive to the psalmody that is basic communal Christian prayer, they embroidered it with thousands upon thousands of new texts and chants, not only in the Carolingian period, but long after. All these readings, prayers, chants, and chant texts were preserved in codices from the tenth century onward, making the production of Office books a major activity of scriptoria throughout the Middle Ages, and often calling upon the creativity of illuminators and calligraphers as well, for the books ranged from the rude to the deluxe. The Office was not only central to medieval modes of religious life, it was also a subject of perpetual and powerful influence upon exegetes and theologians, who were familiar with the Bible through the ways of organizing and presenting Scripture and

scriptural commentary found in the Office. It is not to be wondered at that large numbers of medieval authors included commentaries upon the Office in their writings; beyond these, as the art, drama, and poetry of the Middle Ages demonstrate, the medieval imagination itself was shaped by the performance style and content of the Office.

Any debate about the centrality of the Office to defining life and learning in the Middle Ages would be easy to win. Yet surprisingly, the Office has been very little studied in our own age, and this in spite of the great explosion of scholarly work on the medieval period in this century. The Office is, when one considers the Latin West at least, the last great relatively unexplored frontier. Liturgiologists in this century have not been particularly interested in the Latin Middle Ages, but have tended to concentrate on the early Christian period, finding there the best models for the restoration of public prayer in contemporary churches. For medievalists in disciplines besides musicology, the very “diversity and variety” of the subject have made it seem dauntingly difficult. Yet there is nothing that better embodies the paradoxical culture of the Latin Middle Ages: its stable consistency, and at the same time its ferment, regional diversity, and penchant for change.

This volume attempts to draw students of the Middle Ages, both scholars and nonspecialists, more deeply into this vast, little-explored terrain, demonstrating something of the broad dimensions of the territory and of the tools and methods used to chart it, and pointing to the several kinds of knowledge that can be gained from its study. Our book falls into five parts, each of which coheres around a particular period, aspect of the Office, or theme. The opening section forms a two-part introduction to the volume. The first chapter explores the variety of materials used to form the Office in the Carolingian period and explains how to use them; the second chapter presents some of the thorny problems scholars encounter when attempting to “read an Office book.” It is easy to be fooled, and scholars must often consult several representatives of a single tradition for the best answers to certain questions. The second section of the book contains three chapters on the pre-Carolingian Office. Because the problems encountered when dealing with early Offices are very different from those met in the later Middle Ages, they need to be approached with special tools. James McKinnon’s chapter focuses on the kinds of work that need to be done and are being done, concentrating on the first centuries. The next two chapters deal with the period immediately after this.

The rest of the book is primarily concerned with the tenth century and later. These chapters have been divided into four sections, each of which represents a vital field of current research; in every case, the opening chapter will form a kind of introduction to the section as a whole. The first of these parts has to do with sources—the manuscripts, their contents and natures—and it points to several of the ways they are commonly used to study the texts and music of the Office. The second concentrates on regional developments and variations, moving between the Office and the Mass, and the ways in which the Office related to other ceremonies and musical repertoires. Some chapters in this section demonstrate the importance of establishing contexts for materials found in the Office, given that they so often reach beyond the confines of the *opus dei* and the choir. (The phrase *opus*

dei is discussed in the appendix to Benedict of Nursia, ed. Frye, 105–6.) In the third section we present a collective argument for the centrality of Office sources to the study of medieval hagiography. Christian communities knew the saints primarily through the Office, for it was there, even more than in the Mass, that liturgical materials were particularized and individual *vitae* shaped for communal celebration. The propers of the Mass were standardized: tropes and sequences, although far more malleable, usually belonged to regional traditions; but the Office varied community by community, in at least some of its aspects. The concluding section of the book highlights the technological advances made in recent decades in handling the enormous amount of surviving evidence surrounding the medieval Office and its praxis. New tools only recently developed hold keys never before available for unlocking the treasure chest of the Divine Office.

Ruth Steiner has been the great pioneer in driving the scholarly community toward the collaboration necessary for successful study of this boundless and complicated subject, her zeal for this work coming of age alongside electronic databases and the World Wide Web. It is she who has, almost single-handedly at first, led the way for chant scholars worldwide to contribute their own indexes and studies to the cumulative effort, and in some cases to launch projects of their own. Through CANTUS, the database she established with her students at the Catholic University of America, detailed inventories of over 40 manuscripts deliberately chosen from a variety of uses and geographic regions are now “on line,” their contents available throughout the globe to any scholar who knows enough about the Divine Office to use them profitably. The CANTUS project, which recently moved from the Catholic University of America to the University of Western Ontario, where it is headed by Terence Bailey, shows the genius Steiner has for creating an open-ended collaborative project, which would not stop with the work of a single generation.

Many of us who acknowledge a great debt to Ruth Steiner in our scholarly work were trained, as was she, as musicologists, and have grown used to CANTUS and the opportunities it and other electronic tools offer, and the potential for scaling even greater heights in the future. With this book, we hope to introduce a wider range of scholars to these materials, and also to promote the study of the Divine Office among scholars of every discipline in medieval studies, for it pertains immediately to every subject, from art history, to canon law, to biblical studies and hermeneutics, to gender studies and historiography. Finding ways of studying it with ever greater sophistication will be up to each discipline, but it is satisfying to report that significant new tools necessary for beginning the work are now available.

The many students who worked with Professor Steiner at the Catholic University of America for over a decade were her helpmates in the beginning of a collaborative dream that has since become virtual reality. In order to use CANTUS, and to read this book, it is essential that a readily accessible plan of the Office be available. Yet it is difficult to capture such a complex and varying structure in a simple series of charts. Lila Collamore, one of the most experienced members of Steiner’s team at the Catholic University, has generously supplied a set of plans that are keyed to the workings of CANTUS, and which form a part of her own forthcoming publication on how to use CANTUS and structure files for it. We are

most grateful to her for sharing this part of her work, and providing information that forms a fitting introduction both for the reader and for a book dedicated to Ruth Steiner.

N.B.: All biblical citations follow the Vulgate.

New Haven, Connecticut

Austin, Texas

In festo annuntiationis BMV, 1999

M. E. F.

R. A. B.

Acknowledgments

This book has taken years to edit and produce, as might be expected of a complicated work by an international team of authors, each of whom has striven in her or his own way to write about a highly technical subject for medievalists who are not necessarily trained in liturgy and musicology. Our first debt is to the authors: for their painstaking work, for their patience with the editors, and for their unfailing love of the subject. The various stages of production were dependent upon the resources of the Yale Institute of Sacred Music, the Yale Divinity School and its library, and the School of Music and libraries of the University of Texas at Austin; we are grateful for the support of these institutions. The numerous musical examples for this volume were all prepared and edited by Rebecca Baltzer. Ruth Steiner, the dedicatee of this book, has served as an able consultant upon several occasions, and we are grateful for her advice and support.

We especially thank John Leinenweber, research fellow at Yale Divinity School, whose work on the bibliography, notes, and indexes has been exemplary, and Gale Pollen, senior administrative assistant at the Yale Institute of Sacred Music, who has worked on formatting and other clerical details throughout. We are grateful for the assistance of those scholars who prepared translations and redactions: Susan Boynton, Barbara Haggh, Lori Kruckenberg, and Philip Zimmermann. Harry Attridge of Yale Divinity School helped with the several printings and formatings of the bibliography. Extensive editorial work was supported by grants from other institutions, and so we offer thanks to the Mellon Foundation and to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. Early versions of some chapters were presented in May 1994, in a group of four sessions on the Office organized through the auspices of the International Congress on Medieval Studies sponsored by the Medieval Institute of Western Michigan University. We thank all who took part in these sessions and contributed to our initial conversations about the book.

We are grateful for the advice and support of Maribeth Payne, music editor at Oxford University Press, who has shepherded the project since its conception, and

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The frontispiece is printed with the permission of the Beinecke Library at Yale University; we also acknowledge the permission to print other photographs given by the British Library and the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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THE DIVINE OFFICE
IN THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES

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Prelude

Charting the Divine Office

LILA COLLAMORE

Saint Benedict opens chapter 16 of his rule with a quote from the book of Psalms: “septies in die laudem dixi tibi” (“Seven times a day have I praised you”; Ps. 118:164). The Divine Office forms a continuous cycle of daily prayer, sacred reading, and meditation in the life of the church.¹ This cycle never ends—the Office from one day leads without a break into the Office of the next. Each day has eight hours: Matins (or Vigils, now known as the Office of Readings or the Night Office), Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline:

Hour	Time celebrated	Clock time for 21 March
Matins	the eighth hour of the night	2:00 A.M.
Lauds	daybreak	about 5:30 A.M.
Prime	the first hour of the day	6:00 A.M.
Terce	the third hour of the day	9:00 A.M.
Sext	the sixth hour of the day	12:00 noon
None	the ninth hour of the day	3:00 P.M.
Vespers	before dark	about 5:30 P.M.
Compline	before retiring	

Note: The Romans divided the day and the night into twelve unequal hours each. Consequently, the length of the hour depends on the length of the day (or night). At Rome (lat. 41°54' N), an hour ranges from 45 to 75 minutes in length.

The daily Office may follow either the monastic cursus or the Roman cursus. (The monastic cursus is that used in monastic communities, especially those that follow the Rule of St. Benedict.) The Roman cursus is used in cathedrals, secular and parochial churches, and by some religious orders, such as the friars and canons, and is also known as the secular cursus, the cathedral cursus, or the canons' cursus. The main elements of the Office are the same in both cursus, but the number and arrangement of these elements is different.

On Sundays and major feasts,² the Office (and its cycle of proper chants) begins with Vespers on the eve of the feast (known as First Vespers), continues through Vespers on the day of the feast (Second Vespers), and ends with Compline. The most important feasts also include a celebration on the Octave (the day a week after the feast), within the Octave, and so on. Feasts of this rank take the festal form of Matins, with nine or twelve lessons and the *Te deum* to mark their dignity.

Feasts next in importance are celebrated from Matins to Compline on the day of the feast. This Office also takes the festal form. Less important feasts have Matins in the ferial format, a shortened version of the hour with only one nocturn with lessons. (The more important of these in the Roman cursus include the *Te deum* in Matins.) The least important saints are commemorated only with a Memorial. On days on which no feast falls (that is, no feast that is celebrated with part of the regular Office), the Ferial Office is sung.³ Weekdays of the Ferial Office are celebrated from Matins (in the ferial format) to Compline.

In addition to the regular Office, there are other hours that fall outside the formal Office cycle: in practice, these do not displace the daily Office, but may be celebrated in addition to it. Some of these Offices are identical in structure to the regular Office (such as the Office of the Dead), others are variants (the Little Hours of the Virgin; see chap. 20 below), or scaled-down versions (Memorials).

Sundays and major feast days usually have a fairly complete set of proper chants from First Vespers through Second Vespers. Lesser feasts have proper chants for only part of this cycle, with the rest supplied from the Commons or the Ferial Office. An antiphoner includes such proper chants as antiphons, responsories, and versicles; a breviary also includes hymns, readings, and prayers. Those elements that are unchanging (such as the blessings at each reading of Matins, and the opening and closing versicles at each hour) are rarely included in these books, and for the most part are omitted from this discussion.

Matins

Matins is the longest hour and, along with Lauds and Vespers, the most important musically. Matins has three parts: the opening; a middle section consisting of one to three nocturns; and a closing section. The opening section is invariable (opening versicles, invitatory, and hymn), with a few exceptions.⁴ The nocturns vary in number and structure depending on the cursus, the rank of the feast, and the time of year, as does the structure of the closing section. The festal form of Matins is used on Sundays and major feast days. The ferial form is used for lesser feasts, or on weekdays on which no feast falls.

A festal Roman Matins includes three nocturns of equal structure, thus: three antiphons with psalms (indicated by the psalm incipit), a versicle, and three lessons, each followed by a great responsory. Lessons are readings drawn from Scripture, the Lives of the Saints, or some other suitable source. The last responsory of a nocturn has the *Gloria patri* (the lesser doxology) as a second verse.

Festal Matins in the monastic cursus also has an opening section, three nocturns, and a closing section, but apart from the opening section it differs in struc-

ture from the Roman version. The first and second nocturns contain six antiphons with psalms, and four lessons and responsories. The third nocturn contains a single antiphon sung with three Old Testament canticles, followed by four lessons and responsories.

The nocturn in festal Matins

Roman cursus	Monastic cursus	Monastic cursus
	first and second nocturn	third nocturn
1 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm	antiphon + 3 Old Testament canticles
2 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm	
3 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm	
4	antiphon + psalm	
5	antiphon + psalm	
6	antiphon + psalm	
versicle	versicle	versicle
1 lesson	lesson	lesson
responsory	responsory	responsory
2 lesson	lesson	lesson
responsory	responsory	responsory
3 lesson	lesson	lesson
responsory	responsory	responsory
4	lesson	lesson
	responsory	responsory

The ferial form of Matins is less elaborate and lengthy than festal Matins. Roman ferial Matins is shortened by reducing the number of nocturns and the amount of material in each nocturn. The three nocturns are reduced to one, which has six antiphons rather than three, sung with twelve psalms.⁵

Matins of the Roman cursus

	Festal format	Ferial format
opening section	v. <i>Deus in adjutorium</i> invitatory + Ps. 94 hymn	v. <i>Deus in adjutorium</i> invitatory + Ps. 94 hymn
first nocturn	3 antiphons + 3 psalms versicle 3 lessons + 3 responsories	6 antiphons + 12 psalms versicle 3 lessons + 3 responsories
second nocturn	3 antiphons + 3 psalms versicle	3 lessons + 3 responsories
third nocturn	3 antiphons + 3 psalms versicle 3 lessons + 3 responsories	
closing section	Te deum collect v. <i>Dominus vobiscum</i> v. <i>Benedicamus dominus</i> v. <i>Fidelium animae</i>	collect v. <i>Dominus vobiscum</i> v. <i>Benedicamus dominus</i> v. <i>Benedicamus dominus</i> v. <i>Fidelium animae</i> Versicle ⁷

Note: The collect, a prayer also known as the oration (*oratio*), is in practice preceded by the versicle *Dominus vobiscum*.

Monastic ferial Matins omits the entire third nocturn, and the lessons and responsories of the second nocturn. The first nocturn is shortened to only three lessons and responsories. The alleluia antiphon of the second nocturn (sung to the melody of one of the texted antiphons provided for that nocturn), is used with all of the psalms of that nocturn. The three texted antiphons replace the alleluia antiphon during Lent; as Lent is a penitential season, the word “alleluia” is avoided.⁶

Matins of the monastic cursus

	Festal format	Ferial format
opening section	v. <i>Deus in adjutorium</i> invitatory + Ps. 94 hymn	v. <i>Deus in adjutorium</i> invitatory + Ps. 94 hymn
first nocturn	6 antiphons + 6 psalms versicle 4 lessons + 4 responsories	3 antiphons + 6 psalms versicle 3 lessons + 3 responsories
second nocturn	6 antiphons + 6 psalms versicle 4 lessons + 4 responsories	Alleluia antiphon (3 antiphons in Lent) + 6 psalms chapter versicle
third nocturn	antiphons + 3 canticles versicle 4 lessons + 4 responsories	
closing section	Te deum Gospel <i>Te decet laus</i> collect v. <i>Dominus vobiscum</i> v. <i>Benedicamus domino</i> v. <i>Fidelium animae</i>	Kyrie collect v. <i>Dominus vobiscum</i> v. <i>Benedicamus domino</i> v. <i>Fidelium animae</i>

The night is longer in winter than in summer, allowing more time for Matins without loss of daylight hours for work. In the summer season, from Easter to 1 November, the hour is further abbreviated in the monastic cursus: the first nocturn is shortened by replacing the three lessons and great responsories with a chapter (a short reading from Scripture) and short responsory.⁸

Weekday ferial Matins of both the monastic and Roman cursus normally has two psalms with each antiphon. In the monastic cursus, however, a “psalm” may be only a portion of an actual psalm, as the Rule of Benedict divides the larger psalms into two or more sections for liturgical use. The monastic Ferial Office also has some variations in the standard numbers of antiphons in each hour. On Monday and Thursday, the first nocturn of Matins has four antiphons rather than three.⁹

The *Te deum* (*Hymnum Ambrosianum*) is sung in Matins on Sundays and major feasts, and on weekdays during Christmas Time and Paschal Time to mark the joyfulness of those seasons. It is omitted during Advent and from Septuagesima through Easter Eve except on saints’ days.

A distinctive feature of Paschal Time (*tempore paschale*, or T.P.) is the substitution of the word “alleluia” for the text of an antiphon. When this is the case, rather than having a series of three or more antiphons, all with the text “alleluia,” it is common to find only one antiphon intended to be used with all the psalms of a nocturn (or for all the psalms of Lauds or Vespers). “Alleluia” is also added to the end of chants, or at the ends of the phrases within a chant. Matins of Easter Sunday, Easter Week, and Pentecost Sunday have only one nocturn.

Lauds

Lauds

v. Deus in adiutorium

- 1 antiphon + psalm
 - 2 antiphon + psalm
 - 3 antiphon + psalm
 - 4 antiphon + Old Testament canticle
 - 5 antiphon + psalm
- chapter
 responsory
 hymn
 versicle
 antiphon + Benedictus
 (the Canticle of Zacharias; Luke 1:68–79)
 collect
v. Dominus vobiscum
v. Benedicamus domino
v. Fidelium animae
-

Lauds has the same structure in both the monastic and the Roman cursus. The fourth “psalm” of Lauds is an Old Testament canticle. On Sundays, this is the Canticle of the Three Boys (Dan. 3:57–58, 56), known as the *Benedicite*. Other canticles are used on weekdays. The fifth “psalm” of Lauds consists of Pss. 148, 149, and 150 (known as the *Laudate* psalms) treated as a single psalm with one antiphon. Lauds on Saturday of the monastic Ferial Office lacks the fourth antiphon.¹⁰

The responsory of Lauds is usually a short responsory; however, on major feast days, the responsory may be a great responsory, often drawn from Matins for that feast. The Roman Ferial Office has no responsories for Lauds and Vespers on weekdays. During Easter Week the Mass Gradual and Alleluia are sung at Lauds and Vespers, and there are Memorials for the Holy Cross and processions to the baptismal font.

After the Gospel Cantic (the Benedictus), *Kyrie eleison* is added on feast days, and on Wednesdays and Fridays during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent. At Lauds and Vespers, this *Kyrie*, referred to as the *preces*, normally consists only of the refrain “Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.”

Tenebrae

The three days before Easter—Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday—are known together as the *Triduum*. During the *Triduum* there are many special features in the Office, including the omission of all hymns from Matins on Maundy Thursday through None on the Saturday after Easter. Matins for the *Triduum* is combined with Lauds and this new service is known as *Tenebrae*. *Tenebrae* follows the Roman arrangement of the nocturns (even in manuscripts of the monastic cursus). Omitting the opening portion of Matins, *Tenebrae* begins directly with the first antiphon and psalm of the day. The lessons for the first nocturn on each day are drawn from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and are sung to special tones used only for the Lamentations. From the end of the third nocturn, *Tenebrae* proceeds directly into the first antiphon and psalm of Lauds. After the psalms of Lauds, it also departs from the usual form for Lauds. Although local traditions vary, manuscript S (Silos) of CAO concludes the hour with the Benedictus with its antiphon, followed by the *Kyrie eleison* with the *versus in triduo*.

The Little Hours

The Little Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None

Prime	Terce, Sext, and None
<i>v. Deus in adjutorium</i>	<i>v. Deus in adjutorium</i>
hymn	hymn
antiphon + 3 or 4	antiphon + 3 psalms
psalms	
chapter	chapter
short responsory	short responsory
versicle	versicle
preces (on some feasts)	
collect	collect
<i>v. Dominus vobiscum</i>	<i>v. Dominus vobiscum</i>
<i>v. Benedicamus domino</i>	<i>v. Benedicamus domino</i>
	<i>v. Fidelium animae</i>

After the hour as outlined above, Prime continues with the reading of the Martyrology, followed by a series of set versicles, prayers, and other material. On some Sundays the Athanasian Creed (*Quicumque vult*) is said in Prime after the psalms but before the repeat of the antiphon. In the Sarum Use a separate antiphon is provided for the Creed. The preces are said at Prime on some feasts, and consist of *Kyrie eleison*, various petitions, the Confiteor, and some prayers. They may be shortened (as in Lauds and Vespers) to the *Kyrie eleison* only.

The “psalms” in the Little Hours are portions of Ps. 118. This psalm consists of 176 verses, divided into 22 sections of eight verses each. Each section is treated in the Office as a single psalm.

Vespers

Vespers

Roman cursus	Monastic cursus
<i>v. Deus in adjutorium</i>	<i>v. Deus in adjutorium</i>
1 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm
2 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm
3 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm
4 antiphon + psalm	antiphon + psalm
5 antiphon + psalm	
chapter	chapter
responsory	responsory
hymn	hymn
versicle	versicle
antiphon + Magnificat	antiphon + Magnificat
(the Canticle of Mary; Luke 1:46–55)	
collect	collect
<i>v. Dominus vobiscum</i>	<i>v. Dominus vobiscum</i>
<i>v. Benedicamus domino</i>	<i>v. Benedicamus domino</i>
<i>v. Fidelium animae</i>	<i>v. Fidelium animae</i>

Vespers of the Roman and monastic cursus differ only in the number of psalms (and consequently antiphons): the Roman cursus has five while the monastic cursus has only four.¹¹ When First Vespers of Easter Sunday follows the Easter Vigil, the dismissal is *Ite missa est*, rather than the usual closing versicles.

As at Lauds, the preces are added at Vespers on Wednesdays and Fridays during Advent and Lent, and on feast days, and the responsory at Vespers may likewise be a great responsory.

Compline

Compline

v. Deus in adjutorium
antiphon + 3 psalms
hymn
chapter
short responsory
versicle
antiphon + *Nunc dimittis*
(the Canticle of Simeon; Luke 2:29–32)
preces (on some feasts)
collect
v. Dominus vobiscum
v. Benedicamus domino
blessing

Compline is preceded by a short lesson and examination of conscience. It is followed by a Memorial to the Blessed Virgin Mary. In the monastic cursus, the three psalms of Compline are the same every day (Pss. 4, 90, and 133); in the Roman cursus the psalms vary according to the day of the week. Compline rarely has proper chants for a feast, although it does have seasonal variations.

Memorials

Memorials are mini-hours that are often attached to the end of Lauds and Vespers, after the collect.¹² A Memorial consists of an antiphon sung without a psalm (or, more rarely, a responsory) followed by a versicle and a collect.

Memorials may occur on specific days, or they may be movable. Fixed-day Memorials are often for a saint whose feast falls on the same day as a more important saint. The more important feast suppresses the Office of the less important saint, reducing it to a Memorial. Memorials may also occur on the days within the Octave following the feast of a very important saint. For example, it is common to find a Memorial for St. Peter on 30 June, which is celebrated as the feast of St. Paul: 29 June is the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and the next day, when the Office is devoted to Paul, Peter receives a Memorial. Memorials intended to be sung throughout the year are votive offices. Memorials of this type are common for the Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross, All Saints, or a local patron saint.

Notes

1. The arrangement of the elements in the Divine Office is not the same everywhere: the structure presented here is based on the sources that have been indexed by CANTUS. This schema works well for understanding the manuscripts, but it is not complete in detailing the variants among the various uses that do not appear in these sources. For example, the manuscripts only provide a single antiphon to be used with all of the psalms in each of the Little Hours so that the number of psalms intended in the hour is not clear. This text and tables have been adapted from *The CANTUS Algorithm* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1996, rev. 1998), used by permission. This work was carried out as part of the CANTUS Project at the Catholic University of America, under the direction of Ruth Steiner. CANTUS was supported by grants from the Dom Mocquereau Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

2. Medieval chant manuscripts usually do not indicate the degree of the feast. The modern calendar recognizes four ranks: feasts of the first class (festive) that run from First Vespers to Compline; feasts of the second class (semifestive) that are celebrated from Matins through Compline; feasts of the third class (ordinary) from Matins to Vespers, with the *Te deum* in Matins but utilizing the ferial Matins format; and ferial days on which no feast falls.

3. The Ferial Office includes Sunday, which is festal in form and runs from First Vespers on Saturday to Compline on Sunday. The chants and prayers of the Ferial Office are sung continuously throughout the year, unless they are replaced by proper chants and prayers for a particular feast.

4. Matins of Epiphany lacks the hymn and, in the Roman cursus, the invitatory. Matins for the Office of the Dead lacks both the hymn (at the opening) and the *Te*

deum (at the closing), and is arranged according to the Roman cursus, regardless of the cursus of the book.

5. The modern breviary calls for nine psalms with nine antiphons.

6. The Farewell to the Alleluia, a special ceremony that appears on Septuagesima Sunday in some manuscripts, marks the suppression of the word “alleluia” from Septuagesima until Easter. In this ceremony, Matins is distinguished by the use of the word “alleluia” in most of the responsories, and other chants at Vespers, Matins, or Lauds also begin with “alleluia” or consist entirely of repetitions of this word.

7. The exact liturgical position of this versicle is not clear. Usually the manuscripts have no rubrics for this item, but Paris, BNF lat. 15181 and 15182 offer “versus sacerdotum.” Cambridge, UL Mm.ii.9 (the Barnwell Antiphoner) is more specific: “Iste versus dicitur in omnibus feriis ante laudes quoniam preces dicuntur nisi adventum et quadragesimam.” The most common text of the versicle is “Fiat misericordia tua domine super nos.”

8. The short responsory (*responsorium breve*) in summer ferial Matins in the monastic cursus is the only short responsory that ever appears in Matins. All of the other responsories of Matins are great responsories (*responsoria prolixa*).

9. The cursus of psalms for the Ferial Office and the antiphons with which they are sung is laid out in Claire (1975).

10. Two of the sources indexed by CANTUS actually do have an antiphon, “Ignis suc-,” for this position in Lauds: Karlsruhe, Landesbibl. Aug. LX, and Florence, Laurenziana, Conv. Sopp. 560.

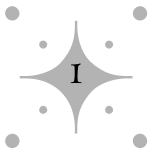
11. In the monastic Ferial Office, Vespers of Thursday and Friday have three antiphons.

12. Processions have the same form as Memorials but, unlike Memorials, are placed after the end of the hour.

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I ✧ A METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

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Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West

The Example of Advent

MARGOT E. FASSLER

The Office is daily prayer, rooted in the cyclical changing of light marking out the steady passage of day to night and back again. But days are parts of years, and the Office increasingly, in both the East and the West, contained texts that changed with (were proper to) feasts and seasons. Students of the Office, then, are ever cognizant both of motion through the hours of the day, and through the year, needing to understand not only the development of individual Office hours and their components, but also of the larger rhythms of the calendar. The Christian year unfolded in the Middle Ages in two vast cycles of feasts: the Tempore and the Sanctorale. Feasts “of the time” are those feasts celebrating the coming, birth, life, death, resurrection and ascension of the Messiah, and many of these are movable feasts, dependent upon the calculation of Easter. Feasts of the Sanctorale commemorate the lives of the saints, and although these are all fixed feasts, nonetheless they interact with feasts of the Tempore, and complicated regulations existed by the central Middle Ages for determining what happened when important feasts from one cycle coincided with those of the other.¹ It is no coincidence that there are comparatively few major feasts of the Sanctorale in Lent and Eastertide: because the complexities of daily services would have crowded out or at least minimized the presence of sanctoral feasts celebrated during these times, hagiographers often looked outside of the period from Lent to Ascension when establishing new saints’ feasts. Another major difference between feasts of the two cycles is the nature of the Office readings: although lengthy readings from the Bible are prominent in both, often comprising the readings for at least the final nocturn of Matins, readings for feasts of the Tempore are dependent upon sermons, whereas feasts of the Sanctorale draw their readings from both sermons and hagiographical materials.² Hence, feasts of the Tempore tend to exhibit less variety than those for the Sanctorale, especially, of course, in regard to saints of local cults.

The subject of this chapter is Advent, the pre-Christmas season, a part of the temporal cycle, and its rise and early development in the West up to the late eighth

century.³ The chapter was written especially for this volume to demonstrate the ways in which liturgical scholars traditionally study the Office and its history, laying out the common source materials, here using Advent as a test case for working with the various kinds of tools and other indexes currently available.⁴ The purpose is not only to outline the liturgical significance and early history of Advent in the West, but also to show to nonspecialists how significant problems for research emerge, and the ways scholars acquire a sense of the dimensions of these problems in working with early liturgical materials. There are many works available for introducing researchers to the sources, but few try to show how to use them interactively to define and solve problems. This chapter, then, is as much about using the sources as it is about the sources themselves.

To study the many intricacies of the medieval Office, the scholar needs to look not only at one type of materials, not just at prayers, or not only at chants, or at readings. Medieval Offices were made of every liturgical element: a variety of texts, various genres and layers of music, numerous ceremonies continually evolving with the times, many types of performing forces, from the brilliant to the pedestrian, to choirs of all shapes and sizes. Moreover, Offices unfolded within certain areas of ecclesial space, surrounded by particular kinds of furniture and decorative arts. All these require study from scholars representing a broad range of approaches and disciplines. At the close of this particular exploration, which demonstrates how to use a select number of materials useful for all students of the Office, new questions will be posed for the study of Advent specifically. However, the modes of inquiry presented here would work equally well for any feast or season, depending, of course, upon the state of the sources and of the previous scholarship. This chapter demonstrates the kinds of questions commonly asked of liturgical sources from the period, and what the expectations may be when they are raised.

The fifth through the eighth centuries are the formative period for the Divine Office in the Latin West. Although the centuries under discussion in this chapter have received the least attention in our book, during this period the bulk of the materials from which the medieval Office would be fashioned were created, that is, the sermons and saints' lives, prayers, organized cycles of scriptural readings, and many chant texts and families of melodies as well.⁵ The kinds of sources one consults to deepen understanding of the medieval Office depend not only upon the type of feast, but also on chronology and location, with materials being far scarcer in the pre-Carolingian and early Carolingian periods than in later centuries. James McKinnon has outlined in this volume the nature of knowledge concerning assigned Offices of monastic and public prayer from late antiquity, especially in the East, where the Office first developed; Joseph Dyer and Peter Jeffery have consulted early rules and other materials to offer varied pictures of the shapes of early monastic Offices in the West. It has been demonstrated in this work that no matter what the subject, the student of Western liturgical practices begins, however cursorily, in the East, for it is here that most Western feasts, seasons, and liturgical practices had their beginnings.

It comes as something of a surprise, then, to consult the standard sources and find that the liturgies of both Jerusalem and Constantinople have no extensive or highly developed Advent feasts or season. The rise of Christmas as a feast in the

late fourth century hastened a development of some sort of Advent in a few regions, but in Jerusalem Christmas developed late, and was not firmly in place until the sixth century.⁶ Instead, the feast of Epiphany, a time for revealing and explaining the mysteries of Christ's appearance on earth, rather than the commemoration of the birthday itself, received major emphasis. Even in Constantinople, where Christmas was established by the early fifth century, only the week before the feast formed an Advent of sorts. Readings from the major prophets during the weeks before Christmas/Epiphany were found in the early liturgies of Jerusalem and Constantinople, however, as was the case in early Western pre-Christmas seasons as well.⁷

Extensive Advent cycles are found in both the East Syrian and West Syrian rites, but the actual dates of the establishment of these cycles are difficult to ascertain, especially given that opening leaves in early sources are often later additions.⁸ Nonetheless, it enhances understanding to know that both Syrian traditions developed from the fifth through the eleventh centuries, presenting church years beginning with extensive Advent cycles, and that these cycles emphasized the Annunciation. The East Syrian cycle was dominated by Old Testament prophecies concerning the Messiah, and celebrated the multifaceted significance of his coming; the West Syrian cycle followed the New Testament events in chronological order, moving from the Annunciation to Zacharia through that to Mary, the Visitation, Joseph's dream, the birth of the Baptist, and the awaiting of and immediate prediction of Christ's birth. Moolan contrasts the two as follows:

In summary, then, one may say that the West Syrian tradition, in agreement with the greater emphasis on *historia* over *theoria* noted in Antiochene exegesis and mystagogy, presents the more *historically ordered sequence* of liturgical propers, whereas the East Syrian propers continually revolve around a few basic *theological themes*.⁹

Christmas came early and decisively to Rome, however, being established there in the mid-fourth century, and this provided the occasion for liturgical speculation upon preparation for the birth of the Messiah.¹⁰ In the case of Advent, then—and in this it differs from any other major unit of liturgical time in early medieval Christian practice—one looks as much to the West as to the East for origins and development. This makes the rise of Advent a particularly good subject for a volume on the Office in the West (see esp. Geir Hellemo 1989). The Eastern sources will remain helpful guides for this work, but they do not have the central importance here that they do for investigating other seasons and many other major feasts. Clearly, the Council of Ephesus and the Christological controversies of the late fourth and early fifth centuries placed a new emphasis on Mary and the Annunciation, and this manifested itself in each of the Eastern traditions and in the West as well. In the East, sermons such as those by Proclus of Constantinople established exegesis upon Luke and Isaiah in particular as central to Christian Messianism; some of these discussions were translated into Latin and known in the West.¹¹ Equally important, however, were the fifth-century sermons written by Western writers, some of whom are well known to us, and others of whom remain anonymous.¹² The work on Advent here will lead directly to the chapters of two

other scholars in this volume, Ritva Jacobsson and James Grier, both of whom discuss materials falling in this season, demonstrating the variety to be expected in ninth- and tenth-century sources. This chapter is concerned with the pre-history of the shifting liturgical circumstances that produced this variety.¹³

Early Sermon Literature

There are several bodies of information one uses to understand liturgical development in the West during the early Middle Ages, and choosing among them will depend upon the topic and the particular questions addressed. Full explanation will require examination of sermons and other exegetical literature, the proclamations of church councils, hagiographical writings, and liturgical books themselves, with the greatest importance assigned to lectionaries, sacramentaries, homiliaries, and ordinals.¹⁴ Ultimately, one must work simultaneously with many groups of materials, playing one against the other, and this process makes the work complicated, but also, ultimately, rewarding. In an introductory study such as this, it will only do to lay out the materials genre by genre, choosing those deemed central to the subject at hand. Many types of liturgical practices flourished side by side in the West before the Carolingian reforms; it is not to be wondered at that the evidence remaining is contradictory. The process of standardization taking place north of the Alps and familiar to us from the ninth century forward was not known for the most part in earlier times, even in Rome itself, where there is evidence that competing traditions functioned simultaneously.¹⁵

Once the usual review of the secondary literature has been made and the preliminary consultation of select Eastern sources carried out, the standard place to begin study for any aspect of the Western liturgy is with sermon literature from the fifth and sixth centuries, some of which was arranged in liturgical cycles during the fifth century by Western liturgists, especially men from southern Gaul, and in Rome by the late sixth century.¹⁶ The poverty of early sources is less keenly felt because significant preachers from the era were sometimes liturgical preachers, who deliberately mentioned texts delivered during the day, and who, in preparing their words for specific occasions, expressed their attitudes toward individual feasts and seasons.¹⁷ Because the preachers introduced here were so well respected in later centuries, it became common to write new works in their names, or to ascribe unidentified works to them, thus making problems in dating and attribution especially keen. Only critical editions of many fifth- and sixth-century sermon writers have helped solve these pseudepigraphical difficulties. Although many problems remain in need of solution, the work of modern editors has contributed to liturgical studies immensely, given that much research in early periods depends directly upon sermon literature, especially as it found its way into liturgical homiliaries. In addition, the great number of critical editions found in the series *Corpus Christianorum* can be explored with keyword and other searches useful for monitoring changes in common liturgical topoi.¹⁸ Sermons written in the fifth and sixth centuries are not only important, then, for the evidence they contain about these centuries themselves. They also are the foundation upon which all future liturgical

development took place, especially in the Office, where readings from early sermon literature shaped feasts and seasons as they were introduced in later periods.

Augustine's teacher Ambrose wrote several series of sermons that provide crucial information for understanding attitudes toward various liturgical themes and toward the sacraments. His exegesis did not, however, provoke the mentioning of specific chant texts and readings to the degree found in Augustine's homiletic literature, and so has not been as extensively mined by liturgical historians as has that of his famous disciple. Ambrose's exposition on the Gospel of Luke, a central exegetical text throughout the Middle Ages, treats the subjects of Advent and Nativity in its opening chapters (as the Lucan account was central to the liturgical sense of these events); excerpts from this commentary came to play a role in medieval homiliaries at Advent, especially those days of the season where incarnational themes were emphasized.¹⁹

Ambrose's sermons and exegetical treatises were major sources for the writings of Maximus of Turin, who died sometime between 408 and 423, and who wrote many short sermons later anthologized in medieval homiliaries. Until recently his work had been difficult to sort out: there were two bishops Maximus in Turin during the fifth century, and our author is apparently the earlier of the two; much has been attributed to Maximus that he did not write and many of his own works were long assigned to other authors. The new edition of Maximus by Mutzenbecher in the *Corpus Christianorum* has put the identification of this author and his writings on surer ground.²⁰ At least for now it seems that his three pre-Christmas sermons do indeed demonstrate a sense of the season in early fifth-century northern Italy; it is clear from the texts themselves that they form a small cycle of cross-referenced works. The first of them makes parallels between the birthday of a secular ruler, with all its lavish trappings, and the various purifications fitting as preparation for the birthday of the Lord. The Gospel text referred to in the sermon is Matt. 22, the parable of the wedding feast. In Maximus' treatment, the wretch without a proper garment is likened to a person who has not lived rightly, not only in fasting and prayer, but also in charity toward others. The second sermon refers strongly and three times to Matt. 11:12, enough for us to claim that this, and surrounding verses, probably comprised the Gospel of the day. Hence we find reference here to the Forerunner, John the Baptist. The third sermon was preached very soon before Christmas, and in it Maximus made reference to the approaching equinox, and the gradual lengthening of the light:

the extreme conclusion of the cycle of days has anticipated my preaching. For by this very brevity the world tells us that something is about to happen by which it will be restored to a better state, and with increasing longing it wishes for the brilliance of the shining sun to cast light on its darkness. While it dreads to have its course come to an end because of the shortness of the hours, it shows by a kind of hope that its year is to be formed anew.²¹

The sermons of Augustine, perhaps to an extent because of his own proclivities and acknowledged sensitivity to music, often mention the texts sung or intoned, and have been a goldmine for generations of liturgical scholars. He has no sermons for an Advent season—as there must not have been one in early fifth-century

northern Africa. In his Christmas and Epiphany sermons, however, one finds themes concerning the paradox of divinity mixed with human flesh that dominate in comparable exegesis in the East as well:

Christ has been born: as God of the Father, as man of His mother; of the immortality of His Father, of the virginity of His mother; of His Father without a mother, of His mother without a father; of His Father as the beginning of life, of His mother as the end of death; of His Father as the Ruler of all days, of His mother as the Sanctifier of this day. (*Sermons*, no. 12, p. 121)

Augustine's Christmas and Easter sermons were sources for authors who did compose for the pre-Christmas season, including Caesarius of Arles and numerous later exegetes. Of particular importance for the developing character of the Christmas vigil in the later Middle Ages was the tract "Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos" by Augustine's disciple the Carthaginian Quodvultdeus. This was a Western response to the triumph of Ephesus and Chalcedon and an indictment of Arianism.²² Many other sermons written in northern Africa in the fifth century were also of major importance, as will be seen later in this chapter, in the development of Western sermon cycles that made up the Office readings. The bulk of these sermons, usually ascribed to Augustine in the Middle Ages, is, by and large, still without secure attribution, but they testify to the central role of north African churchmen upon the development of feasts and seasons in the Western, and especially in the Roman, liturgy.

Among Augustine's near contemporaries, Pope Leo I is of special importance. His sermons survive in a series of annual cycles, which scholars have dated with some precision. A small group preached for the Ember Days of December provide interpretations of the liturgical period before Christmas.²³ Leo's sermons emphasize a time of fasting and charity before Christmas, and selections from these works can be found in the medieval Advent Office in various guises, with the passage below from the Roman breviary as an example.²⁴ An early compiler of the text has reshaped the sermon passage to emphasize the coming of the Lord in the opening sentence:

Let every man then make himself ready against the coming of the Lord, so that He may not find him making his belly his god, or the world his chief care. Dearly beloved brethren, it is a matter of everyday experience that fullness of drink dulleth the keenness of the mind, and that excess of eating unnerveth the strength of the will. The very stomach protesteth that gluttony doth harm to the bodily health, unless temperance get the better of desire, and the thought of the indigestion afterward check the indulgence of the moment.²⁵

Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna and a contemporary of Leo I, wrote several sermons that develop themes of advent and incarnation, although in a less complicated exegesis than is found in the East. His emphasis on the Virgin and the long-awaited coming into human flesh suggest a fifth-century pre-Christmas feast in honor of the Virgin in Ravenna in the fifth century. Suitbert Benz, in his book-length study of a seventh-century Ravennate sacramentary fragment (which

contains only Advent and part of Epiphany), demonstrates the ways in which Chrysologus' ideas were translated into actual liturgical texts (Benz 1967).

Caesarius of Arles, writing across the Alps and two generations after Leo, Peter, and Maximus, does not know the seasonal four periods of fasting celebrated in early fifth-century Rome, and yet he does commemorate in his sermons (three of which were written for a pre-Christmas period) a time of fasting in preparation for the feast of Christmas, known as St. Martin's Lent, which is frequently cited in the literature.²⁶

The sermons of Leo and Caesarius show that sufficient liturgical space for Advent had been carved out and that certain themes and biblical passages were established as appropriate to the season. As with Maximus, Caesarius' works are filled with banquet imagery, and urge the proper kinds of preparation needed to meet the bridegroom, to enter the feast when he knocks and calls:

If an earthly king or the head of a family invited you to his birthday celebration, with what kind of garments would you endeavor to adorn yourself when you approached? Surely with new and shining ones, costly ones whose age or cheapness or ugliness could not offend the eyes of the one who invited you. Therefore, with Christ's help strive as much as you can with a like zeal, so that your soul may with an easy conscience approach the solemn feast of the eternal king, that is, the birthday of our Lord and Savior, if it is adorned with the decoration of various virtues. Let it be adorned with the jewels of simplicity and the flowers of temperance, gleaming chastity, shining charity, and joyful almsgiving. For if Christ the Lord recognizes that you are celebrating His birthday with such dispositions, He Himself will deign to come and not only visit your soul, but also rest and continually dwell in it. As it is written: "I will dwell with them and walk among them," (2 Cor. 6:16); and again, "Here I stand knocking at the door; if anyone rises up and opens the door, I will enter his house and have supper with him, and he with me" (Rev. 3:20). (*Sermons*, 9)

The juxtaposition of ideas of fasting and preparation, when imported into the Advent Office lectionary, dominated as it was by readings from the Prophet Isaiah, would generate yet other meanings for the season. In the fifth century, then, in Gaul and in Rome, and in northern Italy, there was a place for Advent, and, at least in the sermons of Maximus and Caesarius, an emphasis upon preparation for the feast of Christ as the approaching Bridegroom.

The Gospel homilies of Pope Gregory the Great, if they are authentic (as is now believed), present an early view of the stationary liturgy in Rome.²⁷ Although the captions for the sermons must be later additions, and although the precise ordering of the works requires further study, it is clear that there were three distinct sermons for Sundays before the Nativity as well as a sermon for Ember Week in December, and that Advent has received a thematic elaboration in Gregory's homilies not found in Leo or Maximus. Gregory's sermons are commentaries upon the Gospel texts of a specific lectionary; thus the emphases within them arise from the readings themselves. But he elaborates upon these texts to bring forth themes of judgment and the Second Coming, with Advent as a season of preparing to leave

the world and its ways behind. These ideas were found as well in Maximus, Leo, and Caesarius, but the fasting and preparation called for were not controlled by tightly drawn parallels between self-denial and the Second Coming. Gregory, who wrote as one century was drawing to a close and another beginning, believed the world was old, tired, and soon to die. The Lord came first in “the fullness of time”; he would return when time was ripe, like a fig tree laden with fruit (see, for example, Homily 3, pp. 17–19). In the homily probably written for the week before Christmas, Gregory develops the tree imagery, with Christ as the axe laid to the root of the tree from Luke 3:1–11.²⁸

The emphasis in three of Gregory’s four sermons centers upon John the Baptist, in each case the subject of the probable Gospel readings themselves.²⁹ Gregory uses the Baptist to promote the themes of fasting, good will toward others, and especially of humility and plain living, which had been appropriate in Rome during the pre-Christmas weeks for centuries before he wrote. The Baptist is the angel who goes before the Lord, the one who brings him in, as a good Christian would help a friend; his humility is apparent from his realization that he was lesser, and would decrease as the Lord increased. But he is also a prophet, and Gregory explains the suggestion that he might be Elijah by saying that he is the forerunner of the Redeemer, as Elijah will be the forerunner of the Judge. Here is the emphasis on prophecy that would develop further in the hands of later liturgists and sermon writers.³⁰ Gregory’s sermons, not only quoted at length in homiliaries, also were the major source for the sermons of Bede, which came to be frequently excerpted in their own right, forming as they do complimentary Office readings for the earlier sermons of Gregory himself.³¹ Bede’s collection appears to be close to the homiliary of Cuthbert, itself based on a system of readings brought from Naples to England, which will be discussed below (see *HML*, 72–73, and Morin 1891).

Sermon writers of the fifth and sixth centuries spun out the materials for the Advent liturgies then developing in the West. We leave the early seventh century with a multifaceted body of sermons for the season from many regions and with a repertory of characteristic themes emphasizing preparation and fasting, the prophecies of the Old Testament and of John the Baptist, and calls to meet the Bridegroom clothed in the charity appropriate to the occasion of judgment. Advent was well established in the West by the death of Gregory I, in Ravenna, in Gaul, in Rome. Collections of liturgical materials themselves would now slowly arise, codified in the wake of interaction between sermon texts written in the fifth and sixth centuries, standardized series of biblical readings, and prayer texts composed in the late sixth and seventh centuries. The earliest layers of Western liturgical books, those compiled in the sixth century itself, do not contain Advent; books from the seventh century forward generally do.³²

Sacramentaries

This early type of liturgical book contains collections of the texts needed by a celebrant to conduct the Mass and other services, and thus is primarily, although

not exclusively, comprised of prayers. Sacramentaries are essential to the researcher, even when the subject is the Office rather than the Mass: they are arranged, for the most part, by feasts, and thus provide guideposts for charting liturgical change within seasonal cycles and the liturgical calendar. Furthermore, the prayers of the sacramentaries, although frequently first developed in a Eucharistic context, were adapted for service in the Office and for private devotion as well.

The first surviving Western sacramentaries fall into several well-known categories, explained in detail in Cyrille Vogel's *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*; with this book, a complicated subject is made manageable for the nonspecialist, laid out by a master who spent his life with the sources themselves. When reading Vogel, one keeps at the elbow Klaus Gamber's *Codices liturgici Latini antiquiores* (CLLA); whatever its particular faults and omissions, this annotated catalogue of primary sources is the standard reference book in the field. It lays out liturgical materials in a way that is instructive in itself, demonstrating the many kinds of books available for consultation, categorizing them according to the several traditions in the Latin West, and providing bibliography on each source. In addition, the several volumes describing liturgical sources found in the series *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* are useful for updating the bibliographies in CLLA.³³ Clear from this array of sources is the need for interregional study, especially in the formative decades just before and during the Carolingian Renaissance; scholars have assumed the interdependence of Mass and Office texts, but the lines linking them are, we will see, not neatly drawn. In fact, the views of scholars concerning the early Roman liturgy, no matter what the field or subject, are based on study of the sacramentaries. To evaluate anyone's ideas and to develop theories of one's own, to know what they are, where they came from, and the nature of their contents is essential.

The sacramentaries provide layers upon layers of prayer texts, emanating from northern Italy, Rome, Gaul, Spain, Anglo-Saxon England, Ireland, and other areas, but virtually all Roman books themselves were copied and edited in the North, and samplings from some of the most important types of these books are offered here. The dating of the sources depends primarily upon noting which feasts they contain, and benchmark Roman feasts are conveniently listed in the back of Klausner's *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*. With so much material circulating, and in various states of redaction, chronology is vexingly difficult, and can only be attempted by experts close to the sources. Antoine Chavasse, who has written more about sacramentaries than any other scholar, is such a person.³⁴ To trace out Chavasse's ideas regarding Advent, one works through the families of sacramentaries as outlined by Vogel (and to an extent, Vogel's explanations are dependent upon Chavasse!), consulting Gamber's CLLA and the appropriate volumes in the *Typologie* series for bibliography on individual manuscripts. The prayers themselves are conveniently tabulated in Deshusses's *Concordances et tableaux pour l'étude des grands sacramentaires*, with listings and comparative tables for each major family of sources and a very useful word index (Deshusses and Darragon, *Concordances*, 6 vols.). The *Concordances* is one of the most important tools to have been produced in the field of medieval liturgical studies in this century, and with it a scholar

can keep fairly tight control over a very complex field of materials.³⁵ A significant omission in the book is independent listings for non-Roman sources, especially those of the Gallican and Old Spanish rites, this latter being left out completely.³⁶

Chavasse's writings on Advent are representative of his research as a whole.³⁷ Using the sacramentaries and other early liturgical books in a comparative study, he attempts to outline a chronological development of feasts and seasons in Rome, and to show how they were or were not received in other regions as well. The broad outlines of historical development are often filled in with minute details regarding the sources, and the only way to critique these would be through careful analysis of the sources themselves, a task that will not be attempted here. Chavasse's stages in the development of the Advent season in Rome are neatly argued, presenting a tripartite scheme.³⁸ He believes that the first Advent cycle was in place before the time of Gregory I, and had six Sundays, resembling the traditions found in the Old Spanish, Milanese, and Gallican sources. In Rome, however, Ember week of December, which came to occupy the days just before Christmas, offered an intense culmination of the themes of fasting stressed throughout the season. Thus, the final Sunday of Advent was left vacant, the solemn Saturday Vigil service serving instead for the celebration of the day. Therefore, there were actually six Sundays in Advent, but liturgies for only five of them. Subsequently, a four-Sunday cycle became the norm, but this cycle was developed in two different ways, depending upon the fashion in which the final Sunday was treated. Some Roman churches kept the fourth Sunday before Christmas vacant, the elaborate readings of Saturday's Vigil service serving instead for the celebration of the day. With the placement of the Vigil earlier and earlier in the day, the empty Sunday apparently came to seem like an omission in many churches, and eventually the vacant Sunday was provided with its own liturgy. Some churches had three actual Sunday liturgies, with the fourth Sunday left vacant; some had four actual liturgies, as the fourth Sunday had been supplied with texts, music, and readings.

Chavasse's picture of Advent depends upon study of prayer concordances, with some attention to textual variants; it finds a strong level of support in other kinds of liturgical collections as well, in some homiliaries, and in early collections of chant texts for the Mass. But his views can at least be tempered by a different kind of study: consideration of thematic ideas within the various families of prayer texts. Working through the types of sacramentaries, beginning with the Roman books and ending with the Gallican and Old Spanish, we will seek to know in what ways the traditions are different in emphasis and design.

The earliest Roman sacramentary, the *Veronensis* (L), while having no Advent per se, does have series of prayers for Ember Days.³⁹ These sixth-century prayers had some impact on the development of Advent formularies, especially as found in the Old Gelasian sacramentary (V).⁴⁰ This development was reflected in the state of the Mixed Gelasian sacramentaries (G)⁴¹ as well as in the Sacramentary of Milan (Be).⁴² Still, these early Ember Day prayers, although powerfully influential in later Ember Day formularies in the sources mentioned above, were only infrequently adapted for Sundays in Advent. The earliest Roman layer had no apparent influence on Advent prayers as found in the Gallican sources considered here;

although two of the tenth-month (December) Ember Week prayers are found in Gallican sources, they are not used as Advent prayers.⁴³

The themes of prayers found in L are, as would be expected, penitential, and generically so, enough to make them usable for Lent or other seasons of the year. The kinds of prayers written for Advent and found in V are more specifically thematic than those found for Ember Days in L. The prayers are arranged in five formularies for Sundays, the last of which is followed by a long series of prayers for the season. Following in immediate succession are the three formularies for Ember week: Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The Advent formularies themselves are, in many instances, proper to the season, with emphasis upon themes of begging indulgence for sins, and on preparation through purification, with the introductory prayers 1121, 1122, and 1126 serving as good examples (using the numbering system found in Deshusses and Darragon, *Concordances*; see 5:169–70). But another set of themes proper to the season plays out as well, with allusions to waking and sleeping, as found in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins of Matt. 25, to the wedding feast of Matt. 24, and to the knocking of Christ on the door found in Rev. 3; all of these themes are drawn together in Luke 12:35–37 as well. The imagery of preparation for the feast, the Advent coming, is reminiscent especially of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, where the subject of banqueting and imagery similar to some of these prayer texts abounds.

The Gregorian sacramentary (H) contains several of the Ember prayers also found in L, but fewer of them than are found in V and G, and never for Advent, but rather usually for Lent.⁴⁴ In other words, the liturgical prayers developed for December Ember Days in the sixth century were used later to form the materials for this same week as part of Advent, but only as the season was known in the so-called Gelasian traditions represented by V and G, and in the Milanese use. In fact, the Gregorian Sacramentary, the core of which is now thought to be contemporary with the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, reflects a different liturgical practice from that found in V: prayers in the Gregorian tradition are three in number for most formularies, and the texts demonstrate the succinctness long associated with Roman liturgical expression, in general, but in actuality more a part of a particular stripe of the Roman use.⁴⁵ A cursory study of this material suggests that the Gregorian Advent prayers are, for the most part, rearrangements of materials found in Old Gelasian and Gallican sources, with frequent Milanese correspondences as well. However, the thematic cast of the prayers in H is quite different from these other uses. Gone from the Advent prayers in H are any with thematic allusions such as those found in V and G. These are stark calls for preparation from those who pray, and requests for help from God.

The characters of many Advent formularies found in the Gallican and Old Spanish rites are both more elaborate and more strongly topical than those of the Gregorian rite. The formularies found in the Bobbio Missal, an important witness to the Gallican tradition, offer themes of major importance, with emphasis on John the Baptist, and they demonstrate yet again the regional variety found in early layers of Advent prayers.⁴⁶ Although there are many correspondences between the Advent prayers in Bobbio and V, the second set in Bobbio did not make its way

into either of the Gelasian types. Filled with allusions to the Baptist, this group of prayers is also found as the first set in the Old Spanish rite, with certain modifications. A search for comparable emphasis on the Baptist in Advent formularies in the Gelasians and the Gregorian yields sparse results, with prayer 1522 (Deshusses), an opening prayer, as a possible example:

Lord, stir up our hearts for preparing the ways of your only Only-begotten,
so that we may be deserving to serve throughout His Advent with purified
minds.

This prayer opens the second Advent Mass in both the Old Gelasian and the Gregorian sacramentaries.

Given the development of Advent in the wake of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, Marian and incarnational themes would be expected in prayers for Advent (see Fassler forthcoming and Constan 1994). There are hints of such themes in the Gelasian traditions, but none in the Gregorian. In the Bobbio Missal, however, in the third Mass (there are three Advent formularies, four counting the Vigil of Christmas), the first preface to the Canon refers to Mary and Gabriel's announcement, and this prayer is also found in the so-called *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*. The Mass of the Christmas Vigil found in the Bobbio Missal has Luke 12:35–37 as the Gospel reading, asking for the watchfulness of those waiting for their master to return from the wedding banquet. The prayers for this feast, not found elsewhere, are Marian and incarnational in nature. The only formularies in V with a Marian emphasis are found in Ember Wednesday. In the Mixed Gelasian tradition, one of these prayers shifts to the third (of five) Sundays in Advent, and the other was left in its Wednesday position. An emphasis on Mary and the incarnation in mid-Advent is not reflected in the sermons studied above, but it was a part of the works brought into the homiliaries from northern Africa and Spain, as will be seen below.

Edmund Bishop has written about the Old Spanish rite as the first in the West to develop a profound Marian emphasis, and here we see its apparent influence in the writing of Advent prayers, many of which, unlike the Advent formulary shared with the Bobbio Missal, are incarnational in tone.⁴⁷ Compilers of the Old Spanish rite, however, were not alone in promoting a Marian emphasis within Advent. Thematic development there resembles that of the Ravennate fragment described briefly above, but, as Benz demonstrates in his analysis, close connections between this and the tradition as it developed in Rome, Gaul, or Spain are not to be found.⁴⁸ The *Leofric Collectar*, a prayer book representing the use of Anglo-Saxon England, was strongly influenced by southern Italian liturgical practices. It too demonstrates a strong emphasis upon John the Baptist, Incarnation, and the Virgin Mary in several of its texts.⁴⁹

It is as well to close this section with attention to the location of Advent in these sources. In Gallican, Milanese, and Old Spanish sources, Advent was placed at the beginning of surviving books. In all early Roman sources, however, Advent was found at the end of the yearly cycle of feasts and seasons, a location picked up by the compilers of the first surviving Gregorian sacramentaries. We may now suspect

that the Roman location was not, as some have hypothesized, a deliberate statement concerning Advent as the end of the church year with reference to the apocalyptic end of time. Rather, this position may have developed in some Roman sources simply because it was the location of the December Ember Days, the original liturgical kernel of the season in this tradition.

The Gospel Readings

Early sermons with their themes and exegetical treatments are the first witnesses to liturgical development; they, in turn, are followed first by early collections of prayers, and by standardized series of Gospel readings.⁵⁰ These latter two kinds of materials must always be used together when studying the early medieval Mass and Office. I have discussed sacramentaries in this chapter first as a matter of convenience: I wished to lay out Chavasse's theories early in the analysis. But, it should be noted, Chavasse worked with the Gospel lectionaries too, and could not have painted the picture of Advent he did without their evidence. In fact, a cardinal rule for the study of the medieval Latin liturgy is: identify the Gospel reading for the feast (or the series of readings for the season) to be studied. This reading will be the first determinable item in many cases, and, furthermore, if fixed, it will govern (or at least color) much other development. The Gospel reading at Mass was commonly read in the Office too, within the third Nocturn of Matins, and is very often the liturgical text from which much of the rest of the liturgy emanates, both Mass and Office, including other readings, prayers, and chant texts. Once a Gospel text is established for any day in a given rite, it becomes, at least for a time, the foundation upon which all else is chosen or composed. When this appears not to be true, one wonders why, and seeks to locate points of change or other influences. In working with any other feast or season besides Advent, one would determine these readings in the Eastern rites as well—in Jerusalem, Constantinople, and as many others as possible. But in Advent, as explained at length above, it is appropriate to begin with the Western sources themselves.

There are basically three kinds of sources that identify Gospel readings.⁵¹ Among the earliest are Bibles themselves, which sometimes contain marginal notes of liturgical significance; when working with marginal notations the scholar must discern if their dates are contemporary with the texts themselves.⁵² A second kind of source, often found at the back or front of the Gospel books or Bibles themselves, is listings of chapters that were read liturgically (pericopes). Such a grouping of pericope headings is often called a Capitulary. They were of two types, those listing readings from the Gospel, and those listing readings from non-Gospel parts of the Bible.⁵³ Another kind of book contains the readings themselves, extracted and sometimes placed in liturgical order, thus making up a primitive lectionary.⁵⁴ Frere made the point long ago that capitularies are often much more archaic than the liturgical lectionaries themselves, which were prepared at great expense and energy for actual use. Capitularies, on the other hand, were readily copied even when they were no longer strictly followed, and thus tended to have a long "shelf

life” (Frere 1930, Introduction). Thus the shadows of older traditions coexisted in many centers alongside newer practices, ready to challenge the historically astute practitioner.

In the case of the Roman liturgy, establishing the Gospel reading for a given feast is a relatively easy matter, at least for one strain of Roman liturgical development. Klauser’s classic study, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum*, lays out the readings in various chronological stages, beginning with a pure Roman state from the mid-seventh century and working through to two mid-eighth-century uses, one Roman, and other Franco-Roman.⁵⁵ Table 1.1 compares the Gospel readings for feasts of Advent and indicates the common rubrics used for the days within the season, which shift from early to later sources. Along with the Gospel readings found in Klauser, it is important to compare the sermons of Gregory the Great, who preached at a late sixth- or early seventh-century stage within the Roman tradition. Table 1.1 suggests (and this was important evidence for Chavasse) that the Roman Gospels in some churches were laid out in fixed pericopes by the time of Gregory, but the number of Sundays within the season was in flux. It can be seen that the readings on which Gregory preached his Advent sermons form a kind of core for the development of the festal cycle, with three sermons for Sundays of Advent and one sermon for the Saturday of Ember Week. Some sources show five Sundays, and some four or three.

The Roman Advent readings Klauser presents are very consistent from the mid-seventh through the mid-eighth century, as can be seen in table 1.1. Readings for Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays were added by the mid-eighth century to the unchanging core of Sunday and Ember Week readings. The first reading that Chavasse considered for a Sunday in Advent is John 6:5–14. The feast and reading may not be a true part of the season, called as it is “for the seventh week after St. Cyprian.” Still, with its mention of Andrew (whose feast falls right at this time—30 November), and the final verse of the passage, “This is indeed the prophet who is to come into the world,” the reading provides a festal duality. The reading for the fourth week before Christmas is Matt. 21:1–9, the story of Jesus’ triumphal entrance into Jerusalem. The third week before Christmas was dominated by Luke 21:25–33, with the powerful image of the Second Coming, pregnant with signs, human trembling, and a brief quotation from Dan. 7:13–14 embedded within verse 27: “Then they will see ‘the Son of Man coming in a cloud’ with power and great glory.” John the Baptist dominates in the readings of the second and first weeks before Christmas; the readings of the Ember Days bring forth texts describing the Annunciation and the Magnificat, with John’s cry from Isa. 40:3–5 heard within the final reading on Ember Saturday. There is no Sunday after Ember Week in this tradition, but the missing Sunday is not called *vacat* (“empty”), as it was in some stages of Roman Advent.

A second important southern Italian use was present in Naples and the surrounding Campania from the late sixth century. The tradition was established in Anglo-Saxon England as well by a series of missionaries from Italy, most importantly by the Abbot Hadrian.⁵⁶ Hadrian, who originated in Greek-speaking Africa, was head of a monastery in Naples for over twenty years, and had become a highly trusted advisor of Pope Vitalian and of the Emperor Constans II before his last

Table 1.1 Gospel readings for Advent in the Roman tradition: selected sources

Pure Roman ca. 645 Gospel readings		Roman Frankish after 750 Gospel readings		Gregory the Great	Paul the Deacon		Naples/Anglo-Saxon Würzburg 68, ca. 700 (for comparison)	
Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture	Scriptural sources of Advent Homilies	Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture
Eb 7 post sci cypriani	John 6:5–14	item in adventus Domini	John 6:5–14		Eb 5 ante natale domini	John 6:5–14 John 1:19	de Adven- tum	Luke 21:25
Fer. 4	Matt. 8:14–22	Fer. 4	Matt. 8:14–22			Luke 1:26–27	Fer. 4	Luke 12:32
Fer. 6	Luke 12:13–31	item ut supra Fer. 6	Luke 10:3–9 Luke 12:13–31				Fer. 6	Luke 12:39
Fer. 4	Mark 8:15–26	item ut supra Fer. 4	Mark 13:33–37 Mark 8:15–16					
Eb 4 ante natale Domini	Matt. 21:1–9	Eb 4 ante natale Domini	Matt. 21:1–9 Matt. 3:1–6		Eb 4 ante natale domini	Matt. 21:1–9	Dom. 2 Fer. 4 Fer. 6	Matt. 11:2 Matt. 3:1 Matt. 24:3
		Fer. 4	Luke 3:7–18					
Eb 3 ante natale Domini	Luke 21:25–33	Eb 3 ante natale Domini	Luke 21:25–33 Matt. 11:11–15	Luke 21:25–33	Eb 3 ante natale domini	Luke 21:25–33	Dom. 3 Fer. 4 Fer. 6	Luke 1:26 Matt. 24:23 Matt. 24:34
		Fer. 4	Mark 1:2–8					
		Fer. 6						

(continued)

Table 1.1 (*continued*)

Pure Roman ca. 645 Gospel readings		Roman Frankish after 750 Gospel readings		Gregory the Great Scriptural sources of Advent Homilies	Paul the Deacon		Naples/Anglo-Saxon Würzburg 68, ca. 700 (for comparison)	
Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture		Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture
Eb 2 ante natale Domini	Matt. 11:2–10	Eb 2 ante natale Domini Fer. 4 Fer. 6	Matt. 11:2–10 Matt. 3:7–11 Luke 7:18–28	Matt. 11:2–10	Eb 2 ante natale domini	Matt. 11:2–10	Dom. 4 Eb. 4 de Adventum	Luke 3:1 Mark 13:18
Eb 1 ante natale Domini	John 1:19–28	Eb 1 ante natale Domini	John 1:19–28	John 1:19–28	Eb 1 ante natale domini infra Eb item	John 1:19 “Legimus . . .” “Vos in- quam . . .”	Dom. 5 Eb. 1	Luke 4:14 John 1:19
Fer. 4 ad scam Mariam	Luke 1:26–38	Fer. 4 ad scam Mariam	Luke 1:26–38		Fer. 4 ad scam Mariam	Luke 1:26–38		
Fer. 6 ad apostolos	Luke 1:39–47	Fer. 6 ad apostolos	Luke 1:39–47		Fer. 6 ad apostolos	Luke 1:39–47 Luke 3:1		
Fer. 7 ad scum Petrum	Luke 3:1–6	sabbato ad scum petrum in XII lectiones	Luke 3:1–6	Luke 3:1–6				

mission (Bischoff and Lapidge 1994, 130–31). He reached England in 670, via Gaul, where he had already sojourned twice before. This international figure, fluent in both Greek and Latin, well informed concerning liturgical circumstances in some regions of Gaul, and a promulgator of Neapolitan monastic liturgy, shaped liturgical practices in the formative seventh century, in his case, finally in England.

Liturgies were transmitted through such powerful persons, who had not only books, but also the understanding of how to implement the liturgies the books contained. Several famous manuscripts relate to the use of Naples as transplanted to England, including the Lindisfarne Gospels, a book studied as a representative of the Neapolitan liturgical tradition even in the early part of this century (Morin 1891).⁵⁷ The so-called Burchard Gospel Book, the contents of which are listed in table 1.1 in the far right column, represents the Neapolitan use, as it was brought to England, and from there to Würzburg. It is a book that may have been influenced by the Roman tradition outlined from Klauser's book in table 1.1 as well.⁵⁸ Among the many differences between this southern Italian Advent and that of Rome are the position of Luke 21 as first in the series; Matt. 21, which describes the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, is not present; and the Annunciation reading from Luke is in the center of the season. With so many traditions in evidence, clearly there would have been considerable confusion regarding Advent (and other feasts and seasons as well) in early eighth-century Gaul. Texts for the Office of all types, including chant texts, would have varied in order, and even in nature, from region to region.

As table 1.2 shows, non-Roman lectionaries demonstrate varying numbers of Sundays and none of them follows the Roman tradition, although certainly there were some common texts. The Gallican sources, as tabulated by Pierre Salmon in his introduction to the Luxeuil lectionary, provide spotty information as to what the readings were.⁵⁹ Tragically, the leaves containing Advent are missing from the Luxeuil lectionary itself. One finds Old Testament readings in the source at Schlettstadt, and Epistles in the earlier section of the manuscript;⁶⁰ Vatican, BAV Vat. lat. 5755 from the seventh century provides notations for Epistles as well; but the list of Gospels compiled from Paris, BNF lat. 256 and lat. 10863 offers the only surviving Gallican five-Sunday cycle of Advent Gospels.⁶¹ That readings from Isaiah were well established during the season is clear from the study of other series of Advent readings attested by the sources. The Bobbio Missal represents yet another tradition, with three Sundays and a Vigil Mass. The sources testify to the long-acknowledged understanding of variability within the Gallican traditions.⁶²

The Milanese readings for Advent, found in a source from the second half of the ninth century, present yet another order of Epistle and Gospel readings.⁶³ They also show that there were six Sundays of Advent in Milan. The Old Spanish sources, rich in prayer texts, testify less frequently to the Gospel and other readings. Although Advent is frequently lost, falling as it did at the beginning of liturgical books, the *Liber commicus*, as found in a modern edition, contains the full cycle.⁶⁴ Here too, as with the other non-Roman traditions, the series of readings is unique. As would be expected, many of the readings are common in other regions, but the numbers of verses and the order of the readings themselves reveal no standardization from tradition to tradition.

Table 1.2 Gospel readings for Advent in the non-Roman tradition: selected sources

Paris, BNF lat. 256 St. Denis?, early 8th c.		Bobbio Missal Paris, BNF 13246		Bergamo, S. Alexandri 9th c. (2)		Bede	Old Spanish Liber Commicus	
Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture	Rubric	Scripture	Scriptural sources Advent homilies	Rubric	Scripture
De Primo Aduento	John 1:35–51	Incipiunt liccionis de aduentum dni	Matt. 11:2–5	Dom. 1	Matt. 24:1–44		Primo Dom.	Matt. 3:1–11
Secunda dnica in Aduentum	Matt. 24:15	In aduentu dni. 2	Matt. 3:1–12	Dom. 2	Luke 3:1–18		Secundo Dom.	Matt. 11:2–15
Tercia dnica aduentum	Matt. 11:2	In aduentu dni. 3	Matt. 24:27–44	Dom. 3	Matt. 11:2–15		Tercia Dom.	Matt. 21:1–9
Quarta dnica de Aduentum	Luke 3:2			Dom. 4	Matt. 21:1–9	Mark 1:4–8	Quarta Dom.	Mark 1:1–8
Quinta dom de Aduentum	Matt. 3:1			Dom. 5	John 1:15–28	John 1:15–18	Quinta Dom.	Luke 3:1–18
Sexta dnica aduentum	Matt. 21:1			Dom. 6 missa in ecclesia	Luke 1:39–45	Luke 1:26–38		
				Item ad Scam Mariam	Luke 1:26–38	Luke 1:39–55		
				missa in Vigil Natal Dni	Matt. 1:18–25	Matt. 1:18–25		

It is worth pointing out that Matt. 24, a text of importance in the sermons of Caesarius, and perhaps referred to in some prayers of the Old Gelasian sacramentary, is present as a reading in all non-Roman traditions, including the Neapolitan, and is found in both Gallican sources tabulated here. Matt. 21:1–9, the entrance into Jerusalem, is found in both Paris, BNF lat. 256 and the Milanese use, but later in the series than in Rome. Luke 21, however, part of the Roman lectionary by the late sixth century, as witnessed by Gregory's Advent sermon on the text, is present in none of the Gallican sources, nor in the Old Spanish rite, nor in Milan. It is found as a reading "De Adventu" in the Gospel book of Burchard, however, and may have served there as the reading for the first Sunday in Advent. The contents of the Roman readings are the one consistent strain in the development of Advent in the West; Gregory's sermons, it is to be noted, might have served for the Neapolitan use as well, if, as has sometimes been speculated, it existed early in Rome and was favored by certain monastic communities there.

Homiliaries

The third important type of liturgical evidence from the late sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries are the liturgical collections of sermons for the Office compiled for a variety of uses, but, as far as the Roman rite is concerned, demonstrating a central tradition with many stripes, at least in regard to Advent; these, we will see, were combined in the late eighth century in the Office homiliary of Paul the Deacon.⁶⁵ It is the homiliaries which provide the first picture of Advent as it was celebrated in the Office, where readings from sermons were of central importance, particularly to the elaborate night Office of Matins. Scholarship on the homiliaries has been greatly advanced in recent decades, especially through the work of Réginald Grégoire, whose carefully tabulated analyses of medieval liturgical homiliaries makes comparison of the various traditions, at least on a simple level, a possibility (of special importance here is his *HLM*) and through the thoughtful study of Raymond Étaix, who has concentrated upon later redactions of earlier traditions. A representative collection of his many studies has recently been published.⁶⁶ Even a short time spent with these two authors will demonstrate to the reader that the homiliaries and their traditions are both as complicated and as important to liturgical history as the sacramentaries and Gospel books, and that they are the first great body of liturgical books prepared specifically for Office use, taking the researcher to the heart of this subject more directly than any other body of early liturgical materials.

Grégoire (*HLM*) has discussed the major witnesses of the Roman homiletic tradition in great detail, summarizing much earlier scholarship in the process, and inventorying contents of the sources. Of the several witnesses, we will compare briefly three, all of them closely related. The Homiliary of Alan of Farfa (d. 769 or 770) actually represents in its core a seventh-century Roman collection emanating from St. Peter's on the Vatican, corresponding to the scheme of biblical readings laid out in *Ordo Romanus XIV*, with certain changes.⁶⁷ The Roman homiliary of the scribe Agimundus was used in the basilica of SS. Philip and James by the early

eighth century, and survives as Vatican, BAV Vat. lat. 3835 and 3836, its first volume having been lost. The parentage of the book in its primitive layers is African and from the sixth century; these were the works forming the original core of the homiliary of St. Peter's.⁶⁸ Vatican, BAV San Pietro C 105 is a liturgical homiliary from the Basilica of St. Peter's itself, the handwriting dating from the second half of the tenth century. This fragmentary book, the surviving contents of which represent the first part of the church year, is very close to the homiliary of Alan of Farfa mentioned above; Alan's is based on an even earlier tradition. The study of the earliest Roman homiliaries suggests that, in regard to the earliest layers of the Office liturgy, all roads lead to St. Peter's.

What is Advent like in these three Roman Office collections? The sermons for Advent found in the so-called Homiliary of Alan of Farfa are not divided into pericopes or provided with titles, piece by piece, in the inventory Grégoire presents. Instead, they are a collection of complete works (not excerpts, in most cases) to be read at the Office during the season, and these fall into large sections. Thus it is not easy to claim centrality for particular biblical passages, although some of the themes present have been discussed above. First are five so-called homilies of St. Augustine, none of which is actually by the designated author. The series commences with a magnificent treatise long attributed to St. Augustine, "*Legimus sanctum Moysen*." In actuality the sermon is a composite work: the first half is taken from a letter written in 437 by the African Antonius Honoratus, and the rest from a Pseudo-Augustinian sermon "*Sanctus Hic*."⁶⁹ The sermon presents early versions of themes that would be central to the later medieval Office, and to the understanding of Advent, with emphasis upon the significance of the flowering rod of Aaron (Num. 17:6–8) as a type of the Virgin Mary who would bear at once, contrary to nature, both flower and fruit. The association of Christ with Aaron the priest is also developed here, with reference to the order of Melchisedech. Excerpts from Caesarius' three Advent sermons follow, and then an Advent sermon from Maximus of Turin, and a sermon by Pseudo-Maximus which Morin believed may have been of Spanish origin. This latter work, "*Ecce ex qua tribu*," like the "*Legimus sanctum Moysen*," emphasizes the prophetic voices predicting the coming of the Messiah, here with emphasis upon the "*stirps Jesse*," the shoot of Jesse.⁷⁰ As with some non-Roman prayer texts mentioned above, the sermons of this collection resonate with the themes that will dominate in the fully developed medieval Office of Advent.

The next work is a composite sermon, fashioned from Ambrose's commentary on Luke, but called here a sermon on the incarnation of the Lord by St. Ambrose. Next is an excerpt from a letter by Pope Leo, this too called "*de incarnatione*." Excerpts from Pope Leo's three sermons for Ember Week of Advent finish out the cycle. Except for the final group, this is a series with a powerful incarnational thrust and a strong Marian emphasis. The collection as a whole appears quite different in character from the prayers and readings in the Gregorian tradition, but resonates instead with the southern Italian, Ravennate, and Spanish liturgical materials described above. To be noted is the absence of sermons by Gregory the Great.

Many of the sermons presented in the Homiliary of Alan of Farfa are found in

the other Roman homiliaries mentioned above as well, but with modifications and certain additions. The homiliary of St. Peter's at the Vatican shows "Legimus sanctum Moysen" broken out of the Pseudo-Augustinian group and placed after the excerpts by Ambrose; in addition the book includes in the final position, even after the Ember Days sermons by Pope Leo, a sermon by the fifth-century Carthaginian Quodvultdeus, "Vos inquam convenio." This sermon became the basis for the tradition of prophets' plays in the Middle Ages, and we witness here how it first came into the Roman liturgical sources.⁷¹

The homiliary of Agimundus is even more varied, and organized in a different way. A series of three sermons, two by Caesarius and one by Maximus, is followed by the four Advent sermons of Gregory I, the third of which is supplied with a Gospel reading: Luke 3:1–11. The works are designated for the first through the fourth Sundays in Advent. This set is followed by three sermons on the Incarnation, "Ecce ex qua tribu," the excerpt from the letter by Leo I, and "Legimus sanctum Moysen." Following this set are the three Advent sermons of Leo I. Thus the Marian/incarnational material is less emphasized here, and placed just before Ember Week, while the sermons of Gregory have come to have an important position in the center of the materials. The sets of sermons would have been used simultaneously, it seems, except for the Ember Day offerings. Thus each week in Advent might have something by Caesarius, something from Gregory, and something from the Marian group. In addition, two of the series seem set up for a three-Sunday Advent, but the series of Gregory's sermons is definitely for four Sundays.

Clearly in the materials for Advent in the Roman homiliaries we move in a different world from the Gregorian sacramentary, even from the lectionaries tabulated by Klauser. In the homiliaries, the sense of the season has a balance between two types of equally represented thematic material: around half of the works are incarnational and Marian, and these are found first in the various series; the rest of the sermons, from Caesarius, Leo I, and, eventually, although not always, from Gregory I, interweave the themes of penance, fasting, and a focus on John the Baptist that are already familiar from the fifth century onward.

The final work to be discussed here is the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. Paul the Deacon (ca. 720–ca. 799), a Lombard by birth, was educated in Pavia, and came to Monte Cassino in around 773–74.⁷² He was a visitor at the court of Charlemagne for several years, and was commissioned to compile the homiliary that was later promulgated in the king's *Epistola generalis*.⁷³ This, the official Office book of the Carolingian reformers, contains an Advent very different in structure and content from the Roman homiliaries discussed above. It is organized into five "weeks before the Birth of the Lord" and shows strict adherence to the Roman Gospel readings tabulated in Klauser (see table 1.1). In order to accommodate the readings, beginning with John 6:5, the Deacon has brought in sermons not found in the tradition discussed above, and reorganized the common sources he does use, getting rid of Caesarius, and of much of the material containing incarnational and Marian themes. Thus, the first week has a reading from the corresponding place in Augustine's *Treatise on the Gospel of John*. The reading for Week 2, Matt. 21, depicts the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, and Paul the Deacon has used a

homily by Pseudo-Chrysostom, “Opus imperfectum in Matthaëum.”⁷⁴ For the remaining three weeks, sermons by Maximus are used in conjunction with the three by Gregory. “Legimus sanctum Moysen” is assigned to “within the week before the Birth of the Lord,” and “Vos inquam convenio” by Quodvultdeus appears as an alternate. Not only are there five weeks before Advent, there is also an Ember Week, which is assigned homilies by Bede, the Ember Week sermon of Gregory, and one work by Maximus.

It should be emphasized that the readings from John 6:5–14, for the fifth week before Christmas, and Matt. 21:1–9, for the fourth week before Christmas, have the appearance of being recent additions to the ancient system of Office readings established in Rome from the sixth century onward. Paul the Deacon was bringing the Office tradition more closely in line with that of the Mass books studied above, in particular with that of the Gospel lectionary as tabulated by Klauser. In the case of Advent, they must not have been well synchronized at the time he did his work—seated, we might imagine, amid books he understood very well, and others he did not, and consulting with other scholars at the court of Charlemagne. His task was to standardize these materials, and it is clear that, at least for the season of Advent, he decided to coordinate Mass and Office liturgies as closely as possible. In the process of synchronizing these readings, some materials for the Office would seem suited to the Gospel of the day, others would not. There must have been great consternation on the part of liturgists as Gospels were altered, and their powerful pull upon preexistent liturgical materials for the Office was felt in the widespread areas adopting the standardized Roman liturgy as promulgated by the Carolingians. The process itself caused disruption and disjunction, as will be demonstrated in the concluding section of this chapter.

Conclusion: An Advent of Confusion

Amalarius of Metz’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is the greatest Carolingian liturgical commentary, a source that dominates the tradition of the genre for all centuries onward.⁷⁵ It is also a work marked by doubt and confusion, as its author, a scholar of the highest rank, admits openly that the sources he has before him simply do not agree, even on basic points. This same attitude can be found in his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, the preface to his lost antiphoner.⁷⁶ Here, some two generations after the work of Paul the Deacon, Amalarius discusses moving Office chants around during the liturgical planning process so that they would agree with the Gospel of the day, or the substitution of one so-called Roman piece for a better-fitting work from the so-called Messine tradition, or vice versa. In both of these liturgical treatises, agony is ameliorated through allegory, the latter functioning more as an antidote to the scholar’s pain than as a self-indulgent flight of fancy.⁷⁷ Amalarius knew too much, and his task was to make sense of a tradition that claimed to be uniform and ancient and was instead hopelessly varied, some of it old, some of it fairly new. The passage describing liturgical sources for the Advent liturgy is representative both of the kinds of problems he faced and the allegorical solutions he sometimes resorted to in his work as both liturgist and liturgiologist:

In ancient Mass books and lectionaries is found written: “five weeks before the birth of the Lord.” Indeed just as many readings are contained in the lectionary, and just as many in the Gospel book, for the time period mentioned for Sundays up to the birth of the Lord. The antiphoner [of the Mass] contains three daily services, and four for Sunday, which is *vacat* [empty] after the Saturday of twelve readings (Ember Saturday); but the night office, as I said above, has four services for Sundays.

The author of the lectionary stirs our faith to recall the proclamation of our Lord Jesus Christ when about to come throughout the five ages of the world; the author of the missal which is called Gregorian and of the antiphoner moves us that we might recall the festive birth of our Lord through three types of books, to wit the law, the prophets, and the psalms, and through a fourth, that is the beginning of the Gospel in which is described Gabriel the archangel sent to Zachary, clearly the one bringing the announcement of the birth of the precursor of the Lord, and also the prophecy of Zachary concerning the coming of the Lord; and Gabriel sent to Mary the Virgin, telling her about the conception of Our Savior, and certain other things right on up to the nativity itself.⁷⁸

Amalarius’ difficulty with liturgical books and the discrepancies between them in the early ninth century is symptomatic of his times, a crucial period for the development of the Office in the West. A second chapter would now take up the many types of materials described here and study the ways in which they were combined to fashion Advent in the form we know it from later medieval books. We can only point the way here, mentioning some of the themes that emerge from study of the materials above and looking briefly at some chant texts in this context. Amalarius knew of differences in the counting of Sundays before Advent, and these are manifested in the first collections of Mass texts, which date from about the year 800; six early examples have been tabulated by Hesbert.⁷⁹ The sources Hesbert used for the AMS all contain texts for the Proper of the Mass, and they demonstrate that three different plans for Advent circulated in the ninth century (see table 1.3). MS R from Rheinau contains five Sundays “ante natale Domini,” formulating the season in a fashion resembling the manner of early Gospel books and the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. James McKinnon and others have written about the correspondence that Offertory antiphons frequently have with the Gospel of the day. In R the fifth Sunday before Christmas bears no discernible relationship to John 6, read on that day in the Roman tradition.⁸⁰ But none of the other early Mass books tabulated by Hesbert refers in its texts to this Gospel either; they all begin with the fourth Sunday before Christmas, and this is called (in all but the Rheinau source) the “First Sunday in Advent.” The rest of the Sundays, including the chants sung on them, are fairly uniform until the end of the Advent series. The last Sunday shows great variance: R contains the fifth Sunday, but all the chants have been borrowed either from the previous Sunday or from Ember Days. In this tradition, a fifth Sunday was desired, but there were not unique chants for it. Three of the sources contain only three Sundays in Advent (M, B, and K). The famous Antiphoner of Compiègne, Paris, BNF 17436 (C) contains a full set of chants for the last Sunday in Advent, but the Sunday is labeled “vacat.”⁸¹ The antiphoner of Senlis

Table 1.3 Rubrics for early Mass formularies in Advent compared

M	R	B	C	K	S ^a
—	D5 ante Nat. D.	Heb 23 post Pent.	—	Heb 23 post Pent.	Heb 23 post Pent.
D1	D4 ante Nat. D.	—	D1 ad S. Andream	D1 ad S. Mariam	D1
D2	D3 ante Nat. D.	D2 ad Hierusalem	lacuna	D2 ad Hierusalem	D2 ad Hierusalem
D3	D2 ante Nat. D.	D3 ad S. Petrum	D3 ad S. Petrum	D3 ad S. Petrum	D3 ad S. Petrum
[Ember Weekdays]					
F4	F4 ad S. Mariam	F4 ad S. Mariam	F4 ad S. Mariam	F4 ad S. Mariam	F4 ad S. Mariam
F6	—	F6	F6 ad Apostolos	F6 ad Apostolos	F6
Sa 12 L	S 12 L ad S. Petrum	Sa 12 L ad S. Petrum	Sa 12 L ad S. Petrum	Sa 12 L ad S. Petrum	Sa 12 L ad S. Petrum
—	D1 ante Nat. D.	—	D Vacat	—	D4

D = Dominica; Heb = Hebdomada; F = feria; L = Lectionibus; Sa = Sabbato; — = no rubrics or liturgical materials

^a Manuscripts as in AMS.

has the same chants for this feast as in Compiègne, except that the introit differs (see esp. AMS, 10–11). This divergence helps to explain the situation in R. The compilers of this source knew the Roman Gospel series, and wanted an Advent to match it. But they only had chants for three Sundays in Advent. Others were borrowed and developed to fill the gaps. These sources indicate the three stages Amalaricus mentioned: three Sundays, four (with one labeled “vacat”), and the four-Sunday series that would come to dominate, but all within sources containing Mass texts (*antiphonarium missarum*).

A closer look at the texts reveals yet another subject worthy of independent investigation. As table 1.1 demonstrates, Gospel readings for Advent in the Roman use as tabulated by Klauser present Matt. 21:1–9, the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, as the Gospel for the fourth Sunday before Christmas; in early Mass books after the Carolingian standardization, this became the Gospel for the Mass and Office of the first Sunday in Advent. The chants sung for this Sunday at Mass and in the Office, however, have little resonance with this Gospel. If the homiliaries are any indication, then Matt. 21:1–9 was fairly new to the Office tradition as standardized in the homiliary of Paul the Deacon.

Yet more evidence bearing on this confusion is present in the chants, both for Mass and Office, sung on the second Sunday of Advent, beginning with the introit *Populus Sion*. Jerusalem dominates in the chant texts, with the Communion antiphon *Hierusalem surge* as a good example, and the station in three of the Sextuplex manuscripts for the second Sunday is “Ad Hierusalem.”⁸² But if we turn back again to table 1.1 and early lists of Gospel texts, the reading for the second Sunday in

Advent was Luke 21:25–33; although the earlier part of chapter 21 has reference to Jerusalem, the section read at Advent does not. The themes are rather apocalyptic, with reference to the “Son of Man coming in a cloud,” the text that dominates in the Office chants not on this, the second Sunday of Advent, but on the first Sunday, which begins with the famous responsory *Aspiciens a longe*. Somehow, the Gospel readings and the chant texts for the first two Sundays in Advent became seriously out of line. This is true for books containing Office chants as well. Examination of texts for antiphons and responsories in CAO, both in the secular and the monastic use, reveal the same disjuncture, and testify to the links that liturgical materials employed for the first Sunday in Advent have with the Gospel for the second Sunday, Luke 21:25–33, whereas Office chant texts for the second Sunday often extol the name of the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The connection of Office chant texts for the first Sunday in Advent with the Gospel of Luke, read on the second Sunday, is demonstrated in a series of antiphon texts for the Magnificat found in Hesbert’s CAO MS E, from Ivrea, an eleventh-century source.⁸³ The texts of the group refer to the major themes embodied in Office texts for the first Sunday in Advent: the prophetic coming of the Messiah; the signs of his coming and the cloud imagery; and incarnation motives, including strong reference to Mary and the angelic pronouncement. Although several of the texts found here are present in the other sources tabulated in this volume of CAO, the most specific among them is not—“Erunt signa in sole et luna.” This text, which is a direct quotation from Luke 21:25–33, demonstrates even more strongly than the others the connection the series once had with this Gospel text.

It would be a worthy endeavor to try to understand this disjuncture between Gospel of the day and Office chant texts in a more complete way. One could begin by examining the situation within ancient uses both north and south of the Alps, and studying Amalarius’ revisions of Office chants in this light as well. Charts in the back of Hassens’s edition compare Office chants as discussed in Amalarius and as found in both “Roman” and “Old Roman” uses.⁸⁴ A useful collection of chant texts compiled by Knud Ottosen, *L’Antiphonaire latin au moyen-âge*, offers the kind of evidence that must be compiled for every season. The book presents the great responsories of Advent as found in the manuscripts listed by Hesbert in CAO.⁸⁵ Ottosen’s work points the scholar in the direction of chant databases such as CANTUS, but without the searching capabilities we have grown used to having available. Even a cursory examination of Ottosen’s data suggests that the still-forming Advent found in the late eighth century had settled down considerably in the years after Amalarius. Yet, although the Advent responsories are relatively stable as a group, one finds them used in various orderings, and (especially within the monastic uses, which required more of them) in various combinations with other material.⁸⁶ All of these permutations invite further study.

The subject of the Old Roman Office, with its connection to St. Peter’s, points back to the homiliaries described above. We saw that there was a particular tradition of sermons and themes that pervaded the Roman Office liturgy for centuries, and that this tradition, for Advent at least, was transformed dramatically in the eighth century north of the Alps. Yet another mode of investigation, then, would be to examine the Office chants, both from the Roman and Old Roman tradi-

tions—which, we have said, are very closely related—for the vestiges of early development. Were the chants created, at least some of them, in the midst of the early sermon tradition? Even a cursory look is suggestive of the possibilities. Incarnational and Marian themes, for example, dominate in chant texts for the first Sunday in Advent, just as they did in the early homiliaries of Rome. Can this be a coincidence, or were some of these chants first formed to suit the readings found as part of that tradition? This mode of study underscores the importance of the Office as made up of many strains of material, each having its own history. Through the Office, sung by the educated classes of Europe for centuries, the sermons of the past were kept alive and in liturgical context. Scholars have only begun to explore the interactive relationships between these sermons and many other aspects of the Office, the chants, the prayers, the Gospel readings.

In addition, it must be observed that discordance between Gospel readings and chant texts described here was excised in the modern Roman liturgical books, which were put in final form in the sixteenth century. Consultation of breviaries and missals will demonstrate that the Gospels for the Sundays of Advent are closer to the texts implied by the early homiliaries; the triumphal entrance into Jerusalem is not present.⁸⁷ The synchronization between Gospel readings and Mass and Office chant texts is improved. Compare the following Gospel readings for Sundays in Advent with those in tables 1.1 and 1.2:

Dominica 1: Luke 21:25–33

Dominica 2: Matt. 11:2–10

Dominica 3: John 1:19–28

Dominica 4: Luke 3:1–6

This is a warning to us not to rely on these later books for study of the medieval liturgy, even though, more often than not, they reflect the shape of early practice.

The complexities and richness of the Advent Office as formed in the late eighth and early ninth centuries were shaped, in many cases, through adaptations of the ancient materials described in this chapter. The Office of Advent, through the interaction of homiletic texts, Gospels, prayers, and chant texts, reveals the diversity and genius of Western liturgy in its formative state, and raises an array of questions for further study, especially given that themes of “Adventus” would come to dominate in many liturgical genres of the central Middle Ages (see Fassler 1993b and 1994). The creative genius of the tenth and eleventh centuries was lavished upon the Office, as each region and religious community refashioned a large body of broadly circulating materials to suit its particular needs and tastes. The process of understanding how this happened is crucial to knowing how religious cultures evolved in the Latin Middle Ages.

Notes

1. The ordinals of Chartres cathedral, for example, begin with pages of instructions for the celebration of Advent and what happens when days important to the season coincide with Sundays or important saints’ days. See Delaporte, *L’Ordinaire chartrain*.
2. Detailed plans comparing the structure of the monastic day as it evolved in both

monastic and cathedral liturgies of the Roman rite by the ninth century are found in Huglo (1988), 83, Harper (1991), 86–97, Reynolds (1984), and Dubois and Lemaître (1993). The plans of the Divine Office designed by Lila Collamore (see the Prelude to this volume) are simple guides for the reader, and reflect the state of affairs in the central Middle Ages and later. The actual situation varied in its details from time to time and place to place, and to try to capture “the” liturgical day in a single chart or diagram is impossible.

3. The shape of Advent was little affected by the changing date of Easter because Christmas, although part of the Tempore, was fixed. However, the dates of Sundays in Advent changed every year, as did the specific dates of Ember week, and these days might coincide with a number of saints’ feasts.

4. The scholarship on the season of Advent is surprisingly sparse. Thomas Talley (1991) was criticized for not paying enough attention to the season. But, to be fair to his work, it should be acknowledged that Advent was not fully developed in the early period, the focus of his study. Other scholars’ works are popular rather than scholarly in nature, for example, Jean Daniélou (1951), Wilfrid Harrington (1935, repr. 1988), and, more recently, J. Neil Alexander (1993). Another important group of studies treats the theme as it arose in classical civilization and related to ceremonial, as in, for example, Pierre DuFaigne (1994) and Michael McCormick (1986). The subject has had great importance for art historians, with classic treatment in the writings of André Grabar, who has been followed by numerous others, including Erich Dinkler (1970) and, more recently, Geir Hellemo (1989). The standard single article on the subject remains Ernst Kantorowicz (1944). My forthcoming book on the Cult of the Virgin in medieval Chartres contains extensive discussion of the sense of *Adventus* in the medieval liturgy.

5. General introductions to the Divine Office are not difficult to come by, but quality varies. One of the best such discussions to appear in recent years forms part of Martimort (1992). The introductory bibliography includes standard works such as Pierre Salmon (1962) and also a list of documents and writings concerning the Office since the Second Vatican Council.

6. For a brief, but useful, overview of the rise of Christmas, which includes discussion of all major areas in the East and West, see Botte (1932).

7. For discussion of liturgical themes associated with the pre-Christmas season in fifth-century Constantinople, see Fassler (forthcoming).

8. Moolan (1985), a revised version of the author’s doctoral dissertation, has received criticism for its treatment of the manuscripts and for the choice of sources: see, for example, Winkler (1987a).

9. Moolan (1985), 270. The terms and polarities used here are as laid out by Robert Taft (1986).

10. See Talley (1991) and n. 21 below for discussion of the dependency of the date of Christmas upon an understanding of the spring equinox as the time of Jesus’ conception.

11. For translations of the sermons of Proclus and extensive commentary, see Constatas (1994).

12. The massive *Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi*, edited by Iohannis Machielsen, summarizes the results of recent investigations into misattributed works author by author, and helps researchers gain a better sense not only of which works were misattributed, but to whom. Volume 1, parts A and B, is devoted to “Opera homiletica.”

13. Advent is also the subject of a forthcoming book by James McKinnon that is concerned primarily with the formation of chant texts and melodies of the Mass proper for this season.

14. This chapter, for the sake of space and time, concentrates on only three major