



(Engraving from Dominican Breviary of 1699)

A HISTORY OF THE DOMINICAN LITURGY

1215 — 1945

By
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE
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INTRODUCTION

THE DOMINICAN ORDER was founded by Saint Dominic and derives all its essential characteristics from him. Dominic's genius was such that he communicated his own personality to his institute, and to this day it indubitably bears his stamp. He set the aim, the means, and the government. He founded his Order for the defense of Christian truth and the salvation of souls chiefly by means of preaching. For centuries the Constitutions of the Order have stated this aim in their opening lines: "Our Order was especially instituted from the beginning for the work of preaching and the salvation of souls, and all our endeavors must tend to this that we may be of help to the souls of others." Under Dominic's guiding hand the essential means were chosen for the attainment of this purpose. "The means established by our most holy Patriarch for the achievement of our end are, in addition to the three solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the regular life with monastic observances, the solemn recitation of the Divine Office, and the assiduous study of sacred truth." Thus, liturgy holds an essential place in the Dominican scheme of things and cannot be excluded without placing the purpose of the Order in jeopardy. The Constitutions embody a significant warning to this effect: "Hence, among us these (means) cannot be taken away or substantially changed." This admonition has been corroborated frequently by the testimony of history. When the Dominican life was strong and vigorous, the liturgy held an honored place in Dominican priories; on the other hand, in

those unfortunate periods of decline, which tend to mar the history of a Religious Order, it is found that the liturgy had fallen from its proud place.

In daily taking his place in choir the Dominican well understands that he is performing an act of praise and adoration of the Creator, and that this divine service also has a human significance. The friar by joining in the corporate worship of his priory equips himself for a more noble fulfillment of the dual aspect of his vocation. The liturgy is much more than a commemoration of things past. It is to-day and every day an ever-present reënactment in our souls of the mysteries we celebrate. By drinking deeply of the divine truths to-day, the friar will on the morrow communicate to his hearers in the classroom, the church, and the marketplace, the fruit of his prayers. The liturgy is an effective instrument in the fulfillment of the Dominican vocation: *Contemplare, et contemplata aliis tradere* (To contemplate and communicate the fruits of that contemplation to others). This daily, intimate participation in the divine mysteries ensures that the Dominican friar who is faithful to his high vocation will never be as "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."

Hence the love, care, and pains taken by the Order during seven centuries to safeguard its special rite. The Dominican rite, it is true, has been subject to the vicissitudes of the times, and unfortunately has suffered therefrom, but the never-ending concern of the Order for its rite indicates that the place of the liturgy as an essential instrument in the achievement of the Dominican vocation was never forgotten.

Thus, in studying the rite of the Friars Preachers we are penetrating to one of the roots that has nourished Dominican activity during the weatherings of seven centuries. The fresh-

ness of the Order's life after this length of time is undoubtedly due in great part to the service rendered it by its liturgy; for in an Order so strongly devoted to intellectual pursuits the liturgy has balanced the Dominican ideal and has prevented the chilling blasts of stilted intellectualism from withering the charity and zeal which must ever mainly constitute a life of apostolic activity.

The Dominican rite is associated with the memory of some of the Church's greatest sons. It was the rite of fifteen canonized Saints* and more than three hundred Blessed; and two Doctors of the Church—Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas—have chanted the praises of the Almighty and offered the Bloodless Sacrifice according to its norms. Then, too, the rite long fulfilled the function of preserving the memory of ancient Roman liturgical practices which the Roman Church itself has since abandoned. Hence the importance of an adequate understanding and appreciation of the Dominican rite.

To form a just estimate of any rite it is not enough to view it as it exists to-day; it must be studied in its origins and history. Until now this has been impossible in regard to the Dominican rite. In the first place, only three serious works have been published on this rite: Cavalieri's in 1686, Cassitto's in 1804, and Rousseau's in 1926. The first dealt solely with the explanation of the Mass; the second was superficial and unreliable; the third confined itself to the first half of the thirteenth century. Rousseau's work, although a scholarly contribution, left seven hundred years of history to be told. In the second place, numerous scattered articles on the rite have

* Since these words were written, another Saint has been added to the Dominican list—St. Margaret of Hungary.

been written, but their disagreement on vital points tended to confuse rather than aid the reader.

Father Bonniwell is a sure guide through the mazes of conflicting interpretations of various aspects of his subject, and he has solved numerous vexing questions. Twenty years of arduous research went into the preparation of his book. In spite of many serious difficulties, and often in the face of disheartening disappointments, he refused to be discouraged. He would neither omit necessary stages of research nor allow himself to be hurried by adverse criticism which pressed for an earlier publication. This scholarly patience and intelligent labor have produced abundant fruit. For the first time in the long history of the Dominican Order, there is now available a complete history of the Dominican rite. It is hardly of less importance that this work is a splendid specimen of scholarship and learning. It is indeed a work that was well worth awaiting. In rendering this service, Father Bonniwell has placed his fellow-Dominicans and the Church at large in debt to him.

*+Baird Thomas Eustace
Bishop of Camden*

FEAST OF ST. MARK THE APOSTLE, 1944

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge my obligations to all who assisted me in gathering material for this book, including the authorities and librarians of various archives and libraries in which I worked. In particular, I thank Dr. Severin Grill, librarian of the Carthusian monastery at Heiligenkreuz (Austria), and Father Albert Colunga at Salamanca, Spain. The Dominican historians, Angelus Walz and M. H. Vicaire, kindly gave me some helpful information. I deeply appreciate the courtesy of Sir Sidney C. Cockerell of London, Mr. Walter Garrett of Baltimore, and Mr. John Frederick Lewis of Philadelphia, in granting me access to their private libraries. My researches in London were made decidedly easier by reason of the constant helpfulness of Mr. Francis Wormald, Assistant Keeper, Manuscript Department of the British Museum. I owe a special debt of gratitude to His Excellency, Most Reverend Bartholomew J. Eustace, Bishop of Camden, for his encouragement and for his valuable suggestions.

The manuscript was prepared for the publisher largely through the kindness of various Fathers of the faculty of Providence College; Father William A. Hinnebusch, a competent student of Dominican mediæval history, rendered great service by his criticisms and by his help in correcting the proof-sheets. I am grateful to Mr. Clement Wagner for undertaking the publication of the book at a very unfavorable time, and to his able editor, Mr. Thomas J. Kennedy, for his patience and general assistance, especially in preparing the Index.

Notwithstanding all this help, the work would hardly have

been completed had it not been for the unflagging interest manifested from its inception by the Very Reverend T. S. McDermott, O.P., Provincial of St. Joseph's Province. Not only was his sustained interest a great stimulus, but his unflinching liberality made it possible to carry out an extensive program of photostating and microfilming mediæval manuscripts.

Certain points in the book may need a word of explanation. I have used the terms "liturgy," "rite," "use," etc., sometimes in their strict sense but more often as synonyms. This was desirable so as to avoid the constant use of the word "rite." Likewise, throughout the book, religious affiliations (e.g., O.P., O.S.B., etc.) have seldom been given, in order to save space and frequent repetition. This information is supplied in the Index. All references to the *Analecta Ord. Præd.* are first to the ordinal year and then to the year of publication; in no case has the confusing "volume" enumeration been used. Thus, IV (1896) means the fourth year of the publication, 1896. The ordinal year system has been used by the editors of the *Analecta* from the first issue to the last; the volume system has not.

To avoid confusion, I have uniformly referred to a Dominican *conventus* as a monastery, since this is the English word commonly used to mean a religious house for men. This use is justified by the Dominican breviary; moreover, the Augustinians and Franciscans so designate their houses, although like the Dominicans they are not monks but friars. Lastly, although the subject of confraternities does not strictly belong to liturgy, nevertheless because of their relationship I have occasionally called attention to some facts not generally known.

As I did not accept all the suggestions offered me, the responsibility for the views expressed in this book and for any errors it may contain is entirely mine.

W. R. B.

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DEDICATED

TO

THE VERY REVEREND T. S. McDERMOTT, O.P.,
Provincial of the St. Joseph Province

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta Cap. Gen.	<i>Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Prædicatorum.</i> Cf. MOPH
Acta SS.	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i>
AER	Martène, <i>De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus</i>
AFH	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
AFP	<i>Archivum Fratrum Prædicatorum</i>
ALKM	<i>Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters</i>
AOP	<i>Analecta Ordinis Prædicatorum</i>
BOP	<i>Bullarium Ordinis Prædicatorum</i>
CE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
MOPH	<i>Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum Historica</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiæ Latinæ Cursus Completus</i> (Migne)
QF	<i>Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland</i>
SSOP	<i>Quétif-Echard, Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum</i>

CHAPTER ONE

THE LITURGIES OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

BEFORE taking up the history of the Dominican rite, it might be well at the very outset to dispel certain misunderstandings on this subject. To begin with, the liturgy of the Friars Preachers does not constitute a rite separate and distinct from the Roman, as the Ambrosian and Mozarabic are; for it is merely a Roman rite of the thirteenth century. It is called *Dominican*, because that is a short and convenient term to designate a mediæval Roman rite which was used principally but not exclusively by the Order of St. Dominic. Hence, this liturgical use is as truly a Roman rite as is the Liturgy now used almost universally in the Latin Church.

In the Middle Ages, as we shall see, a rigid uniformity in the smallest details of the ritual not only did not exist but was not even dreamt of. Instead of the highly crystallized and sharply defined ceremonial of the present day, the Roman Rite was expressed in a number of variants. In Rome, the Papal Court recited one office and the basilicas of the Eternal City used another. But one variant was just as much Roman as the other. There was no standard model with a number of variants of this model; rather, the Roman Rite might have been said to consist of a group of variants, identical in all essentials but differing more or less in unessentials. Since unity in the ritual was necessary for the unity of the Order, and since Rome itself presented divergence in matters liturgical, the Dominicans were forced to make a choice. When the Order became famous, the particular

form of the Roman Rite which they had adapted became known by the inexact title of the *Dominican rite*.

Certain writers have referred to the rite adopted by the Dominicans as one characterized by Gallicanisms. To the ears of the average Catholic layman, who knows something of church history but little concerning the history of the liturgy, the word "Gallican" has a sinister meaning. Almost invariably, he will conjure up recollections of the Gallican theological errors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and hence will look with surprise, if not suspicion, upon a liturgy that is associated even remotely with the very word Gallican.

Avoiding this error, others refer to the *Gallicanized Dominican rite* in such terms as to indicate that they believe the Dominicans alone have any Gallicanisms, and that the modern Roman Rite has been preserved completely pure from the influences of the Gallican Liturgy. This belief also is based on misconceptions, since many of the most touching prayers and some of the most beautiful ceremonies in the Roman Rite of to-day were taken directly from the Gallican Liturgy. Finally, there are other persons who are under the impression that the Roman Rite has been preserved without change from the days of Constantine. They, too, are resentful of those religious who would reject the ancient Roman Rite in all its purity in order to adopt, in a spirit of singularity and ostentation, a different ceremonial.

ROMAN MASS IN THE SECOND CENTURY

These and similar mistakes will be cleared away if we preface our study of the so-called Dominican rite with a brief survey of the development of the Roman Rite prior to the thirteenth century. Let us begin with St. Justin Martyr's description of how

Mass was celebrated at Rome about the middle of the second century. Piecing together his writings, we obtain the following outline:

(1) The services began with the reading of lessons. "The commentaries of the Apostles," says Justin, "or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits."

(2) There was a sermon by the bishop. "When the reader has stopped," continues Justin, "the president [i.e., the celebrant] makes an exhortation about the memory of these admirable things in a speech."

(3) Prayers followed: "Then we all stand up together and send up prayers."

(4) Next, the kiss of peace was given: "When we have finished the prayers, we greet each other with a kiss."

(5) This was succeeded by the offertory: "Then bread and a cup of wine are brought to the president."

(6) The Eucharistic prayer, or prayer of thanksgiving, was recited by the celebrant.

(7) Then the memory of Our Lord's passion was recalled by the words of institution.

(8) The congregation expressed its approval: "When he has ended the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people cry out saying: 'Amen.'"

(9) Lastly, Communion under both kinds was distributed.¹

This liturgy was obviously an Eastern type. But during the next several centuries a great change took place. The earliest extant Roman sacramentaries, the Leonine and the Gelasian, show that the Mass at Rome was no longer of the Eastern type but distinctively independent. The changes were numerous and radical. Latin had supplanted Greek as the liturgical language;

¹ Fortescue, *The Mass*, 25; Parsch, *The Liturgy of the Mass*, 28-32.

the introit had been added to the Mass; the number of lessons, which in the Apostolic Constitutions were five, has been restricted to two or three; the litany had disappeared; the kiss of peace had been transferred from the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful to a place after the Consecration. But the greatest change had been one by which the Canon itself was made different from the Anaphora of any Eastern liturgy and from the Gallican Canon. The intercession (or prayers for the living and the dead) was found neither in the preface (as in the Alexandrine liturgies) nor after the Consecration (as in the Antiochene liturgies), but scattered throughout the Canon.²

Still further changes were introduced by St. Gregory the Great (d. 604), the most important of which was to transfer the *Pater noster* from after the Fraction to its present position. Nor did the innovations and additions end with St. Gregory, as is commonly believed. About this time, perhaps a little earlier, a powerful influence began to affect the Roman Rite. That influence, which was destined to grow stronger and stronger in the succeeding centuries, was the Gallican Rite.

At a very early period, the Gallican family of liturgies had spread through Northern Italy, Spain, and Northern Europe. At the beginning of the fifth century, it had invaded even Umbria, which belonged to the Metropolitan Diocese of Rome. So complete was the conquest of the Gallican Rite that practically only two dioceses in the whole Western Church, Rome and Carthage, remained loyal to the Roman use. Let us turn our attention to the liturgy which almost eliminated the Roman Rite.

² Fortescue, "The Liturgy of the Mass," in CE, IX, 794.

SOLEMN MASS OF THE GALLICAN LITURGY

From the letters falsely attributed to St. Germain of Paris, and from several sacramentaries, there can be constructed a description of how a Solemn Mass of the Gallican Liturgy was celebrated in the seventh or eighth century. The bread and wine were prepared before the Mass. An antiphon was sung as the celebrant entered. He read a brief exhortation to the congregation, and, after the deacon had proclaimed silence, he greeted the people with: *Dominus sit semper vobiscum*. Upon their response, *Et cum spiritu tuo*, a collect was said.

Three canticles were then sung: the *Trisagion*, the *Kyrie eleison*, and the *Benedictus*. There were three lessons from the Scriptures—one from the Old Testament, another from the Epistles, and the third from the Gospels. After the Epistle, the canticle *Benedicite omnia opera* with a responsory was sung. The Gospel was preceded by a procession to the ambo, during which a candelabrum having seven lighted candles was carried and a clerk sang the *Trisagion*. The same ceremony was observed on the return from the ambo. After the Gospel and a homily, the litany was chanted by the deacon. This ended, the catechumens were dismissed.

The Mass of the Faithful began with the Great Entrance. While the choir sang, the *oblata* were brought in with great solemnity, the bread in a tower-shaped vessel and the wine already in the chalice. Water was now added to the wine and the *oblata* were again covered with a veil. The singing of the *Laudes* ended this ceremony.

After an invitatory addressed to the people, the celebrant recited a prayer. The diptychs (or list of those who were to be remembered at the sacrifice) were now read and concluded with

THE DOMINICAN LITURGY

a prayer. Then the kiss of peace was given, and this too was followed by a prayer. The preface and the *Sanctus* were succeeded by a prayer which served to connect the *Sanctus* with the account of the institution of the Eucharist.

The text of the Gallican Canon has not come down to us, but there is reason for believing that it was quite short. The Consecration was followed by a prayer called the *post-secretæ* or the *post-mysterium*. The Breaking of the Host was quite complicated, and the particles, usually nine in number, were arranged in the form of a cross. While this was being done, a clerk sang an antiphon.

The introduction to the *Pater noster* was variable. The priest and congregation recited the Lord's Prayer. Right after the *commixtio* a blessing was given, and a short chant called the *Trecanum* was sung during the distribution of Communion. The Mass ended with a prayer of thanksgiving and a collect.³

EVOLUTION OF THE GALLICO-ROMAN RITE

Despite these pronounced variations, the Roman and Gallican Masses presented numerous points of similarity, especially in essentials. This might be expected, since one rite sprang from the other, or both developed from a common source. Though there is much doubt as to the origin of the Gallican Rite, there is none as regards its final history. Used for centuries throughout the greater part of the Western Church, the Gallican Rite lacked a central authority sufficiently influential to regulate its development. For this reason, there sprang up in the course of centuries endless variations. The need of regulation and uniformity was at length universally recognized; but as this appeared impossible, a determined effort was finally made to abolish the

³ Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution*, 190-227.

ancient but now decadent liturgy. The effort, however, was not made by Rome. It was begun by Pepin the Short (d. 768), whose royal decree did not meet with very great success. Hence, when Charlemagne succeeded to the throne, he obtained from Pope Adrian I a Roman sacramentary, which he ordered the clergy of his dominion to use. But his efforts were not attended with any greater success than those of his father. Then someone, possibly Alcuin, took Adrian's sacramentary and made many additions to it from Gallican sources. Other additions were made which were adopted from the Gelasian sacramentary, a sacramentary which already bore unmistakable evidence of Gallican influence.

The compromise had the desired effect. The Gallico-Roman sacramentary now made rapid progress on all sides: and so great was its success that before long, except in Toledo and Milan, the Gallican Liturgy ceased to exist. But the Gallico-Roman Rite did not stop its triumphal course with the elimination of its rival. It became so popular that by the eleventh century it had swept down from the Alps and had conquered Rome itself, and, driving out the old Roman Rite, it became the universal liturgy of the Western Church. It is this Gallicanized Roman Rite which the Latin Church uses at the present time. Just why Rome should have given up her ancient liturgical service is unknown; but it is certain that, as Duchesne observes, "the Roman liturgy from at least the eleventh century is nothing more than the Frankish liturgy, such as men like Alcuin, Helisacher and Amalarius had made it."⁴

But even the new Gallico-Roman Liturgy did not produce complete uniformity in the divine services. Variants were numerous, and as the centuries passed they tended to increase. In

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 104.

view of the modern rigorousness of the Church in regulating all matters liturgical, it seems almost incredible that Rome made no effort to control these variations. In many places the clergy and laity alike were attached to customs (perhaps centuries old) which were lacking in the plain, austere Roman Rite. So, the clergy did not hesitate to add these old customs, especially as they displaced nothing and actually filled in and improved the rite of Rome.

But there was a still more potent force at work, the devotional spirit of the Church, which is forever seeking new ways of expression. In modern times, when every ceremony is rigidly governed by meticulous rubrics, this spirit seeks more spontaneous outlets; hence the popularity of tridua, novenas, and similar devotions. But in the Middle Ages, the Ages of Faith, when the people had a deeper knowledge and a better understanding of the liturgy of the Church, their devotional spirit logically sought to express itself in the liturgy. Thus, they enriched the plain, unadorned Roman Rite with a wealth of prayers and ceremonies that have made that rite a thing of surpassing beauty.

Because of this liturgical exuberance there sprang up such variants as the rites of York, Sarum, Hereford, Rouen, Coutances, Cologne, Paris, Metz, and many other Churches. But guidance and control were lacking, and so, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, inevitable abuses began to appear, to grow, to multiply. The disorder was to continue uninterrupted until it was finally ended by the determined efforts of a Dominican Pope, Pius V. But that event was as yet in the far distant future when St. Dominic was inspired to found his Order.

CHAPTER TWO

DOMINICANS FOUNDED AS CANONS REGULAR

LITURGY is indispensable to the Church. Without it, she could not carry on her divine mission in the manner ordained by Christ; and in this sense the liturgy may be well said to be essential to the life of the Church. St. Dominic believed that his Order would unite itself more thoroughly to the life of the Church, if the liturgy were given a prominent and indispensable place in the daily life of his friars. To secure it, he instituted the Order as an Order of Canons Regular. Now, this was to have an important and direct bearing, in the first half of the thirteenth century, on the question of Dominican liturgical observances. Because the Friars Preachers have been classified for so many centuries as Mendicants, most people have lost sight entirely of the fact that they were founded as Canons Regular. As a matter of fact, they have far greater claims to the latter title than to the former, for since 1475 they have ceased to be Mendicants except in name, whereas they have never abandoned their canonical duties. That the Dominicans were instituted and commonly recognized as Canons Regular, mediæval documents prove beyond the shadow of a doubt.

St. Dominic began his missionary labors among the people of Languedoc in 1205, and in the course of the next ten years a group of disciples gathered around him. Bishop Foulques of Toulouse canonically established the band of missionaries in his diocese (July, 1215). In October of the same year Dominic obtained the approval of Innocent III for the community of

Sisters he had established at Prouille. But his simultaneous request for confirmation of the Rule of the First Order met with delay; his idea of a Religious Order, though common enough to-day, was then regarded as revolutionary. A month later (11 November) the Fourth Lateran Council met and forbade the introduction of any new Rule of religious life. Innocent made use of the law to insist that Dominic adopt one of the approved Rules of the Church. The Saint and his companions at Prouille decided on the Rule of St. Augustine. By that decision, confirmed later by papal authority, the Dominicans joined the great family of Canons Regular of St. Augustine. To fulfill the canonical obligations thus assumed, they obtained from Bishop Foulques the Church of Saint-Romaine, which had no parish attached to it; and here they began to live the life of Canons Regular. It is worthy of note that in compiling their Constitutions the Dominicans borrowed from another Order of Canons Regular, the Premonstratensians, "whatever they found that was austere, suitable, and prudent for the end they had in view."¹

Dominic now repaired to Rome for the third time. Innocent had died; but his successor, Honorius III, by the Bull *Religiosam Vitam*, 22 December, 1216, confirmed and established the new Order as an Order of Canons Regular: "We decree that the Order of Canons which is known to have been instituted in the same church [Saint-Romaine] . . . shall be held inviolable for all time to come." By this document the Order of Preachers was declared to be an Order of Canons Regular. Numerous documents of that period prove that this classification by the Church was well known.

¹ Humbertus de Romanis, *De Vita Regulari*, II, 3.

FRIARS CALLED "CANONS" BY CONSTITUTIONS

The *Liber Consuetudinum*, or the earliest Constitutions of the Order, begins its prologue in the following manner: "Since we are commanded by the Rule to have one heart and one mind in God, it is just that we who live under one Rule . . . should be found uniform in our observance of canonical religious life."² In exactly the same way, word for word, did the Norbertine Constitutions begin, and it was from them that St. Dominic borrowed this sentence. The Premonstratensians used the words, *canonica religio*, to describe their form of life, because that phrase in religious Rules as well as in Roman documents referred to only one thing—an Order of Canons.

Not once but repeatedly does the ancient *Liber Consuetudinum* declare the canonical nature of the Order. Chapter XIV reminds the prior that he does not have the authority to receive anyone to be a lay-brother, nor to receive anyone to be a canon, unless he obtains the consent of the majority of the chapter. It thus distinguishes between friars who are lay-brothers and friars who are canons. It repeats this distinction a number of times in Chapter XXXVII: lay-brothers are to arise at the same time as the canons; they are to have the same number of garments as the canons have; they are to fast and abstain whenever it is prescribed in the Rule of the Canons; finally, a lay-brother may not become a canon.³ Certainly, there can be no question that

² The text of the *Liber Consuetudinum* was first published by Denifle, "Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228," in *ALKM*, I, 165-227. It was published in *AOP*, IV (1896), 621-648, and recently (1939) by Scheeben in *QF*, XXXVIII. Part of it also appeared in Mandonnet's *Saint Dominique, L'Idée, L'Homme et L'Œuvre*, II, 284-292.

³ *ALKM*, I, 202, 226-227.

the ancient Constitutions considered the Order to be an Order of Canons.

Many writers bore witness to this status of the Dominicans. Peter of Corbeil, Archbishop of Sens (1220-1222), referred to "the Canons of the Order of Preachers." In 1224, Archbishop Gerard I of Besançon invited the Dominicans to his metropolitan city, and in a solemn act drawn up to commemorate the event he called the friars "the reverend Canons of the Order of Preachers." The celebrated Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, himself a Canon Regular, enumerated in a sermon the different branches of the Canonical Order: "First, the Premonstratensians. . . ; seventh, the Order of Preachers." Stephen of Salanhac (d. 1290) described the true Dominican as "a canon by profession, a monk in the austerity of his life, and an apostle by his office of preacher." Similar testimony is furnished by other documents, including English legal deeds of the thirteenth century.⁴

Did not the Order, however, renounce its canonical status in the middle of the thirteenth century? It is true that the chapters of 1249, 1250, and 1251 sanctioned the substitution of the word "cleric" for that of "canon." But this was not a renunciation of its state; it was merely a preparation for the storm which was gathering at the University of Paris. The secular teachers of the University, jealous of the growing prestige of the Mendicant teachers, argued that regulars had no right to teach, that this belonged only to clerics—not to monks or canons! It was the same argument that William of St. Amour was to make in 1252. In preparation for the struggle they saw coming, the friars wished to emphasize that Canons Regular

⁴ Cf. MOPH, XV, 132; T. Mamachi, *Annales Ord. Præd.*, I (Rome, 1756), 462; AOP, V (1897), 286.

were also clerics, and accordingly had the right to teach. Hence, they began to use the term "cleric" in preference to "canon."

FRIARS TERMED "CANONS" IN PAPAL DOCUMENTS

This did not constitute a surrender of their status of canons, since such a change could not be made by the Order but only by the Church herself. As regards its status, a Religious Order is exactly what the Holy See declares it to be, and the Church's declarations as regards the Dominican Order are unmistakable. In the Bull of 22 December, 1216, Honorius III declared that St. Dominic and his followers belonged to an Order of Canons; in 1218, the same Pope addressed a Bull to the prior and religious who took care of Prouille, and in this document he repeated the terms of the Bull of confirmation: "We decree that the Canonical Order, which according to God and to the Rule of St. Augustine. . . ." On 18 January, 1221, he gave St. Dominic a letter of recommendation addressed to all prelates: "Inasmuch as our beloved son, Friar Dominic . . . a canon of the aforesaid Order. . . ." This fact deserves special attention: the Pope calls Dominic a canon, *although the Saint two years before had laid aside the rochet of the canons.*⁵

Innocent IV, Alexander IV, and Gregory X in various documents addressed to Dominican Sisters affirm that these religious belong to an Order of Canons: "First of all, we decree that the *Canonical Order* which according to God and to the Rule of St. Augustine and to the Institutions of the Friars Preachers. . . ." ⁶ The same terminology is found almost word for word in various papal documents. Again, in 1356, Innocent VI informed the

⁵ BOP, I, 6, 11; *Chronica Parvula Ord. Præd.* (AOP, I, 1893, 396) gives 1219 as the year the rochet was discarded.

⁶ BOP, I, 7, 408, 518; VII, 22, 25.

Basilian monks of Armenia, who wished to become affiliated with the Dominican Order, that to do so they must accept the *canonical life* according to the Rule of St. Augustine and the Constitutions of the Friars Preachers.⁷ A perusal of this reply clearly shows that the Pope regarded the Order of Preachers as essentially an Order of Canons Regular.

It is unnecessary to pause longer on the subject. The Church constituted the Dominicans as an Order of Canons; they remain such until the Church decrees otherwise. Though for centuries the Friars Preachers have ceased to be Mendicants, they have never ceased to fulfill their duties as canons. If they have preferred to use the title of Mendicants, it is partly because of the historical memories connected with that name and partly because of the privileges granted to the Mendicant Orders.⁸

⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 246.

⁸ We find down through the centuries numerous customs testifying to the canonical nature of the Order. To mention but a few: the learned Father Frederico Di Poggio, O.P., the last librarian of the Monastery of S. Romano at Lucca, found in its archives a sacristan's inventory of the year 1264. In it, among many interesting items, we read that the sacristy had 34 albs and 37 *camisias*. Di Poggio shows that the meaning of *camisias* here is *rochets*, and he adds: "Since the *rochet* was the dress proper to Canons Regular, we have from this inventory certain evidence that the Order of Preachers was and is an Order of Canons Regular. . . . But since it is regarded as well assured that St. Dominic laid aside the *rochet* both in the house and outside, what is the meaning of so unusual a number of *rochets* in this inventory, unless we hold more accurately with Echart that the holy Patriarch and the first Fathers of the Order used the *rochet* in choir? We can find both evidence and remembrance [of the Canonical status] in this, that even now [i.e., the middle of the 18th century], when Dominican priors prepare to incense the altar during vespers, they put on the *rochet*; and likewise at Milan, in our ancient Monastery of Sant' Eustorgio, in the procession of Corpus Christi, all the Fathers wear the *rochet* under the dalmatics, chasubles, and copes. This notation, then, of the *rochets* in our sacristy clearly informs us that our first Fathers did not entirely lay aside the *rochet*" (Baluze, *Miscellanea*, IV, 601, note).

The master-general, Hyacinth Cormier (d. 1916), writes: "The Canonical character which our Order had from the very beginning was not abolished but rather perfected by its Apostolic mission, as we read in the office of the holy Patriarch: 'To the canon he superadded the apostle' . . . ; from this the liturgists conclude that we have the right to wear the *rochet*

WHY ST. DOMINIC WANTED AN ORDER OF CANONS

Why did St. Dominic wish his friars to be Canons Regular? This would mean that the public official service of the altar—attendance at the community High Mass and the long choral fulfillment of the entire Divine Office—would become part of their daily religious life. He was founding his Order specifically for preaching and the salvation of souls; and "neither of these ends," says Humbert, "can be attained without study."⁹ Dominic laid the greatest emphasis on the importance of study, and he knew well that serious study would demand a considerable portion of time being set aside every day for that purpose. Yet, in apparent contradiction to his plan to make every sacrifice for the sake of study, he obligates his friars to the lengthy duties of the choir.

The answer to this union of apparently conflicting duties must be sought, not in the fact that the Saint himself had been a Canon Regular, but rather in his deep knowledge of human nature and the spiritual life. Having been an earnest student

of the canon under the priestly alb. During the conclave in which Alexander VIII was elected (1689), one of the conclavists . . . observed that the Dominican Cardinal, Thomas Philip Howard, . . . when about to say Mass, placed the *rochet* under his alb; while another Dominican, Cardinal Orsini (afterwards Benedict XIII), preferred the ordinary surplice or *cotta*. However, the masters-general for a long time wore the *rochet* as a distinctive sign of their position; Father Jandel allowed this custom to fall into disuse." Cormier gives as the reason for this action of Jandel that the Blessed Virgin had not included the *rochet* in the habit she gave to the Order (Cormier, *Quinze Entretien sur la Liturgie Dominicaine*, 201-202).

For a discussion of the subject, see, in addition to the sources already mentioned: [Père Jacob], *Mémoires sur la canonicité de l'Institut de S. Dominique* (Italian trans., *Difesa del canonicato de' FF. Predicatori*, Venezia, 1758); Denifle, "Die Constitutionen des Prediger-Ordens vom Jahre 1228," in *ALKM*, I, 169 ff.; Mandonnet, "Les Chanoines-Prêcheurs de Bologne d'après Jacques de Vitry," in *Archives de la Société d'Histoire du Canton de Fribourg*, VIII (1903), 19 ff.; Mortier, *Histoire*, I, 31 ff.

⁹ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 41.

himself, he knew that intense study tends to become a purely intellectual labor, a cold abstract speculation. This truth has been admirably developed by Père Bernadot¹⁰ who emphasizes the fact that the danger of intellectualism menaces every real student, for only too frequently does study hinder fervor of heart and render prayer barren. If we view the question of learning from a supernatural standpoint, of what utility is study if it is not animated by charity? Now, the liturgy reestablishes the equilibrium between the intellectual and the affective life. Far from being a hindrance, the liturgy strengthens study and renders it fruitful. In those assemblies near the altar the soul assimilates the fruit of its labor; and truth, descending from the mind to the heart, inflames it with zeal. Hence, it was to safeguard the personal sanctification of his followers that St. Dominic wished them to be Canons Regular.¹¹

There was another important reason for his choice. Study was to be only a means to an end, and that end was preaching. The Saint keenly realized that for the preaching of his friars to be fruitful it must needs be sustained and vivified by prayer. He distrusted relying on only the private prayer of the individual preacher, for such prayer might weaken and even cease; he preferred to place his chief reliance on the solemn official prayer of the community daily assembled before the altar of God. Himself a man of intense prayer and an ardent lover of the liturgy, St. Dominic knew that his Order must flourish so long as there ascended to God night and day the unending solemn supplication of the liturgy—that official prayer of Christ's

¹⁰ "La place de la liturgie dans la spiritualité dominicaine," in *La Vie Spirituelle* (août, 1921), 385-395. This truly golden treatise was republished by Bernadot under the title: *La Spiritualité dominicaine*.

¹¹ Galbraith (*Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 7) mars a splendid book by the curious assertion that St. Dominic was not primarily interested in the souls of his followers!

Church—to draw down divine blessings upon the teaching and preaching of his friars.¹²

With Dominic, this was no mere abstract reasoning; his whole priestly life was a perfect example of profound appreciation and fervent love of the holy liturgy. Ordained priest, he soon sought still greater opportunities for participating in the solemn liturgical functions of the Church. It was this desire which motivated his joining the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Osma. Even when he exchanged the quiet life of the cloister for that of apostolic journeys, he endeavored every day when possible to celebrate a Solemn or High Mass in preference to a Low Mass; and so great was his devotion while officiating at the altar that tears coursed down his cheeks. Thoroughly permeated with the liturgical spirit, he would often, even while travelling, burst into song, singing with his whole heart the liturgical hymns of the Divine Office. Though it was his invariable custom to spend most of the night in prayer, he was most faithful in attending choir, assisting at the midnight office as well as at the office of the day. Eyewitnesses tell us that in his zeal he would often pass from one side of the choir to another, urging the friars by word and example to greater devotion: "*Fortiter, fratres, fortiter.*" When his last illness overtook him, though death was but a few days distant, he insisted upon attending the midnight office with his brethren.¹³

St. Dominic left his friars many heirlooms, not the least of which were these two: his own flawless example of love of the sacred liturgy, and the institution of his Order as an Order of Canons Regular.

¹² Mortier, *La Liturgie Dominicaine*, I, 9-10.

¹³ All these statements were made by the various witnesses during the process of the canonization of St. Dominic. Cf. *Acta Canonizationis S. Dominici*, in MOPH, XVI, 124, 125, 127, 128, 137, 140, 149, 156, 162, 163, 165.

CHAPTER THREE
BEGINNING OF DOMINICAN
CONVENTUAL LIFE

OBSCURITY seems to be inseparable from the study of liturgical origins. One would expect this with regard to the great liturgies dating back to the earliest centuries, it being inevitable that in the course of so long a time countless liturgical documents should have been lost. One hardly looks for such a scarcity of documents in rites which developed in the Middle Ages. Yet, surprising as it may seem, from the Order's first forty years of existence there have survived extremely few liturgical manuscripts. This is indeed remarkable. During the same period of years, many books were written by the brethren which have come down to us through the centuries; of the large number of identical manuscripts—missals and breviaries—used for some thirty or forty years by the Order for Mass and Divine Office, there are extant only three documents: a breviary used by St. Dominic, a missal, and a combination breviary-antiphony. That is all. When we reflect that even the Acts of the first thirteen general chapters had disappeared before the end of the thirteenth century, the suspicion grows that all these documents were deliberately destroyed by those in authority.¹ The reasons for so regrettable a course of action will suggest themselves as we trace the early history of the Dominican rite.

Not only are we hampered by a dearth of liturgical books, but even the historians and authors of that period seem to have

¹ AOP, V (1897), 27.

entered into a conspiracy of silence regarding the history of the rite, so that we have only the scantiest material with which to reconstruct the first two-score years of Dominican liturgical history. It is in vain that we search through the writings of Peter Ferrandi, Jordan of Saxony, Gerard de Fracheto, Thomas of Cantimpré, Stephen of Salanhac, Vincent of Beauvais, Bernard Gui, and others. Their silence is as complete as that of men who wrote expressly on the Mass—Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Hugh of Saint-Cher, Nicholas of Trivet, etc. Even Humbert of Romans,² who played so leading a part in the crystallization of the Dominican rite, when forced by the very nature of his treatise to speak of the subject, gives us only a meager account of its history and of the changes effected by himself. His reticence may well have been due to the disturbance which the question had caused the Order for over a quarter of a century. Possibly the master-general felt that, the less said about the past, the better it would be for the peace and harmony of the Order.

Humbert's account is to be found in his commentary on the following passage of the Dominican Constitutions:

² As Humbert's name will frequently recur, a sketch of his life may be of interest. He was born at Romans, near Valence, France, in either 1193 or 1194. He made his studies at the University of Paris, and it was here that he came into contact with the Dominicans. He entered the Order in 1224. He was elected provincial of the Roman province in 1240, and while in the Eternal City enjoyed so high a reputation for learning and sanctity that upon the death of Gregory IX some of the Cardinals voted for him to be the next Pope. In 1244 he succeeded the illustrious Hugh of Saint-Cher as the provincial of the province of France. At the general chapter of Buda, 1254, he was chosen master-general of the Order, a position which he filled with rare ability during a most tempestuous period of the Order's existence. He died at Valence, 14 July, 1277. He wrote a number of works, among which his *Exposition of the Rule of St. Augustine* was highly prized during the Middle Ages. Cf. SSOP, I, 141-148.

"We confirm the entire office,³ diurnal as well as nocturnal, as corrected and arranged by the Venerable Father Humbert, master of our Order; and we ordain that it is to be uniformly observed by all; and it is unlawful for anyone henceforth to introduce any innovation."⁴

FOUR STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE LITURGY

Commenting on the ordinance, Humbert observes: "From the beginning of the Order, there was much diversity in the office. Hence, there was compiled one office for the sake of having everywhere uniformity. In the course of time, four friars from four provinces were entrusted with the task of arranging the office in a better form. They accomplished this work, and it was confirmed [by several chapters]. But because there still were some corrections to be made, master-general Humbert was commissioned to make another revision, which revision was later approved by three chapters. It is to this [last] office the Constitutions refer in the foregoing text."⁵

This brief narrative indicates four periods in the development of the liturgy: (1) the period of great diversity; (2) the uniform liturgy; (3) the liturgy of the Four Friars; and (4) the revision of Humbert.

There was another period which Humbert omits either be-

³ Humbert uses the word *office* to signify the Divine Office, and also the entire liturgical service, especially the Mass. "The office contained in the antiphony," he says, "is called nocturnal office, because the greater part of it is recited at night. . . . What is in the gradual and missal is called the diurnal office" (*De Vita Reg.*, II, 149). The word also often means—especially in Dominican documents—the introit of the Mass.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 152.

⁵ Humbert adds this last sentence because the primitive Constitutions (the *Liber Consuetudinum*) contain a similar ordinance: "We confirm the entire office, diurnal as well as nocturnal; and we desire it to be observed uniformly by all; wherefore, it shall be unlawful for anyone to introduce innovations in the future." *Lib. Consuet.*, c. 37, in ALKM, I, 227.

cause of its obviousness or because it lasted so short a time. "The period of great diversity" could not have begun until after the dispersion of the friars. In the same year that Foulques canonically established the Order in his diocese, a wealthy citizen of Toulouse, Peter Seila, joined the Order and donated to the friars a dwelling which became their first home, "and there they began to follow the practices of religious."⁶ Among the foremost practices of religious life there were then as now the community Mass and the choral recitation of the office. That these were an integral part of the religious life of this first Dominican community cannot be questioned. Since conventual life required uniformity in the external acts of religious observance, it was imperative that all should recite office and celebrate Mass according to the same rubrics. We must conclude, then, that for the two and a half years during which the brethren lived a community life at Toulouse, they had one and the same liturgy which was uniformly observed by all.

What was this liturgy? To answer the question, scholars in the last half-century have searched through an untold number of mediæval manuscripts, but they have searched in vain. There is no thirteenth-century manuscript known which makes even the slightest allusion to the rite of the first friars. Only one Dominican liturgical book of that time is known still to exist, the breviary of St. Dominic, which, however, is of little help in solving the problem, as it is not certain that Dominic used this breviary at Toulouse. In all likelihood the first Dominicans made use of the Roman Rite as they found it observed in the Diocese of Toulouse. It is not likely they imported a usage foreign to the diocese which saw their origin. And with this probability we must be content.

⁶ *Chronica et Chronicorum Excerpta O.P.*, in MOPH, VII, 2.

THE BEGINNING OF GREAT DIVERSITY

The uniform conventual life at Toulouse came to a close on 15 August, 1217, when Dominic scattered his little band over Europe. Two of the friars were to remain at Toulouse, while two others were assigned to take care of the Sisters at Prouille. Four of the brethren set out for Spain, and seven went to Paris. Dominic himself, accompanied by Stephen of Metz, departed for Rome. The Order, now split up into small groups in different countries, had for some time little intercommunication. It did not yet possess a complete organization, and no legislative assemblies would be held for several years. Humbert indicates it was at this time that liturgical variety began to exist in the Order, for, in speaking of his revision, he says: "This revision of mine was made by the authority of three general chapters and not by the authority of any one individual, whether master-general, prior, or anyone else, as was *the custom in the beginning.*"⁷ Apparently, then, from the beginning of the international life of the Order local superiors made changes in the liturgy. It was doubtless a matter of expediency as well as necessity. It would have been thoroughly in keeping with the prudence of St. Dominic to have instructed his brethren on their departure from Toulouse that in their new homes they should adapt themselves to local conditions so as to avoid as far as possible arousing local prejudices.

This policy of expediency was probably the direct and principal cause of the "great diversity" of liturgical customs in the Order. Yet, it was unavoidable. Not only was the Order in its infancy, but as yet it had few friends. Embodying as it did a number of new ideas, it was bound to be received in many

⁷ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 153.

places with suspicion and reserve; and as success began to crown its efforts, with jealousy and hostility. Until the Order grew strong, it was prudent to avoid friction as far as this was possible. Nor is this mere supposition. That this was the policy of the Order in its early days is frankly admitted by Humbert of Romans in his *Exposition of the Constitutions*, where he adduces a number of reasons for the toleration of diverse customs, even in the liturgy. He insists that it is more expedient to conform in certain things with those among whom the friars may be living than it is to preserve uniformity in all things. He gives as a specific example: "In some places the brethren give a blessing at the end of Mass, because it is the custom in those parts; while elsewhere the blessing is not given. And likewise in many other things, it is a question of expediency."⁸

Everything, then, points to this date (of the departure of the friars from Toulouse) as the beginning of the great diversity in liturgical observances. The consequences of superiors' introducing changes in the ritual in order to comply with local customs, may easily be imagined. Though the Roman Rite was quite universally observed throughout the Latin Patriarchate (with the exception of Milan, Toledo, and Braga), it was everywhere influenced by local customs. Even at Rome itself, according to Abelard, there was not complete uniformity. A similar charge was made several centuries later by the distinguished liturgist, Ralph of Tongres. With the friars scattered over Europe and each group adopting different customs, the result must have been disconcerting, as in four and a half years the Order had spread over the greater part of the continent and had increased from seventeen members to considerably more than one thousand. Obviously, the more the Order grew, the worse

⁸ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 6-7.

the situation became. If this condition still existed when the representatives from all the various provinces of Europe assembled for the first general chapter in 1220, the disorder must have been forcibly and unpleasantly impressed upon the capitulars.

LITURGICAL UNIFORMITY IN THE OLDER ORDERS

The older Orders had encountered a similar problem, for they too realized the need of liturgical uniformity. Though the monks took a vow of stability to remain in the house in which they were professed and normally did little visiting of other monasteries, St. Benedict devoted a dozen chapters of his Rule to the subject of the Divine Office in order to secure uniformity.⁹ The ordinances of the first chapter of the Carthusians commanded that the Divine Office was to be celebrated in all their houses with exactly the same rite, and that all their customs pertaining to the religious life were to be uniform.¹⁰ Similarly, the Cistercians had legislated that all their customs, chant, and liturgical books were to be the same as those of the "New Monastery" (Cîteaux), "so that in our acts there may be found no discord, but that we may live in charity under one Rule and with customs that are alike."¹¹ The Premonstratensians likewise, in the prologue of their Rule, insisted upon uniformity in the particular observances of Canons Regular; and in the Fourth Distinction of their Rule it was required that in their various abbeys there must be uniformity in regard to the missals, graduals, antiphonaries, psalters, calendars, etc.¹²

⁹ *Regula S. Benedicti*, VIII-XVIII, in Sejalon, *Nomasticon Cist.*, 18-24.

¹⁰ *Statuta Antiqua Ordinis Carthusiani*, in PL., CLIII, 1126 ff.

¹¹ *Carta Charitatis* in Sejalon, *op. cit.*, 69. The first sixty-nine distinctions of the Cistercian Rule were devoted exclusively to the ecclesiastical office.

¹² *Primaria Instituta Can. Praemonstratensium*, in AER, III, Appendix, Dist. IV, cap. X et XI.

Now, the Dominican idea represented something new in religious life. Unlike the older Orders, the Dominican houses were to be closely united with one another. Although the Order was to be international, yet it was to be strongly centralized. Many of its students were to be sent to foreign countries to study; there would be much travelling between the various houses and even between the various provinces; and annually, representatives from all over Europe would assemble at Paris or Bologna for a legislative congress that might last a whole week. Certainly, if liturgical uniformity was regarded not only as important but even necessary in those Orders between whose houses there was limited intercourse, how imperative it would be in an Order like that of the Dominicans! This reason appears the more cogent when we reflect that the Friars Preachers deliberately chose to become Canons Regular, or religious who would be bound to the choral recitation of the office, to the solemn Conventual Mass, and in general to the formal fulfillment of liturgical functions. That such an Order would have allowed liturgical chaos to reign unchecked for over a quarter of a century, is incredible.

ST. DOMINIC'S KEEN INTEREST IN THE LITURGY

It may be safely assumed that no one realized more keenly than St. Dominic the menace of liturgical confusion, and that no one desired more earnestly complete harmony in ritual observances. Throughout his entire priestly life the Saint manifested the deepest interest in the liturgy. It is unlikely that a man of Dominic's rare intelligence and foresight should have ignored in his own Order the liturgy to which he was so devoted, or that he should have been blind to the patent fact that grave disorder in the liturgy would threaten the peace and unity which

his own Constitutions so strongly inculcate: "Since, by the precept of the Rule, we are commanded to have one heart and one mind in God, it is fitting that we who live under one Rule . . . be found in uniform in the observances of the Canonical life" (i.e., in the observances of Canons Regular). This sentence St. Dominic himself borrowed from the Norbertine Constitutions.

But could the Saint have remedied these conditions? The problem was undoubtedly a difficult one. The longer it was allowed to go unsolved, the greater danger did it present to the unity of the Order; and the longer local customs were permitted to flourish, the more difficult would be their eradication. One has only to read the liturgical history of Christendom to see how deeply attached the clergy and laity become to their liturgical customs, and with what tenacity they cling to them. In the Dominican Order we shall witness this exemplified in the efforts of the master-general, John of Wildeshausen, to introduce, not a new rite, but a revised version of the old Dominican rite. Although John had the support of five general chapters of the Order, he met with determined resistance over a long period of years, and it took the autocratic determination of his successor, Humbert of Romans, to conquer finally all opposition.

It was, therefore, of the highest importance to deal with this dangerous problem as quickly and as peacefully as possible. The power to do so was in Dominic's hands. Father Ventura, who received the habit from St. Dominic, testified at the process of canonization that, after the Pope, Dominic possessed the fullest authority over the whole Order;¹³ it was a plenitude of power such as none of his successors ever enjoyed. Moreover, as

¹³ MOPH, XVI, 124: "Et tunc temporis ipse beatus frater Dominicus habebat plenam potestatem et dispositionem et ordinationem et correctionem totius ordinis fratrum predicatorum post dominum papam."

Founder of the Order he was the object of profound veneration on the part of all his followers. To them his wishes were law. Dominic and Dominic alone could have introduced the unified liturgy without stirring up a tempest.

Did he have the time to deal with this problem? A new Order (and especially one growing as rapidly as his) unquestionably presented many pressing problems that clamored for immediate attention. How could the Saint find the time to investigate the various forms of the Roman Rite with a view of selecting the one most suitable for the special needs of the Friars Preachers? The objection is easily answered. Dominic's extensive travels in Spain, Gaul, and Italy, as well as his many friendships with members of other Orders (particularly with Carthusians, Cistercians, and Premonstratensians, in whose houses he often stayed), gave him an excellent and first-hand knowledge of the principal rites of the day. By the spring of 1219, he had become acquainted with practically all the leading variations of the Roman Rite. In addition, it must be remembered that between the dispersal of the friars in August, 1217, and the death of the Saint four whole years had elapsed. In that length of time a decision could have been reached and the work of adapting some suitable rite begun, if not finished. The breviary of St. Dominic reveals that the original text had been subjected to a large number of alterations. These clearly indicate a projected revision. Even if the adaptation had not been finished at the time of his death, the whole Order would have regarded it as Dominic's work and would have received it as such from his successor, Jordan of Saxony. With the adoption of this work, the period of "great diversity in the office" came to a close, and the second period, that of the uniform office, began.

CHAPTER FOUR

DOMINICAN LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS
PRIOR TO HUMBERT

BEFORE taking up the subject of the uniform liturgy, it will be of no little assistance to us if we first pause to examine those liturgical documents which were indubitably written before Humbert's revision. Only three are known to exist: the breviary of St. Dominic, a missal in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and a breviary-antiphonary in the Dominican archives at Rome.

The first document, the breviary of St. Dominic, possesses more of a sentimental than a practical value for the history of the rite. The book is quite small in size, made of parchment, and is bound in leather. The style of the script, which is composed of small Gothic letters, points to a Gallican origin. It is not in very good condition. Many pages have been torn from the volume, possibly by pious vandals who wanted a relic of St. Dominic. The text of the pages that remain contains numerous erasures, additions, and modifications. Who was the unknown liturgist? In all probability, St. Dominic himself. In any event, this breviary was given as a souvenir of St. Dominic to Blessed Diana d'Andalo at Bologna on 8 November, 1222. The donor was none other than the immediate successor of the Saint, Blessed Jordan of Saxony. Venerable Bartholomew, Archbishop of Braga (1514-1590), testified to having seen it in the convent of the nuns at Bologna while he was on his way to the Council

of Trent. When the convent was suppressed by Napoleon, the nuns sent the book for safekeeping to the Dominican nuns of the convent of SS. Dominic and Sixtus in Rome, where it has been preserved to the present day.¹

THE ANCIENT DOMINICAN MISSAL OF PARIS

Of far greater value to the liturgist is a missal in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. lat. 8884). This manuscript comprises 336 leaves (or 672 pages) of parchment. In size, it is approximately 14½ by 10 inches. Despite the size of the book, the complete absence of plain-chant shows that the missal was intended solely for the saying of Low Mass. This book is of the highest interest because it had been formerly a Dominican missal; later, it was adapted to the use of the Church of Paris and was evidently used, as several notations state, in the Chapel of St. Louis of Marseilles. To the original calendar, there were added in the fourteenth century many of the feasts of the Church of Paris; the Masses of these feasts are found in the *Sanctorale*, in the margin or at the bottom of the pages. Of special interest are the feasts of St. Dominic: his Translation, 24 May, *duplex*; his principal feast, 5 August, *totum duplex*; and his octave, 12 August, *semiduplex*. His principal feast is entered in the calendar in these words: *Beati Dominici patris nostri. Totum duplex*. All these entries are in red ink. In the calendar, the following gradation of the various feasts is given: a memory (or commemoration), three lessons, *semiduplex*, *duplex*, nine lessons, and *totum duplex*. There are very few feasts with the rank of *totum duplex*.

While the missal furnishes us with some rubrics scattered here and there throughout the text, we are left in almost total

¹ Laporte, *Précis historique*, 335; Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio*, 12.

ignorance as to how the ceremonies of the Mass were carried out. We are forced to be content with an examination of the text.

THE "ORDO MISSAE"

The Ordo missæ (fol. 126v) begins with the vesting of the priest. The prayer used while putting on the amice differs only a little from that used to-day; the remaining prayers however, while common enough in many dioceses during the Middle Ages, show some interesting differences from our present formulas.

For the alb: "Clothe me, O Lord, with the robe of salvation and the tunic of justice, and ever surround me with the garment of joy; through Christ, etc."

For the cincture: "With the girdle of faith and the virtue of chastity gird, O Lord, the loins of my heart and body, and extinguish in them the desire of lust that there may remain in them alike the unfailling continuance of complete chastity."

For the maniple: "Place, O Lord, a maniple in my hands that every stain of heart and body may be wiped away so that I may deserve to serve Thee, Omnipotent Lord, without defilement."

For the stole: "I beseech Thee, O Lord, restore to me the stole of delight which I lost by the transgression of the first parent; and because I draw near with this sign of honor (though unworthily) to Thy holy ministry, grant that with it I may merit to rejoice forever."

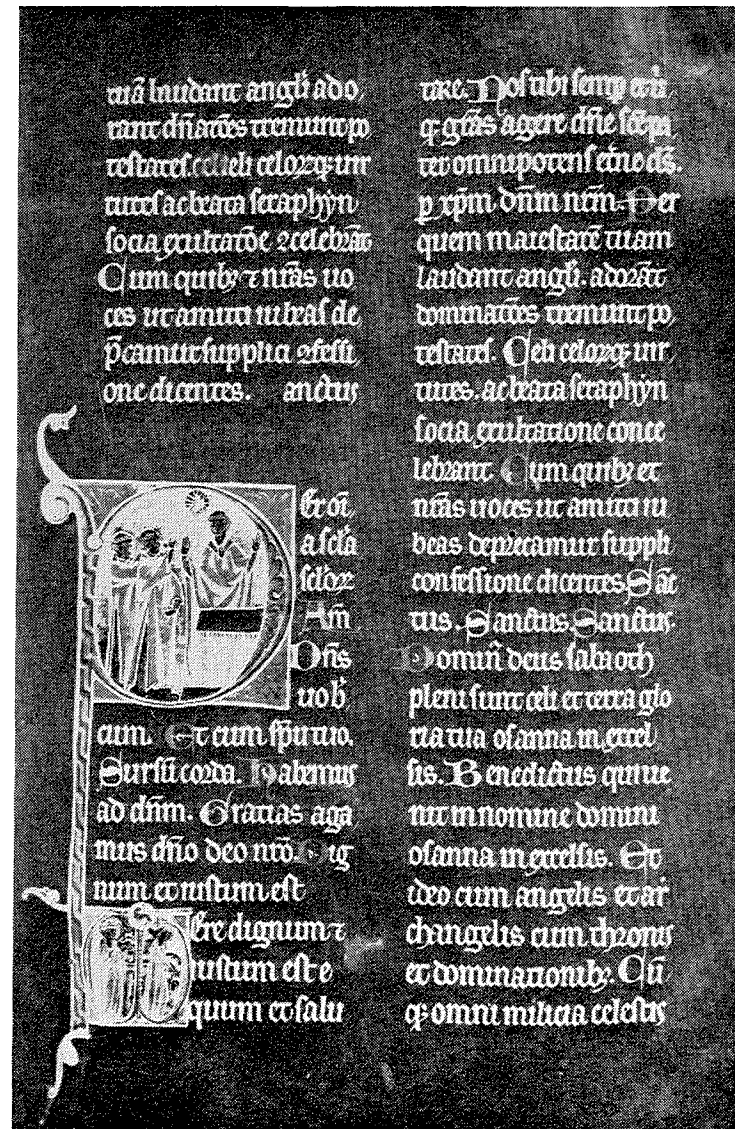
For the chasuble: "Let Thy mercy, O Lord, lighten upon us, as our trust is in Thee, for Thy yoke is sweet and Thy burden light. Grant, I beseech, that I may so bear it as to gain Thy grace."²

² The Latin text of the foregoing prayers is as follows (fol. 127r):

"[Ad amictum]. Oratio: Pone Domine galeam salutis in capite meo ad expugnandas et superandas diabolicas fraudes. Per.

"Ad albam: Indue me Domine, vestimento salutis et tunica justitiæ et indumento laetitiæ, circumda me semper. Per.

"Ad cingulum: Præcinge me Domine cingulo fidei et virtute castitatis lumbos cordis mei et corporis, et extingue in eis humorem libidinis, ut jugiter maneat in eis tenor totius castitatis. Per.



THE DOMINICAN MISSAL OF PARIS (circa 1240)

(Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 8884)

Immediately after this last prayer and without any reference whatever to the first part of the Mass, we are abruptly taken to the offertory. The priest washed his hands before offering up the chalice (and presumably the host with the chalice), for the rubric reads: "After saying the offertory and washing the hands, let the priest take the chalice and say:

"Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation or this host [sic] which Thy servant offers to Thee, and grant that it may appear exceedingly sublime in Thy sight."

"Let him then place the chalice on the altar, [and] bowed, let him say: 'In a humble spirit, etc.'"

The latter prayer is identical with that of to-day.

Without any further rubric is given in a slightly different form the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, said after the *Lavabo* in the Roman Mass of to-day. Nor does any rubric introduce the *Orate fratres*, which reads:

"Pray, brethren, for me a most miserable sinner, and I [will pray] for you to our Lord God that my sacrifice and yours alike may be pleasing in the sight of the Lord."⁸

The prefaces come next. They are eleven in number: Nativity, Epiphany, Lent (this was said until Holy Thursday), Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Exaltation and Finding of

⁸"Ad manipulum: Da michi Domine manipulum in manibus meis ad extergendas sordes cordis et corporis mei ut tibi Domino omnipotenti sine pollutione merear servire. Per.

"Ad stolam: Obsecro, Domine, redde michi stolam jocunditatis quam perdi in prævicatione primi parentis et quia cum hoc ornamento quamvis indignus accedo ad tuum sanctum ministerium, præsta ut cum eo lætari merear in perpetuum. Per Dominum.

"Ad casulam: Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos quemadmodum speravimus in te. Jugum enim tuum suave et honus tuum leve. Præsta, quæso, ut sic illud deportare valeam qualiter consequi possim tuam gratiam. Per."

⁸The prayer is incomplete in the text; the missing words, *sit acceptum sacrificium*, are written in the margin.

the Holy Cross, Blessed Virgin (except for the Purification when the preface of the Nativity of Our Lord was used), Apostles, and the common preface. The text of all these is the same as that of to-day; there are only a few variations, and these are of a trivial nature.⁴

THE CANON OF THE MASS

The Canon of the Mass has some variations. In the *Te igitur*, the three signs of the cross are placed somewhat differently from to-day: *hæc do ✠ na, hæc mune ✠ ra*,⁵ *hæc sancta ✠ sacrificia*. We next meet the usual mention of the king: *et rege nostro*. The word *apostolicæ* was omitted in the text but is supplied in the margin. The *Memento Domine* is the same as to-day except that it inserts after the *omnium circumstantium* the phrase: *atque omnium fidelium christianorum*. There are several other slight variations in some of the remaining prayers. The three signs of the cross in the prayer *Unde et memores* differ: *Ho ✠ stiam puram, Ho ✠ stiam sanctam, Ho ✠ stiam immaculatam*. Likewise the crosses of *Per Ipsum*: *Per ip ✠ sum, et cum ipso, et in ip ✠ so est tibi Deo Pa ✠ tri omnipotenti, in unitate Spiritus Sancti*. Both in the *cum ipso* and the *Spiritus Sancti*, the crosses were omitted from the text and supplied later. The same holds true of the crosses for the *Pax Domini*: *Pa ✠ x domini sit sem ✠ per vobiscum*, the third cross being omitted.

The *Agnus Dei* is the same as that used to-day. *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio* is the same as in the present Dominican missal except that it omits the rather unnecessary words: *promerendam atque*. The *Domine Jesu Christe* differs only in a few words. It reads:

⁴Curiously enough, the common preface is given twice.

⁵Through an error, the scribe wrote: *hic munera!*

"O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who according to the will of the Father through the coöperation of the Holy Ghost hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me by this Thy sacred Body and Blood from all iniquities and from all evils; and make me ever obey Thy commandments and let me not be separated from Thee forever. Who with the same Father, in the unity of the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, throughout all the ages of ages. Amen."⁶

The last three prayers, *Corpus et sanguis Domini*, *Quod ore sumpsimus*, and *Placeat tibi*, are the same as in the modern Dominican missal, except for the termination of the last prayer. In the present missal, the *Placeat tibi* ends: *Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.* In the manuscript-missal, it ends: *Qui vivis et regnas per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.*

Throughout the entire manuscript we note that the introit is called *officium*, and that the Sundays after Pentecost are counted from Trinity Sunday, *post festum sancte Trinitatis*.

What is the date of this missal? Eliminating all additions to the original missal, we find that the latest feast in the *Sanctorale* is that of the Translation of St. Dominic. Now, Dominic's tomb was opened in May, 1233; and, because of the number of miracles that took place, Dominic was canonized the following year (3 July). As no member of the Order had as yet been canonized, we may be certain that the Dominicans lost no time in placing both feasts of Dominic in their calendar. On the other hand, the chapter of 1243 ruled that two feasts were to have the rite of nine lessons, those of Elizabeth of Thuringia and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. The feast of Elizabeth is not

⁶ Domine Jesu Christe Filii (sic) Dei vivi qui ex voluntate Patris . . . libera me per hoc sacrum corpus et sanguinem tuum a cunctis iniquitatibus et ab universis malis et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis et non sinas me in perpetuum a Te separari. Qui vivis et regnas cum eodem Patre in unitate ejusdem Spiritus Sancti Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

in the original missal, while that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins is a memory or commemoration. Apparently then the manuscript-missal was written between 1234 and 1243.⁷

A study of the missal, its *Sanctorale*, text, and what few rubrics we find there, indicates quite clearly two facts: (1) the missal had been beyond any possibility of doubt a Dominican book; and (2) the rite followed therein was not entirely that of the Church of Paris but bore a close resemblance to it. The importance of this fact will be seen in due time.

The third and last manuscript prior to Humbert's revision, the breviary-antiphony, is of so much importance that it merits a separate chapter.

⁷ Cf. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, II, 106.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BREVIARY-ANTIPHONARY

PRESERVED in the archives of the Dominican Order at Rome is a manuscript which bears the simple title: *A Breviary Manuscript of the 13th Century*. The title is not quite correct, for the book is not only a breviary but also a complete antiphony. All who have examined it are in agreement that it is a Dominican office-book compiled before Humbert's revision. They also agree on another important point: that this manuscript is not the original one *but a late copy of the original*. We herewith present the results of Rousseau's careful study of the document.

The manuscript-volume is small, being only 3½ inches by 5 inches in size, and consisting (if we include leaves added at a later date) of 582 leaves of very thin parchment. The writing is small but excellently done in neat Gothic letters; the text is illuminated with minute, exquisite pictures. Both the illumination and the style of writing indicate a Parisian origin in the first half of the thirteenth century.

As already stated, the manuscript is not only a breviary but also an antiphony, giving the entire plain-chant with the text of the Divine Office. Invitatories, hymns, antiphons, responds—in a word, all except the psalms and orationes—are provided with musical notation accurately and neatly written.¹ Rousseau conjectures, from intrinsic evidence, that this volume was meant

¹ This is not true of the leaves added at a later date; these have very little plain-chant.

to be used as an exemplar for copying the psalter, antiphony, and hymnal.²

To the breviary is prefixed a calendar, but much of its value is lost by reason of the many additions and changes made by later hands. For this reason, it often disagrees with the text in the body of the breviary; the calendar may give one rank to a certain feast while the Proper of the Saints assigns it another. Feasts are graded in the following manner: three lessons, *simplex*, *semiduplex*, *duplex*, and *totum duplex*.

In the psalter, the psalms are arranged in the same order as in the Vulgate, but without any title or number.³ The psalms are not interrupted by antiphons or versicles; these are placed on the bottom margin, or added afterwards, or merely indicated in a brief way. The canticles after the psalms are arranged in a way slightly different from that now prevailing. In the litany of the Saints (which ends this part of the manuscript), not only is the name of St. Dominic mentioned twice, but that of St. Augustine as well.

THE OFFICE OF THE SEASON (*Officium de Tempore*)

This part of the manuscript is preceded by some general rubrics, which were added at a later period. It is only from the body of the text that we can safely, though imperfectly, deduce the nature of the older rubrics.

A textual comparison of the *Proprium de Tempore* as found in this manuscript with that of the splendid edition of the breviary published under master-general Cormier in 1909 reveals the astonishing fact that, except for the lessons, *the two texts are almost identical*. An example will serve to illustrate

² *De ecclesiastico officio*, 25.

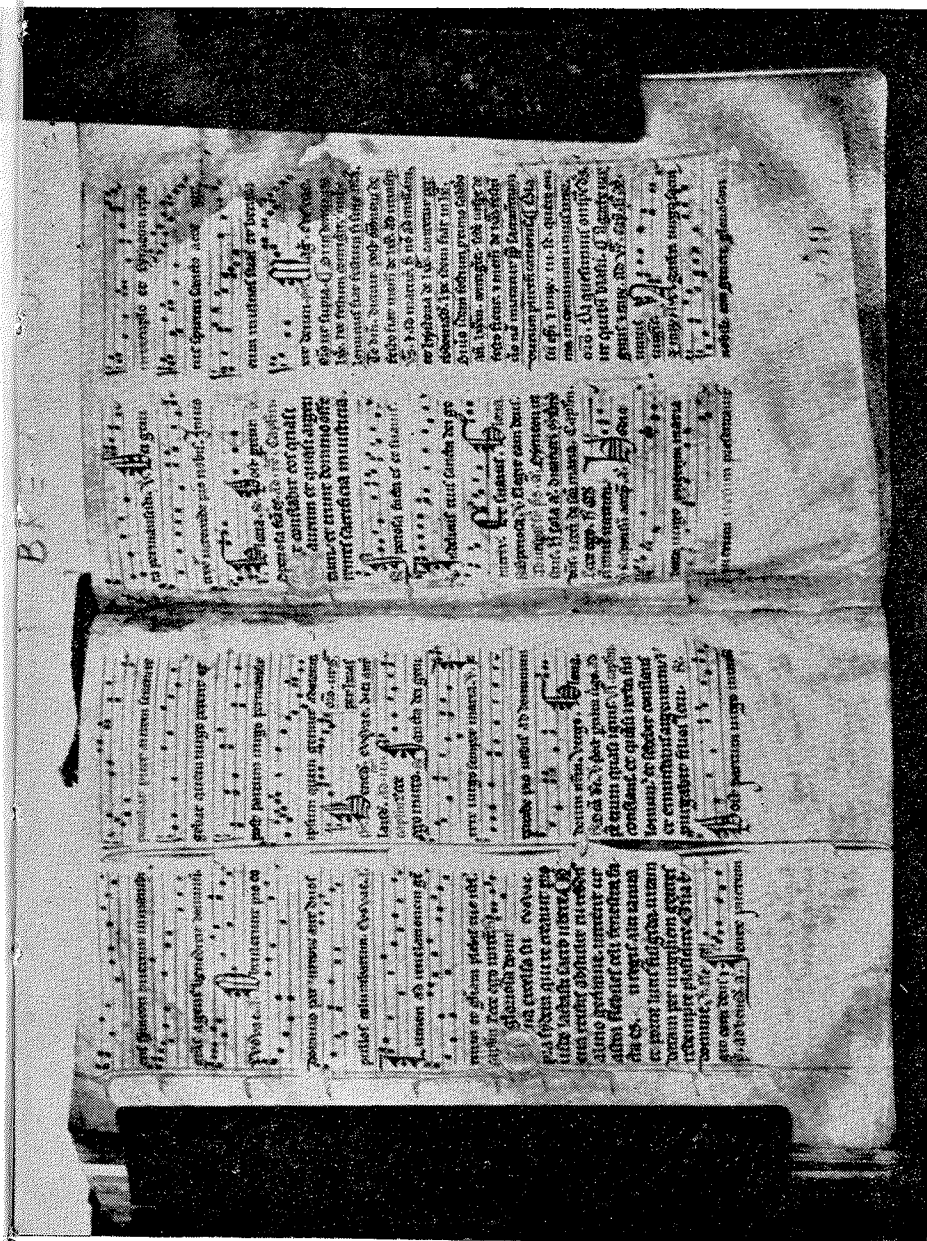
³ Except the first four which have the general title: *Psalmus David*.

the surprising likeness. Let us take the office for the second Sunday after Epiphany, or, as the Dominicans call it, the first Sunday after the octave of Epiphany. In the first vespers we find that the psalms, antiphons, *capitulum*, respond, hymn, versicle and its response, *Magnificat* antiphon, and prayer are exactly the same, word for word. As regards compline, the manuscript does not mention the *Fratres, sobrii estote*, nor the *Confiteor*; but this was not necessary as these were already prescribed by the ancient *Liber Consuetudinum*.⁴ Again we have an office that corresponds verbatim with the compline of Cormier's breviary. One slight difference is to be noticed: in the procession after compline, the choice was given of singing the *Ave Regina* or the *Salve Regina*.

Matins.—Here again, with the exception of the lessons, we find complete conformity with Cormier's breviary in invitatory, hymn, psalms, and antiphons. There were eighteen psalms, of which twelve were in the first nocturn. In the first nocturn, the *Gloria Patri* followed every fourth psalm. In the third nocturn, we find a response given for the ninth lesson even though the *Te Deum* followed, a custom continued to the present day in the Order.

Lauds.—The office of lauds was preceded by a versicle and response, the same as those used to-day for the period outside of Lent and Advent: *Ps. Excelsus super omnes gentes Dominus. R. Et super cælos gloria ejus.* In lauds (for the first Sunday after Epiphany) we meet two notable differences: only the first of the five superpsalm antiphons is the same as in Cormier's breviary, and there is a rubric stating that "these antiphons of lauds are to be sung only on this Sunday. On other Sundays . . . only the first antiphon will be sung." However, the *capitulum*,

⁴*Liber Consuetudinum, De collatione et completorio*, in ALKM, I, 199-200.



hymn, versicles, *Benedictus* antiphon, and prayer do not differ.

Prime.—Except for the period from Septuagesima to Easter, the psalms for prime were invariable, both for the office *de Tempore* and for that of the Saints. They consisted, as in Cormier, of *Deus in nomine tuo* and of the first two sections of the long psalm 118, *Beati immaculati*. From Septuagesima to Easter, nine psalms, each two followed by a *Gloria*, were recited. There was only one antiphon. These are the same psalms as those given in Cormier for the Sundays from Septuagesima until Palm Sunday. The rest of prime—superpsalm antiphon, *capitulum*, response, confession and prayer—agrees with Cormier.

Pretiosa.—The only difference between the *pretiosa* of the breviary-antiphonary and that of to-day is that the reading from the Gospel or from the Constitutions (*not* from the Rule of St. Augustine as at present) continued until the officiant gave the signal to stop. Those absent from the office recited the prologue to the Rule of St. Augustine in place of the reading from the Gospel or the Constitutions.

Remaining Little Hours.—In the remaining little hours, the rest of psalm 118 was used, both on feasts of the *Temporale* and on those of the *Sanctorale*. Hymns, antiphons, *capitula*, responds, and prayers are the same as in Cormier's breviary.

Second Vespers.—The office of second vespers of this Sunday is identical throughout with that found in Cormier's breviary.

THE FERAL OFFICE (*feria secunda p.o.E.*)

The ferial office consisted of one nocturn having twelve psalms. Each pair of psalms terminated with a *Gloria Patri* and an antiphon. After the sixth antiphon, a versicle and response were said. Then three lessons were followed by three responds. With the exception of these lessons, all are the same as in the Cormier edition.

The versicle before lauds (*Fiat misericordia*) is the same as to-day. The office of lauds is identical in every part with Cormier. After the *Benedictus* antiphon, were said the *preces*, just as they are said to-day in the Dominican office.

The little hours were said in exactly the same way, even to the manner of saying *preces* after each of the hours. Vespers and compline likewise offer no difference.

During paschal time, matins consisted of one nocturn of three psalms, three lessons, and three responsories. At compline, the psalm *Qui habitat* was omitted. The *alleluia* was added to all invitatories, responsories, antiphons, and versicles; in the Mass, to the introits, offertories, and communions.

The Dominicans, rejecting the rule of the Roman Curia of using every day the first three psalms assigned for matins of Sunday throughout the year, chose rather to follow the custom of the basilicas of Rome, which varied the nocturnal psalms on each day of the octave of Easter. This custom was continued in the Order to modern times.

THE HYMNAL

After the *Officium de Tempore* came the hymnal or collection of all the various hymns which occurred during the year. Each hymn was indicated in its proper place by the first words; but here the entire hymn was given together with its plain-chant. If the hymn happened to be from the Common, it was given according to the different tones for the various grades of feasts.

THE PROPER OF SAINTS

Prefixed to the Proper of Saints are four leaves of rubrics. They are of small value to us, as they were added at a later period. In the Proper, the rank of a feast is seldom given. The manuscript for the most part merely indicates whether the feast

is of three or of nine lessons. According to Humbert: "Whenever a feast has not its own lessons, these are to be taken from the Common. . . . As for octaves, the previous lessons are repeated on the octave day and as often as may be necessary within the octave."

In the private recitation of the office *de Tempore*, longer or shorter lessons could be said at will; we find a similar privilege granted for the Proper of the Saints. Thus, a rubric informs us that "the lessons for the Common of the Saints are purposely long in order that they who so desire may read them in their entirety, while they who do not desire long lessons may divide one lesson into two or even three lessons. Thus, by reading now one set of lessons and now another, they may avoid the weariness which might arise from repetition." The same rubric reveals the reason for this privilege; in the small breviaries the only lessons given for feasts are those of the Common.

As a specimen of the office from the Proper of Saints, Rouseau gives that of St. Dominic.⁵ Comparing the entire office from first to second vespers inclusive with that of Cormier's breviary, the following differences become apparent: in first vespers the *capitulum* and its respond; ⁶ in matins, the response to the ninth lesson; ⁷ in lauds, the fifth antiphon and the *capitulum*; in the little hours, the *capitula* of terce, sext, none, and, of course, the antiphon of none; in second vespers, the *capitulum*.

Apart from the lessons, then, only ten differences are to be

⁵ *De ecclesiastico officio*, 36 ff.

⁶ The *capitulum* used in this manuscript is *Dilectus Deo* instead of *Quasi stella*. Its respond is: *Granum excussum*, which is now the response to the sixth lesson. Humbert's prototype also has, as the respond to the *capitulum*, *Granum excussum*.

⁷ No lessons are indicated save the homily of St. Augustine on the text, *Vos estis sal terræ*.

found; they are not really so great as the number might suggest. Since the *capitulum* of first vespers, lauds, terce, and second vespers, is always one and the same, four of the above differences are due solely to the use of *Dilectus Deo* instead of *Quasi stella*. And as the fifth antiphon of lauds is used also as the antiphon of none, we have two more differences due to one variation. In everything else, the office of the manuscript and that of Cormier's revision are identical.

COMMON OF SAINTS

The final section of the manuscript is devoted to the Common of Saints and miscellaneous subjects. The Common of Saints, outside of paschal time, proceeds in exactly the same way as in Cormier's breviary. A feast of three lessons, unless impeded by a greater feast, began with the *capitulum* of first vespers. At matins were said an invitatory, hymn, nine psalms of the feast, and one superpsalm antiphon. There was a special antiphon for feasts of three lessons. But during paschal time, the psalms, versicle, and responsories were said according to the order of the ferial. In lauds, there was one antiphon from the feast; the psalms were the usual Sunday psalms, *Dominus regnavit*, etc. In the little hours, everything was the same as on feasts of nine lessons. With little hours, the feast ended.

The office of nine lessons, if it did not have complete first vespers, began with the superpsalm antiphon or the *capitulum*. In either case, its arrangement was the same as that found in Cormier's breviary. Thus, on *totum duplex* feasts, first vespers had the five *Laudate* psalms. The *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* antiphons were recited in full both before and after each of these canticles. Matins consisted of three nocturns; each nocturn of three psalms, three antiphons, a versicle and response,

three lessons and three responsories. The *Te Deum* was said, as now, after the ninth responsory. Accordingly, we have great conformity between this venerable manuscript and Cormier's breviary as regards the arrangement of the office in the Common of Saints.

But the conformity is lessened when we compare the words of each text, in which we find many differences. This is especially true of the Common of an Evangelist, which varies greatly from that of to-day. The Common of a Martyr Pontiff, in first vespers, gave *three* Magnificat antiphons, of which the present antiphon was one. The same Common gave also a special invitatory for a Martyr Pontiff whose feast had the rank of nine lessons. In the Common of Many Martyrs, feasts of nine lessons had an invitatory different from the present one. There are similar differences in the remainder of the Common of Saints.

The last section of the manuscript is something of a jumble. It contains antiphons for making memories of the Blessed Virgin in *Sabbato* throughout the whole year; general rubrics describing the feasts of the liturgical year; the usual blessings for the lessons of matins, as well as those special to feasts of the Blessed Virgin; the office of the Blessed Virgin; the *Salve Regina* for the procession after compline, with the alternative antiphon *Ave Regina*; lessons for the daily office of the Blessed Virgin; lessons for the office of the dead;⁸ plain-chant according to the different tones for the psalm *Venite exultemus*; and finally, plain-chant for the Genealogy of Christ according to Matthew. The remaining pages of the manuscript are of lesser interest, as they were written at a much later date.

⁸ The rest of the office is not given here, as it is found in full in the Feast of All Souls.

So much for its contents. It is obvious that we have here a document of high importance, for there can be no question but that it represents an early Dominican liturgy. All copying of the older liturgical books stopped when Humbert began his revision. The cost of writing the breviary-antiphonary must have been considerable, for it is obviously the work of professional scribes and illuminators; it is not the work of amateur friar-copyists. No superior would have ordered so expensive a work to be done once Humbert began his revision, for the new edition might be so drastic as to render all the older books useless. It is certain, then, that this work is pre-Humbertian. Just how much earlier it was, will come up later for consideration.

These three manuscripts are all we have of the earlier rites of the Friars Preachers. Of these, only the missal of the Bibliothèque Nationale and the breviary-antiphonary of Rome will be of value to us in reconstructing the liturgical history of this period.⁹

⁹ For the sake of completeness, a word should be said here concerning another thirteenth-century manuscript. In 1899, Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B., published in the *Revue des Bibliothèques* (juin-juillet-août, IX, 163-200) an article entitled: "Un manuscrit liturgique des frères Prêcheurs antérieur aux règlements d'Humbert de Romans." In this article, the Benedictine scholar asserted that a manuscript—*Liber Choralis*—offered for sale by Ludwig Rosenthal (Cat. 120, no. 182) was a Dominican liturgical document written about 1232, and that it showed the first efforts of the Order to achieve uniformity.

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (XIX, 1900, 70 ff) attacked this statement and declared that the *Liber Choralis* more likely represented an effort to adapt the Dominican rite to some Religious Order. The *Liber Choralis* became the centre of a controversy. Laporte and Rousseau reject Cagin's hypothesis and support the contention of the Bollandist.

The manuscript was offered for sale to master-general Frühwirth for the very modest sum of five thousand gold marks, and then to his successor for the same amount. Both rejected the offer. Cf. Laporte, *Précis historique*, 336-338; Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio*, 59; "Dominicains et Teutoniques, Conflit d'attribution du 'Liber Choralis,'" in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, XVIII (juillet-septembre, 1908).

CHAPTER SIX

THE ADOPTION OF THE UNIFORM LITURGY

THE nature of the uniform liturgy, the date of its adoption, and what success it enjoyed, are the most controverted subjects in the entire history of the Dominican rite. As Humbert did not answer these questions explicitly, there are almost as many answers to them as there are writers on the subject. The earliest writers tell us little or nothing. Since they are only a few and their observations very brief, we herewith quote them.

Henry of Hervorden (d. 1375), when mentioning Humbert's death, remarks: "He corrected and arranged in a more acceptable form the Divine Office of the Friars Preachers according to the Gallican Rite. This arrangement was later confirmed by Martin IV [sic]." ¹

Louis of Valladolid (d. circa 1435) briefly says: "He arranged the entire office of the Dominicans and obtained its confirmation from Pope Clement IV." ²

Albert Castellani, in the early part of the sixteenth century, states: "In the year of our Lord 1263 [!], Humbert, the model of our Order and the Father of our Liturgy, arranged the whole office which the Order now uses; this arrangement was afterwards approved of and confirmed by Clement IV." ³

¹ *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, 209.

² *Cronica Ludovici de Valleoleto*, 37.

³ *Chronicon Magistrorum Generalium*, published at the end of the Dominican Constitutions, beginning with the 1566 edition (omitted from the 1872 and subsequent editions). The chronicle was originally written by James of Soest; we attribute the foregoing quotation (p. 30 of the 1690 edition) to Castellani, because he revised the chronicle. Cf. Potthast, Introduction to *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, xx.

Sebastian de Olmeda (d. 1561) is more detailed: "With the greatest discrimination, Humbert effected an arrangement of the breviary [sic] that was pleasing, pregnant, and brief. It is true that four friars from four provinces . . . united to adapt according to the Roman Rite the breviary of our Order (an Order assiduously devoted to teaching and preaching); but it was Humbert's revision and arrangement that was finally received with welcome by the whole Order." ⁴

Excepting Humbert's account, this constitutes the sum total of information which the earlier historians of the Order give us. Not only is their information extremely meager, but some of it is not exact. Henry of Hervorden is misleading in his remark about the Gallican Rite and wrong in saying that it was Martin IV who confirmed the Dominican rite; Louis of Valladolid is incorrect in saying that Humbert obtained its confirmation from Clement IV; Castellani errs in his date; Sebastian de Olmeda is inexact in speaking of the breviary alone, and he is not accurate in saying that the whole Order welcomed the new book. It is to be noted that not one of these writers says anything for or against the existence of an early uniform rite; they are silent on that subject. This example of restricting their account to Humbert and of keeping silence as regards the uniform liturgy is followed by a number of modern writers, such as Grancolas, Guéranger, Bäumer, etc. ⁵ Another "non-committal" group imitates Sebastian de Olmeda by beginning their too brief remarks with the Four Friars and by ignoring what happened before them. To this group belong Quétif-Echard, Barge, Wagner,

⁴ *Chronica Ordinis Prædicatorum*, 42.

⁵ Grancolas, *Commentarius Historicus in Romanum Breviarium*, 44; Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques*, I, 338-339; Bäumer, *Histoire du Breviaire*, II, 65-66.

Lindberg, and Malin.⁶ The silence of these two groups does not mean necessarily that they believed that prior to Humbert, or prior to the Four Friars, there was no unified liturgy; it merely indicates that, as the previous period was obscure, they did not care to discuss uncertainties.

On the other hand, most of those who have attempted to throw light on this obscure subject are hopelessly at variance. Any classification of these authors is difficult and unsatisfactory because of the number of divergent views they express, and because, intentionally or otherwise, many of these writers are very vague in their statements. However, if differences of opinion on secondary points be ignored, most of these writers may be classified as holding one of three theories: (1) before 1244 no attempt had been made to secure uniformity; (2) there had been attempts, but they were ineffectual; and (3) a uniform rite had been adopted and was in use before 1244.

First Theory: *The Four Friars were the first to attempt the realization of liturgical uniformity throughout the Order.*

This theory has been stated in quite general terms so as to include all who hold similar ideas, for its adherents do not express themselves in the same way. Thus, some openly declare that up to the time of the liturgy of the Four Friars the Order everywhere followed local rites. Other writers are not so explicit. They declare, or sometimes merely leave it to be inferred, that liturgical confusion led to the commission of the Four Friars. This may seem at first glance to be the same thing; for if local rites were everywhere practised in the Order, there must

⁶ SSOP, I, 143 ff; Barge, "Le Chant Liturgique," in *L'Année Dominicaine* (janvier, 1908), 29-30. Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, II, 468 ff; Lindberg, *Die Schwedischen Missalien des Mittelalters*, 381 ff; Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands*, 199 ff.



TYPE OF ALTAR USED IN MEDIEVAL CHAPELS

necessarily have followed great confusion. But confusion in matters liturgical does not of necessity prove that the friars were everywhere following local customs, a fact to which we shall later return.

In the former class, we have the compiler of the chronicles of the famous Dominican monastery at Cologne, that of the Holy Cross. In these annals, he mentions the commission given to the Four Friars to harmonize the office (*pro officio concordando*); whereupon he adds: "Hence, it is evident that up to this time the friars made use of the liturgical customs of the places where they were living."⁷

Berthier goes more into detail. "In the beginning," he observes, "the Order had only the liturgy of the different countries where the brethren were established. But soon these variations caused great inconvenience to religious who had not made a vow of stability to one monastery, but who on the contrary by reason of their apostolic journeys had to go frequently from one monastery to another or from one diocese to another. It was imperative to lay plans for securing uniformity. . . . Accordingly, the chapter of 1244 ordained that the definitors of the following chapter should bring with them all the rubrics and plain-chant of the entire breviary, gradual, and missal, for the purpose of harmonizing the ecclesiastical office. All these documents were in fact brought to the following chapter, which without delay appointed a commission of four friars. . . ." ⁸ Chapotin, Jacquin, Guillemin, and others, express themselves in similar terms.⁹

⁷ *Chronica Conventus S. Crucis Coloniensis*, in AOP, II (1894), 585. This author is listed among modern writers, as these so-called chronicles are based on an eighteenth-century work. Cf. Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 60.

⁸ "Le B. Humbert de Romans," in *Année Dominicaine*, juillet, 299 ff.

⁹ Chapotin, *Histoire des Dominicains de prov. de France*, 387 ff; Jacquin, *The Friar Preacher, Yesterday and To-Day*, 45-48; Guillemin, *Missel Dominicain Quotidien* (1924), 9*-10*.

But others, who may be classified as adhering to this theory, do not go quite so far as to state the cause of the liturgical confusion; they content themselves merely with mentioning or implying that there was confusion. Thus, Masetti affirms that St. Dominic indeed desired that his friars should use one form of liturgical prayer, but at that time in nearly every Church there were individual forms of the liturgy. "Hence," he continues, "I am of the opinion that the liturgical customs in our Order conformed to those of the different nations and Churches, the Italians using the Italian rite, the Spaniards the Spanish, and so on." But this was very inconvenient especially as regards the breviary. "Therefore," adds Masetti, "the fathers took up the question on instituting one rite and one breviary in 1245, although in truth mention of this is found in the previous chapter."¹⁰ Meijer assents to this opinion.¹¹

Dr. Altaner expresses his views in these terms: "The great confusion in the field of liturgy in the Dominican Order, which, according to its Founder's intention, laid less stress on the choir service than did the older Orders, was found to be unbearable, and it was desired by the authorities of the Order that this condition be remedied by a completely uniform liturgy. The first official reference to this fight on liturgical chaos is found in the decision of the general chapter of 1244, in which the definitors were instructed to bring to the chapter of the following year *omnes rubricas et notulas breviarii*. The very next year a commission of four members, a representative for each one of the most important provinces of the Order—France, England, Lombardy, and Germany—was appointed."¹²

¹⁰ Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, I, 65 ff.

¹¹ *Dominicaansche Studien*, 55 ff.

¹² *Der hl. Dominikus*, 108 ff.

Dr. Heintke subscribes to the interpretation of Dr. Altaner. The famous Oratorian liturgist, Lebrun, the Dominican Danzas, and Scheeben are somewhat vague, but seem to hold this first theory.¹³

Second Theory: *Efforts to attain liturgical uniformity had been made before the Four Friars, but they were ineffectual.*

Father Hyacinth Cormier, master-general (1904-1916), held this opinion. He declared that the inconveniences arising from the practice of following local rites were grave and manifest; hence, there were many protests, and, after many projects, the chapter of 1245 confided the redaction of a liturgical code to the Four Friars.¹⁴

The year before Cormier published his book, Ignatius Smith wrote in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* as follows: "The first indication of an effort to regulate liturgical conditions was manifested by Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic. In the Constitutions (1228) ascribed to him are found several rubrics for the recitation of the office. These insist more on the attention with which the office should be said than on the qualifications of the liturgical books. However, it is said that Jordan took some steps in the latter direction and compiled one office for universal use. Though this is doubtful, it is certain that his efforts were of little practical value, for the chapters of Bologna (1240) and Paris (1241) allowed each convent to conform with the local rites. The first systematic attempt at reform was made under the direction of John the Teuton, the fourth master-general of the Order. At his suggestion the chapter of Bologna (1244)

¹³ Heintke, *Humbert von Romans*, 71 ff; Lebrun, *Explication . . . de la Messe*, IV, 290-291; Danzas, *Études sur les temps primitifs*, III, 45-47; Scheeben, *Jordan der Sachse*, 77.

¹⁴ Cormier, *Quinze Entretiens*, 139 ff.

asked the delegates to bring to the next chapter (Cologne, 1245) their special rubrics for the recitation of the office, their missals, graduals, and antiphonaries, *pro concordando officio*. To bring some kind of order out of chaos a commission was appointed consisting of four members. . . ." ¹⁵

In similar terms, M. D. Constant epitomizes this period, and Archdale King and the "nun of Carisbrooke," whom King appears to have used as his principal source, hold the same opinion.¹⁶ Finally, there should probably be included in this group the Dominican Cavalieri, although his language is obscure and his dates are hopelessly wrong.¹⁷

Third Theory: *The period of great diversity did not continue to the time of the Four Friars: it was ended before then by the adoption of one uniform rite.*

As is the case with the first two groups, the members of the third group likewise agree upon one salient fact but differ upon its various phases.

According to Cassito, when the inconveniences arising from local variations became apparent, "it was planned to choose a rite which should be adopted by all. The Dominican Order began in France at Toulouse. This is why there was adopted for use the rite of the Church of Paris, the capital of France. . . . In 1248 [sic!] . . . there was assigned a place where very learned friars from four nations, Spanish, French, Italian and German, might assemble for the purpose of bringing back the ecclesiastical office to one standard; since already there were found

¹⁵ Smith, "Dominican Rite," in CE, XIII, 74-76.

¹⁶ Constant, "La Liturgie Dominicaine," in *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* (Chardavoine), Année XXXV (1932), 19 ff; King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 85 ff; Nun of Carisbrooke, *Dominican Mass Book*, 6 ff.

¹⁷ Cavalieri, *Statera Sacra*, 27 ff.

variations which seem to have originated from the desire of the friars to adapt themselves to the places where they lived.”¹⁸ Therefore, according to this author, a uniform rite was adopted and used, and it was only after variations began to creep into the unified office that the Four Friars were assembled.

The next proponent of this theory is a man who deserves the greatest praise for his liturgical labors in the Order, Father Vincent Laporte (d. 1924). For him, the period of “great variety” began upon the departure from Toulouse; “the Order did not as yet have its own missal, breviary, or choir-books. . . . In all probability (the contrary would seem incredible), while St. Dominic was yet alive the work of unification mentioned by Humbert was undertaken. . . . But this uniformity, such as it was, did not succeed in pleasing everybody. . . . That is why the general chapter of 1244 ordered the definitors of the following chapter to bring with them the rubrics and plain-chant of the nocturnal and diurnal office, etc.”¹⁹

Mortier, who follows Laporte closely, also believes that St. Dominic began the work of unification, but was prevented by his early death from completing the work. “It remained,” he continues, “for Blessed Jordan of Saxony, the immediate successor of St. Dominic, to give to the Dominican liturgy its first uniformity, as he gave to the Dominican Constitutions their first official text. The two go together. . . . Indeed, it is declared at the end of Jordan’s edition of the Constitutions: ‘We confirm the entire office, diurnal as well as nocturnal; and we ordain that it be observed uniformly by all; wherefore, it shall be unlawful for anyone to introduce innovations in the future.’ This text belongs without doubt to a general chapter whose acts

¹⁸ Cassito, *Liturgia Domenicana*, I, 15.

¹⁹ Laporte, “Précis historique,” in AOP, XXVI (1918), 338 ff.

have been lost. An exact date cannot be ascribed to it, but it belongs to Jordan who governed the Order until February, 1237. Under Jordan, then, the Order possessed a uniform liturgy, at least in the beginning. . . . However, in liturgy as in observance, it is impossible to please everyone, . . . complaints were made, . . . so at the chapter of 1244 the definitors . . . were ordered to bring with them [their liturgical books]. . . . It was not a suppression of the primitive unified office; but, as errors had been made and unauthorized modifications added, a revision was necessary.”²⁰ The interpretation of Mortier’s is held substantially by Bruno Walkley.²¹

One of the few critical works published on the early Dominican rite was written by Louis Rousseau. He too believes that the work of unifying the office was begun in St. Dominic’s day, but that it is not probable it was finished during the lifetime of the Saint. “Documents prove,” he says, “that the ecclesiastical office was finished under Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic.” He then quotes the enactment which, according to Mortier, belonged to a chapter whose acts have been lost; but he places the date of that ordinance as probably before 1228 and certainly before 1233.²² Sölch and E. Colunga agree that a uniform rite was established before the time of the Four Friars, but are inclined to regard it as rather imperfect. Both Mothon and Walz agree in general with Rousseau, but disagree with him as regards the date. Lavocat also thinks that the work of unification probably began during the lifetime of St. Dominic, and that it was finished before 1239. Finally, we have Mandonnet

²⁰ *La Liturgie Dominicaine*, I, 14 ff.

²¹ *Dominican Missal*, xv ff.

²² *De ecclesiastico officio*, 13 ff.

who asserts that the first attempt to secure uniformity was certainly made before 1235.²³

THIRD THEORY DEMONSTRATED TO BE CORRECT

So much for the many various and conflicting statements concerning the early history of the rite. We have quoted the various writers in order to bring out how completely at odds have been all who have touched on this period of Dominican history. A majority give no proofs whatsoever for their assertions; they apparently took without critical examination the assertions of earlier writers. Of the few who did serious research work, some have advanced arguments which are not sound, others have been refuted by evidence which was later unearthed. It is our present task to examine the various contradictory conclusions, to weigh the different arguments which have been brought forward, and to learn, if possible, what actually did take place during the period in question.

It will be noticed that the greatest authority of all, Humbert of Romans, was not placed in any of the foregoing three classifications; this was done out of fairness to all disputants. But now it is necessary to turn to him for enlightenment. Humbert declared: "From the beginning, there was much diversity in the office. Hence, there was compiled one office for the sake of having uniformity everywhere. However, in the course of time, four friars from four provinces were entrusted with the task of arranging the office in a better form."

²³ Sölch, *Hugo von St. Cher*, 48; Idem, "Die Liturgie des Dominikanerordens," in *Liturgische Zeitschrift*, III, 10 (1930/31), 306 ff; E. Colunga, "La Liturgia Dominicana," in *La Ciencia Tomista*, XIV (1916), 318 ff; Mothon, in *AOP*, V (1897), 38 note; Walz, *Compendium Historiæ*, 100 ff; Lavocat, "La Liturgie Dominicaine," in *Liturgia*, 860 ff; Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, 222 ff. Verwilt appears to be of this opinion, but he is extremely brief (*De Dominikaansche Mis.*, 6, note).

In this passage, Humbert plainly states that the great diversity was followed by the compilation of a uniform office; and that it was only some time later, "in the course of time," that the Four Friars received their commission. Their commission was not to draw up a new office but to arrange the old one in a better form. Unquestionably, the words of Humbert would have been taken in their obvious sense by all writers (and especially by those holding the second theory), were it not for a certain act of legislation passed by the chapters of 1240, 1241, and 1242. The act has been referred to by Smith, Constant, King, and others as a permission accorded "to the friars to say the office according to the practice of whatever place they might be." Or, as another writer puts it, it was a permission which "allowed each convent to conform to local rites." If the chapters in question granted any such permission, then it would indicate that the unified office had failed to function, and that the first really effectual steps towards uniformity were those of the Four Friars. But did the chapters give that permission?

In the Acts of the chapter of 1240, we read the following statement:

*Item. Predicatores et eciam alii fratres itinerantes. sint contempti [sic] officio illorum ad quos aliquando declinant. residuum amoveatur.*²⁴

Translated literally, just as it stands, it would read of course: "Likewise. Preachers and also other travelling friars. Let them be content with the office of those with whom they may at any time be sojourning. Let the rest be removed." This passage has been repeatedly quoted as a proof that the chapters were passing a new law whereby the friars would henceforth be permitted to conform to local customs.

²⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 14.

Such an interpretation is erroneous. In the first place, the capitulars of 1240 were not proposing a new law except in the sense that they were abolishing an old privilege; and, in the second place, they were not granting for the first time permission to travellers to use local rites, for that permission was already in the Dominican Constitutions. The wrong interpretation of these writers arose from a twofold source: they evidently did not know that the Constitutions already accorded permission to travellers to make use of local rites in fulfilling their obligation; and, secondly, they either overlooked or did not understand the meaning of the phrase: *residuum amoveatur*.

What, then, is the meaning of this phrase? The ordinance in question occurs near the beginning of the Acts of 1240. A perusal of what precedes this particular enactment reveals that the friars were approving proposed changes in the Constitutions. Hence, if the sentence were completed, it would read: "We approve likewise the proposed Constitution: 'Let preachers and also other travelling friars, etc.'" What is the significance of the concluding phrase: "Let the rest be removed"? In the most ancient compilation of the Constitutions, there is a section entitled: *De itinerantibus fratribus*.²⁵ It reads as follows: "Let preachers or travellers while on the road say the office the best they may, and let them be content with the office of any churches which they may be visiting; likewise, let those friars who may be performing any duties whatever with bishops, prelates, or other dignitaries [be content with the office] according to the rite of those with whom they may be living."

The foregoing passage deals with two different groups of friars, both of them living outside the monastery. The first group comprises the friars who are travelling, whether they are preach-

²⁵ ALKM, I, 224.

ers or not; the second group embraces the Dominicans who are "borrowed" by bishops and other dignitaries as their theologians, canonists, confessors, etc.; these friars generally lived in the same house as the bishop or cardinal. The intent of the legislators of 1240 now becomes clear: they desired that there should be removed from the *Liber Consuetudinum*, not the part they actually quote, as so many writers have mistakenly thought (for this was quoted merely to show where the place was in the Constitutions), but what follows that quotation: "Let the rest be removed." In other words, the chapter of 1240 proposed (and the two next chapters passed the law) that henceforth friars who were domiciled with any prelates may no longer conform to the local rite practised by their host. Therefore, this repeal, instead of proving that the Order did not then have an office of its own, proves just the opposite. Travellers who were obliged to journey on foot and to carry all their baggage on their shoulders, could lighten their burden if they did not have to carry with them a heavy manuscript-breviary. But there was no such excuse for Dominicans who were residing, perhaps for years, with prelates.

It is no argument against the existence of a unified liturgy that travellers were still permitted to say the office *prout sciunt et possunt*; because even when the Order indisputably possessed an excellent liturgy (namely, after the revision of Humbert), travellers were permitted to say the office *prout sciunt et possunt*, and this permission remained in the Dominican Constitutions, though it is true for a long time as a dead letter, until the present edition.²⁶

²⁶ It was found in the "Second Distinction," Chapter XIII, n. 993. The present Constitutions were first published in a provisional form in 1926; when they received their "confirmation" or third approval of the general chapter, they were published in their final form in 1932.

Therefore, the action of the chapters of 1240, 1241, and 1242 together with additional evidence that will be presented in the next chapter, establishes the existence of a uniform liturgy prior to the time of the Four Friars. Thus, an intelligent meaning is restored to the words of Humbert: that on account of the diversity in the office "there was compiled one office for the sake of having everywhere uniformity. However, *in the course of time* four friars were entrusted with the task of arranging it in a better form." It now remains to consider just what Humbert meant by his phrase "in the course of time." In other words, when was the unified office "arranged in a better form"?

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DATE OF THE UNIFORM OFFICE

THERE can be no reasonable doubt concerning the fact that at one time in the early years of the Order a uniform office was in existence. There is, however, much obscurity as to the length of time it was in force; for, while all the best authorities agree that it was in use in 1245, they disagree as to the date of its adoption.

Mothon holds that it was adopted certainly after 1228, and very probably before 1240. Walz cautiously observes: "Whether this unification goes back to St. Dominic himself or to Blessed Jordan is not known with certainty." Beyond this statement he does not commit himself. Laporte and Mortier both agree that it was adopted during the period when Jordan of Saxony was master-general. As the last chapter held during his term of office was in 1236, that would place the time between 1221 and 1236. Mandonnet is even more specific. He avers that it was assuredly before 1235, and in all likelihood before 1230. Rousseau maintains that it was certainly adopted before 1233, and probably before 1228.¹ Laporte, Mortier, and Rousseau express their belief that St. Dominic himself began the work of unification.

There do not exist, so far as is known, any manuscripts which would definitely settle the question. A painstaking search of many documents has yielded, however, a number of indications

¹The references to these writers are the same as those given in the preceding chapter, except the one to Laporte (*op. cit.*, 335).

which, cumulatively considered, are of help in moving back the date to the time of Jordan of Saxony. We shall begin with what is absolutely certain.

The uniform liturgy was in existence in 1243. This is proved by the fact that on 13 February of the following year Innocent IV granted the Teutonic Knights permission to adopt the Dominican rite.² This military Order, already a half of a century old, had hitherto followed the rite of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the same rite as was used by the Carmelites. That these Knights should have voluntarily surrendered their own rite and requested permission to adopt that of the Friars Preachers shows that the Dominicans at that time possessed a distinctive rite of their own, and that the Knights regarded it as the best variant of the Latin rites for their own Order.

Earlier proof of the existence of the uniform rite is given by the chapter of 1240 and the two next chapters, forbidding the friars who were attached to ecclesiastical dignitaries to conform to the liturgical customs of the prelates' household, while at the same time travellers actually on the road were permitted to say office as best they could. This argument was discussed in the last chapter.

THE "MOST GENERAL" CHAPTER OF 1236

But evidence points back to an even earlier date. In 1236 there was held at Paris a "most general" chapter. Such a chapter is the most extraordinary legislative assembly in the Order; it is so extraordinary that only two such assemblies were held during the Middle Ages. A "most general" chapter was the equivalent of three successive general chapters; hence, by one

² *Tabula Ordinis Theutonici*, 357, no. 471. When Humbert completed his revision, the Knights obtained permission to adopt the corrected office (27 February, 1257). Cf. *op. cit.*, 378, no. 536.

enactment it could incorporate any law in the Constitutions. In other words, the laws passed by a "most general" chapter did not need the approval of the two succeeding general chapters in order to become part of the Constitutions.³ It is also worth noting that the Acts of the chapter of 1236, unlike those of the preceding chapters, have come down to us quite complete.

Now, this special legislative assembly of the Order debated the question whether the friars should stand or sit during the recitation of psalm 116, *Laudate Dominum*, a psalm which consists of only two short verses.⁴ It must be recalled that at the time of this chapter the Dominican Order rejoiced in the membership of many of the most brilliant men in all Europe—Albert the Great, Raymond of Peñafort, Hugh of Saint-Cher, Jordan of Saxony, John of Vercelli, Peter of Tarantaise (later Innocent V), Conrad of Germany, Vincent of Beauvais, Roland of Cremona, and a host of others famous for their learning, their ability, and their sanctity. It is most improbable that such an extraordinary congress as a "most general" chapter, held at a

³ The legislative processes in the Dominican Order at that period may be briefly described. If the capitular Fathers wanted a law to take effect at once, they used the words: "We command," "We wish," "We forbid," or some similar phrase. But the ordinance made by one general chapter could be set aside by any other general chapter. If it was desirable that the law should become part of the Constitutions and therefore permanent, three distinct steps were necessary. In one general chapter the proposal was introduced by the words: "We begin this constitution." This first step was called the *inchoation* (*inchoatio*). If the next chapter was in favor of it, the chapter would declare: "We approve this constitution. And this [proposal] has two chapters" (i.e., it has the sanction of two chapters). This was called the *approbation*, (*approbatio*). If the third successive chapter was likewise favorable, it enacted: "We confirm this constitution. And this has three chapters." This *confirmation* (*confirmatio*) made the proposal a permanent law. If the second or third successive chapter ignored the proposal, it failed to become a law. Only by the approval of three successive chapters did proposed legislation acquire constitutional force.

⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 8.

time when the intellectual standard of the Order was so remarkably high, would gravely discuss a trivial point of the liturgy if the Order did not then possess a uniform rite. If the Order had an excellent liturgy, the desire for absolute uniformity even in *minutiæ* is understandable. But if, on the other hand, there existed throughout the Order the "liturgical chaos" which some writers have pictured, then the action of the chapter in debating whether to stand or sit during a two-verse psalm would be an unparalleled exhibition of "straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel."

THE DOMINICAN SISTERS IN MILAN

The next indication of the existence of a uniform Dominican liturgy at this time is an event which occurred at Milan in 1235. To understand the significance of it, it is necessary to bear in mind how jealously that archdiocese preserved from early times its own peculiar liturgy known as the Ambrosian Rite. Every attempt to abolish it was strenuously and at times violently resisted. Charlemagne tried in vain to do away with it; and several centuries later, Pope Nicholas II, despite all the papal authority, had hardly any better success. Even the stout-hearted Hildebrand (St. Gregory VII) made no headway against it; while in 1440, the first steps of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Branda di Castiglione, to abolish that rite led to a tumult during which the infuriated people surrounded the house of the Legate and threatened to burn it to the ground.

Not only were the people of Milan always strongly attached to their own rite, but they were hostile to any attempts at introducing into their metropolitan city any rival rites. When one governor of Milan who preferred the Roman Rite obtained permission from the Pope to have the Roman Mass said in any

church in the city he might be attending, St. Charles Borromeo, then Archbishop of Milan, thwarted his desires.⁵ Even to the present day, no priest is permitted to say Mass according to the Roman Rite in the cathedral.

Yet, despite the almost fanatical attachment to the Ambrosian Rite as manifested by the clergy and people alike, a community of Dominican Sisters of the convent of *Santa Maria delle Vetteri* had the hardihood to petition the Holy See, some time before 1235, for permission to abandon the Ambrosian breviary.⁶ And to the amazement of the Milanese, Pope Gregory IX, on 23 April, 1235, granted their petition. It seems to have been the *first time* that any religious of that city had exchanged the Ambrosian for the Roman Rite.⁷

Evidently only the strongest reasons could have impelled the nuns to take such an unheard-of step, one that seemed almost certain to draw upon them the indignation of the Milanese on whom they depended for their support. Fortunately Gregory IX tells us the reason: "We have been humbly petitioned in your behalf . . . to allow you to celebrate office according to the way the other Sisters of your Order celebrate it."⁸ The "other Sisters" were not Milanese, for the other Dominican nuns in that city also had to conform to the Ambrosian Rite. The Pope was obviously referring to the Dominicans outside of the Archdiocese of Milan. Now, the nuns of the Second Order have consistently used the same office as that which the friars used, and if "liturgical chaos" reigned in the Order, Gregory would hardly have risked raising a furious tempest by granting so novel a privilege

⁵ Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques*, I, 197 ff; Jenner, "Ambrosian Liturgy and Rite," in CE, I, 395.

⁶ Mazzucchelli, *Osservazioni intorno al saggio storico-critico sopra il Rito Ambrosiano*, 135 ff.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 145.

⁸ *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum*, in AOP, VIII (1900), 498, no. 474.

to an obscure community of Sisters. If, however, the Dominican Order had a uniform, standard rite, Gregory would have well appreciated the longing of the nuns to be in complete harmony, not only in the Rule but also in the liturgy, with the rest of their Order.

Nor does the fact militate against this conclusion that the Dominican friars of Milan still used the Ambrosian Office, or that the Sisters asked only for the change in the breviary. The Fathers in celebrating Mass were performing a public act, and even their chanting of the office was done in a public manner. But with the nuns it was different. Their recitation of the office was done in the privacy of their convent chapel; it was not the public act that choral recitation in a public church was with the friars. While there would have been unquestionably fierce antagonism to any attempt to practise publicly any other rite, the nuns evidently hoped that the *private* observance of a different rite would go unnoticed. But despite this opening wedge of Gregory IX, it was not until seventy-four years later (1309) that another Milanese convent, that of *Santa Maria desuper muro*, was able also to get permission to celebrate the Divine Office according to the Dominican rite.⁹

EVIDENCE BEFORE 1235 NOT DECISIVE

Is there any other documentary evidence of a Dominican rite earlier than 1235? The question cannot be answered with certainty. In a *Life of St. Raymond of Peñafort*, the third master-general of the Order, believed by some to have been written by Nicholas Eymeric, it is stated that St. Raymond advised the Mercedarians to adopt the Dominican office and breviary. If this were true, and Mortier's date for the founding of the Mer-

⁹ Mazzucchelli, *op. cit.*, 145.

cedarians (1223) be correct, then it would hint at the existence of a Dominican rite just a few years after Dominic's death. But the fact that the *Life* in question was not written until almost a century after the founding of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy brings into question its trustworthiness.¹⁰

There is only one other document which may be speaking of a Dominican rite earlier than 1235. In Chapter Six, reference was made to the liturgical ordinance found at the end of Jordan's edition of the Constitutions: "We confirm the entire office, nocturnal and diurnal, and we ordain that it be uniformly observed; wherefore, it shall be unlawful for anyone to introduce innovations in the future." Rousseau draws the following argument from this enactment and from the place in which it is found. While, indeed, the date of the unified office cannot be discovered from the wording of the ordinance, it is deduced with probability from the place in the codex where these words are found. He believes that the enactment was made *before* 1228; for the "most general" chapters of 1228 and 1236 both changed many things in our Constitutions, and these changes, as the codex of Rodez states, were inserted in the text; they were not merely added as appendixes. But the liturgical ordinance was left just where it was found. Rousseau therefore maintains, and most writers agree with him, that the very irregularity of the place in which the ordinance is found is a proof of its great antiquity.¹¹

This argument is not without substantiation. We learn from witnesses at the Process of the canonization of St. Dominic that

¹⁰ It is certain that by the end of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the Mercedarians were following the Dominican rite. It may be questioned, though, whether they had embraced it in the thirteenth century. The arguments of E. Galindo (*San Raimundo de Peñafort*, Rome, 1919, 523-529), attempting to prove the contrary, are debatable.

¹¹ *De ecclesiastico officio*, 13-14.

the Saint often caused to be written in his Constitutions some new point of legislation. *Id fecit scribi in sua Regula* and similar phrases are often encountered in these depositions. Every time a new law was decided upon, the Book of Constitutions was not re-written; the new legislation was merely inserted in the text, if there was available space; if not, then it was written down somewhere else. Obviously this soon led to an irregular disposition of subjects. When the capitulars of the "most general" chapter of 1228 prepared to edit a new version of the Constitutions, they did not rearrange the subjects in a systematic manner, because they regarded the *Liber Consuetudinum* as practically the work of St. Dominic.¹² It was too sacred to meddle with; as Dominic had written it, so was it to remain. Hence the capitulars contented themselves with inserting in the text the various laws passed since the death of their Founder. Dominican legislation was not to be placed in a strictly logical order until the revision of the celebrated canonist, St. Raymond of Peñafort. If the chapter of 1228 had found the liturgical ordinance at the end of the Constitutions, they would have left it there.

While Rousseau's argument, therefore, is not devoid of merit, it is beset with difficulties. The original *Liber Consuetudinum* is lost, and as far as is known, there is extant only one copy of it. It is in the *Codex Ruthenensis Miscellaneus*, which had been preserved in the Dominican monastery at Rodez, France. It is to be regretted that this copy is so wretched. Its unknown

¹² "Although these primitive Constitutions underwent some modifications at the chapter of 1228, they are in their substance those which St. Dominic prepared at Prouille with his disciples in the spring of 1216, and which he developed later in the chapters of 1220 and 1221" (Balme Lelaidier, *Cartulaire de S. Dominique*, II, 22). That the *Liber Consuetudinum* may be justly regarded as the work of St. Dominic is also the opinion of Mandonnet and Galbraith.

scribe may have used an older copy that was in its turn extremely defective; again, he may have been extremely careless in his copying or a man of great ignorance. The document abounds with obvious errors: words are misspelled; punctuation is very bad; and although the manuscript professes to give the Constitutions of the chapter of 1228, it contains some laws (but not all) passed by subsequent chapters up to 1241. Until the contents of this document are removed from the realm of dispute, any appeal to the liturgical ordinance with which it closes must remain a dubious argument.¹³ Rousseau's citation of the chapter of 1233 permitting novices to purchase breviaries is also inconclusive; the breviaries in question might have been those of local rites.

With the exception of Humbert's *Exposition of the Constitutions*, there are no known contemporaneous documents which make indisputable references to a Dominican rite prior to those we have quoted. But we cannot reason from this silence that therefore the unified rite did not exist before 1235. It must be borne in mind that of the first twelve general chapters, 1220-1232, covering the most important legislative period of the Order, the Acts (or minutes) have completely disappeared. The sum total of our knowledge of the laws of any specified chapters during that time is this: voluntary poverty was adopted in 1220; the Order was divided into eight provinces in 1221; and four more provinces were added in 1228. Yet, it was during those years that the superb framework of the Constitutions was built, which was to serve the Order so well for seven centuries.

¹³ See the excellent study of Mandonnet and Vicaire of this text of Rodez, *Saint Dominique, l'idée, l'homme, et l'œuvre*, II, 203 ff. It was Père Vicaire who kindly pointed out to us the flaw in Rousseau's argument.

Hence, the silence of that period proves nothing, especially since so many documents are known to have perished.

It merely leads us back to the conclusion reached in Chapter Three, that Dominic himself introduced the uniform rite or at least was so associated with its preparation that, when introduced under Jordan, it was still regarded as the Founder's work. If this supposition be true, then the period of "great variety" lasted only a few years—not for over a quarter of a century as some writers would have us believe. And while our conclusion lacks absolute proof, it is certainly more reasonable than the conclusion of those who maintain that an Order which frankly directed its appeal to men of the highest intellectual calibre, which was the first Order formally to dedicate itself to the study of philosophy and theology, and which was established as an Order of Canons, should for over a quarter of a century have tolerated daily confusion in a matter of such supreme importance as the liturgical worship of God.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE COMMISSION OF THE FOUR FRIARS

It is most likely that during the generalate of Blessed Jordan of Saxony the Friars Preachers possessed their own rite. It must not be supposed that this meant a uniformity such as exists to-day. In dealing with this era, we must divest ourselves of our modern idea of rigid exactness even in the smallest details. Such a standard does not appear to have existed in the Middle Ages, and those times would have looked with amazement upon some of the meticulous rubrics which centuries later were to appear in the Roman ceremonial. It was not even considered desirable to prescribe minutely every action of the ministers as is done to-day. Even as late as the sixteenth century, so famous a theologian as Dominic Soto invoked the principle: "The *ordinarium* cannot explain all [the ceremonies] down to the smallest detail."¹ Hence it is that in the manuscripts of the period with which we are dealing, either there are no rubrics whatever, or only the principal actions of the ministers are very briefly described, the details being left to tradition. As Dr. Rock expresses it in his erudite work, *The Church of Our Fathers*: "Many ceremonies were handed down from one age and country to another; and because they had been so widely received, and become so thoroughly known, it was deemed needless to burden an already large and heavy volume with a rubric of them."²

¹ *Commentariorum in Quartum Sententiarum*, t. I, Ds. 13, q. 2, art. 5. The entire article 5 is most instructive. ² Vol. I, 321, note.

With such a broad concept of uniformity and with a system whereby most of the rubrics were handed down orally, it is difficult to see how variations could well be avoided over any prolonged period of time. But there was another and even more fertile source of danger: the policy of expediency described by Humbert of Romans. Humbert declared it "is more expedient, as regards some customs, to conform to the people among whom the friars dwell than it is to preserve uniformity in all things."³ These words were written at the later part of his life, when the Order was not only in possession of a complete liturgy but also firmly established. If then in his later days expediency outweighed uniformity, *a fortiori* it would do so when the Order was as yet in its infancy, struggling for recognition and often encountering on the part of the hierarchy bitter opposition. Under such conditions, it would not have been advisable for the friars to antagonize a bishop who might insist on his own special rubrics for certain functions. Again, it might be the people themselves who would be stubbornly attached to some local liturgical practice; since the friars depended on the people for their daily bread, it would not have been always prudent to attempt to supplant such a custom by a different rite. A flagrant example of the display of expediency was that of the Dominicans at Milan, who were following the Ambrosian Rite. But in this particular case the friars had no choice in the matter.

Still another factor which militated, though to a lesser degree, against complete uniformity in the liturgy was corruption of the text. In a period when books had to be copied by hand, errors easily crept in. One cannot examine many mediæval manuscripts without encountering the mistakes made from time to time by the negligence or inadvertence of scribes. During

³ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 6-7.

the years the uniform liturgy was in existence, a large number of books were copied; it would have been a miracle of carefulness, if a number of errors had not been made in their transcription, especially when they were not copied from one original exemplar but were copies of copies.

But whatever the cause or causes, in the course of time some variations had crept into the Dominican rite. It is equally certain that, despite what the situation might have been in this or that particular place, the differences were not as a general rule of a very grave nature. That they did exist is evident from the Bull of Clement IV, in which the Pope says that the revision of Humbert was undertaken on account of the various customs existing in difference provinces.⁴ But just how serious were these differences?

That they amounted to chaos, as Altaner, Heintke, and some others assert, is hardly credible. Dr. Altaner declares: "The great confusion in the field of liturgy in the Dominican Order, which according to its Founder's intention laid less stress on the service of the choir than did the older Orders, was found to be unbearable; and it was desired by the authorities of the Order that this state be replaced by one of rigid uniformity. The first official reference to this war on liturgical chaos is found in the decision of the general chapter of 1244. . . ." ⁵ Dr. Heintke expresses himself in similar terms: "There was a real need of putting an end to the chaotic confusion which had prevailed in the field of liturgy within the Dominican Order." ⁶

⁴ BOP, I, 486. ⁵ *Der hl. Dominikus*, 109.

⁶ *Humbert von Romans*, 71.

EARLY DOMINICAN RITE NOT "CHAOTIC"

Such sweeping assertions are arbitrary and unfounded. There was neither "chaos" nor anything approaching "chaotic confusion." They who make such statements are directly contradicting the testimony of Humbert himself; for he plainly tells us that the Four Friars were given the task of *arranging the liturgy in a better form (ut melius ordinarent)*. He informs us that at one time there had been great differences (*magna varietas*), and because of this condition one uniform office was compiled; later on, the Four Friars were commissioned to arrange that office in better form. If the "great differences" necessitated the immense labor of compiling an entire ecclesiastical office, surely "liturgical chaos" would require at least as much. Instead, as we learn from Humbert, the purpose of the Four Friars was, not to *compile* an entire office, but merely to *revise* an office already in use. The obvious meaning of Humbert's words is substantiated by a papal document of 1244.

At the beginning of Chapter Seven, it was narrated how the Teutonic Order gave up the rite of the Holy Sepulchre in order to adopt that of the Friars Preachers. Papal permission for the change of rites was granted on 13 February, 1244. It will be noticed that this was before the Dominican chapter of 1244 (which ordered the revision of our liturgy) had even assembled.⁷ It is preposterous to imagine that the Teutonic Knights gave up their own well-defined liturgy which they had been using so long, in exchange for a liturgy that was in such "great confusion" as to constitute "liturgical chaos." It is even more absurd to think that the Church would give her solemn sanction to such a procedure. Nor can the argument be brushed aside by the

⁷ The general chapter was always held at Pentecost of every year.

objection that the rite of the Holy Sepulchre was very complicated, and that the Knights desired a simpler rite.⁸ The Knights had all the numerous rites of the entire Latin Church to choose from; they were under no compulsion whatever to select the "liturgical chaos" of the Dominicans. Since they did select the Dominican rite in preference to all the others, then that rite—despite any disfigurements it might have suffered from the local customs of this or that place—must have appeared to be superior to the rest.

It is evident, then, that any variations which were found in the Dominican liturgy in the year 1244 could not have been of a serious nature. If they were not serious, why was a revision ordered? We believe that it was brought about by influences outside of the Order.

The Latin Church, during the first half of the thirteenth century, witnessed a liturgical movement of the highest importance. Ecclesiastics had been struggling for some time to devise a really practical form of the portable office-book, or breviary, as it is now called. "The influence of the Curia," says Batiffol, "on this movement of transformation was great and decisive."⁹

"The Roman Curia, which until then had celebrated the same offices as those of the Roman Basilicas, notably of that of the Lateran, which was the cathedral church of Rome, . . . separated itself from these at the beginning of the twelfth century, and fixed its own office for the breviary. . . . The same thing happened in the case of the missal."¹⁰ The reason for such a change was that it was extremely difficult for the Roman Court, moving from place to place, to use the cumbersome monastic

⁸ Mortier, *Histoire*, I, 320.

⁹ Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 157.

¹⁰ Cabrol, *The Mass of the Western Rites*, 183-184.

office; something much simpler was needed. Under Innocent III (d. 1215), an *ordinarium* was drawn up simplifying the office. "In 1223, St. Francis of Assisi ordained that the Franciscans should henceforth adopt the Roman office; for hitherto they had simply followed the office of whatever province they had chanced to find themselves in. . . . But the liturgy they adopted . . . was neither that of the Lateran nor of the Roman Basilicas, but actually that of the Roman Curia. . . ." ¹¹ The Franciscans simplified the office still further, so that "the modifications introduced constituted really a second edition of the breviary of the Church." ¹² The Franciscan edition was approved by Gregory IX (7 June, 1241), who, "from 1240, had thought of imposing it on the Universal Church." ¹³

DOMINICANS FEAR LOSS OF THEIR RITE

During the next several years, Franciscan missionaries carried the new office to all parts of Europe. Its simplicity, compared with the old office hitherto used by the clergy, appealed strongly to all, especially to those who recited office privately. While the new office was being everywhere discussed, comparisons with other breviaries (including the Dominican) were inevitable. Fiercely members of the two rival Mendicant Orders now had another subject for heated arguments: which Order had the better breviary? These disputes, which constantly raged on any and every subject between certain members of both Orders, were really productive of much mutual good. In the present instance, they served to focus attention on the imperfections of the Dominican rite. Stung by well-founded criticism and alarmed by the report that the Pope was planning to abolish the

¹¹ *Loc. cit.* ¹² Batiffol, *op. cit.*, 161. ¹³ Cabrol, *op. cit.*, 184.

old Roman office and impose everywhere the new Franciscan office, the Dominicans thought that the best way to avoid this would be to improve their old office to such an extent that it would rival or even surpass the newcomer. No time was to be lost. When the general chapter assembled at Bologna in 1244, it was ordered that not only the breviaries but also the graduals and missals should be brought from every province to the following general chapter in order that all differences might be eliminated and the whole ecclesiastical office rendered uniform. ¹⁴

In 1245, the chapter was held at Cologne. The plans of the preceding chapter were put in execution. An international committee was appointed. How the members of that committee were selected, history does not tell nor has any writer ever satisfactorily explained. At the time, the Order was divided into twelve provinces. The first, in rank and honor, was that of Spain, the birthplace of St. Dominic; next came Provence (in Southern France), the birthplace of the Order; then followed Northern France, Lombardy (embracing Northern Italy), Rome or Tuscany (including Southern Italy), Hungary, England, Germany, Poland, Dacia or Scandinavia, Greece, and the Holy Land. The Acts of the chapters, according to the Bordeaux codex, mention first on the liturgical commission the Province of France; but the equally reliable Florentine codex gives that honor to the Province of Provence. Both codices agree, however, as to the other three, though they give them in different order: they were England, Lombardy, and Germany. ¹⁵ It seems strange that Spain, the foremost province, as well as the important Roman province, should have been passed by in this

¹⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 29. ¹⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 33.

appointment. Curiously enough, Cavalieri does state that the four nations were Spain, France, Italy, and Germany; but he does not cite his authority for this unique declaration.¹⁶ Dr. Altaner asserts that the members were taken from "the most important provinces of the Order," but if the statement is meant in an exclusive sense, it is very much open to question.

History has not preserved for us the names of these four religious who were destined to labor long and hard for the perfection of the Dominican liturgy. Some believe that Humbert was a member of the commission.¹⁷ Though very probable, it is not certain that he was one of the original four; however, the chapter of 1246, as we shall see, entrusted part of the work to him.

Each of the friars was to obtain from his provincial the books of the entire liturgical service of his province, and he was to bring them with him to the Dominican house at Angers. This was the monastery of *Beata Maria de Recooperta*, which had been founded about 1220; and although the general chapter refers to it as a *domus*, it seems to have been raised to the dignity of a priory in 1244.¹⁸ The Four Friars were to report here not later than the feast of St. Remigius or Remi (1 October) of that year; and the absence of one or two of the members was not to prevent the others from beginning their work. The chapter explicitly stated what the scope of the work was to be: they were to correct and harmonize the entire liturgical service, text, rubrics, and plain-chant. Any omissions they might discover, they were empowered to supply. Finally, the

¹⁶ *Statera Sacra*, 30.

¹⁷ Danzas, Mothon, Cormier, Altaner, Cabrol and Heintke.

¹⁸ *De Conventibus ac Provinciis Ord. Præd in Gallis*, in AOP, I (1893), 204.

work was to be accomplished "with the least possible expense."¹⁹

REVISION OF THE FOUR FRIARS IS APPROVED

So comprehensive an undertaking could not of course be finished within a year, or rather within the eight months which intervened between 1 October and the following Pentecost. What the Four Friars did accomplish in that space of time, they submitted to the chapter assembled at Paris in 1246. The capitulars found the work thus far done to be satisfactory, and accordingly they decreed: "We begin this constitution: The whole arrangement of the ecclesiastical office made by the Four Friars of the four provinces, or yet to be made during the ensuing year, is to be observed by all [the friars] throughout the entire Order."²⁰ The same chapter also decreed that, if the liturgical commission could not agree, the matter in dispute was to be laid before the master-general, who would decide the question. Another important step towards the perfection of the liturgy was taken when the chapter entrusted to Humbert of Romans, now provincial of France, the preparation of the lectionary. It even enacted an inchoation to the effect that the book be "universally received throughout the whole Order."²¹ This action, directing Humbert to arrange the lectionary and in the same breath approving the proposed arrangement in advance, requires explanation.

Laporte's interpretation has been accepted by Mortier, Rousseau, and, with a slight modification, by Heintke. The provin-

¹⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 33. ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 36. Mandonnet is of the opinion that the Order did not yet have a lectionary (*Saint Dominique*, I, 223). He does not give his reason. The mere fact that it was not mentioned till now proves nothing; the Order indubitably had a martyrology, though thus far the general chapters did not mention it.

cial chapter of 1244 of the Roman province directed two religious, Peter the lector and the Subprior of Santa Sabina, to undertake a complete revision of the liturgical books of that province. The lectionary, however, was entrusted to a special committee, consisting of Friar Ambrose and Friar Humbert de Panzano. According to Heintke, Humbert de Panzano was none other than Humbert "de Romanis," who was mistakenly called "de Panzano," by the scribe. According to the same author, Humbert was then ex-provincial of the Roman province. But Scheeben calls attention to the fact that, when the Roman provincial chapter of 1244 was held, Humbert was still the provincial of that province.²² Hence, the work of revising the liturgical books of that province took place under his supervision. This contention is also made by Masetti and Laporte.²³

When the Order at the general chapter of 1246 decided on having the lectionary revised, the obvious man for that task was the one who had already demonstrated his ability in such matters by drawing up the Roman lectionary. Aware of his talents, the general chapter was fully confident of the results; hence its approval in advance of the work entrusted to his care. This also explains the redundant statement that the new lectionary was to be received universally throughout the whole Order; his

²² Heintke believes Humbert was provincial of the Roman province from the summer or fall of 1238 to Pentecost of 1241 at the latest; on this disputed question, cf. Scheeben, "Accessiones ad Historiam Romanæ Provinciæ sæc. XIII," in AFP, IV (1934), 127, 141. As regards the claim that Humbert de Panzano is Humbert of Romans, Heintke says: "It is possible that the original entry read simply: 'fr. Umbertus' without any surname, just as the other collaborator on the lectionary is referred to simply as Ambrose. Then at some time or other, someone . . . inserted 'de Panzano,' because the Humbert who figures in the records of [the Roman Chapters of] 1260 and 1271 was so designated" (Humbert von Romans, 50, 160). Heintke, it would seem, is assuming a great deal.

²³ Masetti, I, 70; Laporte, "Précis Historique," in AOP, XXV (1917), 104-105.

Roman lectionary was used universally in the Roman province, his new edition was to be used universally in all provinces.²⁴

The chapter of Montpellier (1247) took the second necessary step to make the revision of the Four Friars and the lectionary of Humbert constitutional, by confirming the inchoation of 1246.²⁵ The following year, the general chapter was held at Paris. The capitulars decreed: "We confirm this constitution: The entire arrangement of the ecclesiastical office made by the Four Friars of the four provinces, is to be everywhere observed throughout the entire Order. And this [constitution] has the approval of three chapters."²⁶ With that formal declaration, the liturgy as revised by the Four Friars now became the official version, having behind it the full weight of the Constitutions. According to the Florentine codex of the general chapters, Humbert's lectionary was also approved for the third time.

It would now seem that the liturgical difficulties of the Order were at an end. But in a few years, we find the chapter of London (1250) declaring that "complaints have been received from many of the brethren of different provinces concerning the numerous discordances in the Divine Office." To pacify the protestants, the Four Friars were ordered to reassemble, this time at Metz, where the next general chapter was to be held. They were to be there by the feast of All Saints, and they were to correct the aforesaid office and to bring it within the limits of one volume. Meanwhile, the friars throughout the Order were told to cease making copies of the revision.²⁷

²⁴ Laporte, *op. cit.*, 339.

²⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 39.

²⁶ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 41.

²⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 53-54. The Four Friars assembled at the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene in Metz. This house had been founded by the province of France as early as 1219. *De Conventibus ac Provinciis O.P. in Gallis*, in AOP, I (1893), 270.

When the chapter assembled at Metz the following Pentecost, the work accomplished by the Four Friars was examined and found to be satisfactory. The Order was commanded to accept it. To ensure greater accuracy, the chapter required two exemplars of the revision to be made, one was to be preserved at Paris and the other at Bologna. All future transcripts as well as all future corrections were to be made from one of the exemplars, and not from a copy of the exemplars.²⁸ This ruling indicated that at least some of the difficulties had been caused by the errors of scribes or by the use of defective copies.

But despite the command of the chapter that the revision be accepted, there was evidently some continued opposition. For in 1252 the chapter of Bologna passed an inchoation to make the second revision have full constitutional force.²⁹ It is clear that the capitulars were determined to compel the recalcitrants to accept the revision. But the second step for passing the law was never taken. On 5 November, of the same year, the venerable John of Wildeshausen died. The rule of the Order was that, when a master-general died after Michaelmas, there was to be no general chapter the following year. The delay undoubtedly prevented the work of the Four Friars from receiving approval for the sixth time by a general chapter. Even so, five such approvals constitute a record of merit we must not overlook.³⁰

²⁸ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 60.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

³⁰ The five general chapters which upheld the work of the Four Friars were those of 1246, 1247, 1248, 1251, and 1252.

CHAPTER NINE

THE CORRECTION OF HUMBERT

IN 1254, the general chapter of the Order assembled at Buda, Hungary, for the election of a successor to John of Wildeshausen. The choice of the electors fell upon Humbert of Romans. He was a man of recognized ability and profound learning. More than that, he had lived at Rome where he had been provincial of the Roman province and had distinguished himself in liturgical studies. He was the logical man to settle the liturgical difficulties of the Order. Accordingly, the general chapter empowered him, not merely to correct the liturgical books, but also to arrange the entire office and everything connected with it.¹ All who perceived any defects in the liturgy were invited to write to the master-general at the next chapter.²

So great was the confidence of the capitulars in the liturgical qualifications of Humbert, that they took the first necessary step to make the proposed revision of constitutional obligation:

“We make this inchoation: In the chapter of the Constitutions, entitled *The Office of the Church*, where it reads—We ordain that there be uniformly observed by all the brethren the entire office, of the day as well as of the night,—let there be added: according to the arrangement and exemplar of the venerable Father, friar Humbert, master-general of the Order.”³

Humbert lost no time in resuming work on this important undertaking. While he undoubtedly appointed a corps of workers, there can be no doubt that he personally took charge

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 68. ² *Ibid.*, 71. ³ *Ibid.*, 68.

of the entire revision. The two succeeding chapters, Milan (1255) and Paris (1256), approved and confirmed the inchoation of the chapter of Buda; and thus the "new correction," as it was called, became the official liturgy of the Dominican Order.⁴

At the close of the chapter of 1256, Humbert, in a letter addressed to the whole Order announced, among other things:

"The variations in our liturgy which were the object of no little care on the part of many general chapters, have now by the grace of God been reduced to uniformity in certain exemplars.⁵ You are asked to correct the office according to those exemplars, so that the uniformity so long desired in the Order may be found everywhere. You must realize that the wishes of the brethren concerning the office were so conflicting, that it was impossible in arranging the liturgy to accede to the desires of every petitioner. Hence, you should bear it patiently, if perchance you find in the office something that is not in accord with your ideas.

"That you may ascertain whether or not you have the complete office, know that it comprises in all its parts fourteen books: namely, the ordinary, the antiphonary, the lectionary, the psalter, the collectarium, the martyrology, the processional, the gradual, the conventual missal, the book of Gospels, the book of Epistles, the small missal, the pulpitary, and the portable breviary."⁶

The numbering and enumeration of the liturgical books in the foregoing letter were not unnecessary; for in that age the greatest variety existed throughout the Church in the names, number, and contents of liturgical books. From this letter it is evident that the revision was finished in 1256.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 73, 78.

⁵ There is a difference of opinion as to how the original text should be read. Berthier has *incertis exulantibus*; Laporte gives the reading: *in certis exemplaribus*—the "certain exemplars" would be the fourteen books enumerated by Humbert in his letter.

⁶ *Litteræ Encyclicæ*, in MOPH, V, 42; *De Vita Reg.*, II, 503.

DESCRIPTION OF HUMBERT'S CODEX

Humbert arranged the entire liturgy in one big volume, which was to serve as the prototype. Possibly in doing so he was influenced by the example of the Cistercians, who, hardly more than half a century before, had set forth their liturgical practices in one such great volume comprised of fifteen books, that "it might be an unchangeable exemplar for preserving uniformity and for correcting differences in other [books]."⁷ Fortunately, Humbert's volume has come down to us in a state of excellent preservation, and after many vicissitudes now rests in the archives of the Order in Rome. It is 48 x 32 centimeters (or approximately 19¼ x 12¾ inches) in size, and consists of 997 leaves of thick parchment. It is written in a style of Gothic minuscule which, together with the manner of illumination, indicates Parisian origin. In the front of the book, beautifully executed, is a quadrangle, in the corners of which are various pictures. In the upper right corner is pictured the Blessed Virgin, and in the upper left the Archangel Gabriel. Between these two pictures are the words: AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA: DNUS TECUM: BENEDICTA TU IN MULIERIBUS: BENEDICT[US]. In the lower corners are two Dominicans, believed to represent St. Dominic and St. Peter Martyr. Around the border runs the legend: *Ecclesiasticum officium secundum ordinem Fratrum Prædicatorum, in hoc volumine per quatuordecim libros distinctum hoc ordine con-*

⁷ Although Humbert may have got the idea from the Cistercians, he certainly did not imitate their manner of division, nomenclature, or contents of the various books. See DACL, III, 1734; Walz, *Compendium Historiæ*, 105.

tinetur,⁸ while in the centre of the quadrangle the contents of the volume are listed as follows:

Ordinarium	Antiphonarium
Martyrologium	Graduale
Collectarium	Pulpitarium
Processionarium	Missale conventuale
Psalterium	Epistolarium
Breviarium	Evangelistarium
Lectionarium	Missale minorum altarium

(1) *The Ordinary*.—Although the codex begins with the ordinary, this particular ordinary was written after the general chapter of 1259, because it contains in the body of the text a correction made by that chapter. On the other hand, an *inchoatio* begun by the chapter of 1262 (and passed by the two subsequent chapters) is not found here. It is probable, therefore, that this specific ordinary is a somewhat later and corrected copy of the original one.

As regards its contents, the book corresponds to a modern ceremonial. The first part is devoted to the Divine Office; the second part to the Mass. In both parts the same method is pursued: after general rubrics, the ferial offices or Masses (including the feasts of the *Temporale*) are first considered; then the feasts of Saints. Humbert does not give the text of the various offices (except of course for the lessons), but only the first or the first several words for the variable parts of the offices and Masses throughout the year. An example will illustrate his system; thus, for the feast of St. Dominic, for the Divine Office, we read:

⁸ "In this volume is contained the ecclesiastical office according to the Order of Friars Preachers; it is divided into fourteen books in the following manner."



HUMBERT'S CODEX: THE TABLE OF CONTENTS

"For [first] vespers: superpsalm ana. *Gaude. Capitulum: Quasi stella.* Response: *Granum.* Hymn: *Gaude mater.* Versicle: *Ora pro nobis.* Magnificat ana.: *Transit.* Prayer: *Deus qui Ecclesiam.*"

In the same way, the Mass is concisely given:

"Office: *In medio.* Prayer: *Deus qui Ecclesiam.* Epistle: *Testificor.* Response: *Os justi.* Alleluia. Verse: *Pie Pater.* Sequence: *In cælesti.* Gospel: *Vos estis sal terræ.* Offertory: *Desiderium.* Secret: *Munera.* Communion: *Fidelis.* Postcommunion: *Concede.*"

In the ordinary we also find rubrics on the singing of the *Salve Regina* or the *Ave Regina* after compline, the taking of the discipline after compline, the solemn reception of novices, prayers at the election of a master-general, prayers for a general chapter, etc.

(2) *The Martyrology.*—The date at which this book was written is somewhat confused by two different indications. Thus, in the rubrics we find the remark "as in the present year," and on the margin is the date 1254; on the other hand, among the Constitutions placed at the end of the martyrology we find laws passed and confirmed as late as 1259. Laws after 1259 are either missing or written on the margin. The explanation, however, is simple: the martyrology was written in 1254 but the Constitutions inserted at the end of the book were not finished until sometime between the chapters of 1259 and 1260.

During the Middle Ages, many martyrologies were in use; the Dominicans selected the one written about 875 by Usuard, a Benedictine monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The choice was a wise one, for it was the martyrology which was adopted by the end of the fifteenth century in most of the Churches of the West, including that of Rome.⁹ In adopting the book, the Do-

⁹ Cabrol, *The Books of the Latin Liturgy*, 118.

minicans introduced some unimportant changes in order to adapt it to the needs of the Order.¹⁰

The book begins with a special calendar indicating the *obitus* or date of death of masters-general. Eighteen are actually listed, many of these names being inserted of course long after the manuscript was finished. The last entry is that of Pierre de Baume-les-Dames, who died in 1345. Next occur rubrics relating to the martyrology and also to the manner of drawing up the list of offices for the week; that is to say, for hebdomadarian, deacon, subdeacon, acolytes, those assigned to give the invitatory, lessons, etc. After the text of the martyrology proper are the Gospels used at *pretiosa*. The Rule of St. Augustine and the Constitutions of the Order as revised by St. Raymond of Peñafort close the book. The practice of placing the Rule and the Constitutions at the end of the martyrology was continued in the Order down to recent years, when the Order was obliged to lay aside the Constitutions as revised by Raymond of Peñafort and receive a new form in keeping with the sweeping revisions inaugurated by Pius X.

(3) *The Collectarium.*—This was the hebdomadarian's book. It begins with the calendar, showing the feasts of the Saints for each month of the year. Next follows everything needed by the hebdomadarian for the office: the manner of singing all the *capitula*, the blessings before the lessons in matins, the versicles before lauds, all the antiphons, all the prayers (or *orationes*), etc. In a word, everything that the hebdomadarian said or sang in the Divine Office.

(4) *The Processional.*—First, we have general rubrics govern-

¹⁰ Leca, "Notizie storiche intorno al Martyrologio Domenicano" in AOP, XXXII (1924), 551 ff.

ing the various kinds of processions; then an admonition for every house to have an antiphony complete in rubrics and plain-chant for the use of the cantor, and smaller processions without any rubrics for the rest of the community. Next follow the text and plain-chant for the various processions. The book ends with the burial service.

(5) *The Psalter*.—The psalter contains the responsories and versicles for the hours, after which Humbert treats of the different ways of singing the psalms, their various “mediations,” and terminations. The one hundred and fifty psalms (with their antiphons) are given in numerical order; then the canticles, *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, *Nunc Dimittis*; these are followed by the *Quicumque*, *Credo*, litany, and *Te Deum*. Lastly, the office of the Blessed Virgin.

(6) *The Breviary*.—The breviary is the sixth book in the prototype, but apparently the first one to be completed. This is deduced from the fact that in the breviary the office of St. Peter Martyr appears on the margin, while in all the other books of the prototype it is always found in the body of the text. Peter Martyr was canonized by Pope Innocent IV in 1253,¹¹ and the general chapter of 1254 ordered his feast to be observed as a *totum duplex*.¹² How does it happen then that his office does not appear in the text of the breviary? It could hardly be due to an oversight, as the Order at that time had only two canonized Saints. In the preceding Chapter we noticed the striking resemblance, especially in the office of the *Temporale*, between the breviary-antiphony manuscript and the office of Cormier, and consequently with the office of Humbert. There were a large number of pages of the Four Friars which needed

¹¹ The Pope canonized Peter Martyr on the first Sunday of Lent (9 March); but the Bull of canonization is dated 25 March. Cf. BOP, I, 228.

¹² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 71.

no correction whatever, or very little. Humbert transferred such pages bodily to his own copy.¹³ This explains both the rapid progress made in publishing the “new correction,” and the presence of St. Peter’s office on the margin of the new breviary.

As regards its contents, the book is a portable breviary designed for extra-choral use; consequently, it contains everything necessary for the private recitation of the Divine Office. The lessons are shorter than those found in the lectionary, and do not always conform with the latter. The psalms are not given in full, but only the first words of each psalm.

(7) *The Lectionary*.—This, more than any of the other thirteen books, represents Humbert’s special care; for, it will be remembered, it was the lectionary which the general chapter of 1246 entrusted to his personal attention. Here we learn the rules for singing the blessings as well as the lessons of the Divine Office. Then the lessons themselves are given—first, the lessons *de Tempore*, with the Sunday homilies. It is interesting to note that no homilies were assigned for the ferial days, neither for the Ember days nor for the ferial days of Lent. Instead, the Book of Genesis was read beginning on Septuagesima Sunday, the Book of Exodus from the fourth Sunday of Lent, and Jeremias from Passion Sunday to Holy Thursday.

The lessons for the feasts of the Saints follow. All the lessons are marked by conventional signs to indicate the manner in which they should be sung. The lectionary ends with the short lessons used in the portable breviary.

(8) *The Antiphony*.—The first page of the antiphony is missing in the Roman exemplar, which begins abruptly with the antiphon of the second nocturn for the first Sunday of Advent,

¹³ Cf. Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio*, 48.

whereas the copy in the British Museum begins with first vespers of that Sunday.

Humbert's antiphony is a collection of everything sung in the Divine Office. It is divided into two parts. The first contains the antiphons, responsories, and the various invitatories; also, the *Salve Regina*, the *Ave Regina*, and the *Te Deum*. The second part is really a hymnal. It contains all the hymns with music of the entire Divine Office. In the Common of the Saints, Humbert gives the various ways of singing the hymns of the little hours, vespers, matins and lauds.

(9) *The Gradual*.—Apart from the ordinary, which gives in general the rubrics for both Divine Office and Mass, this is the first book to be devoted to the Mass. But it treats of the Mass from the standpoint of the choir, and not from that of the celebrant or the ministers. Accordingly we find here the various ways of singing the *Asperges*, *Kyrie*, *Gloria in excelsis*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei*, and the *Gloria Patri* of the introit or rather of the *officium*, as it is called in the Dominican missal.

The second part of the gradual may be called the book of proses, since it contains the twenty-seven sequences then used throughout the year. These were not said in private Masses; indeed, they were used in the solemn Masses only on *totum duplex* feasts (of which there were then but thirteen) and in certain Masses of the Blessed Virgin.

(10) *The Pulpitary*.—The pulpitary was so called because it was placed on a pulpit in the middle of the choir. It was used by one, two, or four friars, according to the solemnity of the feast. While the choir kept silent, the appointed friar or friars would use the book to sing the invitatory, the versicles of the responsories in matins and the little hours; and during the Mass, the verses of the gradual (or office) after the epistle, the tract,

etc. The litany of the Saints occurs in the pulpitary, for the second time.

(11) *Conventual Missal*.—There we find the rubrics for High Mass. Some of the rubrics already stated in the ordinary are repeated; for example, when the *Gloria* and *Credo* are to be said, what prayers are to be used, etc. The duties of the servers of Mass and rubrics concerning Holy Communion are also noted. As regards the text and plain-chant, the conventual missal gives nothing except what is necessary for the celebrant and the celebrant alone in a Solemn Mass. Not even the epistles and gospels are given. This shows that the Dominicans followed the ancient custom of the Roman Church in not having the celebrant repeat what was sung by either the deacon or the subdeacon.

(12) *The Book of Epistles*.—The book of epistles was primarily the subdeacon's book, since it contains all the epistles of the whole year which were sung in the different Masses. But the book was also used occasionally by an acolyte to sing the lessons which sometimes occur in the Dominican rite before the epistles.

(13) *The Book of Gospels*.—In addition to rubrics, it contains not only the gospels of all the Masses, but also whatever might be necessary for the deacon to sing; for example, the *Ite missa est*, the genealogy of Our Lord, the Passion (which was then sung by the deacon unassisted), the blessing of the paschal candle, etc.

(14) *The Missal for Private Mass*.¹⁴—This begins with a few rubrics of low Mass, but it evidently supposes that the celebrant is familiar with the rubrics already given in the conventual

¹⁴This also was peculiar to the Dominicans, according to Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, I, clxi.

missal. Aside from its paucity of rubrics, the book contains everything the priest needs for the celebration of low Mass.

Such is the monumental work of Humbert which the ravages of time have fortunately spared to us, though not without narrow escapes. When the work of transcribing it was accomplished, the loose leaves were bound together to form a great volume which was preserved for many centuries in the monastery of Saint-Jacques at Paris. When the French Revolution broke out, the monastery and all its treasures were seized by the civil authorities. But Father Joseph Faitot, the last prior of Saint-Jacques, finally succeeded in rescuing the codex. For safekeeping, it was sent to Ferdinand, the Duke of Parma, who was a friend of Father Faitot and a tertiary of the Dominican Order. Upon the death of the Duke, the manuscript found its way back once more to Paris, this time to a bookseller named Richard. From Richard it passed to the antiquarian Gaillard, who lived on the same street as Richard. In 1841, Angelo Ancarani, master-general of the Order, learning of the location of the precious manuscript, purchased it and placed it in the archives of the Order at Rome, where it still remains. As Laporte remarked: "*Vere res clamabat domino!*"¹⁵

BRITISH MUSEUM COPY OF HUMBERT'S CODEx

A splendid copy of the codex is still in existence. It is to be found in the British Museum (Additional Manuscript 23, 935). This book was without question the master-general's own copy, which he carried around with him on his visitation of the provinces. The master-general would thus always have with him

¹⁵ "Précis Historique," 344. Cf. Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio*, 53 ff; Guerrini, *Ordinarium Humberti*, ix-x.

an authentic copy by which he could settle all disputes regarding text, rubrics, or plain-chant. Not only does the nature of the book show this, but an inscription confirms it. Near the top of fol. 2 is some faint writing, which Sir George Warner revived by means of a chemical. It was found to read as follows:

"This book was written for the use of the master-general, whoever he may be at the time, so that if there should be any doubts concerning the office, they may be settled by it. [Unnecessary] recourse should not be had to this exemplar, because owing to its fineness the book is easily injured."¹⁶

The inscription, doubtless owing to the chemical used on it, is now practically invisible.

The general appearance of this priceless document is described by Galbraith in these terms: "In size it is a small folio, a page measures 10.4 inches by 7 inches. It is bound in skin with thong clasps. It is written in double columns on exceedingly fine vellum, which in many places is so transparent as to show the writing on the other side of the folio. The thinness of the vellum can be further illustrated by the fact that, although the book contains 579 folios, when shut up its depth is only 1.8 inches."¹⁷ The script is so clear, regular, and beautifully done that specimens of it have been reproduced by the Palæographical Society.¹⁸ The manuscript is of French origin. It has survived the injuries of time almost intact; however, at the beginning of it there is lacking at least one "gathering." The leaves

¹⁶ "Iste liber factus est pro magistro ordinis quicumque fuerit pro tempore ut quicumque dubitaverint in aliquo de officio possint per eum rectificari. Non est [recurrendum] ad exemplar quia facile dest [ruitur] propter operis subtilitatem." The portion in brackets had completely disappeared; the distinguished Anglican liturgist, H. A. Wilson, suggested the words *recurrendum* and *destruitur*. Cf. Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, 243.

¹⁷ Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order*, 193.

¹⁸ *Palæographical Society*, Second Series (London, 1884-94), II, plate II, 211; *Paléographie musicale* (Solesmes, 1892), III, plate 200.

are numbered in pencil. There is no leaf numbered one. The first leaf, which is of thicker parchment than the rest of the book, is numbered 2; it is blank except for the inscription just spoken of and for another inscription on the verso:

“In this book are contained these xii parts. The ordinary. i. The martyrology with the Gospels to be read in chapter and the Rule and the Constitutions. The collectarium. iii. The processional. iiiii. . . .”

The list is the same as that already given for Humbert's codex, with two exceptions: we find neither the breviary nor the missal for private Masses listed. But the reason for the omission is obvious: the general would always carry with him for daily use his own missal and breviary. Despite the table of contents, the book does not begin with the ordinary. At a later date, two additions were made, one was placed at the beginning of the original manuscript, the other at the end. The first addition (ff. 3-22) and the second (ff. 572-578) were written shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century; the original manuscript was written while Humbert was master-general.

The first section contains the office of the Blessed Sacrament, with plain-chant; also offices for Thomas Aquinas, St. Louis, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. Next are Masses for the Blessed Sacrament and a number of Saints; lastly, there are lessons for the foregoing feasts. The addition at the end of the book is another edition of the Constitutions. The martyrology gives the Constitutions as they were before 1261; this section gives them as they were between 1358 and 1363.

A comparison between Humbert's codex at Rome and this copy in the British Museum reveals only an occasional trifling difference. As the corrections made on the margin of the Roman copy are always found in the text itself of the London

copy, it is evident that the Roman document is the older of the two.¹⁹

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, there still existed, according to Echard, copies of Humbert's exemplar at Toulouse, Salamanca, “and perhaps at Bologna and other places.”²⁰ If so, they disappeared in the troublous times that followed. However, in recent years an incomplete copy was found at Salamanca, containing only four books: the antiphonary, the gradual, the pulpitory, and the processional. According to Father Albert Colunga, who was commissioned to examine it, the manuscript is somewhat smaller than the Roman codex, being 17¼ inches by 11¼ inches. The volume was apparently used in choir by the cantors, and as a result it is not in the best of condition.²¹

A gradual that was written in Humbert's time was recently presented to the Dominican Fathers at Oxford by Miss Jean Smith, whose father had acquired it in Spain where he had been acting as British Consul.²² The manuscript is 14 x 9⅞ inches, and consists of 235 leaves. A few folia are missing, and the book has been so closely trimmed that many marginal notes were injured and in some places even the text. While there can be no doubt that the book goes back to the middle of the thirteenth century, it presents a number of curious variations from the prototype of Humbert.

Our list of copies of Humbert's prototype ends with two graduals. One is preserved in the archives of the Order at Rome; the other is in the possession of the bookseller Carl Hiersemann of Leipzig. Neither is of great importance to our history.

¹⁹ Rousseau, 58. ²⁰ SSOP, I, 144. ²¹ AOP, XXIX (1921), 28-29.

²² Walter Gumbley, “The Blackfriars Codex,” in *Blackfriars*, XVII, (1936), 611 ff.

CHAPTER TEN
THE DOMINICAN CALENDAR

BEFORE the Dominican Order could secure a uniform rite, a vexatious problem had to be solved, namely, that of a uniform calendar. It is no exaggeration to say that there were nearly as many different calendars as there were dioceses and Religious Orders throughout Europe. The majority of calendars, at least from the tenth century on, were of Roman foundation. As canon law then accorded to bishops the right to introduce into their dioceses new feasts, there sprang into existence the unending variety of feasts one finds in the mediæval calendars.

However, the bishops were not to be blamed for the confusion. The idea of drawing up lists of local Saints was not theirs; they obtained it from Rome. One might have expected that Rome, as the head of the universal Church, would have composed her list of Saints as she does to-day, from those of every nation. But owing to the manner in which the cult of Saints developed at Rome, the very reverse took place. Christians who died for the faith in the Eternal City were better known to the Church authorities at Rome than were the martyrs in far-off places; and careful investigations of martyrdoms in remote lands would have been slow, often uncertain, and generally costly. So it was inevitable that early Roman calendars should be made up of only Roman Saints. Centuries later, the saints in whose honor an altar had been dedicated in Rome or to which city some of their relics had been taken were considered by a *fictio juris* to be Romans and therefore eligible to the

local calendar. This exclusiveness persisted even to St. Dominic's day. As Schuster observes: "The Vatican calendar of the twelfth century still remains an essentially Roman and local record, consisting almost entirely of the feasts of Roman Saints, or of those Saints who, because of their churches in Rome, had practically acquired the right to be considered as Roman citizens."¹ The same remarks hold true of the Lateran list as well.

If the Dominicans could not adopt any of the diocesan calendars because of their local nature, neither could they adopt those of Rome for a similar reason. As an international Order, the Friars Preachers had need of an international calendar. This meant that a just recognition must be given to the Saints throughout Europe who were held in great veneration by the people, but whose very existence was ignored by both Roman lists. To have taken the calendar of St. Peter's or that of St. John Lateran's and to have added thereto a number of non-Roman Saints would not have been practical, for it would have increased the *Sanctorale* to such an extent as to jeopardize the *Temporale*. This, in the eyes of the mediæval liturgist, was unthinkable; for the *Temporale* was then looked upon as something sacred, since it was the very foundation of the ecclesiastical office. If the Dominicans therefore wished to have an international calendar and one that conformed to the requirements of the liturgists, the Order would have to draw up its own. We give herewith the result of their efforts.²

¹ Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, I, 232.

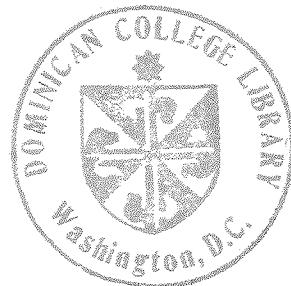
² In translating the Calendar, we have adhered closely to the original, with some trifling exceptions. Humbert abbreviates the rank of a feast (e.g., *mem.*, *simpl.*, etc.). On the other hand, he does not abbreviate the words "martyr," "confessor," etc. Nor does he prefix the title "saint" to a name except when he is using that name in the possessive case (e.g., Conversion of St. Paul, octave of St. John, etc.); and except in the one case of the recently canonized Elizabeth. The literalness of translation will account for such expressions as "St. Mary," "the Faithful Dead," etc.

JANUARY

1. Circumcision of the Lord. *Duplex.*
2. Octave of St. Stephen.
3. Octave of St. John.
4. Octave of Holy Innocents.
5. [Vigil]
6. Epiphany of the Lord. *Totum duplex.*
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Paul the hermit. *Memory.*
- 11.
- 12.
13. Octave of the Epiphany. *Simplex.* Hilary and Remigius, bishops. *Memory.*
14. Felix, priest and confessor. *3 Lessons.*
15. Maurus, abbot. *3 Lessons.*
16. Marcellus, Pope and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
17. Anthony, abbot. *3 Lessons.*
18. Prisca, virgin and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
- 19.
20. Fabian and Sebastian, martyrs. *Simplex.*
21. Agnes, virgin and martyr. *Simplex.*
22. Vincent, martyr. *Semiduplex.*
23. Emerentiana, virgin and martyr. *Memory.*
- 24.
25. Conversion of St. Paul. *Semiduplex.*
- 26.
27. Julian, bishop and confessor. *Memory.*
28. Agnes "for the second time." *3 Lessons.*
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

FEBRUARY

1. Ignatius, bishop and martyr. *Memory.*
2. Purification of the Virgin St. Mary. *Totum duplex.*
3. Blaise, bishop and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
4. Anniversary of the fathers and mothers.
5. Agatha, virgin and martyr. *Simplex.*
6. Vaast and Amand, bishops. *Memory.*
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Scholastica, virgin. *Memory.*
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Valentine, martyr. *3 Lessons.*
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
22. St. Peter's Chair. *Simplex.*
- 23.
24. Matthias, apostle. *Semiduplex.*
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.



MARCH

1. Albinus, bishop and confessor. *Memory.*
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
12. Gregory, Pope and confessor. *Simplex.*
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
21. Benedict, abbot. *Simplex.*
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
25. The Annunciation of the Lord.³ *Totum duplex.*
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.
- 31.

³ *Annuntiatio dominica*, used by Humbert, is found in Bede. This and other older titles show the feast was then regarded more as one of Our Lord than of the Blessed Virgin. Cf. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, 50, 329, etc.; Kellner, *Heortology*, 231.

APRIL

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
4. Ambrose, bishop and confessor. *Simplex.*
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Tiburtius, Valerian and Maximus, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
23. George, martyr. *Simplex.*
- 24.
25. Mark, evangelist. *Semiduplex.*
- 26.
- 27.
28. Vitalis, martyr. *3 Lessons.*
29. Blessed Peter Martyr of the Order of Preachers. *Totum duplex.*
- 30.

MAY

1. Philip and James, apostles. *Semiduplex.*
- 2.
3. Finding of the Holy Cross. *Semiduplex.* Alexander, Eventius, and Theodulus, martyrs. *Memory.*
4. Feast of the Crown of the Lord. *Simplex.*
- 5.
6. John before the Latin Gate. *Semiduplex.*
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. Gordian and Epimachus, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 11.
12. Nereus, Achilleus and Pancras, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
19. Potentiana [Pudentiana], virgin. *Memory.*
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
23. Translation of blessed Dominic. *Totum duplex.*
- 24.
25. Urban, Pope and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.
31. Petronilla, virgin. *Memory.*

JUNE

- 1.
2. Marcellus and Peter, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
8. Medard, bishop and confessor. *Memory.*
9. Primus and Felician, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 10.
11. Barnabas, apostle. *Semiduplex.*
12. Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor and Nazarius, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
- 13.
- 14.
15. Vitus and Modestus, martyrs. *Memory.*
16. Quiricus and Julitta, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 17.
18. Mark and Marcellian, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
19. Gervase and Protase, martyrs. *Simplex.*
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
23. *Vigil.*
24. Nativity of St. John the Baptist. *Duplex.*
- 25.
26. John and Paul, martyrs. *Simplex.*
- 27.
28. Leo, Pope and confessor. *Memory. Vigil.*
29. The Apostles Peter and Paul. *Duplex.*
30. Commemoration of St. Paul. *Semiduplex.*

JULY

1. Octave of St. John the Baptist. *Simplex.*
2. Processus and Martinian, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
6. Octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul. *Simplex.*
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
10. The Seven Brothers. *3 Lessons.*
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
20. Margaret, virgin and martyr. *Simplex.*
21. Praxedes, virgin. *3 Lessons.*
22. Mary Magdalen. *Semiduplex.*
23. Apollinaris, bishop and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
24. Christina, virgin and martyr. *Memory.*
25. James, apostle. *Semiduplex.* Christopher and Cucufas, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 26.
- 27.
28. Nazarius, Celsus and Pantaleon, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
29. Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrice, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
30. Abdon and Sennen, martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
31. Germain, bishop and confessor. *3 Lessons.*

AUGUST

1. St. Peter ad Vincula. *Simplex.* The Holy Machabees, martyrs. *Memory.*
2. Stephen, Pope and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
3. Finding [of the body] of St. Stephen. *Simplex.*
- 4.
5. Blessed Dominic, confessor. *Totum duplex.*
6. Pope Sixtus, Felicissimus and Agapitus, martyrs. *Memory.*
7. Donatus, bishop and martyr. *Memory.*
8. Cyriacus and his companions, martyrs. *Memory.*
9. *Vigil.*
10. Lawrence, martyr. *Semiduplex.*
11. Tiburtius, martyr. *Memory.*
12. Octave of St. Dominic. *Simplex.*
13. Hippolytus and his companions. *Simplex.*
14. Eusebius, priest and confessor. *Memory.* *Vigil.*
15. Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. *Totum duplex.*
- 16.
17. Octave of St. Lawrence. *Simplex.*
18. Agapitus, martyr. *Memory.*
- 19.
20. Bernard, abbot. *Simplex.*
- 21.
22. Octave of St. Mary. *Simplex.* Timothy and Symphorian, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 23.
24. Bartholomew, apostle. *Semiduplex.*
- 25.
- 26.
27. Rufus, martyr. *Memory.*
28. Augustine, bishop and confessor. *Totum duplex.*
29. Beheading of St. John the Baptist. *Simplex.* Sabina, martyr. *Memory.*
30. Felix and Adauctus, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 31.

SEPTEMBER

1. Giles, abbot. *Memory.*
- 2.
- 3.
4. Octave of St. Augustine. *Simplex.* Marcellus, martyr.
Memory.
5. Anniversary of the *familiares* and benefactors of our Order.⁴
- 6.
- 7.
8. Nativity of St. Mary Virgin. *Totum duplex.*
9. Gorgonius, martyr. *Memory.*
- 10.
11. Protus and Hyacinth, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 12.
- 13.
14. Exaltation of the Holy Cross. *Semiduplex.* Cornelius
and Cyprian, martyrs. *Memory.*
15. Octave of St. Mary. *Simplex.* Nicomedes, martyr.
Memory.
16. Euphemia, virgin and martyr. *3 Lessons.*
17. Lambert, bishop and martyr. *Memory.*
- 18.
- 19.
20. *Vigil.*
21. Matthew, apostle and evangelist. *Semiduplex.*
22. Maurice and his companions, martyrs. *Simplex.*
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.
- 26.
27. Cosmas and Damian, martyrs. *Simplex.*
- 28.
29. Michael the Archangel. *Duplex.*
30. Jerome, priest and confessor. *Simplex.*

⁴ *Familiares* are seculars who live, usually as servants, in a religious house, subject to the authority of the superior of the house.

OCTOBER

1. Remigius, bishop and confessor. *3 Lessons.*
2. Leodegar, bishop and martyr. *Memory.*
- 3.
4. Francis, confessor. *Simplex.*
- 5.
- 6.
7. Mark, Pope and confessor. *3 Lessons.* Sergius and
Bacchus, Marcellus and Apuleius, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 8.
9. Denis and his companions, martyrs. *Simplex.*
10. Anniversary of all the brethren of our Order.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
14. Callistus, Pope and martyr. *Memory.*
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
18. Luke, evangelist. *Semiduplex.*
- 19.
- 20.
21. Eleven Thousand Virgins and Martyrs. *Memory.*
- 22.
- 23.
- 24.
25. Crispin and Crispinian, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 26.
27. *Vigil.*
28. Simon and Jude, apostles. *Semiduplex.*
- 29.
- 30.
31. Quentin, martyr. *Memory. Vigil.*

NOVEMBER

1. Festivity of All Saints. *Totum duplex.*
2. Commemoration of all the Faithful Dead.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
8. The Four Crowned Martyrs. *3 Lessons.*
9. Theodore, martyr. *3 Lessons.*
- 10.
11. Martin, bishop and confessor. *Semiduplex.* Mennas,
martyr. *Memory.*
- 12.
13. Brice, bishop and confessor. *Memory.*
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
18. Octave of St. Martin. *Simplex.*
19. St. Elizabeth. *Memory.*
- 20.
- 21.
22. Cecilia, virgin and martyr. *Simplex.*
23. Clement, Pope and martyr. *Simplex.*
24. Chrysogonus, martyr. *Memory.*
25. Catherine, virgin and martyr. *Semiduplex.*
- 26.
27. Vitalis and Agricola, martyrs. *Memory.*
- 28.
29. Saturninus, martyr. *Memory.* *Vigil.*
30. Andrew, apostle. *Semiduplex.*

DECEMBER

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
6. Nicholas, bishop. *Semiduplex.*
7. Octave of St. Andrew. *Memory.*
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
11. Damasus, Pope and confessor. *Memory.*
- 12.
13. Lucy, virgin and martyr. *Simplex.*
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
21. Thomas, apostle. *Semiduplex.*
- 22.
- 23.
24. *Vigil.*
25. Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ. *Totum duplex.*
26. Stephen Protomartyr. *Totum duplex.*
27. John, apostle and evangelist. *Totum duplex.*
28. Holy Innocents. *Simplex.*
29. Thomas, bishop and martyr. *Simplex.*
- 30.
31. Sylvester, Pope and confessor. *Simplex.*

ANALYSIS OF HUMBERT'S CALENDAR

A study of this calendar demonstrates beyond any possibility of dispute that its foundation is genuinely Gregorian. Comparison with the Gregorian sacramentary of the ninth century reveals that all of the eighty-four feasts of Saints contained in that sacramentary are to be found in Humbert's calendar, save six. Of these six exceptions, two were strictly local feasts (the Dedication of the Basilica of St. Mary's *ad Martyres*, and the Dedication of the Basilica of St. Nicomedes); St. Felicitas had already been dropped by both Roman calendars; and the feast of Cæsarius (1 November) had become an anomaly; for now that this date was dedicated to the commemoration of All Saints, it was inapposite to single out any one Saint. There are four other differences but they are minor ones. January 1 is called in the Gregorian sacramentary *In Octavas Domini*. But as Benedict XIV remarks: "Since the Circumcision . . . was accomplished on the eighth day, it is entirely one whether we call it the feast of the Octave or that of the Circumcision."⁵ Secondly, the Gregorian calls the Purification by the Greek title: *Ypapante*. Thirdly, the Gregorian feast of Hippolytus is altered to "Hippolytus and his companions." Lastly, the Dedication of the Basilica of St. Michael (a church just outside of Rome) is changed to the more universal title: "St. Michael the Archangel."

Even with these minor changes, the Gregorian was still a greatly localized list, and furthermore, since that sacramentary had been completed, there had lived many great Saints. It was necessary to make that calendar more universal and to bring it up to date. To do this, Dominican liturgists had to study the calendars of the more influential Sees and of the Religious

⁵ *De Festis*, p. Ia, xv.

Orders, as well as Usuard's martyrology which was then in almost universal use. Undoubtedly the calendars of the Vatican and of the Lateran were used as guides, for we find many points of similarity. That they were merely consulted and not used as a basis is suggested by the fact that the Dominicans rejected fifty-six of the Vatican festivals and seventy-two of the Lateran. Indeed, we find a far greater similarity to Humbert in the Carthusian, Cistercian, and Premonstratensian calendars of the twelfth century. But whether this was due to any of these lists being used for comparison, or whether it was the result of their closely approximating the old Gregorian, is now impossible to decide.

Humbert's feasts which are not in either Roman calendar are: Hilary and Remigius (13 January), Julian, Vaast and Amand, Albinus, Peter Martyr, Crown of Our Lord, Translation of St. Dominic, Medard, Margaret, Cucufas, Germain of Auxerre, Dominic and his octave, Rufus, Marcellus, octave of Nativity of Blessed Virgin, Euphemia, Lambert, Leodegar, Francis, Marcellus and Apuleius, Eleven Thousand Virgins, Crispin and Crispinian, Mennas, octave of Martin, Elizabeth, Vitalis and Agricola, and octave of Andrew.

At first glance, the list of additions appears to be quite large, but, as a matter of fact, more than half of these items are merely commemorations. It is interesting to note that two Gregorian feasts (Euphemia, Mennas) and two of the Gelasian sacramentary (Rufus, Marcellus and Apuleius), which were no longer in the Vatican and Lateran calendars, were restored to their place by the Dominicans.

SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE

What principle did the friars use in making the additions and

omissions? It is impossible to give a definite answer for every case. Of course, the presence of the feasts of St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, St. Francis and his spiritual daughter, St. Elizabeth, requires no explanation. The adoption of the feast of St. Bernard represents a grateful gesture to the Cistercian Order, which had given St. Dominic and his followers many proofs of friendship.⁶

Regarding the Crown of Our Lord, the Dominicans took an active part in the institution of the feast. When Baldwin II, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, offered the Crown of Thorns to St. Louis of France, the king sent two Dominicans, André of Longjumeau and a lay-brother named James, to bring back the relic. After many dangers and difficulties, for a war was then being waged, the Dominicans eluded the Greek warships and returned with the priceless relic, which was later placed in the beautiful *Sainte-Chappelle* at Paris.⁷ To commemorate the event, the feast of the Crown of Thorns was instituted.

As for the rest of the calendar, the reason underlying the rejection of some festivals and the adoption of others is not so apparent. But evidently the general principle was to eliminate from the Roman calendar the more obscure as well as the less popular Saints and to adopt some of the feasts which were most popular at that time. All of the popular feasts could not be admitted without endangering the *Temporale*. But just how the choice was made between Saints of equal popularity (for

⁶The great Saint of Clairvaux was canonized in 1174. Though a century and a half had elapsed, his name was not yet on the Roman calendars, nor does it appear on the Franciscan calendar written about 1230. The Friars Preachers helped in no small measure to spread his feast throughout Europe.

⁷Gualterii Cornuti, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," in Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I, 45-46; Danzas, *Études sur les Temps Primitifs*, III, 435-436; SSOP, I, 140; Guyetus, *Heortologia*, 278-279.

instance, between Cucufas and Eulalia, between Medard and Eligius, etc.), is unknown. However, in applying the norm of popularity, we must bear in mind that twentieth-century appreciation of the importance of these old festivals is often a very different matter from that of the thirteenth century. It must also be remembered that it is not a question of what modern critical research has since established as regards the spuriousness or inaccuracy of the various "lives" of these Saints or as regards the genuineness or falsity of their "relics," but rather what was the belief of the people in the Middle Ages concerning these matters.

It is possible that one or two Saints were added at the request of some influential benefactor of the Order or at the insistence of some diocese in which the Order was established. If the cloistered Cistercians were obliged to accept new feasts against their will, the Friars Preachers living in the populous cities could not hope to fare better. But, in general, it will be found that the principle of widespread popular veneration accounts for the presence of nearly every feast found in Humbert's list. To-day a number of these Saints are well-nigh forgotten; but in the Middle Ages Sts. Vaast, Medard, Amand, Cucufas, Lambert, Leodegar, to mention only some of them, were the objects of much devotion over the greater part of Europe, as numerous sacramentaries and missals, as well as the places, churches and monasteries which were named after them, bear more than ample testimony. Indeed, some of these Saints were so popular that their names were placed in litanies and even in the Canon of the Mass, and their feasts in many dioceses were holydays of obligation.

Worthy of special notice is the small number of festivals for the months of March and April. Humbert has only four feasts

in the former and six in the latter. This was done in order to conform as far as possible to the ancient custom of the Church of avoiding the celebration of Saints' festivals during the penitential season of Lent. We have here a rather startling contrast with the present practice of sanctioning a multitude of feasts which crowd out the sublime ferial office proper to Lent. Modern revisers apparently do not believe in the dictum of Amalarius that we cannot celebrate the feasts of *all* the Saints.⁸

In fact, throughout the entire calendar it will be observed how the Dominicans restricted the *Sanctorale* by limiting the number of new feasts and giving them low rank, and also by discretion in the adoption of octaves. The old Roman office had few octaves; but when it was introduced into France, new feasts were added and many of these were given octaves. But it was a new kind of an octave; instead of merely commemorating the Saint on the eighth day and the eighth day only, the office during all eight days was devoted to the Saint. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the number of feasts with such octaves had become quite large. The Dominicans accepted twelve of these octaves (including octaves *de Tempore*) and added only one of their own, that of St. Dominic. This was a very modest number compared to the average calendar of that period! They also avoided the mistake made by so many other liturgists of giving the octaves too high a rating. In the Dominican calendar, all octaves were rated as *simplex* feasts, even the octaves of Our Lord and of the Blessed Virgin.

⁸ *De Divinis Officiis*, lib. IV, c. 36 (*Si non valemus omnium sanctorum natalitia celebrare, quanto minus octavas eorum*), in PL, CV., 1228. St. Bernard also objected to the multiplication of feasts, declaring: "*Patriæ est, non exsili frequentia hæc gaudiorum: et numerositas festivitatum cives decet, non exsules*" (*Epist. clxxiv*, in PL, CLXXXII, 335).

How opposed Humbert was to the contemporary trend of introducing new octaves is apparent from a passage in his ordinary:

"The feasts of Saints with octaves are: Andrew, Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul, Dominic, Lawrence, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Augustine, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Martin. Apart from these, there are to be no other octaves, either of the patron Saint of a church or of any other Saint whatever."⁹

Such then was the calendar which Humbert presented to the friars for their acceptance. The Order had every reason to be proud of the work. Not only did it conform to the highest liturgical ideals in assigning a predominant and inviolable place to the *Temporale*, but it was a most successful effort to impart to the Roman calendar that attribute of internationality which Rome herself was later to adopt. The friars carried the calendar with them on their journeys to every corner of Europe as well as to Africa and Asia; and so favorable an impression did it create that it was adopted almost bodily in some places, and with local modifications in many others. In this way the Dominican Order contributed in no small measure in bringing about throughout the entire Latin Church the abandonment of local calendars and the general adoption of a modern, universal, and Roman calendar.

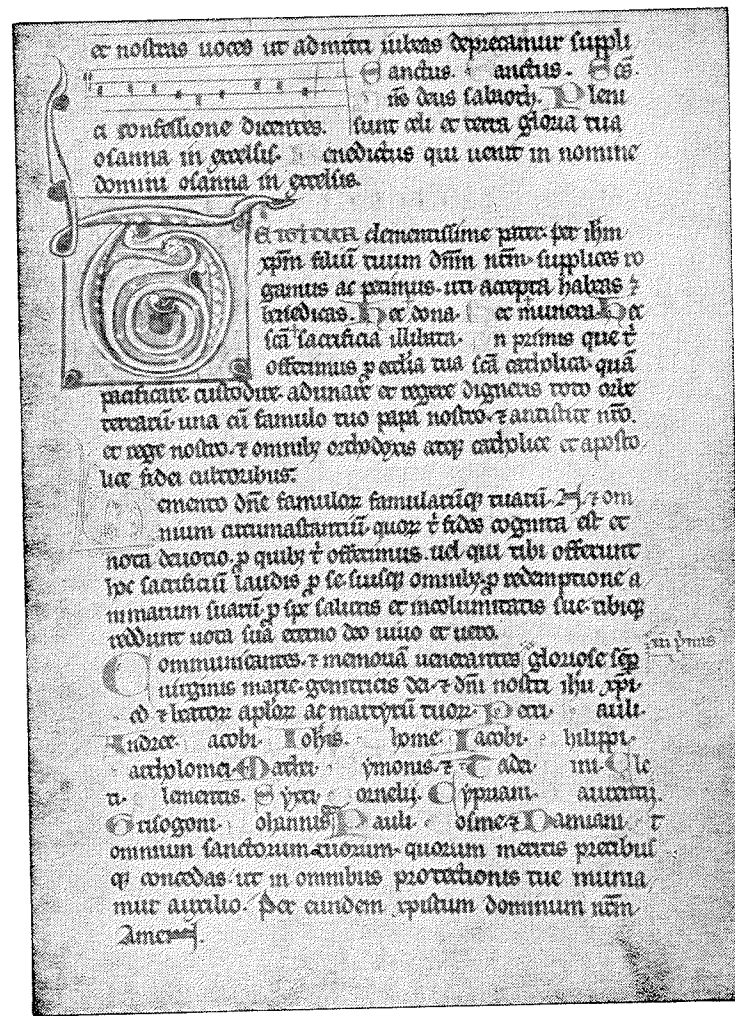
⁹ *Ordinarium*, cap. *De octavis sanctorum*, col. xxvii.

CHAPTER ELEVEN
THE MASS ACCORDING TO HUMBERT

A DETAILED exposition of the entire ecclesiastical office as arranged in its final form by the great master-general, Humbert of Romans, would prolong this history to an unconscionable length. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to a general outline of the Mass and the Divine Office of the *nova correctio*, as it was called.

In examining the Mass of Humbert, we find a precision and an attention to details which we do not encounter in other liturgical books issued as early as the thirteenth century. The clarity and comparative thoroughness of Humbert's ordinary was one of the reasons why the Dominican rite was adopted by so many dioceses and Orders in the Middle Ages. We say "comparative thoroughness," for Humbert also was influenced by the prevalent principle of economy in manuscript-writing. In the writing of very long manuscripts, the length of time involved and the amount of material used were important factors in the final cost of production; hence, to keep down costs, economy of time and space was desirable. For this reason, when a rubric was commonly observed, it was deemed unnecessary to write it down. While such economy entailed no inconveniences at that period, the passing of centuries and the gradual changing of customs leave us uncertain to-day as to just what many of these mediæval rubrics had been.

In the following description of Humbert's rubrics, we must bear in mind the general arrangement of the early Dominican



HUMBERT'S CODIX: THE CONVENTUAL MISSAL
(This illustrates only one-quarter of a folio)

churches. The choir was situated in front of the altar, not behind it, as one so often sees to-day in European churches. It was enclosed on three sides to prevent the people in the nave of the church from seeing the friars. At the western end of the enclosure (assuming the church faced in the liturgical direction) was the rood-screen, dividing the choir from the nave where the laity was assembled. On either side of the screen were the ambos (Humbert's *pulpita*) for the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel. In the middle of the choir stood the *pulpitum majus* (the permanent, principal lectern). In addition, there were usually several smaller, movable lecterns in the choir. The sanctuary or presbytery was raised several steps above the floor of the choir, while the high altar in turn was elevated above the presbytery.¹ The sacristy did not open directly into the presbytery (as is often the case in modern churches); instead, the entrance was between the steps of the presbytery and the choir. Unless this is remembered, many of Humbert's rubrics become unintelligible.

Omitting the careful instructions of Humbert concerning the preparation of the ministers and acolytes for the Conventual Mass, we shall begin our description with the *Asperges*.

Before the community finished terce, the ministers entered the choir. All the ministers, including the acolytes on the greater feasts, wore albs. The subdeacon, with an acolyte to his left, took up his position in the centre, not at the altar but in front of the steps of the presbytery. Then the deacon took his place behind the subdeacon. While the choir sang the *Asperges*, the priest accompanied by an acolyte approached the

¹ Cf. Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, I, 63-65; Mortier, *Histoire*, I, 568-578; G. Odetto, "La Cronica maggiore . . . di Galvano Fiamma," in AFP, X, 326.

altar. As a departure from other mediæval rites, the celebrant did not pause to bless the water, but used water which had already been blessed and which the acolyte now fetched from the altar steps. During the singing of the antiphon, the celebrant lightly sprinkled the high altar, and then coming to the choir he sprinkled in turn the deacon, the subdeacon, and the acolytes. Advancing down the choir, he sprinkled the cantor, both sides of the choir, and finally the seculars in the nave of the church.

Upon his return, he placed himself between the deacon and the pulpit, a formation that was like that of the Sarum rite. Here he sang the usual versicles and prayer. Upon the return of the ministers to the sacristy, a lay-brother or a novice took the holy water stoup and sprinkled all the rooms of the monastery.

THE BEGINNING OF HUMBERT'S MASS

The Mass itself did not begin with any of those prayers which have since become universal in the Roman Rite: the *Introibo*, the *Judica me*, etc. Humbert's ordinary states:

"The priest approaches the altar. He omits those prayers which seculars are wont to recite and instead he says:

"*Confitemini domino quoniam bonus. R̄. Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.*

"*Confiteor deo et beate marie et omnibus sanctis et vobis fratres, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione locutione opere et omissione mea culpa, precor vos orare pro me.*

"*Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus et dimittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducatur ad vitam eternam. R̄. Amen.*

"*Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors dominus. R̄. Amen.*

"Then, having finished the confession and absolution, the priest stands erect and says:

"*Adjutorium nostrum in nomine domini. R. Qui fecit celum et terram.*"²

The three ministers now ascended to the altar; the deacon and subdeacon to place their books to the right and left of the altar respectively, the celebrant to recite the *Aufer a nobis*, kiss the altar, and make the sign of the cross. The ministers gathered at the missal for the office or introit, the inferior ministers stood in line to the right of the priest.

According to the ancient custom of the Church, the *Kyrie* was said at the side of the altar. This finished, the inferior ministers stood in a line behind the celebrant. If, however, the feast was a *duplex* or a *totum duplex*, all the ministers would take their seats according to their rank: the celebrant sat nearest the altar, to his left the deacon, to the left of the deacon the subdeacon, to the left of the subdeacon the acolytes.

The *Gloria in excelsis* was begun at the centre of the altar but continued and finished at the side. The ministers did not sit during the *Gloria*. While it was being sung (or during the *Kyrie*, if there was no *Gloria*), the subdeacon brought in the chalice covered with the large veil (*mappula*), and placed it upon the altar. After the collects, the Epistle was sung by the subdeacon: on the greater feasts, including Sundays, he sang it from the ambo between the choir and the congregation; on lesser occasions he used the pulpit in front of the steps of the presbytery.

Meanwhile the celebrant has been seated and an acolyte has spread over the lap of the priest the gremial, as is done for a bishop in the Pontifical High Mass. The deacon, having washed his fingers, unfolded the corporal upon the altar and returned to his seat. Priest and deacon together read the grad-

² *Missale Conventuale Humberti*, fol. 402v.

ual. But there is no rubric prescribing that the celebrant read privately either the Epistle or the Gospel. Then the subdeacon washed his hands and brought the chalice to the priest, who was still seated. In presenting the cruet of water, he said: *Benedicite*. The priest replied: *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*. Humbert does not mention any sign of the cross, either here or for the blessing of the incense; but there is little doubt it was made on both occasions. The priest indicated to the subdeacon the amount of wine and water to be used in the making of the chalice.

THE GOSPEL AND CREDO

Towards the end of the singing of the alleluia or the tract, etc., one of the ministers placed the missal with its cushion on the gospel side of the altar.³ The acolytes meanwhile lighted the candles. On the greater feast days, the censer and cross were brought in. The priest blessed the incense; the deacon having received the Gospel-book, also obtained a blessing from the celebrant. A procession now made its way to the pulpit or ambo at the rood-screen; first came the censer-bearer, next the candle-bearers, then the cross-bearer, followed by the subdeacon carrying the cushion for the Gospel-book, and lastly, the deacon carrying the Gospel-book resting against his breast. Having arrived at the pulpit, the subdeacon placed the cushion under the Gospel-book, and then stood behind the deacon. The cross-bearer with an acolyte on either side stood in front of the pulpit; all faced the deacon. The celebrant, standing at

³ Humbert's actual words are: *ad altaris sinistram*. In modern Roman rubrics, the left side is the epistle side. However, prior to 1485, the terms "right" and "left" as regards the altar meant the reverse of what they do to-day. Cf. Lebrun, *Explication de la Messe*, I, 139.

the epistle side of the altar, turned towards the place where the Gospel was being sung.

The deacon first incensed the book, made the usual signs of the cross, and then sang the Gospel. When he finished singing it, he gave the open book together with the cushion to the subdeacon and all the ministers returned to the altar in the order in which they had come. Without awaiting their return, the celebrant intoned the *Credo*; however, he did not continue its recitation until the subdeacon had brought him the book to be kissed. There is no mention of the prayer: *Per Evangelica dicta*, etc. The deacon also kissed the book, after which the subdeacon replaced it on the altar.

The rule for saying the *Credo* was quite different from that of to-day. It was recited on Sundays, the feasts of Our Lord, and the octaves of the principal feasts of Our Lord; it was also said on the feasts of the Dedication of the church and All Saints. As regards individual Saints, it was recited only on the feasts of those Saints mentioned in the Gospel; hence, it was not said even on the feast of St. Dominic. There is no indication that the celebrant knelt at the words: *Et incarnatus est*.⁴ Upon the arrival of the subdeacon at the altar, after the singing of the Gospel, he offered the Gospel-book to be kissed first to the priest, then to the deacon.

⁴ This practice was adopted by the Dominicans shortly after Humbert wrote his *ordinarium*. According to Geoffrey of Beaulieu, it was done at the request of King St. Louis. Geoffrey writes: "He [the king] witnessed the custom among certain religious of making a profound bow at the singing of the words: *Et homo factus est*. . . . This custom pleased him very much. He then inaugurated and continued the practice both in his own chapel as well as in many churches of not only bowing at those words but also of devoutly kneeling. . . . At his request, the Order of Friars Preachers adopted this pious usage." See *Vita S. Ludovici* in *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, XX, 20.

THE OFFERTORY

After the *Credo* and the offertory had been said, the subdeacon gave to the deacon the chalice which already contained the wine and water; and the deacon in turn offered it to the celebrant, saying: *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*. The priest received the chalice, which was already covered with the paten on which rested the host, with the words: *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*. There is no evidence in Humbert's ordinary that the priest used the formula: *Quid retribuam Domino*, etc. Then holding the chalice, paten and host elevated, he prayed: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas*, etc. Thus, the oblation of the bread and wine was made by one and the same act. The paten was now removed from the chalice and the host placed on the corporal in front of the chalice; this was contrary to the custom of the Roman Church, which at that period placed the host to the left of the chalice.⁵ The chalice was then covered with the back of the corporal.⁶

On the feasts that were *simplex* or higher, the altar was now censed, at the conclusion of which the deacon censed the celebrant. The thurifer now took the censer and incensed all the

⁵ *Collocatur autem hostia ad sinistram, calix vero ad dexteram*, is the rubric in a Franciscan missal written shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS. 426 (223), fol. 135v.). In 1249 the Franciscan minister-general insisted on the Minorites following this rubric. Cf. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, III, 209.

⁶ In ancient times in the Roman Church, the corporal was much larger than the modern one. In the thirteenth century, a separate pall had already been adopted by many Churches; some Churches and Orders still clung to the old Roman custom. The disappearance of the ancient corporal is to be deeply regretted, for the large linen corporal, covering the chalice, represented in a realistic way the winding-sheet which shrouded the Body of the Lord. The pall hardly suggests such a meaning. The Friars Preachers continued to use the ancient corporal until the close of the seventeenth century.

other ministers of the Mass, after which, on the higher feast days, he went down to the choir and censured the members of the choir. He did not incense the laity.

At the *Lavabo*, the priest merely said the first verse, and not the first two as do the Dominicans of to-day. Returning to the centre of the altar, the celebrant bowed to recite the prayer: *In spiritu humilitatis*. This was followed by the *Orate fratres*, to which there was no answer. In saying the *Secreta*, the priest stood between the missal and the chalice. "With the fingers with which he is about to handle the sacred Body of the Lord," says Humbert, "the priest must not turn any pages nor touch anything." At this part of the Mass in summer time, the deacon began to use a flabellum or fan to prevent flies and insects from molesting the priest.

The *Secreta* ended, the priest came to the middle of the altar and sang the preface. At the *supplici confessione* the deacon with one of the acolytes stood to the left of the priest, while the subdeacon with the other acolyte stood to his right, and recited with him the *Sanctus*. The subdeacon then received the humeral veil about his shoulders, and the deacon gave him the paten which he covered with the veil. From now on, the subdeacon stood behind the deacon, holding elevated the covered paten.

THE CANON OF THE MASS

Humbert directs that at the words *hæc dona, hæc munera*, etc., the sign of the cross is to be made "with two fingers, so that the forefinger is above and the middle finger below." The signs of the cross in the Canon were made at the same places as in the Roman Rite. However, the priest did not hold his hands extended over the *oblata* after the *Communicantes*. At the Consecration, the deacon, holding the censer, knelt to the right of the priest, and the subdeacon, holding the paten, to

his left. Humbert directs that the elevation of the Host be brief. The priest did not genuflect at any time during the elevation.

Having replaced the Host, the priest uncovered the chalice. At the words, *Accipiens et hunc*, using both hands he tilted the chalice slightly. At the word, *Benedixit*, he replaced the chalice and, still holding it with his left hand, made the sign of the cross over it with his right. Instantly he tilted the chalice again as before, and thus holding it pronounced the words of consecration. When he said *In remissionem peccatorum*, he replaced the chalice on the altar and covered it with part of the corporal. There was no elevation of the chalice.⁷ After the Consecration the priest extended his arms more widely than usual. At the *Supplices Te rogamus*, he bowed profoundly with his arms crossed before his breast. Nothing noteworthy occurs in the rubrics now until the end of the *Pater noster* when the subdeacon returned the paten to the deacon, who in turn gave it to the priest when he was about to say *Da propitius pacem*. In giving the paten to the priest, the deacon kissed the celebrant's shoulder. The priest then made the sign of the cross with the paten and kissed it; then he placed it on the altar away from the corporal.

At the words *Omni perturbatione securi*, the priest uncovered the chalice, and took up the Host. Saying *Per eundem*, he divided the Host into halves. He then placed midway over the first half, in a crosswise direction, the part he had been holding in his right hand. Holding the second half in this position, he broke off part of it and held this third section in his right hand. This is also the way in which the Dominicans of to-day divide the Host. At the *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, the priest

⁷The Consecration of the chalice was approximately the same among the Cistercians, Carthusians, and Premonstratensians. The Dominicans did not accept the elevation of the chalice until the second half of the sixteenth century.

made the usual signs of the cross with the small part of the Host he was holding in his right hand. He did not place the remaining parts of the Host on the paten, as is done in the present Roman Rite, but continued to hold them in his left hand over the edge of the chalice.

At the *Agnus Dei* the deacon and subdeacon with their acolytes took up the same positions as they had during the *Sanctus* and recited with the celebrant the *Agnus Dei*. This said, the priest now lowered into the Precious Blood the fragment of the Host he held in his right hand, saying *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio*, etc. Then he kissed the chalice, and gave the pax to the deacon, saying: *Pax tibi et Ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei*. The subdeacon went up to the deacon and received from him the pax; he in turn gave it to one of the acolytes, and that acolyte to the other, who gave the pax to the choir. Even in private Masses, provided they were not for the dead, the celebrant gave the pax to the server.⁸

THE COMMUNION

Then the priest recited *Domine Jesu Christe*, which was immediately followed by *Corpus et Sanguis Domini Nostri*, etc.; upon saying these words, without any other prayers, the priest received the Body and Blood of Our Lord.

Afterwards, he did not use the paten to collect any fragments but took the chalice in both hands and came to the left side of the altar, where the subdeacon was waiting to pour wine into the chalice. After the priest consumed the wine, the subdeacon poured more wine into the chalice, this time over the fingers of the priest. Humbert now gives two ways of proceeding with the ablutions, probably a concession to intransigents who fought to retain their own customs. If he desired, the priest might

⁸ The practice of the celebrant giving the server the pax in a Low Mass still exists in the Province of Spain. See AOP, XIV (1906), 720.

now cover the chalice with the paten; and holding his wet fingers above his joined hands in such a fashion that no drops could fall upon the ground, he washed his fingers in a basin with water, which the subdeacon supplied. The water was to be thrown into the piscina.

But it was better, Humbert continued, that the ablution of the water be received in the chalice with the second ablution of wine, and that it be consumed by the priest. "Then the priest dried his fingers with a cloth reserved for this purpose" (this cloth was placed within the chalice, our modern purificator). When he had finished with the chalice, he placed it on the gospel side of the altar, beyond the corporal. The deacon, meanwhile, washed his fingers, folded the corporal and set it aside, and then carried the missal to the epistle side of the altar.

The priest, accompanied by all his ministers, who stood in order at his right, said the *Communio*, etc. While he was saying the postcommunion prayers, the subdeacon, if he thought it necessary, could cleanse the chalice with some water, and dry it lightly with another clean cloth specially reserved for the purpose. The second cloth was kept "reverently" near the piscina, covered by another cloth. Obviously, the subdeacon now removed the chalice, though the rubrics do not explicitly say so. While the last *oratio* was being said, one acolyte lighted the two candles to be carried by himself and his fellow-server; the other acolyte handed the gospel-book to the subdeacon. After the *Dominus vobiscum*, the deacon said the *Ite missa est*. The priest now said the *Placeat tibi*, after which he kissed the altar. Meanwhile the other acolyte had given the missal to the deacon. Then all returned to the sacristy in the order in which they had come. No blessing was given at the end of Mass unless it was the custom of that locality and the people therefore expected it.

CHAPTER TWELVE
THE DIVINE OFFICE ACCORDING
TO HUMBERT

HAD the ideas of Pius X concerning a liturgical revision been applied to the Dominican breviary in a manner consistent with Dominican tradition and practice, it would have been possible to describe the office of Humbert in a few words. There would have been only minor differences between the new office and the one observed by the friars since the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, the revisers saw fit to impose upon the Order a medley of distinctions and complicated rubrics unheard of in the Order in its seven centuries of existence. Because of this, it will be necessary to describe the old office at some length.

In Rome, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were not only two calendars but also two distinct offices: the old Roman Office which was celebrated in the basilicas of the Eternal City, and another which was comparatively new. The new office was used exclusively by the Pope and the clergy of the Roman Court, who preferred it because of its comparative brevity. It was this relatively new office that the Franciscans adopted. The fact that they were neither monks nor Canons Regular and also that they did a great amount of travelling, influenced them to choose the shorter Roman office which was condensed within the limits of a small convenient volume. After various changes made by the Franciscan ministers-general, Aymon of Faversham, John of Parma, and finally St. Bonaventura, Nicholas III in 1277 adopted the Franciscan office not

only for the Curia but also for the churches of Rome.¹ "Thus," laments Batiffol, "the grand old Roman Office of the time of Charlemagne and of Adrian I was suppressed by Nicholas III (himself a Franciscan) in those of the Roman basilicas which had remained faithful to it, and for this ancient office there was substituted the breviary or epitome of the modernized office which the Minorites had been observing since the time of Gregory IX."²

The Dominicans in their quest for liturgical uniformity had followed a different course. Being not merely friars but above all Canons Regular, their point of view was that the Divine Office was not merely a daily *pensum*; it was also the *opus Dei*, the solemn performance of which was the special function of the canonical life.

But a great difficulty beset the fulfillment of this duty. The Roman office at the end of the twelfth century was undeniably long. An adjustment, therefore, was imperative between the requirements of the canonical state and the scholarly standards of St. Dominic. While the Dominicans therefore chose, not the office of the Roman Court, but the office of the Roman Church, they shortened somewhat the office both in its plainchant and in its text. In his writings, Humbert often refers to this. Thus, in giving the reason why the Order said the *Pater noster* a number of times in the office, he wrote: "It is just, then, that we *who have a short office* should say the Lord's Prayer."³ Elsewhere he lays down the principle: "The Order has always shunned the long-drawn office for the sake of study."⁴

¹ Golubovich, "Cereemoniale Ord. Minorum Vetustissimum," in AFH, III (1910), 56-57.

² *History of the Roman Breviary*, 163. But Batiffol errs in calling Nicholas III a Franciscan. Cf. Andrieu, "Le Missel de la chapelle papale à la fin du XIII^e siècle," in *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, II (1924), 353, n. I.

³ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 139. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

He defends this principle on the grounds that it is better to have a short office *and* have time for study than have a prolonged office that interferes with study.⁵ Having finally obtained a satisfactory arrangement between the Roman office and the demands of the curriculum, the Dominicans clung to it with a tenacity that has evoked the approving comments of liturgists down through the centuries. It is that office we now have to describe.

Though the ordinary does not mention any preliminary prayers to the Divine Office, we learn from the *Liber Consuetudinum* and from Humbert's *Exposition of the Constitutions* that the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* were said at the beginning of matins and prime, while before the other canonical hours only the *Pater noster* was said.⁶

FIRST VESPERS

The structure of first vespers was the same as that of to-day; it began with *Deus in adiutorium*, *Gloria Patri*, and the *Alleluia*. When the office had the rank of *simplex*⁷ or above, and was not impeded by following a higher feast, then in first vespers five psalms and five antiphons were taken from the *feria*, if the feast of the *ferial* was being celebrated; otherwise, they were *de festo*. If Sunday had first vespers, the five psalms and their antiphons were those assigned to Saturday. But if the feast was a *totum duplex*, five special psalms were used: ps. 112, *Laudate pueri*; ps. 116, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*; ps. 145, *Lauda anima*;

⁵ *Ibid.*, 97. ⁶ *Ibid.*, 171.

⁷ The Friars Preachers had only five classifications of feasts, apart from a commemoration: Three Lessons, *Simplex*, *Semiduplex*, *Duplex*, and *Totum Duplex*. There were no fine distinctions such as were imposed on the Order by the last revision.

ps. 146, *Laudate Dominum quoniam bonus*, and ps. 147, *Lauda Jerusalem*. These psalms were said with only one antiphon.

The officiant⁸ now read a short lesson or *capitulum* taken from the Scriptures. At this point in the old Roman office there followed, according to Amalarius, a respond; but, he adds, in his day it had become well-nigh universal for the verse to follow immediately after the lesson. We learn from Bebeth that in the middle of the twelfth century Rome still clung to the old practice. The Dominicans elected to retain the ancient custom—a most fortunate choice for it preserved for us some venerable responds of surpassing beauty. These responds were variable; however, they were used in the first vespers of a Sunday only when that Sunday began a new *historia*.

A hymn followed the respond. After the hymn there came a versicle with its response and the *Magnificat*. If the feast were a *duplex* or a *totum duplex*, then at the beginning of the *Magnificat* the prior, wearing surplice, stole, and cope and accompanied by two candle-bearers and a thurifer (these three wearing albs), entered the presbytery. Having received the censer, the prior incensed first the Blessed Sacrament and then the altar. This done, he once more incensed the Blessed Sacrament and returned the censer to the thurifer. Still wearing the cope, he returned to his place in the choir. The thurifer now incensed first the prior and then the other members of the choir.

The *Magnificat* ended, the prior went to the lectern in the middle of the choir, where he sang the prayer of the

⁸ Ordinarily it was the hebdomadarian who conducted the office. However, "on *duplex* and *totum duplex* feasts," says Humbert: "let the prior officiate." If for any reason the prior was unable to do so, the cantor appointed one of the older Fathers to take his place. To avoid cumbersome repetition, we shall use the word "officiant" to designate the one officiating at the office, whoever he may be.

office.⁹ Whenever incensing took place during the *Magnificat*, a similar ceremony took place at the end of lauds, during the *Benedictus*.

The *Benedicamus Domino* was now said, to be followed by the *Fidelium animæ* concerning which Humbert remarks: "This formula is always to be observed at the conclusion of the hours of the day. When it is said in the monastery, it is to be said with great gravity and so loudly that it may clearly be heard by all; the community is to answer *Amen* in a like voice."¹⁰ Evidently the mumblers existed in Humbert's day!

Compline was the night-prayer of the Order. But as that part of the Divine Office occupies a special place in Dominican history and sentiment, it will be considered in the following chapter.

MATINS

Some time during the night, between midnight and three o'clock in the morning, depending upon the time of the year and the ruling of the prior, the friars arose for the "midnight" office. As soon as they were awakened, they recited, while yet in the dormitory, the office of the Blessed Virgin. When it was finished, "a second bell summoned them to choir without further delay."

Though the manner of beginning matins varied, the *Ordo* of the Lateran Church shows that in the twelfth century not only

⁹ A similar ceremony is described in the *Ordo* of the Lateran Basilica for the feast of St. John the Baptist: ". . . While the *Magnificat* is being sung, the Pope incenses the high altar. Then one of the seven bishops receives the censer from the Pope and incenses the cardinals and all the clerics; after which he returns the censer to the acolyte. The *Magnificat* ended, the bishop-hebdomadarian presents to the Pope the book for the singing of the prayer. When this had been said, one of the deacons of the Curia exclaims in a loud voice: *Benedicamus Domino*." Cf. Bernhadi, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesie Lateranensis*, 139.

¹⁰ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 138.

was the *Domine, labia mea aperies* used in Rome but also, in conjunction with it, the *Deus in adiutorium meum*.¹¹ The Dominicans accepted the double formula, though it was not yet universally used. The invitatory and hymn followed. We now come to the greatest difference between the old Roman and the Dominican office.

For the psalter, the Roman basilicas used an Old Latin version, which was marred by many inaccuracies. This was the so-called "Roman" psalter. St. Jerome was asked to provide the Latin Church with a better translation. He did so, basing his work on the Hexapla of Origen. The new translation became popular and was introduced by St. Gregory of Tours in the churches of Gaul; from this fact it received the misleading name of "Gallican" psalter. From Tours it spread rapidly through the rest of Europe and by the beginning of the thirteenth century was universally received throughout the Church except in the Eternal City. The Dominicans therefore had very little choice in the matter; the Roman psalter having become practically obsolete, the Order substituted the so-called Gallican psalter for the Roman psalter. The Franciscans were obliged to do the same.¹²

But though the version of the psalter had to be changed, the Dominicans did not change the Roman arrangement of the psalms. In the Roman *cursus*, the one hundred and fifty psalms were so distributed throughout the various offices of the week that the entire psalter was covered in that period of time. The psalms were taken, with certain exceptions, in numerical order, as the following table shows.

The remaining hours were the same throughout the entire

¹¹ Bernhadi, *op. cit.*, 18.

¹² Cf. Golubovich, *Ceremoniale Ord. Min. Vetust.*, in AFH, III, 56.

Cursus Dominicanus

	Matins	Lauds	Vespers
Sun.	1-3; 6-20	92, 99, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Benedicite</i> , 148-150 †	109-113
Mon.	26-37	50, 5, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Confitebor</i> , 148-150	114-116; 119, 120
Tues.	38-41; 43-49; 51	50, 42, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Ego dixi</i> , 148-150	121-125
Wed.	52;54-61;63;65;67	50, 64, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Exultavit</i> , 148-150	126-130
Thurs.	68-79	50, 89, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Cantemus</i> , 148-150	131, 132; 134-136
Fri.	80-88;93;95,96	50, 142, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Domine audivi</i> , 148-150	137-141
Sat.	97-108	50, 91, 62 & 66,* Cant. <i>Audite</i> , 148-150	143-147

* These two psalms were said with one *Gloria Patri*, as were Ps. 148-150.

† Sunday Lauds, from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday, consisted of psalms 50, 117, 62 & 66, etc.

week. For the little hours, psalm 118, *Beati immaculati*, was divided into sets of thirty-two verses and distributed in the following manner:

Prime. Ps. 53, *Deus in nomine tuo*. Ps. 118, *Beati immaculati; Retribue*.

Terce. Ps. 118, *Legem pone; Memor esto; Bonitatem fecisti*.

Sext. Ps. 118, *Defecit in salutare; Quomodo dilexi; Iniquos odio*.

None. Ps. 118, *Mirabilia tua; Clamavi in toto corde; Principes persecuti*.

Prime, however, had this variation that from Septuagesima to Palm Sunday there were recited the psalms 21-25, 53, 92, 118 (first two sets). Compline was likewise invariable: ps. 4, *Cum invocarem*; ps. 30, *In te Domine speravi* (only the first six verses were used); ps. 90, *Qui habitat*; and ps. 133, *Ecco nunc benedicite*.

On feasts of Saints, the psalms for matins were either proper or taken from the Common; lauds were taken from the Sunday, *Dominus regnavit*, etc.

The foregoing distribution of psalms in the Dominican office is the same as that of the old Roman Office prior to the thirteenth century, with the solitary exception that the Sunday psalms for prime in the Roman Office were: 21-25, 53, 117, 118 (*Beati immaculati* and *Retribue*). The psalms used by the Dominicans for Sunday were those of the Roman office for prime on week-days. In view of the recent revision, as a result of which ferial psalms are used on the feasts of Saints, it is well to call attention to the fact that the custom of using special psalms (either proper to the feast or from the Common) instead of ferial psalms, was not a practice peculiar to the Dominicans, but one which they themselves had received from the ancient Roman Office.

In what the old office called "lesser feasts" (*in festis minoribus*), there was only one nocturn with twelve psalms taken from the current feria; this rule was observed by the Dominicans. But if there occurred a festival, the one nocturn had only nine psalms and these were *de festo*. In the Roman office, when a "greater" feast fell on Sunday, psalms 53, 117, 118 (two octonaries) were used at prime; but if it fell on a week-day, the three psalms noted above in the Dominican office were used. Vespers, whether of a "greater" or of a "lesser" feast, ordinarily took the psalms from the current feria; with the Dominicans the psalms were also taken from the feria unless there occurred a festival which took precedence; then the psalms would be *de festo*. If the feast were a *totum duplex*, the Dominicans said in first vespers the five special psalms already mentioned (112, 116, 145, 146, 147).

THE LESSONS OF MATINS

For the *Temporale*, the lessons were taken from the Scriptures. Occasionally they were chosen from the sermons of the Fathers of the Church. No effort was made to read the entire Bible in the course of the year; rather, selections from the various books of the Bible were made in this wise:

Octave of Epiphany to Septuagesima: Epistles of St. Paul.
 Septuagesima to 4th Sunday of Lent: Genesis.
 Fourth Sunday of Lent to Passion Sunday: Exodus.
 Passion Sunday to Holy Saturday inclusive: Jeremias.
 Monday after octave of Easter: Apocalypse.
 Monday after *Cantate* Sunday: ¹³ Catholic Epistles.
 Ascension: Acts of Apostles.
 First Sunday after Trinity: Kings.

¹³ The Fourth Sunday after Easter.

August: Sapiential Books.

September: Job, Tobias, Judith and Esther.

October: Machabees.

November: Ezechiel, Daniel, and the twelve prophets.

December: Isaias.

Generally, the last three lessons of the Sunday office were devoted to homilies explaining the Gospel; but no homilies were used on ferial days, not even during Lent or on Ember days. On feasts of Saints, nine lessons or at least the first six were taken from the life of the Saint or from the treatise of some ecclesiastical author.

The lessons were preceded by the *Pater noster* and a blessing; there was no absolution. Judged by modern standards, the lessons would be considered quite long; but, in accordance with the ancient custom, it lay within the power of the officiant to indicate when the reader should stop. Indeed, when the community was late for office, it was the duty of the cantor to shorten the lessons.¹⁴ They ended with *Tu autem Domine* and the *Deo gratias*.

Every lesson was followed by a respond. In the Middle Ages the responsories were looked upon as so important that the office itself was often referred to by their opening words; thus, Humbert often refers to *Domine, ne in ira, Deus omnium*, etc. The responds were selected from various books of the Bible, and a set of them constituted a *Historia*. The following, which closely follow those of the Gregorian Responsoy, are found in Humbert:

Domine, ne in ira (Psalms), First Sunday after octave of Epiphany to Septuagesima.

¹⁴ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 244.

*Deus omnium*²⁵ (Book of Kings), First Sunday after Trinity to August 1st exclusive.

In principio (Proverbs), Month of August (Sapiential books).

Si bona (Job), First Sunday of September to the third exclusive.

Peto Domine (Tobias), remainder of September.

Adaperiat (Machabees), Month of October.

Vidi Dominum (Isaias), Month of November (Prophets).

"TE DEUM" AND LAUDS

The ninth respond of matins was usually followed by the *Te Deum*. At the time of Amalarius, this canticle was reserved at Rome for the feasts of canonized Popes only; but by the twelfth century this restriction had ceased to exist and the *Te Deum* was in general use in the office, as is evident from the *Ordo* of the Lateran Church. The Dominicans did not say the *Te Deum* during Advent nor from Septuagesima to Holy Saturday; during these two seasons matins ended with the repetition of the ninth respond.

The old monastic custom of waiting until the approach of dawn before beginning lauds was discarded by the Dominicans as a waste of valuable time. There was no interval between the two hours; when matins ended, lauds was instantly begun. We have already seen what psalms constituted this part of the office. As regards its constituent parts (*capitulum*, hymn, versicle, etc.), the office was the same as to-day.

While the psalm *Laudate* was being said, the friar appointed to read the martyrology approached the prior and inquired in a low voice: "Chapter?" If he replied: "No," the martyrology

²⁵ *Deus omnium*. The Roman breviary has *Preparate corda*. In the Gregorian *Responsoriale* published by Tommasi, the first respond is the *Deus omnium*; the present Roman respond is the fourth of that set. Cf. *Responsoriale et Antiphonarium Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, in Tommasi, *Opera Omnia*, IV, 115, 116.



THE DEACON USING THE FLABELLUM

(Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 8884)

Illustration taken from the oldest known Dominican Missal (circa 1240). The Friars preserved the ancient liturgical use of the fan to the end of the nineteenth century. The rubric is still to be found in the latest Dominican Missal.

was read in choir; if he said, "After prime," it was deferred until this time; but if he answered, "Yes," then the reading was to take place in the chapter-room as soon as lauds ended.

Accordingly the friars left the chapel and entered the chapter-room where the martyrology was read and *pretiosa* was recited. The reading of the martyrology and the recitation of *pretiosa* in the chapter-room, especially after prime, was the common practice of the monastic Orders in the Middle Ages. On the feasts of nine lessons, Ash Wednesday and the vigil of Christmas, it was customary to have a sermon after *pretiosa*.

THE "PRECES"

There is nothing particularly noteworthy concerning prime except the *preces*. The saying of these prayers was the general rule; their omission, the exception. "Let *preces* be said daily," declares the ordinary, "except from Holy Thursday until the Monday after Low Sunday; during the week of Pentecost and during the octave of Christmas; *duplex* and *totum duplex* feasts and All Souls." Thus, these prayers were said even on Sunday at prime and compline, while on ferial days they were said at all the hours.

The manner of saying them was the same as it is to-day in the Dominican Order; but as this differs from the present Roman method, we reproduce them:

Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.
Pater noster. . . . Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.
Sed libera nos a malo.
 V. *Vivet anima mea et laudabit te.*
 R. *Et judicia tua adjuvabunt me.*
 V. *Erravi sicut ovis quæ periit.*
 R. *Quære servum tuum Domine, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus.*

Credo in Deum. . . . Carnis resurrectionem.
 R. *Vitam æternam. Amen.*
Confiteor Deo. . . . Misereatur
 V. *Dignare Domine die isto.*
 R. *Sine peccato nos custodire.*
Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Preces for compline are shorter:

Kyrie Christe Kyrie Pater noster
Et ne nos Sed libera nos V. In pace in idipsum.
 R. *Dormiam et requiescam. Credo Carnis resurrex-
 tionem.*
 R. *Vitam æternam. Amen. V. Dignare Domine nocte ista.*
 R. *Sine peccato nos custodire. Dominus vobiscum*
Oremus.

As the structure of the rest of the canonical hours is the same as that used to-day (with the exception already noted of the psalms), it needs no special comment. Only one point calls for a remark.

SECOND VESPERS

Batiffol insists (pp. 86, 122, 165) that *second vespers* were not introduced in Rome until the thirteenth century. Now, the Dominican office contains a number of feasts which have *second vespers*. Was this some non-Roman novelty the Friars Preachers adopted? Some time after Batiffol published his learned *History of the Roman Breviary*, Ludwig Fischer discovered in the Hofbibliothek of Vienna a twelfth-century codex (Cod. lat. membr. 1482), which contains among other documents the ordinary of the Lateran basilica. In this *Ordo* we find *second vespers* assigned to a number of feasts: the Purification, the Chair of St. Peter, the Annunciation, St. John before the Latin Gate, Mary Magdalene, etc. It is evident, therefore, that the Dominicans were not accepting any non-Roman cus-

tom but were following the practice of the Mother Church of Christendom.

As regards the paschal season, the Dominican office was remarkable; for it adopted and for many centuries retained some very ancient Roman customs. During Easter week, there were no hymns whatever in any part of the office. Matins consisted of the invitatory, three psalms, three antiphons, three lessons, three responds, and the *Te Deum*. Lauds had five psalms with five antiphons; after the fifth antiphon the *Benedictus* with its antiphon immediately followed; then the usual *oratio* with *Benedicamus Domino, alleluia, alleluia*. The double *alleluia* was used at lauds and vespers during Easter and Pentecost weeks; during the rest of Paschal time only one *alleluia* was used. At the other hours, until Saturday, the psalms were succeeded by *Hæc dies*, etc. (there was no *capitulum*); *Dominus vobiscum*, etc., and the prayer.

Vespers during Easter week present a curious borrowing from the Easter Mass. They began with the triple *Kyrie eleison. . . . Christe eleison Kyrie eleison. . . .* Three psalms were then said: *Dixit Dominus, Confitebor*, and *Beatus vir*. There was only one antiphon. Now occurred another appropriation from the Mass, the gradual *Hæc dies* with its verses, *Confitemini* and *Pascha nostrum*. Except on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the gradual was followed by the *Magnificat* with its antiphon and the prayer *Deus qui hodierna*.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, the gradual was succeeded by the prose *Victimæ Paschali*, also taken from the missal. While the prayer *Deus qui hodierna* was being sung, the thurifer went to the sacristy, exchanged his censer for the cross, and returned to take up his position before the steps of the presbytery. The cantors then began the responsory *Christus resurgens*.

A procession to the church of the laity took place during the responsory, and the friars took up their positions as during the *Salve Regina* procession in compline. Two friars sang the *Dicunt nunc*, and the versicularians the *Dicite in nationibus*. The prior added the prayer, after which the friars returned to their places, singing the *Regina cœli*.

Until the feast of Trinity Sunday exclusively, all invitatories, antiphons, responds, together with their versicles, as well as all other versicles, terminated with *alleluia*, except of course in the office of the dead.

SUFFRAGES AND ADDITIONAL OFFICES

In the matter of suffrages, we find the Dominicans made daily a memory of the Holy Cross during Easter season until the vigil of the Ascension. At vespers, the commemoration was made every day of that period; but in lauds, it was made from Low Sunday to the vigil of Ascension. A memory of the *Temporale* was made on all the ferias of Advent, Lent, and the three days of Rogation, whenever a *simplex* or greater feast occurred. On the Saturdays throughout the year, there was a commemoration of the Blessed Virgin; but there were a number of exceptions to this rule, one of them being that, when the office of the Blessed Virgin *in Sabbato* was said, the commemoration was not made. Likewise, there was to be a memory of St. Dominic on every day of the year, but this rubric also had many exceptions.

In addition to the Divine Office and the suffrages, the friars had to recite the daily office of the Blessed Virgin. The whole office (except compline) was said outside of choir, generally between the signals for various hours of the Divine Office. It

was omitted from the vigil of Christmas to the octave of Epiphany; from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday, and from the vigil of Pentecost to Trinity Sunday. It was not said on *duplex* or *totum duplex* feasts, nor when the Divine Office celebrated one of Mary's feasts.

The office of the Blessed Virgin in *Sabbato* was celebrated every Saturday from the octave of the Epiphany until Septuagesima, and from *Deus omnium* (the first Sunday after the Feast of Trinity) to Advent, unless a *simplex* or greater feast should occur. Whenever this office took place, there was the obligation to recite the fifteen gradual psalms with their accompanying prayers.

The final choral obligation of the friars was the office of the dead. The addition of it to the Divine Office is also attributed to Innocent III. This office is believed to have originated at Rome in the eighth century. The body of the deceased was brought to the church in the evening; after its arrival the office would begin. It was really a vigil, and as such had vespers, three nocturns and lauds. That is why Humbert refers to this office as the "vigil." Humbert speaks of two different kinds of office for the dead, the vigil of nine lessons and the vigil of three lessons. The former is what is known commonly today as the office of the dead; it was said every week, though there were exceptions to the rule. The latter office, which has disappeared from the Dominican rite, needs some explanation. It was said as follows: on Sunday and Wednesday, the psalms of the first nocturn, together with its antiphons, versicle, lessons and responds; on Monday and Thursday, the psalms, etc., of the second nocturn; on Tuesday and Friday, those of the third nocturn. The prayers used in the office were the same as those used today for "*familiares* and benefactors of the Order." The entire

community did not say the office; only the hebdomadarian of the week, with the deacon, subdeacon and friar who were assigned for that week to the Mass of the Dead. But the ordinary adds: "Any others who wish to do so, may be present."¹⁶ This office was recited nearly every day.

From the tenth century on, it had been customary to recite daily in the office the seven penitential psalms and the *psalmi familiares* (or psalms for benefactors). This practice was not adopted by the Dominicans.

¹⁶ See also *De Vita Reg.*, II, 76-77.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

COMPLINE AND THE SALVE PROCESSION

FROM a liturgical standpoint, compline is one of the lesser parts of the Divine Office; it does not possess the importance of matins, lauds or vespers. Yet, almost from the very beginning the Dominicans attached great importance to this part of the office, and they adopted a rich, variable form of compline to which they added a solemn and impressive ceremony, the *Salve Regina* procession.

The ancient *Liber Consuetudinum* lays no special emphasis upon compline, just a few lines telling how it should begin. But when Humbert, in the second half of the thirteenth century, came to write his *Exposition of the Constitutions*, he devoted over twenty pages to the subject. Evidently compline had acquired great importance in the interim. How it came about is explained by a number of writers of that period: Blessed Jordan of Saxony and Venerable Humbert of Romans, both masters-general of the Order; Gerard de Fracheto, provincial of Toulouse; Thomas of Cantimpré, writer and theologian; and Bartholomew of Trent, biographer and contemporary of St. Dominic. They are supported by the two oldest Dominican chronicles.¹ All these authorities belong to either the first half or the middle of the thirteenth century. They all enjoyed high standing in the Order, and some were actually eyewitnesses of the events they describe. Yet, so startling are their statements that for credence one is obliged to recall the many Gospel ac-

¹ Various attributed to Peter Ferrandi and Gerard de Fracheto.

counts of demoniacal persecutions of human beings. The creation by the Church of a special group of clerics, the exorcists, to cope with evil spirits, and the rules of procedure insisted upon even to-day in cases of obsession or possession, plainly testify to the Church's conviction concerning the reality of such occurrences. Diabolical phenomena are encountered in the lives of nearly all the founders of Religious Orders, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Philip Neri, etc. It is hardly likely that all these great men should have been victims of their own perverid imaginations.

If we accept St. Gregory's statement that evil spirits assail more violently souls in whom they find a greater disposition to holiness, then a remarkable degree of sanctity must have prevailed in the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, for in both of them we read of a number of violent preternatural manifestations. In the Order of St. Dominic, the disturbances centred at Paris and Bologna. Blessed Jordan, whose trustworthiness and accuracy are beyond suspicion, was an eyewitness of the things he narrates. As his account is quite long, we shall condense it.

WHY THE "SALVE" PROCESSION WAS INSTITUTED

In July, 1221, Jordan was made the first provincial of the newly formed province of Lombardy. He states that he set out for Bologna desirous of seeing St. Dominic, but by the time he had reached that city the holy Founder had died. Jordan then goes on to tell us that at that time there was at Bologna a certain friar Bernard, who was obsessed by an evil spirit and was grievously tormented by the same. So great were his frenzies night and day that the whole community was upset; nor was even Jordan himself immune from the assaults of the evil one. He continues: "The savage abuse friar Bernard was re-

ceiving was the first occasion which led us at Bologna to decide that the antiphon *Salve Regina* should be sung after compline. From this monastery, the pious and salutary practice spread over the entire province of Lombardy and finally throughout the whole Order.”²

What was the date of this innovation? St. Dominic died on 6 August, 1221. The practice, then, must have begun in the same year, for it is inconceivable that a man of Jordan's unusual devotion to the Blessed Virgin would have endured for six months or more so horrible a disturbance in his own monastery without having recourse to his Patroness for help. His statement, “From this monastery the pious and salutary practice spread over the entire province, etc.,” clearly shows that he was not yet master-general. For had the decision been made by a general chapter, its observance would have been adopted simultaneously in all the houses; it would not have spread from one house to another in the province and from that province to the rest of the Order. As Jordan was elected master-general on 22 May, 1222, we must conclude that the *Salve* procession was instituted in the latter part of 1221 or in the first part of the year 1222.

Venerable Humbert of Romans also speaks of the diabolical obsession at Bologna, and mentions a similar one which took place at Paris. He says: “This [*Salve*] procession was not held in the beginning of the Order when these Constitutions were written. But when a certain friar at Bologna was tormented by the devil, the brethren ordained that for his deliverance the *Salve Regina* should be sung after compline; and so it was done. At Paris for the same reason [i.e., vexation of the friars by evil

² *Libellus de principiis Ord. Præd.*, in MOPH, XVI, 77-82. Cf. Scheeben, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Jordans von Sachsen*, in QF, XXXV, 42-44.

spirits] a commemoration of the Holy Angels was made after matins with the respond: *Te sanctum Dominum*. But it was ordered in one of the chapters that this commemoration should be omitted to avoid prolixity. However, the procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin, to which the friars had greater devotion, has never been discontinued.”³

Such was the origin of the famous *Salve Regina* procession after compline. It was a Dominican innovation, for it is the first instance history records of the daily processional singing of the *Salve Regina* after compline. It was begun with the idea, not of inaugurating a new practice, but of coping with a dreadful emergency. But it made such an appeal to the friars who were alert for new ways of honoring the Blessed Virgin that it spread rapidly throughout the Order and then to diocesan churches and the monasteries of other Orders. Some two-score years after the events at Bologna, Gerard de Fracheto wrote that the brethren “looked forward to compline as to a festival; when the signal sounded, they hastened to the choir from all parts of the building, commending themselves with heartfelt affection to each other's prayers. When the office was finished and the parting homage had been devoutly paid to the Queen of the whole world and the advocate of our Order, they subjected themselves to severe disciplines.”⁴ And Blessed Jordan exclaims: “From how many persons has this holy praise of the venerable Mother of Christ forced tears of devotion! How many of the auditors and singers alike have felt their hearts soften and melt away while devout hearts were set on fire! Should we not believe that the Mother of our Redeemer is

³ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 131.

⁴ *Vitæ Fratrum*, 148-149.

pleased with such praises, that she is appeased by these public tributes?"⁵

P. Godet ascribes the introduction of the *Salve* in the liturgy to the Order of Preachers. Concluding his study of the subject, he remarks: "Both in the introduction as well as in the diffusion of the beautiful antiphon of Mary, the predominant part of the Friars Preachers is clear to all. . . . There is no doubt but that Pope Gregory IX and King St. Louis willingly listened to the pious suggestions, if not the counsels, of Raymond of Peñafort and of Geoffrey of Beaulieu, and that as a result the Dominican Order endowed the [Divine] Office with (among other things) the liturgical singing of the *Salve Regina*."⁶ The Oratorian A. Molien agrees: "It is, then, to the Order of St. Dominic that the honor of this institution belongs."⁷

This does not mean that the friars were the first to sing the antiphon in procession. They were not. That honor belongs to an older religious Order, the *Salve Regina* having already been in existence for some two hundred years. The illustrious St. Bernard spread its use especially among the Cistercians. A general chapter of that Order in 1218 prescribed the daily processional chanting of it before the high altar after chapter. In 1220 and 1221 the custom was dropped, and the monks were enjoined to recite it individually.⁸ Nevertheless, it is possible that it was from the former Cistercian practice that Jordan got the idea of a *Salve* procession; only, instead of having it after the daily chapter, he selected a far more impressive time, the end of the day.

⁵ *Libellus*, 81.

⁶ "L'origine liturgique du 'Salve Regina,'" in *Revue du Clergé Français*, XLIII (1910), 476.

⁷ "L'Office romain," in *Liturgia*, 592. See Note on the *Salve Regina* Procession, at end of this chapter.

⁸ *Statuta Cap. Gen. Ord. Cisterciensis*, I, 517; II, 2.

POPULARITY AND SPREAD OF THE NEW PRACTICE

The Dominicans carried the practice to the four corners of Europe; the clergy and laity alike welcomed it. Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261), who preached throughout the length and breadth of Gaul during the forty years of his apostolate, expressly states that many churches were influenced by the example of the friars and adopted the custom.⁹ It is impossible to cite here more than a few examples of the spread of the devotion. In 1233, the monks of St. Denis decided to sing the *Salve Regina* after compline, at least during Lent.¹⁰ It was at the suggestion of St. Raymond of Peñafort that Gregory IX ordered the *Salve Regina* to be sung in all the churches of Rome every Friday evening after compline.¹¹ In 1249, the Franciscan minister-general, John of Parma, directed that there should be said after compline one of the four antiphons of Mary, among them the *Salve Regina*.¹² In 1251, the Cistercians, at the request of the King and Queen of France, enacted that every evening, at the end of compline, the cantor should begin the antiphon *Salve Regina*; the antiphon finished, the monk presiding should say the verse *Ave Maria* with the prayer *Concede nos*.¹³ The customary of the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter's at Westminster, belonging to the second half of the thirteenth century, refers to the singing of the *Salve Regina* after compline by the monks as a recent, not an ancient practice.¹⁴ And so this

⁹ Quoted by Echard, in *SSOP*, I, 97, note M.

¹⁰ Vacandard, "Les origines littéraire, musicale et liturgique du 'Salve Regina,'" in *Études de critique et d'histoire religieuse* (1923), 177.

¹¹ Godet, *op. cit.*, 475. ¹² Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, III, 209.

¹³ *Statuta Cap. Gen. Ord. Cisterciensis*, II, 361.

¹⁴ *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries . . .*, ed. E. Thompson, II, 201 (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXVIII).

pious custom in honor of Mary continued its triumphal progress until it became one of the most popular devotions of the Middle Ages. The reaction of the faithful towards it is described in the words of Gerard de Fracheto: "How pleasing this procession was to God and His holy Mother was shown by the piety of the people; the way they thronged to our churches; the devotion of the clergy who came to assist at it; the tears and sighs of devotion and the visions seen [during it]." ¹⁵

It was undoubtedly due to some of "the visions seen" that the Friars Preachers were so wholeheartedly devoted to the ceremony. We shall mention but two of the apparitions. Blessed Jordan of Saxony himself tells us that "a man of God, worthy of belief, revealed to him that he frequently saw in vision during the singing of the *Salve Regina* the Mother of the Lord prostrate herself in the presence of her Son, at the words *Eia ergo advocata nostra*, and plead for the preservation of the Order." ¹⁶ It was on account of the vision that there began the custom of the friars kneeling at these words. Later, Guido Le Gros, afterwards Pope Clement IV, in a letter to the friars at Montpellier declared that his sister, the saintly Marie de Tarascon, had attended the Dominican compline for three successive days and every day she had beheld a vision of the Blessed Virgin graciously assisting at the *Salve* procession. ¹⁷

These and similar statements publicly made by prominent men undoubtedly inspired the intense devotion which the Friars Preachers manifested to this particular part of the Divine Office; and soon positive legislation was inserted in the Constitutions forbidding "formal" students, professors and higher officials to be absent from compline, even though they were exempted

¹⁵ *Vitæ Fratrum*, 148-149. ¹⁶ *Libellus*, 81-82. ¹⁷ *Vitæ Fratrum*, 61.

from attendance at the rest of the office. In short, compline came to be looked upon in the Order, not merely as a part of the canonical office, but rather as an intimate family colloquy with the Protectress of the Order. But all the sacred memories attached to compline in the Dominican Order failed to preserve it from the meddling of twentieth-century revisers; hence, it becomes necessary to direct our attention to the subject of compline in general and to the old Dominican office in particular.

COMPLINE IN THE EARLY CHURCH

For a long time compline was regarded as a monastic night-prayer added to the Divine Office by St. Benedict at the comparatively late date of the sixth century. The Benedictine origin is now strongly contested, some liturgists tracing the origin back to at least the fourth century. ¹⁸

The Benedictine compline differs from that of the Roman Rite. St. Benedict prescribed in his rule that it should be composed of three invariable psalms without any antiphon; and in addition, of a hymn, verse, *Kyrie*, and blessing. In the Roman office, at least by the end of the twelfth century, it consisted of a brief lesson (which sometimes varied), *Confiteor*, *Converte nos*, *Deus in adiutorium*, and four invariable psalms. The addition of a fourth psalm, or rather six verses of it, was made in the ninth century. After the psalms came a hymn which varied according to the season; then *capitulum*, respond and verse, antiphon, *Nunc dimittis*, *preces*, and a prayer. A blessing was invoked and the choir sprinkled with holy water; a verse with the prayer *Exaudi nos* brought compline to a close.

Two things should be noticed about the Roman office.

¹⁸ Fehrenbach, "Complies," in *DACL*, III, 2467-2470.

First, as to the number of psalms used, four constitute an exception to the number used in any other part of the Divine Office. Secondly, the order of the component parts (psalms, hymn, *capitulum*) gives us another anomaly, for nowhere else in the Roman office do we find this sequence. The Dominicans rectified the awkward arrangement and made it conform to the order of first vespers; so that in the Dominican office we have the more liturgical arrangement: psalms, antiphon, *capitulum*, respond, hymn, versicle and response, canticle, antiphon and prayer.

The manner (and place) in which compline began depended on whether it was a time of fasting or not. The Dominicans began their fast with the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), and continued it until Easter. Fasting was also in effect on the vigils of the following feasts: Ascension, Pentecost, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Andrew, James, All Saints, as well as Ember days and Fridays. To this list St. Raymond added the vigils of Lawrence and the Assumption. On these fast days compline really began in the refectory; this was the ancient monastic custom. When the friars had assembled there, the reader asked for a blessing: *Jube domne benedicere*; to which the hebdomadarian replied: *Noctem quietam*, etc. He then blessed the diluted wine which was to constitute their evening meal: *Largitor omnium bonorum benedicat potum servorum suorum. Amen.* The spiritual reading or collation was begun by the reader while the friars partook of their modest refreshment. At a signal from the prior the reading was ended with the words: *Tu autem Domine miserere nostri. Amen.* Then forming a

procession, the community went in silence to the church for the *Confiteor* and the rest of the office.¹⁹

If it was not a fast day, the office began in choir in precisely the same way in which the present Roman office begins, except that the Dominican *Confiteor* was used and the *Absolutionem* (in the Roman office *Indulgentiam, Absolutionem*) was not said. The reason assigned by Humbert for this being omitted at compline, although it is said at Mass, is that far greater purity of conscience is required for the Mass than for the office. It might be observed in passing that the custom of the Church of Paris was to place the *Confiteor* at the end of compline; the Dominicans followed the Roman custom.

The same psalms were used every day. They had been selected because of their singular appropriateness for the concluding part of the office. Psalm 4, *Cum invocarem*, tells of the confidence with which the just man peacefully sleeps; the six verses of psalm 30, *In te Domine speravi*, incite us to place our hope in the Lord and to commend our soul into His hands. Psalm 90, *Qui habitat*, enumerates the reasons for our confidence despite the dangers of the night, while the last psalm (psalm 133), *Ecce nunc*, invites us servants of the Lord to lift up our hands in benediction during the hours of the night. It is a genuine loss to the beauty of the Roman liturgy that the "revisers" saw fit to discard a set of psalms which (with the exception of psalm 30) had been hallowed by the uninterrupted use of the Roman Church for at least fourteen hundred years. On Sundays and some *totum duplex* feasts, the old office is still said; but, by abolishing the daily use of these

¹⁹ This was the custom of the Dominicans from the days of St. Dominic. It is described in the *Liber Consuetudinum* (see ALKM, I, 199-200).

psalms, the revisers ruined the distinctive character of this venerable night service.

THE RICH VARIETY OF DOMINICAN COMPLINE

The variety which was noticeable in the old Roman office, but which was abandoned in the Franciscan abbreviation of it, was preserved by the Dominicans. These variations of truly beautiful antiphons, responds, hymns, etc., not only removed the danger of monotony from the office, but also served to keep one in close harmony with the liturgical spirit of the season. Thus, while the superpsalm antiphon *Miserere mihi* was the usual one, special seasons had their own distinctive antiphons. For Christmas eve the antiphon was: "The days of Mary were accomplished that she should bring forth her first-born Son." For Christmas and until the vigil of the Epiphany: "This day is born to us a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David." For Epiphany and its octave: "Light of light, O Christ, Thou art made manifest; to Thee the Magi offer gifts, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia." During paschal time the antiphon was the joyous Alleluias. The numerous feasts of Our Lady (and their octaves) had one of three antiphons. (1) "Holy Mother of God, Mary ever Virgin, intercede for us with our Lord God." (2) "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son; and His name shall be called Emmanuel." (3) "O Virgin Mary, there is no one in the world born of woman who is like to thee, flourishing like the rose, fragrant as the lily: pray for us, O holy Mother of God." The feast of the Compassion of Mary was given a special antiphon: "O Virgin Mary, there is no woman who ever suffered the agony thou didst experience in watching thy crucified Son die. Pray for us, O pious Mother of God."

The *capitulum*, *Tu in nobis es*, did not change; but its re-

spond, *In manus tuas Domine*, had one variation. It was employed only during the first two weeks of Lent: "In peace in the selfsame I will sleep and I will rest. *Ps.* If I shall give sleep to my eyes and slumber to my eyelids, I will sleep and I will rest." On the last three days of Holy Week and during Easter week there was no respond whatever, there being no *capitulum*.

Nor was the hymn *Te lucis* always used. During Lent (except on the last three days when hymns were omitted), there was sung the ancient *Christe, qui lux es et dies*, a hymn which though lacking somewhat in polish is far superior in meaning and simple beauty to many hymns now used in the Roman breviary.²⁰ During Easter week there was no hymn, but on Low Sunday was sung *Jesu nostra redemptio*, which was used until Trinity Sunday; and even this hymn had variations for Ascension time and Whitsuntide.

The *Nunc dimittis* was not said by the Benedictines, Carthusians or Cluniacs; according to Grancolas, its use was peculiar to the Roman Church.²¹ In the Dominican office, we again encounter the richest variety in the antiphons of this canticle. *Salva nos* was the one commonly used; but there were some beautiful variations. During the first two weeks of Lent: "O eternal Saviour, watch over us lest the cunning tempter lay hold on us; for Thou hast been made our everlasting Helper." The next two weeks of Lent: "In the midst of life we are in death; whom shall we seek as a helper, except Thee, O Lord, who art justly angered by our sins? O Holy God, O Holy and Strong, O Holy and Merciful Saviour, deliver us not to the bit-

²⁰ The author of "La Journée du moine" [*Revue Bénédictine*, VII (1890), 326] praises the Order of Preachers for having preserved this hymn, "as it has preserved so many other beautiful things."

²¹ *Comment. Historicus*, lib. I, c. xxxix, 119.

terness of death. *Y.* Do not cast us forth in our old age; and if our strength shall fail, O Lord, do not abandon us. O Holy God, O Holy and Strong, O Holy and Merciful Saviour, deliver us not to the bitterness of death."

From Passion Sunday until Holy Thursday the antiphon to *Nunc dimittis* was: "O King, glorious amongst Thy Saints, who art ever praiseworthy and yet ineffable: do Thou be in us, O Lord, and let Thy holy Name be invoked upon us: our God, do not abandon us: vouchsafe, O blessed King, to place us among the Saints and Thine elect on the day of judgment." On Holy Thursday and Good Friday: "Christ became obedient for us unto death, even the death of the cross." During Eastertide: "Alleluia, the Lord has arisen, alleluia, as He spoke unto you, alleluia, alleluia." During Ascension time: "Alleluia, Christ ascending on high, alleluia, led captivity captive, alleluia, alleluia." During Whitsuntide: "Alleluia, the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, alleluia, will teach you all things, alleluia, alleluia." On Christmas eve: "Behold, all things were fulfilled which were spoken by the angel concerning the Virgin Mary." During the Christmas period: "Alleluia, the Word was made flesh, alleluia, and dwelt amongst us, alleluia, alleluia." On Epiphany and during its octave: "Alleluia, all they from Saba shall come, alleluia, bringing gold and incense, alleluia, alleluia." On Corpus Christi: "Alleluia, the Bread that I will give, alleluia, is My Flesh for the life of the world, alleluia."

The feasts of the Blessed Virgin used one of four antiphons. (1) "We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God: despise not our petitions in our necessities, but from all evils deliver us, O ever blessed Virgin." (2) "With heart and soul let us give glory to Christ, in this sacred solemnity of Mary the exalted Mother of God." (3) "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be

it done to me according to thy word." (4) "Now dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, according to Thy word in peace; because my eyes have seen Thy salvation."

It might be observed in passing that these antiphons, responds, and hymns were not peculiar to the Dominican Order; they formed part of the rich liturgy of the Latin Church. We find them in many Churches and, with astonishing similarity to the Dominican version, in the English rites of Sarum and Hereford.

Preces were said every day except from Holy Thursday to Low Sunday, during Pentecost week, and during the octave of Christmas as well as on all *duplex* and *totum duplex* feasts.

After the *preces*, the usual Roman custom was to recite either the *Illumina* or the *Deus qui illuminas*; the latter was preferred by the Church of Paris. However, the Dominicans chose neither; instead, they selected the old monastic prayer that had been used for centuries by the monks as their dormitory was sprinkled with holy water just before bedtime. This prayer was the *Visita quæsumus*. After it came the *Benedicamus Domino* and the blessing: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.* Again in this formula we see a preference for the more ancient monastic form, which Martène calls "*antiquissima.*"²²

THE "SALVE" PROCESSION DESCRIBED

The *Salve* procession now took place. On every day of the year (except Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week) two acolytes, wearing surplices and carrying candlesticks with lighted candles, took up their positions before the altar. At the opening note of the *Salve*, the entire community fell to

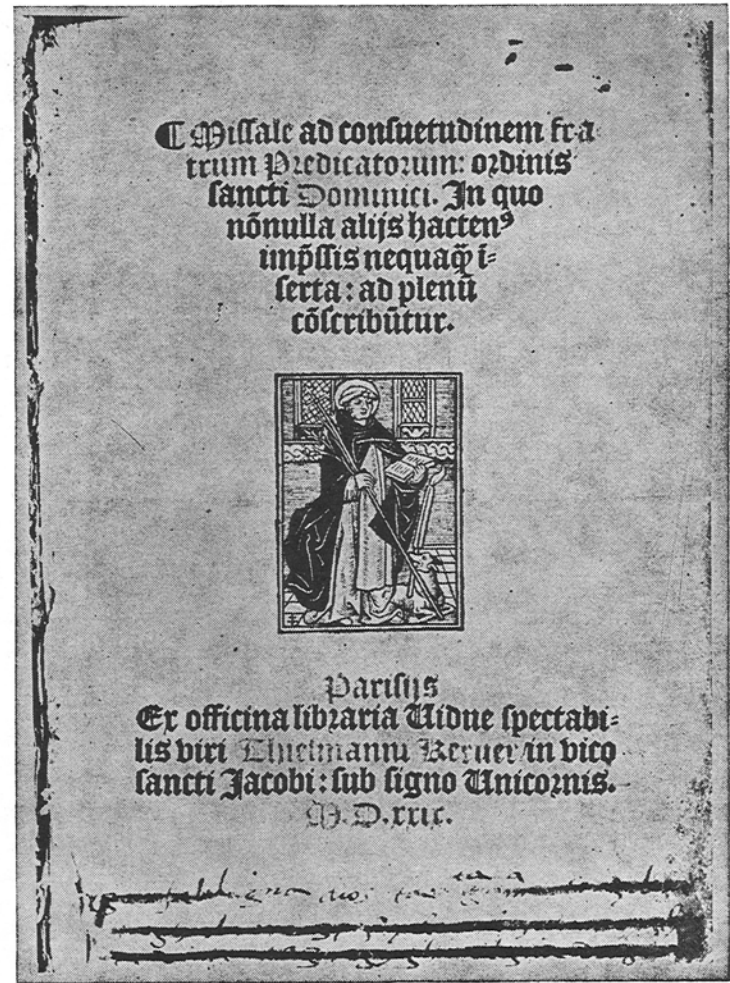
²² In AER, IV, lib. I, cap. xii, par. xiv.

their knees and remained kneeling until the word *Salve* had been finished; then arising and joining in the singing, the friars left their places and formed in procession behind the two acolytes, who led the way to the outer church or the church of the laity. As each one passed the large crucifix between the choir and the outer church, he bowed his head.

The brethren were now sprinkled with holy water. Later, the custom was introduced of the community kneeling at the words: *Eia ergo advocata nostra*. The antiphon ended, the acolytes sang the versicle: *Dignare me laudare te, Virgo sacrata*; to which the community responded: *Da mihi virtutem contra hostes tuos*. The final prayer *Concede nos* was sung by the hebdomadarian.²³ With the *Fidelium animæ* compline ended. There seems to have been some indecision as to where the *Pater noster* and the *Credo* should be said. In the Acts of the provincial chapter of Provence, held at Narbonne in 1250, the friars were reminded to say them on their return from the procession; and this appears to be the meaning of the legislation of the general chapter of 1245. But the ordinary of Humbert states that, if no seculars were in the church, the two prayers were to be said in the outer church; if outsiders were present, the brethren were to return to the choir for these prayers.²⁴

²³ Humbert's ordinary offers the choice of the *Salve Regina* or the *Ave Regina*. This was to avoid monotony. But the *Salve* proved to be the more popular and soon became the only one used. The other antiphons, *Alma Redemptoris* and *Regina Cœli*, were never sung at compline, but were used only at vespers of the office of the Blessed Virgin on Saturday. Cf. *De Vita Reg.*, II, 131.

²⁴ The custom of singing the *O lumen Ecclesiæ* in honor of St. Dominic as the procession returned to the choir was introduced at a later date. Why the friars should return to choir if outsiders were present is explained in *op. cit.*, II, 137. The *inclinatio profunda* and also the *inclinatio usque ad genua* were borrowed from the older Orders. That the latter inclination should have survived until modern times is surprising, since it adds nothing to the dignity of the divine choral service.



DOMINICAN MISSAL ADAPTED FOR THE CANONS OF THE
HOLY CROSS

Compline finished, the friars did not yet leave the choir. Instead, they recited the *Confiteor*, and after the hebdomadarian had said the *Misereatur*, they began the *Miserere* while the hebdomadarian (with an assistant, if necessary) made the rounds of the choir and administered the discipline to the bare backs of the friars. The ceremony was performed in memory of St. Dominic's custom of scourging himself every night. Humbert urged that the discipline should not be administered gently "lest we become like certain nuns of whom it was said that they scourged themselves with the tail of a fox."²⁵

Note on the *Salve Regina* Procession

While the writers of the Order are unanimous in attributing the introduction of the *Salve Regina* at compline to the time of Jordan, they disagree as to the precise year, Echard placing it as late as 1235. The discrepancy arises primarily from the statements of three writers: Gerard de Fracheto, Stephen of Bourbon, and Thomas of Cantimpré. In his singular book, *Vitæ Fratrum* (a book in which edification rather than historical information was the chief object), Gerard scatters throughout his pages various incidents of the same event as if they were entirely different occurrences, and thus he invites misunderstandings. Stephen of Bourbon was a lifelong missionary; he made no pretense to being an historian. Hence, it is not astonishing to find several obvious inaccuracies in his statements. The third writer, Thomas of Cantimpré, stated (*circa* 1261) that it was at Paris that the Fathers ordained that the *Salve Regina* should be sung. This statement, however, offers no real difficulty.

²⁵ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 131.

The custom begun by Jordan at Bologna when he was provincial was evidently made a law by one of the general chapters meeting at Paris after he became master-general.

Not any of these men can be compared to Blessed Jordan. A man of remarkable ability and sanctity, a deep student of the mathematical sciences (on which subject he wrote several treatises), he was paid the extraordinary tribute of being chosen, though only two years in the Order, as the successor of St. Dominic himself. He is a witness *major omni exceptione*, who tells us not what he has heard from others, but what he himself saw and took part in; furthermore, he wrote his account, not twenty-five or thirty years after the events took place, but within a dozen years.

It might be well to notice here a strange statement of Dom Bäumer, who attributes to William of Nangis the assertion: "St. Louis daily attended compline with his children. . . . At the end of compline, a special antiphon of the Blessed Virgin was sung; this custom spread from the royal chapel to all the churches" (*Histoire*, II, 70, n.1).

Unfortunately, Bäumer fails to say where the statement might be found. The only passage we have been able to discover in the writings of William of Nangis on the subject, is the following (*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XX, 402):

"He [the king] wished that his children . . . should always attend compline with him, which he had chanted solemnly in the chapel every evening after supper. At the close, a special antiphon of the Blessed Virgin was sung every day. Compline ended, he returned with his children to his room."

There is no mention whatever of the custom spreading from the royal chapel to other churches. Neither does Bäumer's second

authority, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, the Dominican confessor of the king, make any such assertion. As a matter of fact, the quotation from Nangis just given above is taken almost word for word from the Dominican Geoffrey of Beaulieu. Where then did Bäumer obtain his statement?

If we turn to his reference to Thomassin (*Vetus et nova Ecclesiae disciplina*, part I, book II, ch. lxxxvii, n.2), we read as follows:

“He [the king] desired that his children . . . should be present with him at all the canonical hours, especially compline which was chanted after supper. During this office, that well-known antiphon of the Blessed Mary was sung in the sweetest harmony; this usage began in the royal chapel and from there it spread to all the churches.”

It becomes clear, then, that it was not a thirteenth-century historian but a seventeenth-century theologian who makes the statement concerning the origin of the custom. The text of Geoffrey, however, disproves the unsupported claim of Thomassin. The king's confessor explicitly states that “the king's children were now approaching adult age.” The first of the children to live to adult age was Isabella, who was born in 1242. At the middle of the century, she was only eight years old. By the time the king's children really were approaching adult age, the Dominican custom had been in existence some two-score years and was already established in many churches throughout Europe. There can hardly be any doubt but that St. Louis, a frequent visitor of Dominican monasteries, borrowed the custom from the Order.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE SOURCES OF THE DOMINICAN RITE

SUCH then was the ecclesiastical office as edited by the master general, Humbert of Romans. The question at once arises: “Where did the Order obtain this rite?” As usual, there are many conflicting answers, and it is astonishing to discover the remarkable naïveté of many writers who assumed that this difficult question did not need patient historical research but could be solved by abstract reasoning. The Dominican Order was founded in France; therefore, it adopted the “French” liturgy! The Order was closely bound to the Carthusians; therefore, it adopted the Carthusian rite! The most famous monastery of the Dominicans was at Paris; therefore, the rite of Paris was chosen! And so the litany of speculation continues.

Before enumerating the opinions, it will be helpful to clarify our terms. When these writers speak of the “Gallican” or of the “Roman” Rite, they do not mean the ancient Gallican liturgy such as existed at the time of Charlemagne, or the ancient Roman rite such as existed in the fifth century. There could be no question of either the real Gallican rite or of the pure Roman rite in the thirteenth century, since both these rites had disappeared several centuries earlier. When, therefore, writers refer to the “Roman” rite of the thirteenth century, they mean the Gallico-Roman rite as it was observed at Rome; when they allude to the “Gallican” rite, they mean the same rite as it was observed outside of Rome—that is, with a large number of variations that were not of Roman origin. These

non-Roman modifications are often given the ambiguous term "Gallican," although they may have originated, not in Gaul, but in England, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, or Spain.

In classifying the opinions of the various writers, it will serve to clear away obscurity if we translate their equivocal terminology by the precise terms we have just been considering. Furthermore, in this catalogue of opinions (in which for the sake of completeness we list even the absurd theories), it must be observed that few writers hold precisely the same views, and it is only by disregarding their lesser differences that any classification is possible. Indeed, the language of some is so careless and obscure that it is entirely optional to regard them as holding one theory rather than another.

No less than eight different explanations have been advanced to account for the origin of the Dominican rite.

(1) *Humbert "invented" the rite!* This opinion, according to Masetti, was actually held by some; he charitably refrains from giving their names.¹

(2) *It is the liturgy of ancient Rome!* They who held this belief (Cavalieri mentions them) tried to bolster it with the story that, at the Council of Trent, the theologian Peter de Soto wrote a dissertation proving this claim. The document is supposed to have been in the Dominican monastery at Trent where the Spanish theologian died.²

(3) *It is the Gallican Rite (i.e., the Gallico-Roman as observed outside of Rome).* This is the oldest pronouncement we have on the subject. It was made by the Dominican chronicler, Henry of Hervorden (d. 1370). In his chronicles, he gives an extremely brief account of Humbert in which he says: "He

¹ *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, I, 68.

² *Statera Sacra*, 29, par. 40.

arranged in a more acceptable form and corrected the Divine Office of the Friars Preachers, according to the Gallican office. This arrangement was afterwards confirmed for the Order by Pope Martin IV [sic!]."³

Since there can be no question of the ancient Gallican Rite, Henry must be understood as speaking of the Gallico-Roman rite as observed outside of Rome, that is, with notable non-Roman variations. Apart from contradicting the "Roman" theory, Henry gives us little information. Lest the antiquity of the writer unduly impress us, let us remember that he lived a whole century after Humbert; that he is not always accurate in his statements (witness his mistake concerning the Pope who approved of the rite); and that of his two Dominican sources, Vincent of Beauvais is silent on this subject, while Bernard Gui merely says that Humbert "arranged the ecclesiastical office of the Order."⁴

Holding the same opinion as Henry are Berthier⁵ and Sölch.⁶

(4) *It is wholly eclectic, being made up of a number of various rites.* Cavalieri mentions some authors as holding that St. Dominic compiled the rite, using the old Roman as the basis but adopting customs from various sources; thus, "from many sheaves, he formed a [new] sheaf."⁷ A similar opinion has been recently adopted by Callewaert, who says: "It was compiled in a highly eclectic manner from various elements—Roman, Celtic, Gallican—especially Parisian, and perhaps

³ *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, 209.

⁴ *Libellus seu Tractatus magistrorum O.P.*, in Martène and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI, 408.

⁵ *Année dominicaine ou Vies des Saints*, juillet, 299 ff.

⁶ "Die Liturgie des Dominikanerordens," in *Liturgische Zeitschrift*, III, 10, p. 307. ⁷ *Statera Sacra*, 27, par. 36.

Eastern.”⁸ Walz also appears to hold a modification of this solution.⁹

(5) *It is a combination of the Carthusian and Premonstratensian rites.* Cavalieri was the proponent of this theory. He agreed with Dominic Soto as regards the Carthusian origin of the Mass, and with Bona regarding the Norbertine source of the office.¹⁰ Soto, in speaking of the elevation of the chalice as being comparatively recent, says: “The Carthusians do not elevate the chalice, nor is any elevation prescribed for us [Dominicans] in our ordinary which was taken from the Carthusian ordinary.”¹¹ As regards the office, Cardinal Bona remarks: “As the illustrious Order of Preachers had received from the Premonstratensians the Rule of St. Augustine, so also they obtained from them the Divine Office. But men noted for their learning and holiness introduced certain changes.”¹²

(6) *It is the Roman rite as developed by the Church of Lyons.* The best-known exponent of this claim is the Benedictine liturgist, Dom Baudot. In his book on the Roman Missal, he says: “It was the Gallico-Roman liturgy and most especially the liturgy of Lyons, which furnished the Carmelites, Norbertines, and Dominicans their peculiarities in the celebration of Mass.”¹³

(7) *It is the Roman rite as developed by the Church of Paris.* The adherents of this contention must be divided into two groups: the extremists, who insist the Friars Preachers took over

⁸ *Liturgicæ Institutiones, De Sacra Liturgia universim*, 96-97.

⁹ *Compendium Historiæ*, 104. ¹⁰ *Statera Sacra*, 28-29, par. 39.

¹¹ *In 4. Sent.*, dist. 13, q. 2, art. 5. Cavalieri interprets Soto's use of the word “ordinary” to mean the ordinary of the Mass, not the entire ceremonial. ¹² *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII, art. vii, 898.

¹³ *Le Missel Romain*, II, 102, 104-105.

the whole rite of Paris or at least a very substantial part of that rite, and the moderates, who hold merely that the Paris influence was more marked than that of any other one place or Order.

The foremost of the extremists is the distinguished Oratorian liturgist, Lebrun. Enumerating the Orders which adopted the Missal of Paris, he concludes: “. . . and then [it was adopted] by the Friars Preachers a few years after the foundation of their Order. The uniformity of their chant with the ancient chant of Paris, the preparation of wine and water in the chalice before Mass, beginning the Mass with *Confitemini*, and some other peculiarities which are found in the Parisian missals as late as 1615 and which the Dominicans have always preserved, must unhesitatingly make us regard their missal as the ancient missal of the Church of Paris.”¹⁴

The Dominican Cassitto, who wrote his *Liturgia Dominicana* a century later, adopted the view of Lebrun, though he fails to acknowledge him as his source: “The Dominican Order was founded at Toulouse in France. Therefore (!), there was adopted for the use of the Order the rite of the Church of Paris. . . .” His concluding remarks were taken almost verbatim from Lebrun.¹⁵

Dom Guéranger, basing his opinion on Cassitto, declares: “The Friars Preachers, whom God gave to the Church through the ministry of Saint Dominic, . . . merit a distinguished place in the annals of liturgy. Founded in France, and soon established at Paris . . . , their liturgical usages, to which they have always remained faithful, make known to us those of the Churches of France and particularly of the Church of Paris in

¹⁴ *Explication*, IV, dissert. XV, art. IV, 285.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, 14-15.

the thirteenth century. As regards the Mass, they have preserved many rites and prayers, most of which are found in the French missals from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. Except for some slight differences, the text of the missal is pure Roman. As regards the breviary, . . . save for a few rites, everything that is added to the Roman breviary, we find in the ancient Parisian breviary. . . ." ¹⁶

Dom Bäumer, in his turn, relies on Guéranger. "They [the Dominicans] created a rich liturgy with splendid ceremonies, and they possessed according to the ancient custom a whole series of huge choir-books . . . [Humbert] drew up as the breviary of the Friars Preachers the ancient Roman breviary everywhere in use, but with additions from the uses of Paris." Elsewhere he says: "The Dominicans adopted the liturgy of Paris, or rather the Roman liturgy such as it had developed on French soil and in the form in which it prevailed everywhere in the thirteenth century." ¹⁷

Other adherents of the Paris theory are Grancolas,¹⁸ Archdale King,¹⁹ Batiffol,²⁰ and the Dominicans Danzas,²¹ Masetti,²² Smith,²³ Cormier,²⁴ Mandonnet,²⁵ Constant,²⁶ and Rousseau.²⁷

¹⁶ *Institutions liturgiques*, I. ch. XII, 338-339.

¹⁷ *Histoire*, I, 65-66, also 42. ¹⁸ *Commentarius Historicus*, 44.

¹⁹ *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 90. He says: "Henry of Herfort . . . definitely states that Humbert ordered and corrected the liturgy of Paris, when fashioning the rite for his Order." The only statement Henry makes concerning the Dominican rite is the one just given under the third heading; it hardly warrants King's interpretation.

²⁰ "L'ordinaire de la messe selon l'usage de Paris," in *La Vie et Les Arts Liturgiques*, février, 1920, 156-157.

²¹ *Études sur les temps primitifs*, III, 47.

²² *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, I, 68-69.

²³ "Dominican Rite," in *CE*, XIII, 75; *Dominican Year Book* (Somerset, 1910), 52; reprinted in *The Torch* (Somerset, November, 1917), 4.

²⁴ *Quinze Entretien*, 143-145.

²⁵ *Saint Dominique, L'Idée, L'Homme et L'Œuvre*, I, 225.

²⁶ *Annuaire Pontifical Catholique* (Chardavoine), Année XXXV (1932), 20. ²⁷ *De ecclesiastico officio*, 110 ff.

But, as already stated, most of these writers differ from one another as regards the extent of the Parisian influence. Of the entire group, Rousseau is by far the most competent to speak, as he devoted a number of years to really critical research. According to him, the whole liturgy, Mass, office, and plain-chant, is truly Roman. But the Roman rite was added to by uses taken from a number of other Churches, particularly in Gaul; and, although it would be false to say that the Dominicans adopted the rite of Paris, this church does appear to have exercised the greatest influence.²⁸

(8) *It is the genuine Roman rite of the early thirteenth century, enriched with certain non-Roman variations and additions. These alterations, however, were not sufficiently great to change its classification from "Roman" to "Gallican."*

The first and foremost proponent of this assertion was Vincent Laporte.²⁹ He was soon joined by Mortier.³⁰ Others who adopted the same position are E. Colunga,³¹ Lavocat,³² Bruno Walkley,³³ and the Benedictine Dom Cabrol.³⁴

WHICH THEORY CORRESPONDS WITH THE FACTS?

From the array of conflicting theories advanced by various scholars, it is quite evident that the question is a complex and difficult one. The complexity arises from the huge number of ceremonies which go to make up an entire rite or liturgy; the difficulty, from the peculiar nature of the problem. The brevi-

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 131. ²⁹ "Précis historique," 94-106, *passim*.

³⁰ *La Liturgie Dominicaine*, I, 35 and 39.

³¹ "La Liturgia Dominicana," in *La Ciencia Tomista* (Noviembre-Diciembre, 1916), 321.

³² "La Liturgie Dominicaine" in *Liturgia*, 862.

³³ *The Dominican Missal* (London, 1932), xvi ff.

³⁴ *The Mass of the Western Rites*, 190.

aries and missals of the early Middle Ages, because of their paucity of rubrics, are of very little help to us except in the comparison of texts. A number of books of rubrics (*Ordinaria*, *Customaria*, etc.) have been found; but a far greater number apparently have perished. And even in the case of those which survived, the rubrics are often so brief and incomplete as to leave us in ignorance as to just how a given ceremony was performed.

Still another major obstacle stands in the way. If every Church using a special (i.e., non-Roman) rubric were the only Church with that particular rubric, then a great part of the problem might be solved. But when we encounter a non-Roman custom, not in just one Church, but in a number of different Churches, it becomes impossible to determine which one of these Churches influenced the Dominican liturgists as regards that special use. Hence, any attempt to give the sources of the rite can only resolve itself to this:

- (1) Was a given ceremony Roman; that is, did it originate in Rome?
- (2) If not, which were the principal Churches or Orders making use of the custom?

Viewing the problem in this light, let us briefly examine the outstanding features of the Dominican rite in an effort to ascertain which of the foregoing theories most closely approximates the facts. Since the Paris theory has been given so much prominence, special attention will be paid to the claims of the Church of Paris.

I. THE CALENDAR

It has been established (in Chapter Ten) that Humbert took the Gregorian calendar and, by eliminating a number of its purely local elements, made it truly representative of the whole

Church. The Order of Preachers was anticipating what the Church herself would eventually do. By this act of justice towards non-Roman Saints, the Dominican calendar paved the way in no small degree for the universal acceptance of the Roman calendar.

The most notable Dominican variation from the Gregorian calendar was the system of computing the Sundays after the paschal season from Trinity instead of from Pentecost. Both systems are non-Roman. The ancient Roman Church divided this part of the year into five Sundays after Pentecost, five after the feast of the Apostles (Peter and Paul), six after Lawrence, one *Dominica vacans*, and eight after the Holy Angel (St. Michael).³⁵ This awkward system was finally discarded, and Rome borrowed the more convenient arrangement used in the Gallican churches, namely, that of enumerating all the Sundays after Pentecost from one to twenty-four.

The Gallican Churches had selected Pentecost or its octave as the starting-point for the obvious reason that it was the feast which closed the paschal season. When, therefore, another important feast took the place of the octave of Pentecost and in its turn closed the paschal season, a number of Churches logically dated their Sundays from the new feast.³⁶ This was done in the Gilbertine, Carthusian, Sarum and Hereford rites, and in the Churches of Chantilly, Carpentras, Toul, Carcassonne, Laon, etc.

³⁵ Tommasi, *Omnia Opera*, V, 468 ff; Frere, *Studies in the Early Roman Liturgy. I. The Calendar*, 63.

³⁶ An office in honor of the Trinity appears to have been drawn up at the time of the Arian heresy, but no date was set for the feast (cf. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, II, 460-461). It was not until the eighth century that the feast began to be celebrated on Sunday; in some places, the octave of Pentecost was chosen, in others the Sunday before Advent. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the feast was observed in most of the churches of Europe, but not at Rome.

While we cannot therefore single out with certainty the Church from which the system was borrowed, it is hardly likely—despite Rousseau's opinion to the contrary—that Paris exercised any influence whatever in the matter.³⁷ In the thirteenth century, Paris still used almost exclusively the old Gallican method; it was not until long after that it generally adopted the Trinity reckoning.³⁸

It might be thought that, in order to learn if any church exercised noteworthy influence on the Dominican rite, we have only to classify according to the places of birth the Saints who were added to the calendar by the Dominicans. Such an easy solution, however, is not possible because the place where the cultus of a Saint flourished was not always identical with the place of his birth. Again, a Saint generally enjoyed a greater renown in a foreign land he had evangelized than he did in the land of his birth; classic examples are St. Patrick and St. Boniface.

Again, the geographical extent of the Saint's cult would be helpful if that cult were confined to one locality or even to one country. But there is not one Saint added to the Dominican calendar whose cult was so circumscribed. The calendar, therefore, is of little help in indicating whether any particular Church exercised a marked influence on the Order; but while these additions do not throw any special light on that subject, certain omissions from that calendar are significant.

In view of the often-repeated assertion that Paris greatly influenced the Dominican rite, let us see if there is any evidence of it in the calendar. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the feasts especially dear to the Parisians were these: Gene-

³⁷ *De ecclesiastico officio*, 111.

³⁸ Even in the fourteenth century the Pentecost enumeration is still common in the Parisian books.

vieve (3 January), William of Bruges (10 January), Honorina (27 February), the Finding of the bodies of Denis and his companions (22 April), Germain, Bishop of Paris (28 May), Landry or Landericus (10 June), Theobald or Thibaut (9 July), Translation of Marcellus (26 July), Samson (28 July), Mederic (29 August), Fiacre (30 August), Clodoaldus or Cloud (7 September), Aurea, abbess of Paris (4 October), Denis and his companions (9 October), Sabinianus and Potentianus (19 October), Magloire (24 October), Translation of Genevieve (28 October), Lucanus (30 October), Marcellus, Bishop of Paris (3 November), Malo or Machutus (15 November), Genevieve des Ardents (26 November), Eloi or Eligius (1 December), Fara (7 December), and Conception of Mary (8 December).

How many of all these Parisian feasts are found in Humbert's calendar? Only one.³⁹ And that one, St. Denis and his companions, cannot be said to have been taken from the calendar of Paris, for it was in both the Vatican and the Lateran calendars and was one of the most widely celebrated feasts throughout all Europe. As far as the calendar is concerned, the influence of Paris was non-existent.

From what has been said, it follows that the Friars' calendar was unaffected by local influences. On the contrary, the Dominican liturgists, having chosen the Gregorian calendar as a basis, drew up a calendar that for genuine catholicity in the selection of Saints and for sober restraint in the number of feasts stood unsurpassed by any other calendar of the thirteenth century. Indeed, in these qualities it was far superior to the calendar then in use at Rome.

³⁹ There is a Germain in Humbert's list; but he was Bishop of Auxerre, with the feast on 31 July. Likewise, the Marcellus in the Dominican calendar was not the Bishop of Paris but a martyr at Châlons-sur-Saône, whose feast was 4 September.

II. THE DIVINE OFFICE

Unlike the Franciscans who adopted the office of the Papal Court, the Dominicans preferred that of the Roman basilicas.⁴⁰ This office, however, presented some serious difficulties for an Order that was international and for one committed to an extensive program of study and preaching. The difficulties could be overcome only by freely modifying the original Roman Office.

The psalter presented the first problem. We have already seen (in Chapter Twelve) how the misnamed "Gallican" psalter had supplanted the "Roman" psalter throughout the whole Latin Church, except at Rome itself. Since an international Order like the Dominican needed the psalter that was in well-nigh universal use, the Friars Preachers substituted the so-called Gallican version for the Roman.⁴¹

The next problem was that of the hymns. Though hymns had been in use in the Church for many centuries, they were excluded at Rome from the breviaries of the secular clergy until the second half of the twelfth century, and possibly even to the end of that century. If the first Dominican liturgists did find hymns in the Roman Office, those hymns could have been there only a very short time. Hence, we can understand why the Dominicans felt free to select others. It is clear that the Dominican hymnal is not the one tardily adopted by Rome. It is equally clear that it is not the hymnal of the Church of Paris. No hymnal that we know of corresponds closely to that of the

⁴⁰ In a book entitled *L'office divin chez les Frères Mineurs au XIIIe siècle*, Le Carou attempted to prove that the Franciscans adopted the office of the Lateran basilica as modernized by the Curia. His effort was not successful. Cf. D'Angers, O.M.C., in *Études Franciscaines*, XLI (1929), 101-106.

⁴¹ Pius V formally approved the use of the "Gallican" psalter for the whole Latin Church.

Order.⁴² Probably the Order took the more common monastic version, omitted some of the hymns and slightly altered the order of some of the others.

The third difficulty was the length of the old Roman Office. The idea of an extensive program of study as a preparation for their apostolate was not an afterthought with the Friars Preachers, as it was in some Orders; it was the original idea of St. Dominic in founding his Order. For although as a Canon Regular he appreciated the value of the liturgy, he was too good a theologian to minimize the importance of theological and scriptural studies. Hence the rather startling remarks one encounters in early Dominican literature in reference to not staying too long in choir lest the studies suffer!⁴³ In accordance with such a standard, the Roman Office was somewhat shortened, the most notable of the curtailments occurring during the paschal season.

In the eleventh century, Gregory VII stated that during Easter and Pentecost weeks, according to the ancient Roman custom, there were read only three psalms and three lessons. He reproved those who day after day continued to say only one nocturn for matins; but he admitted that even the Romans had begun to do it.⁴⁴ Despite Gregory's attitude, we learn from the *Ordo Romanus XI* that it continued to be a Roman practice. For this *Ordo*, written in the first half of the twelfth century by a canon of St. Peter's, expressly states that for matins only three lessons were said from Easter until the vigil of the Ascension.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the practice had spread over Europe, and in many places the short office was extended until Pentecost Saturday.

⁴² Rousseau, *De ecclesiastico officio*, 114.

⁴³ For example, Humbert, *De Vita Reg.*, II, 70, 97, 98, etc.

⁴⁴ *Ordo Offic. Eccl. Lat.*, 77.

⁴⁵ Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, II, no. 55, p. 145.

Ralph of Tongres, a confirmed Romanist, was later to bear unwilling witness to the extent to which the custom had grown.⁴⁶ In any event, at the time of Humbert, this Roman usage was already more than a century old; and with the Order desirous of limiting choral services for the sake of studies, the adoption of the short office for the whole paschal season was a logical step.

At Rome, nothing but the "absolution" was recited immediately after the psalms and versicle and before the lessons; but elsewhere a *Pater noster* was generally said here.⁴⁷ This Gallicanism was adopted by the Dominicans; later, it would be adopted also by Rome.

The disposition of lessons in Humbert's office is quite different from that of the modern breviary. In the *Temporale*, the first six lessons are generally from the current Scripture and the last three from a patristic homily. In the *Sanctorale*, the first six lessons (sometimes all nine) are from the life of the Saint or from some ecclesiastical treatise. But let us not conclude, with Rousseau, that this also is a Gallican custom.⁴⁸ On the contrary, the twelfth-century *Ordo* of the Lateran shows that it was frequently done in the Roman basilicas.⁴⁹

Lastly, the current Scripture (*Scriptura occurrens*) is substantially the same as that used at the Lateran.

⁴⁶ Hittorp, *De Canonum Observantia*, prop. X.

⁴⁷ Amalarius, *De eccles. officiis*, lib., III, cap. 6, in PL, CV, 986-1242.

⁴⁸ Rousseau states: "The usage prevailed, at least in many churches of Gaul, of reading the first six lessons from the Scripture. Let us not instantly conclude that we took this custom from Paris because we agree with her in this. We find the same use in the ordinaries of Laon and Rheims . . ." (*De ecclesiastico officio*, 115).

⁴⁹ Thus, on the octave day of Easter, the first six lessons were from the Acts of the Apostles; on the Sunday after the Ascension, the first six were from appropriate sermons; on the feast of St. Bibiana, the first six were from her life; Septuagesima, the first six were from Genesis, etc. (Bernhardi, *Ordo Officiorum Eccl. Lateran.*, *passim*).

III. THE MASS⁵⁰

In the Mass, the first variation is that the Dominicans wear the amice over the head while they approach the altar, whereas the secular priest wears a biretta. But this use of the amice was the Roman custom from about the ninth century, whereas the substitution of a biretta (at least for ordinary priests) dates only from the sixteenth century. At the very outset of the Mass, then, we have an example of what often appears in the detailed comparative study of the two rites. A comparison between the Dominican rite and the present Roman Rite frequently reveals the Friars Preachers adhering to an old Roman custom which the Church of Rome has abandoned.

In the ancient Latin Church, the chalice was prepared with the wine and water at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. When catechumens ceased to be dismissed and the *Missa Catechumenorum* became merged with the *Missa Fidelium*, at least as far as the people were concerned, a number of churches outside of Rome logically transferred the preparation of the chalice to the beginning of the whole Mass, as is done in the Eastern liturgies. This practice spread far and wide, so that by the twelfth century it was greatly used throughout Europe by both seculars and regulars. Among the Religious Orders which followed the custom may be mentioned the monks of Cluny, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Carmelites, the Premonstratensians, the Augustinian Canons of Marbach, the German Benedictines, the Benedictines of Bec, Hirschau, Westminster, Ainey, etc. But numerous as were the religious who "made" the chalice at the beginning or in the early part of the Mass, the

⁵⁰ As this whole subject will be dealt with in detail in another volume, only a summary of some of the principal points is given here.

number of secular priests who followed the practice was even greater. The rubrics prescribed it in the Celtic rite, in the Sarum rite, in many places in Germany, France, and Spain. Even in Italy, it was done in Sicily and in the archdiocese of Milan. To speak, then, of so universal a practice as "distinctive of the Church of Paris" is utterly inaccurate.

No less erroneous is the often-repeated statement that in the preparation of the chalice the Dominicans followed the custom of Paris. The rite of that Church prescribed the following:

"The priest first puts on the rochet, saying: *Actiones nostras*, etc. Next, he washes his hands, saying: *Amplius lava me*, etc. Then, having uncovered and prepared the altar, he places the host on the paten and puts wine and water in the chalice, saying: *De latere Domini*, etc. Then he takes the amice, etc."⁵¹

No such rubric is found in any Dominican text. On the other hand, Humbert directs that the making of the chalice was not to take place until the priest reached the altar, fully vested and ready to begin the Mass. Instead, therefore, of being misled by a group of French writers who naturally emphasize the importance of their national capital, we would do well to remember that both in the Diocese of Palencia (where Dominic took his university course and where he was ordained), as well as in the Diocese of Osma (where he lived as a Canon Regular), the wine and water were taken at the beginning of Mass. These facts alone would have been sufficient reason for the Order to adopt the practice out of reverence towards its Founder.

⁵¹ Early XIV cent. missal of cathedral of Paris (Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 16905, fol. 128r). Cf. Bibl. Nat., MS. lat., 8885, fol. 200v; MS. lat., 835, fol. 110v; Bibl. Mazarine, MS. 411, fol. 171r; Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS. 203, fol. 74r; MS. 607, fol. 94r; Brit. Museum, Harl. 2891, fol. 141r. *Notice historique* (6-7) says the priest was allowed to prepare the chalice at any time from before vesting until the Gospel; we have seen such a rubric in printed Paris missals but not in any MSS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

The prayers at the foot of the altar were in St. Dominic's day recent and still in a fluid state. In many places, no *Judica me Deus* was recited. Where it was used, sometimes it was said in the sacristy while vesting, sometimes on the way to the altar. The last seems to have been the more common. Even as late as 1550, the Roman missal of Paul III directed it should be said before the celebrant approached the altar. It was not until the missal of Pius V (1570) that the prayer became officially part of the priest's preparatory prayers. The Dominicans therefore, in not adopting the psalm, were adhering to the ancient practice of the Roman Church.

The *Confiteor*, like the rest of the prayers before Mass, was also a matter of private devotion in the ancient Church, and did not become an official part of the Mass until after the Council of Trent. There being nothing determined by rubric, the greatest variety might be expected in the formulas of the *Confiteor*, ranging from very prolix forms to very brief ones like those of the Carthusians and Cistercians. Brief formulas, whose wording greatly resembles that of the Dominicans, were used in a ninth-century Rule of Canons Regular (based on Chrodegang), in Micrologus, and in the rites of the Carthusians, Sarum, Bangor, York, Fréjus, etc.

The custom of saying the first *Dominus vobiscum*, the *Gloria in excelsis*, and the *Credo*, not at the middle of the altar but at the side, was the ancient Roman practice. The present Roman use did not originate apparently until about the early part of the thirteenth century.⁵² As it was a novelty, the liturgists of the Order rejected it in favor of the old Roman practice.

⁵² Amalarius, in the middle of the ninth century, mentions the ancient practice; while Durandus, at the end of the thirteenth century, speaks of the *Gloria* being said at the middle of the altar. Amalarius, *De eccles. officiiis*, lib. III, cap. 8; Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. IV, cap. 13.

In the Gospel procession, the Dominican rubrics prescribe that there should be a cross-bearer. "This," says Rousseau, "seems to have been borrowed from the Church of Paris. . . ." ⁵³ While only a small number of the brief ceremonials of that period explicitly mention the cross at the Gospel, the practice apparently was not unusual. Thus, Albert the Great, describing not the Dominican Mass but the Mass in general, refers to it as if it were a common ceremony: "The cross is carried aloft [at the Gospel] to signify that both the glory of the deacon teaching and the power of his doctrine are in the cross." ⁵⁴ Hugh of St-Cher and Durandus inform us that it was the custom "in some places." ⁵⁵ On duplex feasts in the Sarum rite, the cross was carried at the Gospel, and that ceremony was a recognized part of the Gospel procession in a number of English churches (Exeter, Litchfield, Chichester, and Lincoln), as well as in the ancient liturgies of Braga and of Tours. On the other hand, while Paris had this practice in the fifteenth century, there is some reason for doubting that it had it in the thirteenth century.

The offertory in the Dominican Mass is quite different from the present Roman rite. In the first place, the priest does not say the prayers: *Suscipe sancte Pater, Deus qui humanæ substantiæ, Offerimus tibi Domine, Veni sanctificator, Per intercessionem beati Michaelis, Incensum istud, Dirigatur Domine ora-*

⁵³ *De ecclesiastico officio*, 119-120. It is regrettable that Rousseau relied so much on the *Notice historique sur les rites de l'Église de Paris*. Apart from other objections, the author (l'abbé A. L. P. Caron) admits that he is not describing the earlier rite of Paris but the rite as it was at the end of the fifteenth century (p. 2). Many changes can take place in a liturgy in the course of over a century and a half.

⁵⁴ *Opus de mysterio Missæ*, Tract. II, c. 7, 3.

⁵⁵ Hugh of St-Cher, *Speculum Ecclesiæ*; Durandus, *Rationale*, lib. IV, c. 24, 16.

tio mea, or Accendat in nobis. In none of the *Ordines Romani* "is there any mention of the prayers which . . . the priest now recites when he offers the bread and wine to God, when he pours the water into the wine, or when he washes his hands. Hence, the Sacramentaries of Gelasius and Gregory, the ancient expositors of the Mass (Alcuin, Amalarius, Strabo, Remigius, and others), pass directly from the offertory to the *Secreta*. The oblation itself is contained in the Canon, whose prayers—Rome believed with the ancients—were entirely sufficient." ⁵⁶ But during the twelfth century a number of prayers of Gallican (or Mozarabic) or other non-Roman sources, began to appear in the missals of the various Churches, including Rome. Hence, variations sprang up not only in the prayers themselves but also in the manner of the offering. In some places, different prayers were said for the host and the chalice; in other places both were offered with one prayer. ⁵⁷ The Dominican liturgists attempted to preserve the simplicity of the ancient Roman Rite as far as possible: the offertory having been recited, the priest took the chalice (on which rested the paten with the host) and said: *Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo*; and raising the chalice with its paten, he said:

Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoriam passionis domini nostri Jesu Christi; et præsta ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat et meam et omnium fidelium salutem operetur æternam.

Then, washing his hands, he said merely the first verse of the *Lavabo*, after which he recited *In spiritu humilitatis*; the *Orate fratres* and the *Secreta* followed. Hence, this rite, despite some non-Roman infiltrations, far more closely approaches the ancient

⁵⁶ Krazer, *De Apostolicis . . . Liturgiis*, 463.

⁵⁷ Krazer, *op. cit.*, 464.

Roman Rite than does the modern rite of Rome with its many Gallicanisms.

We find the single oblation in many rites, the Carthusians like the Dominicans retaining it to the present day. It was also observed at Lyons, Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Châlons-sur-Marne, Langres, Tours, Constance, Mainz, Marmoutiers, Auxerre, Sarum, Hereford, etc.⁵⁸ The Dominican form of the *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* is identical with that of the rite of Hereford; it bears little resemblance to that of Paris.⁵⁹

In the early thirteenth century, after the Consecration the chalice was elevated at Paris but not at Rome. The Dominicans followed the Roman practice, nor did they accept this Gallican innovation until long after it had been accepted by Rome.

The extension of the arms immediately after the Consecration came from the Ambrosian Rite. From the twelfth century, the rubric spread from Milan over a considerable portion of Europe. St. Thomas Aquinas defends the practice as representing the extension of Christ's arms on the cross.⁶⁰

Humbert's rubrics direct that the celebrant give himself Communion from the left hand, while the present Roman rubrics prescribe the use of the right hand. Again some writers have recourse to the ever-ready formula: "This was borrowed from

⁵⁸ Krazer, *loc. cit.*; AER, I, lib. I, cap. IV, a. VI.

⁵⁹ The Parisian formula was: "Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero ob memoriam incarnationis, nativitatis, passionis, resurrectionis atque ascensionis D. n. I. C., et in honorem sanctæ intemeratæ semperque virginis marie, et omnium sanctorum tuorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, et eorum quorum hodie festa celebrantur, et quorum hic nomina et reliquiæ habentur ut illis proficiat ad honorem nobis autem ad salutem, et ut illi omnes intercedere dignentur pro nobis in cœlis quorum memoriam veneramus in terris. Per te, Iesu Christe altissime qui vivis et regnas, etc." A thirteenth-century missal of Paris in the British Museum, *Add. MS.* 38723, fol. 80r.

⁶⁰ *Summa Theologica*, 3a pars, Q. 83, a.5, ad 5.

the Church of Paris." However, it is doubtful if that ceremony existed in the Paris Church in the thirteenth century.⁶¹ In the Sarum rite, the celebrant broke the host in the same way as was done in Paris, but he then held the host in *both* hands for his Communion. It is rare to find a missal of that period sufficiently explicit to tell us whether Communion was received from the right hand, the left hand, or both hands.

However, at one time, Communion from the left hand was practised in Rome. We know this from the *Ordines Romani*, the official ceremonials of Rome. *Ordo Romanus XIV*, cap. 53, reads: "Then he [the cardinal-bishop] receives with the fingers of his left hand those two parts of the host which are on the paten, and consumes them with all devotion and reverence."⁶² The same rubric is found in the thirteenth century *Cæremoniale Romanum multiplex*.⁶³ Just how the Friars Preachers came to receive a rite peculiar to cardinal-bishops, remains one of the unsolved mysteries of the Dominican rite.

IV. OCCASIONAL RITES

In the communion of the sick, the Blessed Sacrament was carried in procession to the infirmary. After the usual *Pax huic domui*, the *Asperges*, and the *Confiteor*, the priest held up the Host and asked: *Credis quod hoc sit Christus Salvator mundi?* To which the sick man replied: *Credo*. The priest then gave him Communion saying: *Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi*

⁶¹ It is doubtful because of the vagueness of the rubrics. The Paris Missal of Sir Sidney Cockerell says that the priest, after the fraction, holds the two parts of the host in his left hand; but it is silent as to whether he communicates from that hand. ⁶² Mabillon, II, 307.

⁶³ [Matthew Texte], "Dissertation sur la Cérémonie de la Communion du Prêtre faite avec la main gauche, etc.," in *Mercure de France* (October, 1740), 2154 ff; Sarnelli, *Lettere Ecclesiastiche*, vol. IX, Lettera XV, 31 ff.

custodiat te et perducat ad vitam æternam. Amen. The ceremony ended with the *Exaudi nos*. This was the usual rite in the Middle Ages. With only slightly varying formulas, we find it among the Carthusians, the Cistercians, etc. In the Roman ritual attributed to Gregory XIII,⁶⁴ the formula used was: *Credis hoc esse Corpus Christi Salvatoris nostri?* Although the Roman Rite has given up this usage, the Dominicans have retained it to modern times.

The ceremonies for the dying were impressive. At the approach of death, the community was summoned by the sounding of the *tabella* or wooden clapper. At the signal, all the friars hastened to the infirmary reciting aloud the *Credo in unum Deum*. The dying brother was taken from his bed and laid on a bed of ashes. The community, gathered around him, recited the seven penitential psalms, the litany, and the *Subvenite*. All this, together with the subsequent ceremonies, comprised the usual monastic practices of the age. With only minor variations, they were performed by the Benedictines, the monks of Cluny, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, Premonstratensians, etc.⁶⁵ In nearly all the Dominican houses, there is a special custom which is observed at the point of death, that is, the singing of the *Salve Regina* by the assembled friars. The origin of the custom is ascribed to the singing of the *Salve Regina* by the Dominican friars at Sandomir (Poland), when they were being massacred by the Tatars. While the historical evidence thus far adduced does not prove so great an antiquity for the practice, it is certain that it is at least several centuries old.

⁶⁴ *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum Gregorii Papæ XIII . . . jussu editum*. Romæ. 1584.

⁶⁵ Martène, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. V, cap. 8 and 9.

V. PLAIN-CHANT

Competent authorities who have examined the chant of the Friars Preachers have declared it to be genuine Gregorian plain-chant. Although the Dominicans did admit some Gallico-Roman responses and antiphons which differ somewhat from the Gregorian style, nevertheless Gallican influence in the field of plain-chant was negligible.⁶⁶ Among those who support this attitude is the Benedictine, Dom Ambrose Kienle, who says: "The Dominican Order preserved the [Gregorian] melodies in their purity, in such a way that the choir books of the Dominicans are an important source for the study of the liturgical chant."⁶⁷

According to Dr. Peter Wagner, the only changes of any consequence made by the Dominicans took place almost exclusively in the *Alleluia* chants: "Often, though not always, the melisma was abbreviated over the last syllable of the verse; similarly, most of the group- or period-repetitions in the melisma were done away with. . . . In this matter of abbreviating most of the concluding melismas of the *Alleluia* verses, the Dominicans met the Cistercians half-way."⁶⁸

Where did the Friars Preachers obtain their chant? It may be that the celebrated music theorist, Jerome of Moravia, who then lived at St. Jacques in Paris, was responsible for these variations. Some have thought that because the Four Friars held one of their meetings at Metz, where a famous school of Gregorian chant had been long before established by Chrodegang, the Dominicans got their chant from that city. But these are mere conjectures. Thus far, not one manuscript has been

⁶⁶ Rousseau, *De eccles. officio*, 126.

⁶⁷ *Grammaire du Chant Gregorien* (Tournai, 1895), 11.

⁶⁸ *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, II, 472.

found which contains, or which even closely approximates, the Dominican variants. The nearest version is the Cistercian; but while in some respects there is a certain similarity of style, the question whether Humbert actually used the Cistercian chant as his model or not, can hardly now be determined.⁶⁹

THE EIGHTH THEORY IS CORRECT

To-day the general impression appears to be that, where the Roman and Dominican rites differ, this must be due to the Dominicans substituting some foreign practice for the old Roman one. For this reason, we directed our attention in this brief survey chiefly to those differences. We have not here touched on the numberless points of identity between the two rites of the thirteenth century. A detailed comparative study proves that the Friars Preachers chose the early thirteenth-century (or more accurately, the late twelfth-century) rite of Rome, and made certain changes in it. Some of these changes were necessary, for example, the shortening of the Divine Office and the dropping of a well-nigh obsolete psalter. Other alterations were improvements, as the addition of rare liturgical gems from other churches to adorn the austere Roman rite. But the alterations were not sufficiently great to change the classification of the Dominican rite from "Roman" to "Gallican." Indeed, the Dominican liturgists in many ways showed themselves more Roman than Rome herself by their unwillingness to accept a number of Gallicanisms which not long before had infiltrated into the Roman Rite or were then clamoring for admission.

As a corollary, it follows that the much talked-of "Paris influence" was in reality surprisingly small. Not only was Paris then

⁶⁹ Wagner, *op. cit.*, II, 471. See also Laporte, "Précis historique," chap. 2; Mathew Barge, "Le Chant Liturgique dans l'Ordre de Saint-Dominique," in *L'Année Dominicaine* (January, 1908), 29-34.

the intellectual and cultural centre of Europe, but the greatest monastery of the Order was located there. Many of the great Dominicans of that period, among them Humbert of Romans, had dwelt within its walls. One would naturally expect a strong Parisian influence. What is the meaning of this anomaly? We believe that the answer is bound up with the mystery of the prolonged liturgical struggle in the earlier days of the Order. For some years the Order had made use of its "unified" liturgy without any serious trouble arising. Then the Franciscan revision of the Roman Curia breviary spurs the Order to improve its own. When the work of the Four Friars is published, a veritable tempest breaks. Although the revision is meritorious enough to win the approval of no less than five general chapters, a determined opposition remains; it was finally conquered only by the full authority of a determined master-general who was resolved to establish his edition of that revision. What provoked the storm? Possibly the answer lies in two documents already described in earlier chapters: the Paris missal of circa 1240 and the breviary-antiphonary.

This missal, as was already seen, bore a very great resemblance to the rite of Paris, so great that it was easily adapted for continued use in that Church. The next oldest Dominican missal we have is that of Humbert, one that bears little resemblance to the rite of Paris. In the interval, some fifteen years, the Dominican friars had changed from a Paris missal to a Roman missal. Here we apparently have the answer: the Dominican liturgists (of whom Humbert was one) were fighting to Romanize more fully the Dominican rite. Hence the battle. They were upsetting the liturgical customs of the largest and most influential monastery of the Order, Saint-Jacques at Paris. Furthermore, they were incurring the hostility of some of the

most outstanding men in the Order, former students of the University of Paris, who would treasure their Paris traditions.

This theory is strengthened by a study of the breviary-antiphony. Here we have a work of the highest liturgical excellence. It was so excellent that Humbert, when master-general, was able to take page after page of it without any change and incorporate them in the new edition. Yet, despite the unquestioned liturgical excellence of the revision of the Four Friars, it was the object of a determined and prolonged attack. Nor did the opposition end when Humbert published his own edition and it was realized that he had based his work on the older revision. This would indicate that Humbert, while rectifying the discordances in the rubrics, had adhered to the principles of his former fellow-liturgists. The inference is that the Romanization of our rite was begun by the Four Friars and carried to a successful conclusion by Humbert, despite the opposition of the powerful Paris group.

Some of this, we frankly admit, is theory. But it explains many puzzling angles of the subject and it is based on four facts: that the oldest Dominican missal (MS. lat. 8884) closely follows the rite of Paris; that the breviary-antiphony of the Four Friars possesses high liturgical excellence; that there was a violent and prolonged opposition to this revision; and that Humbert's revision, based on that of the Four Friars, is Roman throughout.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE INFLUENCE OF THE DOMINICAN RITE

WITH the preceding chapter we conclude our survey of the Dominican calendar, Mass and Divine Office, as they left the hands of Humbert of Romans. After a series of revisions, beginning in 1245 and ending in 1256, the master-general was able to declare to the Order that the work was definitely completed. The Order now possessed its new revision; but what was its value? How did it compare with the numerous other variants of the Roman Rite then in existence?

The ancient Roman Rite was a marvel of simplicity, dignity, and severe practicality. It befitted, indeed, the character of the Roman people; but to the rest of the Western Church such a liturgy seemed rather cold, terse, austere. The numberless variants which sprang up in the Middle Ages were so many efforts to supply what was felt to be missing. Some rites went to the opposite extreme and became almost oriental in their floridness; still other rites, lacking good taste, marred the dignity of divine worship by the adoption of unbecoming usages. If we keep before us the mediæval goal—the ancient Roman qualities of simplicity, dignity and practicality enriched by a warmer devotion and by a restrained dramatic element so appealing to human nature—and then compare Humbert's revision with the other Roman variants of that day, we shall be forced to conclude that the Dominican liturgists had produced a masterpiece surpassed by no other rite in the Latin Church. This was the ver-

dict of men who were competent to pass judgment. Thousands of priests, secular and religious alike, who were acquainted with different variants, were so impressed with the Dominican arrangement that they adopted it in whole or in part.

The first Order to adopt the Dominican rite appears to have been that of the Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem. It was a Military Order established in Palestine by the Germans during the Third Crusade. The Teutonic Knights adopted the Rule of St. Augustine and for their liturgical services the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. This rite did not exist before 1099. It came into existence after the capture of Jerusalem, when the priests who had accompanied the Crusaders were formed into a cathedral chapter¹ and worked out a composite rite in order to carry out their choir duties. As a majority of these priests were from Gaul, their liturgical services were the typical Gallico-Roman Rite of France at the end of the eleventh century. In blending the various uses into one uniform rite, the Churches of Paris and of Nevers exercised the greatest influence.² Hence, the rite of the Holy Sepulchre was substantially nothing more or less than the typical eleventh-century Gallico-Roman Rite as practised particularly in central and north-central France. Later, some unimportant additions were made, chiefly in the form of local feasts, thereby giving the rite something of a Holy Land atmosphere.

This was the rite which the Teutonic Knights used for over half a century. But they did not like it; they desired something less elaborate and florid. They found what they wanted in the Dominican rite. They had first met the Friars Preachers in the

¹ See William of Tyre, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in PL, CCI, 441.

² B. Zimmerman, DACL, II, 2167; Idem, CE, XIII, 72; King, *Notes on the Catholic Liturgies*, 77; Aigrain, *Liturgia*, 850.

Holy Land, and they were destined to meet them again in a country far distant from Palestine.

In 1228, Conrad of Masovia besought the Knights to come to his aid against the fierce heathens of the Letto-Slavic race, inhabiting the Baltic country called East Prussia. The Grand Master of the Order accepted the invitation; and while the Teutonic Knights endeavored to subdue by the sword this savage nation, Dominican missionaries tried to convert it by preaching.³

The efforts of both the Knights and the Dominicans were successful; and on 29 July, 1243, the Papal Legate divided the land into four dioceses, namely, Culm, Pomerania, Ermland, and Samland.⁴ The Teutonic Order acquired ducal rights over the whole region.

The acquisition of a principality, with the consequent need of providing divine services for converts and colonists, is probably what brought to a head dissatisfaction within the ranks of the Knights over their own liturgy. If any change was to be made, now was the time to make it before the new dioceses became completely organized. Whether this conjecture is true or not, it certainly was about this time that the Knights decided to abandon, if possible, the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and to adopt that of the Friars Preachers. Accordingly, they petitioned the Holy See for this privilege, the petition being made probably in the autumn of 1243. As we have already seen, the reply of Innocent IV (13 February, 1244) was favorable: "We grant you permission to celebrate in your houses everywhere the divine services according to the rite of the Friars Preachers."⁵

³ Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 160.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 168.

⁵ *Tabula Ordinis Theutonici*, 357, no. 471.

Thus, by Papal permission, the Dominican liturgy became the official rite of four extensive dioceses.

When Humbert of Romans completed his revision of the work of the Four Friars, the Teutonic Knights lost no time in obtaining from Alexander VI the authority to use the revised version. The reply of the Pope (27 February, 1257), granting them permission to do so, reveals that the Knights had adapted the Dominican rite to their own special needs.⁶ This adaptation was not a drastic one, however, as the liturgical books of the Knights could be used by the secular clergy of Finland where the Dominican rite also prevailed.⁷ In the years that followed, the Teutonic Knights extended their territory to such an extent that this Military Order became one of the great powers of the Middle Ages. Wherever the Knights went, they endeavored to introduce the Dominican rite.

The second Order to embrace the Dominican rite was the celebrated Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The Carmelites, driven from the Holy Land by the Saracen invasions, began to settle in Europe from about 1240. Their eremitical Rule proving to be too much of a handicap in their new conditions, the Carmelites took up the matter with Innocent IV at Lyons; "and they succeeded," relates Stephan of Salanhac, "in having the whole question committed to the venerable Fathers, Cardinal Hugh of Saint-Cher, and William, bishop of Antarad (Tartous), both of them Dominicans. These men drew up a special Rule which the Carmelites from that time professed and observed."⁸ Stephan adds that the Rule was approved by the

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 378, no. 536.

⁷ Malin, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands*, 203.

⁸ *De quatuor in quibus etc.*, 84. The confirmation of Innocent IV, mentioning Hugh of Saint-Cher and William of Antarad, is prefixed to *Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale sæc. XIII*, 9-13.

Pope "about 1247"—this was the date of the first General Chapter held by that Order.

The new Constitutions, based on those of the Dominicans, completely changed the status of the Carmelites from an eremitical to a mendicant Order. In making this change, did the Carmelites retain their rite of the Holy Sepulchre? Most writers of that Order claim or imply that they did, and because of that contention liturgists for a long time have been puzzled by the similarities between the Carmelite and Dominican rites. It was well known that the Holy Land rite exercised no influence whatever on the Friars Preachers; how then could the similarities be explained?

Until recent years, the mystery could not be solved because of the total lack of Carmelite missals, breviaries and ceremonials belonging to the thirteenth century.⁹ It is true that a few scattered liturgical Carmelite manuscripts of that century were known to exist; they, however, offered little promise of enlightenment. But of the many hundreds of missals and breviaries used by the Carmelites in the thirteenth century, not one is known to have survived to the present day. Finally, in our own day, a ceremonial or ordinal of that Order was discovered in Trinity College, Dublin; it furnishes us with the key of the mystery.

The ordinal was written about 1263¹⁰—therefore, at least half a dozen years after Humbert had published his revision of the Dominican rite. A careful comparison between Humbert's *ordinarium* and the Carmelite ordinal demonstrates conclu-

⁹ On the dearth of these Carmelite books, see B. Zimmerman, "Ordninaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel," xiii, in Chevalier's *Bibliothèque liturgique*, XIII, (Paris, 1910); *Idem*, "Carmes, Liturgie de l'Ordre des," in *DACL*, II, 2167-2168.

¹⁰ Joseph of St. Patrick, *Antiquum Ord. Carm. Ordinale sæc. XIII*, 5.

sively that the Carmelite rite, at least during the second half of the thirteenth century, was an adaptation of the Dominican rite. The Carmelites retained (or adopted) certain uses from other sources; but the Dominican foundation cannot be even questioned. The ordinal often has whole sentences taken bodily from Humbert's *ordinarium* with hardly a word changed; and sometimes even entire paragraphs have been transplanted with only minor changes.¹¹

We now see the explanation of the puzzling disappearance of all Carmelite missals and breviaries of the thirteenth century. For some unknown reason, the Carmelites decided in the early part of the fourteenth century to re-assume liturgical uses that had been discontinued for over half a century. Surely, by this time (1315) there could have been extremely few (if any) Fathers who remembered the rite of the Holy Sepulchre; the only rite the Order knew was the one it was then using. In imposing the new ordinal on his Order, Sibert de Beka encountered the same resistance as John of Wildeshausen had met when he supported the revision of the Four Friars. Zimmerman, O.C.D., admits that Sibert's ordinal "experienced some difficulty in superseding the old one,"¹² while Patrick of St. Joseph, O.C.D., declares that the Carmelites in England did not adopt the new ordinal until 1333, "a proof of their attachment to the ancient Ceremonial."¹³ However, the Middle Ages had an effective though crude way of putting an end to the use of troublesome books; it was to destroy them.¹⁴ Appar-

¹¹ For a specimen of the similarity between the Dominican and the Carmelite rubrics of the thirteenth century, see Appendix: *Latin Text of Humbert's Rubrics for High Mass* (375 ff). ¹² CE, XIII, 73.

¹³ *Antiquum Ord. Carm. Ordinale sæc. XIII*, 5.

¹⁴ We have already seen (p. 18) that this probably took place in the Dominican Order; but the classic example was the command given by the

ently, this is what happened to the large number of Carmelite missals and breviaries of the thirteenth century. The inference is strengthened by the fact that we have liturgical manuscripts of the Carmelites prior to their adopting the Dominican rite and also after the revision of Sibert de Beka. But all the missals and breviaries between those two dates have perished.

Sibert de Beka rearranged and revised the entire ordinal.¹⁵ He eliminated many Dominican practices and re-introduced a number of usages from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. Yet, notwithstanding the drastic nature of Sibert's rearrangement and despite the subsequent changes in the Carmelite ordinal, the Dominican influence is still recognizable.

Another Order that obtained permission from the Holy See to follow the Dominican arrangement was the Order of the Holy Cross. The Crosiers became very numerous in the Middle Ages; they existed in many countries but were not united under one head. The most important group was the one in Flanders, founded in 1211 by Theodore de Celles, a canon of Liège, who built his first monastery at Clair-Lieu, near Huy. Approved by the Holy See, the Crosiers soon spread to France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. Like St. Dominic, whom he is said to have met in Languedoc, Theodore chose the Rule of St. Augustine, and his successor, Peter de Valcourt, sought and obtained from Innocent IV permission to adopt the Dominican Constitutions and the Dominican rite. The Holy See granted both requests on 23 October, 1248.¹⁶

Franciscan chapter of 1266, directing that all previous Lives of St. Francis be destroyed and that, when such Lives were found in the possession of persons outside the Order, the friars were to endeavor to "remove" them! See AFH, VII (1914), 678; ALKG, VI, 39.

¹⁵ Zimmerman in CE, XIII, 73.

¹⁶ BOP, VII, 21-22.

A fourth Order to turn eventually to the Dominican rite was that of Our Lady of Mercy—or the Mercedarians, as they are generally called. According to a late story, this Order owed its existence to a vision simultaneously granted to King James of Aragon, St. Raymond of Peñafort, and St. Peter Nolasco. The date of its founding was probably 1223.¹⁷

A short Life of St. Raymond, written before 1351 and attributed by some to Nicholas Eymeric, states that St. Raymond advised the newly founded Mercedarians to adopt the Constitutions and the liturgy of the Friars Preachers.¹⁸ That the Mercedarians did adopt the Dominican rite is indisputable. But that they did so at that early date, is open to question. Their master-general, Ramon Albert, who was elected in 1317, insisted that his brethren in their liturgical services follow the Dominican rite: "It is our will that in our Order we carry out the entire Office, diurnal as well as nocturnal, according to the correction and arrangement of the venerable and discreet religious of the Order of Friars Preachers. We command that it be said, celebrated, and observed perpetually and uniformly by all, both by our present and by our future brethren."¹⁹

The same ordinance is found also in the Mercedarian Constitutions of 1327. But whether the authorities were introducing a new law or were merely reaffirming an old one, has been for centuries the subject of a violent and intemperate controversy. We are here concerned only with the fact that the Mercedarians

¹⁷ Mortier, *Histoire*, I, 262.

¹⁸ The anonymous Life of St. Raymond is published in "Raymundiana," MOPH, VI, fasc. I, 36. The statement concerning the liturgy has been widely quoted by Dominican writers, e.g., Louis of Valladolid, "Tabula Alberti Magni aliorumque scriptorum ord. Præd.," in AFP, I, 243 ff. See also Acta SS., II Januarii, 409, note f.

¹⁹ Cited in Galindo, *San Raimundo de Peñafort*, 526.

did actually adopt the Dominican rite; let the historians decide the date.

The Order of the *Humiliati* of Lombardy was the fifth to choose the liturgical use of the Friars Preachers. This Order began in the twelfth century as the result of a most remarkable devotional lay movement. Because the *Humiliati*, as its members were called, disregarded the Papal prohibition to hold assemblies and to preach in public, they were excommunicated by Lucius III (1184). The far-sighted Innocent III saw in them a potential instrument for good, and accordingly received them back into the Church and even established their First Order as a kind of Canons Regular with certain rules peculiar to themselves.²⁰

About the middle of the twelfth century, they had adopted a form of the Benedictine Rule; but towards the end of the thirteenth century they modelled their Constitutions and their liturgical practices according to those of the Friars Preachers. A contemporary historian, Stephan of Salanhac, gives us this information: "Their [the *Humiliati*'s] First Order is an Order of men, who, in their habit, imitate the Premonstratensians; but in their manner of life, in their fasts and abstinences, and in their ecclesiastical Office, they follow the Friars Preachers."²¹

In addition to Religious Orders, there were individual monasteries and even whole dioceses that made use of the Dominican arrangement. Notable among the former was the Benedictine abbey of St. James in Liège.

In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the abbot, William of Julémont, instituted a reform of the abbey; and to make the results more permanent, he compiled a book (the *Liber*

²⁰ Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, II, 43.

²¹ *De quatuor in quibus etc.*, 85.

Ordinarius) which treated of monastic regulations and also of rubrics for Mass and the Divine Office. This manuscript has been published in our own day by a Benedictine of Maria-Laach, Dr. Paulus Volk.²²

In his introduction to the *Liber Ordinarius*, Dr. Volk makes the following statements: that the Dominican Order, which was "the first to emphasize learning and make it obligatory," came to exert a great influence on others both in theology as well as in liturgical texts and practices, as it did at Helfta; that the *Liber ordinarius* closely resembles and follows two Dominican works—the *Instructiones de Ordinis* of Humbert of Romans and his *Codex liturgicus*; that the former work was freely used in the *Liber Ordinarius* and corresponding chapters were taken over verbatim in many places.²³

As for Humbert's liturgical opus, Dr. Volk declares that Chapter 60 of the *Liber Ordinarius* gives in detail many of the rubrics of Humbert's conventual missal; that chapter 61 repeats substantially Humbert's rubrics for the reception of Holy Communion; and that in chapter 62 "the rubrics for private Mass are surprisingly like those of the Dominicans in their missal for private Mass."²⁴

Such was the influence of the Dominican rite on the abbey of St. James. Through the medium of that abbey, the Dominicans affected other monasteries, for, as Dr. Volk remarks, the influence which the *Liber Ordinarius* exerted directly on other monasteries, including those of Germany, cannot be overestimated.²⁵

²² *Der Liber Ordinarius des Lütticher St. Jakobs-Klosters* (Münster in Westf., 1923; Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, 10).

²³ *Op. cit.*, lxvi-lxx.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, lxxii.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, lxxiii.

Of the dioceses which discarded their own rite to take that of the Dominicans, we might begin with Agram (or Zagreba), a huge diocese in Croatia. In 1303, Blessed Augustine of Trau became its bishop. The diocese was in a most wretched condition. Bitter and prolonged civil wars had reduced the people to poverty, while the absence of their spiritual shepherds had brought the flock to the verge of irreligion. One gets the impression from historical records that the clergy of the diocese knew considerably more about swords and battle-axes than they did about missals and breviaries. Possibly because of this, the saintly bishop in his efforts to rebuild spiritual life introduced the Dominican rite as the official rite of the diocese. Whatever the reason may have been, the liturgy of the Friars Preachers remained the rite of that diocese for over three hundred years.²⁶

Another diocese that joined the Dominican family was that of Lucera, in Southern Italy. In 1478, Sixtus IV appointed the learned and versatile Pietro Ranzano as its bishop. In the fourteen years he was in charge of the diocese, Ranzano completely transformed it by restoring ecclesiastical discipline and by raising divine worship once more to its proper place. It was during his episcopacy that the Dominican rite became the diocesan rite by an Apostolic Indult. Lucera continued to use the Dominican arrangement until 1568, when Pius V abolished all the later rites. While the rite of the Friars Preachers was old enough to merit exemption, the Diocese of Lucera had been using that rite for only about ninety years. It therefore was obliged to adopt the new version of the Roman Rite.²⁷

²⁶ Sigismondo Ferrari, *De rebus Hungaricæ Provinciæ Ord. Præd.*, 117. See also John Thomas Marnavich, *Vita B. Augustini*, 9 (in appendix to preceding book); also in *Acta SS.*, I Augusti, 293.

²⁷ Altamura, *Bibliothecæ Dominicanæ etc.*, 214 (ad annum 1492); SSOP, I, 876, 878.

But it was in the Baltic and Scandinavian countries that the Dominican liturgy gained its greatest popularity. There was hardly a diocese in that part of Europe that was completely immune from Dominican liturgical influence. Nearly everywhere, from Sweden and Finland (where the Dominican version was used as a foundation for the local uses) to Estonia and Norway (where the influence was less pronounced), one could easily perceive the Dominican stamp on the liturgical life of the Northern Church.

Dominican missionaries had penetrated into the Scandinavian countries at an early date. At the request of Geoffrey, provost of St. Peter's at Sigtuna, Sweden, St. Dominic had sent in 1220 two missionaries to begin work in that distant land.²⁸ Dominican activities so prospered there that eight years later the Order created a new province which was called Dacia.²⁹ It comprised Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. That the influence of the Dominicans in those countries was both deep and far-reaching, is attested to by many native writers. Thus, Gustaf Lindberg, while comparing the work of the Dominicans and the Franciscans in the Far North, states that, while the latter ministered chiefly to the more common people, "the Dominicans, who had a more aristocratic and intellectual character, devoted themselves to study and to the building of schools. Attaching themselves to cathedrals and settling in the larger cities, they [the Dominicans] exercised their leadership from above."³⁰

It was inevitable that the prestige enjoyed by the Friars Preachers in these countries should have left its mark upon the

²⁸ Lindberg, *Die Schwedischen Missalien des Mittelalters*, 375; Walz, *Compendium Historiæ O.P.*, 228.

²⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 3.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 374.

Scandinavian Churches. The Norwegian liturgy was clearly influenced by the Dominican rite,³¹ while in Sweden not only was the Dominican calendar adopted (the national feasts being merely superadded to it), but the missal reveals unmistakably the Dominican basis.³² It is for this reason that Lindberg, in speaking of the Swedish missals of the Middle Ages, observes: "The similarities between the Upsala missal and the Dominican are so obvious and so numerous that we have to admit the direct influence of the latter."³³ The spread of the Dominican rite in East Prussia, Latvia and Esthonia was due partly to the large number of Dominican missionaries who labored there for the conversion of the heathens, and partly to the fact that the conquerors of those lands, the Teutonic Knights, themselves followed the Dominican rite. It was thus that the Dominican liturgy was introduced into Latvia and Esthonia (Estland). The Knights attempted to impose their liturgical books on the clergy of Riga but were not successful;³⁴ nevertheless, the Dominican rite left evident impressions on the Latvian Mass.³⁵

In remote Finland, the sons of St. Dominic established their sphere of influence without the aid of a Military Order. In discussing the transition from "the undeniably primitive liturgical systems" to a uniform liturgy, Aarno Malin remarks that, "as far back as secular sources can be traced, they demonstrate that it [the Finnish calendar] was patterned out and out after the

³¹ Wedel-Jarlsberg, *Une Page de l'Histoire des Frères-Prêcheurs*, 17.

³² Lindberg, *op. cit.*, 238, 383.

³³ *Op. cit.*, 383.

³⁴ Malin, *Der Heiligenkalendar Finnlands*, 201-202.

³⁵ For an account of the Dominican influence on Latvia, see Hermann v. Bruiningk, *Messe und kanonisches Stundengebet nach dem Brauche der Rigaschen Kirche im späteren Mittelalter*, 32 ff (Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga, 19); G. von Walther-Wittenheim, *Die Dominikaner in Livland im Mittelalter*, 65-66 (Dissertationes Historiæ O.P., IX).

Dominican calendar. Thus, if we eliminate from our calendars the Nordic and other subsequent additions, we are able to recognize the framework as Dominican. We find also that the entire liturgical service of the Church, the Mass as well as the Divine Office, was fundamentally Dominican, at least after the end of the fourteenth century. . . ." ³⁶ Malin believes that the Dominican rite "gradually found its way into the Finnish churches as early as the second half of the thirteenth century," and that Bishop Benedict (1321-1338) merely "conferred an official status on the liturgy already established in his diocese." ³⁷ Deeply impressed by what his study of the Finnish liturgical books revealed, Malin exclaims: "So decisive an effect on the liturgy of the secular Church by a monastic Order as that exerted in the Diocese of Finland by the Dominicans, must have been extremely rare in the church history of those times." ³⁸

Even the royal courts joined the circle of admirers. According to Lavocat, the Dominican rite became the official rite of the royal court of England under Edward III (1327-1377), ³⁹ and we learn from a letter of Boniface IX, dated 8 September, 1398, and addressed to King Richard II of England, that the King and the clergy of the court (including the seculars) recited the Divine Office according to the rite of the Friars Preachers. ⁴⁰ Since the Dominicans were so powerful at most of the European courts, such instances must have been quite numerous. ⁴¹

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 184. The italics are Malin's.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 193. ³⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

³⁹ "La Liturgie Dominicaine" in *Liturgia*, 861.

⁴⁰ BOP, II, 352.

⁴¹ On Dominicans in the royal courts, consult Mandonnet, *Saint Dominique*, I, 211-212.

The popularity of Humbert's revision was not limited to the Western Church. Amazing as it may seem, it made inroads even in the Eastern Church. Before entering into the details of this unusual conquest, let us notice briefly a Greek episode.

On 25 February, 1398, Pope Boniface IX authorized Maximus Chrysoberges of Constantinople to found a monastery in Greece and to say Mass in Greek but according to the Dominican rite. ⁴² In pursuance of the plan, Manuel Chrysoloras, the celebrated Greek scholar, translated the Dominican missal into Greek. ⁴³ Unfortunately, history does not give us any further information about this undertaking.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, a special group of missionaries were sent to evangelize the East; they were to labor outside the provinces of Greece and of the Holy Land. The missionaries became known as the *Fratres Peregrinantes*—"The Travelling Friars." They were destined to accomplish extraordinary results in Armenia, Persia, Mesopotamia, and to penetrate as far as India and China. It is with their work in Greater Armenia that we are concerned, because this resulted in an unusual triumph for the Dominican rite.

An abbot named John, head of the schismatic monastery of St. Basil near the city of Qrna, was converted by the Dominican Bartholomew of Poggio, called in mediæval documents Blessed Bartholomew the Little. Not only John of Qrna but also his community were brought back to the unity of the Church. As the converted monks had neither orthodox theologies nor liturgical books, Bartholomew and his companions translated into Armenian some of the works of Thomas Aquinas, the Domini-

⁴² BOP, II, 369; 370.

⁴³ R. Loenertz, "Les Missions dominicaines en Orient etc.," in AFP, II (1932), 14.

can Constitutions, and the liturgical books of the Order. The Basilian monks, in their zeal to further the work of union with Rome, first planned to join the Dominican Order; but two insurmountable obstacles stood in the way—the rigorous Dominican fast and the impossibility of owning any land except that on which the monastery stood. The monks then decided to take the Dominican Constitutions (except for these two laws), to wear the habit of the Dominican lay brother, and to use an Armenian translation of the Dominican rite. It was the birth of a new religious Order. It was named the Order of the United Friars of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and was confirmed by Innocent VI in 1356.⁴⁴

The activity and zeal of the new Order for promoting unity with Rome were astonishing. Within a few years after their union with Rome, the United Friars were established in the Crimea; for history tells us of Thaddeus, the bishop of Caffa, translating into Armenian the Dominican diurnal, undoubtedly for the United Friars of St. Gregory the Illuminator.⁴⁵ Hence, when Caffa fell to the armies of Mahomet II (1475), the Dominican rite had been used in that diocese by Eastern priests for nearly a century and a half. In the years that followed, the United Friars covered a vast amount of territory, establishing monasteries in Greater and Lesser Armenia, Persia, and Georgia. Everywhere these indefatigable friars established themselves, the surprised natives witnessed an Order belonging to the Eastern Church making use of a rite of the Western Church.

⁴⁴ Pio, *Degli Huomini Illustri, etc.*, I, lib. 2, no. 4; *Benedicti XIV Bullarium*, XI, 282-284; Bona, *Divina Psalmodia*, c. XVIII, par. XV, no. 4; Van den Oudenrijn, "Annotationes Bibliographicae Armeno-Dominicanae," in *AOP*, XXIX (1921), 97-102; R. Loenertz, "L'Ordre des Frères Uniteurs d'Arménie," in *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants*, 141 ff (Dissert. Hist. O.P., VII).

⁴⁵ Loenertz, *La Société des Frères Pérégrinants*, 105.

These were some of the triumphs of the Dominican rite. No pretense is made that the foregoing list is complete. But what has been narrated clearly shows the judgment of the Middle Ages on the liturgy of the Friars Preachers. That different dioceses and even countries should have discarded their own rites to adopt that of a Religious Order, was the most sincere and the greatest tribute that could have been paid to the perfection of the work of the Dominican liturgists. The many years spent in the most trying labor, first by the Four Friars and then by Humbert of Romans, had not been wasted. Those liturgists had given the Order a marvellous and permanent instrument with which, down through the ages, the friars might effectively carry out St. Dominic's ideal: [*Deum*] *laudare, benedicere et prædicare!*⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The motto of the Friars Preachers. It was taken from the Preface of the Blessed Virgin in the Dominican Missal.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
THE CHURCH FORMALLY APPROVES OF
THE DOMINICAN RITE

NO SOONER had Humbert announced the completion of his revision than the work of copying began. Apparently the idea of two exemplars, one at Paris and another at Bologna, was abandoned; for the chapter of 1256 speaks of the copies being made only at Paris.¹ The provincials of the various provinces, in order to defray the cost of the transcription, were to send twenty pounds of the currency of Tours to the prior of Saint-Jacques at Paris; part of this money (we do not know how much) was to go to the procurator of the Order for expenses connected with the Roman Curia, and the rest was to meet the cost of having copies of the prototype transcribed.²

To expedite this copying, the leaves of Humbert's codex were left unbound, so that they might be divided among different scribes; thus, a number of men might labor simultaneously at the work of transcription. Meanwhile, the chapter of Florence (1257) strove to ensure authenticity of text by the following warning:

"All who have thus far reduced to writing any part of the office, are not to give their copies to any one for transcription until such copies shall have been carefully corrected according to the exemplar preserved at Paris. Furthermore, friars who are now copying the office are not to use such copies until they shall have been carefully corrected by the brethren [in charge]."

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 81-82.

² *Loc. cit.*
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No confidence is to be placed in any private versions which some brethren are reported to have taken with them in their notebooks and on sheets of parchment."³

One might imagine that now when the great labor of revision, which had occupied the liturgists of the Order so many years, was at length finished and their work ready for distribution, it would be instantly accepted by the entire family of Friars Preachers. But such was not the case. The chapters of 1258 and 1259 found it necessary to remind the friars to procure copies of the new revision. And in case their hesitancy was due to the fear, or to the hope, that there might be any further alterations, the chapter of 1259 warned the friars that the master-general would make no more changes in the liturgy.⁴ But, notwithstanding this assurance, universal acceptance of the "new correction" continued to be slow.⁵ In 1265,

³ *Ibid.*, 88. ⁴ *Ibid.*, 98-99.

⁵ Douais (*Acta Cap. Prov.*, I, 35) gives as an example of this slowness the action of the chapter of 1261 in ordering the prior of Toulouse "to correct his choir before the feast of St. Michael." But that chapter was referring, not to the liturgical books, but to the building. See Löhr, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kölner Dominikanerklosters im Mittelalter," in *QF*, XV, 4.

One of the reasons why the poorer houses did not at once order copies of the new revision was the great expense, for the big tomes used in Dominican choirs were very costly. Some idea of the expenditure involved in providing sufficient liturgical books for a monastery may be gleaned from the inventory of the sacristy of the Church of S. Romano at Lucca for the year 1264. Among other items, we read:

"Also a conventual missal; a Gospel-book and an Epistle-book; another missal; two missals complete with Gospels and Epistles; and a small missal with certain feasts.

"Also, an antiphony for the nocturnal office, in two volumes; and an antiphony for the diurnal office, in one volume; a collectarium and an ordinary of the new correction, in two volumes. Also, another ordinary of the old correction, in one volume. Also, a lectionary of feasts, in one volume. Also, a calendar, with the Rule and the Constitutions."

Towards the end of this inventory we find: "Also, a passionnal, beginning with the feast of St. Andrew and ending with that of Philip and James; written in large, clear letters. Also, a new lectionary with both the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*. Also, an antiphony of the new correction, in

the chapter of Montpellier, under Blessed John of Vercelli, was forced to make this admonition: "We admonish the priors to take efficacious steps towards acquiring the liturgical books of the new correction."⁶ Similarly, in the fragmentary acts of a provincial chapter of the Teutonic Province, believed to have been that of Krems in 1267, we read: "Let the priors take pains to have the books of the correction, and let the brethren sing according to them."⁷ Even as late as 1270, fourteen years after Humbert had announced the completion of the revision, the Acts of the Roman province urged the priors to procure the books of Humbert's revision.⁸ What was the cause of this prolonged delay on the part of some communities in adopting the new correction?

In his *Exposition of the Constitutions*, Humbert adduces the poverty of the Order as one of the reasons why uniformity in all things was practically impossible.⁹ Undoubtedly the expense of obtaining a complete set of the new books bore heavily upon some of the poorer monasteries; but it is difficult to believe that any of them were in such straitened circumstances that after fourteen years they still were unable to purchase the new edition. There can be little doubt that Humbert's work was encountering the same kind of opposition which had harassed that of the Four Friars—an opposition which arose, not so much from any imperfections of the revision, as from a stubborn adherence to other customs.

four volumes. Also, two conventual psalters of the new correction. Also, three missals of the new correction. Also, a gradual of the new correction, in two volumes. Also, ten processional books of the new correction."

This inventory was published by Baluze, *Miscellanea*, IV, 600-602.

⁶ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 130.

⁷ "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Provinzialkapitel und Provinziale des Dominikanerordens," in *QF*, XIV, 11.

⁸ *Acta Cap. Prov.*, II, 528.

⁹ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 7.

THE ORDER SEEKS APPROBATION OF THE CHURCH

Meanwhile, at the close of the chapter of London in 1263, Humbert, now over sixty years of age and worn out by the labors and storms of nine tempestuous years, asked to be relieved of his heavy burdens. His resignation was accepted, and the following year Blessed John of Vercelli was elected as his successor. It was due to the prudent foresight of the new master-general that the question of the Dominican rite became definitely and permanently settled. So long as the revision of Humbert had only constitutional force, the malcontents in the Order could hope to change it. The new general evidently decided to remove such hopes. He asked Pope Clement IV for the formal approbation of the Church for the new revision, and also for a vigorous prohibition by the Church against anyone changing that revision without the express permission of the Holy See. He obtained both requests. On 7 July, 1267, by the Bull *Consurgit in nobis*, Clement IV graciously granted these desires of Blessed John of Vercelli, declaring:

"We are filled with the greatest spiritual joy, when we behold those who are dedicated to the divine service bonded together in virtuous harmony. Especially when we perceive them desiring, for the honor of the Divine Name, that the cause of holy unity should prosper among them to such an extent that their state in life may enjoy not only lasting peace and tranquil devotion, but also appear always well-ordered—as propriety demands. For both reasons there is great cause for congratulation, since unity of faith and pious deeds so shine forth in these religious that this renowned Order may assume this praise: it possesses every adornment of surpassing beauty, and it is entirely free of every blemish.

"Gladly have we heard your petition. When your illustrious Order had, by the grace of Christ, spread its branches from sea to sea, the Divine Office was not uniformly observed throughout

the Order owing to the various customs of the different provinces. Wherefore, as true servants of God and sincere lovers of sound unity, you realized with commendable foresight that this diversity of observance would be prejudicial to devotion or even perhaps become an occasion of grave scandal. So you unanimously commissioned Our beloved son, Friar Humbert, former general of the Order, to make the said office uniform, that everywhere throughout the world the entire Order might reverently and humbly observe this uniformity. When at length Humbert had completed a skilful and befitting arrangement of the ecclesiastical office, you carefully examined the work, and then decreed in three successive general chapters that the arrangement of the office should be observed throughout your Order. For this reason, you have humbly petitioned Us to add the authority of Apostolic protection to this office.

"We, being favorable to your supplications and holding as valid and lasting the arrangement of the office, do therefore decree and confirm by Our Apostolic authority that the aforesaid arrangement is to be followed in all your houses; and by the protection of these presents We do strengthen it.

"We strictly forbid anyone, without the permission of the Apostolic See, to change anything in the aforesaid office against the tenor of Our Confirmation and Constitution and that of the aforesaid arrangement.

"To absolutely none, therefore, is it permitted to disregard this confirmation, constitution, and prohibition, etc.

"Given at Viterbo, on the 7th day of July, in the third year of Our Pontificate (1267)."²⁰

Blessed John of Vercelli, by this diplomatic move, not only obtained the formal approbation of the Church for the Dominican rite, but at the same time he received a powerful weapon with which to enforce the acceptance of the new revision. This document of Clement IV removed the liturgy of the Order beyond the reach of even the general chapters; and, whether all the friars liked it or not, the new revision was permanent and final.

²⁰ BOP, I, 486.

Nevertheless, this papal prohibition was not an absolute one. Only those changes were forbidden which were *against* or *contrary* to Humbert's revision; but alterations or modifications that were in harmony with Humbert's arrangement, not being "against the tenor of the aforesaid arrangement," were permissible without special permission of the Holy See. Subsequent events require this interpretation; for while the Clementine prohibition was in force, the Order did make a number of changes. Thus, the chapter of 1270 gave final approval to certain changes, for example: inserting the name of St. Dominic in the prayer *A cunctis*; altering some rubrics relative to the *Pax*; transferring the date of the feast of St. Edward; ordering special lessons for the feast of St. Anthony, etc.¹¹ Likewise, the chapter of 1271 gave the third approval to the proposal that on Palm Sunday and during Holy Week, when the reader of the Passion should pronounce the words, *Emisit spiritum* or any similar phrase, he was to pause while all the friars in choir prostrated themselves.¹² In 1276, the feast of St. Martha was introduced with the rite of three lessons;¹³ later, the master-general provided the office for this feast, and assigned as its date the "6 kalends of August" (27 July).¹⁴ The chapter of Milan (1278) substituted in the litany the word *prelates* for *priors*.¹⁵ Finally, in 1285, the chapter inserted St. Dominic's name in the *Confiteor* both in the Mass and in the Office, and Margaret's name in the litany.¹⁶ There is no indication whatever that papal permission had been granted or was even sought for these changes.

¹¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 151, 155, 156. Edward's feast had been adopted by the Order in 1263; that of Anthony of Padua in 1260.

¹² *Ibid.*, 156-157. ¹³ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 192. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 227-228.

POPE HONORIUS IV AUTHORIZES MINOR CHANGES

On the other hand, it was considered necessary to obtain formal permission of the Holy See to change some of the antiphons, versicles, sequences, and the like. This is proved by the fact that eighteen years after Clement's Bull had been issued, the successor of Blessed John of Vercelli, Munio de Zamora, applied to Pope Honorius IV for permission to make these very changes. On 1 October, 1285, Honorius replied by the decree *Meritis vestris*. After summarizing the document of Clement IV, the Pope added:

"Because of your desire, for the greater praise of the Saints, to change certain things, as antiphons, versicles, and sequences, in the offices of the Saints chiefly honored in the Order, We, inclining to your earnest supplications, do by the authority of these presents grant you liberal powers to change the aforesaid office, notwithstanding the past prohibition; that is to say, by adding or deleting as ordered by three general chapters of the Order, provided however that the books arranged and composed [by Humbert] be not changed or destroyed."¹⁷

A curious thing now occurred. Having obtained full authority to make these alterations, the Order did not make any changes whatever! The next chapter did indeed propose that for a memory of St. Dominic the two antiphons *Magne Pater* and *Benedictus Redemptor* be dropped and new ones provided by the master-general; and also that an additional antiphon, to be used for a memory of the Blessed Virgin, be provided.¹⁸ Even these two suggested changes were not made. The two antiphons in honor of St. Dominic had been composed, according to the ancient *Chronica Ordinis*, by no less a person than Pope Clem-

¹⁷ BOP, II, 8. ¹⁸ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 232-233.

ent IV, who had a great devotion to St. Dominic.¹⁹ Probably for this reason, the chapter of 1287 ignored and thereby killed both proposals. It is possible that Munio himself was the one who desired to make certain changes, and on his own initiative obtained the necessary papal permission, only to find that his ideas were not acceptable to the majority of the friars.

The decree of Honorius IV, inasmuch as it forbade the relinquishing or the impairing of Humbert's revision, was tantamount to a second formal approval of the Dominican rite by the Church. The privilege accorded by the Holy See of making changes in the liturgy was one which the Friars Preachers did not abuse. It will be seen that the friars made only the most sober use of it until the day it was revoked by Urban VIII.

SOME CHANGES IN THE CALENDAR

Towards the end of the century, two new feasts were inserted in the calendar by the Order, while seven old feasts were elevated in rite. The new feasts were those of St. Wenceslaus and St. Louis. The introduction of the first, St. Wenceslaus, Patron of Bohemia, appears to have been due to the Bohemians, who were agitating for a separate province; moreover, when the feast was adopted (1296-97-98), the office was composed by Bohemian Dominicans.²⁰

The second new feast was that of King St. Louis of France, who was canonized by Boniface VIII in 1297; at the three next general chapters (1298-1300-01) the feast was adopted with the rite of *simplex*.²¹ The reason for this prompt acceptance was due to the intimate affection which had existed between the Dominican Order and St. Louis. It was a warm friendship

¹⁹ *Chronica Ordinis*, in MOPH, VII, fasc. I, 14-15.

²⁰ Cf. *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 291.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

which the king had inherited from his mother, Blanche of Castile. When her husband died in 1226, she was already a close friend of the Friars Preachers, especially of Blessed Jordan of Saxony. Hence, it was natural for her to turn particularly to the Dominicans for constant advice in the rearing of her son. Chief among these advisers was the celebrated Vincent of Beauvais.²² Later, the king himself chose as his confessor the Dominican, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, who fulfilled that delicate and difficult task for a period of twenty-two years. This faithful confessor accompanied the king even to war, and it was he who prepared St. Louis for death.²³ The royal friendship for St. Thomas Aquinas is well known; less commonly known is the fact that Humbert of Romans was godfather to the king's son, Robert. In 1256, St. Louis visited the capitular Fathers assembled in chapter at Paris. His largesses to the Dominicans, particularly in France, were endless.

It is small wonder, then, that as soon as Louis was canonized the Friars Preachers were among the very first to honor the new Saint. Various offices were composed in honor of St. Louis, but the one selected by the court of King Philip as superior to the rest was the one composed by the Dominican, Arnaud du Prat.²⁴ Not only was this office used by the

²² Stephen of Salanhac (d. 1290) says of Vincent: "Item scripsit epistolam consolatoriam de morte amici ad sanctum Ludovicum Regem franciæ, super morte primogeniti sui, ut patet in ea, cuius Regis fuit familiaris et domesticus quamplurimum" (*De quatuor in quibus, etc.*, 22). As "a particularly intimate friend of the family," Vincent undoubtedly advised on the education of the young king, though he was not, as is sometimes asserted, the actual tutor. For a public statement, made before the royal court and uncontradicted, of the preponderance of Dominican influence in the king's education, see the lessons of the office of the Saint, published in *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 21. ²³ Mortier, *Histoire*, I, 399.

²⁴ *Acta SS.*, V Augusti, 532; Martène, *Ampl. Coll.*, VI, 463; SSOP, I, 499. The office written by Arnaud du Prat (except the lessons) is given in AFH, X (1917), 559 ff.

Friars Preachers, but it was adopted by the Churches of France; indeed, it was retained by the Church of Paris down to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, some dozen feasts already in the Dominican calendar were elevated in rite. The first group of these changes was due to a decree of Boniface VIII in 1295, ordering that the principal feasts of all Apostles and Evangelists, as well as those of the Four Doctors of the Latin Church (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory the Great), should be everywhere celebrated in the Church with the rank of *duplex*. The Order had already celebrated these four feasts, but, with the exception of Augustine, only with the rank of *simplex*. Apostles, in Humbert's rating, were generally *semiduplex* feasts. The general chapter of 1296 ordered compliance with the papal decree.²⁵

The following year, legislation was begun to make *totum duplex* the feasts of the Nativity of John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and Mary Magdalene; and also to make the feast of Nicholas a *duplex*. The law was passed (1297-98-1300).²⁶

As regards the first of these, there was in the Middle Ages an extraordinary cult of John the Baptist. He had no less than three festivals: Conception, Nativity, and Beheading. "As early as the fifth century in Rome," says Kellner, "three Masses seem to have been celebrated on St. John's Day as on Christmas."²⁷ Indeed, not only was his Nativity a holyday of obligation as regards attendance at Mass, but servile work was strictly forbidden. Yet, Humbert, striving to safeguard the *Temporale*, had assigned him the rite of only a *duplex*. The capitulars felt that this was not high enough for so great a Saint; accordingly, it was made a *totum duplex*.

²⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 279. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 283. ²⁷ *Heortology*, 222.

THE FEAST OF MARY MAGDALENE

The elevation of Mary Magdalene directs our attention to a controversy about which hundreds of articles and books have been written. In Gaul, it was quite firmly believed that Mary Magdalene together with some companions had come to that country; but those who believed this story could not make up their minds as to whether she was buried at Vézelay or at Villa Lata, later called Saint-Maximin. In 1279, Prince Charles II of Anjou, wishing to settle the question, ordered excavations to be made at Saint-Maximin in the hope of finding the Saint's body. The workmen unearthed five sarcophagi, and found with them a wax tablet which stated that the body of the Saint had been hidden here in 710 to conceal it from the Saracen invaders. When Charles became King of Sicily, he built a monastery adjoining the church of Saint-Maximin, and invited the Dominicans to occupy it and to take care of the shrine. Boniface VIII, by a Bull of 6 April, 1295, directed the Friars Preachers to accept this charge.²⁸ As the friars were now the official guardians of what was apparently the tomb of Mary Magdalene, a great devotion towards her sprang up in the Order. Her feast was at once raised to the highest rank, and she eventually came to be looked upon as the Protectress of the Order, though this title was never officially bestowed upon her. But an embarrassment arose: Humbert, in his lessons for the feast, declared that the body was buried at Vézelay and the same statement was repeated in his martyrology! As her body could hardly be in two places at once, the same general

²⁸ BOP, II, 40. On the question of whether Mary Magdalene really came to Gaul, see L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule* (Paris, 1907), I, 321-354; Leclercq, "Maximin (Saint)," in DACL, X, 2798 ff, and "Lazare" in DACL, VIII, 2010 ff.



A MEDIEVAL DOMINICAN GRADUAL (circa 1425)

(Courtesy of Free Library of Philadelphia)

chapters that elevated her feast ordered removed from the breviary the embarrassing account in the sixth lesson. But a similar declaration in the martyrology—"On 19 March, at Vézelay, the translation of St. Mary Magdalene"—was not deleted until the chapter of 1323.²⁹

The wax tablet found in the tomb at Saint-Maximin has been shown in modern times to be a clumsy forgery. But the charge that the Dominicans were responsible for the forgery is unjust. The tablet was "found" in 1279; no Dominicans were then at Saint-Maximin, and none were connected in any way with the excavation. The Friars Preachers did not appear upon the scene until sixteen years later.

The last feast to be elevated in the thirteenth century was that of St. Nicholas, which was made a *duplex*.³⁰ The reason is interesting: this Saint was the Patron of an extremely popular master-general, Nicholas Boccasino. It was a compliment on the part of the capitulars to their leader, who was destined shortly to become Pope Benedict XI.

The Order had preserved Humbert's revision unchanged, save for some minor points, down to almost the close of the century. But the practice begun in the last few years of that century of elevating to higher rite various feasts, though not wholly the Order's fault, was a bad omen for the future. It marked the beginning of an unending encroachment on the *Temporale* by feasts of Saints.

²⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 149. ³⁰ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 283.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE LITURGY IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

WHILE there were no drastic changes made in the Dominican rite during the fourteenth century, nevertheless the severe trials the Order underwent at that time left their imprint upon the liturgy. The commemoration of the Blessed Virgin at vespers by the *Sub tuum præsidium*; the Solemn Mass every week in honor of Mary; the recitation of the *Salve Regina* after lauds, little hours, and vespers; the introduction of certain feasts and the elevation in rank of others—all recall troublous times in the fourteenth-century history of the Order.

At the close of the thirteenth century, the Order found itself involved in the violent quarrel between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair of France. Misled by a forged bull as well as by the most atrocious calumnies, which were widely circulated by the infamous William Nogaret, the bulk of the French clergy, secular and religious alike, inclined to the side of the king. The Dominican Order as a whole remained firm in its allegiance to the Pope. The emissaries of Philip tried to intimidate the Dominican friars at Montpellier into declaring their support of the royalist cause. Despite the bad example of other religious of that city, who had been frightened by the royal threats, the Dominican friars refused to yield. But members of the other French province, that of France, marred the record by aligning themselves with the king.¹ Grieved by this defection, the gen-

¹ Mortier, *Histoire*, II, 411-415.

eral chapter of 1302 begged the Order to implore the assistance of the Blessed Virgin:

"It is our will and we ordain that for the salvation and prosperity of the Order, there be said at vespers the antiphon *Sancta Dei Genetrix*, and at matins the *Sub tuum præsidium*, with the versicle *Ora pro nobis* and the prayer *Protege Domine famulos tuos.*"²

The death of Boniface and the conciliatory efforts of his successor, the Dominican Benedict XI, gradually brought about some degree of peace. But suddenly a new tempest burst upon the Order and inflicted the greatest suffering on its members. This was the slanderous charge, originated by a Cistercian monk and actively spread throughout Europe by certain malicious Franciscans, that the sudden death of Emperor Henry VII of Luxemburg was due to his having been poisoned by his Dominican chaplain, Bernard of Montepulciano.³ Again the friars turned to their Patroness, the Blessed Virgin, and to their Founder, St. Dominic. The chapter of 1314 ordered that the famous litany be said; in addition the weekly Mass in honor of Mary and that in honor of St. Dominic were to be Solemn Masses, and furthermore, every day during the octave of the Assumption the daily Mass was to be one in honor of the Blessed Virgin.⁴ The confidence of the Order was not misplaced. Gradually the public began to realize the falsity of the charge, and within two years the persecution of the Dominicans

² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 315. The chapter of 1306 substituted for *Sancta Dei Genetrix* the antiphon now used: *Regali ex progenie* (II, 17).

³ Among other places, the story may be found in *Gesta Baldewini de Luczenburch Treverensis Archiepiscopi*, which Baluze published in his *Miscellanea*, t. I, cap. xvii, 319. In the same volume (326) is the letter of the son of Emperor Henry, declaring the innocence of Bernard. Cf. also Johannes Meyer, *Chronica brevis Ord. Præd.*, edited by Scheeben in *QF*, XXIX, 55 ff.

⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 70.

had ceased. In gratitude, the Fathers of the chapter of 1318 ordered to be continued the practice of celebrating the weekly Masses in honor of Mary and St. Dominic as Solemn Masses.⁵

THE "SALVE REGINA" AFTER THE DIVINE OFFICE

Another battle in which the Order became engaged resulted in the introduction of the custom of reciting the *Salve Regina* after the Divine Office. Towards the end of his life, John XXII, speaking as an individual theologian and not as the official head of the Church, expressed the opinion that the souls of the saved do not immediately enjoy the beatific vision, but must wait until after the general judgment. The Dominicans were foremost among those who attacked the error. At Avignon, where John was living, his statement was denounced by a Dominican master of theology, Thomas Waleys. With the permission (if not by the command) of the angered Pope, a Franciscan inquisitor, William de Montrond, who shared the same belief as the Pope, seized Thomas and cast him into a dungeon in the Franciscan monastery, where for many months he was harshly treated.⁶ This ungenerous conduct on the part of the Pope estranged the Dominicans who, as we shall presently see, had lately suffered greatly in his defense. As relations grew more and more bitter between the Pope and the Order, the chapter of 1334 directed the friars to recommence the litany and to add a new prayer to the Divine Office:

⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁶ To the King of France, who was insisting upon the release of the Dominican, the Pope wrote that the prisoner was being well treated; but Thomas himself, after months of brutal cross-examinations, finally branded his inquisitor as "a wicked judge, a violent and barbarous oppressor." He escaped further torture by appealing from the inquisition to the Pope for trial. Käppeli, *Le Procès contre Thomas Waleys O.P.*, 155 (*Dissertationes Historicae O.P.*, VI).

"Because our Order places its trust in a most special way in the protection of the glorious Virgin, in this regard following the example of our holy fathers, we desire and ordain for the peace and safety of our Order that, whenever the *Fidelium* is said in choir at the end of the hours, immediately after it the friars are to recite, while kneeling, the *Salve Regina*, with the versicle *Ora pro nobis*, and the versicle *Esto nobis Domine*, with the prayers, *Protege Domine* and *Ecclesiae tuæ*. . . . This does not apply to compline, when the *Salve* is sung."⁷

For the next decade, the phrase "Let the litany and the *Salve Regina* be said as usual," appears in the Acts of all the general chapters, for while John died on 4 December, 1334, the Order gained but a short respite. Fresh troubles were brewing.

The new Pope, Benedict XII, who had been a Cistercian monk, was determined to restore, if possible, all the Religious Orders to their primitive fervor. He began with his own Cistercians, upon whom he imposed a drastic and severe reform. Next came the Cluniacs, the Friars Minor, and the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. He then summoned to Avignon the Dominican master-general, Hugh de Vaucemain, who was to bring with him a number of circumspect religious of his Order.⁸

According to a contemporary, the Dominican historian Galvano Fiamma (Galvaneus de la Flamma), the Pope demanded that Hugh, acting in the name of the whole Order, should agree to the Pope changing "our manner of making profession (which he particularly disapproved of), our Constitutions, and our Rule."⁹ The master-general felt that to abolish these and to substitute different ones would be, in effect, abolishing the Dominican Order and establishing a new Order. He therefore refused his consent.

⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 223. ⁸ Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 115-116.

⁹ Odetto, "La Cronaca maggiore dell'Ordine domenicano di Galvano Fiamma" in *AFP*, X, 368.

For four years the controversy continued, and meanwhile Hugh and his counsellors were held virtual prisoners at Avignon. The courageous master-general died on 7 August, 1341. Benedict was now confident of victory, but he himself died eight months later.

During these four anxious years the Order did not cease to say the litany and the *Salve Regina* as usual. And although the threat to the Order ended with Benedict's death, the special prayers were continued. Despite then the assertion of Olmeda that the custom of saying the *Salve Regina* after the Divine Office was introduced by Munio de Zamora,¹⁰ it is almost certain that the various trials of the Order resulted in the retention of this prayer. For by the time the emergencies were over, the saying of that prayer had become a well-established custom. This practice, however, was not adopted in the Roman breviary until after the Council of Trent.

Still another devotion to the Blessed Virgin was introduced in the Order in 1354. The general chapter of Narbonne, held under master-general Simon Langres, ordained that in every monastery the "big" bell was to be sounded three times every day after compline; at the signal the friars kneeling were "to salute the glorious Virgin by reciting the *Hail Mary* at least three times."¹¹

The Dominicans further displayed their devotion to the Mother of God by adding some new feasts to their calendar: the Visitation and the Sanctification or Conception. This raised the total of feasts in honor of the Blessed Virgin to the number of six: Sanctification, Nativity, Annunciation, Visitation, Purification and Assumption. As the liturgical prayers we

¹⁰ Sebastian de Olmeda, *Chronica*, 60.

¹¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 361-362.

have just considered reminded us of the political trials the Order underwent, so also these two feasts recall a famous theological storm then raging.

THE DISPUTE ON THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

At this period, the Great Western Schism was desolating the Church; not only were nations divided, but the clergy, secular and religious alike, were disunited. Like all the other international Orders, the Dominicans were split into two factions, the "Roman obedience" and the "Avignon obedience." The latter, meeting at Rodez in 1388, passed a law to establish the feast of the Sanctification. As the passage is quite corrupt, we shall content ourselves with giving its substance instead of a literal translation:

We make this *inchoatio*: Since Mary, the Mother of God, is the most special Patroness of our Order, she should be given a most special cult and reverence, particularly as there has now arisen an enemy to orthodox faith.

The truth of orthodox faith is expressly affirmed in a doctrinal manner by the famous doctors, Albert and St. Thomas; namely, the Mother of Christ the Saviour was fully sanctified on the eightieth day from her conception, on which day the soul was infused in her body, and after a brief space of time the same soul with the body was more fully sanctified than were other Saints.

That she may mercifully deign to implore an opportune remedy in the tribulations afflicting the Order we ordain that in her honor there be established a feast of the Sanctification with the rite of *totum duplex*.¹³

The resolution also stated that, while "some tried to honor Mary under the name Conception, we prefer to honor her under the name of true innocence and sanctification." This legislation was occasioned by the controversy concerning the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

"The feast of Mary's Conception," says Kellner, "was known in the Byzantine Empire as early as the beginning of the eighth century, although under a different name from that which it now bears."¹³ In the Western Church, according to Edmund Bishop, this feast appears to have originated in England shortly before the Norman Conquest (1066), the English in turn apparently having got it from the Greeks settled in Southern Italy.¹⁴ In the beginning, and for very many centuries, it was called simply the feast of the Conception, or sometimes the feast of the Sanctification. As Kellner observes: "If we consult the service-books printed before 1854, we find in them indeed on the 8th December the *festum conceptionis*, but the word *immaculata* is nowhere found in the office for the feast."¹⁵

The feast spread gradually from England throughout the Continent but not without serious opposition—an opposition which arose, not from lack of devotion to the Blessed Virgin (for there was never a Saint who had a more tender devotion to Mary than St. Bernard), but rather from the theological difficulty as to how Mary could be sanctified *before* she began to exist. The opponents were some of the most famous theologians and liturgists of the Middle Ages: St. Peter Damian; St. Bernard of Clairvaux; Peter Lombard, the *Magister Sententiarum*; John Belet; Sicard, Bishop of Cremona; Durandus, Bishop of Mende; Maurice de Sully, Bishop of Paris; Peter de la Celle, Bishop of Chartres; St. Albert the Great; St. Thomas Aquinas; and the Franciscans, Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure.

Despite the opposition of these eminent liturgists and theologians, five of them Doctors of the Church, the feast continued

¹³ *Heortology*, 245.

¹⁴ Bishop, "On the Origins of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception," in *Liturgica Historica*, 238 ff.

¹⁵ *Heortology*, 241.

to spread, especially after Duns Scotus proved that sanctification after animation required that it should follow in the order of nature and not in the order of time. By the middle of the fourteenth century acceptance of the feast and the dogma implied in the feast had become quite general outside the Dominican Order.¹⁶ This persistent opposition requires explanation.

DOCTRINE OF AQUINAS OBLIGATORY ON ORDER

In the Dominican Order, as early as 1279, a general chapter had enacted the following:

"Since Thomas Aquinas . . . has conferred great honor upon the Order by his writings, it is not in any way to be tolerated that any of his brethren speak irreverently or disparagingly of him or of his writings, even if they are of a different opinion.

"We impose upon provincials, priors, their vicars, and all visitors, that if they should find any friars who are transgressors in these matters, they are not to delay in punishing them severely."¹⁷

The attitude of the Order, obligating all its members to hold and to teach the doctrine of Aquinas, was reaffirmed by the chapters of 1286, 1313, 1329, 1344, and by numerous subsequent ones. This legislation would have been ideal, if Thomas Aquinas were infallible, if his manuscripts were safe beyond any possibility of corruption; and if his meaning were incapable of misinterpretation. Unfortunately, not any of these conditions existed. Yet, because of the profound reverence shown by the Order to the Angelic Doctor, all the theologians of the Order were obliged to accept the common interpretation of St. Thomas, which certainly was opposed to the doctrine of the

¹⁶ Vacandard, "Les Origines de la Fête et du Dogme de l'Immaculée Conception," in *Etudes de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse* (Troisième série), 299. ¹⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 204.

Immaculate Conception. This is why, when the doctrine of this feast was commonly though not universally accepted by the end of the fourteenth century, we find the Thomists tenaciously clinging to their interpretation of the doctrine of St. Thomas.

The controversy was not carried on in an academic manner befitting the dignity of the subject, and only too often the baser passions were given full scope by adversaries on either side. Thus, in 1387, the Dominican John of Monzon (or Montezono), a Spanish theologian, claimed in his lectures at the University of Paris that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was heretical, and that this statement was based on the teaching of St. Thomas. These wild assertions provoked a veritable tempest. The masters of the University and the Bishop of Paris, Peter d'Orgemont, condemned fourteen of John's propositions.¹⁸ Unhappily, Elias of Toulouse, who was head of the "Avignon obedience," resolved to support John and to appeal to Clement VII. As a further act of defiance to the Parisian authorities, the general chapter of 1388 passed the resolution given above, instituting the feast of the Sanctification and defining what they meant to observe by this feast.

Deeply shocked by the excesses of the schismatic branch of the Order, Blessed Raymond of Capua, the master-general of the "Roman obedience," and the general chapter of 1391 and the two successive chapters adopt the feast of the Sanctification;¹⁹ but it was done as an act of piety, not as a defiance to opponents. Raymond, who had a singular devotion to the Blessed Virgin, did not stop here. Urban VI, just before his death in 1389, had extended the feast of the Visitation to the universal Church in the hope "that Christ and His Mother

¹⁸ Denifle, *Chartularium*, III, 486 ff.

¹⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 92.

would visit the Church" and end the schism. His successor, Boniface IX, published this decree on 9 November, 1389. Blessed Raymond not only devoutly received the feast for the Order, but also composed the entire office for it. The office was a rhythmic one, based on that of St. Dominic, and was used in the Order for over a hundred years.²⁰

During this century the Saints of the Order were not neglected. In the first place, the heritage of devotion to St. Dominic, handed down by his followers of the thirteenth cen-

²⁰ The Office is given in *B. Raymundi Capuani Opuscula et Litteræ*, 39 ff. It begins: *Collætentur corda fidelium* (Superps. ana. for first vespers). The hymn for Vespers is an acrostic: *Magnæ . . . Ancilla . . . Recipit . . . In rosa . . . Ancilla . . .* [MARIA].

A rhythmic office is one whose parts (except psalms and lessons) are metrical, rhythmic, or rimed. From the ninth until the fifteenth centuries, such offices enjoyed considerable popularity not only among the secular clergy but also among the Religious Orders. Among the composers were some of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages.

In the Dominican breviary of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, the offices of St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, the Crown of Thorns, and St. Thomas Aquinas were of this type. The best of them was that of St. Dominic, which was composed by the talented Constantine, Bishop of Orvieto (d. 1256). Both Olmeda (26) and Altamura (6) attributed the office to Jordan of Saxony, while a Franciscan at the end of the fourteenth century claimed it was written by Julian von Speyer, the composer of the rhythmic office of St. Francis [Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIX (1900), 329].

Their claims merit little attention. Stephen of Salanhac, a careful historian, expressly declares: "Frater Constantinus . . . compilavit legendam et officium ecclesiasticum Sancti Dominici . . ." (*De quatuor in quibus*, 43). This is the statement of an historian who was a member of the Order when the office was written and adopted; the earliest of those who contradict him lived one hundred and fifty years later. Furthermore, as Cormier observes, one has only to compare the office of St. Dominic with that of St. Francis to see that they could hardly be the work of the same author (*Quinze Entretien*, 296).

Fragments of a rhythmic office of St. Dominic written in a thirteenth century hand were found in a MS. in the library of the University of Göttingen [cf. AOP, XXXIV (1926), 683]. The fragments are of much interest, as the antiphons differ from those of the breviary-antiphony and from those of Humbert. The author is unknown.

tury,²¹ was further enriched. The practice of celebrating a Solemn Mass every week in his honor, begun in a time of great tribulation (1314), was to become a permanent custom. Furthermore, Tuesday of every week was henceforth dedicated to the holy Patriarch (1362); from now on, every Tuesday of the year, outside Lent, was to have the office of St. Dominic with the rank of three lessons, and the Mass of that day was to be his Mass.²²

CANONIZATION OF THOMAS AQUINAS

The same century saw another illustrious member of the Order raised to the honors of the altar, Thomas Aquinas. Thomas had died in 1274, but the Order had displayed more interest in his doctrine than in his canonization. Indeed, a layman, Bartholomew of Capua, showed himself more zealous than most Dominicans in furthering the "cause" of the Angelic Doctor.²³ Finally, in 1318, the Fathers of the province of Sicily commissioned William of Tocco, a former pupil and biographer of Aquinas, to urge upon John XXII the canonization of Aquinas. The Pope deemed the report of the official inquiry insufficient; however, at the request of the entire nobility of the Kingdom of Naples and the officials of the University of Naples,

²¹ From the fragmentary Acts of the early chapters, we learn the following: in all feasts of nine lessons, Dominic was to receive a memory (1239); Mass was to be said in his honor every week (1239); his prayer was to read: *meritis et doctrinis* (1244); in choir, at the mention of his name, the friars were to make a profound bow (1249); his name was placed in the litany (1254); it was also to be inserted in the prayer *A cunctis nos* (1268); finally, the *Confiteor* was to begin: *Confiteor Deo et beatæ Mariæ et beato Dominico* (1282); the words: *patri nostro* were not added until 1596. The preface of St. Dominic was added to the missal in our own day (23 November, 1921). It was composed by Egidio M. Guinassi, provincial of Lombardy.

²² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 393.

²³ Walz, *Canonizationis S. Thomæ de Aquino brevis historia*, 4.

John XXII ordered a complementary juridical inquiry. William of Tocco now labored zealously to bring the cause to a speedy and successful conclusion, and in 1323 the Pope decided upon the canonization. At the appeal of Hervé de Nédellec, then master-general, who was obliged to attend the general chapter of Barcelona on 15 May, the Pope agreed to postpone the date until July. But Hervé was not destined to witness the ceremony to which he so eagerly looked forward. Hurrying to Avignon after the chapter he was stricken with a mortal illness at Narbonne.²⁴

The ceremony could not be postponed. Avignon was crowded with visitors for the occasion. The preliminaries began on 14 July, with the Pope preaching two different sermons, in one of which he declared that Thomas had performed as many miracles as he had explained questions.²⁵ The following Monday (18 July), in the presence of the King and Queen of Sicily, seventeen Cardinals, numerous prelates, and a huge throng, Pope John XXII celebrated a Solemn Mass. It was the first to be offered in honor of the Angelic Doctor. On the same day the Pope published the Bull of Canonization, and fixed the date of the feast for 7 March.²⁶

The following general chapter could not restrain its jubilation; the very first words of the Acts refer to the new feast:

“We make this *inchoatio*: That the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, the venerable Doctor, be celebrated throughout the entire Order on 7 March, as a *totum duplex*; and that his name be inserted in the litany immediately after that of St. Dominic.”²⁷

²⁴ Mortier, *Histoire*, II, 565 ff.

²⁵ Sebastian de Olmeda, *Chronica*, 94: “Addiditque [Papa] dicens: quia Thomas quidem tot miracula fecit, quot questiones enodavit.”

²⁶ BOP, II, 159 ff.; Walz, *op. cit.*, 15-16.

²⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 151.

The same chapter directed that for the present the friars should use the office from the Common of a Confessor until the master-general should provide a suitable office proper to St. Thomas. This new office was apparently ready by 1328,²⁸ but it was far from giving satisfaction. It was criticized both from a literary and from a musical standpoint. So the chapter of 1334 ordered the provincials of the various provinces to have, every one of them, a new office written with appropriate plainchant, and to bring these compositions to the next chapter. Out of all these a new office was to be selected.²⁹ Evidently this plan proved more satisfactory.

A second feast of the Angelic Doctor was to enrich the calendar in the second half of that century. The Saint had died in a Cistercian monastery at Fossa Nuova. Not only the Dominican Order but also many other persons were anxious to secure the remains of the greatest theologian of the Church. For the same reason the monks of Fossa Nuova had no intention of relinquishing their treasure. To guard against the loss of the body through either trickery or violence, the monks had recourse to expedients that to-day seem almost incredible.³⁰ Eventually, however, the Benedictine Pope, Urban V, decided that the Dominicans should have the remains of their illustrious friar. The Pope also specified they were to be placed in the Dominican church at Toulouse, for it was in that city that St. Dominic had founded his Order. So keen was the competition to obtain these relics that it was necessary to convey them secretly to that city. Without the knowledge of the nuns, the relics were secreted in the monastery of Prouille. When all the preparations

²⁸ This office is generally attributed to William Adam (Guilelmus Adæ); but this is uncertain. See SSOP, I, 724.

²⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 224. A special preface for the Mass of St. Thomas was not granted until our own day (1943).

³⁰ Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 409-410.

for the official welcome were completed, the relics were brought to Toulouse (28 January, 1369). A number of miracles signaled the arrival. A vast throng gathered to welcome the remains; the official welcome was made by the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, who was attended by a large retinue of prelates and nobles. Thus, the peaceful rest which had thus far been denied to the remains of the "Prince of Theologians" was at last to begin.³¹ To commemorate the event, the general chapter of that year introduced into the liturgy, with the express permission of Urban V, the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas Aquinas; it was given the rank of a *totum duplex* and was assigned to 28 January.³²

The office which was composed for the feast was apparently a very mediocre one, so much so that many houses did not bother copying it. In 1376, the general chapter found it necessary to order the provincials by the solemn formula "in virtue of holy obedience" to have the new office transcribed in the books of every house of their province within one year at the very latest.³³ Two years later, the master-general commanded the provincials that, all excuses being laid aside, the sequence and nine lessons of the feast be copied in the books of their provinces.³⁴

³¹ "Historia translationis corporis sanctissimi Ecclesie Doctoris, divi Thomae de Aquino . . .," in *Acta SS.*, I Martii, 725 ff.; Percin, *Monumenta conventus Tolosani*, 211 ff.

³² Sebastian de Olmeda, *Chronica*, 122. The Acts of 1369 have been lost; but those of the next year give the adoption of this feast as an *approbatio*, thereby indicating the law was introduced in 1369.

³³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 430-431.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 446. In 1401, a new office was written by a certain Father Aldobrandini of Ferrara; it began: *O quam felix mater Italia* (superps. ana. first vespers). This office was officially adopted and remained in use until the feast was dropped by the revision of 1551. The feast (but not the office of Aldobrandini) was reintroduced in 1644 and continued in use until Cormier's revision in 1909. See *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 104; Zaccaria, *Bib-*

TRANSLATION OF ST. PETER MARTYR

Another Dominican feast was added to the calendar by the transference of St. Peter Martyr's body to a more worthy tomb. In 1335, the friars at S. Eustorgio (Milan) appealed for assistance in their project of erecting a worthy monument to St. Peter Martyr. The capitular Fathers, assembled that year in chapter at London, begged the friars of the whole Order to secure donations for the cause.³⁵ The response throughout all Europe was most generous, for at that period St. Peter Martyr was one of the most popular Saints of the whole Church.

The sculpturing of the monument was entrusted to the artist, John Balducci. He designed the tomb after the general lines of that of St. Dominic, but with important and happy modifications. When this work of art was nearing completion, Azzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, made urgent representations to the Order to hold the general chapter of 1340 in Milan. His request was granted. Pope Benedict XII appointed John Visconti, then Bishop of Novara, to represent him on this occasion. He even went further; desirous of making peace with the powerful Visconti family, the Pope permitted the master-general, Hugh de Vaucemain, to leave Avignon (where he was virtually a prisoner) that he might preside at the chapter!

On Pentecost, 4 June, 1340, in the presence of a great number of ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries, the tomb was opened. Although eighty-seven years had passed since the body of Peter Martyr had been laid in this plain tomb, the body was found to

liotheca Ritualis, II, 97. A. Zucchi (*S. Tommaso d'Aquino O.P.: Miscellanea Storico-Artistica*, 305 ff.) published an ancient sequence for the Translation as well as a special preface for the Mass. The preface, however, was never used, at least in Dominican missals.

³⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 233.

be wholly incorrupt. It was reverently lifted from the grave and placed upon an altar where all might see it. As the multitude gazed upon the martyr's head, its terrible wound plainly visible, their emotion was intense. The historian, Henry of Hervorden, who was present, tells of the great number of miracles which took place on this occasion; one of them he himself witnessed.³⁶ Finally, the body was placed in its new, magnificent tomb. With the completion of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, the Visconti family entertained the visiting friars for a whole fortnight.³⁷

Oddly enough, it is not till eight years later that we find in the Acts of the general chapters any mention of a feast of this Translation. It seems incredible that the feast was not immediately adopted. As the Acts of that period are obviously incomplete, it is probable that the feast was placed in the calendar and the office for 29 April used. In any case, the chapter of 1348 proposed that the "Translation of Bl. Peter Martyr be a *totum duplex* feast [to be celebrated] on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi; the master of the Order will provide the office."³⁸ The date, however, proved to be inconvenient, and it was changed to 7 May.³⁹

There were other changes made in the calendar, some of these being the elevation in rank of certain feasts, others being the introduction of new feasts. The old feasts, with the rank to which they were raised, are as follows:

Raised to *totum duplex*: Michael Archangel (1326-27-28)
 Vincent of Saragossa (1346-47-48)
duplex: Beheading of John the Baptist (1365).
 Benedict (1370).

³⁶ *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, 264; *Acta SS.*, III Aprilis, 700-702.

³⁷ Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 143-154. ³⁸ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 321.

³⁹ By the chapters of (1388)-91-94. *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 92.

three lessons: Ignatius of Antioch (1300-01-02).

Eleven Thousand Virgins (1329-30-31).

Given Octaves: All Saints }
 Holy Angels } (1370)

The new feasts, and the rank assigned them, were these:

Corpus Christi (1304-05-06?), *totum duplex*.

Alexius (1305-06-07), three lessons.

Servatus (1330-31-32), three lessons.

Martial (1334-35-36), three lessons.

Procopius }
 Adalbert } (1353-54-55), three lessons.

FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI

To those who are aware of the part taken by certain Dominicans in the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi, it is a matter of astonishment that the feast was not adopted universally in the Order prior to 1304. When St. Juliana of Liège sought counsel concerning the advisability of such a feast, she had consulted among others four Dominicans: Giles, John, and Gerard, all of Liège, and the great Biblical scholar, Hugh of Saint-Cher, then provincial of France but later Cardinal of Santa Sabina. The replies of all four were favorable and encouraging. Later, Hugh, coming to Liège as Papal Legate, approved the office composed by a certain John, a cleric of her own monastery. To give further impetus to the feast, Hugh himself solemnly celebrated the festival and urged the congregation to cherish this devotion. He issued a decree to the entire district of his legation confirming the action of the Bishop of Liège in establishing the feast for the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. He likewise ordered the German Dominicans to adopt

the feast (1253).⁴⁰ Then, when Urban IV by the Bull *Transi-turus* (11 August, 1264) established the feast for the universal Church, St. Thomas Aquinas composed the office now in use.

Despite the papal decree, however, the feast made very little headway. The apathy towards it was not due to any lack of devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament, but simply to the fact that few people saw the need of such a feast. It was believed that every day a feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated by the daily Sacrifice of the Mass. Why then have a special feast? There were further reasons for lack of interest. Urban died very shortly after the date of this Bull. His successor, occupied with the vexatious problems of those troubled times, made no reference to the feast; and the subject was gradually forgotten. Towards the end of the century, a few (but only a few) isolated Churches adopted the feast. It was not till the next century, when Clement V at the Council of Vienne (1311) ordered the adoption of the feast for the second time, that it finally began to spread. But even so, it was necessary for John XXII to urge again its observance.

The chapter of 1304 began the constitutional procedure to make the observance of the feast obligatory on the whole Order.⁴¹ This step was approved at the following chapter; and while the Acts that we have of the chapter of 1306 do not mention the subject, there can be no question but that the law successfully passed the third stage. This is evident from the enactments of subsequent chapters. Notwithstanding this legislation, it was necessary for the chapter of 1318 to remind the friars that the observance of the feast was obligatory upon the whole Order; no house was exempt. To the reminder the chap-

⁴⁰ SSOP, I, 195; Browe, *Textus Antiqui de Festo Corporis Christi*, 18; [Bertholet], *Histoire de l'Institution de la Fête-Dieu*, 67, 93 ff.

⁴¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 3.

ter added the astounding statement: "Let the master-general take steps to provide the office for this feast!"⁴² If there should be any doubt in our minds as to the meaning of these words, it is dispelled by the chapters of 1322-23-24, which order the adoption of the office of Corpus Christi "written, it is said, by Thomas Aquinas!"⁴³

This almost unbelievable situation was the result of factors to which we can here devote only the briefest attention. First of all, in the middle of the thirteenth century, Aquinas did not occupy the extraordinary niche in the Order that he does to-day. Indeed, a number of Dominicans opposed his teachings. Hence, the Order was far from eagerly treasuring every fugitive page which came from his pen. In the second place, as the feast of Corpus Christi failed to spread, only a few copies of that office were made; and by the end of the century, they must have indeed been very scarce. Theologians who wanted copies of Aquinas's writings would not go to the expense of having copied the non-theological compositions of the master, his sermons, his expositions of the *Pater noster*, etc. As it appears to be characteristic of Dominican theologians never to study the historical records of their own Order, there gradually died out the memory of this liturgical composition of Aquinas.⁴⁴

The next feast to be placed on the Dominican calendar in the

⁴² *Ibid.*, 109. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁴⁴ Despite this fact, the authorship of the office was not seriously questioned until modern times. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, John Rioche, a Franciscan, denied Aquinas had written the *Lauda Sion*; he attributed it to Bonaventure. This claim was repeated by Wadding and other Franciscans. A more serious attack was made by Papebroch, who gave as his opinion that Thomas had merely revised the office of John of Mont-Cornillon. He was answered by Noel Alexander (*Dissertationes Historicae et Criticae, quibus Officium Ven. Sacramenti S. Thomæ vindicatur*, Parisiis, 1680). More recently, Dom Morin advanced the theory that St. Thomas had "borrowed" a considerable part of the older office; as only a few, inconclusive fragments of the older office have come down to us, it

fourteenth century was that of St. Alexius.⁴⁵ The reason for its introduction was that the master-general, Aymeric of Piacenza, had a special devotion to this Saint. Aymeric was destined one day to repose in death near the altar of the Saint whom he so loved in life.⁴⁶

THE LEGEND OF ST. SERVATUS

The feast of St. Servatus (*Servais*), in view of modern developments, calls for special attention. The present breviary gives

is clear that the learned Benedictine did not display his usual scholarship in building up a theory on so weak a foundation.

Against these writers, we have the explicit testimony of men of the highest standing who lived at the time of Aquinas or shortly after: William of Tocco, first a pupil and then a biographer of the Saint; Ptolemy of Lucca, another pupil of the Saint, then his confessor, and later Bishop of Torcelli; John of Colonna, a contemporary who became Archbishop of Messina; Bernard Gui, historian, who joined the Order only five years after the death of the Saint; Henry of Hervorden, historian, who joined the Order in the early fourteenth century; St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence; and a number of other fourteenth-century writers. All are unanimous in asserting that Thomas Aquinas wrote the entire office of Corpus Christi. Thus, Ptolemy, as if foreseeing future disputes, explicitly states: "He [Aquinas] composed the entire office: the lessons, the nocturnal office, the diurnal office, the Mass, and whatever is sung on that day" (*Historia Ecclesiastica Ptolomæi Lucensis*, in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XI, lib. 22, cap. xxiv, col. 1154). Bernard Gui is hardly less emphatic: "He [St. Thomas] composed and arranged the entire ecclesiastical office of Corpus Christi: the diurnal office, the nocturnal office, and also the Mass" ("Historia conventus Paris. FF. Præd.," in Martène-Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, VI, 558).

With such trustworthy evidence before us, we are justified in concluding with Blume, S.J., that all the hymns of this office, including the *Lauda Sion*, were written by Thomas Aquinas; and in accepting the verdict of Dr. Martin Grabmann: "We can therefore regard the office of Corpus Christi as the genuine composition of St. Thomas Aquinas, it being in regard to its contents and constituent parts the product of his genius and intellect" (*Die Werke des hl. Thomas von Aquin*, 319). See Blume, "Thomas von Aquin und das Fronleichnamsoffizium, etc.," in *Theologie und Glaube*, III (1911), 358-372; Mandonnet, *Les Écrits authentiques de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, 127-129.

⁴⁵ Acta Cap. Gen., II, 11. ⁴⁶ Olmeda, *Chronica*, 88.

the following account as to why the Saint was added to the Dominican calendar:

"When Louis of Bavaria, who was very hostile to the Church and to the Order, learned that the friars had been summoned to hold a general chapter in his domain, he planned to put them to death. Historical records testify that St. Servatus appeared in a dream to a member of the Order with the warning that the friars should flee to another city; thus he saved them from certain slaughter. For their deliverance from this great peril, the fathers decreed that henceforth his feast should be forever observed.

"But the multitude of higher festivals afterwards introduced caused this feast to become almost obsolete, as in the beginning it had received the rite of only three lessons. Lest the memory of so great a service be banished from the minds of the Friars Preachers, Leo XII graciously granted that henceforth the feast might be celebrated by the whole Order with the rank of *totum duplex*." ⁴⁷

One is curious to learn just what "historical records" give this story. The only historian living at the time who speaks of the incident is Galvano Fiamma (d. 1340). Taegio quotes him as follows: "Friar Galvano in his Chronicle states that, when the chapter had assembled at Cologne, they were driven out of the city by the citizens because the city was on the side of the schismatic and excommunicated Louis of Bavaria and the Dominicans were his enemies." ⁴⁸ Thus, the original story is a very prosaic one: the friars were meeting in Cologne (1330) as an act of defiance of the king, and the angry citizens, partisans of the king, drove the Dominicans out of the city. There is no hint of any intended slaughter or of any supernatural warning.

Succeeding historians give the same account. It was not until over two hundred years after the affair that we meet an historian

⁴⁷ Lesson vi for the feast (22 May). ⁴⁸ Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 58, n. 5.

who drops a remark which was destined to grow. Sebastian de Olmeda (d. 1561) writes:

“An unexpected chapter was held at Maëstricht. When the master-general with the definitors met at Cologne, the place of the chapter, suddenly and secretly as it were, they transferred the chapter to Maëstricht, fearing that the excommunicated and heretical Louis, Duke of Bavaria, might surprise them. One of our nuns, a woman remarkable for her holiness, had foretold this, although it appeared to others that she was jesting.”⁴⁹

Olmeda does not tell us just what the nun's prediction was, or determine whether it was made seriously or not. But his statement that a person “remarkable for holiness” had foretold trouble, conveys a subtle suggestion of the supernatural.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Michael Pio gives us Fiamma's version; however, he adds: “Others would have it that the friars were divinely inspired and warned to depart, which they willingly did, so as not to have any part with the excommunicated emperor, of whose coming to Cologne they had been informed by a special divine revelation.”⁵⁰

The next witness is Bzovius, who published his continuation of the Annals of Baronius in 1630: “They [the Dominicans] underwent great suffering; they were ejected from their houses, and when they assembled at Cologne for the general chapter they were unable to hold the chapter but were forced to flee to Maëstricht.”⁵¹ When we reach Fontana (fl. ca. 1675), the legend is in full bloom. As his story is quite long, we condense it: Louis had concealed troops in Cologne who were to wait till all the Fathers were assembled in chapter; then they were to burst in, slay the friars, and destroy the building by fire; the

⁴⁹ *Chronica*, 100.

⁵⁰ *De Gli Huomini illustri di San Domenico*, lib. II, parte II, col. 155.

⁵¹ *Annales*, XIV, 578, no. 11.

Fathers innocently (!) approached Cologne, but the night before the chapter was to open, a Dominican Sister was warned in a dream by St. Servatus of the impending slaughter; early in the morning she informed the Fathers, who left two by two, fleeing to Maëstricht.⁵²

Where did Fontana obtain all these interesting details? He says, from Bzovius. But Bzovius, as we have just seen, merely states the Fathers were unable to hold the chapter and were forced to flee to Maëstricht! It will be noticed that for the first time the name of Servatus is connected with the incident. However, apparently relying upon this colorful account of Fontana, Father Joseph M. Velzi, then vicar-general of the Order, requested Pope Leo XII to elevate the feast to the rite of *totum duplex* (1829). His petition was granted on 10 May of the same year, and since then the story of the miraculous warning of St. Servatus has been in the breviary.⁵³

Where did Fontana get the name of Servatus? In the Acts of the chapter of Maëstricht, we find that one, and only one, new feast was admitted to the calendar, that of St. Servatus with the rite of three lessons.⁵⁴ Why did the friars adopt this feast unless it was to thank the Saint whose warning had saved their lives!

The reasoning is ingenious, even if it is not convincing. It may be recalled that the chapter of Sisteron in 1329, in preparation for the dangers that were anticipated by holding the next chapter in Cologne, had sought the protection of the Eleven Thousand Virgins by raising their feast in rank. They were the patronesses of Cologne, and one would look to them for the

⁵² *Monumenta Dominicana*, 197.

⁵³ AOP, 1894, 718. As a result of this petition the Pope declared Servatus a patron of the Order. ⁵⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 195.

warning, if any was to be made! However that may be, there was a very mundane reason why the transferred chapter adopted the feast of Servatus. At that time, the rule of absolute voluntary poverty was in full force. The feeding and housing of a large number of friars for the duration of a general chapter was a heavy burden; the burden was sometimes assumed by the city where the chapter was held, and at other times by wealthy friends of the Order.⁵⁵ The Dominicans, driven out of Cologne, had to cast themselves unexpectedly upon the hospitality of the people of Maëstricht. How could the Order best repay the generosity of their hosts? In those ages of faith, the people deeply appreciated any special honor displayed towards their Patron Saints. And so Maëstricht felt it was well repaid when the friars placed in their calendar the feast of St. Servatus; henceforth, thanks to the Dominican Order, the Patron Saint of Maëstricht would be held up for international veneration.⁵⁶

An aftermath of the persecution carried on by Louis of Bavaria was the introduction of the Bohemian feasts, St. Adalbert and St. Procopius. Charles IV, son of King John of Bohemia, was elected to supersede the excommunicated Louis. The Dominicans naturally hailed him as a saviour. When he asked the Order to adopt the feast of St. Adalbert, the request was not only willingly granted but, by way of good measure, the feast of another Bohemian Saint, that of St. Procopius, was added.⁵⁷

Apart from the calendar, there were other events of liturgical

⁵⁵ This expense was one of the arguments used for discontinuing the annual chapter (see Olmeda, 122-123). At the request of master-general Elias, Gregory XI decreed that henceforth the general chapter was to be held every two or three years (27 August, 1373).

⁵⁶ In the same way, wishing to show their appreciation to the people of Limoges, the general chapter held in that city in 1334 adopted the feast of St. Martial, with the rank of three lessons; the Saint was patron of that city. See *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 223. ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 346.

interest during this century, one of which was the institution in the Order of the office of Papal Hebdomadarian. The new office was created by the chapter of Lyons in 1318.⁵⁸ The capitular Fathers required every house to appoint weekly a special hebdomadarian, whose duty it would be to offer up daily the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for the Supreme Pontiff. From that date on, we find in the Acts of the chapters numerous references to the office of Papal Hebdomadarian.

REVISION OF THE LITURGICAL BOOKS

During the course of the fourteenth century the liturgical books were officially revised. Half a century had elapsed since the general revision by Humbert, and during that time the introduction of new feasts and the elevation of some of the older feasts began to cause confusion in the rubrics. A revision became desirable. Accordingly, the chapter of Padua (1308) requested the general, Aymeric of Piacenza, to have the books revised.⁵⁹ Owing to the incompleteness of the Acts, we do not know what steps followed this request. But in 1355, out of a clear sky as it were, the provincials were commanded to correct the liturgical books within one year or to incur grave penalties.⁶⁰ Again we read nothing more on the subject until 1370, when superiors were ordered to revise the missals "especially in the Canon."⁶¹ The chapter of 1376 warned provincials that they would be removed from office if they failed to have the missals corrected within the year, a warning that was repeated in 1378.⁶² From the Acts of these four chapters, as well as from references in the chapters of 1370, 1378 and 1391 (?), it is evident that a revision had taken place some time between 1308 and 1355.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 366.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 414.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 442.

More precisely, the revision must have been made at the middle of the century. For, in 1334-35-36, it was decided that in the hymns of the Blessed Virgin, *Quem terra* and *O gloriosa domina*, the *Maria Mater gratiæ* should be said before the last verse.⁶³ Yet, in 1378 the same legislation was again proposed.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in 1346-47-48 the feast of St. Vincent Martyr was raised to a *totum duplex*; but, according to Johann Meyer, it was elevated to a duplex in 1370.⁶⁵ Up to this period at least, the general chapters had not concerned themselves with the reduction of feasts, but only with their introduction or elevation. The fact, then, that feasts are found to have been reduced in rank, indicates a revision had taken place. Since the chapter of 1355 implies that the revision had already been completed, we may conclude that it occurred between 1348 and 1355.

HERVÉ DE NÉDELLEC

The outline of this century would be wanting, were we to pass over two religious especially deserving of notice. The first of these is Hervé de Nédellec, the fourteenth master-general of the Order. During his short term (1318-1323), he showed himself to be a genuine lover of the liturgy. A true Dominican, he devoted his time to study and to writing, and some fourteen of his compositions have come down to us. Yet, despite the prolonged labors this work necessarily involved and the demands made upon him as head of the Order, he was most faithful in his attendance at the Divine Office in choir not merely during the day but also during the night. Every day, at early dawn, he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, a practice that he unflinchingly carried out even during his many journeys.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 223. ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 441.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 307; *Chronica brevis*, in *QF*, XXXIX, 67.

It was Hervé who instituted the position and office of Papal Hebdomadarian; who protested against priors and others absents themselves from choir; who encouraged the cult of St. Peter Martyr by requiring twice a month a Solemn Mass in his honor and a daily commemoration of the martyr in both matins and vespers. It was the same general who took energetic steps to secure universal observance of the feast of Corpus Christi throughout the Order. To meet the necessary expenses for the canonization of St. Thomas, Hervé ordered all provincials to send to the next chapter as many florins as there were monasteries in their provinces. When at last the master-general learned that John XXII had decided to raise Thomas to the honors of the altar, he exclaimed with joy: "Now shall I die happy, because my eyes have seen placed upon a candelabrum the light which God has prepared for the illumination of the nations and the glory of His people." The words were prophetic. Hervé died six weeks after the canonization of the Angelic Doctor.⁶⁶

BLESSED RAYMOND OF CAPUA

The second friar who is deserving of special mention by reason of his devotion to the liturgy is Blessed Raymond of Capua, the celebrated confessor of St. Catherine of Siena. At the time of his election as general, the Order of Friars Preachers had been in existence for well over a century and a half. During that long course of time it had suffered no little decline in its religious observance. The decay had begun to creep in at the

⁶⁶ Hervé has often been given the title "major clericus totius mundi"—a phrase which Pio mistakenly took to refer to his love of the liturgy; "the true meaning of the expression" is that he was "the most learned and informed man of his day." Cf. Ag. de Guimarães, "Hervé Noël," in *AFP*, VIII (1938), 17.

close of the thirteenth century. It had steadily grown greater until the deadly Black Plague of 1346 had come along to sweep an appalling number of religious to sudden death. Monasteries were depopulated, and only too often it was the zealous members of the community who, exhausted by their ministrations to the dying, became easy victims to the fatal disease. With millions of people perishing, all monastic observances were relaxed; the choral recitation of the office, the solemn celebration of Mass, and other liturgical functions were for the time abandoned. When the plague had run its course, the survivors, a very large percentage of them lazy and worldly friars, were unwilling to re-assume the heavy burdens of strict observance.⁶⁷ In 1376, Elias of Toulouse, then master-general, addressed an appeal to the friars for the observance of the sacred ceremonies; he lamented that the religious who did carry out the ceremonies were pointed out as persons affecting singularity.⁶⁸ This statement might be looked upon as an exaggeration; but it is apparent from the Acts of the general chapters that the spirit of the Order was no longer that of the first Dominicans. The language of one chapter in particular, that of 1362, leaves no doubt whatever on this point:

“Since it is manifest to everybody that the brethren have culpably turned away from the right manner of living. . . . we strictly command all provincials, vicars, and heads of monasteries, under penalty of removal from office and the loss of every benefit of the Order, that they strive to bring back themselves and their subjects to regular observance according to the form of our Constitutions and Rule. . . . In particular, let them study how they may lead themselves back to choir attendance both day and

⁶⁷ See Michael Pio, *De Gli Huomini Illustri*, parte prima, lib. 2, no. 38, cols. 358-359; Olmeda, 112-113.

⁶⁸ *Litteræ Encyclicæ* in MOPH, V, 311-312.

night, and to the celebration of the Divine Office in the manner the master-general laid down in another chapter.”⁶⁹

The deplorable condition was aggravated by the Western Schism. The situation in which Blessed Raymond found the Order, upon his election as general two years later, filled his heart with bitter grief. But manfully he set out to accomplish an almost impossible task, to restore lost fervor to an Order. Aided by two unusual religious, Conrad of Prussia and Blessed John Dominici, the master-general gradually established in the different provinces houses of strict observance. Once more the Divine Office was solemnly chanted, the High Mass sung, the prescribed processions held; in a word, the entire liturgical service of the Order was fulfilled in all its primitive fervor and glory. As the old general lay dying in Nuremberg at the close of the fourteenth century, he might well have greeted, as Mortier observes, the dawning of the new century as that of “a century of *beati*.” The many Blesseds, who were to enrich the Order during the coming century, Raymond might claim as his own: “They were born of his spirit and of his heart. . . . And so, in leaving this venerable Father, we can with joy and gratitude proclaim him ‘the second Founder of the Order of Friars Preachers.’ ”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 394.

⁷⁰ Mortier, *Histoire*, III, 686.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

UNTIL now, a liturgical ideal of the Church, the precedence of the *Temporale* with the consequent subordination of the *Sanctorale*, had been fairly well maintained in the Dominican Order; but the last century of the Middle Ages witnessed throughout the Church in general a determined invasion by the *Sanctorale*. The causes were many, among which we may mention, first, the genuine devotion of the faithful towards certain Saints, and, secondly, the natural efforts of a harassed clergy seeking relief from a grievous burden.

That the spontaneous devotion of the laity towards the Saints would lead to the introduction of many new names in the calendar, especially in the days when bishops exercised their rights to control the liturgy in their own dioceses, is readily understandable. What might not be so clear is the reason why the clergy made such persistent efforts to lighten the daily burden of the Divine Office.

From the ancient monasteries there had gradually spread throughout the Latin Church certain private devotions, which had become so general that after a long time they acquired the force of custom. These devotions, now obligatory, prescribed that, in addition to the daily recitation of the Divine Office, there should be said the office of the dead, if the feria was being celebrated. Furthermore, in the monasteries, the fifteen gradual psalms were recited before matins, with *preces* at lauds, little hours, and vespers. In addition, the office of the Blessed

Virgin was said nearly every day of the year. On days of three lessons, in the monasteries, the penitential psalms were generally said after prime, followed by the litany and other prayers. The secular clergy was also bound to these extra prayers, but generally only during Lent. Thus, the Divine Office had gradually become a well-nigh intolerable burden, especially for religious.¹

Since the Popes did little towards alleviating this condition, it was inevitable that someone else would try to ease the burden. Ralph of Tongres accused the Franciscans of leading the way when he charged them with multiplying feasts of nine lessons merely to escape the office of the dead, the penitential and the gradual psalms!² But, despite the protests of the liturgist, the movement rapidly grew in popularity. The Dominican Order, however, resisted the invasion of the *Temporale* for over a half-century, admitting, as far as is known, only three new feasts and elevating in rite only a small number of old feasts.

All three feasts were admitted in 1423: St. Barbara, with the rank of three lessons; the Apparition of St. Michael, a *totum duplex*; and the Ten Thousand Martyrs, a feast of nine lessons. The last feast was new in more senses than one. It was not to be found in any of the ancient martyrologies or in any Lives of Saints previous to the end of the fourteenth century. Peter de Natalibus (d. 1406), Bishop of Esquilio, wrote a *Catalogus Sanctorum* or "Lives of the Saints," and in it he recounted an amazing story concerning ten thousand martyrs. For manifest absurdities, the tale rivals that of the Eleven Thousand Virgins; but the uncritical spirit of the age permitted the story to be

¹ See Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 213-236.

² *De Canonum Observantia*, prop. xxii.

accepted as true, and in a short time the feast was generally observed throughout Europe.

At the same time, when these three new feasts were adopted by the Order, some of the old feasts were advanced in their rating. Thus, Anthony the Abbot and the Eleven Thousand Virgins became *totum duplex* feasts; Lawrence and Martin each became a *duplex* with a solemn octave; while All Saints also received an octave. It seems likely that there were some other changes during the first half of this century, but these are the only ones mentioned either by historians of the Order or in the Acts of the general chapters.

GRADUAL MULTIPLICATION OF FEASTS

As far then as the records show, during the first half of the fifteenth century the Order set itself resolutely against the ever-growing invasion of the *Temporale* by feasts of Saints. But the example set by nearly all the churches, by all the active Religious Orders, and even by Rome itself, gradually wore down the resistance of the Order, so that in the second half of the century it tardily joined in the movement. The number of *totum duplex* feasts greatly increased. The additions were: Vincent Ferrer, Anne, the Transfiguration, Catherine of Siena, Denis and his companions, the Sanctification of the Blessed Virgin, Catherine (25 November), the Four Doctors of the Church, the Apostles, and the Evangelists. Other feasts were also elevated: Blaise and Servatus were given the rite of *simplex*; the rank of three lessons assigned to Apollonia, a new feast; Michael the Archangel (29 September) received an octave, while solemn octaves were accorded to the Ascension, Corpus Christi, the Assumption, Dominic, and All Saints. The feast of St. Leonard, another new feast, was admitted in 1484 as a

compliment to a popular master-general, Leonardo Dati; it was assigned the rite of *duplex*.³

Such were the various changes in the calendar made by the general chapters during the fifteenth century, as they are given in the incomplete Acts that have come down to us.⁴ While the pretext was to conform more closely to the Roman calendar, the real motivating force was generally to lessen the heavy burden imposed by the ferial office. However, some changes were made for special reasons—for example, the adoption of the festival of St. Barbara. In the Middle Ages she was particularly invoked against sudden death. With the rapid succession of bloody wars which then ravaged Europe and with the frequent sporadic outbreaks of the deadly Black Plague, sudden death was on all sides. It was logical that the Order should seek to enlist the protection of this Saint.

The feast of the Transfiguration was adopted by the Dominicans at the desire of Callistus III. In 1456, the Hungarian general, János Hunyady, encountered at Belgrade the armies of Sultan Mohammed II who was attempting a conquest of Europe. The victory of the Christians was a decisive one. In gratitude and to commemorate the victory, Callistus III extended the feast of the Transfiguration to the universal Church (6 August, 1456). Benedict XIV quotes Platina as attributing the office of the feast to Callistus himself;⁵ but this is not correct. The Pope requested a Dominican, Jacques Gil, then Master of the Sacred Palace, to write the office. The office

³The *inchoatio* for the feast was made in 1478; the succeeding chapters do not mention it. The *Chronica* (MOPH, VII, fasc. 1, 41) say it was adopted. It is found in the breviary of 1483 (6 November), but is missing from the other books of that period.

⁴In fifteenth-century breviaries there are other changes; but whether they were universal or particular to certain provinces is difficult to determine.

⁵*De Festis*, pars Ia, dlxxxviii.

which Gil composed was used by the Church until the revision of Pius V, when some changes were made in it; the old hymns, which were rather mediocre, were dropped and the second lessons expunged.⁶

THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION CONTROVERSY

The adoption of the festival of the Sanctification recalls unpleasant memories. In 1481, the capitular Fathers, assembled at Rome, proposed that on 8 December the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin should be celebrated, and that it should have the rite of *totum duplex*.⁷ The following chapter (1484) struck out the word *Conception* and substituted *Sanctification*.⁸ The amendment was passed by three chapters. It is another echo of the controversy regarding the Immaculate Conception. This enactment raises the question as to what happened to the feast of the Sanctification adopted by Blessed Raymond of Capua a century earlier.

Since the unfortunate affair of John Monzon, the doctrine and feast of the Immaculate Conception had made the greatest headway, its foremost proponents being the Carmelites and the Franciscans. In 1439, the Council of Basle had solemnly defined the doctrine, but before it had made that definition it had ceased to be ecumenical. Acceptance of both the doctrine and the feast was practically universal when, in 1477, Sixtus IV formally approved the feast of the Conception and enriched it with indulgences. The prayer of the office which the Pope approved was almost word for word the same prayer as used to-day in the feast:

⁶ Creytens, "Les écrits de Jacques Gil O.P.," in AFP, X (1940), 166; Zaccaria, *Bibliotheca Ritualis*, II, c. III, 197; *Idem.*, *Onomasticon*, II, 170; *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 292. ⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 355. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 377.



THE DOMINICAN MISSAL OF 1521

(Edition of Alberto Castellani)

"O God, who by the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin didst prepare a fitting dwelling-place for Thy Son: grant, we beseech Thee, that as, through the death foreseen by Thee of Thy same Son, Thou didst preserve her from every stain, we, through her mercy, may come to Thee without spot."

In view of the almost universal acceptance by the Western Church, the enactments of the chapters of 1481 and 1484 reveal that there was a strong movement in the ranks of the Dominicans to accept the feast, but that, despite these efforts, the Thomistic zealots succeeded in regaining control. There were a number of Dominican theologians who advocated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but they were hampered by the Constitutions requiring them to teach the accepted interpretation of St. Thomas; and there were many more among the rank and file, but they were powerless as always in the hands of the theological oligarchy which has ever controlled the policy of the Order.⁹

CANONIZATION OF VINCENT FERRER

Turning away from the theological controversy, we find more pleasant subjects awaiting us. The first of these is the canoniza-

⁹ The Spanish Dominicans, in a provincial chapter held at Madrid in 1618, petitioned Paul V to command the Dominican Order to preach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; thus, Dominican lectors and masters would be relieved of the constitutional obligation to teach the commonly-accepted interpretation of St. Thomas. However, as the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had not yet been formally defined by the Church, the Pope was unwilling to grant the request of the Spaniards [Cf. Celestino Sfondrati, *Innocentia Vindicata*, p. (9), St. Gall, 1698; Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XXV, 255].

Most liturgists of the Order manifested their belief by assigning for 8 December the feast of the Conception instead of that of the Sanctification. Literally hundreds of instances of this are found in the liturgical books of the Order. To mention but a few: the two MS. breviaries (XIV cent.) of Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.); the martyrologies of 1582 and 1604; the breviary of 1640; the missal of 1666; the breviaries of 1668 and 1672; the missals of 1674 and 1687; the diurnal of 1690, etc., etc.

tion of the thaumaturge, St. Vincent Ferrer. He had died on 5 April, 1419, at Vannes in Brittany. So extraordinary had been this "Wonder-worker" even after death (every Sunday at Vannes there was read from the pulpit the list of miracles performed during the previous week at his tomb!), that his speedy canonization was confidently expected. But the unsettled times forbade. It was not until thirty-two years after his death that the Church was able to open the formal inquiry into his life, heroic sanctity, and miracles.

No sooner had Martial Auribelli been elected master-general (1453) than, departing from the usual Dominican custom of apathy towards the canonization of departed brethren, he devoted his energy towards advancing the cause of the "Angel of the Apocalypse." Nicholas V had promised Auribelli's predecessor, Guido Flamochetti, to take an active interest in Vincent's canonization.¹⁰ Auribelli thought it well to strike while the iron was hot; he conferred with the Duke of Brittany and the Bishop of Vannes with a view of accelerating the preliminary proceedings. His efforts were not in vain. On 3 June, 1455, Callistus III in solemn consistory declared that Vincent Ferrer was a Saint; and he set 29 June, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, as the day for his canonization. According to contemporary historians,¹¹ the solemnity took place in the basilica of the Vatican, where, in the presence of a vast throng of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, the Pope "pronounced, defined, and decreed that Vincent Ferrer was a Saint, and that he was to be venerated as such by the Universal Church."¹² In making

¹⁰ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 256; Olmeda, 143, 148-151.

¹¹ *Chronica Ordinis* in MOPH, VII, fasc. 1, 34-35; Johannes Meyer, *Chronica brevis Ord. Praed.*, in QF, XXXVII, 95.

¹² Fages, *Histoire*, II, 331-332.

the pronouncement, the elderly Pope fulfilled one of the prophecies of the Saint. Nearly three-quarters of a century before, Vincent had gazed upon a child in its mother's arms and had foretold: "One day this child will become Pope and he will canonize me." The child was Alfonso de Borgia, afterwards known as Callistus III.

The joy of the Order was great. The general himself composed the office in honor of the Saint; it is the same office that the Dominicans use to-day. The proof of its authorship is to be found in the office itself. Taking the first word of every stanza of the hymn in first vespers, we have:

Mente . . . Alme . . . Rite . . . Tactus . . . Inde . . . Angelus
. . . Lingua . . . Inter . . . Summa. . .

The nine antiphons for matins begin:

Attentam . . . Vincentii . . . Religionem . . . Imitans . . . Bel-
lavit . . . Emittebat . . . Laude . . . Labores . . . In . . .¹³

The five antiphons for lauds begin:

Festiva . . . Erat . . . Candens . . . Infantulus . . . Tunc . . .

Taking the first letters of all these words, we get:

MARTIALIS AVRIBELLI FECIT—Martial Auribelli com-
posed [this].

The following year, before the general chapter was held at Montpellier, Auribelli betook himself to Vannes for the solemn Translation of the body of the Saint, which was to take place on 5 April, his first feast-day. The ceremonies were presided over by the Legate of the Holy See, Cardinal Alain de Coëtivy.

¹³ The second antiphon of the third nocturn to-day reads: *Honores omnes renuit*. As *Labores omnes renuit* did not make sense, revisers clumsily substituted the word *honores*, thereby injuring the acrostic. Why they did not merely substitute a word for *renuit* (as *obiit*, *subiit*, etc.) is a mystery. Echard suggested: *Labores nullos renuit* (cf. SSOP, I, 811).

In his presence and in that of the master-general, the Archbishop of Rouen, and a number of bishops, the body was exhumed. It was found incorrupt. After a careful examination, it was laid in a new receptacle, which was placed in an elevated tomb under the choir of the cathedral. Six weeks after the solemn ceremonies, the general chapter of Montpellier recorded these events in its Acts, inserted Vincent's name in the litany after that of St. Thomas Aquinas, ordered his feast to be observed as a *totum duplex* and a memory of him to be made throughout the year, as was the custom with the other Saints of the Order.¹⁴

CATHERINE OF SIENA CANONIZED

But further glory was in store for the Order of St. Dominic. When Pius II became Pope (1458), Catherine of Siena had been dead for seventy-eight years. Although she had rendered the Church the highest services in inducing Gregory XI to end the Avignon exile and to return to Rome, in trying to mitigate the harshness of Urban VI, and in laboring for the end of the Western Schism, this woman, whom Pastor calls "one of the most marvellous figures in the history of the world,"¹⁵ was treated by her own Order with characteristic indifference as regards her canonization.

Fortunately, another Dominican proved to be an exception to the general rule; he was Thomas Caffarini, who had held some correspondence with the Saint and who after her death became the most zealous champion for her canonization. His endless importunities drove Raymond of Capua into writing the life of Catherine, and his insistence finally compelled Maconi to translate this Latin life into the vernacular. In short,

¹⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 263-264. ¹⁵ *History of the Popes*, I, 103.

it was in a great measure due to his harassing all who knew Catherine to put their recollections in writing, and to his incessant preaching about her, that her cause was kept alive during troublous and uncertain times.¹⁶

However, as Pastor remarks, "the Holy See had never forgotten its debt to this simple nun. Several of the Popes, especially Gregory XII, had taken the cause of her canonization in hand, but the troubles of the time, and afterwards the jealousy of the Franciscans, prevented its completion. The question was again raised by the Sieneese ambassadors in the time of Callixtus III. Pius II gave it his attention immediately on his accession, and entrusted the necessary investigations to certain Cardinals. . . . Consistories were held on 8 and 15 June (1461), and in the latter the canonization was finally decided. Great preparations were made; an ambassador estimated the expenses at 3000 ducats. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, Siena's most distinguished son declared that the Church had raised the greatest of her daughters to the altar. The Pope himself drew up the Bull of Canonization. 'To a Sieneese,' he says, 'has been granted the happy privilege of proclaiming the sanctity of a daughter of Siena.'" ¹⁷

The canonization was one of the greatest blessings God could have bestowed upon the Order at that time; for it gave a mighty impetus to the work of reform begun so valiantly in the face of such disheartening odds by Catherine's confessor, Raymond of Capua. This was especially true of those convents of nuns which were not at all disposed to accept the reform movement. Even from the tomb, the mighty indomitable spirit of Catherine carried on. The chapter of 1462, in reminding the Order

¹⁶ Curtayne, *Saint Catherine of Siena* (New York, 1930), 208-210.

¹⁷ Pastor, *History of the Popes*, III, 291-292.

of her canonization, gave her feast the rank of *totum duplex*, to be celebrated as the Pope had ordered on the first Sunday of May.¹⁸

Many authors state that her office was composed by Pius II himself;¹⁹ and indeed the Acts of the general chapters explicitly declare this: "The Order has accepted the office of Saint Catherine of Siena composed by Pope Pius. It begins: *Immortali laude*. This office is to be used throughout the whole Order and every other office is to be discarded" (Basle, 1473).²⁰ But after the death of the Pope, a Dominican from Sicily by the name of Thomas Schifaldo asserted that he was the real author. He insisted that one Father Anthony of the Order begged him to write an office for the Saint. "For this reason," he says with disarming modesty, "I composed that most elegant office which is now in use, adorned with lyric hymns written in Sapphic endecasyllabic metre! And so I hastened to the feet of the Supreme Pontiff Pius, and offered him the office with my own hands." It appears that the humanist Pope, according to Schifaldo, was so ravished by the beauty of the composition that he gave it to his datary to be transmitted to the Dominican Order.²¹ Cormier believes Schifaldo did compose the office, for it is far inferior both in style and thought to what one would expect from a scholar like Piccolomini.²² Urban VIII had the Jesuit humanist, Alciati, rewrite the prayer of the office as well as the collect, secret, and postcommunion prayers of the Mass.²³ The date of the feast was changed to 30 April by Urban (16 February, 1630).

¹⁸ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 287.

¹⁹ Juan of Palencia, *Adnotationes in ordinarium Ord. Præd.*, 87; *Zaccaria, Onomasticon*, I, liii; Olmeda, 151. ²⁰ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, III, 330.

²¹ Mortier gives the document in full (*Histoire*, IV, 366).

²² *Quinze Entretiens*, 288. ²³ Bäumer, *Histoire du Breviaire*, II, 288.

The Dominican calendar was still further enriched by reason of an unusual permission given by Sixtus IV. On 8 February, 1482, the Pope authorized the Order to make a commemoration in the Divine Office of a recently deceased friar who was not yet beatified, Father Matthew Carrerii, or, as the name is often given, Carrieri.²⁴ This Dominican, who possessed a singularly lovable character, was not to be beatified, however, until many years later.

THE "CAUSE" OF ALBERT THE GREAT

Intense interest was aroused in the "cause" of Albert the Great when, two years later, a remarkable cure of a Dominican took place at Cologne. The cure was attributed to the intercession of Albert. The incident, together with the recent canonization of St. Bonaventure by a Franciscan Pope (1482), aroused in the hearts of Albert's clients both in and outside the Order the hope of his canonization.²⁵ When in 1482 Sixtus IV sent the Dominican master-general, Salvo Cassetta, on a mission to Germany, the latter obtained from the Pope authorization to exhume the body of Albert. The ceremony took place in January, 1483, in the presence of the German provincial, Jakob von Stubach; of the prior of Cologne, Jakob von Barch; of the rector of the Cologne University, and of numerous priests and lay delegates. The body, resting in a wooden coffin, was found to be almost intact despite the fact it had been buried for two centuries. For several days the body was exposed for the veneration of the faithful, and the faith of the people was rewarded by a series of graces, remarkable cures, and miracles. Finally,

²⁴ Cf. the present Dominican breviary, 7 October, lesson VI.

²⁵ Olmeda, 165; Wilms, *Albert the Great*, 168.

the body was transferred to the magnificent tomb which had been prepared for it.²⁶

Expectation of the success of Albert's cause ran high as the general returned to Rome, bringing with him a relic of Albert as a gift to the Pope. But hardly had he returned when he was stricken ill and died. When Sixtus cancelled the plans of the Order to hold their next chapter at Le Mans and ordered the Fathers to assemble at Rome, the question of Albert's cause was forgotten in the strained relations which arose between the Pope and the Order. It was the third time, Mortier observes, that the Order had been compelled to hold its election at Rome.²⁷ Many in the Order were indignant because of the interference of the Roman Curia, a hotbed of politics, in the election of a master-general; and when the Fathers assembled at Rome and were informed they were not there to elect but merely to ratify the appointment of Bartholomew Comazio, they bluntly refused to do so.²⁸ In the storm that followed, all thought of Albert's cause completely disappeared. It was only under Sixtus' successor, Innocent VIII, that further progress was made, this Pope granting permission to the Dominican priories of Cologne and Regensburg to dedicate altars to Albert and to observe his feast every year with a Mass and an office (1484).²⁹ By this act, the official beatification was accomplished.

THE STIGMATA OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA

Albert's cult was not the only one that fared badly during the pontificate of Sixtus IV; there was another which fared

²⁶ *Esposizione e documentazione storica del culto tributo . . . al B. Alberto Magno*, I, 12-13; Wilms, 168-169. ²⁷ *Histoire*, IV, 570.

²⁸ See Olmeda's heated description of this incident (167).

²⁹ *Esposizione et documentazione . . .*, I, 17.

even worse. Devotion to St. Catherine of Siena, even before her canonization, had been very widespread, especially in Italy. Many of the statues and pictures of the Saint represented her with the stigmata. This was strongly resented by certain Franciscans who appear to have regarded the stigmata as the exclusive prerogative of St. Francis.³⁰ As may well be imagined, the *Caterinati* warmly defended the authenticity of Catherine's stigmata. The Franciscans appealed to the Pope, who had been their own minister-general. Sixtus IV complaisantly forbade the representation of St. Catherine with the stigmata; any statue or picture showing the stigmata was to be removed within the space of a year; and no one was to be allowed to preach on the subject of Catherine's stigmata! All who violated the edict would incur excommunication reserved in a special way to the Pope.³¹ Sixtus IV defended his action with the excuse that, if Catherine had really received the stigmata, Pius II would have mentioned it in the Bull of Canonization—a peculiar form of reasoning! Sixtus chose to overlook the fact that in the office for the feast of St. Catherine, in the hymn for first vespers, the hidden stigmata are expressly mentioned.³²

Three years later, Sixtus published another Bull, *Licet dum militas*. It was now prohibited to represent any Saint or Blessed

³⁰ The attitude of the Franciscans is understandable. St. Francis was the first Saint known to have received the stigmata. To-day, over three hundred Saints are said to have been so favored. In the Dominican Order alone the number is very considerable. A half century ago, the *Année Dominicaine* listed eighty-three Dominicans to whom the stigmata are attributed (Avril, 1889, 104-113).

³¹ Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XIV, 42-43.

³² The fifth stanza of *Hæc tuæ Virgo monumenta laudis* reads:

Quem latet virtus facinusque clarum,
Quo nequit dici sanctius per orbem?
Vulnerum formam miserata Christi
Exprimis ipsa.

We have just seen that Pius II at least saw this office, and approved of it.

with the stigmata, except St. Francis; or to mention in sermons (and this prohibition included all Religious Orders and the secular priesthood) that any Saint or Blessed had received the stigmata except St. Francis. Furthermore, representation of the stigmata was to be removed from all statues or pictures within one month. If this was not done, or if anyone continued to preach contrary to this decree, the offending church would be placed under interdict, and the rebellious priest would incur excommunication. Finally, anyone who continued to preach of the stigmata of any Saint, except of St. Francis, or who attacked the Bull in his sermons, was to be reported at the end of six months to the Inquisition as suspected of heresy!³³

The acts of Sixtus IV, far from ending the controversy, only served to intensify its violence. At the chapter of Perugia (1478), in reply to the angry demands of the capitulars that the Order insist upon justice and truth in the matter, the master-general Leonardo de Mansuetis replied: "Silence! Let us have patience and place our hope in the Lord." Olmeda declares that Leonardo took such an attitude because he was hoping to be made Cardinal and so wished to avoid offending Sixtus.³⁴ If so, the general gained nothing by his subserviency, for he died without receiving the red hat.

Even outside the Order indignation ran high, and the most disgraceful scenes of violence took place between the partisans of Francis and those of Catherine; nor did the storm abate until Innocent VIII allowed the use of any existing statues that represented the stigmata of Catherine. But no new ones were to be made until the Holy See had thoroughly studied the subject.³⁵

³³ Wadding, *op. cit.*, XIV, 43 ff. ³⁴ *Chronica*, 160.

³⁵ *Cum dudum*, 16 July, 1490, in BOP, IV, 66. The Order appears to

THE ROSARY DEVOTION

While the wretched controversy was raging, Dominicans in northern Europe were engaged in preaching a devotion which was destined throughout the centuries to bring untold blessings to many millions of Catholics. According to most modern historians, it was the birth of a new devotion; but they who promulgated it, insisted that it was merely the rebirth of an old devotion.³⁶ Whatever may be the final verdict of history as regards the disputed origin of the Rosary, this much is incontestable: in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the Dominicans began to spread a devotion known to-day as the Rosary. From that time to the present, the Dominican Order has used the Rosary uninterruptedly, has unceasingly preached devotion to the Rosary, has written countless articles and books on the Rosary, and has established Rosary Confraternities all over the world. Never, in the history of the Church, has there been witnessed such a spectacle of a powerful Order unreservedly throwing all its resources century after century into the effort to make a prayer of private devotion the daily prayer of every member of the Universal Church.

The movement was begun by Alan de la Roche, a master of theology. Believing that he had received a special mission

have been satisfied with this partial victory. The adversaries of Catherine were powerful enough to prevent the official recognition of her stigmata until 1629, when Urban VIII definitely settled the matter by officially approving for the Roman breviary the account of her stigmata.

³⁶ Scheeben thus sums up the whole question: "Die Stiftung des Rosenkranzes durch Dominikus lässt sich historisch nicht nachweisen. Trotzdem bleibt der Predigerorden der Orden des Rosenkranzes. Über die vorsichtig abgewogene These von Cuiper (*Acta SS.*, I Aug., 437), die Stiftung des Rosenkranzes durch Dominikus betreffend lasse sich nichts sicheres aussagen, ist man bisher nicht hinausgekommen" (*Der heilige Dominikus*, 438, note 218).

and claiming that he was merely reviving a devotion revealed to St. Dominic by the Blessed Virgin, the Dominican fervently preached the Rosary for a number of years throughout northern France, Flanders, and the Netherlands.³⁷ When he died (Feast of the Nativity of our Lady, 1475), he had the consolation of knowing that his brother-Dominicans were zealously carrying on the work, and that it had already been blessed far beyond his expectations. Other Religious Orders and a whole army of secular priests later joined wholeheartedly in the campaign; but abundant and incontrovertible evidence clearly proves that the movement was originated and launched by the Dominicans and the Dominicans alone. This truth is thus set forth in Herbert Thurston's edition of "Butler's Lives of the Saints": "If it be necessary to abandon the idea of its invention and even propagation of its use by St. Dominic himself, the Western rosary is none the less properly distinguished as the Dominican rosary; the friars of his Order gave it the form it now has, and for four hundred and fifty years have zealously spread its use throughout the world, bringing thereby unnumbered blessings to countless souls and sending up a ceaseless pæan of worship before God. No Christian is too simple or unlettered to make use of the rosary; it may be the vehicle of high contemplation as well as of the simplest petition or aspiration; as a form of private prayer it comes only after the biblical psalms and those prayers with which the Church as Church praises Almighty God and His Christ."³⁸

One other important event of this century, which had a decided effect on the liturgy, remains to be noticed. It was the invention of printing. With its introduction, there began a

³⁷ SSOP, I, 349 ff.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, October, 84.

new era for liturgical books. The Friars Preachers were quick to perceive the manifold advantages of the new art.³⁹ Indeed, they were among the first to make use of it and to have their breviaries, missals and diurnals printed. Thus, as early as 1476, the Dominican breviary was printed at Milan, and another edition appeared the following year at Venice. In 1482, a missal was printed at Venice, and there was another edition at Naples the next year; while in 1483, a diurnal (a sextodecimo) appeared at Venice, to be followed in 1484 by two more editions—one at Naples, the other at Venice. New editions of these various books continued to appear frequently, so that the last years of the fifteenth century witnessed a steady stream of Dominican liturgical books flowing from the press.⁴⁰

The art of printing was destined to bring about a gradual re-grouping of the various books of the liturgy. The huge, massive tomes used for centuries in the Dominican choir were slowly to give way to small, convenient books in which the liturgical matter would be re-arranged. But that change would not begin to take effect until far in the next century.

³⁹ The Dominican Cardinal, Juan de Torquemada, invited Konrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz to Italy and had them set up their printing press at Subiaco, of which abbey he was abbot in *commendam* (1464). In 1476, the Dominicans introduced printing in Florence when they established the famous printing press in the monastery of S. Jacopo di Ripoli. See Mortier, *Histoire*, V, 24-25.

⁴⁰ For a list of early editions of Dominican liturgical books, see *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig, 1925 ff); and Weale-Bohatta, *Catalogus Missalium Ritus Latini* (2nd ed., London, 1928).

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE REVISION OF SALAMANCA

IN HIS history of the Dominican Order, Walz directs attention to the fact that the sixteenth century marked the opening of a new epoch for the Friars Preachers.¹ Owing to the zealous efforts of many able masters-general, there was a notable advance both in regular observance and in studies. Because of this twofold preparation, the friars were able to take their part in evangelizing the New World and in sustaining shoulder to shoulder with their brother-Mendicants—the Augustinians, Carmelites, and Franciscans—the full fury of Luther's revolt against the Church.

This twofold preparation of the friars went hand in hand with a new liturgical awakening in the Order. The first general chapters of that century, notably those of 1501 and 1505, devoted considerable attention to the liturgy. The chapters solemnly reminded the brethren that the liturgical service of God took precedence over all other occupations. No one was exempt from the choral recitation of the office, except the infirm and those who were legitimately excused. They who missed choir without legitimate excuse were to be severely punished, no matter what their rank might be. Not even masters of theology were exempt from attendance at the Masses for the dead, at the funerals of the brethren, or at processions, particularly the *Salve Regina* procession.

¹ *Compend. Hist. Ord. Præd.*, 256.

The two chapters reviewed the rubrics of the Order. At the first signal for the office, the friars were to lay aside all occupations and to prepare themselves for choir. When they entered the choir, they were to make a profound inclination before the altar.² The *Pater noster* and the *Credo* were to be said before matins and prime; the whole office was to be said in the manner prescribed by the Constitutions, with the proper pauses, inclinations, in a distinct and devout manner, although briefly and succinctly. The friars were to stand erect instead of lounging against the forms, and they were to make the prostrations prescribed by the Rule.

All the singing, particularly of the versicles at the beginning of the hours, of the epistles, of the gospels, of the prayers, and of the lessons, was to be according to Dominican plain-chant. After compline, the *Salve Regina* was always to be sung during the procession, and no other antiphon was to be used at the beginning of the procession. After the *Salve* had been intoned, the friars were to leave their places and to proceed two by two; before the crucifix attached to the grille, all the friars, again two by two, were to make an inclination, and then repair to their places.

Rubrics pertaining to the celebration of Mass were to be read at least once a year to the assembled priests. The Fathers were to be diligent in saying Mass in a uniform way, according to the ceremonies of the Order. Mass was to be said in a moderate tone of voice, loud enough to be heard and understood by bystanders.³ Celebrants should go to confession

² The genuflection, as a sign of the highest reverence, had not yet been introduced in the rubrics.

³ This, of course, did not apply to the Canon and the words of Consecration, which "were to be said secretly and reverently," as the chapter of 1551 cautioned. *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 321.

every day; if this was not possible, they were to confess at least once a week "so that with a clean conscience they may worthily receive this most pure Sacrament." Superiors were charged with seeing to it that sacristans were solicitous about the cleanliness of the sacred vestments, altar cloths, corporals, purificators, and everything connected with the Mass; and that the lamp before the Most Holy Sacrament be always kept burning.

The friars were further reminded that at the beginning of Lent the *cortina* or Lenten curtain was to be hung in front of the presbytery or sanctuary, as the rubrics prescribe.⁴ On Maundy Thursday all the ceremonies were to be carried out; and on Good Friday morning the entire psalter was to be recited. The chapters concluded their review of the rubrics with the warning that, if superiors were negligent in having these rubrics fulfilled, they were to be deprived of their office.⁵

But if the friars were to fulfill properly their choral duties, it was necessary that there should be available corrected liturgical books. Fortunately, the right man to accomplish this important work was at hand. He was Alberto Castellani, a member of the Dominican monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Venice. Despite his other literary labors, the able and indefatigable writer revised and published for over a quarter of a century different editions of the various choral books. Not only did he render this valuable service to the liturgy of the

⁴ It was formerly the custom, during Lent, to suspend a huge curtain between the sanctuary and choir. According to Humbert's rubrics, it was used from the first Sunday of Lent until Wednesday of Holy Week, when it was removed (*Ordinarium*, ed. Guerrini, 157). See Thurston, *Lent and Holy Week*, 99 ff.; Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, IV, 257 ff. Legg states that he saw some of these veils still in use as late as the end of the nineteenth century (*Essays, Liturgical and Historical*, 165 ff.).

⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 4-5, 28-30.

Order, but he also made some noteworthy contributions to the Roman Rite.⁶

HUMANIST REVISION OF THE ROMAN HYMNS

But the friars' lack of enthusiasm for liturgical observances was not primarily due to indifference to, or dislike of, the liturgy; there were other and more serious causes. The first and foremost of these was the fact that the Divine Office had become, as we saw in the last chapter, a really onerous burden. In this particular, the Dominicans did not stand alone, for the clergy of practically the whole Church were complaining. The spirit of protest finally came to a head in the first part of the sixteenth century when the Humanists tried their hand at the revision of the breviary. A shorter and more classical breviary was promised. The Humanists believed, or at least affected to believe, that if the apocryphal lessons were purged from the breviary and new lessons substituted, lessons written in Ciceronian Latin, the clergy would more willingly recite the office! Leo X encouraged Zaccaria Ferreri, Bishop of Garda and one of the foremost Humanists of the day, to begin the work by revising the hymns. The result was published in 1525, and Clement VII, Leo's successor, authorized its use.

Despite the attitude of the Pope, of the Papal Court, and

⁶ Castellani published a new and enlarged edition of the Roman Pontifical of Burchard and James de Lucius (Venice, 1520). After it had gone through several editions, Clement VIII had it corrected and published under the title: *Pontificale Romanum* (Rome, 1595). Castellani's edition contained most instructive wood-cuts, which have been reproduced in the *Alcuin Club Collections*, Vols. VIII and XII (London, 1907 and 1908).

Castellani's second contribution to the Roman rite was his *Sacerdotale* (Rome, 1537), a guide for parish priests. Zaccaria states that this was the first Roman ritual ever to be printed (*Bibl. Rit.*, I, lib. I, a. iii). See De Punit, *The Roman Pontifical*, 47 ff.; Eisenhofer, I, 102; SSOP, II, 48-49.

of the so-called *intelligentsia* of that day, the Dominicans and several other Orders had the good taste to ignore the attempt to substitute the Ciceronian vandalism of Humanism for the vigorous, if at times unpolished, hymns of Christian antiquity. A century before, John Dominici, in his *Lucula Noctis*, had clearly stated the Dominican attitude towards Humanism and the divine cult; that attitude had not changed. The Order refused also to consider a hymnal which abounded in the names of pagan gods and goddesses (Phœbus, Venus, Bacchus, the penates, etc.), and which displayed shocking bad taste in referring to the Blessed Virgin as the *dea maxima* (the greatest of the goddesses) and the *nympha candidissima* (the fairest nymph).⁷ The Humanistic threat to liturgical tradition (for the breviary was to be "revised" next) was definitely ended by the terrible sack of Rome by the Constable du Bourbon.

THE BREVIARY OF CARDINAL QUIÑONES

But a new menace now arose from an opposite quarter, and the new movement was to be the direct and logical cause of the Dominican revision at the chapter of Salamanca. With Humanism out of the way, a reaction set in; the Divine Office was to be revised so as "to meet the wishes of those in favor of a more scrupulous type of religion."⁸ Clement VII entrusted the project to Cardinal Quiñones. The breviary appeared in 1535. Because of its comparative shortness and its arrangement on easy lines, the new work was received with great enthusiasm. Bäumer states that in less than two-score years it ran through about a hundred different editions.⁹

⁷ See Bäumer, II, 188 ff.

⁸ Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 182.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, 126.

Quiñones asked for criticism. His wish was granted, perhaps far more abundantly than he had expected. Foremost among those who condemned the Cardinal's flouting of liturgical tradition was the Dominican theologian, Dominic Soto. Soto laid down a number of sound, recognized liturgical principles, and then applied them to the new breviary. He showed that Quiñones had a false conception of the Divine Office; that its purpose was to praise God, and that this was done by those very antiphons, versicles, responses, and hymns, which the Franciscan had jettisoned. Furthermore, the Divine Office was a prayer, but he had made it a study of Scripture. Lastly, the new distribution of psalms throughout the week often resulted in the psalms being inappropriate for the feasts which might occur on those days.¹⁰

Severe as Soto may appear as a critic, there were others who were more unsparing, notably Martin Aspilcueta (*Doctor Navarrus*) and John de Arze. The latter addressed a memorandum to the Papal Legate at the Council of Trent, and urged the repudiation of the breviary of Quiñones.¹¹ Although the Sorbonne joined in the condemnation, the Cardinal was not without many ardent defenders, some of them Dominicans, who forthwith began to use the breviary in the private recitation of the office. While the number of Dominicans who made private use of the new breviary appears to have been quite limited, it was sufficient to focus the attention of the whole Order on its own breviary, and to give fresh courage to the many friars who protested against the type of lessons it contained, as well as certain rubrics inserted in recent editions by private

¹⁰ Dominic Soto, *De Justitia et Jure*, lib. I, Q. 7, a. i; lib. X, Q. 5, a. iv. The last objection applies with equal force to the modern arrangement of the psalter.

¹¹ Bäumer, II, 141-142.

individuals or by minor officials of the Order.¹² The agitation found a leader in master-general Francesco Romeo of Castiglione, who took energetic steps to bring about a speedy revision. He first addressed himself to the Cardinal Protector of the Order, Giovanni Salviati, Bishop of Porto. Through him he secured the necessary authority from Pope Julius III that the Acts of the approaching chapter of Salamanca as regards the revision of the missal and breviary would have the same force as if passed by three consecutive general chapters.¹³

THE GENERAL CHAPTER OF SALAMANCA

When the general chapter convened at Salamanca, Spain, in 1551, it was found that only eleven of the twenty-two provinces were represented, there being present only seven provincials and four *socii* of absent provincials. The disturbed state of Europe was the reason for the poor attendance.

The capitulars began the reform with one of the oldest principles of liturgical tradition, the importance of the Sunday. To restore Sunday, which commemorates the Resurrection of the Lord, to its rightful place, the revisers made the ruling: "We ordain that Sundays be made equal to *duplex* feasts, henceforth they are to be observed throughout the entire year by all the brethren with the solemnity of *duplex* feasts." Should a greater feast occur on any Sunday of Advent, or on any Sunday from Septuagesima to Trinity Sunday inclusive, that feast was to be transferred to a weekday. But for the sake of conformity with the rest of the Church, some exceptions were made to this

¹² In 1513, the general chapter of Genoa found it necessary to protest against this procedure by unauthorized individuals (*Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 112).

¹³ Salviati's letter declaring the grant of that authority is in the acts of the chapter (*op. cit.*, 318).

rule: Purification, Annunciation, John the Baptist, and Peter and Paul. When the Sunday did not receive the full office, it was to be given a memory in the vespers of the preceding Saturday, and in lauds and vespers on Sunday. If Sunday should fall within a solemn octave, in addition to the foregoing memories the Sunday homily should be read. Finally, most solemn octaves were restricted to these four: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Corpus Christi.

These rubrics would have gone far towards restoring the Sunday to its rightful place, if the calendar had been subjected to a careful pruning; but while a number of changes were made, the final result left much to be desired. Only seven feasts were dropped: Crown of Thorns, Separation of the Apostles, Lazarus, and all Translations (Mark, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Martyr, and Dominic).¹⁴ Though ten feasts were lowered in rank, ten others were raised; and, mainly to conform more closely to the Roman calendar, nine new feasts were added. As five of the feasts dropped were of *totum duplex* rank and none of the new feasts were given that rating, the calendar was improved only to a small extent.

Among the new entries were three Fathers of the Greek Church. "We have ordained," declared the capitulars, "that there should be celebrated with the rite of *duplex* the feasts of our father Athanasius (9 May), Saint John Chrysostom (27 January), and the great Basil (14 June)."¹⁵ The recognition of the three Greek Fathers was due to the widespread interest manifested in the Greek liturgies particularly during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁶ The chapter called Athan-

¹⁴ In the commemoration on 13 January of Hilary and Remigius, the name of Remigius was dropped as the Saint had his own feast on 1 October.

¹⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 320.

¹⁶ Numerous editions of different Greek liturgies were published be-

asius "our father," not because, as Mortier conjectures, he was a model for Dominicans in his energetic defense of the faith, but because he was often called "our father" in the ancient martyrologies.¹⁷

A feeble attempt was made to lighten the choral burden. It will be recalled that from the earliest days of the Order there had been two offices of the dead: one of three lessons, the other of nine. The short office was abolished, but the longer one remained obligatory once a week for all. Another ancient custom done away with by the chapter was the practice of beginning compline on fast days in the refectory, a custom the Dominicans had borrowed from the older monastic Orders. The practice was ordered to be discontinued; compline was always to begin in choir. No reason was given for the change.

The breviary was enriched in its Common of the Saints. Thus far, there was only one Common for female Saints, the Common of a Virgin. The chapter of Salamanca introduced a Common for matrons, widows, and for penitent women; it had the barbarous title it still bears: *Commune nec Virginis nec Martyris*. The text of the new Common was subjoined to the Acts of the chapter; it is the same as that used to-day.¹⁸

The chapter of Salamanca especially called the attention of

tween 1526 and 1550 at Rome, Venice, Paris, Colmar, etc. (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, lxxxv-lxxxvi).

¹⁷ For 2 May, Humbert's Martyrology has: *Natalis sancti patris nostri Athanasii*; but he borrowed this from the older martyrologies. Bede appears to have been the first in the Western Church to have called the Saint "our father." Cf. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, 50, 113, etc. Mortier's explanation is found in his *Histoire*, V, 431.

¹⁸ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 336 ff. Dom Bäumer (*Histoire*, II, 274) states that a new Common, that of Holy Women, was composed for the breviary of Clement VIII (1602). However, the Acts of 1551 (319) indicate that the Dominicans borrowed the office from Rome (*juxta consuetudinem Romanam*).

all the Fathers to the rubrics for saying Mass. This was done to guard against the attempted innovations of some individuals. Mass was to be read in a voice so distinct that it could be heard and understood by the bystanders; but the Canon and the words of Consecration were to be pronounced "secretly and reverently." They who violated the rubric were to be severely punished. Farced *Kyries* or farced *Glorias*, the friars were reminded, had never been approved by the Order and therefore were forbidden.¹⁹ The chapter condemned the custom of some friars who after Communion recited aloud prayers of private devotion, such as the *Nunc Dimittis* or the *O Sacrum Convivium*. All these admonitions were intended merely to secure conformity to the ancient ordinary of the Order.

THE LESSONS IN THE BREVIARY

The most important and necessary part of the reform, however, was the revision of the lessons of the breviary. The Middle Ages witnessed the writing of many *Legenda*, or lives of Saints, the most famous of them being the "Golden Legend" of the Dominican, James de Voragine. Although its author was a man of great learning, the "Golden Legend" made no pretense of being a critical biography of the Saints; rather, it was compiled as a book of devotion intended to teach the common people Christian virtues and inspire readers to imitate those virtues. Not being a historian, the mediæval hagiographer felt free to draw upon the marvelous to drive home his lesson.²⁰ The en-

¹⁹ Hence it is evident that Mortier was mistaken when he says that these farced prayers were introduced in the rite under Cajetan (*Histoire*, V, 430). It is true that efforts had been made in previous chapters to introduce such abominations, but, as this chapter expressly declares, "*nequam approbata fuerunt*" (322).

²⁰ The severe censures of the Renaissance critics and the Protestant Reformers have given way to a more intelligent conception and a growing

thusiasm of many ecclesiastics led them to insert these legends in the breviaries of various churches and Religious Orders. Ralph of Tongres lifted his voice in vehement protest against this practice.²¹ A century later, many Dominicans, Melchior Cano among them, severely condemned the persistent existence of these lessons in the breviary.

It was to this long-existing evil that the chapter of Salamanca now directed its attention. It was found that a number of the lessons were obviously taken from the "Golden Legend" of Voragine. Examples of this were in the offices of Andrew, Thomas, John the Evangelist, Mark, Bartholomew, Dorothy, Anthony, Servatus, and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. As a general chapter rarely sat longer than a week, it was impossible for the capitular Fathers themselves to revise the lessons. They contented themselves with outlining the scope of the revision and asking the master-general to entrust the important work to his *socii* or to any other suitable Fathers for its completion. They included in this charge the rejection of the new Masses which had been inserted in the Missal.

Romeo assigned the task to his *socius*, Angelo Bettini. It was a wise choice. Bettini, a Florentine, titular provincial of England, was a man of prodigious industry and great ability.²² He applied himself vigorously to the task and carefully carried out the directions of the general chapter. All unauthorized Masses in the missal and all unapproved offices in the breviary

appreciation of the purpose of the *Golden Legend*. The Bollandists led the way by their unstinted praise in reestablishing the true nature of this work. See Delehaye, S.J., *The Legends of the Saints*, 229-230.

²¹ *De Canon. Observ.*, prop. XI.

²² Echard (*SSOP*, II, 168) questions whether he was provincial of England; but there can be no doubt about it. Romeo, in his letter prefixed to the new breviary, states that he entrusted the work of revision "to the Reverend Father Provincial of England, Angelo Bettini, our *socius*."

were removed. Feasts of nine lessons were rearranged so that, instead of all nine lessons being devoted to the Saint, three lessons at least—those of the first nocturn—would be taken from the Holy Scriptures; feasts of “three lessons” underwent similar treatment so that at least one lesson would be from the Bible.

In eliminating some lessons and revising others, Bettini found himself face to face with serious obstacles. The first of these was popular devotion. This had always exerted a potent influence on the liturgical calendar; and once the people had formed a deep devotion for any feast, they did not easily tolerate any restrictions in its celebration.²³ Secondly, Bettini was greatly handicapped by the lack in his day of critical research in ecclesiastical history. The controversies caused by the rise of Protestantism were creating in the Church serious critical study of church history; but at the time of the general chapter, Cardinal Baronius, the first of the really critical historians of the Church, had not yet begun his *Annales*; while scientific hagiography would have to wait nearly a century more for the rise of the Bollandists.

Bettini made the best of a difficult situation. He eliminated obvious absurdities and dropped many questionable incidents by the simple expedient of shortening the lessons. For example, instead of the office of the Eleven Thousand Virgins having all nine lessons devoted to their incredible exploits, their history was restricted to one lesson; the other lessons were taken from the Book of Wisdom, a sermon on the Forty Martyrs, and a homily on the Ten Virgins. We herewith give this one lesson, as it is an example of Bettini's adroitness in adhering to what

²³ How tenacious popular devotion can be was clearly shown in our own day. Despite the determined character of the reform of Pius X, no attempt was made to abolish the feast of the Holy House of Loreto for Italy. Others examples will readily occur.

he believed to be true and at the same time in not offending the credulous:

“On this day, a British king's daughter named Ursula was martyred with many other virgins. She was engaged to Eleutherius, King of Anglia, and was noted for her prudence, beauty, and virtue. The martyrdom took place at Cologne, a city in Germany, which was besieged by the Huns when Ursula was returning from Rome. Eleven Thousand Virgins are said to have laid down their lives. Credibility is given this narrative by the famous convent for nuns built at Cologne in commemoration of this event, a building that has been long in existence; and by the innumerable relics of bones which have been preserved there to the present day. Many of these relics have been carried to various parts of the earth where they are held in the highest veneration.”²⁴

VALUE OF THE REVISION OF SALAMANCA

What was the value of this revision? According to Olmeda, it was displeasing to the Spaniards.²⁵ But their displeasure was evidently directed more to the rules laid down by the general chapter, particularly to the abolition of the Translations of Dominican Saints, than to Bettini's handling of the lessons. But whatever might have been the cause of their dissatisfaction, it is true that the revision, like all liturgical revisions, was open to a number of criticisms.

In the first place, while the position of the Sunday had been greatly improved, it was still subject to much interference by *totum duplex* feasts, of which there were a large number. Secondly, the correction of the lessons of the breviary left much to be desired; for some of the lessons were taken from dubious sources, some of the sermons and homilies were spurious, and

²⁴ *Breviarium Ord. Præd.*, Venetiis, 1552, 382v.

²⁵ *Chronica*, 230.

some of the marvelous incidents remaining in the lessons were open to question. But in fairness to Bettini it must be said that the Tridentine edition of the Roman Breviary, which was to appear sixteen years later and on which a corps of experts labored for five years, had precisely the same faults.

A third objection was that no effort had been made to lighten the choral burden, especially in reference to the additional offices. The abolition of the short office of the dead was merely a timid and feeble gesture in that direction; for, as we have already seen, that office was not said by the entire community but only by the hebdomadarian and the ministers assigned for the week.

Lastly, it was regrettable that Bettini saw fit to introduce a new method of enumerating the Sundays after Trinity. Instead of reckoning them from Trinity, Bettini counted the Sundays from the octave of Trinity. Thus, what was in the Roman Rite the third Sunday after Pentecost, and in Humbert the second Sunday after Trinity, became in Bettini's revision the first after the octave of Trinity. This clumsy method, which superseded the system used for three centuries, has been retained, for no reason whatever, to the present time.

However, upon the whole, the good points of the revision far outweighed the bad ones, and the liturgical student will be inclined to agree with Altamura that the Florentine did his work remarkably well, considering that it was done single-handed.²⁶ When we compare his accomplishment with the subsequent revisions of the Roman breviary by Pius V, Clement VIII, and other Popes, we realize the justice of Altamura's verdict.

²⁶ *Bibliothecæ Dominicanæ etc.*, 300.



A PROCESSION OF FRIARS PREACHERS
(From the *Processional of 1545*)

When was the new edition published? Mortier,²⁷ apparently following Echard,²⁸ states that the new missal appeared at Paris in 1552, and that the breviary was published the same year; and he adds that Romeo was dead when the missal was published. These statements, however, do not appear to be correct. Although the master-general left immediately after the chapter to return to Italy, his socius seems to have remained long enough to complete the revision of the missal and to give it to the printer; for not long after the chapter, the book was published at Salamanca in folio size. It bore the title: "*Missale secundum ordinem fratrum prædicatorum, juxta decreta capituli generalis. Salmanticæ. 1551.*"²⁹ Bettini then hastened to Venice, where at the request of Romeo he was to make a canonical visitation of the monastery of SS. John and Paul, and also to labor on the revision of the breviary. Although he was said to be proverbially slow,³⁰ he must have labored hard and uninterruptedly because the first edition of the breviary appeared in June, 1552 (a month before Romeo's death), and a second edition in September of the same year. Both were printed at Venice.

In a short letter prefixed to the new editions, Romeo gave a brief account of the revision by Bettini, and then admonished the friars to receive it "cheerfully and willingly." He warns them that they are forbidden, not only by him but also by the Holy See, to use either the old editions or any other office, an allusion to those who had adopted the breviary of Quiñones. The decree of Julius III, to which the general referred, was much more detailed. It was dated 3 May, 1552. The Pope

²⁷ *Histoire*, V, 432. ²⁸ SSOP, II, 168.

²⁹ Palau y Dulcet, *Manuel del Librero Hispano-Americano*, V, 198; Weale, *Catalogus Missalium*, 315.

³⁰ Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, II, 57.

began by quoting the authorization he had given through Cardinal Salviati to make the chapter of Salamanca equivalent to "a most general chapter" as regards its liturgical ordinances. He reviewed briefly the action of the chapter and the arrangements with the Venetian printers for the publication of the liturgical books. He gave his solemn approval to the revision and commanded the friars both in private and in choir to use the same. He strictly forbade any alterations or additions unless made in accordance with the Constitutions by three successive general chapters. At the same time, and for the first time in the history of the Order, he forbade other printers, booksellers, etc., under heavy penalties to print or have printed any editions of these books within the space of ten years. This was not only justice towards the firm printing the books, but it also helped to put an end to indiscriminate publications by irresponsible persons.

The next general chapter (Rome, 1553) likewise gave its approval to the revision, making only a few minor corrections. It reminded the friars they were not to print any breviaries or missals. "By the same Apostolic authority, we forbid each and every friar of our Order to use in the future the new Roman breviary, voiding all permissions hitherto obtained for this purpose."³¹

ANTONINUS, ARCHBISHOP OF FLORENCE, CANONIZED

Turning our attention to the calendar, we find that in the first half of the sixteenth century there was added to the list of Saints the lovable and gentle Archbishop of Florence, Antoninus, who died on 2 May, 1459. Although a great number of miracles were performed at his tomb, the Order did little to

³¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 352.

wards obtaining his canonization. It was not until over half a century had elapsed that Cajetan besought Leo X for the introduction of the cause. As the process had not ended when Leo died, Cajetan asked Adrian VI, his successor, to bring the work to a happy conclusion. This was done and Adrian wrote the Bull of Canonization, which was dated 31 May, 1523; but, before he could publish the Bull, he too died. It was therefore Clement VII who formally proclaimed Antoninus a Saint (26 November, 1524). The Pope gave formal approval to the Mass and office for the Saint which had been composed by the talented Vincenzo di San Gimignano, provincial of the Holy Land. In the same document Clement revealed that he himself had requested Vincenzo to compose the Mass and office.³² As the Pope desired the feast to be celebrated with all splendor, he changed the date of that of St. Catherine of Siena so that it could not possibly conflict with the feast of St. Antoninus. Pius II had set her feast for the first Sunday of May; Clement changed it to the first Sunday of May following the Finding of the Cross.³³

Thus far the Dominican Order had fostered a large number of confraternities;³⁴ but the first half of the century witnessed

³² BOP, VII, 127; SSOP, II, 75; *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IV, 203.

³³ BOP, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ The most famous of the Dominican confraternities are, of course, those of the Holy Name of Jesus, of the Most Blessed Sacrament, of the Holy Rosary, of St. Thomas Aquinas (the Angelic Warfare), and of Blessed Imelda (First Communicants). However, the Dominicans propagated many other confraternities, some of which at one time had extensive membership; for example, the Confraternities of the Crusaders, of Souls in Agony, of Charity, of the Crucified One, of Our Lord's Passion, of the Holy Cross, of the Conception of Mary, of the Assumption, of the Seven Sorrows of Mary, of St. Joseph, of St. Dominic, of St. Raymond of Peñafort, of St. Peter Martyr, of St. Vincent Ferrer, etc., etc. Documents referring to them will be found scattered through the eight volumes of the *Bullarium*.

the formal organization of one of its most important. Tommaso Stella, while prior of the Dominican monastery of *Santa Maria sopra Minerva* in Rome, was shocked by the widespread neglect towards the Blessed Sacrament he witnessed on all sides, even in Rome itself. After careful reflection, he concluded that the best way to combat the evil would be by the institution of a society of lay persons, both men and women, whose great aim would be to "honor, reverence, and worship" our Divine Lord in the Holy Eucharist. In the year 1530, the zealous priest gathered at the Minerva a small group for this purpose; and having drawn up tentative rules for his society, he applied to the Pope for his approval. Paul III hailed the movement as most opportune. Not only did he warmly approve of it, but he issued a Bull *Dominus noster* (30 November, 1539) by which he formally established the confraternity and conferred upon it all the privileges that belonged to the various confraternities which existed for works of mercy in the city of Rome. There had been earlier confraternities which honored the Blessed Sacrament; indeed, the earliest seems to have been founded at Liège contemporaneously with the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi. But all remained local societies, and few appear to have exerted very great influence. Fully supported by Pope Paul III, who appointed Cardinal Cesarini as its protector, the new confraternity was vigorously spread by the Dominicans throughout Europe.³⁵ To-day, the Confraternity

³⁵ François Veuillot, "Les œuvres eucharistiques," in *Eucharistia*, 362; SSOP, II, 198; BOP, IV, 583-585, VIII, 436-440 (*Tract. de Consensu Bullarum*, tit. XV, q.v., *De Confraternitate SS. Sacramenti*); Fanfani, *De Confraternitatibus Ord. Præd.*, 319 ff.

Among the admirers of this confraternity, then in its infancy, was St. Ignatius Loyola. While in Rome in 1540, he wrote to the people of Azpetia (Spain) in glowing terms of Father Stella and of the Bull of Paul III. He warmly advocated that the devotion should be everywhere preached; indeed, the Saint appears to have been the one who introduced

ternity of the Blessed Sacrament is an active, worldwide organization; indeed, it is one of the societies which Canon Law directs the bishop to erect in every parish of his diocese (Canon 711, n. 2).

it into Spain. Cf. *Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola, I*, (London, 1914), 44-45.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY (*Continued*)

THE second half of the sixteenth century had hardly begun when an incident occurred which occasioned deep resentment in the Order. It was the changing of the date of St. Dominic's feast. The Saint had died on Friday, 6 August, 1221. It is the custom of the Church to appoint as the feast day of a Saint the day of his death, unless that day is already taken by a feast of equal or greater rank. Gregory IX in his Bull of Canonization stated: "We have determined to add him to the number of Saints, and we summon and order you to celebrate his feast . . . on the Nones of August, the eve of the day . . . he entered into heavenly glory." The date therefore assigned by the Pope was 5 August. The eve of his death was chosen because 6 August was already occupied. The Dominicans willingly accepted the change, and with the universal Church celebrated the feast of their Founder on 5 August.

But in 1558 Paul IV ordered that there should be celebrated on that day the feast of *Sancta Maria ad Nives*, Our Lady of the Snow, and he assigned Dominic's feast to 4 August. The change did not please the Order. The feast of Our Lady of the Snow had been till now only a local affair; indeed, it was not even mentioned in the twelfth-century calendar of St. Peter's, nor in the twelfth-century *Ordo Officiorum* of the Lateran; and it was not in the thirteenth-century calendar of the Franciscans who adopted the office of the Roman Curia. The basilica involved in that feast was first known as the *Basilica Sicinini*; it was also called the Liberian Basilica, either because Liberius

built it or because he converted the ancient hall of Sicininus into a place of Christian worship. After its restoration by Sixtus III, it became known as St. Mary Major (*Santa Maria Maggiore*).¹ Centuries later, a legend arose concerning a miraculous fall of snow in summer-time to indicate where the basilica should be built. In the course of time, belief in the story grew to such an extent that the church began to be called Our Lady of the Snow. Paul IV believed the story to be true, and thought that so great a miracle should be celebrated by the whole Church; hence his action. But 5 August had for three hundred years been given by the Church to St. Dominic; therefore, Dominic must be transferred again, this time to 4 August.²

The Pope's action provoked a storm. In the first place, many ecclesiastics did not believe the story of the alleged miracle; they pointed out the inexplicable gap of centuries between the erection of the basilica (or its conversion into a basilica) and the first author who told the story. In the second place, Spain was as devoted to her Saints as Italy was to Italian feasts; and many churches in Spain and elsewhere flatly refused to accept the change. The Dominicans were indignant that the feast of their Founder should be treated with such scant consideration, especially for a feast resting on such dubious foundations.³ The death of the unpopular Paul IV and the succession of Pius IV brought hope that Dominic's feast might be restored to its original date; but it was really difficult for the new Pope to do so. The Council of Trent, then in session, intended to take

¹ Leclercq, "Marie-Majeure (Sainte-)," in *DACL*, X, 2092-2093; Schuster, *Sacramentary*, V, 16.

² The decree of Paul IV, *Gloriosus in Sanctis*, is dated 6 August, 1558; *BOP*, V, 53.

³ "No mention is found of this miracle until some hundreds of years later, and it is now everywhere recognized as a myth" (Butler-Thurston, *Lives of the Saints*. August. 61).

up the whole matter of the breviary and the missal from beginning to end. Meanwhile, the general chapter of the Order at Avignon (1561) made the declaration "to all the brethren of the Order that we do not accept the change of the feast of our Father, St. Dominic, and for that reason his solemnity will be held and is to be observed on the day on which it has always been kept."⁴

This was not intended as a formal defiance of the decree of Paul IV; its purpose was to secure redress from the liturgical commission of the Council of Trent. It is doubtful that the Order expected the feast of Our Lady of the Snow to be abolished, but a new problem had arisen from the change. When Paul IV issued his decree, 4 August was already occupied in most of the calendars throughout Europe. In various places, it was dedicated to St. Walburga, St. Oswald, St. Centolla, and others. In very many dioceses it was the feast of St. Justin, a feast already widely spread but given even greater prominence by the calendar of Quiñones, which assigned it to 4 August while Dominic was transferred to 7 August. Hence, when Paul IV ordered the celebration of Our Lady of the Snow, he was adding a new feast to an already crowded date. Many churches felt that the easiest way out of the difficulty was to reduce Dominic to a mere *memory* or else drop his feast entirely, and that is precisely what happened in many dioceses.

Consequently, the Order then had reason to protest. But the Council of Trent drew to a close without having been able to effect the much-desired revision of the liturgical books. On 24 June, 1563, it informed the Pope that it had delegated the task to the commission which had been appointed to draw up the now celebrated Catechism. The commission was then com-

⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 32.

posed of Bishop Calinio of Zara and three Dominicans: Archbishop Leonardo Marini of Lanciano, Bishop Egidio Foscarari of Modena, and Francesco Foreiro, the theologian of King Sebastian of Portugal.⁵ These were the original commissioners, but when the Council dissolved, Pius IV summoned the commission to Rome, added more members, and ordered the completion of their labors.

The hopes of the Order for a satisfactory adjustment of the problem grew brighter when on the death of Pius IV a Dominican became Pope. The new Pope, Pius V, was untiring in his efforts to bring the work of the commission to a successful conclusion; and finally his perseverance was rewarded by the appearance of the breviary with its revised calendar in 1568. The Order had won a partial victory, not a complete one. The feast of Dominic was once more restored to the calendar of the universal Church, not as a memory but as a *duplex* feast, the same rank as was given to the Apostles; and all the other feasts which had militated against his were dropped. But the day still remained 4 August.

The Fathers were disappointed. The general chapter which followed the appearance of the new calendar made no comment on the subject; but the next chapter, that of 1571, did. The feast of St. Dominic was to be celebrated by the Order on 5 August! However, the chapter conceded, where it has become the custom of the country to celebrate the feast on 4 August, the friars may conform to that custom.⁶ This was reiterated by the chapter of 1574,⁷ and the Order continued to observe 5 August for the remainder of the century. It was not until

⁵ Pallavicino, *Istoria del Concilio di Trento*, IV, 240-241; Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 199, n. 1; SSOP, II, 186, 229, 263.

⁶ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 125. ⁷ *Op. cit.*, 165.

Malvenda's revision appeared in 1603 that the Order bowed to the inevitable by adopting 4 August.

PIUS V ABOLISHES LATE MEDIAEVAL RITES

In 1568, when the new Roman breviary appeared, Pius V issued the Bull *Quod a nobis* by which were swept away all the numerous variations and exuberances then common in the Roman Rite, and established one uniform Mass and one uniform method of saying Mass. All patriarchates, cathedrals, colleges, parishes, all secular priests as well as all Religious Orders, irrespective of what privileges they enjoyed, were ordered to adopt the revision. To this comprehensive ruling a single exception was made: they who had followed uninterruptedly for over two hundred years a rite approved by the Holy See were not included in this law. The idea of preserving the older liturgical forms was not peculiar to Pius V; Grancolas tells us that at the Council of Trent, while some of the bishops wished to have only one rite, other bishops defended the special rites of their dioceses.⁸ In conformity to the sincere wish of the Church to preserve the really old rites, the Order of Preachers retained the liturgical uses which it had been observing without interruption for over three centuries.

The liturgical reform of Pius V had little direct effect upon the Dominican rite. While other Orders and churches set to work to revise their liturgical books and were influenced by the revision of the Roman Rite, the Dominican revision sixteen years earlier left the Order uninfluenced by subsequent developments.

In 1569, the general chapter was held at Rome. As so many chapters had done from the beginning of this century, it men-

⁸ *Commentarius historicus*, lib. I, cap. V.

tioned numerous rubrics to which it desired the friars to pay particular attention. It is but another example of how "rubric-conscious" the Order had become. One enactment of the chapter calls for special attention. At the request of Cardinal Michele Bonelli, a Dominican, an ordinance was passed requiring that in the future as soon as the Friars came before the Blessed Sacrament or passed it, they were to make a reverent genuflection as well as a profound inclination.⁹ In view of the present, long-established custom of genuflecting in such cases, an explanation may be advisable.

From the earliest days of the Church, the correct liturgical posture for public prayer was standing, not kneeling. Kneeling was considered as a sign of repentance and sorrow, and public penitents were required to kneel as a punishment.¹⁰ For many centuries, a profound inclination or bow was regarded as the highest sign of reverence. The practice of genuflecting, on the other hand, does not appear to have been introduced in the Latin Church until the end of the Middle Ages. However, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the custom of genuflecting when passing the tabernacle was practically universal; and on 14 December, 1602, the Sacred Congregation of Rites insisted that all the faithful were to genuflect before the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle.¹¹

THE PERPETUAL CALENDARS

During the second half of the century there appeared in the Order a number of so-called Perpetual Calendars. These cal-

⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 91.

¹⁰ "Inflexio genuum velut poenitentiae ac luctus indicium est," says Casian in his *Collationes*, cap. xx, collatio xxi, in PL, XLIV, 1194.

¹¹ *Decreta authentica Congr. Sacr. Rit.*, I, 30, n. 117. Cf. Corblet, *Histoire . . . du Sacrement de l'Eucharistie*, II, 354.

endars, of which a great many were published in the later Middle Ages, were compiled with the greatest care for the use of Religious Orders and of dioceses in the recitation of the Divine Office. The first of such Dominican books to be printed was that of Diego Ximenez, an alumnus of the monastery of Salamanca, who published his *Kalendarium Perpetuum* in 1563.¹² Gottfried van Mierle, shortly to become the second Bishop of Haarlem, took the book, eliminated the feasts special to the Spanish province, added those peculiar to his own province, and published the calendar at Antwerp in 1566.¹³ At the command of master-general Giustiniani, a new edition of the work of Ximenez was prepared, and appeared at Rome in 1571. Cavalli, the successor of Giustiniani, ordered all the brethren to use this work in order to obtain uniformity in the divine service.¹⁴

Another Spaniard, Juan of Urduña, after having secured from Sixtus V a decree approving his work and protecting his publishers from infringement for the period of ten years, published a *Kalendarium Perpetuum* at Venice, 1589. But the chapter of that year asked the master-general to have a new edition printed with a number of corrections.¹⁵ A third Spaniard, Juan Gutierrez, published one of these calendars at Seville in 1598; of it nothing more is known.¹⁶ All the Roman perpetual calendars, as Gavanti observes, "were rendered useless by the revision of the Roman breviary made by Clement VIII."¹⁷ The Dominican calendars also became useless when the Order revised its books under the same Pope.

¹² SSOP, II, 247. ¹³ *Op. cit.*, II, 278.

¹⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 128-129.

¹⁵ SSOP, II, 284; BOP, V, 449; *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 293.

¹⁶ SSOP, II, 321.

¹⁷ Gavanti-Merati, *Thesaurus S. Rituum, Ordo Perpetuus*, IV, 3.

VARIOUS EDITIONS OF THE "ORDINARIUM"

In addition to the calendars, there were also published during the sixteenth century various editions of the *ordinarium*. The first time the Dominican *ordinarium* was printed was May, 1505, when master-general Vincenzo Bandelli published one thousand copies of the Constitutions. One section of that volume is entitled *Quædam Rubricæ Communes*; it was not a complete edition of Humbert's *ordinarium*, but only of some parts of it.¹⁸ A complete edition was published at Milan in 1520 by the general, Garcias de Loaysa. Giustiniani got out another edition in 1558, but it "was disfigured by innumerable errors," typographical and otherwise;¹⁹ a revised edition was imperative. Accordingly, Cavalli charged Juan of Palencia to edit an accurate edition. An alumnus of St. Stephen's at Salamanca, a first-class liturgist and rubrician, he was well qualified for his task. When the task was entrusted to him, he had been, as his introductory letter informs us, thirty-six years cantor of the choir. Juan performed his work most conscientiously, and submitted the results at the chapter of Barcelona, 1574, to the master-general. When examiners gave a favorable verdict concerning the book, the general ordered it to be printed. But the scrupulous Juan was not satisfied; he again revised his manuscript and reduced its size. He included all liturgical enactments of the general chapters up to his own time.²⁰ He rendered the work even more valuable by adding his *Adnotationes*, or discussions of doubtful rubrics. He was careful to state that these interpretations were not his own personal opinions but those of the older Fathers. This *ordinarium* was first published at

¹⁸ *Constitutiones Ord. Præd.* (Mediolani, 1505).

¹⁹ *Ordinarium* (Venetiis, 1582), 81. ²⁰ *Loc. cit.*

Salamanca in 1576; a second edition followed at Venice in 1582.

It was also at Cavalli's instance that Juan prepared a new issue of the martyrology, which he published at Salamanca in 1579; a second edition appeared at Venice in 1582. These editions contained not merely the martyrology but also the Gospels for *pretiosa*, the Rule of St. Augustine, the Constitutions, and a catalogue of uncanonized martyrs and other Dominicans notable for their sanctity, learning, or dignity. These contents are to be found in every edition of the Dominican martyrology until Theissling's edition in 1925, when everything not strictly part of the martyrology was dropped.

But Juan's labors on the martyrology were not to have very lasting results. The martyrologies of the Church had by that time become quite corrupted in their texts; the various revisions (and, as regards the Dominicans, the numerous and sometimes contradictory decisions of the general chapters in the course of three centuries) had not produced any improvement. The old cantor at Salamanca, who, in his preface to the martyrology, spoke proudly of having now devoted forty years to guarding the liturgical cult of God, had had an almost hopeless task imposed upon him. He did as well as could possibly have been expected. But there were needed for all the martyrologies of the Church the critical researches of first-class historians. Fortunately, one such man was already at work; but the death of Juan in 1579 prevented him from availing himself of the researches of Cardinal Baronius.

Baronius published his revised and corrected version of the Roman Martyrology in 1583. It quickly ran through several editions, and in 1586 he republished it with still further corrections; after more corrections, the fifth edition appeared in

1589.²¹ That same year (1 March, 1589), Sixtus V published his Bull *Æternus ille* by which he launched rather prematurely a revision of the Vulgate and required all Scriptural passages in missals, breviaries, etc., to be corrected in accordance with the new version. The previous year he had created the Congregation of Rites, which he charged with the task of correcting liturgical books. Although Pius V had declared that the breviary "should never be changed . . . that no one should ever add to it or take away from it anything whatever," both Gregory XIII and Sixtus V restored feasts suppressed by Pius V and instituted new feasts which they imposed on the universal Church.

In view of all these things, the Fathers who assembled for the general chapter at Rome in 1589, felt that a corrected version of the Dominican breviary, missal, martyrology, and calendar should be prepared. The Salamanca revision had now been in use for some thirty-seven years; the Tridentine revision of the Roman breviary had been in force only twenty-one years, and yet scholars were already urging another revision. However, had the capitular Fathers been able to read the future, it is not likely that they would have presented their request to the master-general, Beccaria.

Meanwhile the general chapter of 1589 put an end to an ancient liturgical custom by ordaining that all priests should say at the end of Mass the Gospel *In principio*.²² All the sacramentaries and the missals anterior to the thirteenth century say nothing of reciting the Gospel of St. John at the end of Mass. The custom seems to have begun in the thirteenth century from devotion and to have gradually spread, until at the time of the Council of Trent it had become quite universal. Pius V made

²¹ H. Delehaye, "Martyrology," in CE, IX, 741.

²² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 281.

it obligatory for the Roman Rite. But thus far the Dominicans, tenacious of their ancient customs, adhered to the ancient way of ending Mass. The new ruling was apparently made at the request of the general, Beccaria.

If one may judge from the rubrics of the missal of 1596, the Last Gospel was introduced only in the Low Mass, not in the Solemn Mass. It is interesting to note the manner in which the rubrics prescribe the Gospel to be said. After the blessing, the priest went to the Gospel corner, said *Dominus vobiscum* and *Initium*, etc., making the customary signs of the cross. Immediately he returned to the middle of the altar, and while reciting the Last Gospel placed the corporal in the burse, put the burse on top of the chalice, and folded back the edge of the veil over the burse. He remained at the middle for the entire Last Gospel, genuflecting for the *Verbum caro*, etc. This compromise between the actual Roman rubric and the ancient Roman practice has been discarded by the Dominicans for three centuries, the Last Gospel being said at the Gospel corner. But the modern rubrics still continue solemnly to warn the priest not to fold the corporal while saying the Last Gospel.

Several additional points of interest remain to be considered. The first was the institution of the Feast of the Most Holy Rosary. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Turks had become an imminent peril to Europe. They had overrun the Balkans, captured Constantinople, ended the Græco-Roman Empire, and penetrated into the heart of Hungary. It was due to the indefatigable efforts of Pius V that a Christian fleet was raised to destroy the Turkish navy. The Christians under the command of Don Juan of Austria sought and found the Turkish fleet in the Strait of Lepanto at the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth (7 October, 1571). The foes were approxi-

mately equal as regards the number and size of their ships.²³ The battle ended in a decisive victory for the Christians, fifteen of the enemy ships being sunk and one hundred and seventeen captured, while the remainder of the fleet sought safety in flight.

In far-off Rome, the Pope at the moment of victory was supernaturally enlightened concerning the success of the Christian fleet.²⁴ In thanksgiving, he ordered that every year, on that day, Our Lady of Victory should receive a commemoration in the martyrology. But his successor, Gregory XIII, did not think this was enough. "Since the battle was fought on the first Sunday of October," says Benedict XIV, "the day on which Rosary Societies everywhere according to their custom were holding processions and praying to God most earnestly, it may be piously believed that such prayers, through the intercession of the Virgin Mary, contributed greatly to the victory. Wherefore . . . Gregory XIII ordered that henceforth there should be observed on the first Sunday of October a solemn festival under the name of the Feast of the Rosary . . . with a rite of a double major. This privilege, however, extended only to those churches in which there was erected a chapel or an altar to the Blessed Virgin of the Rosary."²⁵

TRANSLATION OF ST. ANTONINUS

A few years after the great naval victory, another event took place that also brought joy to all Dominicans, the Translation of St. Antoninus. The Saint had asked to be buried with his brethren at St. Mark's. His wish was granted; and for one hundred and thirty years his body had rested undisturbed. In

²³ Pastor, *History of the Popes*, XVIII, 419.

²⁴ *Acta SS.*, I Maii, 688.

²⁵ *De Festis*, II, clxviii, 379.

1589, his remains were solemnly removed from a humble grave to the magnificent chapel which had been built for that purpose by the generosity of the Salviati family. A remarkable number of dignitaries, civil and ecclesiastical, had gathered for the occasion; while Dominicans, not only from every part of Italy but also from Spain, France, and Germany, were present to do honor to their illustrious brother. The Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, Alessandro de' Medici, afterwards Leo XI, presided. When the humble grave was opened, the entire body was found to be in perfect preservation. It was clothed in the Dominican habit, and the only signs of any rank were the pallium and the Doctor's cap. Instead of placing the body in the new tomb just as it had been found, a questionable taste clothed it in pontifical attire.

The solemn transfer of the body did not take place immediately. The Grand Duke Ferdinand and many persons of high rank, both French and Italian, were present, and all availed themselves of the opportunity to honor the great Saint of Florence. An immense catafalque was erected in the middle of St. Mark's, which had been richly decorated for the occasion; and it was on this catafalque that the body was placed at vesper-hour (8 May). To its left were stationed four Cardinals, to its right the Cardinal Archbishop of Florence surrounded by nineteen archbishops and bishops. An immense procession was formed, headed by Cardinal Alessandro and composed of the clergy, Religious Orders, and the nobility of Florence, all carrying lighted candles. Escorting the body of the Saint, the procession filed from St. Mark's and wended its way through the streets of the city, which had been gaily decorated. Arrived at the cathedral, the canons relieved the Grand Duke and his noble companions of the Saint's body and carried it on the re-

turn to the Dominican church, where it was placed under the altar specially prepared for it. Owing to the length of time the ceremonies consumed, the Solemn Pontifical Mass was not said until the next morning.²⁶ The proximity of the date of the Translation to the feast of St. Antoninus prevented the former feast from being generally observed, though in some places it was celebrated on 2 March as a *double duplex*.

Five years later another great son of St. Dominic received at last a long-deferred honor. One of St. Dominic's first recruits at Rome had been a young Polish priest named Hyacinth. The Saint had sent him to evangelize the vast regions of north-eastern Europe. The enormous distances which Hyacinth travelled during a period of thirty-five years, his amazing apostolic zeal for the conversion of pagans, the bewildering number and the character of the miracles he performed during life and after death, all constitute some of the most remarkable pages in hagiography. Yet, for three hundred years the Order made only a few half-hearted attempts to have one of their greatest apostles canonized. Finally, a Jewish convert, Severinus Luboml, who had joined the Order in Cracow, became interested and labored unremittingly for five years to further the cause of Hyacinth. Through his efforts and those of kings, princes, and bishops of Poland, the process was brought to a successful conclusion, and on 17 April, 1594, Clement VIII published the Bull of Canonization. As the Saint had died on the Assumption, his feast was assigned to the following day, 16 August. Even in his canonization Hyacinth was exceptional; for the news of his canonization was hailed throughout most of the countries of Europe with extraordinary demonstrations of joy.²⁷

²⁶ A full description of the truly impressive ceremonies carried out in the Translation may be found in the *Acta SS.*, I Maii, 355-358, 766-771.

²⁷ *Acta SS.*, III Augusti, 331-337.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE REVISION OF PAOLO CASTRUCCI

THE general chapter of 1589 had asked the master-general Beccaria to publish a "corrected" edition of the breviary, missal, martyrology, and perpetual calendar. A "corrected" edition of these books was asked for, not a sweeping revision. Yet, the next chapter, that of Venice (1592), speaks of a "reformed" edition which is under way, and begs the general to speed its completion.¹

Beccaria informs us that he is publishing a new edition of the missal, breviary, diurnum, and martyrology; and that he has entrusted the work of revision to his *socius* Paolo Castrucci.² Hereafter, he warns the friars, it will be unlawful for anyone to buy missals, breviaries, diurnals, or martyrologies from any other printer than from "our friends Giovanni Sessa and Baretio Baretio"—this is commanded under formal precept and under pain of excommunication. The purposes of the prohibition were, as usual, to reimburse the printers for their great expense and also to prevent faulty editions from being published. The man to whom the general had entrusted the revision came from Mondovi, a small town in Piedmont, where Beccaria himself was born. In 1586, Castrucci was prior of *Santa Maria delle Grazie* at Milan. He became Beccaria's *socius* in 1589, and two years later was given the title of Provincial of the Holy Land.

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 335.

² In a letter prefixed to the new Missal. It is dated 1 July, 1595

Just when Castrucci did the work of revision is something of a mystery. Assuming that Beccaria charged Castrucci to make the revision shortly after his election, six months later we find Castrucci at Naples as *socius* of the general; and save for a few short visits to Rome, he was accompanying Beccaria through Northern Italy, Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary until 1 April, 1595, when they returned to Rome. It was impossible for him to have done any serious work on the revision during these prolonged travels; for Beccaria was a tireless traveller, the roads were bad, accommodations wretched (the friars often had to sleep in the open), and apart from the great fatigue of such a journey the task of taking care of the many details of travel fell to the lot of the *socius*. Yet, the "revised" missal was printed in 1595,³ and the letter of Beccaria introducing the book to the Order is dated at the Minerva, 1 July, 1595. Hence, it would appear that, as is often the case, some unknown friars did the work and carried out Castrucci's ideas; then, upon his return, he merely examined the revision and gave it his approval. But even so, Beccaria, leaving for his visitation of the Spanish province, must have written his letter of commendation *before* he even saw the printed work.

The missal appeared in 1596. At the front of the book, we find a Bull of Clement VIII which informs us that Juan Vicente d'Astorga, vicar general of the Order (Beccaria was absent at the time), had set before him the wishes of two general chapters regarding a liturgical revision and the reasons for the same; that the revision had been completed; and that a contract for printing the books had been entered into with the Venetian printers, Giovanni Sessa and Baretio Baretio. According to the

³ This is stated on the last page of the book; the title-page is dated a year later.

wishes of the supplicants, the Pope approved "the corrections, changes and additions," forbade anyone to make any alterations, ordered both friars and Sisters of the Order to use these books, and ended with the now usual prohibition for anyone except the official printers to print the books within a space of ten years.

The master-general's letter is much shorter. It covers very much the same ground as the letter of Clement, except that it informs us that the revision had been entrusted to "Paolo Castrucci of Mondovi, provincial of the Holy Land and our *socius*." The printers' note reveals that the corrected books were to include not merely the missal, breviary, diurnal, and martyrology, but also the office of the Blessed Virgin, the processional, the psalter, the *ordinarium* of sacred ceremonies, the office of Holy Week, and the perpetual calendar. Rubricists or other Fathers who saw any errors in the present book were invited to indicate them to the "Father Reviser" or to the printers themselves, "so that in the second edition which, God grant, will be soon made, we may be able to satisfy all as far as possible."

THE NATURE OF CASTRUCCI'S REVISION

When we pass from the letters to the rubrics of the missal, we discover that we have before us the strangest edition of a revision ever published in the Dominican Order. Instead of eliminating the errors which had crept in, and of admitting no rubrics which had not been sanctioned either by the ancient *ordinarium* or by three successive chapters, Castrucci evidently felt that a reviser had the right to introduce any rubric he thought might be proper and edifying. Some of the innovations were taken from the Roman missal; but the origin of others was

known only to Castrucci. A few of the new rubrics will give an idea of the nature of this "revision."

At the *Confiteor*, the celebrant was not to hold his hands joined together as he now does, but he was to allow only the finger-tips of one hand to touch those of the other, keeping the palms well apart. The same position of the hands was also to be observed at the *Aufer a nobis*, the *In spiritu humilitatis*, the *Te igitur*, etc. The chalice was to be carried from the sacristy with the left hand holding it, not by the node as is now done, but by the base. The priest (or deacon) was not to read the Gospel standing erect, but with the right foot somewhat in advance of the left, as if he were about to genuflect; and this singular position was to be kept until the end of the Gospel. At the *Hanc igitur oblationem*, the celebrant was to extend his hands with their palms downward over the host and chalice, as is done in the Roman Rite. Immediately before the Consecration, at the words *Accipite et manducate*, with the host in his hands, the celebrant was to move his right foot somewhat to the rear, with the left knee bent towards the altar. This was also to be the posture for the Consecration of the chalice. Immediately after the Consecration, at the prayer *Unde et memores*, instead of standing erect with arms moderately extended, the celebrant was to say the prayer in a bowed position, which he was to retain until he came to the words, *necnon ab inferis*; then he was to resume the erect position. While the *Oremus, Præceptis salutaribus* was being recited the celebrant, instead of extending his hands and resting them on either side of the corporal, was to hold his arms extended in front of him with just the middle fingertip of each hand resting on the altar. Instead of taking the paten at the words *Da propitius pacem*, he was to take it at the words *Et ne nos*; and he was to hold it in a

vertical position resting it on the altar. He was to retain it in that position until the *Apostolis tuis, Petro et Paulo*; at the word *Petro*, he signed himself with the paten in the form of a cross. At *omni perturbatione*, he again assumed the peculiar position he took at the Consecration, namely, with the right foot a little to the rear and the left knee bent towards the altar. At the end of Mass, while saying the Last Gospel, the celebrant was to fold the corporal, place it in the burse, superimpose the burse on the chalice, and fold back the veil over the burse. There were other variations, but as none of these left a permanent imprint on our rite, they are hardly worth enumerating.

Aside from these innovations, there is much that can be said in praise of Castrucci's missal. For example, we meet for the first time what is the modern arrangement of the preliminary part of the missal; that is, a treatise on the defects that may occur in the Mass, the rubrics to be observed in the celebration of Mass, how the priest should prepare himself for Mass, the manner and rite of saying Mass (accompanied by pictures), what is omitted in the Mass for the Dead, etc. The work is also a beautiful specimen of printing and contains a number of excellent woodcuts.

THE REACTION TO THE CHANGES

What was the reaction of the Order to the innovations? Mortier says: "These innovations were far from receiving general approval. The missal was meanwhile approved both by the master-general Beccaria and by Clement VIII in 1595, at the same time as the breviary, diurnal, and martyrology; and the religious were ordered to use the new books instead of the old ones. Approved in 1595 and sent to the printer, the missal did not appear until 1600, that is to say, five years later. It is prob-

able that the printing was held back by the protests of the Order, and perhaps also because Clement VIII was considering a more thorough—in fact, a radical—revision of the Dominican rite.”⁴

The only authority Mortier gives for these statements is the missal published at Venice in 1600. His deductions would be plausible enough if that edition were the first edition of Castrucci's missal. But there was an earlier one, obviously unknown to Mortier.

We have before us a copy of the first edition. It is a folio size, consisting of 293 folios, and, as already stated, was published at Venice by Giovanni Bernardo Sessa and Baretio Baretio. The date on which the missal was printed, 1595, is given on the last page, while the title-page is dated 1596. The book therefore was printed in 1595, but did not appear until the following year. The printer's letter, already mentioned, speaks of a second edition soon to appear; the edition of 1600 is that second edition.

It is not clear whether or not the missal appeared before the general chapter of 1596 assembled (30 May). The chapter ordained that the ministers of the Mass and the friars in choir should genuflect during the *Credo* at the words *Et homo factus est*, and also during the Last Gospel of St. John, at the words *Et Verbum caro factum est*. This enactment indicates that the capitulars had not yet seen Castrucci's missal, for both rubrics were already in that book. In any event, there is not one word in the Acts of the chapter concerning the new missal. The same silence is preserved by the chapter of 1600, although by now there had been published not only two editions of the missal but also three editions of the breviary (two in 1596, one

⁴ *Histoire*, VI, 61.

in 1597). Previous liturgical revisions had always received official recognition from the capitular Fathers; this one receives—silence.⁵ That silence is most significant, and its meaning is soon divulged. After a short illness, Beccaria died on 3 August, 1600. The following May, the capitulars assembled to elect a new master-general. When the electors had chosen Jerónimo Xavierre, the first commission they gave him was: “We most earnestly implore our Father General that he undertake with the utmost dispatch the correction of the martyrology, breviary and missal.”⁶ The new rubrics had not been adopted by the majority of the friars, and they took this means of legalizing their position. But the request instead of clarifying the situation appears only to have obscured it.

CLEMENT VIII AND THE CHAPTER OF 1601

The Acts of the chapter of 1601, like those of so many of its predecessors, observe an exasperating reticence as regards the stormy sessions it held. What took place is a matter of dispute.⁷ We know that Cardinal Baronius was sent by Clement VIII to preside over the chapter. Echard gives the following interpretation of the Cardinal's presence. The Pope desired the Church's missal, breviary, and other liturgical books to be revised, and for that purpose he planned to appoint a special congregation which would be headed by Cardinals Baronius

⁵ The chapter of 1596 does refer to “the rubrics of the revised missals” (V, 365), but it was only in reference to those Dominicans who, in their sermons, were following the Roman list of gospels instead of the Dominican list. This question will come up later.

⁶ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 30.

⁷ Damian de Fonseca, who assisted at the chapter, has left us a long account of its sessions, but he does not even allude to the liturgy. He was interested only in “politics,” not in the liturgy of the Order. His diary (*Adm. R.P.F. Damiani a Fonseca itinerarium ac gesta*, etc.) is preserved in the Archives of the Order (Lib. IX, I), at Rome.

and Bellarmine. It was the intention of Clement, says Echard, that once the revision was completed, the whole Church should use these books, and thus all variations would be eliminated. The Pope sent Baronius to the general chapter to inform the capitulars of his intention. But after the Cardinal had listened to the reasons advanced by the Fathers why they should retain their ancient rite, he himself persuaded the Pope to abandon the plan.⁸

On the other hand, Vincent Laporte challenges the assertion of Echard. He insists that Echard has given an excessive and even false interpretation to the meaning of Clement VIII, who merely wished that the Order, in revising its books, should take advantage of the corrections and improvements made in the Roman books, just as he authorized the Carmelites to revise their breviary and to correct it "after the manner of the new Roman breviary." In support of his contention, Laporte quotes the Bull of Clement VIII, *Cum sicut accepimus* (2 April, 1602), where the Pope states that he authorized the revision of 1601 to be made in such a way that the ancient rite of the Dominican Order would be preserved.⁹

But the weight of evidence favors Echard. His source of information was the life of Malvenda written by Nicolas Figueres.¹⁰ Figueres was a Dominican from Valencia, who wrote in 1644—that is, sixteen years after Malvenda's death. He compiled the work at the request of his superiors at Valencia. He tells us that he was an eyewitness of some of the things he speaks of; that many other things he obtained from Malvenda's personal papers; and finally that a third source of information

⁸ SSOP, II, 455. ⁹ "Précis historique" in AOP, XXV (1917), 97-98.

¹⁰ This biography is entitled: *Breviarium Vitæ R. P. F. Thomæ Malvenda Ord. FF. Præd.* It is divided into six sections. It was prefixed to Malvenda's *Commentaria in Sacram Scripturam* (Lyons, 1650).

was the Dominican Archbishop of Valencia, Isidoro Aliaga, a life-long friend of Malvenda. While Figueres wrote his account of the chapter of 1601 some forty-three years after it took place, nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that his statements are substantially correct.

In his Section III, he gives the following account: "When our author [Malvenda] went to Rome, the Sacred Congregation . . . was engaged by the command of Clement VIII in the correction and improvement of the Roman breviary, missal, and martyrology. The Supreme Pontiff had resolved that when the revision was completed all the Orders in the whole Church should use the identical Roman rite in the canonical hours and in the praises of God.¹¹ The Pope therefore selected Cardinal Baronius to preside over the general chapter which was held at Rome . . . that he might acquaint the Fathers with the intention of the Pope. But the Fathers, through the Cardinal, set before the Pontiff the reasons why it was most fitting that the Order should retain its ancient rite. When the Pope heard the reasons, no more was said of a change. Then the aforesaid master-general [Xavierre], following the example of the Pope, . . . undertook the correction and improvement of the liturgical books of our Order. And the task which the Pope had imposed to be carried out by so many and such eminent men [i.e., *the revision of the Roman books*], Xavierre gave to one man, Malvenda, of whose learning he had proof. Our author undertook the labor and in a short time brought it to a happy and auspicious conclusion. He purged the missal, martyrology, and breviary, of the many errors and mistakes that had crept in,

¹¹ The exact words of our biographer are: *in sacris horis ac laudibus Deo persolvendis*, words that ordinarily would mean only the Divine Office. But from the context it is evident that the whole liturgy was included.

restoring the books to the purity and integrity of accurate ecclesiastical history. He was also responsible for all the other improvements of which Xavierre speaks in the letter prefixed to the liturgical books.”

Thus, historical evidence supports Echard's contention that Clement VIII did intend to abolish the Dominican rite. Laporte's arguments to the contrary are not convincing. The mere fact that Clement approved of a request of the Carmelites to revise their breviary without insisting that they change their Epistles and Gospels to conform to the Roman rite, proves nothing. This permission was accorded five days after Baronius had presented the pleas of the Dominicans to be allowed to retain their own rite. If the Pope had changed his mind concerning the abolition of the Dominican rite, it would not have been very politic for him to attempt that of other rites. Likewise, the Bull of Clement, which Laporte quotes, was written a year later, and proves only that *then* the Pope ordered the preservation of the Dominican rite.

However, it is unquestionably true that, prior to the chapter of 1601 as well as after it, Clement VIII gave no intimation of any intention of doing away with the particular rites. From the time he became Pope, he issued many Bulls and decrees to Religious Orders, as may be seen in the ninth and tenth volumes of the *Bullarium Romanum*; yet, nowhere do we find even a hint as regards the abolition of particular liturgical customs. On the contrary, we find Clement repeatedly confirming various Orders in “all their rights, privileges, indults, faculties, immunities, exemptions, prerogatives, etc.” And after the chapter of 1601, we see him continuing to confirm all the privileges, exemptions, etc., of Religious Orders. This would indicate that originally the Pope had no serious intention of abolishing the



TITLE PAGE OF BECCARIA'S MISSAL
(Revision of Castrucci)

various Roman rites; but when the liturgical difficulties of the Dominicans were called to his attention, the idea of doing away with particular rites may have developed in his mind. It doubtless seemed an opportune time to persuade the Dominicans to surrender their rite; if they did, it would furnish the Pope with a powerful argument in dealing with the other Orders. When, however, he found the Order strongly attached to its ancient customs, he dropped the whole project.

MALVENDA ENTRUSTED WITH THE REVISION

With this danger averted, the capitular Fathers of 1601 earnestly besought Xavierre to have the liturgical books revised at once. While the master-general was casting about for the proper man, Cardinal Baronius unwittingly provided him. The Cardinal had just received a letter from Malvenda pointing out a number of inaccuracies in the Cardinal's *Annales* and in his new edition of the Roman martyrology. The Cardinal was so impressed by the erudition of his correspondent that he requested Xavierre to summon him from Spain to Rome.¹² The general lost no time in doing so, for he believed he would be the ideal man to take charge of the work of revision.

Thomas Malvenda was remarkable both as an exegete and as an historian, and when the summons came to go to Rome, he was already well known as the author of many books. Unfortunately, he was not a liturgist, and his biographer is incorrect in stating that Malvenda accomplished the revision of the liturgical books alone; for Xavierre expressly states that the work was

¹² Malvenda was not the only Dominican to help Baronius by his friendly criticisms. Vicente Justiniano Antist of Valencia and Anthony Prämistiev, a Russian of Lemberg, both carried on considerable correspondence with Baronius. Cf. Bäumer, *Histoire*, II, 248-249.

done by "pious and learned men."¹³ But there can be no doubt that Malvenda was the human dynamo whose driving-power was responsible for carrying out the thorough revision within the short space of a few years. The changes effected by Malvenda and his assistants were so numerous that we can pause to notice only the principal ones.

The calendar underwent the least change. Malvenda does not appear to have been over-concerned with reestablishing the Sunday in its rightful place; for his calendar reveals the existence of sixty-six feasts with the rank of *totum duplex*, and some of these feasts were assigned annually to Sundays.¹⁴ But in this last offense he was merely following the example of several Popes. As the Sunday was ranked as a *duplex*, the lower classification meant that the Sunday would often fail to get its proper observance. He lowered only one feast, Martha (27 July), from a *duplex* to a *simplex*; but he raised a number to higher rank. He recognized the futility of battling any longer for the original date of Dominic's feast, and assigned it to 4 August, adopting Our Lady of the Snow for 5 August. Perhaps by way of compensation, he reestablished the Translation of St. Dominic (24 May), which Bettini had abolished.

BARONIUS AND THE ROMAN MARTYROLOGY

Special attention was paid to the martyrology. The researches of the learned Cardinals Bellarmine and Baronius had revealed numerous errors in the Roman martyrology and breviary. In the Middle Ages, there had been a number of different mar-

¹³ In the Letter prefixed to his liturgical editions.

¹⁴ These feasts were: Feast of the Most Holy Rosary (first Sunday of October); Feast of St. Hyacinth (first Sunday after the Assumption); and the Feast of St. Catherine of Siena (first Sunday after the Finding of the Cross).

tyrologies; the Church of Rome had selected that of Usuard, and the Dominicans had made the same selection in the thirteenth century, apparently choosing the Cistercian version and adapting it to their own use. In the course of centuries errors had found their way into the martyrology of Usuard. Just what did Malvenda do? Echard declares that he abandoned the martyrology of Usuard which had thus far been in use in the Order, and that he adopted the new Roman martyrology recently revised by Baronius, to which he added the Saints and Blesseds of the Order.¹⁵ Such a statement is misleading. The Order did not abandon the martyrology of Usuard, nor did Malvenda insert the Dominican Saints and Blesseds in the martyrology of Baronius; they were already there.

It must be borne in mind that Sirleto and Baronius did not propose to draw up a new martyrology; their purpose was only to correct and improve the text of Usuard.¹⁶ Hence, what the Dominicans did was to cast aside the corrupted text of Usuard for the corrected text of Usuard. In taking advantage of the immense labors of Sirleto and Baronius, Malvenda did not take the Roman version word for word; it was adapted to the needs of the Order. Thus, the accounts of Dominican Saints and Blesseds were rewritten at greater length.¹⁷ The Roman version was generally shortened, sometimes only by a clause, sometimes by the omission of one or more memories (or commemorations). But these were not the only changes. There were

¹⁵ SSOP, II, 455. Father Leca, following Echard, made a similar inaccurate statement in a memorial presented to the Sacred Congregation of Rites (May, 1924), when he said: "We find the text of Usuard abandoned for the Roman martyrology of 1584." ¹⁶ Bäumer, *Histoire*, II, 245-246.

¹⁷ But for the first time in the history of Dominican martyrologies, the names of deceased master-generals were omitted from the text where they had been inserted since the days of Humbert. Henceforth, the *obitus* of a master-general would be placed at the end of the martyrology.

few days throughout the whole year in which Malvenda did not make some change; sometimes he changed a date or the spelling of a name, and occasionally he rearranged the text.¹⁸ Despite the general sameness of the Roman and Dominican versions, there are well over one thousand variations between the two texts. Until now, the martyrologies of the Order had always been quite brief; this edition definitely marks the beginning of the longer lessons which are characteristic of modern martyrologies.

CHANGING THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS

The Order would indeed have had reason to congratulate itself if the revision of the missal and breviary had been carried out as happily as that of the martyrology. But the wishes of Clement VIII, as well as those of most of the Fathers,¹⁹ for conformity between the Roman and Dominican lectionaries, resulted in most drastic changes.

From the earliest centuries there had existed in the Church variety in the selection of epistles and gospels for the Mass. Even in the Roman system, the oldest manuscripts do not have identical lists. When Pius V abolished all rites of less than two centuries' existence and the new Roman books were almost universally received, the Church developed a consciousness of strict uniformity. One effect of this was to bring into relief the variations existing between the Roman list adopted by Pius V and the equally Roman list adopted by the Dominicans in the thirteenth century. Friars preaching in churches other than

¹⁸ Apart from enlarging the accounts of Dominican Saints and Blesseds, he rarely made additions to the Roman version. The lengthiest addition was that of 18 September.

¹⁹ *Quodque votis fere omnium expetebatur*, says Xavierre in his letter prefixed to the revised books.

their own found the difference at times embarrassing. How to solve the problem, particularly for the period between Trinity Sunday and Advent, was admittedly difficult.

Malvenda's remedy was to remove from the missal entirely the text of the first Sunday after Trinity and thus advance the text of every Mass by one Sunday. This had the effect of making the Dominican missal harmonize, as a general rule, with the Roman as regards introit, epistle, gradual (at least in the first part), offertory, and communion; but the *oratio*, gospel, secret, and postcommunion, were still different. To remedy this, the revisers took those four parts from the following Mass. In other words, after eliminating the text of the Mass for the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, and moving up all the succeeding Masses by one Sunday, Malvenda then advanced the *oratio*, gospel, secret, and postcommunion of every Mass still another Sunday.

An example may make the procedure clearer. Let us take for our illustration the Mass which Humbert has for the eighth Sunday after Trinity, *Suscepimus Deus*. Since Bettini's revision, this Mass would be the Mass for the seventh Sunday after the octave of Trinity. First of all, Malvenda moves this Mass up to the sixth Sunday.²⁰ Then he composes the Mass from these elements:

Office (introit): *Suscepimus Deus* (from 7th Sunday
after oct. of Trinity)
Oratio: Largire nobis (from 8th Sunday)
 Epistle: *Debitorum sumus* (from 7th Sunday)
 Responsory (gradual): *Esto Mihi* (from 7th Sunday)
 Gospel: *Homo quidam erat dives* (from 8th Sunday)
 Offertory: *Populum humilem* (from 7th Sunday)
 Secret: *Suscipe, quæsumus Domine* (from 8th Sunday)

²⁰ In the Roman missal, it is the eighth Sunday after Pentecost.

Communion: *Gustate et videte* (from 7th Sunday)
 Postcommunion: *Sit nobis, Domine* (from 8th Sunday)

Thus, Malvenda fused two Masses (in the case in question, those of the seventh and eighth Sundays) in order to get one Mass (in this case, for the sixth Sunday). It is obvious that there was very little left of the original text of Humbert's *Temporale* when Malvenda had finished. In view of such wholesale destruction, one may wonder why the revisers went to the trouble to consult the oldest manuscripts, as Xavierre assures us they did. It would have been far more simple (and certainly far more intelligent) to have discarded the text of Humbert completely and to have taken over that of the Roman Missal. But the reason for not doing so is clear.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, plain-chant was at its nadir. The wholesale revision of liturgical books by the Popes had directed attention to plain-chant, but thus far all efforts to restore Gregorian chant had proved unavailing. The Order, however, had clung to its form of the traditional Gregorian plain-chant. If the Order, in the revision of 1601, had adopted the entire text of the Roman missal, it would have had to adopt also the wretched music then in vogue in the Latin Church or else provide genuine plain-chant for these Masses. Knowledge of Gregorian chant had fallen so low that there was no one then living who was capable of composing Gregorian music. For this reason Malvenda did not change the graduals of Humbert's Masses despite the fact that the first part occasionally and the second part usually vary from the Roman graduals.

For the rest of the ecclesiastical year (that is, from the first Sunday of Advent to Trinity Sunday), the situation was different; during that entire period, the epistles differed from the

Roman missal only a half-dozen times, the gospels somewhat more frequently. Those epistles and gospels were changed, but without altering any other part of the Mass which varied. Nor did the *Sanctorale* escape. Here too the epistles and gospels were changed but the other variants left untouched. Thus, for example, in the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle (29 December), Malvenda changed the epistle and the gospel; but he did not touch the introit, responsory or gradual, offertory, secret, communion, or postcommunion, although all these differ from those in the Roman rite. He did not alter the *Lectiones* taken from the Prophets of the Old Law, which are sometimes found in the Dominican missal added to the epistle; nor did he tamper with the four prophecies of Rogation Days or those of Holy Saturday.

MANY LEGENDS EXPUNGED FROM BREVIARY

The breviary also came in for special attention. This was to be expected, as Malvenda himself a short time before had called attention to a multitude of contradictions between the Roman breviary and the *Annales* of Baronius;²¹ and the lessons in the Dominican office were frequently the same as those of the Roman breviary. Some of the fantastic and incredible stories which had found their way into the breviary under the guise of history were expunged. Accounts of Saints, which were known to be apocryphal or uncertain or open to suspicion, were rejected; only biographies from approved sources were admitted. The same was true of the homilies and sermons; spurious works, or those of writers whose orthodoxy was not above suspicion, were removed. At least, that was the reassurance given by the master-general in his letter. But a careful study of the revision

²¹ See Bäumer, *Histoire*, II, 269.

compels one to conclude that the general's letter was somewhat rhetorical, and that he confused the wish for the deed. Many spurious works were dropped, as well as those whose authenticity was doubted; but the revision was far from perfect. Some homilies and lives of Saints were retained or restored which should have been rejected. For example, St. Margaret (20 July) is still given three lessons "from her genuine acts." These "acts" are forgeries. Likewise, Servatus, whom Bettini with remarkable good taste had deprived of all "proper" lessons, had one proper lesson restored, in which is narrated a doubtful life of the Saint. Ursula, whose proper lessons also had been wisely reduced by Bettini to one brief lesson, regained her extraordinary feats. And so one might continue through the *Sanctorale*; but despite numerous defects, the breviary of Malvenda does represent a distinct and genuine advance in historical accuracy.

The comprehensive changes in the missal necessitated some corresponding changes in the breviary. The *orationes* had to be advanced two Sundays during the period after Trinity Sunday. As the *orationes* of the Sundays of Advent and Septuagesima already agreed with those of the Roman missal, they underwent no change. For no valid reason whatever, Malvenda saw fit to abolish the ancient manner of saying vespers during Easter week. The Dominicans had used this form of vespers even before Humbert, for we find it in the ancient breviary-antiphony. In the Roman rite, it disappeared in the thirteenth century when the Franciscans revised the Roman breviary; but the Friars Preachers preserved this ancient Roman custom for over three centuries after Rome had abandoned it.²² Malvenda's sole reason for the change was to secure greater textual agree-

²² This manner of saying Easter vespers is described in the *Ordo Romanus*, I (cf. Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, II, Append. III, no. 12).

ment with the Roman breviary, a most desirable change if the Dominicans had been accustomed to reciting Easter vespers with clerics using the Roman breviary!

It is unnecessary to linger longer over the revision. From what has been said it is obvious that the revision was the most sweeping and drastic since the days of Humbert of Romans. It is true that the *manner* of saying the office and of executing the ceremonies of the Mass had escaped. But it cannot be denied that henceforth it would be inaccurate to refer to the rite of the Friars Preachers as the liturgy revised by Humbert. It would be more accurate to call it the liturgy revised by Humbert but altered by Malvenda.

No time was lost in publishing the revised books. In 1603 the breviary and two editions of the missal appeared at Rome. The martyrology was ready in 1604; but the diurnal did not appear until two years later. The next general chapter was that of Valladolid, 1605. It approved the contract entered into between the master-general and the Roman printer, Alfonso Ciaccioni, who was given the exclusive right of publishing the liturgical books for the next twenty years. The chapter also exhorted the friars that they use the greatest diligence in carrying out uniformly the Divine Office; and it commanded all prelates to correct their choir books as soon as possible according to the breviary "recently printed with the greatest diligence."²³

Finally, the printer is praised for the industry he showed in printing the breviary; but there is no formal approbation of the revision itself. While the action of the chapter was tantamount to approval, nevertheless, it stands out in sharp contrast to the explicit and wholehearted approbation given to Bettini's revision. The chapter promoted Malvenda to the rank of

²³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 55-56.

Master of Theology;²⁴ but this was not an endorsement of the manner in which the revision was carried out. However, whether it is to be regarded as good or bad, Malvenda's revision remained the official liturgy of the Dominican Order.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

XAVIERRE did not long remain master-general. Made Cardinal in December, 1607, he ceased to be head of the Order. Agostino Galamini, who was elected in his place (Rome, 1608), carried on the publication of the revised books. A psalter was published in 1609, a processional in 1610, and another edition of the breviary in 1611.

The chapters of 1608 and 1611 called the attention of the Fathers to the existence of a practice (they do not say whether it was widespread) which they ordered to be discontinued; namely, that of giving a blessing at the end of a Requiem Mass.¹ Fontana says it was an ancient practice in the Order;² Cassitto enlarges on Fontana's statement and asserts that the general chapter held at Bologna in 1252 ruled that a blessing should be given in a Requiem Mass unless the body was present. He further declares that the practice lasted until the chapter of Rome (1608).³ Cassitto was evidently quoting Cavalieri, who uses almost identical words.⁴

Such a custom did exist among many followers of the Roman Rite up to the revision of Pius V. Bona, Lebrun, De Vert, Gavanti, and others list Roman missals containing the blessing to be given at the end of a Requiem Mass. But we have not found any authorized Dominican missal with such a blessing or

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 95 and 131.

² *Constitutiones, Declarationes, etc.*, 300, no. 23 (ed. 1862).

³ *Liturgia Domenicana*, I, 144. ⁴ *Statera Sacra*, 516, no. 48.

containing such a rubric. Fontana evidently had before him a corrupt copy of the Acts, as not one of the codices used by Reichert in his critical edition of the Acts has such a reading. In the best codices, the passage in question reads as follows:

“When Mass is said after one of the hours [of the Divine Office] and another hour does not immediately follow after the Mass, the *Fidelium animæ* and the *Pater noster* are said as usual after the hours. But if the Mass should be a requiem, after the *Requiescat in pace*, the *Fidelium animæ* is not said but only the *Pater noster*. At the end of the Mass, the celebrant never gives a blessing.”⁵

This rule is confirmed by the fact that in Humbert's codex there is no blessing for the end of Mass; though he does say, in speaking of conventual Masses, that after the priest has said the *Placeat tibi*, “if it is the custom of the country and there are outsiders present waiting for it, the priest may give a blessing according to the manner of that country.”⁶ Since no missal or *ordinarium* of the Order contains a blessing for the dead, or prescribes a blessing, it is quite certain that the chapter of 1608 was reprehending the practice of only a few Dominicans who were imitating some secular priests in giving such a blessing.

In 1615, two customs already widely spread in the Order were made obligatory.

“For our special devotion towards the Blessed Virgin, the Patroness of our Order, and in gratitude for the innumerable graces we have received from her hands; and especially that our Order may be sheltered under her protection during these calamitous times, . . . we ordain that in all our houses . . . the litany of the Blessed Virgin be sung every Saturday after the *Salve Regina*. [Furthermore] in accordance with the pious custom obtaining in most of our provinces, as often as the *Sub tuum præsi-*

⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 64.

⁶ *Ordinarium Humberti* (ed. Guerrini), 245, no. 103.

dium is said in choir, our friars and Sisters are to kneel throughout the entire antiphon.”⁷

Though litanies of the Blessed Virgin began to appear in the twelfth century, they were prayers of strictly private devotion and remained such for several centuries. They do not appear in the Roman breviary until some years after the revision of Pius V. The litany of Loreto was formally approved by Sixtus V in 1587.⁸ In 1613, Paul V ordered it to be sung every Saturday in the church of St. Mary Major. Anticipating the action of the chapter of 1615, the master-general had the litany inserted in the Dominican breviary in 1614. If the general did not await the action of the chapter, neither did the Order; for the Acts of the chapter tell us that the practice of singing the litany was already “the custom in many houses of our Order.”⁹

At Milan, in 1622, it was ordained that in all the provinces, one hour after sunset, the church bell should be sounded as it is for the Angelus to remind the people to pray for the dead.¹⁰ The custom seems to have been started by St. Cajetan in Naples in 1546, but it does not appear to have spread very far. Towards the end of that century, a famous Dominican preacher, Ambrogio Brandi, during his missions in various Italian cities,

⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 241. ⁸ De Santi, *Le Litanie Lauretane*, 38.

⁹ This custom the Order borrowed from its Rosary Confraternities, which were wont to sing a litany of the Blessed Virgin. A book published at Rome in 1593 contains music composed by the celebrated Palestrina for the litany of the Virgin “which is sung everywhere in chapels of the Rosary Society.” The litany is divided into five parts to correspond to the five decades of the Rosary. Cf. De Santi, 40-41, 105-107. The litany which appears in the breviary of 1614 contains two interesting additions. After the invocation *Regina Virginum*, the Dominicans had inserted: *Regina Prædicatorum!* The chapter of 1656 (*Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 395) ordered it expunged; it was making a universal prayer the prayer of one Order. After *Regina Sanctorum omnium* came *Regina Sacratissimi Rosarii*. As the Dominicans had inserted this clause before the decree of 1631 forbidding any additions to the litany, the Congregation of Rites in 1675 permitted the Confraternities of the Rosary to use it. Leo XIII extended it to the whole Church (1883). ¹⁰ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 326.

learned of the practice. Made provincial of the province of St. Peter Martyr (Piedmont) in 1606, he introduced it there; and when made prior of the Minerva (1609) he brought the pious custom with him. Fontana says that Paul V, hearing the bell every night, inquired as to the reason it was sounded. Upon being told of the devotion, he sanctioned by Apostolic indult the practice for all the churches of Rome.¹¹ It needed only this to give it greater impetus; and the action of the chapter of 1622 helped greatly to spread the devotion over a large part of Europe.

The steadily spreading practice of placing the tabernacle on the main altar, led the same chapter to prescribe a rubric that the Order has retained to the present day. Priests, who celebrate Mass at an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is preserved, when about to say *Dominus vobiscum*, are to move a little to the gospel side so as not to turn their back to the Blessed Sacrament.¹²

APPOINTMENT OF POSTULATOR-GENERAL

Attention has been called several times to the apparent indifference the Order manifested as regards having its sons and daughters canonized. It was not so much a lack of interest on the part of individual members as it was the failure to have one definite official in charge of such matters. After some four hundred years, the Order finally realized this need and the chapter of 1629 passed the following enactment: the master-general (Niccolò Ridolfi) was charged with selecting and appointing a responsible and prudent Father, and one zealous for the glory of Dominican Saints, to be promoter for the beatifica-

¹¹ Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, II, 127-128; Fontana, *Constitutiones, Declarationes, etc.*, (ed. 1862) 146, (ed. 1655) 200-201; Cormier, *Quinze Entretien*, 195-196. ¹² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 325.

tion and canonization of the members of the Order who lived and died in the odor of sanctity.¹³ This was the origin of the postulator-general of the causes of beatification and canonization in the Order. We shall soon have occasion to see the excellent results of such a step.

In response to a request by the chapter of 1629, Ridolfi published another edition of the liturgical books. As the twenty-year agreement with the printer Ciacconi was approaching its term and some changes in rubrics and feasts had been made in that period, Ridolfi's predecessor, Secchi, planned a new edition of the books. He obtained from Urban VIII permission for that purpose (25 September, 1625),¹⁴ but his death two years later prevented its execution. The first of the new books, a breviary, did not appear until 1633; other books followed at intervals. The contract with Ciacconi was not renewed; instead, any printer who secured the permission of the master-general might publish the books.

Meanwhile, Urban VIII published the Bull, *Divinam Psalmodyam*, which announced the completion of his revision of the Divine Office (1631). His revision would occupy a negligible place in liturgical history were it not for one thing. Himself a poet, he was offended by the prosody of the hymns used in the Divine Office, and he appointed a special commission to correct the "mistakes" of the earlier poets. Nearly one thousand corrections were made.¹⁵ To-day, as Batiffol remarks, "all the world agrees in regretting this modernization of the ancient hymns. Urban VIII and his versifiers started from a wrong principle, through ignorance of the rules of rhythmic poetry. . . ." ¹⁶ Blume, S.J., speaks of this revision of the hymns as the

¹³ *Ibid.*, VII, 20-21. ¹⁴ Letter prefixed to Ridolfi's breviary.

¹⁵ Baudot, *The Breviary*, 56. ¹⁶ *History of the Roman Breviary*, 222.

"death-blow" of hymnody.¹⁷ The Dominican Order fortunately rejected this meddling with the ancient hymns of St. Ambrose, Venantius Fortunatus, Prudentius, and others. Claiming its privilege of exemption granted by Pius V, it retained along with the Benedictines, Cistercians and Carthusians, the splendid ancient forms of Christian hymnody. To-day, the Roman Breviary has the "revised" hymns; the Dominican breviary, the ancient ones.

The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed the birth of another Dominican devotion. In 1631 the dreaded plague had broken out again in Italy. A Dominican of the monastery of *Santa Maria Novella*, Father Michele Angelo Bruno, urged the people of Florence to invoke the intercession of St. Dominic for liberation from the plague. He proposed that special prayers in honor of the Saint should be said every Tuesday (the day of the week dedicated to St. Dominic) for the fifteen weeks before his feast; the devotions were to terminate with confession and Holy Communion.¹⁸ The proposed devotion proved so successful that it spread from Florence throughout the Order. Its popularity was attested to by the chapter of 1650 in these words:

"Since . . . there is increasing among the faithful in different places a salutary devotion towards St. Dominic, by reason of which a great many of the faithful either fast or receive Holy Communion on fifteen Tuesdays in honor of the Saint, we urge the master-general to endeavor to obtain from the Holy See indulgences for those who perform the aforesaid works of devotion, for the encouragement of this pious exercise." ¹⁹

¹⁷ "Hymnody and Hymnology," in CE, VII, 604.

¹⁸ Fontana, *De Provincia Romana Ord. Præd.*, 83; Walz, *Compendium*, 313.

¹⁹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VII, 302.

Many Popes approved of the devotion and encouraged it by indulgences: Innocent X, Alexander VII, Alexander VIII, Innocent XII, Clement XI, Benedict XIII, Pius VII, etc.²⁰

Still another Dominican devotion which had made great progress during the same century was the Cantic of the Passion. Though it was approved and admitted among the devotions of the Order by Francesco Romeo in the middle of the previous century, it did not receive any notice in the Acts of the general chapters till those of Rome in 1644. "We admonish all the provincials and priors," said the capitular Fathers, "to introduce in their houses the laudable custom observed in many of our houses: namely, on every Friday, at least during Lent, in memory of the Passion of Our Lord, there is chanted after the *Salve Regina* the devout verses *Amici mei*. . . ." ²¹ This devotion was begun by the "Ecstatic of the Passion," St. Catherine de' Ricci. Every week for twelve years (from 1542 to 1554), from midnight Thursday to Friday afternoon, she went through an ecstatic vision of the Passion. According to her earliest biographers, the Saint declared that the Cantic was taught her by the Mother of God. It was written down by her confessor and biographer, Fra Timoteo.²² The Cantic consists of a series of verses culled from various parts of the Bible. The first part is an orderly and brief exposition of the Passion; the second part recalls the reasons for the Passion and the fruit of our redemption by it. The verses are not said uninterruptedly; but after every verse there is a pause for medi-

²⁰ There were a number of similar devotions in the Order: e.g., the Six Sundays in honor of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Seven Mondays (sometimes the Seven Fridays) in honor of St. Vincent Ferrer, the Fifteen Saturdays in honor of the Rosary, etc. ²¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VII, 112.

²² SSOP, II, 841; Cormier, *Quinze Entretiens*, 281; Bertrando, "Il Cantic della Passione," in *La Stella di San Domenico* (Torino, Marzo, 1925), 75-83.

tation. Simple as the devotion may appear to be, it has flourished for nearly four hundred years and at the present day is practised in most Dominican houses throughout the world.

The same chapter that approved of St. Catherine's Cantic of the Passion legislated that the words "our Father" should be added to the name of St. Dominic in the *Confiteor*.²³ The general chapter of 1596 had ordered that phrase to be inserted "in all collects both in the office and in the Mass in which the name of St. Dominic is mentioned."²⁴ The *Confiteor* had been overlooked. That omission was now remedied.

URGENT NEED OF A MODERN CEREMONIAL

More and more the friars were feeling the urgent need of a ceremonial. Ceremonials, or books of detailed rubrics, are a modern innovation; in the Middle Ages, the clergy was obliged to rely on the *Ordines Romani* or the ordinals. Humbert's *ordinarium* had been published repeatedly in the course of centuries with those changes and additions approved by the general chapters. But with the steadily growing insistence upon greater and greater accuracy in liturgical ceremonies, the need for a more detailed manual of ceremonies was being keenly felt. The Fathers, in chapter after chapter, made this clear by their repeated requests for the compilation of such a book.²⁵ Finally, in 1644, when the question was raised again, it was thought that the right man was available for this arduous task. Camillus Jasinski, a religious of the Polish province, had published in 1638 a "Summary of the Ordinances of the General Chapters, from 1220 to 1629." The master-general, Tommaso Turco,

²³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VII, 105. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 365.

²⁵ See the Acts of the chapters of 1622 (VI, 325), 1628 (VI, 358), and 1642 (VII, 83).

charged him to prepare the long-desired ceremonial. Cormier states that Jasinski finished the work that was assigned him, but that the book had little circulation as it was extremely brief.²⁶ Unfortunately, Cormier does not state where he obtained his information, as even Echard is doubtful whether or not the book was ever published.²⁷

In any case, the chapter of 1650 petitioned the newly-appointed general, Giovanni-Baptista Marini, to take up the matter, and it was suggested that a committee be appointed for the purpose. Although Marini showed a lively interest in the liturgy (he published no less than fifteen editions of the choral books during his term of office), there is no record of any committee being given this particular task. It would seem that the reason for this inaction on the part of the master-general was that he knew a thoroughly capable man had taken the work in hand. Four years later, the Dominican Bishop of Sant'Angelo de'Lombardi (in Southern Italy) published a *Cæremoniale Sacri Ordinis Prædicatorum*.²⁸ Its compiler was Ignazio Cianti, formerly a member of the Roman province and *socius* of Ridolfi. During the persecution of Ridolfi by the Barberini family, Cianti had remained loyal to his friend. One of the first acts of Innocent X was to repair the gross injustice that had been done to Ridolfi; in doing so, he did not forget the deposed general's friend. Cianti was made Bishop of Sant'Angelo de'Lombardi, and it was while he was bishop that he finished his compilation of the ceremonial. He was well fitted for the task, for it was he who had so ably revised the liturgical books under Turco.²⁹

However, the cares of the episcopal office did not allow him

²⁶ *Quinze Entretiens*, 23. ²⁷ SSOP, II, 536. ²⁸ Naples, 1654, in-8vo.

²⁹ Cavalieri, *Statera Sacra*, 6.

the time necessary for the painstaking revision a work of this type demands. The book was found to contain a number of errors, and because of them the next general chapter could not give its approval. Any hope that the learned bishop might correct the mistakes was slowly dissipated by his prolonged illness and ended by his untimely death. When this hope was dashed, the chapter of 1670 once more urged the crying need of a ceremonial. However, many years were to elapse before the Order would have its wish fulfilled.

Among the many liturgical books published while Marini was general is one that deserves notice because it was something new. It was entitled *Clavis Cantus Ecclesiastici*, and was printed at Rome in 1661. A letter of the printer's informs us that it was published at the suggestion of the master-general. It explains the manner of intoning and singing the invitatoria, psalms, antiphons, etc.; in a word, everything that was sung in the office. However, the book is not an antiphonary but only a small compendium designed for the purpose of enabling the friars to have individual copies and to be able to take them to their cells for study, a thing that would be difficult to do with the huge, heavy antiphonaries thus far used in choir.

When the chapter of 1670 elected Juan Tomás Rocaberti, it asked him to prepare a new, revised edition of the liturgical books. The general acceded to the request, but the changes he made are not serious enough to detain us.³⁰ A more important revision was that of Cloche, which was made at the end of the century; this will be dealt with in the next chapter. However, Rocaberti did make a worth-while addition to the Dominican calendar; for he obtained from the Holy See permis-

³⁰ This revision was done by Giacomo Ricci, Raymond Mailat, and Antonin Cloche. Cf. *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VIII, 331.

sion to observe the Feast of All Saints of the Dominican Order, to be celebrated on 9 November; All Souls of the Order, to be observed the following day.³¹

CANONIZATION OF RAYMOND OF PEÑAFORT

The seventeenth century saw a notable increase of Dominican Saints in the calendar. After three and a half centuries of neglect, one of the most distinguished sons of St. Dominic was at last accorded the full honors of the altar. St. Raymond of Peñafort died in 1275. Although only three years after the death of the Saint, Stephen of Salanhac, the historian, declared that numerous miracles attested the sanctity of Raymond,³² there is no indication that the Order took any serious steps towards promoting his canonization. The chapter of 1277, a few months after his death, merely declared: "These are the suffrages to be said: 'For friar Raymond of Peñafort, every priest is to say three Masses.'" ³³ Three years later, the general chapter ordered his name to be inserted in the martyrology.³⁴ Later on, some feeble gestures in the form of resolutions, which cost so little effort to make, were solemnly passed and forgotten. The real impetus came from outside the Order. In 1297, the Council of Tarragona took the first serious steps to introduce the cause of his beatification; but faulty drafting of the preliminary process, wars, political struggles, and delays at Rome, all combined to retard shamefully for three hundred years the honors due one who had unselfishly rendered outstanding services to the Church. Finally, King Philip II of Spain sent to Rome to further the cause one Father Miguel

³¹ BOP, VI, 316; *Chronica Magistrorum Generalium*, 118, published in the *Constitutiones Ord. Præd.* (Romæ, 1690).

³² *De quatuor in quibus*, etc., 18.

³³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 182. ³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 198.

Llot de Ribera, a Dominican of Catalonia. The royal action brought results. Clement VIII appointed a commission to bring the matter to a conclusion, and he announced that not only the citizens of Barcelona and of all Catalonia were petitioning for the canonization but also "our very dear son in Christ, his most Catholic Majesty, Philip King of Spain."³⁵ By the command of the Pope, the tomb was reopened, and a translation of the relics took place (1596). On this occasion, the Acts of the chapter of 1596 inform us, "God deigned to honor him [Raymond] by new miracles, not the least of which was the marvellous fragrance which came from the tomb and the relics."³⁶

The auditor of the Rota, Francisco Peña, a friend of the Order, labored untiringly for the success of the cause. His efforts were not in vain. On 29 April, 1601, amid scenes of the greatest splendor in the new church of St. Peter's, Clement VIII solemnly canonized Raymond of Peñafort.³⁷ All Catalonia was transported with joy, and in 1604 his feast was made a holiday of obligation in that country. In 1647, he was declared Patron Saint of Barcelona. The date of his feast was first set by the Church for 7 January, the day after his death; but in 1671, at the request of various dignitaries, Clement X made Raymond's feast obligatory for the universal Church, with the rite of *semiduplex* of nine lessons, and transferred the date to 23 January.³⁸

Another addition to the Dominican calendar was that of James Salomoni. His cult was extended to the whole Order by Gregory XV on 22 September, 1621. His feast is observed on

³⁵ BOP, VII, 221. For an account of Miguel Llot see SSOP, II, 378.

³⁶ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 356-357.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 6, 34-35; BOP, V, 580-589. ³⁸ BOP, VI, 273.

31 May. The next year, Ambrose Sansedoni was added. He was one of the two pupils selected by Albert the Great to assist him at the new *Studium Generale* at Cologne; the other pupil was Thomas Aquinas. His name was admitted to the Roman martyrology by Clement VIII, and his feast extended to the whole Order by Gregory XV on 8 October, 1622.³⁹ His feast, formerly 22 March, is now observed two days earlier. In 1670, Clement X granted that henceforth the whole Order might celebrate annually "with solemn rite" the feast of Albert the Great. The cult of Margaret of Savoy, a spiritual daughter of St. Vincent Ferrer, was approved by Clement IX in 1669; in 1671 the Order received permission to celebrate her feast annually with an office and Mass. Though she died on 23 November (1454), her feast was assigned to 27 November, "the first unimpeded day after her death."⁴⁰

THE FIRST AMERICAN CANONIZED, ROSE OF LIMA

That same year (1671), the honor of being the first American to be canonized fell to Rose of Lima. St. Rose, "the flower of the New World," had died on 24 August, 1617. The general chapter, held the following year, remarked in the obituary list: "In the province of St. John Baptist in Peru, there died Sister Rose of Santa Maria, a member of the Third Order, who perfectly imitated St. Catherine of Siena in all things."⁴¹ We look in vain through the Acts of the chapter for any suggestion relative to the gathering of testimony concerning her heroic sanctity and the miracles already attributed to her. But if the Order was neglectful, Peru was not. Yet, despite the efforts of the clergy and laity of that country and indeed one might say

³⁹ *Acta SS.*, III Martii, 247 ff. ⁴⁰ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VIII, 32.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, VI, 320.

of all South America, it was not until thirteen years after her death that the Congregation of Rites was moved to send Letters Apostolic prescribing the interrogation of witnesses. One hundred and eighty-three witnesses were examined, the process taking two years. In spite of a constant stream of appeals from all Latin America and even from European countries, eighteen more years elapsed without any action being taken by Rome. Giovanni-Baptista Marini, elected in 1650, displayed unflagging interest in Rose's "cause"; but, notwithstanding his efforts, matters moved very slowly until King Philip IV of Spain took an active interest in the matter. Upon his death, the queen-mother, Doña Mariana, continued to urge the completion of the process. Definite results now began to be seen, and on 12 February, 1668, Clement IX beatified Rose. She was declared Patroness of Latin America and the Philippines (3 November, 1669). On 12 April, 1671, she was canonized by Clement X, and her feast assigned to 30 August.⁴² The delicate and gracious office of her feast was composed by the celebrated liturgist, Cardinal Bona.⁴³

On the same day as St. Rose, another Dominican was raised to the full honors of the altar, Louis Bertrand. Though born in Spain, he had labored for thirty-six years among the Indians of the New World. He died in Spain on 9 October, 1581. Contrary to all precedent, the next general chapter actually requested the general to petition the Holy Father that an "authentic process" be instituted concerning the life and sanctity of Father Louis "Beltran." His cause moved rapidly, and in 1608 Paul V declared him a Blessed. The Order faithfully con-

⁴² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VIII, 22 ff.

⁴³ Bäumer, *Histoire*, II, 315. He calls this office "magnificent, delicate, and gracious."

tinued to interest itself in his canonization, chapter after chapter urging the master-general to greater efforts. The goal was attained on 12 April, 1671, when Clement X solemnly canonized him.⁴⁴ Thus, the Dominican missionary became the first canonized Saint who had labored in America. His feast was assigned to 10 October, though his death took place the preceding day. The original office for the Saint was written by Leonard Hansen of the German province. St. Louis Bertrand was made the principal Patron of the Republic of Colombia and also of Port-of-Spain (Trinidad).

The cultus of Gundisalvus (Gonsalvo) of Portugal had first been granted to the people of that country by Julius III and Pius IV. In 1671, Pope Clement X extended it to the whole Dominican Order.⁴⁵ The next year, James of Mevania (Bevagna) was beatified by Clement XI.⁴⁶ He had died on 22 August (1301); but that his feast might not conflict with the octave of the Assumption, it was deferred to the following day. John van Hoornaer, the Dominican martyr of Gorkum, was next to be honored. He was among those martyred by the Calvinists in Holland in 1572. These martyrs were beatified by Clement X on 14 November, 1675, and their feast is on 9 July.⁴⁷ Margaret of Castello had been beatified by Paul V in 1609; but her Mass and office were not extended to the entire Order until 1675.⁴⁸ Her feast day is 13 April.

Two more additions round out this century. Jane of Portugal, the princess who forsook the Court for the cloister, was beatified in 1693 by Innocent XII, who granted the observance of her feast (12 May) to Portugal and to the whole Dominican

⁴⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VIII, 22 ff.; BOP, VI, 274 ff. ⁴⁵ BOP, VI, 298.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 307. ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 327.

⁴⁸ *Acta SS.*, II Aprilis, 198; BOP, VI, 324.

Order.⁴⁹ Finally, another nun, Osanna of Mantua, had her cultus confirmed by the same Pope in 1694. Permission was granted to the Order to celebrate her feast (18 June) by Mass and office.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ BOP, VI, 409.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 411.

ANTONIN CLOCHE

ON 1 JUNE, 1686, Antonin Cloche, a Frenchman, was elected head of the Order, and he proved to be one of the most illustrious men who ever occupied that position. Among the many unfortunate conditions he found on assuming office was the remissness of many friars, particularly among the *literati*, as regards their choral duties. There had gradually sprung up in the Order an intellectual snobbishness; the more gifted friars sought university degrees and careers as university professors. They preferred displaying their learning before classes of young students to participating in the liturgical cult of God. Friars who had no degrees were looked down on and regarded as suitable only for choral duties. This monstrous conception of the religious life, so utterly at variance with the Dominican Constitutions and Dominican tradition, Cloche attacked with unflinching courage; nor did he cease his battle against this abuse of privileges during the thirty-four years he was master-general. He left no stone unturned in his efforts to restore the choir to its rightful place of honor. Since the days of St. Dominic, no general displayed such intense zeal for the liturgy as did Antonin Cloche. He continued to urge the importance of the choral duties, and he reminded the friars that "no greater or worthier honor could be shown to God than by this sacrifice of praise." He besought them to realize "that this is the foremost

duty of a religious, to praise and bless God"—an allusion to the Dominican motto, [*Deum*] *laudare, benedicere et prædicare*.¹

To facilitate the carrying out of choral duties, Cloche began an unprecedented publication of liturgical books of all kinds and of all sizes; indeed, under no other general were so many editions ever published. One of his first cares was to provide an up-to-date missal, for the old missals had become scarce. His predecessor, Antonio de Monroy, had indeed sent to the Congregation of Rites for examination the copy of a proposed edition; but the examination was being made so leisurely that in the meantime de Monroy had been made Archbishop of Compostella, and still the book was not ready. Cloche represented to the Congregation the urgent need for the missal, and as a result two more Cardinals were appointed to assist Cardinal Casanate in his examination. The missal and calendar were finally approved and the book was printed, according to the title page, at Rome in 1687; however, the two letters of Innocent XI and that of the master-general, which are prefixed to the missal, are dated 1688. To avoid a similar delay with the breviary, Cloche in the same year reprinted Rocaberti's edition; two editions were published at Paris, one in 1687 and the other in 1688. There does not appear to have been a Roman edition of the breviary until 1692; but a diurnal was published in that city two years earlier. In his letter in the diurnal, Cloche expressed his desire that, as far as the books were concerned, there might be "nothing lacking in those things which pertain to the celebration of the Divine mysteries or the uniform recitation of the Divine Office." This attitude of the general explains why he

¹ His letter, prefixed to the breviary.

issued not less than twenty-three editions of the various books.² Nor did he forget the needs of the Armenian Dominicans and the Armenian secular priests who used the Dominican rite; a new revised edition of the Dominican breviary in the Armenian language was published at Venice in 1714.³

In his revision of the liturgical books, Cloche made numerous changes, but nearly all of them were of a minor character. Thus, he eliminated the typographical errors which abounded in the previous editions, and he rearranged the position of the rubrics in the breviary. Hitherto, the rubrics for the *Sanctorale* were placed just before the *Sanctorale*, while those for the *Temporale* were prefixed to that section of the book. Cloche put all the rubrics together, but, unlike the present arrangement, he placed them after and not before the psalter.

In the calendar there were no drastic changes. It was brought into closer similarity to the Roman by the adoption of the new feasts which continued to flow uninterruptedly from the Congregation of Rites: St. Leo (11 April), John Gualbert (12 July), Raymond Nonnatus (31 August), Stephen (2 September), Didacus (13 November), and the Name of Mary (Sunday within the octave of her Nativity). The only new feast in Cloche's calendar that did not come from the Roman was the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus (15 January). While this feast

² Mortier (*Histoire*, VII, 220) says only the missal, breviary, and *collectarium* appeared. He refers to Coulon (SSOP, fasc. IV, 259); but Coulon lists (with one exception) only the books he himself saw. As a matter of fact, there were ten editions of the breviary, five of the missal, three of the office of Holy Week, and one each of the following: diurnal, *collectarium*, martyrology, processional, and *cantus matutinum et laudum*. Bohatta, in listing the breviaries of the Order (*Bibliographie der Breviere*, 144-153), overlooked a breviary published at Rome in 1717 by Cloche. One volume of this edition (*pars hiemalis*) is in the library of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

³ Van den Oudenrijn, *Das Offizium des heiligen Dominicus*, 153 ff.; Mesfin [Domenico Ponsi], *Vita del reverendissimo Padre Cloche*, 71-72.

would not become universal in the Latin Church until 1721, it may appear surprising that an Order which, since the thirteenth century, was devoted to spreading the Confraternity of the Holy Name in every part of the world, should adopt at this late date a feast of the Holy Name. The reason may be deduced from some observations of Benedict XIV.

FEAST OF THE MOST HOLY NAME OF JESUS

Until modern times, the feast of the Circumcision was regarded as being also the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, for when Christ was circumcised He was given the name Jesus: "After eight days were accomplished that the child should be circumcised, his name was called Jesus." Hence, as Benedict XIV observes: "From what we have thus far said, one can easily see that in the feast of the Circumcision the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus is likewise observed."⁴ This is why one general chapter legislated that "the feast of the Circumcision and the most holy Name of Jesus, Saviour of the world, is to be observed as a *totum duplex* feast."⁵ In the Latin text, both the word "feast" and the verb "is to be observed" are in the singular number, showing that the general chapter regarded the Circumcision and the Holy Name as one and the same feast.

"But," adds Benedict XIV, "just as the feast of Corpus Christi is celebrated on Holy Thursday, yet the Church repeats it on another day; so also the piety of the faithful desired that the feast of the Holy Name should be observed on a special day even though it was already contained in the feast of the Circumcision."⁶ As the popularity of this separate feast grew greater and greater, Cloche believed that the Order should mod-

⁴ *De Festis*, p. Ia, lxxxv.

⁵ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 241.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

ify its strictly liturgical attitude to encourage popular piety; hence, the adoption of the special feast for 15 January. A quarter of a century later, Innocent XIII, at the request of the Emperor Charles VI, extended the feast to the universal Church.⁷

In the *Temporale* of the breviary the changes were very few: different homilies were assigned for the Wednesday of the first week of Lent and for Palm Sunday, while the lessons of the second nocturn for Holy Saturday were changed. But in the *Sanctorale* the differences were numerous. Formerly, the breviary often devoted the third nocturn to the continuation of the lessons of the second nocturn; as a result, on these feasts there would be no reading from the Gospel or any homily. In Cloche's breviary, we find the second lessons of all such feasts rewritten, and the third nocturn is reserved for the now familiar Gospel and homily. Only occasionally was the old arrangement allowed to stand, as in the feasts of All Saints, All Souls, All Saints of the Dominican Order, and the octave day of the Rosary. Even to the present day, the first three of these feasts have retained this arrangement.

There were many changes made in the lessons. Profiting by the great advance of critical research in the domain of history, the revisers either dropped or modified a number of lessons taken from less accurate sources, while lessons from authentic sources were sometimes set aside for lessons considered more appropriate. The alterations vary from trifling changes in the wording of a sentence to a complete change in lessons of all three nocturns.⁸

But the greatest innovation of all is to be found in the missal.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁸ Examples of the latter are the octave day of St. Lawrence, St. Dominic in Suriano, the votive office of Corpus Christi, etc.

We have already spoken of the sequences in the mediæval Mass. The Dominican rule was that every Mass with the rank of *totum duplex* should have a sequence; hence, as feasts of that rite increased in the calendar, so did the number of sequences increase in the Missal with the result that in the last quarter of the seventeenth century they numbered thirty-three. As many of these were quite long and were sung by the choir, they greatly prolonged the Mass. Pius V had eliminated all sequences but five from the Roman Missal; Cloche followed his example and dropped all but six, namely, those for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, feast of St. Dominic, and the Mass for the Dead. Their disappearance is not to be regretted; the best were saved, and most of those discarded were of mediocre value. This was the last great change made in the Dominican missal until our own day.

THE CEREMONIAL

In Chapter Twenty-two we saw that the hopes of the Order for a corrected version of the ceremonial of Cianti were ended by his death. The great zeal manifested by Cloche for the liturgy encouraged the capitular Fathers of 1694 to renew the request for such a book. The request appeared to be well-timed, as the Order had produced a liturgist of more than ordinary worth—Marcello Cavalieri, a native of Bergamo. This gifted man had published a few years before a scholarly study of the Dominican rite.⁹ The work revealed so remarkable a combination of solid liturgical knowledge and genuine piety that Cloche begged the writer to undertake the long-desired ceremonial.

⁹ *Statera Sacra Missam juxta Ritum Ordinis Prædicatorum practice, historie, et mystice expendens* (Naples, 1686).

Cavalieri set to work, but he had before him a formidable undertaking. The rubrics were scattered through the various books; and, to make matters worse, general chapters had added to, changed, or suppressed some of the rubrics. Furthermore, certain rubrics were quite vague, while some liturgical actions (such as saying Mass outside of the monastery, the giving of Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament, etc.) were not provided with any rubrics whatever. Again, there were many ancient customs in the Order that had never been written down but had acquired the force of law. There were also a number of other customs which were peculiar to individual provinces, and it was next to impossible to decide whether these usages had once been universal or not. Under the circumstances the task of compiling a complete and accurate ceremonial was truly a formidable one which would require a long time and great effort. Cavalieri could not devote all his time to the work, as he was then the theologian and *socius* of Cardinal Ursini, later to be Benedict XIII. A few years later, Cavalieri became Bishop of Gravina. The urgent affairs of his diocese as well as his writing of other liturgical works delayed the appearance of the ceremonial. His death at the age of fifty-six found the work unfinished.¹⁰

In 1706, the general chapter asked Cloche to petition the Holy See that the feast and office of the Holy Rosary on the first Sunday of October might be extended to the universal Church.¹¹ The general's efforts were not successful until Prince Eugene gained a decisive victory over the Turks at

¹⁰ SSOP (Coulon), fasc. III, 63; Walz, *Compendium*, 595.

¹¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VIII, 349. Hitherto, in churches where there was no Rosary altar, the victory of the Christians at Lepanto was celebrated on the first Sunday of October under the title of Our Lady of Victory. Cf. Holweck, *Calendarium Festorum*, 351.

Peterwardein, Hungary (5 August, 1716). The date of the victory, 5 August, originally the feast-day of St. Dominic but now that of Our Lady of the Snow, seems to have had its effect; and on 3 October, 1716, Clement XI extended the Feast of the Holy Rosary to the universal Church. In his decree, the Pope links the victory at Peterwardein, and the lifting of the siege of Corfu ten days later, with the prayers and processions held by the members of the Rosary Confraternity.¹²

OFFICE OF THE FEAST OF THE HOLY ROSARY

When the Order was first granted the Feast of the Holy Rosary, it used in the breviary the office of the Nativity, changing the word "Nativity" whenever it occurred to "Solemnity."¹³ In various provinces, a number of special offices for the feast were composed and used; these were condemned by the chapter of 1580, which ordered the friars to use the office of the Nativity.¹⁴ While Sisto Fabri was master-general, another special office of the Rosary appeared in the breviary; but it was not regarded as satisfactory, and the chapter of 1589 petitioned the general to examine the various offices composed by the Fathers, to select the best one, and to obtain approval from the Holy See for its use in the Order.¹⁵ The following year, in Beccaria's edition, there appeared an improved version of the previous office; the special hymns of the old office for first and second vespers and for matins and lauds were retained. But this version failed to survive the revision of Xavierre, and, except for special lessons, the Order once more returned to the office of the Nativity.¹⁶ In 1726, it was suggested that the antiphons of

¹² Kellner, *Heortology*, 270-271; Benedict XIV, *De Festis*, p. IIa, clxiv-clxxi. ¹³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 173. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 198.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 293. ¹⁶ Cf. Breviary of 1607, 833-836.

the office should refer to the mysteries of the Rosary. Such an office was drawn up and was approved by Benedict XIII for all the clergy, but was never adopted even by the Dominicans. Finally, Eustachio Sirena and some other Dominicans, using the older office as a model, composed the splendid office which is now in use. Its beauty and the excellence of its hymns have won high praise from liturgists and hymnologists.¹⁷ The first three hymns were written by Agostino T. Ricchini, Master of the Sacred Palace; the hymn for second vespers was composed by Sirena.¹⁸ The Dominican Order adopted the new office as soon as it had been approved by Benedict XIV (1 September, 1756).

Another feast to be added to the calendar, which brought happiness to the *Caterinati*, was that of the Stigmata of St. Catherine of Siena. At long last (18 June, 1727), permission was granted to celebrate on 1 April, with the rite of *duplex*, this long-desired feast. Two years later, at the request of the Archbishop of Florence, it was extended to all Tuscany.¹⁹

¹⁷ In speaking of the modern offices in the breviary, Guéranger observes: "It must be said in praise of the Dominican Order that it has defended its breviary against the attempts of innovators, and that it alone has preserved in our day that liturgical inspiration demanded for the composing of new feasts of its Saints. The offices of Pius V, Rose of Lima, Louis Bertrand, Catherine de' Ricci, belong as perfectly to the tone of the thirteenth century as do the most ancient ones of that Order. The office of the Holy Rosary, drawn up in recent times, shows that this illustrious Order has not lost its traditions." Cf. *Institutions Liturgiques*, I, c. 12, 339-340.

¹⁸ These hymns were not approved for the breviary until 1797 and then only for the Dominicans in the Duchy of Parma; in 1825, this permission was extended to the entire Order. Chevalier (*Repertorium Hymnologicum*) errs in attributing all these hymns to Sirena. Sirena did write three hymns for the old Rosary office, but only one of them was selected for the present office. Cf. *Acta S. Sedis . . . pro Societate SS. Rosarii*, I, 59-60, II, 803 ff., 828 ff.; Fontana, *Constitutiones*, etc. (ed. 1862), 428; Benedict XIV, *De Festis*, p. IIa, clxvi-clxxii, 378 ff.

¹⁹ BOP, VI, 643-644, 694. The old feast of St. Catherine's Espousals was merged by Pius IX in the feast of her Translation (*Breviarium O.P.*

POPE PIUS V CANONIZED

In the midst of his many troubles, Cloche had the joy of witnessing the canonization of Pope Pius V. This Pontiff had died in 1572, and although all hailed him as a Saint, no one took effective steps to obtain officially for him that title. Sixtus V contented himself with erecting for his friend a mausoleum in St. Mary Major's, to which, in 1588, the body of the Saint was transferred. A century later, Rocaberti interested himself in the "cause," and was greatly aided by Louis XIV of France, who wrote to the Pope urging the canonization of "this great successor of St. Peter." Their efforts resulted in the beatification of Pius by Clement X in 1671.

At last, nearly a century and a half after his death, the full honors of the altar were to be paid him. It was planned that, on the same day there should be canonized with Pius V, Andrew of Avellino, a Theatine, Felix of Cantalice, a Capuchin, and Catherine of Bologna, a Franciscan nun. The expenses connected with such a ceremony are considerable; they may well exceed fifty thousand dollars. In the present case, the total was divided among the three Orders, each one being taxed thirty thousand gold ecus. As the Dominican treasury was empty, and Pius had been a Pope, Cloche was hopeful that his share would be borne by the Dominican's successor on the Papal throne, especially as no Pope had been canonized in four hundred years. But the master-general did not take into account the parsimonious character of Clement XI; either the Dominicans would raise the money or Pius V would not be canonized! Cloche was almost in despair; he neither had so

1878, 207). Later, the same Pontiff declared the Seraphic Virgin the secondary Patroness of Rome (13 April, 1866). Cf. *Acta Cap. Gen. (Rome, 1868)*, 48.

great a sum of money nor did he know where he could raise it. He was actually trying to sell the house he lived in, when providentially there arrived from America "a great sum of money." This, with a personal tax of the European friars, finally enabled the general to raise the necessary amount.²⁰ The canonization took place on 22 May, 1712. Pius had died on 1 May; but as that date was already occupied by the Feast of the Apostles Philip and James, his feast was assigned to 5 May. He was the last Pope to be canonized.

AGNES AND CATHERINE DE' RICCI CANONIZED

Fourteen years later, another Dominican was raised to the honors of the altar, Agnes of Montepulciano. When Agnes died in 1317, the people venerated her as a Saint. Every year a vast multitude gathered on 1 May to honor her incorrupt body. Hardly a week would pass without visitors coming from distant places to pray at her tomb; among them were many notables, including St. Catherine of Siena and the Emperor Charles IV. Various Popes encouraged this devotion by granting indulgences to all who visited the tomb. After two hundred and twenty-five years had elapsed, the provincial of the Roman Province, Angelo Diaceti, sought and obtained from Clement VII the privilege of a special liturgical office in all the churches of Montepulciano.²¹ In 1601, her feast was extended by Clement VIII to the whole Order. The same Pope had her name inserted in the Roman martyrology, giving her the title of "Saint." On 20 April, 1726, Pope Benedict XIII declared in full consistory that, as the miracles attributed to her interces-

²⁰ Mortier, *Histoire*, VII, 290-292.

²¹ Masetti, *Monumenta et Antiquitates*, II, 41; *Acta SS.*, II Aprilis, 813, 816-817.

sion were "proved and authentic," the necessary steps for formal canonization might now be safely taken. The Bull for her canonization was signed by the same Pope on 10 December, 1726.²²

The "cause" of another Dominican nun also progressed very slowly. Although the reputation of Catherine de' Ricci's extraordinary sanctity and wisdom brought her visits from many bishops, princes, and cardinals (including Cervini, Alessandro de' Medici, and Aldobrandini, all three afterwards Popes); and although her mysterious ecstasies, in which she appeared to participate in the Passion of Our Lord, and her reception of the sacred stigmata had caused great comment; yet, the general chapter which followed her death never even referred to her. Luckily, the Bishop of Prato was more interested. He ordered an immediate inquiry into the life of Catherine, and when it was concluded, he sent the results to Rome. Here the "cause" encountered a delay of over half a century. At last, it was taken up in 1675 and again in 1679; but now it had a public and determined enemy, none other than Prosper Lambertini, then Promoter of the Faith. Among other things, there was the difficulty of Catherine's great devotion to Savonarola, and her assertion that he had appeared to her on various occasions and had cured her of several ailments by his blessing. This brought up a rather delicate question, since Savonarola had defied Pope Alexander VI. But in her cultus of the Florentine reformer Catherine was not alone. St. Philip Neri also had a great devotion to Savonarola; "he loved his austere virtue, his impetuous zeal for the reform of the Church, his fiery eloquence. . . . For him, Savonarola was a saint, a prophet, a martyr."²³ When

²² BOP, VI, 602 ff.

²³ Cardinal Capececiatro, *Life of St. Philip Neri* (London, 1894), II, 158, 229.

this last obstacle had been surmounted, the "cause" of Catherine moved forward; and after a double decree, in 1727 and 1732, on the heroism of her virtues and the authenticity of her miracles, she was solemnly beatified on 23 November, 1732. A few years later, Prosper Lambertini became Benedict XIV. The man who had so resolutely opposed her beatification when he was Promoter of the Faith, now no less resolutely pressed her cause for canonization. In a touching allusion to her friendship for St. Philip Neri, the Pope chose the latter's feast as the day on which he would make the final decision. His decision was favorable, and on 29 June, 1746, he published the Bull of Canonization.²⁴

The wise though rather belated action of the Order in establishing a postulator-general now began to yield rich results. During the eighteenth century a multitude of "causes," many of them shamefully neglected for centuries, were diligently presented to the Sacred Congregation. In addition to a large number of Dominicans whose "cultus" was sanctioned for individual cities or kingdoms, the following are they whose names the Church formally authorized to be placed on the liturgical calendar of the entire Order and to be annually honored on their feast days by a Mass and office. By Clement XI: Augustine of Trau, Bishop of Lucera (8 August), and Ceslaus (16 July). By Benedict XIII: Lucy of Narni (16 November),²⁵ Dalmatius Moner (24 September), and Colomba of Rieti (20 May). By

²⁴ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, IX, 115-116; Taurisano, *Catalogus Hagiographicus*, 57; F. M. Capes, *Life of St. Catherine de' Ricci* (London, 1905), 273.

²⁵ In 1738, the Dominicans of Palma, on the Island of Majorca, issued a booklet whose frontispiece represented Bl. Lucy with the stigmata. The Franciscans of that city denounced this to the bishop and quoted the prohibition made nearly two hundred and fifty years before by a Franciscan Pope. The Friars Preachers appealed to Rome, and by a unanimous vote the Sacred Congregation of Rites decided in favor of the Dominicans. Cf. BOP, VIII, 511.

Clement XII: Benedict XI (7 July). By Benedict XIV: Stephana Quinzani (16 January), Alvarez of Cordoba (19 February), Peter Gonzalez (14 April), Giles (Egidius) of Portugal (14 May), Albert of Bergamo (13 May), Marcolino of Forli (24 January), John Liccio (14 November), Joan of Orvieto (23 July). By Clement XIII: Sebastian Maggi (16 December), Benvenuta Bojani (29 October), Anthony Neyrot (10 April), and Emily Bicchieri (17 August). By Pius VI: John of Salerno (9 August), Peter Geremia (10 March), and Bartholomew Braganza (23 October).²⁶

But the addition of all these Saints and Blesseds to the calendar must have appeared useless to the friars as the century neared its close, for the end of the Dominican Order seemed to be at hand. In France, Jansenism had been supplanted by the pernicious principles of Gallicanism; in Germany and Austria, by those of Febronianism and Josephism. The rulers of these countries at first restricted the liberty of the Religious Orders and then completely suppressed them. Then came the blind fury of the French Revolution, and in its train the bloody Napoleonic wars that ravaged Europe and particularly Italy. Joseph Bonaparte suppressed the Religious Orders in Spain, and, in the savage war against the French that ensued in that country, many Dominicans were killed, their monasteries destroyed, their lands alienated. In 1809, Napoleon seized at Rome the Dominican master-general, Pio Gaddi, and had him led a prisoner to Paris. The next year, the Religious Orders were suppressed in Italy. Only in a few isolated places could the friars gather daily to carry on the liturgical service. The Order of Friars Preachers had almost ceased to exist.

²⁶ Since the eighteenth century, the dates of some of the feasts have been changed several times.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE LITURGY IN THE LAST CENTURY

IN 1850, Pope Pius IX appointed as vicar of the Order a Frenchman named Vincent Jandel. The new vicar, in his circular letter to the desolated Order, made a statement that today seems prophetic: "In the midst of such great disorders of things and of nations, we are surrounded by ruins; but let us have confidence that all will be restored. . . . 'This sickness is not unto death'; 'your youth shall be renewed like the eagle's.'" ¹

One of Jandel's first cares was to foster liturgical observance. He saw to it that new editions of the liturgical books were repeatedly published, so that there would be no scarcity of books needed for the choir. Among them, we find two that are particularly noteworthy; one was a *Cantus Missarum* or gradual, the other was the long-desired ceremonial.

Down through the centuries, the Dominican Order had preserved zealously its form of Gregorian plain-chant. Astonishing as it may at first sound, the Order preserved the plain-chant far better than did the Church at large.² Throughout the Church, it began to decline in the fourteenth century, and even the

¹ Cormier, *Vita del R.mo . . . Jandel*, 172. It was Jandel who first consecrated the Dominican Order to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (7 March, 1872). Cf. *op. cit.*, 555-557; Walz, *De Veneratione divini Cordis Jesu in Ord. Præd.*, 98. Frühwirth (29 September, 1891) renewed this consecration (Walz, *op. cit.*, 100-101).

² The admonitions of innumerable general chapters bear witness to the watchfulness of the Fathers to guard their musical heritage of the thirteenth century.

Council of Trent failed utterly in its efforts to restore it to its purity. Matters became worse as time went on. Even as late as the second half of the nineteenth century, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, believing that the erroneous Medicean Gradual contained "the true chant of St. Gregory, had it republished as the official chant of the Church, which position it held from 1870 to 1904."³

The problem of the Friars Preachers was different. During the half-century of secular persecution, the Order had had many of its houses destroyed, and nearly all the others were either looted or alienated. The elaborate choral ceremonies of the Dominican liturgy could not be carried out by the small and often secret communities which managed to weather the storm. Later, when Jandel began to rebuild, he found that the musical tradition of the Order had been interrupted, and in addition he was at a loss for antiphonaries, graduals, and processions. It was necessary to have recourse to mediæval manuscripts. A French Dominican, Père Bernard,⁴ was charged with the difficult task. Knowledge of the true principles underlying Gregorian plain-chant had been lost for centuries, and the current musical books of the Church could not afford any help, as in most of these "liturgical and musical ignorance reigned supreme."⁵

RESTORATION OF PLAIN-CHANT IN THE ORDER

Père Bernard made use of several manuscripts preserved in the Dominican library at Ghent. One had been written in 1515 by Nicholas de Roosendael; the other appeared to have

³ Bewerunge, "Plain-Chant," in CE, XII, 146.

⁴ Bernard was the family name of this religious; his name in religion was Pius.

⁵ Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, I, 213, n. 1.

been written before 1450. Had Bernard adhered to these manuscripts, he would have attained a great measure of success; but just then a friend, who had found a copy of Jerome of Moravia's *Treatise on Music*, sent Bernard long extracts from the mediæval theorist. Bernard, not aware that the extracts referred to the measured music of the Middle Ages and not to Gregorian plain-chant, allowed himself to be influenced by the rules of Jerome and to some extent by the faulty Medicean gradual. The result, a book of 456 pages, was published at Ghent in 1854 under the title *Cantus Missarum*.⁶

In 1861 and again in 1873, Père Bernard published the processional of the Order; but in both editions he was still clinging to the theories of Jerome of Moravia. He got out a third and better edition in 1894. He published a complete antiphony in 1862 and 1863. When Larroca became master-general, he directed Bernard to prepare a new edition of the gradual, one based on Humbert's prototype. The result was the gradual of 1890.⁷

To Bernard is due the only complete ceremonial ever published by the Order. We have seen how, for several centuries, the general chapters had repeatedly requested the compilation of the book. Its preparation was the labor of nearly twelve years. When Bernard finished the work, Jandel himself carefully examined it and corrected some sections; not satisfied, he had the manuscript revised a number of times by different Fathers.⁸ It was finally published in 1869 at Malines.

The ceremonial represented a distinct advance in the field of

⁶ Preface to the *Cantus Missarum*, iii ff.; Laporte, *Précis Historique*, 219-222, 281 n.; Walz, *Compendium*, 461; *Acta Cap. Gen. Gandavi* (1901), 209-210; Cormier, *Vita del R.mo . . . Jandel*, 310-311.

⁷ Laporte, *op. cit.*, 281 n.

⁸ Letter of Jandel, prefixed to the *Ceremonial*, xx.

rubrics. What Castrucci—despite his grave faults—had done for the rubrics of the Mass, Bernard accomplished for the entire liturgical service. From the thirteenth century down to Jandel's day, the *ordinarium* of the Order had always presumed that tradition would take care of the lesser details of all ceremonies. Castrucci had reduced many of these rubrics to writing, but only for the Mass. Bernard had to collect all the rubrics handed down by tradition, distinguish which were unauthorized novelties of modern origin and which were genuine uses; search for the rubrics scattered through all the liturgical books; and, lastly, cull from the acts of the general chapters all rubrical ordinances. With truly remarkable patience and perseverance, Bernard collected all his material, classified it, and arranged it under logical headings.

Among the many difficulties he encountered was one that was, for him, insurmountable. It was not St. Dominic's plan that his sons should accept the care of parishes; hence, the Dominican *ordinarium* contained no rubrics for parish services. In addition, since the close of the Middle Ages, new devotions and new liturgical practices had been introduced in the Church; for example, the frequent Communion of the laity, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Forty Hours' devotion. Neither Bernard nor Jandel had the authority to supply the rubrics for these ceremonies. Bernard, therefore, could only fall back on custom (where it was well established), on the decisions of general chapters, and, above all, on the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites when such decrees applied to our rite. Where these sources left a gap, the deficiency was not supplied, as it might have been, from the actual Roman rubrics. In other words, Bernard was the exact opposite of Castrucci: he feared to introduce one rubric that was not clearly Dominican,

even though such a procedure meant leaving his ceremonial imperfect. Despite this handicap, his knowledge, his patience, and his deep sense of responsibility enabled him to produce a truly outstanding work.

However, candor compels the admission that the ceremonial is disfigured by a fault that could have been easily avoided. It is the unfortunate practice of using synonyms in a book of rubrics—a practice that can only foster uncertainty and obscurity. For example, the rubric directing the priest to bow his head is expressed by the ceremonial in various different ways: *caput inclinet*, *caput devotius inclinet*, *reverenter caput inclinet*, *exhibeat reverentiam*, *inclinato capite*, *reverenter* (!), and, finally, *cum omni reverentia* (!). Then, by way of good measure, the ceremonial sometimes uses the word *reverenter* in its true meaning (“reverently”), and not to signify an inclination of the head! The same is true of the use of the words and phrases signifying the act of genuflection.

Bernard may not have been responsible for this confusing method of writing, since the ceremonial passed through many hands before it was finally published. But apart from this fault, the ceremonial was on the whole a praiseworthy work; and it is deplorable that, after it had been given a fair trial, the necessary authorization was not obtained to permit both the insertion of rubrics for all parish services and also the elimination of the minor defects of the book. To this day, Bernard’s ceremonial remains the only one ever published by the Order.

Though Père Bernard had achieved a real triumph in compiling a ceremonial which received the official approval of the Order—thus succeeding where all his predecessors had failed—still, he did not feel that he had done enough for the glory of divine service. Accordingly, he turned his energies once more

to the preparation of improved editions of Dominican plain-chant. Death alone put an end to the extraordinary labors of Père Bernard (1899); and in the necrology of the chapter which met at Ghent two years later, the Order expressed its gratitude for the tireless worker and declared him to have been “a real restorer of the ceremonies and plain-chant of the Order.”⁹

LAPORTE REVISES THE LITURGICAL BOOKS

The imperfect restoration of Dominican plain-chant, and the constant stream of new feasts which emanated from the Sacred Congregation of Rites (the acceptance of which was obligatory), soon created the need of another revision. The master-general, Andreas Frühwirth, assigned the task to one of the best liturgists the Order had produced in many centuries, Vincent Laporte, a member of the province of Toulouse. Himself a musician of the first rank, with few superiors in his knowledge of the principles of plain-chant, it was natural that he should first turn his attention to the musical books of the Order. The first result of his careful labors was seen in the *Vesperarum Liber*, published at Rome in 1900. Laporte restored all the quarter-bars, half-bars, etc., which Bernard had omitted at the advice of Dom Pothier. He realized that these did not indicate pauses, as had been previously thought, but that they affected the value of the note immediately preceding the bar. Laporte was humble enough to confess that the meaning of some of Humbert’s symbols was not clear to him.¹⁰

The saintly Hyacinthe-Marie Cormier, who succeeded Frühwirth as general, retained Laporte as the reviser of the liturgical books; and in 1907 there was ready a gradual, in 1910 a *Triduo*

⁹ *Eclogia Nonnullorum Fratrum Defunctorum*, cited above.

¹⁰ The Introduction to the *Vesperarum Liber*.

ante Pascha, the next year a compline book, and in 1913 a processional. In addition to the plain-chant books, Laporte revised and published a diurnal in 1903, a missal in 1908, and a breviary in 1909. For accuracy of text, clarity of rubrics, and convenience of arrangement, it was the finest edition of the Dominican breviary ever published. The Order was indeed fortunate to receive from this painstaking scholar the fruits of nearly forty years of research.¹¹

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, more Dominican feasts have been added to the liturgical calendar than in all the previous centuries. The list is as follows:

By Pius VII: Mary Bartholomea Bagnese (28 May), Margaret of Hungary (26 January), Sadoc and his companions (2 June), Catherine of Raconigi (5 September), James of Voragine or Varazzo (13 July), Francis de Posadas (20 September), Anthony della Chiesa (25 July), Simon Ballachi (3 November), Andrew of Peschiera (19 January), and Constantine of Fabriano (25 February).

By Leo XII: Villana de' Botti (28 February), Bernard Scamacca (9 February), James of Ulm (12 October), Jordan of Saxony (15 February), Imelda Lambertini (16 September), Magdalen Pannatieri (14 October), Nicholas Palea (14 February), and Joan of Aza (2 August).

By Pius VIII: Clara Gambacorta (17 April).

¹¹ It is deeply to be regretted that Father Laporte never had the time to redact his extensive material on the Dominican liturgy. In addition to his labors in preparing the various editions of liturgical books, he was also engaged in preparing the Leonine edition of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. It would be unfair to judge him by the article which appeared in the *Analecta*, 1917-1918; this was hurriedly written at a very busy time, and only to satisfy the urgent pleas of the novices, to whom he could refuse nothing. An official of the French Province informed the writer that all the papers and notes of Father Laporte were given to Père L. Rousseau.

By Gregory XVI: Henry Suso (2 March), John Dominici (10 June), Jordan of Pisa (6 March), Mannes (30 July), John Massias (3 October), and Martin Porres (5 November).

By Pius IX: Damian Fucherio (26 October), Lawrence of Ripafratta (18 February), Bartholomew of Cervere (21 April), Dominic and Gregory (26 April), Sibyllina (18 March), Mary Mancini (22 December), Aimo Taparelli (21 February), Stephen Bandelli (7 June), Peter of Ruffia (7 November), Mark of Modena (3 July), Anthony Neyrot (10 April), James Benefatti (29 November), William Arnaud or Arnoldus and his companions (29 May), St. John of Cologne (9 July), Alphonse Navarrete and his companions (1 June), Guala (3 September), Augustine of Biella (27 July), Christopher of Milan (1 March), and Reginald of Orleans (12 February).

By Leo XIII: Bertrand of Garriga (6 September), Louis-Marie Grignon (23 May), Diana, Cecilia, and Amata (9 June), Peter Sanz and his companions (27 May), Innocent V (22 June), Raymond of Capua (5 October), Ignatius Delgado and his companions (11 July), and Andrew Abellon (17 May).

By Pius X: Jerome Hermosilla and his companions (6 November), Zedislava (28 November), John of Vercelli (2 December), and Francis de Capillas (15 January).

By Benedict XV: Isnard (22 March), and Dominic Spadafora (3 October).

By Pius XI: Andrew Franchi (30 May), Osanna of Cattaro (27 April), and St. Albert the Great (15 November).

By Pius XII: St. Margaret of Hungary (26 January).¹²

From this list we see that the last two Saints to be added to

¹² The reader is again reminded that the dates of a number of Dominican feasts have been changed several times; we are giving the dates used when the feasts were first placed on the liturgical calendar of the whole Order.

the Dominican calendar were two who had joined the Order in its early days. One of these religious was a man whom his own contemporaries had hailed as "the wonder and miracle of the age." There have been few men in the long history of the Church who have rendered her greater services. For Albert was the first, among the intellectual giants of the Middle Ages, to recognize clearly the paramount value which Aristotle's system of philosophy (rather than Plato's) could be to Catholic theology; and he devoted years of study, of teaching, of writing, to prove this conviction to his contemporaries. Had not Albert laid such broad and solid foundations, his famous pupil would hardly have been able to build so glorious a structure.

And now, after six and a half centuries of delay, Christianity at last acknowledges its debt to this truly extraordinary man. On 16 December, 1931, Pius XI by a Decretal Letter proclaimed Albert the Great to be a Doctor of the Church. Thus, he equivalently declared him to be a Saint. His feast was ordered to be observed in the whole Western Church on 15 November. In his Letter, Pope Pius XI asserted that Albert the Great was justly entitled to this distinction: "that, with the exception of St. Thomas, there was hardly any other Doctor of the Church who acquired such great authority in Philosophy, in Theology, and in the interpretation of the Scriptures."¹³

The last Dominican for whom "the supreme honors of a sacred cult" have been decreed is St. Margaret of Hungary. She was the daughter of Bela IV, King of Hungary, and the niece of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia. It is appropriate that her name

¹³ *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, XXIV (1932), 11. For an account of the man who, in modern times, labored unceasingly to effect the canonization of Albert, especially Cardinal Frühwirth, Paulus von Loë, Heribert Scheeben, and A. Walz, see the issue of AOP, XL (January-February, 1932), dedicated to St. Albert the Great.

should close the list in a history of the Dominican liturgy, since this Saint made her religious profession in the hands of the great Dominican liturgist, Humbert of Romans. Shortly after her death, steps were taken for her canonization, and in 1275-1276 her process was introduced.¹⁴ The minutes of the proceedings speak of seventy-four miracles; twenty-seven witnesses testified concerning miracles worked in their behalf. Although all Hungary has always loved and venerated Margaret as a Saint, it was only recently that the title was formally bestowed upon her by the Church. On 19 November, 1943, Pope Pius XII solemnly decreed: "that the blessed virgin Margaret of the royal family of the Arphads, a nun of the Order of St. Dominic, is a Saint, and is to be enrolled in the calendar of Saints, that a memory be made of her in the Roman Martyrology annually on the day of her birth, namely, the 18th day of January, and that she would be honored among the Holy Virgins with pious devotion."

His Holiness concluded his Decretal Letter with the hope that Margaret will resume her mission of propitiatory victim before God, not only for her beloved native land but also for all the nations at present waging war so bitterly among themselves; and that by her continual and potent prayers she may obtain for mankind a peace founded firmly on the justice and the charity of Christ.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Acta SS.*, II Januarii, 897-898.

¹⁵ *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, XXXVI (1944), 39.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE
THE REVISION OF PIUS X

One more revision remains to be considered. The radical reform of Pius X was due to conditions which had existed for many years. When Leo X ascended the throne, he found the Roman breviary already in a deplorable condition. The constant addition of new feasts by the successors of Pius V had resulted in the *Sanctorale* once more smothering the *Temporale*. Since Rome did nothing to alter the situation, various bishops, at first in France and then in Germany, took the matter into their own hands and attempted to remedy the confusion. This was the reason for the appearance of the famous Parisian breviary of 1736 and of those that followed. Then Leo XIII conceded, to anyone who wanted to use them, votive offices for every day of the week—these to take the place of the ferial office! That concession practically eliminated the ferial office from the Roman Breviary. The Dominican office was hardly in any better condition than the Roman, except that the Friars Preachers did not substitute the votive offices. Not only was the Order obliged to accept every new feast issued for the universal Church (and they were many), but it also had its own feasts of Saints and Blesseds which now numbered well over a hundred. So great a number of feasts, under existing rubrics, almost completely destroyed the ferial and the *Temporale*.

Pius X determined to remedy such conditions. The decree promulgating the reform, *Divino afflatu*, was dated 1 Novem-

ber, 1911.¹⁴ The principal purposes of the reform were: to effect the recitation of the entire psalter once a week; to restore the Sunday office and certain feriales to their place; to recite the *cursus* of Sacred Scripture assigned for each day of the year; and to shorten the office, particularly matins. But all this was to be done without minimizing the celebration of Saints' feasts!

In common with other Religious Orders, the Dominicans were notified to revise their calendar and psalter according to the principles of the new revision. Father Cormier appointed a commission consisting of the following men: Antonino Ricagno, of the province of St. Peter Martyr; Leonard Lehu, of the province of Lyons; Bruno Hespers, of the German province; Alberto Blat, of the province of the Philippines; and Antonio Bonello, of the province of St. Peter Martyr. Unhappily, the work of these capable men was interrupted by the First World War. With the restoration of peace, the next master-general, Father Theissling, appointed another commission; this time it had only three members. The committee saw no way of carrying out the requirements of the sacred Congregation and at the same time preserving the Dominican breviary. The general then dismissed the committee and directed Father Hespers to work out the revision with the assistance of Father Hieronymo Mileta, a Conventual Franciscan, who was a consultor of the Sacred Congregation. In a remarkably short time the revision was finished. The work was approved by the Sacred Congregation on 10 August, 1921, and the new office became obligatory on 1 January, 1923.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, III (1911), 633-638.

¹⁵ Walz, *Compendium*, 461; Hespers, "Pianæ reformationis breviarii Ord. Præd. brevis expositio," in AOP, XXXV (1927), 97.

THE RESULTS OF THE NEW REVISION

The principal results of the revision were the same as those of the Roman revision. The weekly recitation of the psalter was restored; the office of the Sunday and of important ferials was protected against displacement by the *Sanctorale*; the *cur-sus* of Sacred Scripture set aside for first nocturns throughout the year was once more given its rightful place; and the wish of Pius X that the office be shortened was accomplished. "Votive feasts and their memories, all additional offices, the litany of the Saints, etc., were suppressed, while the recitation of the Athanasian Symbol (*Quicumque vult*) was greatly restricted."¹⁶ The daily recitation of the office of the Blessed Virgin, long a dead letter in the Order, was also abolished, as the daily recitation of the Rosary was regarded as taking its place. Even the weekly recitation of the office of the dead, which hitherto had been a grave obligation, was by order of the Sacred Congregation no longer obligatory except as a duty prescribed by the constitutions of the Order. Father Theissling made a special effort to have the ancient Dominican custom remain a grave obligation, but the Sacred Congregation refused his plea (10 August, 1921).¹⁷

That all these ends (with the exception of abolishing the grave obligation for the office of the dead) were desirable, there was no Dominican who did not concede, but there were very few who praised the manner in which the results were obtained. The invariable parts of the former office, lauds, little hours, and compline, were composed of groups of psalms which had been selected because of their appropriateness, and they had been

¹⁶ Hespers, *op. cit.*, 101. ¹⁷ AOP, XXIX (1921), 251.

consecrated by a Roman tradition of over a thousand years. This arrangement of the psalms which had been used by every Dominican in the course of seven hundred years, was cast aside to adopt a novelty recently introduced in the Roman breviary. To make possible the weekly recitation of the entire psalter was not a very difficult matter; one had only to follow the breviary of Quiñones with its disregard of antiquity, or the Paris breviary of 1736 prepared by two Jansenists. But to have accomplished this desirable end with a decent and proper respect for the venerable traditions of antiquity—that noble liturgical ideal which had governed the Church for so many centuries—this was apparently beyond the ability of the revisers. Not only was the Dominican psalter with its antiphons and versicles abandoned, but little was left of the original calendar when the revisers had finished with it.

All the special feasts of the Passion and Death of Christ (Prayer in the Garden, the Lance and Nails, the Five Wounds, the Holy Sepulchre), and five feasts of the Blessed Virgin, were suppressed.¹⁸ Secondary feasts of some Saints (e.g., the Translation of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Conversion of St. Augustine) were also omitted. Next, the revisers lowered in rank one hundred and four feasts. The Dominican Blesseds, who had hitherto been ranked as *duplex* and sometimes *totum duplex* feasts, were reduced for the most part to the rite of *semiduplex*.¹⁹ Sixteen feasts in the Roman calendar which were not in the Dominican calendar were now placed there, and were given the same rite as they possessed in the Roman list. As was highly expedient,

¹⁸ These were: the Most Pure Heart of Mary, Translation of the House of Loreto, Mary Help of Christians, the *Expectatio Partus*, and the *Desponsatio* or *Betrothal*.

¹⁹ The rite of *semiduplex* is found in the ancient liturgical books of the Order, but its use had been discontinued for centuries.

memories and feasts were to be celebrated on the same date as they were in the rest of the Western Church. The unfortunate custom of assigning a feast to a Sunday was abolished, but three exceptions were made: the Holy Name of Jesus, the Holy Family, and the Holy Rosary. Thirty of the feasts were raised in rite, while the dates of seventy others were changed. This brought the number of changes made in the calendar to the amazing total of *two hundred and sixty-three*. Obviously, the revision did not leave much of the original calendar unchanged.

The rubrics fared even worse than the calendar. A nomenclature new to Friars Preachers was introduced. Astonished Dominicans read of *major* and *minor* Sundays; major Sundays *of the first class* and *of the second class*; ferials that were *major* and *minor*; major ferials that were *privileged* and *non-privileged*; and of *totum duplex* feasts that were *primary* or *secondary*. Their astonishment grew still greater when they read in the *ordo* of a feast taking the psalms for matins from the Common of the Saints, the psalms of lauds from the Sunday office, those of little hours from the ferial, those of vespers from the Common, and the psalms of compline from the ferial! Such a conglomeration of parts, and such a complicated classification of rites, had been unknown in the history of the Order. They were adopted, of course, from the actual Roman rubrics. When the new rubrics were published, a multitude of petitions poured in to the master-general begging for dispensations to allow the older Fathers to continue using the old office and the old rubrics.²⁰ When we reflect that the old office was decidedly

²⁰ The Holy See (21 February, 1923) granted the various provincials the power to commute in individual cases from following the new office. Cf. AOP, XXXI (1923), 3-4.

longer than the new office, the action of so many of the older priests shows how revolutionary was the change.

For all who did not receive a dispensation, the new office went into effect on 1 January, 1923. On that same date, the ancient Roman Office, which the Dominican Order had preserved and guarded with fidelity for seven centuries, ceased to exist. Hespers naïvely remarks that he did not change the old hymns! He should have added that there was something else he left unchanged—namely, the *title* of the breviary. Hespers' breviary was published with the misleading title: *Breviarium juxta ritum Ordinis Prædicatorum*. It should have read: *Breviarium Romanum ad usum Ordinis Prædicatorum*.

THE FUTURE OF THE DOMINICAN RITE

Unlike the Eastern Churches, Rome has ever displayed a remarkable broadmindedness in matters liturgical. Although she possesses primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church, she not only has allowed the Eastern Churches to keep their own liturgies but has also legislated to preserve them. Even in her own patriarchate she has permitted numerous variations of her own rite, such as the Lyonnais, the Sarum, the Carthusian, and others. Furthermore, she has tolerated rites that were divergent, such as the Gallican, the Ambrosian, and the Mozarabic. She has carried her magnanimity to the extent of protecting and conserving these rites as far as it was possible. The reply of Pope Gregory the Great to his missionary in England, St. Augustine, urging him not to restrict himself to Roman ceremonies but to select what was best in the different churches, was characteristic of the liberal attitude of the Latin Church. Outstanding ecclesiastics of nearly every age have expressed their admiration of this generosity. Thus, for example, Cardi-

nal Bona compared the Church to a flower garden whose beauty is enhanced by the variety of the flowers it contains, the flowers being the various rites of the Church.

The Bulls of Pius V (*Quod a nobis* and *Quo primum*) did not indicate a reversal or abandonment of that policy. They were aimed, not at the genuine mediæval rites, but at the multitude of uses which had sprung up at the close of the Middle Ages: uses which were recent, which preserved no liturgical riches, and which for the most part were heterogeneous collections of late ornate features. The abolition of such novelties was necessary for the welfare of the liturgy.

But it was with real regret that the Church saw such venerable dioceses as Lyons, Paris, Salisbury, and others, abandon time-honored practices in order to adopt the revision of Trent. As Batiffol observes: "We may even say, with Dom Guéranger, that the success of the breviary of Pius V was excessive. The Holy See contemplated the continued use of liturgies with a prescription of two centuries and upward." This is not surprising, for, with the solitary exception of the last revision, the Church has always shown herself to be most reluctant to surrender her long-standing practices. That is why she has preserved the Carthusian, the Dominican and the Carmelite rites. They have kept alive for her valuable forms of the liturgy which she herself had once observed and loved in the "Ages of Faith," and they have perpetuated customs that she did not wish to die out, even though it was no longer expedient to retain them in universal use.

Hence, if the Church intends to pursue her policy of nearly twenty centuries' duration, logic would appear to demand that the particular rites should be kept intact, since the principal justification for their continued existence consists precisely in

the fact that they do preserve for us a precious heritage of the grand old Roman Rite of other days. If the ancient Roman uses so preserved are discarded one by one in every revision, then in the same ratio those rites lose their chief value and their principal reason for existence.

In the course of seven and a half centuries, the Order of Preachers lost some of her treasures of Roman antiquity, while in the revision of Pius X the venerable office of the Roman Church was gravely mutilated. In addition to these losses, there is the disadvantage of retaining a rite that, in modern times, is noticeably different from the common liturgical norm. This last difficulty may as well be frankly faced. Many of the clergy, secular and religious alike, are neither liturgists nor imbued with a genuine appreciation of the liturgy. Unable to comprehend the enlightened attitude of the Church, they resent an active (i.e., non-contemplative) Order having a special rite; they seem to think that it is a sign of singularity and ostentation.

SHOULD THE RITE BE PRESERVED?

The question therefore presents itself, whether, in view of the many disadvantages, it is worth while to preserve what remains of the mediæval rite. Practical men point out that the Order has much to gain by discarding archaic usages which provoke antagonism; "falling in line" would not only increase the popularity of the Order but its usefulness as well. Such a viewpoint, however, is a narrow one and constitutes only a small part of the problem, since something far greater than the substitution of one ceremonial for another is involved.

Dominic and his followers selected certain liturgical forms chiefly indeed because of their Roman antiquity and their matchless beauty. But there was another purpose in view. Be-

ing men of extraordinary sanctity and intellectuality, they deliberately chose from among the riches of the Roman liturgy whatever was most suited for the goal they had in mind. As a result of their wise selection, the form of the Roman Rite they adopted not only became a potent factor in the moulding of the spirit of the Order, but it became part of that spirit. The Dominican rite, then, is not merely an heirloom, it is a vital heritage. Rooted as it is in the remote past, it speaks to us of the spirit of Dominic, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas; it enables the modern friars to avail themselves of the identical forms for sanctification which those great men employed; and, in so doing, it imparts to all who make reverent use of it something of the incomparable spirit of those men, something of their rare zeal for Truth. The Dominican rite is a living and an uninterrupted chain that binds the twentieth with the thirteenth century. To abandon it would be to end a royal lineage; and if that day ever comes, the Order will lose something that is irreplaceable.

It is therefore to be hoped that not only will the rite of the Order of Preachers be safeguarded against further losses, but that future revisions will efface the blemishes it has received in modern times; that more and more the Order will return, as far as is politic in modern conditions, to the impressive ceremonies of the old liturgy of Rome. For it is not unreasonable to believe that, if the rite embodies the spirit of the Order, the purer the rite becomes, the more effectively will it deliver its message of thirteenth-century Dominicanism to the twentieth-century sons and daughters of St. Dominic.

APPENDIX

THE LATIN TEXT OF HUMBERT'S RUBRICS
FOR HIGH MASS

It was stated (196 ff) that in the thirteenth century the Carmelites used an adaptation of the Dominican rite. We herewith present the proof as regards High Mass.

The following Latin text was published by Humbert in 1256. It is found in his *Missale Conventuale* (fols. 393r—394r) under the heading: *De Officio Ministrorum Altaris*. The Carmelite Ordinal (henceforth designated by the letter C.) was written about seven years later. Since the Dominican and Carmelite texts of the rubrics for High Mass are for the most part identical, it is not necessary to reproduce both texts in full. Accordingly, only Humbert's version is given; whenever C. differs in wording, the variation is set forth in a footnote.

It will be seen, however, that one of the chief variations between the two ceremonials consists in the omission by the Carmelites of various passages found in Humbert; as a result, the Dominican rubrics are often more explicit than the Carmelite. Whenever a word or passage in Humbert is omitted by the Carmelites without their substituting anything in its place, this is indicated in Humbert's text by enclosing in brackets the word or words of Humbert which the Carmelites omit. But if C. substitutes anything for an omission, or if at any time C. makes an addition to the Dominican text, the substitution or the addition is given in a footnote. The same numeral is repeated to indicate the beginning and end of each variation consisting of more than a single word.

However, we have ignored occasional variations in spelling and likewise the Carmelite practice of grouping together several

of Humbert's sentences. Humbert frequently prefers short sentences; C. usually joins several of these to make one long sentence. As this is largely a question of punctuation, attention will be called to it only in the few instances where it modifies Humbert's meaning. All other differences, no matter how slight, will be carefully noted. The use of *etc.*, in the text and in the notes, is not ours; we have merely reproduced it whenever it occurs in Humbert or in C.

The Carmelites did not adopt the complete Dominican rite; they took some of their ceremonies from other sources (e.g., the position of the ministers before the altar at the beginning of the *Asperges*; the manner in which the celebrant blessed himself with the paten, etc.). But such non-Dominican rubrics are relatively infrequent, and an examination of the Latin text will disclose that most of the other variants are trivial: the substitution of a synonym (e.g., *tamen* for *autem*), the use of a different form of the same verb (e.g., *dicit* for *dicet*), a slight alteration in the order of words (e.g., *trahat casulam* for *casulam trahat*), etc.

In the original Codex, Humbert's rubrics for High Mass are written without any paragraphing. For convenience of reference, we have introduced paragraphs and divided the matter into four parts, with titles.

To sum up, the following text is that of Humbert. Whenever a sentence occurs without brackets or footnotes, that sentence is identically the same, word for word, in the Carmelite text.

DE OFFICIO MINISTRORUM ALTARIS

I. Preparation and *Asperges*

Quando Missa in conventu fuerit celebranda, ministri altaris[, audito signo,] se præparare non differant. Et in primis acoliti superpellicis induti, vel albis in duplicibus et totis duplicibus, alios ministros juvent. Nihilominus tamen ¹subdiaconus et diaconus juvent se mutuo¹ et ambo sacerdotem.

In hujusmodi autem præparatione semper ²sunt deponenda capita a ministrantibus in conventu, nisi forsan interdum propter frigus retineant, et tunc aptanda sunt² sub vestibis ecclesiasticis ne gibbus aliquis notabilis unquam³ appareat in humeris Fratrum.

[Postmodum acoliti altare præparent mappas et pallam explicando et unum pulvinar ad missale mappula coopertum in dextro cornu altaris reponendum ex parte anteriori, et alterum sine mappula ad Evangelium reponendum in sinistro cornu altaris ex parte posteriori appodiandum et Epistolarum librum collocandum in dextro cornu altaris ex parte posteriori et ibidem appodiandum deferant. Et de hostiis et ampullis cum vino et aqua suo loco prope altare ponendis, et de aliqua mappula ad tergendas nares juxta missale ponenda provideant. Hora competenti cereos suos accendant.]

Sacrista autem provideat quod ante inchoationem Missæ semper cerei altaris accendantur.

⁴In Dominicis vero et festis simplicibus non accendantur plusquam duo. In semiduplicibus plusquam tres. In duplicibus et totis duplicibus plusquam quatuor. Idem servetur in vespere et matutinis.⁴

Provideat etiam quod tempore frigoris magni prunæ accensæ in patella decenti habeantur per acolitos ministrandæ tempore opportuno.

In Dominicis autem⁵ diebus provideat [etiam sacrista] de aqua benedicta, quæ cum fuerit aspergenda, acolitis præcedentibus, sub-

¹⁻¹ diaconus et subdiaconus juvent se investiendo.

²⁻² Condensed to: a ministrantibus sic aptanda sunt capita.

³ nequaquam (*in the margin*).

⁴⁻⁴ In festis duplicibus et totis duplicibus ad vespere, matutinas et Missam accendantur quatuor, ad completorium duo. In festis semiduplicibus ad vespere, matutinas et Missam duo. In Dominicis et festis IX. lectionum, ad vespere et matutinas unus cereus accendatur; ad Missam vero duo. Idem servetur cotidie ad Missam, et post completorium ad antiphonam *Salve Regina*. ⁵ etiam.

diaconus et diaconus et sacerdos albis induti, sine⁶ processionis apparatu, ante terminationem horæ præcedentis Missam, intrent chorum. ⁷Subdiaconus autem ante gradus presbyterii stet et juxta eum alter acolitorum a sinistris et diaconus post ipsum subdiaconum.⁷

⁸Deferenteque altero⁸ acolitorum aquam acceptam de gradibus altaris, ibidem prius a sacrista in decenti vase collocatam, sacerdos primo majus altare aspergat, cavens ne nimis de aqua super illud projiciat; postmodum diaconum et subdiaconum et acolitos, cantoresque, si fuerit festum duplex vel totum duplex; deinde Fratres in choro incipiens a dextris, nisi quando, nullo prælato existente in dextro choro, prior aliquis fuerit in sinistro, vel quando priore aliquo conventuali existente in dextro choro, major prælatus fuerit in sinistro. Tunc enim primo aspergendus est prælatus qui [est] in sinistro choro et post immediate aspergenda⁹ est aqua in dextro. Post Fratres clericos aspergantur Fratres conversi; postmodum sæculares, si affuerint. Prædictus ordo servetur in danda pace et in thurificando et in aspersione aquæ¹⁰ post completorium. Illos autem, qui in exteriori ecclesia fuerint, aspergat ille cui cantor injunxerit[, vel ipse sacerdos, si commode potest expediri antequam oporteat eum redire ad dicendum orationem].

Et dicto *Asperges me* a conventu, sacerdos ¹¹stando inter pulpitu-
m et diaconum¹¹ dicat *¶. Ostende nobis Domine [misericordiam tuam. Dominus vobiscum]. Oremus.¹² Exaudi nos [Domine sancte pater], etc.* Hoc dicto,¹³ prædicti ministri in sacristiam revertantur. [Et sacerdos manus aliquantulum lavet; quod etiam decens est fieri semper a sacerdote postquam sacras vestes induerit.] Aliquis autem Frater clericus vel conversus cui sacrista imposuerit deferat aquam benedictam per cellas et reliquas officinas, eas aspergendo.¹⁴

⁶ sint (!)—evidently a slip for sine.

⁷⁻⁷ et stante sacerdote in medio ante gradus presbyterii stent diaconus ad dexteram ejus, et subdiaconus ad sinistram; et simili modo acoliti unus hinc et alius inde. ⁸⁻⁸ deferat alter.

⁹ aspergendus. ¹⁰ C. adds: benedictæ.

¹¹⁻¹¹ stans inter ministros ante gradus. ¹² oratio.

¹³ modo (!).

¹⁴ C. adds: Cum autem in Dominica processio fuerit facienda, tunc diaconus et subdiaconus, postquam aspersi fuerint aqua benedicta, in sacristiam revertantur et dalmatica se induant et confestim capam sericam deferant et sacerdotem ante gradum ab aspersione redeuntem induant; et fiat processio sicut suis locis notatum est.

II. Beginning of Mass to *Credo*

Incepto itaque post Introitum *Gloria Patri* vel Versu,¹ si *Gloria* non dicitur, prædicti ministri procedant ad altare; primo acoliti cum cereis et candelabris decentibus; deinde subdiaconus librum Evangeliorum et diaconus missale coram se deferentes pectori appodiata, sinistra manu supposita et dextera librum tenendo;² ultimo sacerdos junctis manibus ante pectus.

Venientibus autem ipsis ante altare, et stantibus in aliquanta³ distantia ante illud, ⁴diacono ad dexteram sacerdotis, subdiacono ad sinistram, et simili modo acoliti uno hinc et alio inde,⁴ dictoque a sacerdote *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus*, inclinent genibus non curvatis, stantibus tamen erectis acolitis et versis ad se mutuo vultibus. Itaque confessione facta et absolutione, se erigant et dicat sacerdos *Adjutorium nostrum*,⁵ etc. Et appropians ad altare, inclinatus⁶ non ex transverso, sed in directum versus medium altaris, quod semper observandum est in hujusmodi inclinationibus, dicat orationem *Aufer a nobis [Domine]*, etc. Qua dicta, accedens ad altare osculetur illud; et erectus, muniat se signo crucis.

Interim diaconus missale ponat in dextro cornu altaris et subdiaconus Evangelium ad sinistram, appodiando illud in parte posteriori altaris. Et acoliti deponant cereos cum candelabris super gradus presbyterii extinguentes eosdem.⁷ Tunc omnes, convenientes [ad librum et stantes] a dextris sacerdotis, ordinate secundum gradus suos, dicant Introitum et *Kyrie eleison*; nec flectant genua cum dicitur⁸ *Salve Sancta Parens*.

Deinde post sacerdotem ordinet se diaconus et subdiaconus post diaconum. Acoliti autem infra gradus presbyterii vel in ⁹primis sedibus chori, maxime ubi pauci sunt Fratres,⁹ stent parati ad sua ministeria peragenda; ita tamen quod, dum Canon vel aliud a sacerdote in medio altaris stante dicitur, si fuerint duo acoliti, unus ad dexteram [diaconi] et alter¹⁰ ad sinistram in modum crucis stent ordinati[, dum non sunt in aliquo ministerio occupati].

Si vero festum duplex vel totum duplex fuerit, poterunt omnes

¹ Psalmo. ² tenente. ³ aliquantula.

⁴⁻⁴ diaconus ad dextram sacerdotis et subdiaconus ad sinistram; et simili modo acoliti unus hinc et alius inde.

⁵ C. adds: in nomine Domini, etc. ⁶ inclinans.

⁷ C. transposes this and the preceding sentence and adds a new rubric: Interim acoliti deponant . . . extinguentes eosdem, et accedentes præparent altare mappas explicando. Et diaconus missale ponat . . .

⁸ dicatur. ⁹⁻⁹ choro ante formas, maxime nisi (!) pauci Fratres fuerint.

¹⁰ alius.

ire sessum, tali servato ordine, ut sacerdote in dextera parte presbyterii, in qua parte semper sedes hujusmodi sunt parandæ, sedente primo, diaconus sedeat ad sinistram ejus; ad cujus sinistram subdiaconus, et ad hujus¹¹ sinistram acoliti sedeant.

Et in fine ultimi *Kyrie eleison* surgat sacerdos et in medio altaris stans deponat manus, deinde elevando incipiat *Gloria in excelsis*, si dicendum fuerit, ceteris ministris, sicut dictum est, ordinatis post ipsum. Cum autem dicit *Deo* jungat manus. ¹²Deinde simul ad cornu dexterum altaris venientes prosequantur inceptum cum sacerdote, stantes a dextris ejus ordine supradicto.¹² Quo dicto, sacerdos et diaconus stent donec conventus compleverit illud.

Et cavendum ministris ne transeant, dum aliquid instat agendum inter ministros gradus majoris sed retro eos.

¹³Interim dum cantatur *Gloria in excelsis*, vel *Kyrie eleison*,¹³ quando *Gloria in excelsis* non dicitur, subdiaconus calicem pulchra et munda mappula coopertum, elevatum¹⁴ ante faciem suam cum ambabus manibus, deferat reverenter et superponat altari.

Dicto *Gloria in excelsis*, vel *Kyrie eleison* pro tempore, convertat se sacerdos ad conventum ¹⁵in ipso cornu¹⁵ altaris elevatis manibus et extensis. Postquam vero se converterit, incipiat *Dominus vobiscum*. Diaconus vero non flexis genibus, nisi episcopus celebraverit, leviter casulam per inferiorem trahat extremitatem. Cumque dixerit *Dominus vobiscum*, junctis manibus, non se girando revertatur ad librum, et elevatis manibus ut prius, ¹⁶dicat Orationes.¹⁶ Prædicta autem¹⁷ manuum elevatio sic fieri debet ut altitudinem humerorum sacerdotis non excedat; extensio vero tanta sit ut retro stantibus manus appareant evidenter.

¹⁸Dum ultima Oratio dicitur, altero acolitorum præcedente, subdiaconus Epistolarium ferat, secundum modum supradictum de Evangelio et missali, supra pectus suum reclinatum retro chorum, si sit ibi locus in quo Epistola diebus Dominicis et festis legenda est. Profestis vero diebus et festis trium lectionum et infra octavas legatur ante gradus presbyterii super pulpitem ad hoc ibidem præ-

¹¹ cujus.

¹²⁻¹² Deinde cum ministris, hinc et inde secum astantibus, prosequatur inceptum.

¹³⁻¹³ This clause is joined to the preceding sentence, thus restricting that rubric. Quando begins the next sentence. ¹⁴ elatum. ¹⁵⁻¹⁵ in medio.

¹⁶⁻¹⁶ dicat Oremus, postea orationes. ¹⁷ vero.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ C. condenses the paragraph thus: Dum ultima oratio dicitur alter acolitorum Epistolarium ferat et ponat super pulpitem ante gradus presbyterii, ad hoc ibidem præparatum; prædictus vero acolitus, Epistola perlecta, Epistolarium deponat.

paratum in medio. Et tunc non oportet quod acolitus cum eo vadat. Prædictus vero acolitus, Epistola perlecta, Epistolarium quod sibi traditur a subdiacono referat super altare, ponens illud in loco suo, inde cum expeditus fuerit ipsum ad sacristiam reportaturus.¹⁸

Sacerdos autem¹⁹ postquam Collectas finierit eat sessum, diacono et altero acolitorum ei astantibus, et in sede sua eum reverenter collocantibus. Et alter acolitorum, vel ipse diaconus si desit acolitus, aliqua super genua ipsius supposita mappula ad hoc præparata, librum ei tradat ut et officium prævidere et orationem *Summe Sacerdos* possit dicere, si velit. Tunc diaconus [, ablutis digitis,] explicet corporale quod habere debet ²⁰tres plicas in latum et quatuor in longum. Medium latitudinis ponat in medio altaris, superiorem partem postmodum replicando;²⁰ postea sedeat.

Deinde simul omnes dicant quæ de Graduali dicenda sunt; quibus dictis, subdiaconus [aliquantulum manus lavet, et tunc] præparet calicem in oculis sacerdotis vinum et aquam sicut ei²¹ innuerit infundendo. Et alter acolitorum assistat eidem necessaria subministrans.

²²Cum vero dicitur in Missa *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, in inceptioe ejus surgant sacerdos et ministri et non flectant genua, sed stent quamdiu cantatum fuerit *Spiritus*; deinde, choro surgente, sedeant.²²

Ante commixtionem vero, ad petitionem subdiaconi dicentis *Benedicite*, benedicatur aqua a sacerdote hoc modo: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* Dum autem sacerdos sedet, ministri cum non ²³sunt occupati in aliquo ministerio possunt ire ad juvandum²³ Fratres in choro, maxime in parvis conventibus.

²⁴Circa finem *Alleluia*, vel Tractus, vel Responsorii, vel Sequentiæ pro tempore, unus ministrorum missale cum pulvinari reponat ad altaris sinistram. Acoliti etiam cereos accendant. Et in diebus Dominicis, et festis, et in Sabbatis quando de Beata Virgine solemniter celebratur, thuribulum præparent ab alio deferendum qui scriptus fuerit; et de cruce similiter dicimus in totis duplicibus faciendum.²⁴

Deinde surgat diaconus et accipiens²⁵ Evangeliorum librum, bene-

¹⁹ vero.

²⁰⁻²⁰ duas plicas in latum et tres in longum: medium latitudinis ponat in medio altaris et aliud corporale, quod superponendum est calici, reponat super illud. ²¹ sibi.

²²⁻²² This is placed after the next paragraph (Ante commixtionem).

²³⁻²³ sint occupati in aliquo ministerio possunt ire ad adjuvandum.

²⁴⁻²⁴ Circa finem *Alleluia*, vel Tractus, vel Gradualis, vel Prosæ, pro tempore, acoliti cereos accendant; et in festis duplicibus et totis duplicibus thuriferarius alba indutus thuribulum præparet.

²⁵ accipiat.

dicto primo thure a sacerdote ad petitionem thuriferarii²⁶ secundum modum supradictum [de aqua], inclinatus²⁷ coram sacerdote dicat: *Jube Domne²⁸ benedicere.* Et sacerdos surgens subjungat: *Domine sit in corde²⁹ [tuo et in labiis tuis ad pronuntiandum sanctum Evangelium pacis].*

³⁰Et sic procedant ad pulpitem: primo thuriferarius, secundo ceroferarii, tertio qui crucem fert, quarto subdiaconus cum pulvinari pro Evangelio præparato, ultimo diaconus librum Evangeliorum reclinatam supra pectus deferens secundum modum supradictum. In diebus vero Dominicis et festivis, ubi fuerit pulpitem retro chorum, vel alibi loco eminenti, legetur Evangelium super illud; in profestis vero diebus et festis trium lectionum et per octavas in sinistra parte presbyterii super pulpitem ibi præparatum. Postquam autem ad pulpitem pervenerint, subdiaconus pulvinari libro supponat. Ille vero qui defert crucem et ceroferarii, unus a dextris et alius a sinistris ejus, stent ante pulpitem, versis vultibus propriis et vultu crucifixi ad diaconum, subdiaconus vero post diaconum.³⁰

³¹Cum autem dicet³¹ [diaconus] *Sequentia*, vel *Initium sancti Evangelii*, faciat unam crucem super Evangelii principium cum pollice et aliam super frontem, [aliam super os] et aliam super pectus. Cum autem Fratres dicunt *Gloria tibi Domine*, debent se [vertere ad altare et] munire signo crucis. Dum autem Evangelium legitur, stet sacerdos ad dextrum latus altaris versa facie ad Evangelium donec fuerit lectum. Similiter omnes Fratres vertere debent faciem ad Evangelium ³²ubicumque legatur,³² et ipso finito munire se signo crucis.

Finito Evangelio, tradat diaconus librum apertum subdiacono [cum pulvinari et revertantur ad altare ordine quo venerunt; hoc observato, quod, cum eundo ad pulpitem transeunt per chorum, thuriferario transeunte per medium chori, et uno ceroferario juxta unum chorum alio vero juxta alium, ille qui defert crucem et subdiaconus et diaconus vadant juxta chorum dextrum, redeundo vero vadant juxta sinistram].

In fine Evangelii sacerdos, ad medium altaris veniens, dicat *Credo in unum [Deum]*, si dicendum fuerit, depositis et elevatis junc-

²⁶ thurificatoris.

²⁷ C. repeats diaconus before inclinatus. ²⁸ Domine. ²⁹ C. adds: etc.

³⁰⁻³⁰ Deinde procedat ad pulpitem in sinistra parte presbyterii præparatum ceroferariis et subdiacono præcedentibus: subdiaconus vero et ceroferarii, unus a dextris alter a sinistris ejus, stent retro pulpitem versis vultibus ad diaconum. Tunc diaconus, incensato libro, dicat *Dominus vobiscum*.

³¹⁻³¹ et cum dicit.

³²⁻³² donec fuerit lectum.

tisque manibus, sicut dictum est ad *Gloria in excelsis*. ³³Cumque ministri ad altare pervenerint,³³ subdiaconus offerat librum sacerdoti ad osculandum, diacono ei cum digito Evangelium demonstrante, nisi pro Defunctis celebretur, vel Passio fuerit lecta. Post eum diaconus osculetur. ³⁴Et post hæc, subdiaconus³⁴ ipsum librum [reponat] super altare ubi et sicut erat prius. Deinde diaconus et ³⁵alii ministri, stantes ad sinistram sacerdotis ordinati modo supradicto,³⁵ *Credo in unum [Deum]* cum ipso prosequantur.

III. Offertory to Sanctus

Finito vero *Credo*, vel Evangelio, si *Credo* non dicatur, sacerdos statim vertens se ad chorum dicat *Dominus vobiscum*, et iterum vertens se ad altare, manibus ut prius elevatis et deinde junctis, dicat *Oremus*, sed non prosequatur Offertorium donec ministri pervenerint ad altare. Qui cum eo prosequantur, stantes omnes ¹ad sinistram ipsius ordinati supradicto modo.¹

Postquam vero simul dixerint Offertorium, ²subdiaconus calicem offerat diacono, et diaconus, tenendo eum per inferiorem partem pedis, sacerdoti, osculando manus ejus et dicens: *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua.* Quem accipiens sacerdos,² dicendo *Calicem salutaris accipiam³ [et nomen Domini invocabo]*, et tenens cum duabus manibus⁴ aliquantulum elevatum, dicat *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas, etc.* Et antequam finierit hanc orationem, deponat illum et sumens patenam ante pedem calicis collocet hostiam. Sed diligenter attendat, si portatile altare sit, quod calix et hostia toti jaceant super lapidem consecratum. Postmodum patenam ⁵ultra medium corporalis ponat, sub inferiori parte ipsius, cooperiens calicem de parte reliqua.⁵

Tunc, si fuerit festum ⁶simplex et supra, vel Dominica, vel Sabbatum in quo de Beata Virgine solemniter celebretur,⁶ thuriferario tenente thuribulum a dextra parte altaris, et diacono sumptum thus de vasculo in quo servatur offerente in cocleari sacerdoti ad benedicendum, benedicat sacerdos ipsum secundum modum qui scriptus

³³⁻³³ deinde. ³⁴⁻³⁴ et post hoc diaconus.

³⁵⁻³⁵ omnes ali (sic!) ministri hinc inde astantes sacerdoti.

¹⁻¹ hinc inde ordinati modo supradicto.

²⁻² Condensed to: sacerdos accipiat calicem.

³ C. adds: etc. ⁴ C. adds: ipsum.

⁵⁻⁵ intra medium sub corporali ponat et cooperiat calicem altero corporali.

⁶⁻⁶ IX. lectionum vel supra, vel Dominica, vel quando de beata Virgine celebretur.

est supra de aqua; quo facto, ponat ipsum diaconus in thuribulo, et assumptum thuribulum tradat sacerdoti, manu ipsius osculando.

Qui assumens illud, de ⁷ipso thuribulo⁷ faciat super calicem signum crucis. Deinde thurificet ante eum, postmodum Corpus Christi super altare repositum,⁸ deinde a dextris primo, et a sinistris secundo, procedendo in thurificando a medio altaris usque ad cornua; ultimo vero ipsum altare antierius de sinistro cornu ad dextrum progrediendo.⁹

Tunc diaconus thuribulum de manu sacerdotis accipiens incenset ipsum sacerdotem trahendo casulam cum manu sinistra et cum dextera tenendo¹⁰ thuribulum; postmodum reddat illud thuriferario. Ille¹¹ vero primo diaconum et subdiaconum et alios ministros thurificet; deinde cantores ¹²in festis duplicibus et totis duplicibus¹² de thure non benedicto, quod de novo ponat in thuribulo; postea Fratres in choro a dextris incipiens et ab antiquioribus in sedibus superioribus, [a] junioribus vero in sedibus inferioribus se girando, si fuerint ibi Fratres, prosequendo thurificationem in utroque choro; deinde [Fratres] laicos. Et his peractis, [dimisso thuribulo juxta altare loco apto,] revertatur ¹³ad sacristiam¹³ ad deponendum vestes sacras et suas resumendum.

Postquam autem diaconus incensaverit sacerdotem, subdiaconus aquam in pelvi vel ampulla¹⁴ paratam teneat ad ablutionem digitorum sacerdotis faciendam, quæ, vel super terram effundatur,¹⁵ vel recipiatur in pelvi [alia quam sacra ablutio post communionem], nec¹⁶ projiciatur in piscinam illam in qua sacra ablutio funditur. Dum vero subdiaconus aquam prædictam ministrat, diaconus ex parte chori et unus acolorum ex parte altaris stantes,¹⁷ manutergium mundum [proprie] præparatum¹⁸ ad abstersionem ablutionis prædictæ faciendam teneant applicantes illud ante sacerdotem supra casulam. Et dum abluit sacerdos dicat *Lavabo inter innocentes*¹⁹ [manus meas et circumdabo altare tuum Domine].

Post ablutionem vero, sacerdos, junctis manibus ante pectus, ad medium altaris veniens, inclinaret dicendo orationem *In spiritu humilitatis, etc.* Qua dicta, se erigens et ad conventum [se] vertens,²⁰ dicat *Orate fratres, [etc.,]* ita alte ut possit audiri²¹ a ministris. Diaconus vero ²²casulam trahat²² non flectens genua. Sacerdos vero

⁷⁻⁷ thuribulo ipso. ⁸ depositum. ⁹ prægrediendo (!).

¹⁰ tenente. ¹¹ Iste. ¹²⁻¹² in festo duplici et toto duplici.

¹³⁻¹³ in sacristia.

¹⁴ phiala. ¹⁵ effundetur.

¹⁶ nisi (!)—a slip for nec? ¹⁷ C. adds: prope.

¹⁸ paratum. ¹⁹ C. adds: etc. ²⁰ convertens.

²¹ audire (!). ²²⁻²² trahat casulam.

per aliam partem se vertens, stet ²³inter librum et calicem,²³ habens vultum ad librum et manibus sicut prædictum est elevatis, prosequatur *Secretas*. Ante primam vero *Secretam* dicat *Domine exaudi orationem meam* [, et clamor meus ad te veniat,] et *Oremus*. Et terminet eam sicut terminatur prima oratio. Reliquas autem, si plures fuerint, prosequatur, præmisso *Oremus*, sub uno *Per Dominum*,²⁴ etc.

Cum digitis autem quibus sacrum Corpus Domini tractaturus est folia non vertat nec aliud tangat. Tempore quoque muscarum, post inceptionem *Secretarum*, debet diaconus tenere flabellum, quo cohibeat eas honeste a molestando sacerdotem et abigat a sacrificio.

Cum autem ante *Præfationem* dicturus fuerit *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, [ad medium altaris veniat; et] manus super altare deponens²⁵ prosequatur *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*. Quando vero dicet²⁶ *Sursum corda*, manus erigat et supradicto modo teneat, elevatas et extensas; sed ad [*Supplici confessione*] dicentes, jungat eas.

²⁷Tunc diaconus cum uno acolorum veniens ad sinistram, et subdiaconus cum alio ad dexteram,²⁷ dicant cum eo *Sanctus, Sanctus, etc.*; et ad *Benedictus qui venit*,²⁸ muniant se signo crucis. Quod etiam faciendum est a Fratribus in choro, cum ipsi dicent *Benedictus*,²⁹ nec debent se ³⁰tunc vertere³⁰ ad altare.

IV. *Te igitur* to End of Mass

Tunc si Dominica fuerit, vel festum ¹simplex aut majus, vel Sabbatum in quo de Beata Virgine celebretur, subdiaconus mappulam sumat et diaconus ei patenam tradat et operiat eam,¹ mappulam replicans super eam. Ceteris vero diebus patena a subdiacono non teneatur. Deinde subdiaconus, stans post diaconum, usque post² *Pater noster* eam teneat elevatam cum dextera manu, sinistram dextero brachio supponens.

Sacerdos vero post *Sanctus, Sanctus, etc.*, inclinando profunde, genibus non curvatis, dicat *Te igitur, etc.* Deinde se erigens ad *Hæc dona*³ faciat unam crucem cum duobus digitis, ita quod index sit desuper⁴ et medius subtus; ad *Hæc munera* faciat secundam

²³⁻²³ ante calicem. ²⁴ C. adds: nostrum. ²⁵ deponat et.

²⁶ dicit. ²⁷⁻²⁷ Tunc ministri hinc et inde astantes.

²⁸ C. adds: in nomine.

²⁹ C. adds: qui venit. ³⁰⁻³⁰ vertere tunc.

¹⁻¹ IX. lectionum vel majus, vel quando de beata Virgine celebratur, diaconus cum mappula sumat patenam et tradat eam subdiacono.

² ad. ³ In C. there is no sign of the cross, either here or anywhere else in the Mass. ⁴ super.

crucem, tertiam ad *Hæc* ✠ *sancta sacrificia*. In utroque *Memento* ⁵faciat brevem ⁵ moram sine nominis alicujus expressione vocali.

⁶Cum autem dicet *Bene* ✠ *dictam* super totum faciat unam crucem; secundam ad *Adscrip* ✠ *tam*; tertiam ad *Ra* ✠ *tam*; quartam ad *Cor* ✠ *pus* super hostiam; quintam ad *San* ✠ *guis* ⁷ super calicem. Et quando dicet ⁸ *Qui pridie*, tergat cum palla altaris pollicem et indicem utriusque manus. Post hæc ⁹ aliquantulum elevet hostiam, et ad *Bene* ✠ *dixit* signet eam. Deinde distincte et cum reverentia proferat verba consecrationis.

Interim diaconus a dextris sacerdotis, et subdiaconus a sinistris cum patena, flectant genua super gradus altaris; uno acolitorum juxta diaconum [et] altero juxta subdiaconum, stantibus cum cereis accensis et flexis genibus. Et sic stent a tempore elevationis usque post Sanguinis consecrationem. [Et in diebus in quibus ministratur incensum, diaconus cum thuribulo sibi tradito et præparato ab uno acolitorum, dum alius accendit cereos, incenset continue, reddens thuribulum ipsi acolito, repositis cereis. Quando vero unus fuerit acolitus, accendat cereum prædicto modo.]

Sacerdos autem quam cito fuerit hostia consecrata, ¹⁰non super altare procumbens sed ¹⁰ aliquantulum inclinans, cum ambabus manibus ipsam elevet, ita quod possit retro stantibus ¹¹ apparere. Ipsam vero non circumferat nec diu teneat elevatam sed statim cum utraque manu reponat. ¹²In omni autem tempore sic chorus cavere debet a nimia prolixitate cantus, dum dicit *Sanctus*, etc., et sacerdos sic morose debet dicere ea quæ dicuntur ante elevationem hostiæ, quod nunquam fiat elevatio quousque prædictus cantus sit terminatus. ¹²

Collocata hostia, sacerdos calicem detegat. Et dum dicit *Accipiens et hunc*, ipsum modicum elevet ab altari cum utraque manu. Postmodum ad *Bene* ✠ *dixit* deponat ¹³ et faciat desuper signum crucis, tenens eam manu sinistra; statimque iterum levat et teneat eum sicut prius. Cumque dicit *In remissionem peccatorum*, reponat et operiat corporali. Post hæc digitos non disjungat, nisi ad cruces faciendas, usque post ablutionem.

Completa consecratione, extendat brachia plus solito, mediocriter

⁵⁻⁶ brevem faciat.

⁶⁻⁶ Cum vero dicit. ⁷ Sanguinis (!). ⁸ dicit. ⁹ hoc.

¹⁰⁻¹⁰ non super altare procumbet (!), nec genuflectet (!), nec moveat caput; sed. ¹¹ astantibus.

¹²⁻¹² Si autem antequam cantatum fuerit *Sanctus*, elevatio Domini Corporis fieri contigerit, non interrompendo cantum, omnes se prosternant et sine mora collocata hostia surgant donec residuum de *Sanctus* percantatum fuerit. ¹³ reponat.

tamen, ¹⁴ usque [quo] ad signa [crucis] facienda deponere necesse sit. Ad *Hostiam* ✠ *puram* faciat unam crucem super totum; secundam ad *Hostiam* ✠ *sanctam*; ¹⁵ tertiam ad *Hostiam* ✠ *immaculatam*; quartam ad *Panem* ✠ *sanctum* super hostiam; quintam super [calicem ad] ¹⁶ *Calicem* ✠ *salutis perpetuæ*.

Ad *Supplices te rogamus* inclinet profunde, cancellatis manibus ante pectus, brachio sinistro supposito dextro, donec ¹⁷ dicat: *Ex hac altaris participatione*. Et tunc, [se] erigens, osculetur altare semel ad dexteram partem calicis. Deinde ad *Cor* ✠ *pus* faciat signum crucis super hostiam; ad *San* ✠ *guinem*, aliud super calicem; ad *Omni bene* ✠ *dictione* faciat tertium ante faciem suam.

Ad *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, tundat leviter pectus cum tribus digitis ultimis. Postea ad *Sancti* ✠ *ficas*, faciat unam crucem super totum; ad *Vivi* ✠ *ficas*, aliam; ad *Bene* ✠ *dicis*, tertiam.

Tunc discooperiat calicem et teneat cum manu sinistra pedem calicis, dextera sacram elevans hostiam. Et ad *Per* ✠ *ipsum*, ¹⁸ cum ea crucem faciat a labio calicis usque ad labium, et aliam interius ad *Cum* ✠ *ipso*; et tertiam ad *In* ✠ *ipso* profundius quam secundam; quartam ad *Deo* ✠ *Patri* ante calicis labium in alto aliquantulum; quintam ad *Spiritus* ✠ *Sancti* ante pedem in imo. Et tunc reponat hostiam. ¹⁸ ¹⁹ Deinde, cooperto calice, dicat *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, etc., manus habens super altare dimissis, ¹⁹ donec incipiat *Pater noster*. Cumque chorus responderit *Sed libera nos a malo*, sacerdos [etiam] submisceat *Amen*.

Tunc subdiaconus tradat patenam discooperatam diacono, qui ²⁰ recipiat eam manu nuda. ²⁰ Sacerdos vero, quando dicturus est *Da propitius* [pacem], ipsam accipiat; et diaconus, cum tradit eam, ipsius humerum osculetur. ²¹ Et sacerdos, signans se patena

¹⁴ autem. ¹⁵ C. adds: et.

¹⁶ The omission in C. of calicem ad was probably an error of the scribe.

¹⁷ dum.

¹⁸⁻¹⁸ signet calicem corpore extra horas; et ad *Cum ipso*, ab hora ad horam; et ad *In ipso*, intra calicem; et cum dicit *Tibi Domine Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti*, signet semel cum corpore large ultra calicem; et cum dicit *Omni honor et gloria* signet ante pedem calicis.

¹⁹⁻¹⁹ Et calice cooperto dimissis manibus super altare, dicat *Per omnia sæcula sæculorum*, manus habens dimissas super altare.

²⁰⁻²⁰ recipiet eam cum mappula.

²¹⁻²¹ Sacerdos autem, cum dicit *Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris*, osculetur patenam; cum dicit *Ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti*, tangat sinistrum oculum; et cum dicit *A peccato simus liberi*, tangat oculum dextrum; et cum dicit *Ab omni perturbatione*, se signet cum patena. Tunc eam super altare deponat deorsum a corporali. Interim diaconus tradat mappulam acolitis, et reverenter placent eam et alter eorum reponat eam.

et post ipsam osculans, eam super altare deponat seorsum a corporali. Interim subdiaconus cum altero acolitorum reverenter plicet mappulam patenæ et acolitus reponat eam. Quando vero subdiaconus patenam non tenuerit, nihilominus diaconus post *Pater noster* eam accipiat de altari et prædicto modo offerat sacerdoti.²¹

Cum autem sacerdos dixerit *Omni perturbatione securi*, detegat calicem,²² et accepta hostia dicendo *Per eundem*, dividat hostiam primo in duas partes hoc modo ☉;²² deinde partem quam tenet in dextera superponat in transversum parti reliquæ in sinistra, et dividat eam²³ in duas alias hoc modo ☽²³ ita, si fieri potest, quod digiti fracturam non tangant. Et in sinistra retinens duas partes usque ad perceptionem, cum tertia²⁴ quam tenebit in dextera, ad *Pax Domini* intra calicem faciat unam crucem; secundam ad *Sit semper*; tertiam ad *Vobiscum*.

Tunc diaconus cum uno acolitorum a sinistris, et subdiaconus cum alio a dextris, dicant cum eo *Agnus Dei, etc.* Quo dicto, sacerdos portionem hostiæ quam tenet in dextera manu submittat in sanguinem, dicendo *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio, etc.*²⁵ Postea calicem osculetur semper, exceptis²⁵ tribus diebus ante Pascha, vel nisi Missa fuerit pro Defunctis. Et dans pacem diacono dicat²⁶ *Pax tibi et Ecclesiæ sanctæ Dei.*²⁶ Deinde diaconus det subdiacono venienti ad se et subdiaconus det²⁷ uni acolitorum et ille alii.²⁷

²⁸In Dominicis autem diebus, postquam acoliti sibi mutuo pacem dederint,²⁸ alter eorum primis stantibus in choro pacem deferat hinc et inde; alius vero deferat Fratribus conversis et aliis qui sunt extra chorum. [Illi vero qui pacem primo receperunt in utroque choro supersedeant a dando pacem subsequentibus Fratribus, quousque sit terminatus totus cantus de *Agnus Dei*. In] ceteris autem diebus numquam detur pax in Missa conventuali, nisi ministris de Missa.²⁹

²²⁻²² et accipiat hostiam dicendo *Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum* et teneat ipsam ultra calicem. Et cum dicit *Qui tecum vivit et regnat*, dividat hostiam in duas partes. *There are no diagrams in C.*

²³⁻²³ dicendo *In virtute Spiritus Sancti Deus.*

²⁴ C. adds: parte.

²⁵ Postea cum dicit *Secundum voluntatem tuam pacificare, etc.*, osculetur corporale et calicem, semper exceptis.

²⁶⁻²⁶ *Habete vinculum pacis, etc.*

²⁷⁻²⁷ acolitis.

²⁸⁻²⁸ In Dominicis vero diebus et festis semiduplicibus et supra, postquam acoliti pacem acceperint.

²⁹ C. adds: et sæcularibus.

³⁰Porro, si festum totum duplex vel duplex Dominica evenierit, subdiaconus postquam pacem uni acolitorum dederit deferat eam cantori, et cantor det socio suo. Uterque vero eorum primo stantibus in suo choro. Acoliti autem sibi mutuo pacem dantes deferant stantibus extra chorum.³⁰ In Missis vero privatis quæ³¹ non sunt de Mortuis, detur pax Fratri servitori, sed aliis astantibus³² non detur, nisi consuetudo patriæ teneat contrarium.

Sacerdos itaque, data pace diacono, dicat³³ orationem *Domine Jesu Christe, etc.*, et *Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri, etc.*³³ deinde, inclinato capite, sumat corpus; postea sumat sanguinem nihil dicens.

Postmodum utraque manu tenens calicem, veniat ad dextrum³⁴ altaris cornu,³⁴ ibique subdiaconus ampullam³⁵ paratam habens, vinum infundat [calici. Illoque sumpto, secundo infundat] super digitos sacerdotis, qui, calice deposito et si expedire viderit patenam cooperto, digitos infusus tenens³⁶ super manus conjunctas ne forsitan³⁶ aliquid stillet in terram, abluat eos, subdiacono ministrante aquam in pelvi [decenti ad hoc solum deputata], per quam³⁷ ablutio hujusmodi deferatur in piscinam, si piscina munda fuerit et honesta; alias melius est quod ablutio hujusmodi recipiatur in ipso calice [cum prædicta ablutione vini ultima] maxime in Missis privatis, tam in domibus nostris quam extra, et sumatur a sacerdote.

Postea desiccet digitos suos cum panno ad hoc ipsum præparato[, qui semper intra calicem reservetur; et cum explicatur calix, reponatur super altare a dextris in loco mundo sequestratim et reverenter]. Interim diaconus [ablutis primo digitis] corporalia replicet et reponat, et missale referat ad dextrum cornu altaris.

³⁸Sacerdos autem, sumpta ablutione quæ remansit in calice, de-

³⁰⁻³⁰ In festis duplicibus et totis duplicibus acoliti postquam pacem acceperint deferant eam cantoribus; et cantores primis stantibus in choro hinc et inde. ³¹ quando. ³² stantibus.

³³⁻³³ orationes: *Domine sancte Pater, Domine Jesu Christe*, et verba *Salve Salus mundi*, et *Corporis et Sanguis, etc.*

³⁴⁻³⁴ cornu altaris. ³⁵ phialam. ³⁶⁻³⁶ semper conjunctos ne forte.

³⁷ quem.

³⁸⁻³⁸ Sacerdos autem, dum subdiaconus primo infundit vinum super digitos ipsius dicat orationem *Quod ore sumpsimus, etc.*; et dum abluit et manus tergit dicat *Tibi laus, etc.* Et sic ablutis digitis, redeat ad calicem ubi, hausta expiatione, accipiat aquam in calice, qua sumpta reponat calicem super patenam (!); et sic dicta Communionem cum ministris calicem tradat subdiacono, qui desiccet et referat in sacristiam. Deinde se vertens sacerdos, dicat *Dominus vobiscum*, et prosequatur orationes eo modo et ordine quo primas.

ponat calicem et, cum ministris stantibus a dextris ordine supradicto dicta Communione, dicat *Dominus vobiscum*, vertendo se in cornu altaris et diaconus trahat casulam sicut prius. Postmodum sacerdos orationes prosequatur eo modo et ordine quo et primas. Interim subdiaconus, si viderit expedire, aqua calicem abluat et desiccat leviter cum alio panno mundo ad hoc specialiter præparato, qui reservatur juxta piscinam reverenter alio panno coopertus. Acoliti vero quæ reportanda restant, in sacristiam referant interim, prout commode possunt.³⁸ Dum autem ultima oratio dicitur, unus acolitorum cereos accendat; alter librum Evangeliorum subdiacono tradat.

Sacerdos [autem] dum ultimum dicit³⁹ *Per Dominum*, ad medium veniat altaris.⁴⁰ Cumque ad dicendum *Dominus vobiscum* se converterit ad conventum, diaconus similiter se vertat, et dicat *Ite, missa est*, si *Gloria in excelsis* præcesserit; alioquin non se vertat ad conventum diaconus, sed versa facie ad altare, ipso sacerdote similiter verso, dicit⁴¹ *Benedicamus Domino*, vel *Requiescant in pace*, si Missa fuerit de Mortuis. Sacerdos vero et diaconus stent versi ad conventum quamdiu dicitur *Ite missa est*; deinde vertant⁴² se ad altare non se girando.

Et tunc sacerdos inclinet⁴³ junctis manibus donec dixerit *Placeat tibi, etc.* Post hæc erigens se, osculetur altare. Et si consuetudo patriæ fuerit, et extranei affuerint hoc⁴⁴ expectantes, det benedictionem secundum modum patriæ. Interim alter acolitorum missale diacono tradat. Postmodum redeant in sacristiam eo ordine quo venerunt.⁴⁵

³⁹ dicit. ⁴⁰ C. adds: et interim acoliti mappulas replicando cooperiant altare.

⁴¹ dicat. ⁴² vertat.

⁴³ C. adds: se. ⁴⁴ hanc. ⁴⁵ venerant.

ERRATA

After the printer had "made up" the foregoing text, it was noticed that three Carmelite variations had been omitted:

(1) For *inclinent* (p. 379, line 11), C. has *inclinant*.

(2) For *scriptus est supra* (p. 383, line 32), C. has *supra scriptus est*.

(3) For *superponat* (p. 388, line 9), C. has *supponat*.

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¹ Only the more important manuscripts are listed.

² As a rule, Dominican breviaries are in two volumes only; the first volume containing the period from Advent to Pentecost, the second volume the rest of the ecclesiastical year.

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