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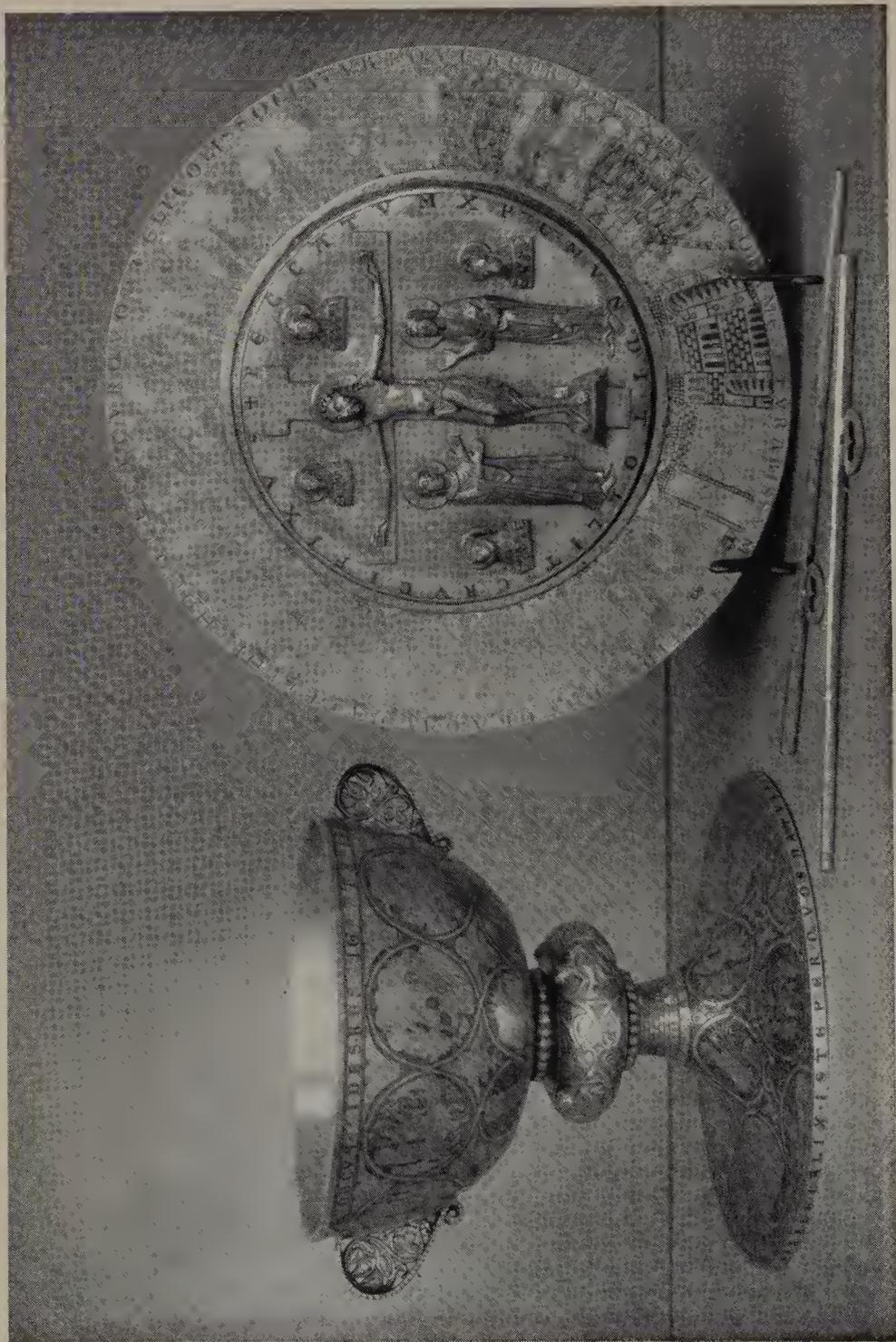
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LITURGIES OF
THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS



Chalice, Paten and Fistulae of Wilten (12th century)

LITURGIES
of the
RELIGIOUS
ORDERS

ARCHDALE A. KING

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DOMNO ALEXIO PRESSE
PRAECURSORI RENOVATIONIS LITURGICAE
IN ORDINE CISTERCIENSI

Non est propheta sine honore nisi
in patria sua, et in domo sua.

Matth. 13 : 57

PREFACE

IT had been originally intended to produce the *Rites of Western Christendom* in much the same way as the companion volume, the *Rites of Eastern Christendom*, but the amount of material has proved so great that it seems to be more practical to have four separate books, each complete in itself, and appearing over a number of years. This the second volume, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*, comes first in order of time, as it is felt that so very many books have been published of late years on the Roman rite, and there is no comprehensive work on the extant 'monastic' rites. Articles on one or other of them have appeared from time to time, and a first-class book on the Dominican liturgy has come from the pen of a member of the Order in America, but no attempt has been made to give a history and detailed description of all the five rites which still to a greater or lesser degree have preserved something of their traditional character. The third volume, *Liturgies of the Primatial Sees*, will include Lyons, Braga, Milan and Toledo.

The liturgies of the religious orders under consideration are those of the Carthusians, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Carmelites and Dominicans. Each of the chapters has been seen and, where necessary, corrected by one or more members of the Orders concerned. Very many thanks are due to Fr. Andrew Gray and Fr. Thomas Brogden, Ord. Cart.; Fr. Jean-Baptiste, O.C.S.O. and other members of the community of Westmalle; Fr. Boniface Luykx, O. Praem., of the Abbey of Postel; Fr. Camillus Lawlor, O. Carm., of the Anglo-Irish Province of Carmelites of the Ancient Observance; Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Perhaps it would be advisable to make some reference to the term 'rite', when each of the liturgies concerned is no more than

a variant of the Roman rite. The term has been employed, together with that of 'use', since we find it universally admitted today in common parlance, although frowned on by the purists.

Each of the chapters contains a brief sketch of the Order under consideration; some account of the churches built for its liturgical worship; a history of the origins and development of the rite; the liturgical year; chant; ornaments of the church and ministers; and, finally, the rite as it appears today, in both formulas and ceremonies, with, as far as is possible, the story of their beginnings, and showing in what particulars they differ from the Roman rite as exemplified in the *Pian missal*.

A bibliography is given at the end of each chapter, and a general bibliography at the end of the book. There are nine appendices.

The illustrations, which are a feature of the book, were in great part taken by the author, but thanks are tendered for the use of others which are acknowledged in the list of plates.

ARCHDALE A. KING

Prinknash Abbey
Christmas, 1954

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Chapter One

CARTHUSIAN RITE

THE bull *Quo primum* (19 July 1570) of St. Pius V set a seal on the work of the liturgical commission appointed by the council of Trent (1545–63). The missal, which was the outcome of this commission, was declared to be the standard and obligatory exemplar for the Western Church. The Pope, however, perhaps mindful of the venerable rite to which he had been formerly accustomed,¹ authorised an important exception. All liturgies, which could show an uninterrupted usage of at least two hundred years, were permitted to continue in use.

‘The Carthusian is the only religious Order in the Church which never had any reform and has never stood in need of any, owing to the entire sequestration from the world and to the vigilance of superiors and visitors in never allowing a door to be opened for mitigations and dispensations to creep in.’² This well-deserved praise of the regularity and observance practised through the centuries is an expansion of the old adage: *Religio Cartusianorum nunquam reformata, quia nunquam deformata*, which is a summary of the eulogy of the Order expressed in the bulls *Thesaurus virtutum* of Alexander IV (8 February 1257) and *Romani Pontifices* of Pius II (13 August 1460). It is repeated at the beginning of the 18th century by the Cluniac liturgist Dom Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708): *C’est que toujours et dans tous les temps, rigides observateurs d’une exacte et severe régularité, sans, s’estre encore démentis jusques icy en aucun point principal, il se peut dire*

¹ Michael Ghisleri, later St. Pius V, received the Dominican habit at the age of fourteen in the priory of Voghera, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1528.

² Herbert Thurston and Donald Attwater, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. X (October), p. 71. London, 1936.

*que jamais ils n'ont eu besoin de réformation; et jamais en effet ils n'ont esté reformez.*¹

The same idea is expressed also by Pope Pius XI (1922–39) in the Apostolic constitution *Umbratilem* (8 July 1924): ‘And it is a recognised fact that through nearly nine hundred years the Carthusians have so well retained the spirit of their founder, father and lawgiver that unlike other religious bodies, their Order has never in so long a space of time needed any amendment, or, as they say, reform.’² If such an estimate is true as regards religious life and discipline, it is no less accurate when applied to Carthusian rites and ceremonies.

The coat of arms and motto of the Order seem to have originated in the 13th century, with Dom Martin, prior of the Grande Chartreuse (1233–36). The simple cross of the 12th century was at that time placed on a globe and surrounded by seven stars,³ with the legend: *Stat crux dum volvitur orbis*.

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

The founder, St. Bruno, was born in Cologne about the year 1030. He was appointed canon of the collegiate church of St. Cunibert⁴ in his native city and, later, rector of the cathedral school of Rheims. Then, desirous of a more secluded life, St. Bruno went to Molesme, where St. Robert, the future founder of Cîteaux, was abbot. He lived at Sèche-Fontaine, which had been given to Molesme in the previous year. Still, however, St. Bruno was dissatisfied, and he applied to Hugh of Châteauneuf, bishop of Grenoble, for some remote retreat. A site was found in the desert of Chartreuse, a mountainous tract of Dauphiné, where Bruno installed himself with six companions about Midsummer 1084. A wooden oratory was erected, with little cells some distance from one another, after the manner of the ancient lauras of Palestine and Egypt. St. Bruno was not allowed to enjoy his

¹ *Explication . . . des Cérémonies de l'Eglise*, t. IV, rem. XXIV, p. 178. Paris, 1713.

² *The Power of Contemplation*, p. 17. London, 1933.

³ Perhaps in memory of St. Bruno and his six companions.

⁴ The church was destroyed in the Second World War.

solitude for long, and in 1090 Odo of Châtillon, a former pupil, who had become Pope as Urban II (1088–99), summoned him to Rome. Landuin and the other hermits of the Chartreuse soon followed their master, who was living in the ruins of the baths of Diocletian,¹ but they were bidden to return to France. Later, when the papal court moved south, St. Bruno accompanied it, but he was permitted to retire to La Torre in the mountains of Calabria (1091), where he remained till his death (6 October 1101).² Landuin, the superior of the Chartreuse, came to La Torre in 1100, in order to consult Bruno, as he wished the French hermitage to follow exactly the regulations of the founder.

The aversion of the Order to any kind of publicity was responsible for the late introduction of St. Bruno to the honours of the altar. The hermitage of La Torre was occupied by the Cistercians from 1191–1513, and in the latter year the body of Bruno was discovered, together with the simple inscription: *Haec sunt ossa magistri Brunonis*. As a result, outside interest was aroused, and on 19 July 1514 Pope Leo X (1513–21) proclaimed him, *vivae vocis oraculo*, to be a saint worthy of the honours of the altar. His feast was observed almost immediately, and Gregory XV (1621–23) extended it to the Universal Church in 1623.

The first Carthusians, following the traditions of the fathers of the desert, tended to be solely eremitical, but there soon developed a form of monasticism which combined the regulations of the Holy Rule of St. Benedict with the teachings of the Egyptian solitaries.

Two narratives of the early Carthusians have come down to us: those of Guibert, abbot of Nogent sous Coucy (*ob.* 1124), who wrote in 1104;³ and Blessed Peter the Venerable (*ob.* 1156), who added his account about twenty years later.⁴

St. Bruno left no written rule for the government of his Order, and in 1110, when Guigo (1110–37) was elected fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, La Torre was still the only other house. During his priorship nine charterhouses were founded, and the

¹ A charterhouse, attached to the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, was built later out of the ruins.

² Diocese of Squillace.

³ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXI, col. 853 *seq.*

⁴ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXIX, col. 944.

priors of Portes, St. Sulpice and Meyrat asked Guigo for a rule which could be adapted to all the houses of the Order.¹ Dom Guigo, in reply, compiled the first set of Customs or *Consuetudines*,² nearly all of which, as the introduction says, are to be found 'either in the epistles of Blessed Jerome, or in the rule of St. Benedict, or in other authorised writings'.³ These Customs, which were composed in 1127 or 1128, form the basis of the whole Carthusian life, and begin with 'the section of greater dignity, that which concerns the Divine Office, in which for the most part we follow the way of other monks, especially in the ordering of the psalms'. It is possible also that the Customs were influenced by the Camaldolese rule, which had been reduced to writing by Blessed Rudolf in 1080.

The Carthusian *Consuetudines* were approved by Pope Innocent II (1130–43) in 1133.⁴ The first general chapter was held in 1142 under the seventh prior, St. Anthelm, who became subsequently bishop of Belley (1163–78), and the practice was definitely established in 1151, and confirmed by Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) in 1258.

In the following century the customs were edited by Dom Riffier (1257–67), with additional ordinances passed by the general chapters, a series of constitutions known by the name of Basil (not later than 1173), and a compilation of Prior Jancelin (1222). The revision, first known as the *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, came finally to be called the *Statuta Antiqua* (1259). The original *Consuetudines Guigonis*, however, remained sacrosanct, and the later collections of statutes were of the nature of appendices. This is made clear in the first printed edition of the statutes (1510). A third edition, *Nova Statuta*, made its appearance in the priorship of William II Raynald (1367–1402) in 1368.

The Great Schism caused also a schism in the Order, and from 1380 till 1409 there were two separate branches, each with its own general chapter. In 1509 Dom Francis II Dupuy, prior of

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annal. Ord. Cartus.*, t. I, p. 305. Montreuil, 1887. The Carthusian author of *La Grande Chartreuse* (Grenoble, 1930), p. 41, says: *à sa mort . . . on en comptait déjà une quinzaine.*

² *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 635–760.

³ *Consuet.*, prologus.

⁴ *Annal.*, *ibid.*

the Grande Chartreuse (1513–21), published a Carthusian *bullarium* and a general table of statutes in collaboration with Dom Gregory Reisch, known as the *Tertia Compilatio*. Later in the century (1570), it was decided to combine the four compilations into one—*Nova Collectio Statutorum*, at the same time retaining the ancient tripartite division.

The first part 'deals with the ceremonies and everything in the Carthusian Order which contributes to the uniform and regular celebration of the Divine Office'. The second treats of the government of the Order and its external observances, especially as regards the choir religious; while the third contains the regulations for the lay brothers and nuns. The editing of the first part or *ordinarium*, which was printed separately, was undertaken by Dom Michael de Vesley in the time of Bernard II Carassus (1556–86), but it was not until 1581 that the definitors gave their third and final approbation to the *Nova Collectio*, which was published with the approval of Pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) in the following year.¹ A second edition was issued under Innocent Le Masson (1675–1703), which, after some small corrections, was finally confirmed by Pope Innocent XI (1676–89) *in forma specifica* in the bull *Injunctum nobis* (27 March 1688).

The fifth edition of the statutes is little more than a reprint of the second. Dom Innocent, speaking of the changes in the Order, said: they 'have been like a change of clothing, which adds nothing and takes nothing from the substance of the body'.² Basically the Carthusian statutes have always remained the same, and they were approved *in forma specifica* by Pope Pius XI (1922–39) in the bull *Umbratilem* (8 July 1924), which confirmed the revision undertaken to bring them into harmony with the new code of canon law.

The Carthusian Order has few of those papal privileges and exemptions that were given so freely to religious houses. The Beauvale Cartulary enumerates two: (1) In 1217, Honorius III (1216–27) permitted the religious of the Order, during a general interdict, to celebrate the Divine Office in a low voice within their

¹ A new lectionary was published in 1585, followed by a new breviary, in which more hymns were added.

² *Discip. Ord. Cart.*, I, VII, 9.

churches, taking care to close their doors against the excommunicated and those under censures.¹ (2) In 1363, Blessed Urban V (1362–70) authorised the Carthusians to celebrate Mass and other divine offices in their granges and dependencies (*cellaria*), and to administer the sacraments there to the *conversi* and servants dwelling within the enclosure of their monasteries, and to any hired servants coming thither, and for this purpose to have portable altars; also in time of interdict they might admit to the sacraments, along with the above-mentioned persons, priors and their servants coming from elsewhere, so long as they were not the cause of the interdict. The Carthusians were permitted also to say Mass before daylight, a privilege to be used sparingly, 'for since our Lord Jesus Christ, the brightness of eternal light, is immolated in the mystery of the altar, it is not fitting that this should be done in the darkness of the night'.²

The history of the Order presents an unusual phenomenon: whereas other religious orders show the greatest expansion soon after their foundation, the Carthusians established no less than 110 charterhouses in the 14th century, as against thirty-seven in the 12th, thirty-four in the 13th, and forty-five in the 15th century. The reason may be that the 'Brunos' retained their primitive spirit and fervour better than the other religious orders in the 14th century.

In 1521 there were estimated to be 206 charterhouses, which, owing to the Protestant revolt, had dwindled to 122 at the outbreak of the French Revolution. The number today, including one recently restored at Jerez in Spain, stands at twenty-one.

No member of the Order has ever been raised to the Chair of Peter, but several cardinals and about seventy archbishops and bishops have been Carthusians.

SPIRITUAL WRITERS

The hidden and uneventful lives of the majority of Carthusians are largely responsible for the little that the chroniclers have to say, and we find also that for the most part they write some

¹ *Beauv. Chart.*, fo. 115.

² *Ibid.*, ff. 119, 119v.

considerable time after the events that they record. *Les chartreux et leurs oeuvres*, says Dom Wilmart, *sont un sujet presque désespérant pour l'historien*.¹ Members of the Order confine themselves mainly to works of mystical and ascetical theology. Among those who are known outside the walls of a charterhouse, we may recall: Ludolf of Saxony (*ob.* 1378), Henry of Kalkar (*ob.* 1408), Denys de Ryckel (1394–1471), whose knowledge of the mystical way has earned for him the title of *Doctor Ecstaticus*, Nicholas Kempf² (*ob.* 1497), Peter Dorlandus (*ob.* 1507), Lanspergius (*ob.* 1549), Surius (*ob.* 1578), Nicholas Molin (*ob.* 1638), Petreius (*ob.* 1641), Innocent Le Masson (*ob.* 1703), Le Couteulx (*ob.* 1709) and Tromby (*ob.* 1788). Devotion to the Sacred Heart came logically to Ludolf of Saxony in his contemplation of the inexhaustible riches flowing from the wound in the side of our Lord. The nuns of the Order obtained permission from Innocent Le Masson in 1692 to celebrate the devotion publicly, although the feast of the Sacred Heart was not introduced into the liturgical calendar before 1783.

NUNS

The first nuns of the Order seem to have been those of St. Andrew at Prébayon in the diocese of Vaison, who received the Carthusian rule in about 1145.³ They had previously followed the rule of St. Caesarius of Arles (*ob.* 543), and for that reason were permitted to retain the rite for the consecration of virgins.⁴ Claude de Vert, however, maintains that the ceremony of consecration and the investiture with stole and maniple are no more than the survival of a practice once common to all nuns, and consequently neither

¹*Les écrits spirituels des deux Guiges, Revue d'ascét et de myst.* V (1924), pp. 59–60.

²He was the author of an *Explanation of the Canon of the whole Mass*.

³Cottineau (*Répertoire . . . des Abbayes et Prieurés*, t. II, col. 235 f.) says 1268.

⁴St. Caesarius, bishop of Arles, composed a rule for nuns—*Ad Virgines* (*Pat. Lat.*, t. LXVII, col. 1103 *seq.*)—which was the first of its kind, and has remained a model. It borrowed largely from Epist. CCXI of St. Augustine and from Cassian. The rule was approved by Pope Hormisdas (514–23): *super clericorum et monasteriorum excubias consuetas puellarum quoque Dei choros noviter instituisse te* (*Pat. Lat.*, t. LXVII, col. 1285).

a prerogative nor a privilege.¹ The bestowal of the veil (*velatio*) symbolises a mystical marriage with Christ. The rite of consecration, which is similar to that found in the pontifical, is reserved to the bishop. The candidate wears a crown, stole, maniple and ring, which are only resumed on the day of religious jubilee and after death. Dom de Vert suggests that the maniple is worn on the right arm because the left hand is holding a book or some other object.² The epistle³ is read by a nun at the conventual Mass, but without a maniple; while at matins, if no priest is present, she sings the gospel, wearing a stole.

Two Carthusian nuns of the 14th century have been raised to the honours of the altar—Blessed Beatrice d’Ornacieux⁴ (*ob.* 1309), whose cultus was confirmed in 1869 with a feast on 13 February, and St. Roseline of Villeneuve (*ob.* 1329), with a confirmation of cultus in 1851 and a feast on 17 October.

Convents were never numerous: nine in 1400 and four today: Beauregard near Voiron (Isère); Nonnenque, St. Affrique (Aveyron); Riva di Pinerolo (Motta Grossa) near Turin; S. Francesco, Avigliana near Turin.

ARCHITECTURE

The early Carthusians, in common with all religious orders at their inception, disapproved of magnificent and ornate churches. Their inspiration was St. Jerome and the hermits of the Thebaid, and distaste for luxury is apparent in more than one of the letters of Guigo, the fifth prior. ‘Our Lord’, he says, ‘by his poverty has consecrated the poverty of his house.’⁵

There is little to mark a church as distinctively Carthusian, but the cloister with the ‘little houses’ opening out of it presents a unique feature.

¹ *Cependant on donne aussi l'étole, ainsi que le maniple, aux Dames Chartreuses, quand on les consacre; ce qui paroît n'être qu'un reste de l'ancienne pratique, d'en revêtir pareillement toutes les autres sortes de moniales à leur bénédiction, et non une prérogative ni un privilège.* Op cit., t. II, rem. sur le chap. II, p. 327, note b.

² Op cit., t. II, *ibid.*, p. 315.

³ An abbess of the Byzantine rite assists within the iconostasis at the liturgy, and reads the epistle.

⁴ Blessed Beatrice was one of the first to practice prayer before the Blessed Sacrament. ⁵ Cf. St. Jerome (*ob.* 420) to Nepotian, and to Demetrius.

The mother house of the Grande Chartreuse has suffered on several occasions from disastrous fires, but there was never any reference to architectural splendour.

The internal furnishing of churches has been described by Dom Boso, prior of the Grande Chartreuse (1277–1313), in a letter to Pope Clement V (1305–14), who in 1310 had summoned him to the council of Vienne: The Carthusians, according to their institutions, have a crucifix in a 'solemn and eminent place, as well as over each altar. . . . They avoid expensive curiosities in painting and sculpture, and variety of solemn and wonderful buildings not consonant with the roughness of the solitary life'.¹

The *Certosa* of Pavia, begun in 1396, with its remarkable early Renaissance façade and floridly enriched chapels is rather a monument to the magnificence of Gian Galeazzo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, than to the glory of God as expressed by the humble followers of St. Bruno. Similarly, the floriated Gothic church of Miraflores near Burgos (1454–88), with its profusion of sculptures and statuettes, was the conception of King John II, whose mausoleum stands awkwardly in front of the high altar. The first *Cartuxa* in Portugal, *Scala Dei (Coeli)* at Evora, was founded in 1587, and the marble façade of the church is considered to be the finest baroque example in the country.

The most incongruous Carthusian churches may be seen in two of the *Cartujas* in Spain. Jerez (Xeres) de la Frontera, which of recent years has been restored to the Order, has a Gothic church with a bizarre and startling façade added in 1667. The design of this west front, with its endless carving, its fluted and banded columns, its whirl of finials and ornament, has been well described by Martin Shaw Briggs, who refers to the 'lively sculpture' as being 'as admirable as it is irreligious'.² And again, the sacristy of the *Cartuja* at Granada (1727–64), which represents one of the most fantastic examples of the Churrigueresque in Spain, recalling, with its impulsive and frenzied extravagances, the decadence of 18th-century Spain, rather than the austerity and disciplined observance of the Carthusians.

¹ A 14th-century MS. in an English hand, *Bodley ms.* 549, ff. 25–85.

² *Baroque Architecture* (London, 1913), XIV, p. 185.

SCREEN AND OTHER CHURCH ACCESSORIES

A screen divides the choir of the lay brothers from that of the fathers, the central door of which is opened for the asperges, censuring of the community at solemn vespers and lauds, and continuously from first until second vespers on the solemnities of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. A statute of the general chapter of 1271 permitted a *guichet* (*ostium fractitium*) in the door, which might be opened only at the elevation. The anonymous author of the *History of the Great Chartreuse* has suggested that the screen in Carthusian churches is derived from the *iconostasis* of the Byzantine and other Eastern rites. 'It is not surprising,' he says, 'to find traces of oriental rites among those of the Carthusians, the Carthusian liturgy being, to a great extent, the ancient 11th-century rite of Lyons, which dates back to the time of St. Irenaeus, and is of Eastern origin.'¹ A similar theory in regard to the rite of Lyons was advanced by the non-Catholic writer Dr. J. M. Neale in the middle of the last century,² but there is not the smallest justification for such an assertion. The rite of Lyons has only to be compared with the *Ordines Romani* in order to see from whence it comes. Beyond what is common to the Eucharist in any and every liturgy, the mediaeval Western rites do not bear the slightest resemblance to that of the 2nd or early 3rd century. Moreover, the screen did not figure in Eastern churches till long after the days of St. Irenaeus (*ob. c. 202*). The earliest example of a solid wall shutting off the altar from the rest of the church may well be that of St. Sophia at Constantinople, where it was erected to bring it into connection with the institution of the 'great entrance' in the liturgy.³ In the time of St. Bruno, Calabria had a large Greek-speaking population who were accustomed to the Byzantine rite, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Carthusian screen was inspired by the *iconostasis* in the Italo-Greek churches. The screen was a not uncommon feature in the churches of Western Europe.

¹ *Op. cit.*, part II (London, 1934), chap. I, p. 162.

² *Essays on Liturgiology and Church History* (London, 1867), chap. V, p. 129.

³ Archdale A. King, *Rites of Eastern Christendom* (*Tip. Pol. Vat.*, 1948), vol. II, p. 110.

The stalls in a Carthusian church have divisions between them, thus partially isolating a monk from his neighbour.

A statute of the general chapter of 1340 mentions a lectern in the centre of the church, where the fathers might use a common antiphoner. There is neither pulpit nor loft, and the deacon reads the gospel from a single step or little platform at a lectern adjoining the 'north' wall. Some years ago, says Dom de Vert, the Carthusians of Paris raised the deacon on a second step for the gospel.¹ The tabernacle on the altar, which, except in Masses for the dead,² is unveiled, contains a ciborium with three hosts wrapped in a small corporal.³ The use of altar cards is unknown.

ORNAMENTS OF THE CHURCH AND MINISTERS

The ornaments in the early days of the Order were of the simplest and most primitive character. Guibert of Nogent, who may have visited the Grande Chartreuse in the late 11th or early 12th century, says of the Carthusians: 'As for gold and silver ornaments they have none, save a silver chalice.'⁴ The first *Consuetudines*, compiled by Guigo in 1127 or 1128, said expressly: 'Ornaments of gold and silver, except the chalice and the reed⁵ by which we take the Lord's blood, we do not have in the church.'⁶

The *Statuta Antiqua* (1259) do not make any reference to the reed, as Communion under two kinds had been given up some time previous to the compilation of the statutes.

Carpets, hangings (*pallia*), embroidered cushions, emblazoned tiles (*quarelli*), paintings and 'curious' sculptures were all equally forbidden by the early customs, while chasubles were to be made of fustian or buckram,⁷ with simple woollen orphreys according to the day.⁸

¹ Op. cit., t. I, rem. sur chap. II, p. 86, note a.

² A violet veil is used at Masses for the dead.

³ Holy Communion is never given from the tabernacle.

⁴ *Vita*, lib. I; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLVI.

⁵ The reed (*fistula, calamus*) is still used in a solemn papal Mass.

⁶ *Ornamenta aurea vel argentea praeter calicem et calamum, quo sanguis Domini sumitur, in ecclesia non habemus. Consuet.*, cap. XL, I. *Le Cout., Annal.*, t. I, p. 275; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 717.

⁷ *Consuet.*, *ibid.*; *Le Cout.*, *ibid.*

⁸ *Hist. of the Great Chartreuse*, p. 58.

On ordinary days, the only light at Mass was a single candle in a lantern,¹ with two lights for solemnities,² of which there were about fourteen in the year, and on certain lesser occasions, as, for example, when Mass was sung by the prior, or in the presence of guests of distinction.³

A vestige of the primitive practice of having a candle in a lantern still exists: the *ordinarium* directs that the single light, which burns at the epistle side of the altar near the priest during the blessing of the candles before Mass on 2 February, shall be enclosed in a lantern.⁴

We read that St. Hugh of Lincoln (*ob.* 1200), when visiting his old charterhouse at Witham in Somerset,⁵ was accustomed to wear 'the alb and amice, stole and maniple, and chasuble, plain and white, ornamented neither with silk, nor orphrey, nor gems'.⁶ A stole of coarse white linen, which had been used by the Saint, is preserved in the monastery of St. Hugh's, Parkminster. The Grande Chartreuse had three ancient chasubles of the time of Dom Guigo, so long that they reached to the finger-tips, their fabric being white dimity. The sacristan had also in his keeping crosses of woollen stuff, each of a separate colour, for fixing on to the chasubles according to the season, and to be removed before the latter were washed.⁷

Primitive austerity can seldom be maintained for long: what is costly in one century becomes less rare and consequently cheaper in the next, while it is often difficult to refuse gifts on the score that they are at variance with old-time regulations. A luxury, in course of time, can become a necessity.

In 1222, in the time of Dom Jancelin, it began to be the custom to have two lights at anniversaries and conventual Masses—one

¹ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 384.

² *Guig. Consuet.*, cap. IV, 28, 31; cap. VIII, 1, 2 (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 645, 651).

³ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 384.

⁴ *Candelam in lanterna accensam super altare. Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), XLVI, p. 319.

⁵ The chapel of the lay brothers is used today as a Protestant church.

⁶ *Magna Vita*, p. 199.

⁷ *History of the Great Chartreuse* (London, 1934), p. 31.

in a lantern and one in a candlestick.¹ A third candle was lit on solemnities. The use of two candles was extended to private Masses in 1233.² At the same time also we find two concessions which developed later into regulations: (1) the lighting of two lamps at the offices; (2) the holding of a candle by the deacon at the time of the elevation in order to illuminate the Host on days when Mass was celebrated before it was fully light.³ The *Statuta Antiqua* (1259) prescribed two lights on the altar for ordinary days,⁴ and four for solemnities;⁵ while the lamp in the sanctuary was to burn continuously: that in the choir at the time of Office.⁶

The *ordinarium* of 1582 says: *Provideat ut duae saltem lampades in Ecclesia superiori habeantur*, and at the same time counsels (*laudamus*) that they should burn continuously. It is this *saltem* which has made possible the introduction of a lamp in the choir of the *conversi*, although it is lit only when the brothers are present, as its primary use is to give light and provide means for lighting the taper.⁷ The general chapter of 1276 extended the use of the *intorticium* held by the deacon to conventual Masses,⁸ and that of 1343 to all private Masses.⁹ These two decisions were incorporated in the *Nova Statuta* of 1368,¹⁰ to which the *Nova Collectio* in the edition of 1689 added four standard candles on the pavement for solemnities.¹¹ Under no circumstances must the candles be put to profane uses.¹²

¹ *In anniversariis, ad missam, duae tantum candelae accenduntur, quarum una in candelabro, altera in lanterna ponitur. Ab omnibus etiam qui hoc facere possunt idem observatur in omnibus missis conventualibus. . . . Ad privatam missam una tantum candela accenditur et ipsa ponitur in lanterna.* Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 384.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Quando non potest videri corpus Christi eo quod mane celebretur, possit diaconus tenere cereum bene ardentem a retro sacerdote ut corpus Christi in hac parte possit videri. Hoc tamen non est praeceptum.* Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 384.

⁴ *Antiq. Stat.*, pars. I, cap. XLI, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. XXXII, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. XLI, 30.

⁷ *Ordin.*, cap. XXIII, 39.

⁸ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. IV, p. 411.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

¹⁰ *Nov. Stat.*, pars. I, cap. V, n. 13.

¹¹ The *ordinarium* of 1582 and 1641 (cap. XXIX, 14) says: *Verum in solemnitatibus intortitium non extinguit (diaconus) ipse, sed sacrista.* The edition of 1689: *Verum in solemnitatibus quibus quattuor intortitia accenduntur—intortitium non extinguit ipse, sed sacrista.*

¹² *Candelas cereas quae dantur hospitibus, reprehendimus, nisi forte ad dicendum divinum officium dentur.* *Antiq. Stat.*, pars II, cap. IX, 23.

The cost of the candles was sometimes defrayed by benefactions. Thus, Félicie, countess of Rethel, gave in 1216 an annual grant of thirty *sous* for the maintenance of two lights at all the Masses in the charterhouse of Mont Dieu in the diocese of Rheims (Ardennes),¹ a bequest confirmed by Pope Gregory IX.²

The statutes of 1259 maintained austerity in ornaments and vestments: 'We have no ornaments in gold or silver, except the chalice in church, unless perhaps in stoles or maniples or metal clasps of books (*signaculis*).³ We retain chasubles of buckram or white silk,⁴ but we have given up hangings (*pallia*) and carpets.' 'Let orphreys be removed from the chasubles.'

The suppression of hangings and carpets was maintained for many centuries, as we learn from the general chapters of 1280, 1424, 1476 and 1503. Later, the use of carpets was permitted on great solemnities. The *Nova Statuta* of 1368 directed that 'curious pictures, even where they might be had without scandal, are to be removed from churches and houses, and no new ones are to be made'.⁵ The same compilation prescribed church cowls to be of light cloth or thin white serge, which might be of better quality for festivals. Albs must be white, and not yellow or otherwise coloured, and not too thin and transparent. A slight concession was made in respect to vestments, *si sine scandalo fieri possit*.⁶ As materials became cheaper, the old prohibitions ceased to have the same importance. In the 17th and 18th centuries we find charterhouses which had vestments made out of wedding dresses, of every conceivable hue and colour,⁷ so full that they reached to the tips of the fingers, of which Lebrun says: *qu'il n'y avait à s'en servir au XVII^e siècle, que les prêtres qui ne craignaient pas la gêne*.⁸ The actual practice of the Order is outlined by Dom Innocent le Masson (*ob.* 1703): *Servata religiosa decentia, nimiam sumptuositatem reprobamus*,⁹ although it is surely incongruous to

¹ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. III, p. 401.

² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

³ Cf. rubric at the end of the blessing of the water: *Clausoque et signato libro*.

⁴ *Casulas de bocaran vel de serico albo sustinemus*. *Ant. Stat.*, pars II, cap. XXXII, 2.

⁵ *Nov. Stat.*, pars I, cap. I.

⁶ *Nov. Stat.*, pars II, cap. I, no. 7; *Tertia Compilatio*, III, 5.

⁷ Ganneron, *Antiquités du Mont Dieu*, chap. XXIII.

⁸ *Explication . . . de la Messe*, t. I (Paris, 1726), p. 52.

⁹ *Disciplina Ord. Cart.*, p. 115; Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. I, p. 278.

wear garish vestments of the modern French style for the most venerable of all the rites of Western Christendom.

HISTORY OF THE RITE

In the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries new religious orders often adopted the rite of the diocese to which they belonged,¹ although this was by no means universal,² and they received rites and ceremonies from other sources without hesitation.

Some writers, while claiming a rite to be Roman, have given the impression that devotion to the Apostolic See was the main reason for its adoption. Such a line of argument, however, is misleading. Of course all Western rites are Roman, if we except the Mozarabic liturgy, but the several diocesan and monastic rites were by no means identical with that used by the Pope, unless it be the Franciscan which was intentionally modelled on papal usage. To plead loyalty to the Apostolic See in respect to the choice of a liturgy is an anachronism, and distinctive uses were never questioned by Rome at this period, provided the framework was itself Roman.

The Grande Chartreuse was in the diocese of Grenoble and the bishop, Hugh de Châteauneuf (1080-1132), had not only given St. Bruno the land on which to found his hermitage, but had also been a constant adviser and visitor to the little community. More than this, we find that at least five of the 12th- and 13th-century bishops of Grenoble had been Carthusians. Thus, we learn from *Gallia Christiana* that St. Hugh I was succeeded in 1132 by the Carthusian Hugh II (1132-? 48), who had been chosen by his predecessor in 1131.³ Othmar, for whom no dates are given, was a Carthusian, who administered the diocese for a few years. Geoffrey (1151-? 63) also was of the same Order, as was his probable successor John I (1163/4-1220), who was bishop of Grenoble for no less than fifty-seven years. Finally, we may

¹ *Ordines religiosi illum ritum, ab initio susceperunt, qui vigeat in ea provincia in qua prima Ordinis cujusque fundamenta jacta sunt.* Bona, *Rer. Lit.* (Rome, 1671), lib. I, cap. VII, n. 6, p. 43.

² E.g., Premonstratensian rite, which borrowed little or nothing from Laon.

³ *Gallia Christiana*, t. XVI, col. 230 seq.

note yet another Carthusian bishop, William I, for whom again there are no dates.

Lebrun (*ob.* 1729) states positively that the Carthusians adopted the missal of Grenoble: *Ils ne prirent d'autre missel que celui qui était en usage à Grenoble, et ils nous ont conservés avec soin ce qu'ils observoient dans leurs commencements.*¹ It has been suggested also that rites were introduced from the Church of Vienne, although no evidence was given on this point.²

Unfortunately, we know so little of the liturgy of Grenoble at the period, unless it was similar to that of Lyons, its metropolitan see. Writers indeed have not hesitated to affirm that the liturgy of the Carthusians, where it is not of monastic provenance, was derived from the Church of Lyons: *Creduntur enim Cartusiani ipsi ab illa vetustissima Lugdunensi Ecclesia, primate Galliarum exemplaria desumpsisse.*³

The principles of Agobard, archbishop of Lyons (*ob.* 840), respecting the exclusive use of Scriptural compositions in the liturgy have been followed by the Carthusians with even greater rigidity than the Church of Lyons herself.⁴

The Carthusians, as at Lyons, once kept Trinity with an octave, the office of which was the same as for the feast. The series of Sunday offices therefore is one Sunday behind the Roman computation. The gospels from the fourth to the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity show a similar harmony, agreeing precisely where they differ from Rome: *Si iniquitates* ends the series of Lyons and the Chartreuse; *Dicit Dominus* that of Rome.

The Carthusian manuscript A 33 of Parkminster is earlier than the liturgical alterations of the 12th century, but it is so scratched and corrected that it is often impossible to discover the original text. The alterations, however, are interesting, especially for the

¹ *Op. cit.*, t. IV, part II, p. 50.

² Fulgence Schneider, *L'Ancienne Messe Cistercienne* (Tilbourg, 1929), part I, p. 2.

³ P. Sutor, *De Vita Cartusiana*, in—12 Cologne, 1609, lib. II, tr. IV, cap. III; cf. Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 527, and t. I, p. 309.

⁴ Agobard carried on an acrimonious correspondence with Amalarius respecting the use of ecclesiastical (i.e. uninspired) compositions in the liturgy. He wrote two treatises, in one of which he refers to the 'horrible blasphemies existing in the antiphoner' of his day.

graduals and alleluias of the Sundays after Trinity, and the final text, where decipherable, agrees always with Lyons, whereas the interpolations are never found in its liturgy. The blessings of candles, ashes and palms in the Carthusian rite have certain affinities with that of Lyons, as also have the offices for Good Friday, Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost. Other similarities exist in the versicle *Pone, Domine* before the *Confiteor*, the prayer *De latere* at the mixing of the water, and certain variants in the text of the canon.

The rite seems also to have borrowed from Cluny, and a document (*titre*), preserved in the Spanish cartuja of Meria¹ in the 17th century, says that St. Bruno on his way to the Grande Chartreuse visited Cluny and took a monk of the house with him. 'I owe this information', says Claude de Vert, 'to Dom de Meria, coadjutor of the Grande Chartreuse in 1647, of the family and name of the founders of the charterhouse of Meria.'²

Guigo himself in the introduction (*prologus*) to the *Consuetudines* admits that he borrowed from the monastic (Benedictine) rite for the Office: *cum caeteris monachis multum, maxime in psalmodia regulari, concordet*.

Carthusian usages are said by Claude de Vert to have influenced the Benedictine abbey of Bursfeld in Hanover.³ John Dederoth, the reforming abbot of Bursfeld (1433-39), sought the assistance of John de Rode in 1434. This John de Rode, who had been the soul of the Benedictine reform at the time of the council of Basle (1431-49), was abbot of St. Matthias at Trier (1421-39) and a former prior of the charterhouse of St. Alban.⁴ On the other hand, a recent historian of the Benedictine Order says that the reform of John de Rode was influenced by the customs of St. Jacques, Liège.⁵ These customs, says Dom Philibert, were derived to a great extent from the customaries of Cluny, Cîteaux

¹ The name of the foundress of the house.

² Op. cit., t. IV, rem. XXVIII, pp. 229-30.

³ Ibid., t. III, part I, chap. I, p. 27, n. 5.

⁴ Philibert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint Benoît*, t. III (Maredsous, 1948), book II, chap. II, pp. 190-1.

⁵ MS. Seminary of Trier; Schmitz, op. cit., p. 190.

and Prémontré, and for the ascetical part, owe much to the Dominican Humbert de Romans.¹

The liturgical usages of the Carthusians were first codified by Guigo in the *Consuetudines Cartusiae* (1127), although but little can be gleaned from them concerning the actual rite of the Mass. The main concern of Dom Guigo was to preserve eremitical simplicity in the newly founded houses, and it is possible that at this early period individual houses followed their own way of doing things.

The first general chapter (1132) directed all the houses to celebrate the Divine Office according to one rite, and all the customs of their Order (*religio*) were to be identical.² Further, the Grande Chartreuse was affirmed to be the 'mother and nurse' of the other houses, although neither its prior nor anyone else could alter anything in the Divine Office, or in any of the institutions of their rule (*religio*), without the common counsel of the general chapter. The details of the Mass are found in the *Supplementum Consuetudinis Guigonis* or *Consuetudines Anthelmi*.³

Less than a century later the rite is given with precision and at length in the statutes of Jancelin (1222), and chapter XXXIII is entirely devoted to its exposition. The statutes were approved and promulgated by the general chapter of the following year (1223). The *Statuta Antiqua*, in the time of Dom Riffier (1259), co-ordinated the liturgical work of the previous century, and stressed the importance of preserving the integrity of the liturgical books.

With the exception of additions to the calendar, the Carthusian rite was now virtually complete, and later generations did little more than maintain a strict adherence to what had been formulated already.⁴ In 1582 the general chapter directed the prior of the Grande Chartreuse to nominate a commission of monks, whom

¹ *Ibid.*, book I, chap. IV, p. 103. The liturgy of St. Jacques, according to Fr. Bonniwell (*History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1945), chap. XV, pp. 201-2), was greatly influenced by the rubrics of Humbert de Romans.

² *Le Cout.*, *Annal.*, *sub anno* 1142; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 1126.

³ St. Anthelm was elected seventh prior of the Grande Chartreuse in 1139. He became bishop of Belley in 1163, and died in 1178.

⁴ *On peut dire que dès cette époque la liturgie cartusienne est à peu près constituée et l'évolution principale proche de son terme.* A. Degand, *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, Art. *Chartreux* (*Liturgie des*), t. III, part I, col. 1055.

he should judge capable for the work, to revise the liturgical books of the Order. A collection of sermons and homilies for the Office appeared in 1585, and a new edition of the breviary in 1587. Six years later the general chapter ordered a further revision of the breviary, in order to correct errors. Many new hymns were added. The missal was corrected in a number of passages in 1603, but the changes were slight. In 1687 the Sacred Congregation of Rites approved a new Carthusian breviary (1643) and missal¹ (1679), but it was clearly stated that liturgical alterations required the consent of the general chapter: *nec in majori Ecclesia Cartusiae Romanae, nec in quibuslibet aliis Ordinis ecclesiis ulli unquam eorum licitum sit, sine Generalis Capituli consensu quidquam in officiis divinis, maxime vero in Missae ritu et celebratione, omittere, addere, immutare, vel peragere contra aut praeter praefatas rubricas, ordinarium et statuta.*²

CELEBRATION OF MASS

In the early days of the Order the celebration of Mass was confined to vigils and feasts,³ and, later, when private Masses had become the norm, we find one single Mass on feasts, at which the whole community received Communion. This practice is still observed on Christmas Day, Holy Thursday, Easter and Pentecost, when the conventual Mass is sung by the prior.

The infrequency of Mass is thus explained by Guigo in the *Consuetudines*: *Raro quippe hic missa canitur praecipue studium et propositum nostrum est silentio et solitudini cellae vacare.*⁴ Peter of Blois (1200) says: *Raro sacrificat Cartusienis ordo.*⁵

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annal.*, t. II, p. 545.

² In the following year (1688), the approbation was made still more explicit in a brief of Pope Innocent XI (1676-89).

³ *Festivis tantum diebus antiquorum eremitarum aemulatione . . . salutare sacrificium offerunt*; cf. *Consuet.*, cap. XIV (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII); Peter the Ven., *De Miraculis*, lib. II, cap. XXVIII (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXIX); Guibert, *De Vita Sua*, lib. I, cap. XI.

⁴ *Consuet.*, XIV, 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 659.

⁵ *Pet. Bles.*, *Epist.* LXXXVI. Cf. Egyptian monks *temp.* Cassian (*ob. c.* 433), who met together on Saturdays and Sundays to celebrate the divine Mysteries (*Instit.*, lib. III, cap. II). St. Fructuosus, bishop of Braga (*ob.* 665), second rule for monks, cap. XIII, says: *Omni die Dominico congregari monachos ad collectam praecipit, et non plus quam septem dies interponere.*

Raro, however, is relative, and Mass was celebrated every day during Lent;¹ on the first three days of the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost;² on all feasts,³ whether of chapter or twelve lessons, of which there were forty-one; Sundays;⁴ Ember days;⁵ on eight vigils;⁶ and once a week for benefactors.⁷ Mass would have been celebrated in the first charterhouses about two hundred times in the year.⁸

The daily conventual Mass seems to have been established about 1222, after the introduction of a votive Mass for each of the days in the week. The Mass of Sunday was never repeated.⁹ In 1259 the *Statuta Antiqua* prescribed the daily conventual Mass, and fixed the order in which the Masses were to be sung on free days (*vacantibus*).¹⁰ The prior was permitted, for some good reason (*ex aliqua necessitate*), to change the order of the Masses, but not on Saturday, when the Mass must be *De Beata*.¹¹

Private Masses, apart from about one hundred anniversaries and commemorations, could be said only on Sundays and chapter days.¹² The right of a priest to say Mass on Sundays and feasts was recognised,¹³ but with only a single altar it was probably not possible to say a Mass of devotion more often than twice a month.

We read of St. Anthelm, who as bishop of Belley (1151) was accustomed to say Mass daily, whereas in the cloister he had not been able to celebrate very frequently.¹⁴ And again, St. Hugh of Avalon (*ob.* 1200), as a visitor to his former charterhouse at Witham, said Mass every day,¹⁵ though this had not been possible when he was a monk.¹⁶ Infrequency of saying Mass would seem

¹ *Consuet.*, IV, 7, 12. No ferial Mass in the missal for the Saturdays preceding I Lent and Palm Sunday.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 31.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 6, 7; VIII, 5, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 1; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 651.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV, 4.

⁸ *Le Cout.*, *Annal.*, t. I, p. 295.

⁹ *De Vert*, *op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XXXIX, p. 327.

¹⁰ *Stat. Antiq.*, part I, cap. XLIII, 67-72.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹² *Guig. Consuet.*, IV, 2, 3; *Le Masson*, *Discip. Ord. Cart.*, pp. 57, 67.

¹³ *Consuet.*, IV, 29; VII, 7.

¹⁴ *Omni fere die—quod ei raro licebat ante—salutarem Dei hostiam offerebat Anthelmus.* *Le Vasseur*, *Ephemerid. Ord. Cart.*, II, 388.

¹⁵ *Missam devotissime . . . quotidie celebrabat.* *Magna Vita*, 199.

¹⁶ *Monachus quoties de permisso ordinis licuit . . . episcopus quoties possibilitati ratio concurrat missas celebrare nullo tempore praetermisit.* *Magna Vita*, 329.

to have been put forward by some religious as a reason for returning to the world. Peter of Blois (*ob. c. 1204*) writes of Alexander of Lewes, a monk of Witham and the ungrateful disciple of St. Hugh:¹ *Hoc in Ordine Cartusiensi causaris et arguis quod singulis diebus missas non faciunt, et hujus religionis aut potius superstitionis obtentu, tuum machinaris egressum.*² In this case, however, special permission was given for Alexander to say Mass daily: *tibi fraterna charitas singulis diebus offerre hostiam . . . indulisit.*³ Authorisation for more frequent private Masses, at least in certain houses on ferias, was given in 1183, but it was the multiplication of altars after 1250 which finally eased the situation of private Masses. A single altar in the church had created difficulties, especially for visitors,⁴ and already in 1250 the charterhouse of Aillon in Savoy had petitioned for a second altar. The general chapter referred the matter to the individual communities: *de duobus altaribus suscipiendis requiratur consensus conventuum.* In 1251 the enterprising prior of Bellary (Nièvre) made himself a special altar, 'because the time was near at hand when every house would have two altars'.⁵ He does not seem to have been blamed for his initiative, and eight years later the *Statuta Antiqua*, in regulating the Masses for the second altar, appear to have considered the question as settled.⁶ The general chapter of 1276 permitted a third altar, between the choir of the religious and that of the *conversi*. The dyke had been broken, and altars multiplied. In 1340 the Chartreuse of Paris had no less than six.⁷ The *Tertia Compilatio* of 1509 permitted Mass to be said on a portable altar in granges and dependencies: *In grangiis et cellariis possumus cum altari portabili missas celebrare.*⁸

By 1370, if one may judge from an old customary of the Grande Chartreuse, a monk was not considered to be very fervent (*bene miseri*) if he did not celebrate Mass at least three times a week, and the sacristan was directed to denounce defaulters to the chapter,

¹ *S. Hugonis Magna Vita*, lib. I, cap. II.

² *Pet. Bles., Epist.* LXXXVI; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCVII, col. 264; Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. I, p. 515.

³ *Ibid.*; *Pat. Lat.*, *ibid.*, col. 267.

⁴ *Antiq. Stat.* (1259), part II, chap. IX, 19-21.

⁵ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. IV, p. 123.

⁶ *Antiq. Stat.*, part I, chap. XLI, 43.

⁷ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. IV, p. 324.

⁸ *Tertio Compilatio*, I, 60.

in order that the prior might proceed against them.¹ The *Nova Collectio* (1582) recommends priests to prepare themselves worthily in order to say Mass daily, as is the laudable custom in many of our provinces.²

HOLY COMMUNION

For those who were not priests there were Communions of precept and Communions of devotion. Christmas, Easter and Pentecost were days of precept from the earliest days of the Order;³ while Sundays were of devotion: *Laici nostri nonnisi diebus dominicis communicare solent*.⁴ Holy Communion, as we have seen, is still received by the whole community at the conventual Mass on the three great feasts of the year. Until about 1230, Communion was received under two kinds.⁵ A large Host was taken from the 'tabernacle', where it had been reserved from the preceding Sunday: it was broken into particles for the communicants.⁶ The use of the *calamus* for the reception of the precious Blood had disappeared before the publication of the *Statuta Antiqua* in 1259.⁷

The general chapter of 1335 prescribed a Communion of precept on the first Sunday in each month,⁸ to which Holy Thursday was added by the chapter of 1368,⁹ Corpus Christi by the chapter of 1494,¹⁰ and St. Bruno by the *Nova Collectio* of 1681.¹¹ The number of Communions in the year was thus brought up to eighteen 'for all persons of the Order who do not celebrate, novices as well as professed, whatever may be their sex, state or

¹ *Ut praesidens oportunum valeat remedium contra tales pigros et miseros adhibere.* Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. I, p. 523.

² *Multum hortamur celebrantes ut sacramentalem confessionem frequentent, sicut est laudabilis mos multarum provinciarum Ordinis nostri, quod sacerdotes non legitime impediti saepius confiteantur et quotidie celebrent.* *Nov. Collect.*, pars I, VII, 2.

³ *Guig. Consuet.*, IV, 30, 35; VIII, 5.

⁴ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 387.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1132, t. I, p. 348.

⁶ *Ibid.*, t. II, p. 389. According to present practice, the Blessed Sacrament is changed every fortnight.

⁷ *Guig. Consuet.*, cap. XL, n. 1; Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. I, p. 275.

⁸ *Annal.*, t. V, p. 364. In conformity with a constitution of Clement V (1304-14).

⁹ *Ibid.*, t. VI, p. 85.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, t. IV, p. 252.

¹¹ *Nov. Collect.*, 2nd edit., part 2, chap. VII, 25.

condition',¹ without prejudice to private Communion, which, for those who are not celebrants, is recommended *singulis saltem dominicis diebus et solemnitatibus*.²

Novices and the young professed, who were not priests, were permitted in 1676 to receive Holy Communion at least twice a week,³ which was increased to three times about 1830.

LITURGICAL YEAR

A calendar dating from about 1134 reproduced almost exactly the Roman calendar in use from the 9th to the 12th century. In addition to Sundays, there were thirty-one feasts of twelve lessons, of which five were twelve simple lessons, ten with a chapter, and sixteen solemnities.⁴ By the end of the 12th century, the number of chapter feasts and solemnities had risen to thirty-eight, and for the three following centuries, to thirty-nine, fifty-one and fifty-four respectively. The maximum, with sixty-nine, was reached at the close of the 16th century. Then a reduction set in, and by 1603 the number had fallen to sixty-three, continuing to decrease till 1914.

The first three days of the octaves of Easter and Pentecost were observed as solemnities; the Assumption was celebrated with an octave; and 2 February was known as *Ypapanti*. A conventual Mass was said on eight vigils; while six feasts had an octave—Christmas, Epiphany,⁵ Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and Assumption. No feast was transferred: *nec ullum festum vigiliam transmutamus*.⁶ If, for example, Palm Sunday fell on 25 March, the office was of the feast (Annunciation) and the Mass of the Sunday.⁷

¹ *Nov. Collect.*, 1582, part 2, chap. VII, 29.

² *Ibid.*, no. 31.

³ Le Masson, *Directoire des Novices (Directorium Novitiorum)*, cap. IX.

⁴ Solemnities were known from the 14th century as *Festa Candelarum*, as on these days two lights were prescribed for Mass. *Consuet.*, VIII, I, 7; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, cols. 645, 651.

⁵ St. Paul the Hermit is observed on 10 January (cf. Mozarabic rite), dating from a time before the Epiphany had a privileged octave. If Septuagesima is early, the Octave of the Epiphany is advanced, so as to include a *Dominica post Oct. Epiph.*, in order that the responsary *Domine ne in ira tua* may be sung.

⁶ *Consuet.*, VI; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 647.

⁷ *Constit. Basil.*, Dijon MS. 616 (364), fo. 39v.; cf. Byzantine rite.

The Mass *Requiem* was not admitted before the 14th century, and the Office *Respice* was sung in its place.¹ The actual missal provides two Masses for the dead, with four epistles and gospels, said in strict rotation. The statutes of Jancelin (1222) refer to the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) as a solemnity, and eleven additional saints were added to the calendar before 1222. Between the years 1222 and 1259, St. Hugh of Grenoble (1 April), St. Hugh of Avalon (Lincoln; 17 November) and certain other saints appeared in the calendar. The Invention of the Cross (3 May) was added in 1249. The feast of the Holy Trinity was introduced some time before 1259, but in an incomplete manner, with the Mass of the feast and the Office of Pentecost. At about the same time also, five new octaves were admitted, and the Masses in the proper were increased in number.²

The regulation of Guigo, which refused to accept the anniversaries of strangers, was abandoned, and an *ordinatio* of the general chapter of 1249 says: *Anniversaria externa sunt de caetero per totum ordinem, sicut apud Cartusiam*. The celebration of two conventual Masses on the same day became relatively common, although in some circumstances the second 'Mass' was no more than a *Missa sicca* (*nudum Officium*). Comparatively few additions were made to the calendar before the second half of the 15th century.³ St. Mary Magdalene (22 July) was admitted with solemn rite in 1282, and the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated from about 1318. An octave was provided for the latter solemnity in 1332, the year in which the feasts of the apostles and evangelists received chapter rank.⁴ The Conception of our Lady (8 December) was observed as a solemnity by the charterhouse of St. Aldegonde in

¹ *Stat. Nov.*, part I, chap. IV, 5.

² Up to 1259 there was an increase of twenty-two Masses of twelve lessons, two solemnities, five simple feasts and five octaves.

³ A 15th-century missal, written for the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Grande Chartreuse, gives three feasts of Dedication (*Inferioris ecclesie Cartusie*, 21 June; *Ecclesie magne*, 3 August; *Ecclesie antique*, 13 October) and a feast of Relics on 8 November. *Bibl. municip.*, Grenoble, MS. 71; Leroquais, *Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, t. III (Paris, 1924), p. 95.

⁴ SS. Philip and James, SS. Peter and Paul, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, SS. Simon and Jude, St. Andrew and St. John had been already admitted as solemnities or chapter feasts.

the diocese of Arras in 1334, and in the following year permission to celebrate the feast was accorded to all the houses of the Order. The office was that of the Nativity of our Lady, with the necessary alteration of the title. In 1341 the general chapter directed the feast to be styled *Sanctificatio*, but the name of *Conceptio* was restored in 1470.¹ St. Hugh of Avalon (Lincoln) was admitted as a solemnity (17 November) in 1339, and St. Bernard was added to the calendar as a chapter feast in 1361.

A Carthusian 'schism' (1380-1409) resulted from the Great Schism, and the two sections of the Order had each its own general chapter. Several new feasts were introduced by one or other of the chapters, but, when unity was re-established, the calendar was suitably adjusted (1411). Thus in 1390, one of the 'branches' admitted the Visitation of our Lady (2 July) as a solemnity with an octave, and the reunited Order continued its observance. The feast was declared of obligation for all the houses of the Order in 1468.

The solemnities of the Presentation (21 November) and the Compassion of our Lady (Saturday before Palm Sunday) were added to the calendar in 1474 and 1477 respectively: St. Bruno (6 October) in 1515, St. Joseph (19 March) in 1567, and St. Anne (26 July) in 1569.

By the end of the 16th century feasts increase in number. The schism, despite the vigilance of the general chapters, had opened the door to innovations. In 1422, however, Witham was refused permission to celebrate certain feasts, and ordered to conform to the usages of the Order; while two years later we find the house at Coventry receiving a severe rebuke for having requested the Office of the Blessed Virgin in place of the Saturday ferial Office: *Si alias capitulum generale infestaverint super hoc, qui culpabiles fuerint faciant tres abstinentias in pane et aqua.*

The tendency to innovate increased throughout the 15th century, but the firm line taken by the general chapters saved the

¹ The feast is found in four of the 15th-century Carthusian missals described by Leroquais: two with the title of *Sanctificatio* (op. cit., t. III, p. 96; *ibid.*, p. 179), and two with that of *Conceptio* (*ibid.*, p. 178; *ibid.*, p. 240).

Order. Thus, in defiance of Carthusian custom,¹ a procession had been introduced at Mainz, and the general chapter of 1469 forced it to be abandoned: *Amplius nihil talium contra statuta*. In the 16th century, we find Germany especially prone to innovations.²

The general chapters also successfully resisted requests for the canonisation of members of the Order, thereby preserving the *cursus ferialis*. Raoul de Rivo, dean of Tongres (*ob.* 1403), especially commended the Carthusians for their fidelity to the ferial office, and suggested that this was possibly more agreeable to the saints themselves, as certain liturgical practices, which disappeared at the same time as the ferial office, were thus safeguarded.³ A feast of Relics was inserted in the calendar (8 November) in 1541, but their veneration had been approved as early as 1259.⁴ Increase in ceremonial was largely the result of the observance of Corpus Christi. The *Nova Statuta* of 1369 prescribed a Mass of the solemnity to be sung on each of the days in the octave,⁵ and in 1422 the feast was extended to the *conversi*, who were directed to abstain from work, and to follow the Offices in choir.⁶ An outstanding innovation was made in 1475 by the prior of Erfurt, who authorised the making of a monstrance of silver-gilt at a cost of twenty-five florins, in order that the Blessed Sacrament might be exposed for adoration during the octave of Corpus Christi. A monstrance was of recent date as a church ornament, but it had been mentioned at the council of Cologne (1452), which had been attended by Denys the Carthusian.⁷ A procession of the Blessed Sacrament in the cloister was introduced into some of the German houses about 1550.⁸ The innovation

¹ *Et hoc sciendum quod in nulla solemnitate processionem facimus. Consuet.*, cap. VI, 1; *Antiq. Stat.*, pars. I, cap. II, no. 16; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 647. Processions were discouraged also by the first Cistercians. Martène, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. III, cap. XIV, no. 25 (Antwerp, 1764), t. IV, p. 156.

² *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. III, part I, col. 1060.

³ *De canonum observantia liber*, prop. 17, *passim*; Hittorp, *De divinis catholice Ecclesie officiis* (Paris, 1624), col. 1139 *seq.*

⁴ *Stat. Antiq.*, I, 28, 7, 12.

⁵ *Nov. Stat.*, part I, chap. II, n. 20.

⁶ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. IV, p. 250.

⁷ Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*, t. XXII, p. 554; cf. Labbe, *Concil.*, t. XIII, col. 1328.

⁸ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. IV, p. 251.

was approved in the *Nova Collectio* of 1582, which established the ceremonial of the feast. Mass is sung by the prior, and those who are not priests receive Holy Communion; while a procession is made round the great cloister. Exposition is continued throughout the octave,¹ and a procession takes place in the little cloister on the octave day, followed by Benediction. Proper offices for Trinity Sunday and the Transfiguration (6 August) were introduced in 1582. Several new feasts were admitted in 1589 and the years immediately following, but, in response to protests, their numbers were reduced (1597, 1599).

In the 17th century, St. Anthelm (27 June 1607) and the Octave of St. Bruno (1633) were added, and the Conception of our Lady was observed as a solemnity (1674).

In the 18th century, Blessed Nicholas Albergati² (10 May 1745) and the Feast of the Sacred Heart were included in the calendar, and in the 19th, five saints or *beati*³ in 1859, Blessed Ayrald, bishop of Maurienne, and Blessed John of Spain in 1866, Blessed Beatrice in 1870, Blessed Carthusian Martyrs⁴ under Henry VIII in 1887 and Blessed Landuin in 1893.

The Roman Office for the Immaculate Conception, adapted to the Carthusian liturgy, was introduced in 1866. Thirty-three solemnities and eleven chapter feasts are found in the actual calendar, which is about the same number as in that of the 12th century. The *Vigil of Christmas* and the three Masses for the *feast* are provided with a prophetic lesson from Isaias in addition to the epistle.

The blessing of ashes, palms and candles on their respective days takes place after the preparatory prayers of the Mass.

ASH WEDNESDAY

After *Dominus vobiscum* and its response, the priest, at the epistle side of the altar, says the prayer: *Deus qui non mortem, sed*

¹ *Nov. Collect.*, pars. I, cap. LIII, 12-14.

² Carthusian prior of Bologna, archbishop of Bologna, and cardinal (*ob.* 1443).

³ St. Stephen of Die, St. Artaud, Blessed Odo, St. Roseline and Blessed Boniface of Savoy (novice).

⁴ Blessed John Houghton, prior of the London Charterhouse; Blessed Robert Lawrence, prior of Beauvale; Blessed Augustine Webster, prior of Axholme; and fifteen monks from the London Charterhouse.

poenitentiam desideras peccatorum . . . At the imposition of the ashes, *Recognosce homo* is said in place of *Memento homo*. The missal provides two antiphons: *Exaudi nos, Domine* and *Juxta vestibulum et altare*. The prayer at the conclusion of the rite is the same as in the Roman missal: *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae Christianae . . .* The celebrant is directed to wash his hands during the introit: *Dum introitus dicitur, sacerdos digitos abluit*.

PALM SUNDAY

The ceremony for the blessing and distribution of palms is of a very simple character. When the customary salutation and response have been said, the celebrant recites the long prayer, which occurs also in the Cistercian rite: *Omnipotens sempiterne Redemptor, qui de caelis ad terram descendere . . . Collegerunt pontifices* and its versicles are sung during the distribution of the palms. When this is finished, the priest says *Dominus vobiscum* and the following prayer: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, da nobis ita Dominicae Passionis sacramenta peragere*. There is no procession of palms.

HOLY THURSDAY

A rubric directs a large Host to be consecrated and reserved in the customary place on the high altar for the Mass of the Pre-sanctified on the following day: *Una ex majoribus hostia pro Parasceve consecratur, et reponitur in loco consueto majoris altaris*. Incense is used at the Mass: *Incensum adoletur*. A general Communion is prescribed for the whole community: *Omnes praeterea monachi, tam sacerdotes quam alii, pariter et conversi et donati hoc die in eadem Missa Corpus Dominicum de manu praelati (prioris) sumunt*. There is neither procession nor altar of repose. After the *Mandatum*, the deacon vested in church cowl and stole, and carrying the gospel-book, goes to the chapter house, preceded by the sacristan with a candle in a lantern (*ardentem in lanterna cereum deferente*). Here the discourse of our Lord to his disciples after the Last Supper is sung from the gospel of St. John. At the words *Surgite, eamus hinc* the community goes to the refectory, where the reading is concluded.

GOOD FRIDAY

The lessons and tracts are similar to those in the Roman rite, but the celebrant kisses the book at the conclusion of the Passion. A prayer for the king, after one for the emperor, is found in the solemn prayers in the missal of 1713.¹ The cross for the veneration is laid on the steps of the sanctuary, *super ciliceum et linteum*, and, after the antiphon *Nos autem gloriari oportet*, the religious kiss the cross, as each one says silently: *Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi, quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum. Responsoria* are sung during the veneration, but they are shorter than those in the Roman rite, and there is no trisagion. When the deacon has adored the cross, he prepares the chalice at the piscina, while the celebrant puts on a chasuble and washes his hands, preparatory to unfolding the corporal. The chalice and paten are then placed by the deacon on the epistle side of the altar, and the Host is taken from the tabernacle and put on the paten. The deacon gives the *oblata* to the priest, and intones the 'communion': *Hoc corpus quod pro vobis tradetur: Hic calix novi testamenti est in meo sanguine, dicit Dominus: hoc facite quotiescumque sumitis in meam commemorationem*. The community, meanwhile, prostrate: *omnes super formas procumbimus*.² The deacon adds water to the chalice, but the prayer *De latere Domini* is not said. The chalice is offered with the prayer *In humilitatis*, and a cross is made with the chalice over the corporal. The Host is laid on the corporal. *Orate fratres* is omitted, and the celebrant prays for the whole Church in silence: *Oremus. Pietate tua, quaesumus Domine, nostrorum solve vincula delictorum: et intercedente beata et gloriosa semper Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria cum omnibus sanctis tuis domnum Apostolicum, pontifices, abbates, et priores nostros, sed et omnes congregationes illis commissas, reges et principes nostros, et omnem populum Christianum, et nos famulos*

¹ *Quaesumus omnipotens Deus: ut famulus tuus rex noster (N.) qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula (reginaque et eorum liberi), virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa: quibus decenter ornatus (vel ornati), et vitiorum monstra devitare, et hostes superare et ad te qui via, veritas, et vita es, gratiosus (vel gratiosi), valeat pervenire: qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre, in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus.*

² *Ordin.*, cap. XLIX, p. 29.

*tuos, atque locum istum, et omnia loca nostra in omni sanctitate custodi, omnesque affinitate, societate ac familiaritate nobis conjunctos, et nos a vitiis purga, virtutibus illustra, pacem et salutem nobis tribue, hostes visibiles et invisibiles remove, carnalia desideria repelle, aerem salubrem indulge, amicis inimicis nostris et nobis veram caritatem largire, et omnibus fidelibus tuis vivis et defunctis in terra viventium vitam et requiem aeternam concede. Per eundem Dominum nostrum. Oremus, Praeceptis salutaribus and the Pater noster are sung in the ordinary way, followed by the embolism (*Libera nos*). The priest then makes the fraction and commixture, and says the prayer: *Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi*. Finally, he receives Holy Communion, and takes the ablutions.*

HOLY SATURDAY

The liturgy begins with the *Confiteor*, *Pater* and *Ave* (altar is kissed), followed by four lessons. The lessons are the same as we find in the Sacramentary of Hadrian,¹ sent by Pope Hadrian I (772–95) to the emperor Charlemagne some time between the years 784 and 791: *In principio, Vigilia matutina, Apprehenderunt, and Haec est hereditas*.² The litanies are then sung, with the priest standing before the book at the side of the altar. The deacon puts on the *cuculla ecclesiastica* at the *kyrie*, and the Mass follows. The *pax* is given, but there is no *communio*. Vespers conclude the liturgy: the priest intones *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, and then recites the *Placeat*, as is customary when a sung office follows the conventual Mass.

PURIFICATION OF OUR LADY

The blessing of candles on 2 February varies in certain particulars from the Roman rite. A rubric directs the deacon to place a candle in a lantern near the priest at the corner of the altar, with the strict injunction that no other candle or lamp must be alight. This is a survival of the primitive custom of a candle in a lantern as the sole illumination at Mass. Torches, candles, etc.,

¹ *Bibl. Nat., Paris*, n.a. 1669.

² *Ordo Romanus*, I of the 8th century (*O.R.* I, 40; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 955–6) has the same lessons, with the exception of the last: *Scriptis Moyses*.

are placed near the altar, so that they may be all blessed together. The blessing takes place at the epistle corner of the altar, after the customary recitation of a *Pater* and *Ave*. *Dominus vobiscum* and its response are followed by the prayer: *Deus ineffabilis potentiae*, during which the celebrant extends his hands over the candles.¹ *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* is sung antiphonally between the verses of the *Nunc dimittis* as the candles are distributed at the altar step. All retain their candles till the offertory, when they are given back to the celebrant. When the priest is unable to hold his candle, as for example when he washes his hands or unfolds the corporal, it is placed in a candlestick on the altar.² The deacon does not carry a candle at the gospel or during his ministrations, but it is held by the lector during the epistle. As in the Roman rite, the prayer *Exaudi quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam* is said after the distribution, but it is preceded by *Dominus vobiscum*. There is no procession, and, when the lamps in the church have been lit, the introit of the Mass is begun, and the celebrant washes his hands.

DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN

Our Lady is the first and principal patron of every charterhouse.³ The tradition which claims St. Bruno as the author of the preface of the Blessed Virgin, is without foundation. The Carthusian preface, which varies slightly from the Roman, appears to be an abbreviation of a longer form, and to have been in existence before the time of St. Bruno.⁴ A Mass *de Beata* was prescribed by the general chapter in 1337, to be said every day after the conventual Mass.

The text of the *Ave Maria* was completed and fixed in the diurnal of 1588, and in the following year was ordered to be recited after the *Pater noster*, whenever this prayer was said silently in the Office. Carthusians do not speak of the *Angelus*, but of the

¹ Holy water is used, but not incense.

² A similar prescription is found in the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka (c. 1312). Benedict Zimmermann, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel* (Paris, 1910), p. 213.

³ *Guig. Consuet.*, XXIII, 1; LXXIV, 1.

⁴ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, op. cit., col. 1047, n. 5.

'Indulgence', which takes the form of three *Aves*, and is said four times a day. The *Ave* has been recited in the evening since 1342, and was prescribed also in the morning in 1393. It seems to have been introduced into the Office as a prayer of devotion during the 15th century.

CHANT

Guigo, at the request of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, arranged an antiphoner, and in a preface set out the principles that had guided him in his work¹, while disapproving of a too frequent study of the chant: 'The gravity of the eremitical life does not permit much time to be spent in the study of the chant. For, according to Blessed Jerome, any monk, in so far as he is a hermit has not the office of teacher and much less of a cantor, but rather of one who laments; one who mourns for himself and the world, and in fear awaits the coming of the Lord. Wherefore we have considered that certain things should be removed from the Antiphoner, or shortened. Things, namely, which for the most part were either superfluous or were unsuitably composed, inserted or added, or had but little or doubtful guarantee for their authenticity, or none at all; or were guilty of levity, awkwardness or falsity. Further, anyone who carefully reads the Old and New Testaments cannot but know that what has been emended or added is correct. We have done this in the presence of our most Reverend and dear Father, the Lord Hugh, bishop of Grenoble.' The integrity of the Divine Office was to be safeguarded, and should be learnt by heart. There was no intention of producing anything new, but rather to return, as far as was possible, to the text of St. Gregory.

The Carthusian method of singing has been described in the ancient statutes: 'Since the business of a true monk is far more to weep than to sing, let us use our voices in such a way as to arouse in the soul that deep joy which comes from tears, rather than the emotions produced by a harmonious blending of notes. To this end, we will, by God's grace, suppress those methods of producing

¹ The preface is found in a few old antiphoners, and it is given in full by Le Couteulx, *Annal. Ord. Cartus.*, t. I, p. 308.



St Bruno, S. Maria degli Angeli, Rome



Prior's House, Bury, 1600



Chapter House, Hinton, Charter house



Certosa, Trisulti



Certosa, Pavia (15th century)



Carthusian priest during the Epistle
Pavia



Carthusian priest after the
Consecration, Pavia

sensations which when not sinful are always worthless, as for example what are called the *fractio vocis*, *inundatio vocis*, *geminatio puncti*, etc.—variations having nothing in common with simple devotional singing.¹ The purity of the chant was jealously maintained by the general chapters. Instruments of music were forbidden in 1326, descants in 1442,² and figured music in 1582.³

Cardinal Bona records how the Carthusian chant was commended by our Lord in his revelations to St. Bridget (*ob.* 1373),⁴ and says that Francis Petrarch (*ob.* 1374) extolled the angelic psalmody of the Order.⁵ A curious usage existed in the Middle Ages, known as *recordatio*, whereby the psalms, canticles and responses were recited by heart,⁶ and the whole of the night office could be chanted in obscurity. A single antiphoner on a lectern in the middle of the choir was illuminated as an aid to faulty memories. This *recordatio*, which was suppressed in 1581, was obligatory, and there was a 'choir practice' every Saturday and on the eves of feasts of twelve lessons.

The chant is never accompanied, and the Mass is always sung in full, without monotoning or in any way shortening the longest responsary or tract.⁷ The music of the Ordinary of the Mass is very simple, with three melodies for the *Kyrie*, two for the *Gloria*, one for the Creed, two for the *Sanctus* and two for the *Agnus*. The *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* are always sung together as one whole.

The peculiar, heavy and monotonous form of chanting now observed in the Order seems to have originated in the houses of Germany and the Low Countries during the 16th century. The

¹ *Ordinarium Cartusiense* (Paris, 1582), cap. XVIII, p. 45.

² *Decantetur servitium divinum in ecclesia secundum ritum ordinis . . . nec immisceant se discantui, cum illa scientia sit peregrina ab ordine et aliena, in exemplaris et curiosa*. Admonition to the monks of Parc, diocese of Mans.

³ *Instrumenta musica librosque universos discantus seu cantus figurati interdicimus universis*. *Nov. collect. stat.*, part II, chap. XXXIV.

⁴ Cap. IV. *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII (*Omnia Opera*, Antwerp, 1694), V, p. 547.

⁵ *Praefat. lib. de otio Religiosorum*; Bona, *ibid.*

⁶ Cf. Rite of Lyons. Du Cange cites the Carthusian statutes (part I, cap. XXXV) for the use of the term *recordatio*: *de recordatione et ordine legendi et cantandi in officio 12, vel 13, lectionum*. *Glossarium Manuale*, t. V (Halle, 1778), pp. 616–17.

⁷ The Mass of Corpus Christi is said throughout the octave, and is monotoned, if a feast occurs on one of these days.

slowness of the chant and the consequent lengthening of the Office may have been the cause of the shortening of the lessons in 1581. The antiphoners of Pavia (1612) and the Grande Chartreuse (1581) almost entirely abandoned the old rhythmic notation of the Middle Ages, and the choir-books actually in use are a servile reproduction of those of the 18th century.¹

The ancient Cistercian hymns in the Carthusian books were probably adopted under the influence of the Cistercian hymnal about the end of the 12th century.² The Carthusian office, although fundamentally monastic, originally differed from the Benedictine by its absence of hymns. In this, as in the insistence on compositions taken exclusively from Holy Scripture or the Fathers, Dom Guigo seems to have been influenced by the principles of Agobard, archbishop of Lyons (*ob.* 840), who in the *Liber de Correctione Antiphonarii* had maintained: *Reverenda concilia Patrum decernunt nihil poetice compositum in divinis laudibus usurpandum.*³ The preface to the antiphoner of Guigo sometimes in fact reproduces the actual words of Agobard. It has been suggested that Guigo was influenced by the Church of Lyons, the metropolitan see of the Grande Chartreuse, rather than by Agobard directly, but a Lyons antiphoner of the same date as the Carthusian book shows but little similarity. The Carthusians, however, did not maintain their austerity, and the general chapter of 1143 authorised the introduction of the following hymns: *Post venite cantetur Aeterne rerum conditor; ad laudes, Splendor paternae gloriae; ad vesperas, Deus creator; ad completorium, Christe qui lux es.*

The rule of Scriptural compositions for the chants of the Mass was generally observed, but exceptions were made for the introits *Ecce advenit* (Epiphany), *Gaudeamus* (Assumption, All Saints, etc.) and *Salus populi* (nineteenth Sunday after Trinity), as well as for the Alleluiaic verse *Dies sanctificatus* at the third Mass of Christmas. The Mass *Salve sancta parens* was introduced in 1222, and a Mass of the Holy Trinity by 1259 at latest; while the responds

¹ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. III, part I, col. 1071.

² *Collectanea Ord. Cist. Reform.*, an. X, no. 2 (April 1948), p. 106.

³ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CIV, col. 327.

at matins for the feast of the Holy Trinity were also 'uninspired'. The alleluiaic verse *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was admitted in the liturgy in 1222, and the antiphon *Salve Regina* in 1259. The *cursus ferialis* is jealously preserved, and for feasts, even of the Blessed Virgin, much is taken from the common. Thus, in the Mass of St. Bruno, which dates from 1514, every word and note in both Office and Mass have been taken from the common of a confessor not a bishop.

The early 12th-century gradual, preserved at Parkminster, has certain characteristics of Lyonnaise manuscripts.

MISSA SICCA

Except on feasts, the Office, apart from matins and lauds and vespers, is said by the monk in his cell, where there is a stall and prie-dieu, known as the *oratorium*. Full choir ceremonial is observed in such particulars as bowing, covering and uncovering.

Five hours after compline, the monk, before going to the church for the night office, says matins and lauds *de Beata*, to which is added the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes* (Ps. LXXVIII). The psalm is recited for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels, and was prescribed by the Lateran council of 1215 to be sung during Mass. When the obligation ceased to bind, the Carthusians voluntarily retained it, and transferred the psalm to the Little Office.

On returning from the night office, the monk says prime *de Beata* in the *oratorium*, followed by the *nudum officium*, which is a survival of the *missa sicca* or 'dry Mass', a common feature in mediaeval Christendom.¹ The annalist Charles Le Couteulx says that it was probably borrowed from the Church of Grenoble in the early days of the Order, and in a manuscript missal of that Church we find the collect and postcommunion the same as in the Carthusian office.²

In the Middle Ages, when the *missa sicca* followed the conventual Mass, the *Placeat* was not said at the end of the Mass. The chasuble was retained, and also the lights on the altar. The

¹ *Vide* Appendix.

² *Annal.*, t. II, p. 364.

collects were those of the monastic hours; the epistle, recited after the manner of a prophetic lesson, was read by a religious; the gospel was sung by the celebrant, on a somewhat lower note than usual (*sonum non amittit consuetum; quamvis remissius decantetur*). The priest did not turn round for *Dominus vobiscum*, and the *Gloria, Credo, Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were omitted.¹ The service was concluded with *Ite missa est* or *Benedicamus Domino* and the *Placeat*. If the *missa sicca* was celebrated by one who had not previously said Mass, the postcommunion was omitted, as it referred to the reception of the Sacrament, and the collect of the day was recited in its place.² The statutes of 1368 directed that the gospel *In principio* should be said at the end of the *missa sicca de Beata, Salve sancta parens*.³

In 1572, the statutes of Bernard Carassus discouraged, if not abolished, the celebration of a *missa sicca* at an altar in the church,⁴ yet we find that the practice was continued in some houses till, at least, 1750.⁵

Today, the *nudum officium* is not found in the missal, but in the breviary. It has an introit, epistle, gospel, etc., but no secret. A rubric directs that a religious below the status of deacon must say *Domine exaudi orationem meam*, in place of *Dominus vobiscum*. The office, which is said without ceremony or vestments, received

¹ The position of the celebrant at *Dominus vobiscum* and the omissions are noted in *Prima pars statutorum antiquorum*, cap. XLIII, 57.

² *Repertorium statutorum ordinis cartusiensis per ordinem alphabeti*, Basileae, Joh. Amorbach, 1510; *Prima pars statutorum novorum*, cap. V, 31. *Ordinarium Cartusiense*, English MS., c. 1500, *Tracts on the Mass*, Henry Bradshaw Society, XXVII (London, 1904), p. 104.

³ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, pp. 670-1.

⁴ *Vide* Le Cout., op. cit., p. 365: *Porro missae feriarum quartae et sextae in jejuniis Temporalibus Septembris et Decembris, si propter festum duodecim lectionum, vel praesentem defunctum in Conventu dici non possint: in privato celebrantur, ubi fuerit copia sacerdotum, et propterea nudum officium de ipsis minime est dicendum: quod alias quoque nullum apud nos locum habere volumus. Ordinarium Cartusiense*, cap. XXVIII, 8 (Paris, 1582), p. 92.

⁵ *Diurnale Cartusiense cum parvo officio B.M.V.*, etc. (Correriae Cartusiae, 1750), p. 44; *Breviarium sacri ordinis Cartusiensis* (Correriae, 1717), p. LI. Le Couteulx says that this office is still recited, though he refuses to give it the name of Mass: *Nec Missae nomen tribui potest officio B. Mariae, quod nos etiamnum per preces Rorate caeli desuper in Adventu, et per Salve sancta Parens anni diebus, privatim in cellis sine ullis ceremoniis aut aliquo ornatu sacerdotali soli recitamus, et quidem nulla ex superstitione sed ex mera devotione, cujus originem suo dabimus loco*. Op. cit., t. II, p. 365.

the approbation of the post Tridentine Pope, Sixtus V (1585-90), as may be seen on the title page of the breviary of 1587.

CARTHUSIAN MASS

The Carthusian Mass has been described as 'a simplicity based on a definite simplification and maintained by a continuity averse to either change or addition'.¹ A priest of the Roman rite who enters the Order normally refrains from saying Mass while he is a postulant, in order that he may become fully acquainted with Carthusian usages.

The absence of unnecessary ceremonial at the conventual Mass 'undesignedly stresses the holiness of God'.² For the greater part of the Mass, the priest remains alone in the sanctuary, with arms lifted up and outstretched *in modum Crucifixi*.

The epistle is said by the procurator at the choir-lectern, and the deacon is in the sanctuary only when he has some duty to perform, which is not often. If incense is used, the procurator hands the thurible to the priest, but leaves the sanctuary immediately, and censes the gospel-book from below the steps.

On the rare occasions that a Carthusian says Mass outside the monastery, the *ordinarium* directs, for the avoidance of scandal, that he may conform to Roman usage, in such particulars as saying the *Confiteor* before the altar, elevating the chalice, reciting the *Agnus Dei* as in the Pian missal, blessing the people at the end of Mass, etc.³ Directions of the kind occur in a statute of the general chapter of 1422, to which additions were made in 1438.⁴

The Roman vesting prayers are given in the Carthusian missals of 1713 and 1883, but they are to be said only in churches which

¹ A monk of Parkminster, *Magnificat* (Spring and Summer 1941), vol. III, no. 3.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Sacerdotes nostri Ordinis, dum celebrant in Ecclesiis quae non sunt de Ordine nostro, se conformare possunt cum aliis sacerdotibus in modo Confessionis faciendae ante altare, in elevatione Calicis, in dicendo Agnus Dei, in benedicendo populum post Missam, et in caeteris quae sine scandalo omitti non possunt; sed possunt etiam in dictis Ecclesiis servare omnino ritum nostrum. Ordin.* (Parkminster, 1932), cap. XXXII, 16, p. 218. The final clause: *sed possunt etiam . . . ritum nostrum* is not in the *ordinarium* of 1582.

⁴ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, pp. 546-7.

do not belong to the Order: *Quia monachi Ordinis nostri aliquando celebrant Missas in ecclesiis alienis: ut ritus Missalis Romani plenius observent, hic addimus Orationes ibidem praescriptas.*

The ceremony of the blessing and sprinkling of holy water before terce and the conventual Mass on Sundays is described in the *consuetudines* of Guigo.¹ The celebrant, vested in girded alb, stole and maniple, says the prayers at the choir-lectern. The text of the prayers is similar to that in the Roman missal.² *Asperges me* has but a single melody, which is the same as no. 2 of the *Alii cantus ad lib.* in the Vatican gradual, but without *Gloria Patri*. There is no *Vidi aquam* for Eastertide.³ The celebrant makes a circuit of the sanctuary, passing behind the altar. Then, standing at the step, he asperses each monk as he presents himself. As he moves through the choir, to sprinkle the *conversi*, all bow to him, but he to none *propter Personam quam tunc representat*.

The following description of the conventual Mass may serve also for the private Mass.

Dalmatics, tunics and copes are unknown to the rite. The deacon, when he is not required for a ceremony, remains in the stall nearest but one to the altar. He wears a *cuculla ecclesiastica* or cowl of white wool, somewhat resembling a long surplice in shape.⁴ Its use was prescribed in the statutes of Jancelin (1222).⁵

There is no subdeacon, and, as we have said, the procurator comes from his stall in choir to read the epistle at a lectern.⁶ Incense is used on Sundays, chapter feasts and solemnities, but there are no acolytes.

A profound bow is made to the tabernacle, not a genuflection, although the English charterhouse manuscript, written about 1500, says that the ministers before Mass go to the altar to say a *Pater* and *Ave*, and at the step they 'bow or genuflect'.⁷ The

¹ *Consuet.*, cap. VII, 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLIII, col. 649.

² The collect has *dignare* for *digneris*, and *sanctum* after the words *angelum tuum*. ³ Cf. Rite of Lyons. ⁴ The alb is not worn. ⁵ Cap. XIII.

⁶ *In missa conventuali, si praesens (procurator) est, semper legit Epistolam: nisi sit Sacerdos hebdomadarius aut adsit subdiaconus. Stat.*, part I, cap. VI, *De Procuratore*, par. 3.

⁷ *Accedant ad medium altaris ibique ad gradum inclinant vel genuflectant.* Brit. Mus., MS. Nero A III, fo. 131; *Ordin. Cartus.*, *Tracts on the Mass*, VI. J. Wickham Legg, *H.B.S.*, XXVII (London, 1904), p. 100.

celebrant washes his hands and puts on the *cuculla ecclesiastica*, prior to taking the sacred vestments. The stole is not crossed over the breast, but with the two ends falling straight in front, as a bishop in the Roman rite. Symbolism has, of course, been invented for this Carthusian way of wearing the stole,¹ but it was very common in the Middle Ages, and we find the general chapter of 1281 prohibiting the crossing of the stole 'for the sake of uniformity'. When a part of the Divine Office is sung in choir before Mass, the celebrant puts on his vestments in the vestry,² but the normal practice is to take the vestments from the gospel side of the altar.³

The celebrant and deacon uncover the cloths on the *mensa*, and a cushion for the missal is placed on the left side.⁴ The missal, to which a cloth-cover with a long flap is attached, lies flat on the epistle side of the altar.⁵ Before beginning the Mass, the celebrant is directed to 'stand a little and lift his mind to God'. On feasts, the priest then makes a profound bow, and on ferial days he kisses the altar.⁶

¹ The monk by his vocation stands as the image of the risen Christ, unfettered and reigning in glory.

² The Carthusian books speak of *vestiarium*, and members of the Order consequently use the term 'vestry', rather than 'sacristy'.

³ Apart from two or three occasions in the year, the chasuble is always put on in the sanctuary. On fast days, the chasuble is taken before saying the prayer in the Office before Mass. De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. I, rem. sur chap. II, p. 79.

⁴ Cushions came into use towards the end of the 13th century, but a missal lectern is mentioned in an inventory of the cathedral church of Angers as early as 1297.

⁵ The missal and gospel-book originally received the same treatment as the Bible and the book of homilies at the lectern. When not in use they were covered with a detachable cloth. Later, it was found more convenient for the missal etc., which have to be carried about, to have a cover with a long flap. In this way the books could be covered when open and not in use. The original practice still exists on Good Friday: two cloths are placed on the altar, one on either side, as covers for the missal. The synods of Münster (1279), Liège (1287) and Cambrai (1300) direct the missal to be wrapped in a linen cloth before being laid on the altar.

⁶ The altar is kissed at the beginning and end of the Mass; at *Homo factus est*, when there is a creed; at the *Supplices*; and before kissing the *instrumentum pacis*, if the *pax* is given. The hand of the celebrant is kissed twice: when the deacon gives the chalice at the offertory, and the thurible for the censuring which follows. The gospel-book is kissed, even in Masses for the dead. Other things are never kissed.

PREPARATORY PRAYERS

The position of the celebrant during these prayers is unusual, although it is found in the customs of Cluny¹ and in the mediaeval use of Westminster Abbey.² The priest stands on the gospel side of the sanctuary facing the seat³ (*cathedra*), and the deacon remains in his stall. At a private Mass, the server kneels on the opposite side to the priest, facing the middle or gospel corner of the altar. An engraved title-page, depicting this ceremony, appears in the Carthusian missals of 1679 (Faurat, Savoy) and 1713 (Lyons).

The *Confiteor* before Mass is found in the early *Consuetudines*, and is described fully a little later in the century in the Constitutions of Basil (not later than 1173): *Sacerdos . . . dicta oratione ad dextrum cornu altaris, ad sinistrum casula induitur, et inclinatus praemittit, ante confessionem, precem: Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo. Confessionem autem, si praesens sit, facit episcopus. Qua facta, subdit sacerdos aliam precem: Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.* The prayers are identical with those of the 12th century.

S. *Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo.*

M. *Et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis.*

S. *Confiteor Deo, et beatæ Mariæ et omnibus Sanctis, et vobis fratres, quia peccavi nimis mea culpa per superbiam, cogitatione, locutione, opere et omissione, precor vos orate pro me.*

M. *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus per intercessionem beatæ Mariæ et omnium Sanctorum, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, et perducatur ad vitam æternam. S. Amen.*

M. *Confiteor Deo, etc.*

¹ *Ipsè quoque stat prope sinistrum, et inclinis contra diaconum similiter inclinem, dicit confessionem. Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii, lib. II, cap. XXX; ap. Luc d'Achéry, Spicilegium (Paris, 1723), t. I, p. 676, col. 2.*

² *Osculatoque altari stans juxta sinistrum cornu altaris ministro suo circumstantique populo istam generalem faciat confessionem. Missale Westmonast., Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. V (London, 1893), fasc. II, col. 489.*

³ The *ordinarium* actually in use (1932) says: *juxta Lectorium Evangelii existens, et facie ad cathedram versa. Ordin. Cartus. (Parkminster, 1932), cap. XXV, p. 143.* The missal of 1713: *pergit infra gradum altaris ad cornu Evangelii ibique stans lateraliter verso vultu ad piscinam incipit erectus.* The English Charterhouse Ms.: *Stantesque ad sinistrum cornu altaris versa facie ad austrum.* Op. cit., p. 100.

S. *Misereatur vestri*, etc.

S. *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*.

M. *Qui fecit coelum et terram*.

The shorter form of *Confiteor* is found in early printed Roman breviaries,¹ and the Carthusian formula is similar to that of the Ordinary of Bursfeld and the primitive text of the Church of Lyons. The Carthusians and the Congregation of Bursfeld have a single *mea culpa*, but strike the breast three times.²

The prayers are said on Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and before the blessings of ashes, palms and candles.

At private Masses, if the priest and server were alone the form was originally in the singular, as is shown by a 12th-century direction to the effect that if the priest knows that Brother Cook or somebody else is present, he is to say *Vobis fratres* and *Misereatur vestri*. The use of the plural was enjoined in 1509, thus depriving the Mass of its private character. At the conclusion of the prayers, the priest says a *Pater* and *Ave*, and goes up to the altar. He kisses the altar, makes the sign of the cross,³ and goes to the missal, where he says the introit, *Kyrie*, and *Gloria* (if it is to be said).

INTROIT TO THE GOSPEL

Neither *Aufer a nobis* nor *Oramus te Domine* are said, and incense is not used before the gospel.⁴

The *Gloria in excelsis* has *propter gloriam tuam magnam*, in place of the Roman form: *propter magnam gloriam tuam*.

Dominus vobiscum before the collects is recited at the book: *Dominus* facing the altar, and *vobiscum* facing the choir.⁵ Dom Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708), commenting on the method of the salutation in the Carthusian rite, says that the religious receive

¹ E.g. *Breviarium secundum morem romane curie*, Venice, 1481; *Missale Romanum* of Paul III (1534-49).

² Three was considered to represent an indefinite number.

³ In making the sign of the cross, the thumb and the first two fingers are fully extended, with the other two fingers bent upon the palm of the hand.

⁴ Cf. Vienne, Metz, Arras, etc. in the 17th and 18th centuries.

⁵ *Et cum dicit Dominus modice inclinando ad altare, et vertens se ad populum dicens vobiscum inclinando*. Eng. Cart. MS. (c. 1500), *Tracts on the Mass*, VI (H.B.S., XXVII), p. 100. Cf. Rite of Lyons.

*Dominus vobiscum d'une manière très honnête et très polie, se découvrant et s'inclinant au mot vobiscum.*¹

During the collects, the priest places one hand inside the other (*cancellat manus*): he does not bow at *Oremus*. The deacon, not the subdeacon, responds *Levate*, when, as in the ferial Masses of Lent, *Flectamus genua* is said.

At the conclusion of the prayers the celebrant moves the closed missal to the cushion at the other side of the altar, and, having opened and covered the book, goes to the *cathedra*. Here he receives the *mappula*² from the deacon, and also a book from which he may read the epistle with the responsary, alleluia or tract. There is, however, no obligation for the priest to read what is recited or sung by others, and the *ordinarium* is quite clear on the point: *Epistolam attente audit aut legit cum Responsorio et Alleluia vel Tractu*,³ although, since 1582, he is directed to say the introit, *Kyrie*, offertory, *Agnus Dei* and communion.

Claude de Vert, whose liturgy of predilection seems to have been that of the Carthusians,⁴ says that the priest holding his own book is *plus simple et plus uni* than the Dominican practice of a minister holding it for him.⁵

The epistle, as we have seen, is recited by the procurator at the choir-lectern.⁶ The deacon, in the meanwhile, if there is no creed, prepares the *oblata*.⁷

A ceremonial, revised at the end of the 14th century, directs the deacon or server at Mass to bring 'burning coals' to the priest.⁸ The actual *ordinarium* (1932) prescribes the coals (*prunas*) to be

¹ Op. cit., t. I, rem. sur chap. II, p. 96.

² *Mappula*, originally a napkin, a piece of linen or other material over the knees, to avoid soiling the chasuble. Cf. gremial in Roman pontifical; cf. Denys Buenner, *Le Rite Lyonnais* (Lyons-Paris, 1934), part II, chap. VI, pp. 265-7.

³ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, p. 153; De Vert, op. cit., t. IV, rem. XIX, p. 125.

⁴ *Les Chartreux, dont les pratiques sont d'ordinaire de bon goût et très-bien entendues.* Op. cit., t. II, cap. I, p. 25, note b. ⁵ Op. cit., t. IV, rem. VII, p. 20, n. 3.

⁶ Cf. Rite of Lyons, in which the subdeacon reads the epistle, sitting at the west end of the choir. John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079), giving the use of Rouen, says: *subdiaconus vero, excepto tempore ministracionis suae, in choro maneat. De offic. eccles.; Pat. Lat., t. CXLVII, col. 33.*

⁷ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXIX, p. 187.

⁸ *Manuale caeremoniarum domus majoris Cartusiae*, cap. II, 4.

brought at the beginning of the second collect, after the preface, and again at the conclusion of the *Pater noster*.¹

When *Alleluia, Veni sancte Spiritus* is sung, the celebrant goes to the epistle corner of the altar, kisses it, and returns to the *cathedra*.² Sequences or proses have never been admitted in the Carthusian rite.³ If the use of incense is prescribed, the priest puts it into the thurible without any formula or signing with a cross. When the deacon has prepared and covered the gospel-book at the lectern, he comes to the celebrant and, holding his stole extended, says: *Jube Domne benedicere*.

The priest responds: *Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ut recte nobis pronuncies Evangelium pacis*.⁴ The variant *Evangelium pacis* (*Evangelium suum*) occurs in the Carmelite and Dominican rites as well as in the so-called Mass of Illyricus,⁵ and in the ancient missals of Toul, Langres and Paris (before 1615).⁶ At a private Mass, the priest kisses the altar, and says the prayer in the first person.

The celebrant takes one end of the stole, and, placing it on the deacon's left shoulder, brings it round the back and under the right arm across the front, hanging it over the left arm after the manner of a maniple, with the other end hanging free from the left shoulder. The Constitutions of Basil say: *ponit stolam super humerum sinistrum, et per dextrum latus receptam, involvit pro manipulo in sinistra manu*.

The deacon kisses the altar before singing the gospel at the lectern.

The English Charterhouse manuscript missal directs the corporal to be spread on the altar after the priest has said the prayer: *Dominus sit in corde*, and before the gospel: *Dicendo Dominus sit in corde etc ponit librum super lectorium. Deinde expandit corporalia*,

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXIX, 7, p. 188. The *Liber Ordinarius*, compiled at the end of the 13th century by a Benedictine abbot of Liège, and modelled on Dominican usage, directs the sacristan, when it is very cold, to provide *carbones in patellis* at Mass.

² *Ordin. Cartus.* (1582), cap. XXVI, p. 79b. A Carthusian priest does not kneel at Mass: e.g. *Homo factus est* in the creed. ³ Cf. Rite of Lyons.

⁴ A similar formula is found in the *Indutus Planeta*, a series of ceremonial directions published between 1507 and 1546, for the most part in France.

⁵ 10th–11th century.

⁶ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, p. 222, n. 4.

*osculatoque altari vertit se ad librum.*¹ It may be that the corporals were left folded on the altar, and not removed after Mass, or the direction may have had some connection with the practice, which existed in many places during the later Middle Ages, of inspecting the *oblata* before the gospel, in order to see that they were ready for the Sacrifice. Thus, we find a rubric in the *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*: *Deinde visitet hic sacrificium surgendo patenam supra quam debet esse hostia, respiciendo infra calicem si sit vinum et aqua.*² A similar rubric occurs in the Ordinary of Coutances (1557),³ while a missal of St. Pol de Léon in Brittany, after the blessing before the gospel, says: *Amoto corporali desuper calicem, antequam incipiat evangelium dicat: Dominus vobiscum. Deinde signando se, et evangelium, et calicem, dicat Sequentia etc.*⁴

The celebrant, during the singing of the gospel, stands at the *cathedra*, holding the *mappula*.

At the conclusion of the gospel, the priest returns to the altar, where he kisses the book, presented (*interposito linteo*) to him by the deacon.⁵ Then the minister in his turn kisses the book,⁶ although it was originally the deacon who was first.⁷

If a deacon is ordained in a church of the Order, he not only sings the gospel, but he also carries out the ceremonies proper to his office.⁸

The *Statuta Antiqua* directed that a religious who is late for Mass may come into the choir, so long as it is before the gospel.⁹

¹ Fo. 131, 131b, *Brit. Mus. Nero A III, Ordin. Cartus.; Tracts on the Mass (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXVII)*, p. 100.

² Fo. 131, 131b, *Brit. Mus. Nero A III, Ordin. Cartus.; Tracts on the Mass (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXVII)*, p. 39. It describes French usages in the later Middle Ages.

³ Fo. 131, 131b, *Brit. Mus. Nero A III, Ordin. Cartus.; Tracts on the Mass (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXVII)*, p. 58.

⁴ Martène, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.*, lib. I, cap. IV, art. XII, ordo XXXIV (Antwerp, 1736), t. I, col. 662.

⁵ *Osculto prius Evangelii libro. Ordin.*, cap. XXVI, 17.

⁶ The priest kisses the margin of the book nearest to him as the deacon offers it: the deacon, the left-hand margin of the left page.

⁷ Already in the time of Martène (*ob.* 1739), it was the priest who first kissed the book: *fertur episcopo liber ad osculandum, deinde fertur sacerdoti; postea ipse diaconus osculatur; quod numquam facit nisi post sacerdotem.* *Ibid.*, t. I, col. 632.

⁸ De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. II, chap. I, p. 63, note a.

⁹ *Stat. Antiq.*, pars. I, cap. XLV, II seq.

CREED

The last article of the creed has a variant, taken from the first Latin translation from the Greek, the work of Dionysius Exiguus in the early years of the 6th century: *et vitam futuri saeculi (et vitam venturi saeculi)*. At the words: *et homo factus est*, the celebrant bows and kisses the altar,¹ while the deacon prostrates on the step of the sanctuary: *prostratus in medio sanctuarii gradu*.² It is not the custom for a priest at the altar to genuflect, except at the Consecration and Communion or to take 'venia of devotion':³ *Nunquam enim ipse Sacerdos, quamdiu stat ad Altare sacerdotalibus vestibus indutus, genua flectit, nisi ad consecrationem et ad communionem, aut Veniam pro defectibus capit; sed quando veniae devotionis sunt sumendae, incurvatus tantum corpore, Altare osculatur*.⁴ Genuflections are less profound than those of the Roman rite, and the knee does not touch the ground.

OFFERTORY

If there is a creed, the celebrant washes his fingers and receives the corporal, after the words *et homo factus est*.⁵ The first three or four verses of Psalm XXV (*Lavabo manus meas inter innocentes*) are said. Some of the Carthusians in Poland omitted the psalm altogether.⁶ The English Charterhouse manuscript gives several prayers at this first washing of the hands: *Quando accedit ad primam locionem manuum: Lavabo inter innocentes manus meas, et circumdabo altare tuum Domine*, followed by *Veni sancte Spiritus replextuorum corda fidelium, et tui amoris in eis ignem accende, Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur, Et renovabis faciem terrae*, and the prayer: *Deus qui corda fidelium*.⁷

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, pp. 155–6.

² *Ibid.*, cap. XXIX, p. 190.

³ A Carthusian expression for a usage in the Order. It would be misleading to translate *capit veniam* by 'ask pardon for a fault'.

⁴ *Ordin.*, cap. XXVI, p. 156.

⁵ *Ibid.*, At a conventual Mass, if incense is used, there is a second *lavabo* after the censuring of the altar.

⁶ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, pp. 537–8. It was once the custom in the Roman rite to recite the first verse of the psalm only.

⁷ Fo. 134 b, *Ordin. Cartus.*, *Tracts on the Mass*, VI (*H.B.S.*, XXVII), p. 103.

The deacon offers the burse (*capsa*) containing the large-sized corporal, which the priest extends, the upper part folded towards him.¹ The Carthusian corporal is larger and wider than the Roman form.²

At a private Mass the corporal is extended and wine is poured into the chalice before the preparatory prayers. The vessels, with the host on the paten, are left midway between the book and the centre of the altar until the offertory, when the water is added, and they are moved to the middle.³

The deacon at the conventual Mass brings up the vessels wearing a *syndon*, which resembles a humeral veil without strings, worn over the left shoulder and hanging loose.⁴ The ancient name *manutergium* indicates its original use. It is worn also by the deacon when he changes the Blessed Sacrament,⁵ and when he receives Holy Communion.

The deacon washes his hands both before and after touching the chalice or corporal.⁶ A small pall has hitherto covered the chalice,⁷ but there is no chalice veil: *hostiam scilicet et patenam super calicem positam sola palla tunc cooperimus. Non enim utimur velo, cujus usus etsi antiquissimus, non videtur tamen necessarius; quia sine illo, ut notat Bartholomaeus Gavantus, sacrificium non incommodè fieri potest.*

The deacon⁸ at the epistle side of the altar adds a little water to

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, p. 156.

² *Corporale nostrum longius est ac latius quam aliorum corporalia, et magis ad antiquorum similitudinem accedit, quae totum altare tegebant; super quod illud extra missam plicatum in aliquibus Ordinis domibus saepius relinquitur, ut olim apud Cluniacenses factitabatur, quorum sacerdos 'lavatis manibus accedit ad altare, et utrumque corporale, vel quod in altari semper jacet vel quod subdiaconus apportavit, accipiens expandit'. Unum e duobus illis corporalibus simile erat nostro, non ibidem duplum fuisse dicitur. In quibusdam tamen Domibus, et olim in Majori Cartusia, 'corporalia in altaribus remanere non debent', ut in antiquo caerimoniale legitur. Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, pp. 532-3.*

³ *Ante Missam privatam corporale super lapidem consecratum expandimus, hostiam et calicem super illud post Offertorium deposituri, remotisque patena et parva palla, ipsum calicem sola ejusdem corporalis parte extrema cooperimus. Annal.*, t. II, p. 533.

⁴ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXIX, p. 191.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

⁷ The pall is used only *in caventu* in the piscina, never at the altar. It is employed to keep the *oblata* clean. The chalice is not considered to be on the altar until it is placed on the corporal, and, in theory, it is still in the credence cupboard.

⁸ *Annal.*, t. II, p. 532. Cf. Roman missal (Paris, 1546), fo. CXV.

the chalice in a spoon, and the priest says the prayer: *De latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi exivit sanguis et aqua in remissionem peccatorum in nomine Patris ✠ et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.*¹

The celebrant makes the sign of the cross over the bread and the wine together, which is the only occasion, other than in the canon, when the priest gives a blessing with his hand, and it is, in fact, a later addition. The earlier practice was for the priest to say the prayer, and then, if a bishop was present, to turn, holding the chalice, towards the prelate, who blessed it. It was only in the 16th century that the priest was directed to bless the elements himself. The paten and chalice are offered (*paulo elevatum*) together with a single prayer: *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te Domine: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie,*² *ut placeat tibi, Domine Deus.* Then, making the sign of the cross with the chalice, the priest places it in the middle of the corporal, as he says: *In nomine Patris, et Filii, ✠ et Spiritus Sancti.*

In the English Charterhouse manuscript, the priest, before he receives the chalice from the deacon (*antequam accipiat calicem*), says: *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que retribuit michi, Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomini Domini invocabo.*³

The host is placed in front of the chalice, which is covered with the back of the corporal,⁴ while the greater part of the paten lies under the right side of the corporal, with the small hosts on either side of the large one.

The profession of solemn vows takes place after the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis.*

On Sundays, chapter feasts and solemnities, the priest puts incense into the thurible, but without any form of words. He raises the censer over the *oblata*, as he says: *Dirigatur, Domine,*

¹ At Rome before the 14th century, and at Soissons and Laon in the 18th century, the deacon added the water.

² In 1687 the Congregation of Rites changed the words *ut a te suscipiatur hodie* to *in conspectu tuo hodie.*

³ *Ordin. Cartus., Tracts on the Mass*, VI (op. cit.), p. 103. The English *ordinarium*, however, is not a guide to Carthusian practice, since it contains various local customs, and belongs to a time just previous to the *Tertia Compilatio*, when certain usages had not yet become obligatory.

⁴ Thus forming a 'little tent'.

oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. In nomine Patris, ✠ et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. The oblations are censured in one swing, *in modum coronae*, followed by single censings of the cross, and of the epistle and gospel sides of the altar. Finally, the priest censes three times before the front of the altar and parallel with it (*ter inferius ante faciem altaris*), holding the thurible in one hand at the full length of the chains.¹ The chasuble is raised slightly during the censuring, *ne impediatur thurificantem*, as an ancient *ordinarium* of Bursfeld says.

Except for the celebrant at the *Orate fratres* there is no censuring of persons at Mass, but both fathers and brothers are censured at solemn lauds and vespers.

When incense is used, the celebrant washes his hands a second time, but in silence.

After the censuring by the priest, the deacon takes the thurible, and, holding it at full length, makes a circuit of the altar, censuring in the direction in which he is walking, and pausing in the middle of the altar, both before and behind, to cense three times towards the Blessed Sacrament.²

ORATE FRATRES

At a signal from the deacon,³ the religious in choir rise for the *Orate fratres*, thus responding to the monition: *Orate fratres pro me peccatore ad Dominum Deum nostrum.* Turning back to the altar, the celebrant does not complete the circle, and, as with the Dominicans and in the Roman rite on Good Friday, there is no response. The deacon raises the front of the chasuble with his left hand, while with his right he censes the priest with a single swing of the thurible.⁴ At a private Mass, the server raises the

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, p. 158. The following description of the censuring is given by Martène (*De Ant. Eccl. Rit.*, t. I, p. 228): *Statuta Cartus.: Thurificat (sacerdos) semel super calicem in modum crucis . . . et postea semel in modum coronae; deinde ad crucem semel, semel ad dextrum, semel ad sinistram cornu, ter ante faciem altaris, et reddito thuribulo diacono . . . expectat donec diaconus qui interim altare circuit, terque ad crucem et ad corpus Domini thurificat, ad gradum revertatur altaris.*

² *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, p. 158. ³ The deacon stamps his foot.

⁴ *Dum dicitur (Orate fratres) anteriorem casulae partem sinistra elevans, dextra celebrantis faciem supra casulam thurificat.* *Ordin. Cartus.* (1582), cap. XXIX, p. 98; *ibid.* (1932), cap. XXIX, p. 192.

edge of the vestment, a gesture originally intended to keep the chasuble off the ground, and now said to express a union with the intentions of the Sacrifice.

SECRETS

Oremus is said before the second secret or *super oblata*, as well as before the first. Several missals, other than those of the Order, have a similar direction in about the year 1100.¹ The priest holds both hands over the *oblata*, probably by reason of the word *super*, as was formerly the custom at Lyons.² A ceremonial compiled at the end of the 14th century directed the priest not to begin the secrets before sunrise, and, if necessary, he was enjoined to wait until its appearance.³

CANON

The missal includes the ten Roman prefaces, but the recent additions to the Pian missal have not been adopted by the Order. The *ordinarium* (1932) directs the priest to say the canon *devotissime, sed moram fugiens fastidiosam*. There are a few slight changes in the order of the words, as, for example, *Unde et memores nos servi tui*, which in fact is the original text.

The *Te igitur* is said 'profoundly inclined with hands joined', and the altar is not kissed before *uti accepta habeas et benedicas*, probably because there is no word which suggests it. At *In primis*, the rubric says: *elevat et expansas tenet manus in modum crucifixi*,⁴ a position maintained till *Hanc igitur*. The missal retains the words *et Rege nostro, N.*, but it is unlikely that they are said today. The spreading of the hands over the *oblata* at *Hanc igitur* was prescribed in the missal of 1603, but it had been already enjoined in the *ordinarium* of 1582: *Ad hanc igitur extendit manus simul super oblata . . . quas sic tenet usque ad quam oblationem . . . inclusive*.⁵ The deacon or server now lights a candle (*intorti-*

¹ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, p. 375.

² *Dum secretas dicit tenet manus simul ante calicem. Ordin. Cartus. Tracts on the Mass* (ibid., XXVII), p. 101; *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVI, p. 160.

³ *Manuale caeremoniarum domus majoris Cartusiae*, cap. II.

⁴ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 163.

⁵ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1582), cap. XXVII, p. 83b.

tium) from the sanctuary lamp, holding it during the consecration in his right hand.

The English manuscript (c. 1500), the *ordinarium* of 1582 and the missal of 1713 direct the celebrant towards the end of each memento to incline his head. *Amen* is said five times in the actual canon, but before 1560 only once: at the end of the final doxology.¹ The expression *infra canonem* is used in place of *infra actionem*.

The English manuscript, referred to above, expressly forbids the celebrant to wipe his fingers on the corporal before the consecration: *non tergat digitos suos super corporalia vel super altare*.² The practice was probably introduced after the Pian reform. The missal of 1713 says: *Extergit pollices et indices super corporale*, and the *ordinarium* of 1932: *Deinde extergit pollices et indices super corporale*.³ At *accepit* (*accipiens*) the priest is directed to take the host (chalice) in both hands.⁴ The English manuscript, perhaps mindful of the 12th-century controversy at the University of Paris, stresses the importance of the bystanders not being able to see the host before it is consecrated: *cum dicitur accepit panem, accipit hostiam utraque manu . . . in quantum potest quod a circumstantibus non videatur antequam elevetur, consecrata hostia sacerdos antequam ipsam elevat parum geniculat. Post elevationem . . . reverenter inclinatur, sed non genuflectit*.⁵ The custom of bending the knee before the elevation seems to have originated in the 14th century, and at the end of the 16th the priest was directed, after each consecration, to bend both knees slightly: *non tamen usque ad terram*.⁶

The elevation of the Host is not prescribed in the *Consuetudines* of Guigo, but it is mentioned in the statutes of Jancelin (1222),⁷ and ordered in the *Statuta Antiqua* (1259), together with the ringing of a bell. Of the consecration of the chalice, the *ordinarium* says: *parum elevat, primum retracto paululum corporali et restricto inter digitos et oram calicis ne decidat*.⁸ A traditional stage

¹ Lebrun, *op. cit.*, t. IV, 2, p. 261; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 95.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

³ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 164 (166).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁶ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 165.

⁷ *Stat. Jancelini*, cap. XXXIII, XLIV.

⁸ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 166. An almost identical direction is given in the English MS. (c. 1500), *op. cit.*, p. 101.

is maintained, once general in the Western Church, at a time when there was no true elevation of the chalice, and genuflections were first introduced: *genua aliquantulum flectit*.¹ The *ordinarium* directs: *Calicem paulo altius elevat dicens: Haec quotiescumque . . . facietis*,² and the English manuscript: *Hec quocienscunque (sic) elevat calicem parum altius ad distinguendum sacrum a non sacro*.³ The priest raises the corporal, with his two uppermost fingers above the chalice at its 'elevation', so that it is partially uncovered. No exterior adoration is made at this 'elevation', as the chalice is not raised high enough to be seen. In the time of Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708) some members of the Order complained of this inability to see.⁴ The community prostrate at the consecration, but it is not prescribed in the *consuetudines*, although enjoined in the statutes of Jancelin (1222) for the elevation and again from the *Agnus Dei* to the communion chant.⁵ The same statutes also condemn the custom of standing: *Quando autem elevatur hostia, si stantes oramus, accipimus veniam*. At the conventual Mass on feasts, the religious stand after the second 'elevation', facing the altar and covered *in toto* until the *Agnus*, whereas on ferias they kneel in the stalls facing the opposite choir.

At a private Mass, the server remains kneeling, unless he is to receive Holy Communion, when he prostrates. In the latter case he lies on his right side supported by his elbows (*lateraliter et honeste*), with head and shoulders turned slightly towards the ground, his left hand resting on the ground. The legs are sometimes crossed and slightly curled.

The chalice is held by the priest till *Unde et memores*, when he raises and extends his arms. At *Supplices te Rogamus* he bows with crossed hands: *cancellatis manibus, ut quod sinistra sit inferior*,⁶ which was the practice at Rome till the end of the 16th century.⁷

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 101

⁴ *Op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XXVIII, p. 218.

⁵ *Stat. Jancelini*, cap. XXXIII, XLIV; cf. *Stat. Antiq.*, pars I, cap. IV, 11; cap. V, 25; cap. XII, 3; cap. XXVIII, 9, 37; cap. XLIII, 22.

⁶ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, 7, p. 167. A similar rubric occurs in the English MS. *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁷ Cf. *Ordo Romanus* XIV, 305; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 1167.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus is said silently,¹ as the *Statuta Antiqua* (1259) directed. Three signs of the cross are made at *per ipsum, et cum ipso*, etc., in the final doxology, in place of the five in the actual Roman rite. The threefold signing is considered by some writers to have been connected with the custom of placing the particles for Communion to the right and left of the Host of the celebrant, but the explanation is too far-fetched to be probable, and several manuscripts of the Gregorian sacramentary enjoin the three crosses. The Host and Chalice are slightly elevated at *per omnia saecula saeculorum*, and laid down *cum autem dicitur Amen*,² as was the custom in the Congregation of Bursfeld.

The *Pater noster* follows as usual. At the word *pacem* in the embolism, the priest kisses the paten, from which, says an ancient *ordinarium*, he receives 'peace'. Claude de Vert maintains that the Host is placed on the paten at the words *ope misericordiae tuae adjuti*, because the celebrant is 'helped and aided' by the paten.³

The ceremony of the fraction has been described in the English manuscript: *Dicendo, 'Per eundem Dominum . . . filium tuum' frangit hostiam, non tamen per medium. Ponitque minorem partem cum dextera manu super patenam, dicens 'Qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus', frangit per mediam portionem alteram, et partem quam sinistra tenet cum eadem manu deponit in patena, dicendo. 'In unitate spiritus sancti' utraque manu tenet terciam partem et calicem et levat ea parum, dicendo 'per omnia saecula saeculorum'. Deponitque calicem cum respondetur, 'Amen'.*⁴ The embolism and fraction are followed by *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, and the statutes of Jancelin (1222) says that if a bishop is in choir, he may, if he so wishes, give the episcopal benediction: *Episcopales illas benedictiones quae ante Agnus Dei fiunt, inter nos, si volunt, faciunt episcopi.*⁵ The arrangement of the *Agnus Dei* is peculiar to the rite. The first *Agnus* is sung in its normal position, but the second and third after Communion.⁶ The celebrant defers the recitation

¹ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, cap. XXVII, p. 168.

³ *Op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VIII, p. 326. ⁴ *Fo.* 133b, 134, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁵ *Stat. Jancelini*, cap. XXXIII, XLII; cf. *Stat. Antiq.*, pars. II, cap. IX, 5 *seq.*

Vide Rite of Lyons.

⁶ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 172.

of the second and third *Agnus* until after the ablutions.¹ De Moléon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques*, at the end of the 17th century, says that the *Agnus* was deferred until after the Communion at Orleans: *Et la Communion solennelle de l'Evêque immédiatement avant l'Agnus Dei*.² John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079) seems to infer that all three were sung after Communion.³

The kiss of peace, which follows the first *Agnus*, was directed by the general chapter of 1319 to be given by means of the *instrumentum pacis*: *De Caetero pax sumatur in ecclesia cum tabula in qua sit depicta imago crucifixi*. Its use was confirmed in the *Nova Statuta* of 1368. The commixture takes place before the first *Agnus*,⁴ but there is no prayer, as we find also in the ancient customs of Cluny. A single prayer is said before receiving Holy Communion, the second of the three Roman prayers, but in a slightly expanded form: *Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi*.⁵ A manuscript missal of 1492 gives the prayer, preceded by the first *Agnus*, and followed by the two others.⁶

COMMUNION

The celebrant, with his knees slightly bent (*genibus aliquantum flexis*),⁷ then receives the Host and, upright, the chalice, without any form of words.⁸ It is possible that unconsecrated wine was given to the communicants after the withdrawal of the chalice, and the 'ablution of the mouth', administered by the procurator after the general Communion on days when there is

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

² *Voyages Liturgiques de France* (Paris, 1718), p. 198.

³ *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.

⁴ *Cum respondetur 'Et cum spiritu tuo', demittens in Sanguinem. Tunc dicit Agnus Dei. . . . Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, 11.

⁵ *Oratio ante communionem: Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Deo vivi . . . per piissimam mortem tuam universum mundum vivificasti . . . a cunctis iniquitatibus et peccatis et a cogitationibus perversis, libera me ab omnibus malis preteritis, presentibus et futuris, et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis et a te in perpetuum nunquam separari permittas, Salvator mundi, qui cum eodem Patre in unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti vivis et regnas Deus. Per.* Fo. 85, *Bibl. municip., Grenoble, MS. 71*; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 95-6.

⁶ Between folios 148 and 149, *Bibl. Mazarine, Paris, ms. 425* (220); Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 250.

⁷ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), chap. XXVII, p. 169.

⁸ The English manuscript says: *Post suscepcionem sacramenti dominici corporis: Quod ore sumpsimus Domine et pura mente capiamus. Et de munere temporale fiet nobis remedium.* Fo. 135, *Tracts on the Mass, VI, ibid.*, p. 103.

a single conventual Mass, may be a survival of the practice.¹ Some suitable (*honesto*) vessel is to be used for the 'ablution'.²

Before receiving Holy Communion, a *venia* of devotion is made at the step of the sanctuary.³ The Constitutions of Basil (not later than 1175) direct the deacon to receive Holy Communion from the Host which had been reserved for the sick in the previous week, and a newly consecrated Host replaced the one that was consumed. On the principal feasts, a third part of the Host of the actual Mass was received.⁴ According to present practice, the deacon of the Mass, when he is not a priest, receives Communion himself. Communion under two kinds was forbidden to the deacon in 1259: *nec reservatur unquam de sanguine Diacono*.⁵ The English manuscript directs the deacon to receive Holy Communion on all Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons, with the exception of St. John the Evangelist and certain other feasts, such as St. Hugh, St. Benedict and St. Mary Magdalene. Nor, from custom, is he to receive Communion on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, or the octaves of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.⁶ Even on days of a general Communion, there are no Communion prayers, but it is customary to say silently a *Pater* and *Ave*. Two torches are lit when the deacon or the community receive Holy Communion, and also when the reserved Sacrament is changed.⁷ It was formerly the custom to spread a *syndon* or some similar cloth for the communicants,⁸ but this has now been superseded by the Communion paten.⁹ The form of administration is similar to that in the Dominican rite, and in the Roman rite for giving viaticum: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi*

¹ De Vert, op. cit., t. IV, rem. XXXV, p. 278.

² *Et vinum communicatis a Procuratore administratur cum quodam honesto ad id praeeparato vase. Ordin.* (1932), p. 172. The *ordinarium* of 1582 says: *Et vinum communicatis a procuratore administratur cum calice in extrema parte involuto, aut alio quodam honesto ad id praeeparato vase. Verumtamen quando omnes etiam sacerdotes communionem accipiunt vinum, ministrat antiquior ex iis communicaverunt.* Cap. XXVII, p. 88.

³ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, p. 171

⁴ *Constit. Basil.*, Dijon MS. 616 (364), fo. 42.

⁵ *Stat. Ant.*, pars. I, cap. XLIII, n. 45.

⁶ Fo. 159b, op. cit., p. 109.

⁷ *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, pp. 172-3.

⁸ *Syndonem aut aliud oblongum mantile . . . extersum ante communicandos. Ordin. Cartus.* (1582), cap. XXIX, p. 100b.

⁹ *Patinam communicandis porrigit. Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXIX, p. 198.

*custodiat te in vitam aeternam.*¹ If there are any to receive Holy Communion, says Claude de Vert, the priest leaves the second ablution in the chalice, so that after Communion he can again cleanse his fingers (*digitos excutit*), and remove any particle adhering to them.²

In former times the first ablution was taken at the altar by the celebrant, and after Mass the chalice was purified with wine by the deacon: *Sumpto sanguine sacerdos omni tempore primam sumat ablutionem, nullo intervallo interjecto. Et postea: omni tempore quo Missa cantatur, ipse qui sacerdotem adjuvat, sive communicet sive non, accipit calicem, vino lavat, et sumit tantummodo quando communicat. Alias vinum dimittitur in sacrarium, et calix sicut in aliis missis reversatur super patenam.*³ A somewhat similar practice was observed by the Cistercians and Cluniacs.

After the ablutions, it was customary to place the chalice sideways on the paten, in order to let it drain,⁴ and we often find ancient chalices notched or indented to prevent them rolling.⁵ The usage was very general in the Middle Ages. A rubric in the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka (c. 1312) says: *Et illo hausto reclinat calicem super patenam.*⁶ The missal of the use of York has the rubric: *Sumat hic calicem, et ponat super patenam,*⁷ and the missal of Hereford: *Tunc ponat calicem jacentem super patenam.*⁸ In the 18th century it was the practice at Clermont in Auvergne for the celebrant, after the ablutions, to leave the chalice on the epistle side of the altar, as at a low Mass in Carthusian churches.

Ancient ceremonials direct the priest, if he thinks fit, to wash his hands and lips before leaving the altar, 'on account of the

¹ There is no *Amen*.

² Op. cit., t. III, part I, chap. VIII, pp. 388-9.

³ Le Cout., *Annal.*, t. II, p. 542.

⁴ *Sumpta secunda ablutione, Sacerdos inclinat cuppam Calicis super Patenam. Ordinarium*, cap. XXVIII, 13. Cf. *Reclinat calicem super patenam versus corporalia*. English MS., *ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵ De Vert, op. cit., t. III, part I, chap. VIII, p. 322, n. 4.

⁶ Benedict Zimmermann, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre Dame du Carmel* (Paris, 1910), p. 84.

⁷ Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 130.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

reverence due to the Sacrament'.¹ After the first ablution, the celebrant wipes the paten over the chalice. Then, in taking the second ablution, he pours wine into the chalice, and water into a plate and from thence into the piscina. He dries his fingers on a special purificator, known as the *Agnus Dei* cloth.

At the conventual Mass, the chalice is left midway between the centre and the end of the altar, for the deacon, when he has carried the missal across and removed the cushion, to purify at the piscina during the postcommunions (*complendae*). An amendment of recent years does not insist on the chalice resting on the paten to drain.² At a private Mass, the priest leaves the chalice on the epistle side of the altar, and purifies it at the piscina when he has unvested. The celebrant, after the ablutions and the twofold recitation of the *Agnus Dei*, says the communion and postcommunion (*complenda*).

CONCLUSION OF MASS

The Ember Saturday in Lent has no *oratio super populum*, as the Mass was said so late at night that it might have been already Sunday when genuflections were forbidden, and the prayer has a genuflection.

Ite missa est is sung by the deacon, facing the altar and at the foot of the sanctuary steps. Then, with the help of the priest, he covers the *mensa* of the altar, and, extinguishing the candles, goes behind the altar to assist at the unvesting. The celebrant in the meanwhile kisses the altar and says the prayer: *Placeat tibi*, which from a private prayer has become a structural part of the Mass.³ Before assisting in covering the altar, the priest makes the sign of the cross.⁴ In private Masses, the unvesting takes place at the gospel side of the altar. The thanksgiving consists of a prostration

¹ *Ante gradus descensum debet manus abluere, et etiam labia oris, si voluerit, propter reverentiam Sacramenti. Annal.*, t. II, p. 543.

² *Ordin. Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, pp. 170-1.

³ A 15th-century missal for the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Grande Chartreuse says: *Oratio post missam: Placeat . . . ut hoc sacrificium laudis sit tibi placens . . . propiciabile in vitam aeternam. Amen.* Fo. 85, *Bibl. municip.*, Grenoble, MS. 71; Leroquais, op. cit., t. III, p. 96.

⁴ Cf. Lyons rite. De Vert, op. cit., t. I, rem. sur chap. II, p. 141, note b.

at the foot of the altar, concluded by a *Pater* and *Ave* said kneeling.

If a sung office follows the conventual Mass, the celebrant, after the dismissal, intones *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, and the choir responds: *Domine ad adjuvandum me festina*. The *Placeat* is then said, and Mass is concluded.¹

On other occasions the following rubric is observed: *Si nulla continuo sequatur Missam Conventualem Hora in Conventu, Sacerdos ad Altare aut circa illud exiit se, iuvante diacono; Horam privatim dicendam, si qua sequatur, cum eodem ministro persolvit, eaque persoluta, solitam Orationem prostratus facit; erectusque rursus se signat et inclinatur, ac, vestiarius ingrediens, Cucullam ecclesiasticam deponit, et manus lavat.*²

John Bechossen, quoting from John de Indagine, says in the *Expositio Missae*, edited at Basle in 1519, that those priests who have no people are not obliged to give a blessing at the end of Mass, and for that reason a blessing has never been given in Carthusian churches.³

The English manuscript suggests that the recitation of the gospel *In principio* is suitable for the time during which the celebrant folds the corporals, wraps up the chalice, covers the altar, and lays aside his vestments: *Finito placeat quod dicit in medio altaris junctis manibus, osculatur altare. Deinde dicendo In principio vel cetera, plicat corporalia, involuit calicem, cooperit altare, et deponit vestimenta.*⁴

The same authority also directs the priest to genuflect at the step of the altar before retiring: *Flectens genua ad gradum.*⁵ As we have seen, however, this English manuscript cannot be taken as an authentic guide to Carthusian usages, and the Last Gospel is never said.

¹ *Quando vero aliqua hora illico in convento sequitur 'Deus in adjutorium' in Epistolae cornu incipere debet statim post responsum a Conventu 'Deo gratias', et Conventu respondente 'Domine ad adjuvandum' dicit praedictam orationem 'Placeat'. Missale Cartusiense, 1672.*

² *Ordinarium Cartus.* (1932), cap. XXVII, 20.

³ Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. II, cap. XX, 4, p. 457.

⁴ Fo. 134b, op. cit., pp. 102-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

APPENDIX

Missa Sicca

Durandus (*ob.* 1296) describes two kinds of *Missa Sicca*:

(1) When a priest has already said Mass or for some reason is unable to say it, he may put on a stole, and say the epistle, gospel, Lord's prayer and blessing.¹

(2) If the priest, *si ex devotione non ex superstitione*,² should wish to say 'Mass' without offering the holy Sacrifice, he may put on all the vestments, and recite the prayers as far as the end of the offertory. The secret is not said, nor yet the canon, but the preface and the Lord's prayer are permitted, and, if he desires, *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, and so to the end.³

Peter Cantor (*ob.* 1197) tells us that a priest should say one Mass, and then, having removed his chasuble, say a *Missa Sicca*.⁴ About 1333, we find Guy de Mont Rocher in the *Manipulus Curatorum* condemning the practice of bination, and recommending a *Missa Sicca*, in which a showing of relics took the place of the Eucharistic elevation.⁵

The *Missa Sicca* was known also as *Missa Nautica*, since it was said on board ship, when the celebration of Mass was considered impossible. Thus we learn that St. Louis (1254), on his way to the Crusades, had the Blessed Sacrament reserved on the ship for the Communion of the sick and others, but attended daily a 'dry Mass', with the priest and his

¹ Cf. Rouen, *c.* 1223, where the archbishop, who had laid the diocese under an interdict, permitted a dry Mass to be said on a weekday, with certain restrictions. *Epist. V. Mauricii Rothomag. Archiep.*; ap. Luke d'Achéry, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), t. III, p. 615.

² 'Avarice' would be a better word, and Durandus refers to the *Missa bifaciata* and *trifaciata*, in which Mass up to the canon was repeated two or three times, and then a Mass with the canon and Communion. Finally, the communions and postcommunions for the previous 'Masses' were said. The priest received an *honorarium* for each! The canonist says of this traffic in Masses: *sed hoc detestabile reprobamus* (*Rat.*, lib. IV, cap. I, 23 (Naples, 1869), p. 143). Some writers have seen the origin of the last gospel, said at the end of Mass, in these *Missae bifaciatae*.

³ Durandus, *ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴ *Verbum abbreviatum, contra missas multarum facierum*, cap. XXIX; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCV, col. 104.

⁵ Guido de Monte Rocherii, *Manipulus Curatorum* (Louvain, 1552), tract IV, cap. VII.

ministers in vestments according to the day.¹ A similar kind of 'Mass' was said before the king, while he was a prisoner in Egypt.²

A *Missa Sicca* was recited also for the sick and at funerals which took place after mid-day. Gilbert G n brard, archbishop of Aix in Provence and a former monk of Cluny, says that he saw a 'Mass' of this kind, with deacon and subdeacon, at the evening funeral of a nobleman at Turin in 1587.³ The archbishop, in 1592, recommends it also for the sick in their own homes, as 'it is catholic and universal': 'it suffices, if in a private room, to have a surplice, stole and holy water. In church, it should be celebrated with vestments, and the priest is permitted to exhibit, elevate and show with all honour and reverence the holy Sacrament itself.'⁴

This Provençal *apologia* was one of the last of its kind, and at the end of the 16th century we find a very strong opposition to the service, especially in the Low Countries. The *Ordo Missae* of John Burchard (1502), which received the approbation of Pope Leo X (1513-21),⁵ had advocated its use by priests who wished out of devotion to say a second Mass; on board ship; and for the sick and others, when a priest was unable to say Mass. The Eucharistic vestments, with the exception of the chasuble were worn, but it was stipulated that the Sacrament was not to be shown.⁶

The opponents of the *Missa Sicca* failed to obtain its condemnation at the council of Trent (1562), but its days were numbered, probably because it had outgrown its usefulness. So late, however, as the beginning of the 18th century, Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708) says that it was the custom in all the churches of the Auvergne to celebrate a *Missa Sicca* at the burial of those who had died after mid-day. The priest was vested in cope and stole: the deacon and subdeacon in dalmatic and tunicle respectively.⁷

¹ Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta S. Ludovici*, ap. Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules* (1840), t. XX, p. 388.

² *Totum officium missae absque sacramenti consecratione. Gul. Carnotens.*; ap. Bouquet, *ibid.*, p. 30.

³ *Traict  de la Liturgie* (Paris 1592): *De la Messe seiche*, chap. XXX, p. 193; Bona, *op. cit.*, lib. I, cap. XV, 6, p. 107.

⁴ Dr. Wickham Legg (*Three Chapters in Recent Liturgical Research*, II (London: S.P.C.K., 1903), p. 45) offers the suggestion that the 'showing of the Sacrament' in the *Missa Sicca* may be the origin of our service of Benediction.

⁵ The approbation is recorded in the *Liber Sacerdotalis* of 1523.

⁶ Ap. *Tracts on the Mass*, VIII; *Henry Bradshaw Society*, XXVII (London, 1904), pp. 173-4.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, t. I, p. 100.

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Chapter Two

CISTERCIAN RITE

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

THE generation of the Cistercian Order leads back to the Patriarch of monks himself, St. Benedict, and it was to observe his Holy Rule more perfectly that St. Robert and his companions quitted Molesme to establish a 'new monastery' in 'a vast solitude chiefly inhabited by wild beasts'.¹ On Palm Sunday 1098, which in that year was also the feast of St. Benedict, a foundation was made in the swamps and thickets of Cîteaux, about fourteen miles south of Dijon. The religious had no idea of founding a new Order: they were Benedictines who wished to live in accordance with the letter of the Rule, without any of the mitigations that Molesme had permitted. Clothing and food were reduced to their simplest forms, and the liturgy freed from the unnecessary ceremonial introduced by St. Benedict of Aniane and Cluny. The severance from the Black monks began only after the recall of St. Robert to Molesme.

The work of consolidation and the foundation of a new religious order were effected by the successors of St. Robert, St. Alberic (1099–1108) and St. Stephen Harding (1108–33). Three documents provided for the government and well-being of houses—*Exordium Parvum*, *Carta Caritatis* and *Consuetudines*. The habit was no longer black, but of undyed wool, which in course of time came to be reckoned as white; while a further departure from former practice was introduced by the establishment of lay brothers or conversi (*laici barbati*). The turning point in the fortunes of Cîteaux was the opportune arrival of St. Bernard and his thirty companions in 1112. Postulants came in such numbers

¹ *Exord. Parv.* III; *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 54.

that it was soon found necessary to establish four daughter-houses,¹ which in their turn gave birth to others. At the death of St. Stephen in 1134, more than seventy-five abbeys were in existence, while later in the century it was possible to say that 'the world threatened to become one vast Cîteaux'. Finally, the Cistercian Order, as it had come to be called, was able to boast of some seven hundred and forty-two houses:² from Scandinavia to Sicily, and from Portugal to Greece.

The beginning of Cistercian convents is shrouded in obscurity. Jully, where Humbeline, sister of St. Bernard, became a nun, was always Benedictine and affiliated to Molesme, but it founded Tart, eight miles north-east of Cîteaux, which is considered to have been the first Cistercian house for women: Tradition assigns 1132 as the date of its foundation, but, although the house followed Cistercian usages, it was for many years unrecognised by the general chapter. Other houses followed, and convents soon multiplied as extensively as monasteries. General chapters were established at Tart and Las Huelgas (near Burgos) in imitation of that at Cîteaux. When and for what reason houses for women came finally to be incorporated in the Order is not known, but the procedure had already begun in 1213. By 1228, the number of such houses was so extensive that the general chapter decided not to incorporate any more convents in the Order. The total number of houses following the Cistercian rule was not far short of nine hundred by the middle of the 13th century.

Efficiency in the central government of the Order, without, however, encroaching on the autonomy of the individual houses, was effected by annual chapters and the system of visitation. The influence and dissemination of the Cistercian way of life were due in no small measure to the activity and reputation of St. Bernard (*ob.* 1153), but primitive fervour and observance cannot be maintained indefinitely, and there set in a period of relaxation and even decadence. The 14th century, with its wars, plagues and famines, hastened the more or less general disintegration, although it

¹ La Ferté (1113), Pontigny (1114), Clairvaux (1115), Morimond (1115).

² Janauschek, *Orig. Cist.*, t. I (Vienna, 1877), pp. 282, 304.

would be untrue to suggest that the White monks were everywhere lax and unobservant. A reform was established in Spain in the 15th century, and in the 17th, a Congregation of Strict Observance came into being in France, which claimed to have returned to the 'golden age' of the Order. Whether or not this was true, the Cistercians were thereby split into two sections, which have remained apart ever since. Serious losses were sustained in Bohemia from the excesses of the Hussites in the 15th century, and in the British Isles, Germany and Scandinavia from the Protestants in the 16th, but the most crushing blow was received when Cîteaux, *Mater et Caput Ordinis*, together with all the religious houses of France, were suppressed in a single day (13 February 1790). In the 1830's it was the turn of the abbeys in Spain and Portugal to be dissolved, while the *Resorgimento* in Italy was the death-blow to many of the houses in that country. The Cistercian Order, however, was by no means dead, and the White monks returned to France and elsewhere. The mother house of Cîteaux was restored in 1898, since when a 'Second Spring' has set in for both Observances, notably in the New World.

ARCHITECTURE

The early days of the Order demanded an exact imitation of the mother house, not only in respect to the *horarium* and liturgy, but also as regards the general ground plan and architecture of the houses. Thus there came into being a so-called 'Cistercian style', an expression open to dispute, but nevertheless descriptive of that conscious restraint and simplicity which Cîteaux and her daughters evolved from the contemporary Burgundian Gothic idiom. This 'preferred type', so conformable to the traditions of poverty and simplicity, effected a 'simplicity of good taste' (*simplex munditiis*): the strictures against 'superfluities' and 'novelties' never generated a cult of ugliness.¹ The Cistercians may well have been the first to introduce Gothic architecture into

¹ *Ne quid in Domo Dei . . . remaneret quod superbiam aut superfluitatem redoleret, aut paupertatem custodem virtutem, quam sponte elegerant, aliquo modo corrumpere.* *Exord. Cist. Coenob.*, cap. XVII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXVI, col. 1509A.

Scotland, Spain, Italy and elsewhere. We find architects, usually Burgundians, who travelled throughout Europe erecting churches for the Order. Nevertheless certain local differences of style were allowed to creep in. The Burgundian influence became less marked after the 12th century, and the prevailing style of the country was often adopted. The church at Fontenay (1139-47), which was consecrated by Pope Eugenius III in the presence of St. Bernard on 21 September 1147, remains much the same as it did then: bare and austere, with nothing to distract the eye from its straight lines; the gloom relieved by great shafts of light from clear glass windows.¹ Fontenay, reproduced by its three Provençal sisters—Senanque, Thoronet and Silvacane—became the type for Cistercian churches almost everywhere for more than a century.² The 13th-century choirs of Rievaulx and Tintern show Cistercian designs at their most beautiful, although no longer displaying the dogmatic severity of the earlier days.

The primitive churches were cruciform, with a presbytery of rarely more than two bays and a square east end. An apse with a chevet of chapels appeared in some of the houses towards the end of the 12th century.³ The transepts were originally aisleless, but, after the first years of the Order, were provided with eastern chapels separated by walls.⁴ Clairvaux, Pontigny, Casamari and Villers had chapels also to the west. A simple wooden turret over the crossing took the place of the stately stone tower of the secular cathedrals and churches, although in later centuries the old restrictive legislation was sometimes forgotten.⁵ The aisles of the nave were often shut off by a wall between the columns. Finally, a narthex or shallow porch was sometimes extended across the west front, as we find at Fountains, Pontigny, etc.

¹ On 13 September 1953, on the occasion of the centenary of St. Bernard, Pontifical high Mass was sung in the church by the abbot general of the Reformed Cistercians in the presence of the bishop of Dijon and sixty Cistercian abbots.

² Anselme Dimier, *Recueil de Plans d'Eglises Cisterciennes*, I, *introduc.*, pp. 31-2. Aiguebelle-Paris, 1949.

³ E.g. Clairvaux, Pontigny, Urscamp, Villers, Heisterbach, Croxden, Beaulieu, Hayles, Morerueta, Veruela, Fitero and Poblet. The only example of a convent church with an apse is at Gradafes (Spain).

⁴ *One* at Waverley, Lysa, Tarouca, Poblet, Santes Creus; *two* at Fontenay, Boquen Roche, Buildwas, La Oliva; *three* at Ourscamp, Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Furness, Fountains; *four* at La Ferté. ⁵ E.g. Fountains, Cambron, Prières.

Europe affords many examples of Cistercian churches built in the golden age of the Order.¹ The church, in early days, was reserved exclusively for the community, and a chapel for the use of externs was erected outside the enclosure. Such chapels exist today at Kirkstead, Tiltey, Coggeshall and Merevale, where they are used for Protestant worship.²

The windows of the church were directed to be white in colour, and stained glass was forbidden;³ as also were carvings or representations of the human form, sculptures and pictures.⁴

The conventual buildings were normally on the south side of the church, but there were many exceptions to this general rule.⁵ The abbey formed a quadrangle, with the church on the north (south); sacristy, chapter house, parlours and dormitory on the east; frater or refectory, kitchen and other offices on the south; and the quarters of the lay brothers on the west.

HISTORY OF THE RITE

ORIGINS

The founders of Cîteaux came from Molesme, a Benedictine house with Cluniac customs, and there can be no doubt that St. Robert and his companions followed the liturgical usages to which they had been accustomed. We are, in fact, told that a breviary and a psalter were among the few possessions that they brought

¹ E.g. *England*: Fountains, Rievaulx, Byland, Tintern, Dore; *Scotland*: Melrose; *France*: Fontenay, Senanque, Thoronet, Silvacane, Noirlac, Pontigny, Aiguebelle; *Italy*: Fossanova, Valviciolo, Casamari, Staffarda, S. Martino di Viterbo, Chiaravalle Milanese, Morimondo; *Belgium*: Villers, Aulne; *Switzerland*: Bonmont, Hauterive; *Germany*: Eberbach, Ebrach, Altenberg, Maulbronn; *Spain*: Meira, La Oliva, Poblet, Fitero, Santes Creus, Veruela, La Espina, Palazuelos; *Portugal*: Alcobaça, Tarouca; *Austria*: Heiligenkreuz; *Denmark*: Lugumkloster, Sorø; *Poland*: Wonchock.

² The choir and transepts of the conventual church at Dore (Herefs.) are used today as a parish church.

³ *Vitrae albae fiant. Cap. Gen. 1134, LXXX*; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 31. The statutes ascribed to 1134 are now considered to have been drawn up c. 1150. Bouton, *Negotia Ordinis, Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris, 1953), part 3, chap. X, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XX; Canivez, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵ E.g. Pontigny, Châlis, Thoronet, Silvacane, Senanque in France; Aulne in Belgium; Maulbronn in Germany; Tiltey, Dore in England; S. Martino (Viterbo) in Italy; Poblet and La Oliva in Spain; Tarouca in Portugal.

with them.¹ The term 'breviary' is in all probability used in the sense of 'summary' or 'compendium', and the volume may well have included all the books needed for worship.² The community of Molesme, on the recall of St. Robert, demanded the return of the two books, but an assembly at Anse, on the advice of the legate, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, suggested that the breviary should remain at Cîteaux until the feast of St. John Baptist, in order that it might be copied. The Cistercians, therefore, in the early days, followed the Benedictine *cursus* in use at Cluny for the Office, and for the Mass the Gallo-Roman rite of the ecclesiastical province of Lyons.³ The hybrid expression 'Gallo-Roman' is perhaps unfortunate, as it may give the impression that the rite was in some way connected with the ancient Gallican liturgy, whereas it was in fact wholly Roman, although considerably altered by Carolingian and other liturgists in France and the Rhineland.⁴

The scribes, in the course of their work, appear to have discovered errors in the manuscript, amounting to an alteration of texts, and a revision was considered necessary. The revision of the Bible (1109) was entrusted to St. Stephen Harding, who obtained the help of Jewish rabbis for certain Hebrew passages.

The White monks were never content with second-hand sources, but endeavoured to go to the fountain-head (*fontes*): the text and melodies of the Ambrosian hymns they sought from Milan; the liturgical chant from the antiphonary of Metz.

The first liturgical reforms took place after the bull of Pascal II (1099–1118) in 1100 (1101) had granted Apostolic protection to the monastery, but the reform probably did not go beyond the suppression of 'superfluities', such as processions, litanies, versicles, and psalms in excess of those prescribed by St. Benedict.⁵

¹ *Exord. Parv.*, cap. VIII; Guignard, *Monum. primit. de la règle Cist.* (Dijon, 1878), p. 66; *Pat. Lat.*, CLXVI, col. 1508.

² *Plures quoque sunt Latinorum ecclesiastici libri . . . Est autem Breviarium idem, ac summarium, compendium, opus concisum.* Card. Bona, *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII, 20, n. 2.

³ R. Trilhe, *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. III, part 2 (Paris, 1914), col. 1780.

⁴ One or two ceremonies may possibly have come from the old Gallican rite.

⁵ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, op. cit., col. 1781.

The aim of the reformers was clearly to avoid anything that might savour of the ‘*sine-fine-dicentes*’ tendency of the monastic Carolingian renaissance.¹ The ceremonial splendour of Cluny was regarded as well-nigh inimical to the worship of God ‘in spirit and in truth’. There was, however, no peculiar significance, save in its thoroughness, in this negative legislation of Cîteaux. It was part of the programme of every contemporary monastic reform,² although there were dangers, both in the literal observance of the rule and in the cult of material simplicity. The one could easily become Pharisaism, the other Puritanism.³

Cîteaux, as we have seen, speedily became a ‘joyful mother of children’, and it became necessary for all the daughter-houses to have identical liturgical books, no matter in what country or diocese they might happen to be situated. How else could abbots from Spain, Italy, England, Germany, Scandinavia and Poland assist at the Mass and Office when they were assembled at Cîteaux for the general chapter?

The liturgical books proper to the Order may have been compiled after the foundation of La Ferté, the eldest daughter of Cîteaux (1113), but it was only in 1119, when the Charter of Charity was formally approved by Pope Callixtus II (1119–24), that we have definite knowledge of their existence: ‘And because we receive all monks coming from other monasteries into ours, and they in like manner receive ours, it seems proper to us, that all our monasteries should have the same usages in chanting, and the same books for the divine office day and night and the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, as we have in the New Monastery (Cîteaux); that there may be no discord in our daily actions, but that we may all live together in the bond of charity under one rule, and in the practice of the same observances.’⁴

The need for uniformity in liturgical books was reiterated in the first collection of statutes, which modern scholarship considers to have been drawn up c. 1150, not in 1134, as previously

¹ Stephen Van Dijk, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. I, no. 1 (April 1950), p. 59.

² David Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, chap. XII, 2, p. 210.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. XI, 2, p. 200.

⁴ *Cart. Carit.*, IV; *Canivez*, op. cit., t. I, p. XXVII. Louis Lekai, *White Monks* (Okauchee, Wis., 1953), append. II, chap. II, p. 268.

supposed: 'It is not permissible to have different books: Missal, epistle-book, text (gospel-book), collectar, gradual, antiphoner, rule, hymn-book, psalter, lectionary, calendar, they must all be everywhere the same.'¹ In 1120 the monks of Dalon adopted Cistercian usages, which presupposes that they had known and appreciated them for some time.² It is not certain when the *liber usuum* (*usus antiquiores Ordinis Cisterciensis*) was first compiled: Manrique attributes it to St. Stephen Harding and St. Bernard.³ William of Malmesbury (*ob. c. 1143*) quotes it respecting details as to the manner of singing the hours. Tradition asserts that the Cistercian ceremonies were approved in the same general chapter in which the Charter of Charity was confirmed.⁴ The *liber usuum* describes the ceremonies of the Mass at some length.⁵ A 13th-century customary (1203-18), containing the liturgical portions of the *liber usuum* and formerly belonging to Aqua-Frigida (Aquafredda) near Como, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁶

The liturgical books, which were first approved by Callixtus II in the bull *Ad hoc in Apostolicae Sedis* (1119), were sanctioned *in forma specifica*, by Eugenius III in the bull *Sacrosancta*⁷ (1152), and later by Anastasius IV (1153), Adrian IV (1156) and Alexander III (1165).

Some time between 1132 and 1136 we find Abelard protesting to St. Bernard against the changes which the Cistercians had made in the Office, although the Saint's work lay rather in the reform

¹ Canivez, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

² Janauschek, *Orig. Cist.*, t. I, pp. 147-8.

³ *Annal. Cist.*, ann. 1119, cap. VI, n. 8.

⁴ *Traditio est in hoc eodem capitulo in quo Carta Caritatis confecta legitur, ordinis quoque caeremoniis fuisse provisum: Non quod ex tunc de novo instituerentur, SS. PP. nihil magis intendentes, quam omnia antiqua inconcussa reservare, sed quod praxi receptas ab initio, et continuato usu velut sanctitas, scripto redigerent, minori ad posteros dubio transferendas. Hic Liber Usuum, dictum opus illud non quod non leges aequae contineret, sed quod excerptas, ex prisca consuetudine.* *Ibid.*, t. I, cap. VI, n. 7.

⁵ Cap. LIII, LIV, LVI, LVII, LVIII, LIX, etc.; Guignard, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 150, 153, 155, 156 *seq.*

⁶ *Oxford, Bodl.*, MS. Add. A. 197 (29175).

⁷ *Statuistis . . . easdem penitus observantias, eundem cantum et eosdem libros qui ad officium ecclesiasticum pertinent, per universas ecclesias vestri Ordinis teneatis . . . Nos . . . omnia quae continentur in charta vestra quae appellatur Charitatis, . . . auctoritate apostolica roboramus; et vobis vestrisque successoribus, et omnibus qui Ordinem vestrum professi fuerint, inviolabiliter perpetuis temporibus decernimus observanda.*

of the chant.¹ A list is made of the 'scandalous' innovations: the omission of universally accepted hymns, replaced by 'unknown and unusual' ones, sung with a disregard of feasts and liturgical seasons;² omission of various prayers and commemorations, including those of the Blessed Virgin; the drastic reduction in the number of processions (only on 2 February and Palm Sunday); omission of the Apostles' Creed before the 'hours', and merely the Creed of St. Athanasius, and that only on Sundays. The worst features of the Cistercian reform were considered to be *Alleluia* after Septuagesima and *Gloria Patri* at the end of the psalms, even in Holy Week.

Little has come down to us in the way of early liturgical books of the Order. The psalter commonly attributed to St. Robert³ has been considered by Leroquais to have been the work of the Benedictine scriptorium at St. Vaast in Arras.⁴ The manuscript, written between 1179 and 1191, is almost the only source for the primitive Cistercian rite. This was the exemplar-type by which the houses of the Order corrected their own manuscripts.⁵ It is in ten parts,⁶ comprising all the liturgical books: part six is the missal; seven, the collectar; eight, the calendar; and ten, the customary. The following declaration is given on the first page: *In hoc volumine continentur libri ad divinum officium pertinentes, quos utique non decet in ordine nostro diversos haberi. Sunt autem in unum corpus ea maxime ratione redacti, ut presens liber sit exemplar invariabile ad conservandam uniformitatem et corrigendam in aliis diversitatem.* The manuscript is found in the catalogue of the abbey of Cîteaux, compiled in the time of John de Cirey in 1480.

Of the time of St. Stephen Harding (1109–34), two books only have come down to us: a Bible and a breviary. The Bible, in four

¹ *Quam videlicet rationem ita nos videmus insistere, et in ea vehementes esse, ut contra omnium consuetudinem ecclesiarum, in divinis officiis, eam tenere ac defendere audeatis.* Abel, *Epist.* I, *Epist.* X; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXVIII, col. 339.

² The 'unknown' hymns were the Ambrosian hymns taken from Milan.

³ *Dijon, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 30 (12).

⁴ Leroquais, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des Bibliothèques de France*, t. I (Mâcon, 1940–1), p. 179.

⁵ *Dijon, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 114 (82).

⁶ The original MS. had fifteen parts. Parts 11–15 were abstracted about the year 1480.

superbly illuminated volumes, was the work of the third abbot of Cîteaux himself who, in restoring the original text of the Vulgate, was assisted for the Old Testament by Jewish experts.¹ The breviary of St. Stephen, which was recovered in Berlin during the Second World War, contains the first authentic Cistercian calendar. This has many commemorations of saints, but only fifty-seven feasts with a proper office.² It is possible to date it at about 1130, as the epacts starting from 1132 begin on fo. 7. There are coloured initial letters, but no miniatures.³

From whence then did this Cistercian rite originate, which St. Pius V in his reform (1570) had respected, but which in the following century was very largely discarded by the Order itself, avid for 'some new thing'?⁴

The ancient Cistercian Mass was a variant of the Roman rite, deriving from that Gregorian sacramentary which had crossed the Alps and had been subjected to considerable alteration at the hands of the Carolingian liturgists. The Rhineland and Lorraine produced several variants, and from the 'middle kingdom' they passed into France, where still more liturgies were composed within the Roman-Carolingian framework.

In the 11th and 12th centuries we find the newly established religious orders composing liturgies of this type, borrowing rites and ceremonies, just as it pleased them, from diocesan and monastic sources. The Cistercians would seem to have been indebted to the two uses.⁵ Cîteaux was in the diocese of Chalon sur Saône and the province of Lyons; while, on the other hand, St. Robert and his companions had come from Molesme, a house where Cluniac customs prevailed. These customs, which had been codified by Udalric in the 11th century, were derived for the most part from Rhineland-Lotharingian usages.

In 1196 the general chapter appealed to the rocks from which,

¹ *Dijon, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 12-15.

² The rite of twelve lessons was the sole rank of feast.

³ Konrad Koch, *Vollständiges Brevier aus der schreibstube des Hl. Stephan*, *Analecta S.O. Cist.*, t. II (1946), pp. 146-7. Also, *Cist. Chron.*, t. LVII (1950), pp. 85-6.

⁴ *Act. Apostol.*, cap. XVII, 21.

⁵ Care was taken to adopt only what was essential, and all 'superfluities' were excluded. There was thus a consistent application of the principles of poverty and simplicity.

probably, the Cistercian rite had been hewn, directing the abbot of La Ferté to approach both Lyons and Cluny on a matter affecting the text of holy Scripture.¹ A retired archbishop of Lyons—John I *aux belles mains*—who had gone to end his days at Clairvaux had discovered in the previous year that a manuscript of the Passion of St. Matthew in the library lacked the words: *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea*. The Churches to which the appeal was made agreed that the text of the Clairvaux manuscript was faulty, and consequently the general chapter of 1200 ordered the mistake to be rectified.²

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The missal, *liber usuum* and other liturgical books of the 12th century were maintained in their integrity until the 17th century. An almost identical text of the *liber usuum* is found in a manuscript of 1202 and in the last edition of the book, published in Paris in 1643.

Additions to the liturgy mainly affected the calendar and the rank of feasts, as may be seen from the statutes of the general chapters.³ Other changes were few, and, in its reverence for the traditional usages of the Order, the general chapter kept a sharp look-out for the introduction of 'novelties'. Additions or alterations were tolerated only for some serious reason, as we find in the case of the elevation of the Host (1232), the abolition of Communion under two kinds for the community (1261), and the similar suppression for the deacon and subdeacon of the Mass (1437).

The general chapter, however, could not halt the development of the liturgy altogether, and a recent writer has suggested that this gradual departure of the Order from its initial simplicity in liturgy was an indirect result of scholasticism, when studies and prolonged services had made intensive work in the fields impossible.⁴

¹ *Ad petitionem domini quondam Lugdunensis . . . injungitur abbati de Firmitate ut in Chuniacensi et Lugdunensi ecclesia quid sentiant inquirat. Cap. Gen. 1196, LXVI; Canivez, Stat., t. I, pp. 209–10.*

² *Scribatur in textu beati Matthaei evangelistae, ubi deest: Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea. . . . Cap. Gen. 1200, V; Canivez, Stat., t. I, p. 250.*

³ *Vide Liturgical year.*

⁴ Lekai, *White Monks*, XIV, p. 180

The increase in the number of saints in the calendar caused at times a concurrence of feasts, and it was found necessary to compile a perpetual *ordo*, occupied exclusively with ecclesiastical rites, which would facilitate the use of the *liber usuum* and its definitions. The book, which came to be known as the *ordinarium*, was not at first 'official', and the idea of such an ordinary may have been suggested by the *abbreviatio usuum (consuetudines)*, a collection of rubrics which had existed at Clairvaux since the 12th century. Two *ordinaria*, more or less different, were composed about the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century, which the general chapter of 1445 ordered to be corrected. An exemplar for Cîteaux was confided for revision to the prior, while that for Clairvaux was given to a religious of the name of Richard.¹ The statutes are silent as to the outcome of these revisions, and the two books do not seem to have appeared until 1504.² Another edition was called for in 1515, when Mathurin de Cangey, a monk of Clairvaux, was commissioned to edit it, after approval by the abbot of Cîteaux or one of his delegates.³ A computistic calendar of the first quarter of the 15th century, coming from the abbey of Calder in Cumberland, is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁴

By the 17th century, the *ordinarium* had become an official book of the Order. The general chapter of 1601 directed that there should be conformity between the *ordinarium* and the *liber usuum*, and in 1609 a further revision of the former book was prescribed, with the work entrusted to the abbot of Clairlieu.⁵ These printed ordinaries seem to have disappeared entirely, with the exception of a French translation which John de Vepria, prior of Clairvaux, published in Paris in 1495 and again in 1516. A Catalan manuscript, dating from 1586, is preserved in the abbey of Ste. Marie du Désert in the diocese of Toulouse.

The first printed Cistercian missal appeared at Strasburg in

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1445, VII; Canivez, op. cit., t. IV, p. 562.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1504, IX; *ibid.*, t. VI p. 306.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1515, X; *ibid.*, t. VI, p. 471.

⁴ *Oxford, Bodl. Lib.*, MS. Ashmole 6.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1609, VIII; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 268. Clairlieu is in the diocese of Toul.

1487, with the title: *Missale secundum consuetudinem Ordinis Cisterciensis*. The general chapter of the preceding year had confided the work of preparation to Nicholas Wydenbosch (Salicetus), abbot of Verger (Baumgarten) in the diocese of Strasburg.¹ Other editions of the missal were published in the 16th century.²

A breviary was printed at Basle in November 1484, and at Strasburg in 1487 and 1494. Milan and Venice produced editions on their own initiative, without the consent of either the general chapter or the abbot of Cîteaux. A psalter was produced at Basle in 1486. The general chapter in 1504 forbade the publication or printing of a liturgical book without its approval.

More elaborate ceremonial and a consequent enrichment of the liturgical books were occasioned by the granting of *pontificalia* to Cistercian abbots. St. Bernard (*ob.* 1153) had scathingly reproved abbots who, by their use of mitre, ring and sandals, were imitating bishops, regardless of the teaching of St. Benedict on humility.³ Evolution and development, however, do not necessarily imply decadence. The liturgy, like the Faith itself, cannot remain static. It was perhaps unfortunate that such a privilege should have been reserved for a time when fervour had begun to grow cold, and disasters such as plagues and wars seriously jeopardised regular observance. It would have been natural to suppose that Cîteaux and Clairvaux would be among the first to receive *pontificalia*, but such was not the case. Santes Creus and Poblet in Catalonia were conceded the use of a mitre in 1336 and 1337 respectively, and Salem, in the diocese of Constance, in 1373. It was not before 1376 that Clairvaux, with the Dunes in Flanders, was granted *pontificalia*, and four years later (1380) Cîteaux, the *Mater et Caput Ordinis*.

Pontificalia necessitated a book for the rites and ceremonies of pontifical functions, but the earliest Cistercian pontificals that

¹ The abbot was commended for the success of his work by the general chapter of 1487 *Cap. Gen.* 1487, XIV; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. V. pp. 572-3.

² E.g. Halberstadt, 1529.

³ *St. Bern., De officio Episcoporum*, Mabillon, *Sancti Bernardi . . . genuina sancti Doctoris opera* (Paris, 1719), t. I, cap. IX, col. 482.

have survived are of the type of MS. 311 in the library at Montpellier (*Ecole de Médecine*), which was compiled for Lupin le Myre, abbot of Clairvaux (1571–96) in 1583. The earlier books, described by Leroquais, were brought to Cistercian houses in all probability by bishops who had retired there.¹ The Cistercian pontificals insert passages of the Roman book into the *collectaneum cisterciense* in such a way as to harmonise the two rites.

The general chapter does not seem to have been concerned with them before the appearance of the Cistercian ritual, and, as in the case of the *ordinaria*, they were the result of private initiative.² Pontifical high Mass had a solemn blessing after the embolism of the *Pater noster*, such as we find at Lyons and elsewhere. In later centuries, the Spanish Congregation, under Roman influence, deferred the blessing until the end of Mass.³ A manuscript in the diocesan seminary at Bruges, which from 1623 till the French Revolution was the abbey of the Dunes, gives twenty-seven blessings for as many feasts.⁴ The blessing provided for Christmas is identical with that in the Gregorian sacramentary. The virtual suppression of the traditional rite in the 17th century led to the disappearance of these pontifical blessings.

An unusual privilege granted to the Order in the 15th century calls for some explanation: the ordination to the subdiaconate and diaconate by the abbot of Cîteaux and the four 'first fathers', although they were not in episcopal orders.

A precedent had been set already by Pope Nicholas V (1447–55), who in 1454 had permitted the abbot of Salem in the diocese of Constance to ordain religious as acolytes and subdeacons.⁵ An earlier and more amazing concession has, however, been discovered in the bull *Gerentes ad vos* of Martin V (1417–31), which

¹ *Pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. II. MS. 1224 of the 12th–13th century, which is a pontifical of the Church of Lyons, may have belonged to the archbishop (John I), who retired to Clairvaux in 1193.

² Coloman Bock, *La Réforme du Droit Liturgique dans l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.* (Jan. 1952), pp. 6–7.

³ Schneider, *L'Ancienne Messe Cistercienne*, part 2, XVIII, p. 187, n.

⁴ *Semin. episc. de Bruges*, MS. 50/66; *ibid.*, p. 187.

⁵ *Tam sui quam aliorum subjectorum monasteriorum et locorum monachos in acolythos et subdiaconos ordinare permisit.* *Archives of Salem*; Janauschek, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

in 1427 gave authority to the abbot of Alzelle, in the diocese of Meissen, to ordain to *all the sacred orders* for the ensuing five years, and not only his own religious, but also those of the clergy who served parishes appropriated to the monastery.¹ In the light of this extraordinary privilege, the bull of Boniface IX (1 February 1400) may well mean what it appears to say, namely, that permission is given for the Augustinian abbot of St. Osyth in Essex to confer *all the major orders*, rather than a mere reference to dismissional letters.²

The concession to Cîteaux and her elder daughters was not so extensive, and the bull *Exposcit* of Innocent VIII (1484–91), issued on 9 April 1489, permitted the abbot of Cîteaux to confer the subdiaconate and diaconate on any religious of the Order, and the four ‘first fathers’ on those of their own houses.³ The bull itself has been lost, but it was in the archives of the mother house as late as 1713. The privilege was confirmed by Clement VIII (1592–1605) in 1595 and again in 1604, as well as by the kings of France in 1542, 1596, 1620, 1681 and 1712. The earliest evidence for the use of the privilege appears to be the register of two abbots of Clairvaux, covering the period 1530–66. The rites of ordination are given in detail in a pontifical produced at Clairvaux in 1583, which shows clearly that the privilege had not been abrogated by the council of Trent (1545–63). Henriquez, writing in 1629, says: ‘this privilege, which has been approved by several pontiffs, continues in force even to this day, and I myself have seen monks raised by the aforesaid abbots to the order of the subdiaconate and the diaconate’.⁴ Morinus, also, in 1660 admits that ‘the Cistercian abbots have used this privilege heretofore, and still continue to use it’.⁵ Three years later, we hear of

¹ Colombran Bock, *La bulle ‘Gerentes ad vos’ de Martin V*; ap. *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, Jan. 1951, pp. 1–7 and July 1951, pp. 197–205.

² The concession was revoked three years later.

³ *Ut quibuscumque dicti (Cistercienses) ordinis monachis, aliis vero quattuor abbatibus praefatis (Firmitatis, Pontiniaci, Claraevallis, Morimundi), ut suorum monasteriorum praedictorum religiosi, quos ad id idoneos repererint, subdiaconatus et diaconatus ordinis rite conferre possent.*

⁴ *Quod privilegium a variis pontificibus approbatum etiam hodie in suo vigore perseverat variosque egomet vidi monachos per praefatos abbates ad subdiaconatus et diaconatus ordines promotos.*

⁵ Morinus, *De Sac. Eccles. Ordinat.*, exerc. IV, cap. III, n. 2.

Claude Vaussin, abbot of Cîteaux, ordaining two subdeacons and six deacons at Ghent (22 September 1663).¹ The text of the bull *Exposcit* was printed on a page immediately preceding the ceremonies of ordination in the ritual of 1689, a book intended for the use of the whole Order. In conclusion, we find overwhelming evidence that the privilege conceded in the bull was in fact used both at Cîteaux and elsewhere from 1530 till 1672.

The bull *Exposcit* also granted to the abbot of Cîteaux or his delegate the right to bless abbots and abbesses, and the general chapter of 1628 directed the latter to receive such a blessing. Confirmation for this is found in the constitutions *Commoditati* (24 July 1595) and *Romanum decet* (30 January 1604) of Clement VIII (1592–1605).

Many ancient privileges were restored to the Order at the time of its 'Second Spring', but abbatial ordination to major orders was never revived. It has been said that an eminent Roman canonist, who was raised later to the Sacred Purple, definitely pronounced in favour of the resumption of the privilege, but Leo XIII (1878–1903) in the brief *Non mediocri* (1902) said expressly: Cistercian abbots may confer on their religious the first tonsure and the four minor orders only (*tantummodo*). A powerful pen, unsympathetic to the Cistercians, says Fr. Canivez, succeeded in getting this clause inserted in the pontifical brief.² Theologians have discussed the validity of abbatial ordination to the diaconate, but, as we have seen, it is indisputable that the privilege was granted by the Pope, and that Cistercian abbots availed themselves of the concession without raising the slightest protest. The right to confer minor orders was admitted in the general chapter of 1260, and thus preceded the use of *pontificalia* and the bull *Exposcit*.³ The formulas for ordination to the subdiaconate and diaconate are still included among the *Benedictiones ordinis Praelatis reservatae* in the *collectaneum* published in 1900.⁴

¹ Francis Hanno, *Cursus Theol. Cap. Seraph.*, part III, tract. VII, cap. I, quaest. 3.

² *L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique* (N. D. de Scourmont, 1926), LVI, p. 429.

³ R. Trilhe, 'Cîteaux (Liturgie de l'Ordre de)', *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. II, col. 1799.

⁴ Append., *Benedictionale Cist.*, pp. 283–6, 287–92. The *collectaneum*, comprising diurnal, processional, ritual and pontifical, is the 'basis of Cistercian liturgical unity'. *Le Calendrier Cistercien, Annuaire Pontificale Catholique*, 1902.

'REFORM' OF THE RITE

The continued existence of the traditional rite of the Order was never threatened by the reforming activities of St. Pius V (1566–72). The bull *Quo primum tempore* (1570) expressly approved the use of liturgies which could show a continuous usage of at least two hundred years, and that of the Cistercians had been in existence for four hundred. It was not, therefore, a privilege that the Pope granted when he confirmed the Cistercian use, but rather a right that he respected.¹ The constitution *Ex innumeris curis* (1570), which was addressed to the Cistercians, affirmed that the Order should preserve its liturgy intact both for Mass and Office. It desired 'the whole Order to celebrate the holy Sacrifice of the Mass and all the offices of the day and night according to the rite proper to the Order'.² Two years previously, the same holy Pontiff had informed the Congregation of Castile in the bull *Intra cordis* (25 October 1568) that his liturgical reform concerned only those churches and religious houses in which the Office should be, or had been, celebrated according to the rite of the Roman Church. Pius IX (1846–78), recalling his saintly predecessor, said that it was altogether lawful (*jure inde ac merito*) for the illustrious Cistercian family to maintain intact its liturgical tradition:³ an opinion confirmed by the Congregation of Rites on 8 March 1913.

Such indeed may be Rome's views on the question, but there had been, three centuries before, a general abandonment of Cistercian liturgical formulas at the behest of religious who desired 'novelty' rather than tradition.⁴

As early as 1573 Wettingen and Marienstadt had already adopted the Roman rite as exemplified in the books of the Pian reform,

¹ André Malet, *La Liturgie Cistercienne* (Westmalle, 1921), part III, art. III, p. 46.

² Ap. Louis Meschet, *Privilèges de l'Ordre de Cisteaux* (Paris, 1713), p. 167.

³ *Jure inde ac merito inclÿta cisterciensis familia . . . suos retinuit liturgicos libros. Pii IX P.M. Acta*, vol. VI, part I (Rome, 1873), p. 383.

⁴ *Certains esprits, amateurs de nouveautés, et sans estime pour la tradition, poussaient à l'abandon des formules liturgiques cisterciennes pour adopter la nouvelle réforme romaine.* André Malet, *op. cit.*, part 2, art. IV, p. 18.

although in that very year we find the abbot of Cîteaux, Nicholas I Boucherat, visiting houses in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg, in all of which he impressed upon the religious their duty to maintain the rite proper to the Order.¹ His successor, Edme de la Croix, was invited by the general chapter of 1601 to write a treatise on the Cistercian liturgy, but the 'landslide' could not be averted. Several houses had already discontinued the *O Salutaris* after the consecration and the psalm *Laetatus sum* after the *Pater noster* in the Mass. The chapter of 1601 had made it clear that the old rite was to be maintained,² but love of novelty proved too strong, and the 'reforming' work was accelerated.

Two abbots of Cîteaux stand out in respect to the so-called 'reform': Nicholas II Boucherat (1604–25), under whom the axe was laid at the root of the traditional rite, and Claude Vaussin (1643–70), who gathered up the fragments that remained in the liturgical books at present in use.

The general chapter of 1605 passed a number of disquieting measures which legalised various Roman practices. Nicholas II seems to have been authorised to draw up a statement on the traditional rite, but the statutes that were passed showed clearly the trend of events, and we find by way of a preface: *Ut Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, quoad fieri potest, conformetur, deinceps . . .* The concessions included the suppression of Alleluia in the time of Septuagesima, use of the Roman martyrology until a new Cistercian edition is forthcoming, suppression of the daily Mass for the dead on Sundays and feasts of sermon and of the Apostles, the adoption of all the Roman feasts in the calendar, and permission for those in Poland and Prussia, who say Mass outside the enclosure, to follow the Roman *ordo missae*.³

A first move in the alteration of the liturgical texts appears to have come from the Congregation of Lombardy and Tuscany, which produced a Romanised breviary at Venice in 1608, in which

¹ Schneider, op. cit., p. 242.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1601, VI; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, p. 204.

³ *Abbatibus et monachis Poloniae et Prussiae in itinere et extra monasteria Ordinis constitutis, more romano missa celebrare conceditur. Cap. Gen.* 1605 LXXXIV; Canivez, op. cit., t. VII, p. 263.

the three last days of Holy Week were simply and solely the Roman office. The book received the approbation, not only of the general chapter of the Congregation, but also of the abbot of Cîteaux. Changes became well-nigh universal in the Order, and the general chapter of 1609 is forced to admit that the uniformity of rite prescribed in the Charter of Charity exists no longer, save in a few houses: *quod tamen paucis in monasteriis observatur.*

A final attempt was made to save the traditional liturgy, and restore the broken unity: *intermissam unitatem restituere cupiens.* The general chapter ordered a revision of the *liber usuum*, with John Martienne, abbot of Cherlieu, as editor, and also the insertion of the *ordinarium missae* at the beginning of the missal, together with a repeal of the permission to celebrate Mass according to the Roman *ordo missae*.¹ Ancient Cistercian missals did not have a *ritus servandus in celebratione missarum*,² and it was prescribed for the first time in 1609: *Ritus missarum juxta Ordinis consuetudinem celebrandarum excute et accurate descriptus ac initio Missalium de caetero praeponendus.* The decree was never put into force, save later in the Congregation of Castile, and the *ordo missae* in the missal of 1617 was taken from the Roman rite.³

The forces of the liturgical 'modernists' were too strong for the traditionalists, and the Romanising of the liturgy proceeded without serious interruption.

In 1611, religious of the Order were permitted to say private Masses according to Roman rubrics, and in the same year the general chapter of the Italian Feuillants (Congregation of St. Bernard), held at Pignerol in Piedmont, decided to 'reform' their breviary. Other members of the Order wished to adopt the monastic breviary, which had been authorised by Pope Paul V in 1612.

Permission was given by the general chapter and the abbot of

¹ *Concessio nonnullis abbatibus et monachis praecedenti Capitulo facta ut extra Ordinis monasteria constituti romano ritu celebrare possint revocatur ne per eam solvatur Ordinis uniformitas. Cap. Gen. 1609, X; Canivez, op. cit., t. VII, p. 269.*

² The rubrics for Mass were in the *liber usuum*, and only general rubrics as to the nature of the Masses were inserted at the end of the missal.

³ An *ordo missae* was produced by Wolfgang Aprilis, a monk of Hohenfurt, in 1576: *Canon minor et major secundum usum Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis.*

Cîteaux for Mass to be celebrated *juxta ritum romanum*, and in 1617 a breviary and a missal appeared for the use of the whole Order. It was the last time that a liturgical book was to have so wide a circulation. The breviary was largely the same as the Lombard breviary of 1608, with the Roman office for the *Triduum sacrum* in place of the Cistercian office. The traditional rite was, in the main, preserved, but the book lacked harmony and unity. As for the missal,¹ the Roman rubrics were amplified, prayers before and after Mass added, and the *ritus celebrandi* inserted: *Ritus celebrandi Missam secundum usum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae in gratiam illorum religiosorum Ordinis nostri Cisterciensis, hic inserti, quibus eorundem utendorum a RR. D. nostro Generali Cisterciensi aut Capitulo ejusdem Ordinis generali facta fuerit potestas.*

The repudiation of the traditional rite was consummated in the following year (1618), and the general chapter formally adopted the Roman *ritus celebrandi*: *Ordinatur ut deinceps missa tam conventualis quam privata ritu et ceremoniis romanis ab omnibus tam abbatibus quam monachis, absque ulla exceptione celebretur, quare psalmus 'Judica me Deus', Confiteor, et caetera alia dicentur, prout in ipso ritu romano descripta sunt. Retinebitur tamen in reliquis missale et officium Ordinis, excepto quod psalmus 'Laetatus sum' et annexae collectae omittentur.*² The same general chapter ordered, also, the text of the lectionary to conform to that of the Roman breviary.

Hard and unjust things were said about the ancient liturgy, and in 1622 St. Francis de Sales, when acting as president at the general chapter of the Feuillants, openly advocated the adoption of the reformed Roman breviary. He said that the 'offensive, childish and obscure' parts of the old Cistercian texts were incompatible with the dignity of the Church.³ In 1623 the general chapter of Cîteaux discussed the question of the correction of the breviary, but it was decided that no substantial changes were to be made:

¹ *Missale ad usum S.O. Cist. juxta decreta Capituli generalis dicta Ordinis, Romano conformius redditum primo accentibus ornatum et auctum.* Paris, chez Sebastian Cramoisy, 1617.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1618, XIV; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, pp. 332-3.

³ Louis Lekai, *The White Monks*, XIV, pp. 182-3.

*ita tamen ut eorum essentialia remaneant.*¹ In 1626 the traditional psalter was replaced by a form of the Sexto-Clementine Vulgate.² Liturgical unrest was in the air, and editions of the breviary appeared in 1627, 1641, 1646 and 1648: precision, order and harmony were sadly lacking. A new edition of the missal, sponsored by Cardinal Richelieu, commendatory abbot of Cîteaux, was printed in 1643. Feelings ran high, and the authority of the general chapter was considerably weakened by the existence of independent Congregations. A picturesque account of the state of opinion at a slightly later date was given by the abbot of Cîteaux, John Petit, in the *mandatum* to the ritual of 1689. The constant liturgical changes in the time of Nicholas II had produced the greatest confusion, and it was left to Claude Vaussin, who was elected in 1645, to produce liturgical books that would be definitive and permanent. The general chapter of 1651 accepted the principle of a new reform, and appointed a commission for the purpose.³ The Romeward trend had gone too far to admit of a return to the *status quo ante*, and the Congregation of Rites had encouraged houses to adopt the Pian books which were considerably shorter than those of the Order. In the first place, Dom Claude was faced with the problem, how was it possible to harmonise the Cistercian *consuetudines* with the Roman rubrics? The result would necessarily be a hybrid, which has been well described by a Cistercian abbot of our own times: *Ce n'était pas une réforme que l'on opérât, mais une déformation de la liturgie traditionnelle pour la transformer en un mélange qui a pris le nom de Rit Cistercien-Romain, rit Cistercien moderne, rit réformé.*⁴ It would, however, be unjust to the memory of Claude Vaussin to lay the responsibility for the actual hybrid liturgy at his door, and it was thanks to him that the Order has preserved a vestige of the traditional rite.⁵

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1623, XLIV; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 353.

² The most recent edition was printed at Westmalle in 1925.

³ *Ad reparandum in officio divino sacri Ordinis uniformitate statuit Capitulum generale ut libri Ordinis corrigantur et imprimantur, ad quod correctionis et impressionis munus deputat . . . dans eis plenariam potestatem addendi, tollendi et mutandi quae additione, sublatione et mutatione digna judicaverint.* *Cap. Gen.* 1651, XXII; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 405.

⁴ André Malet, *op. cit.*, part II, art. IV, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

The liturgical commission presented its conclusions to the general chapter of 1654,¹ and two years later (1656) the breviary was published: *Breviarium cisterciense juxta Romanum*. The *monitum* at the beginning of the book expresses the intentions of Dom Claude to maintain the Benedictine *ordo* of the Office and to safeguard the groundwork of the ancient Cistercian rite.² The missal appeared in the following year (1657): *Missale cisterciense juxta novissimam Romani recognitum correctionem*.³ The *ordo Missae Romanus* was introduced, together with the *ritus celebrandi* of the Roman missal, the general rubrics (*verbatim*) and a new classification of feasts, while retaining the old vocabulary. A certain amount of confusion and difficulty was caused, as the *ritus celebrandi* was not always in agreement with the Cistercian *consuetudines*, and it became evident that a ceremonial or ritual was a vital necessity.

Such was the Vaussin compromise, but, notwithstanding its tacit approval by Rome, it was in jeopardy at the hands of those whom nothing short of the actual Pian rite would satisfy. The Congregations of Lombardy and of the Feuillants bitterly attacked the new books. Hilarion Rancati, abbot of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (Rome) and John Bona, abbot of S. Bernardo (Rome), had prepared 'reformed' books for the use of the Order, and it was particularly galling that they should have been forestalled by the abbot of Cîteaux. Rancati, who was a consultor to the Congregation of Rites, demanded an examination of the breviary of 1656 on the ground that its compilers had acted without the approval of the Holy See. In January 1660 the Congregation submitted the breviary to Cardinal Franciotto, but it was agreed not to give a decision till the procurator of the abbot of Cîteaux had been heard. Notwithstanding this, however, a new decree suspended the breviary of Vaussin (24 July), and directed Cardinals Franciotto and d'Este to produce another edition. Rancati had won the first round, and there was the possibility that this breviary would be approved for the Order. John Bona,

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1654, VII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, p. 418.

² Some members of the Order were advocating the adoption of the Roman breviary *tout simple*.

³ The missal was reprinted in 1669.

who wanted neither the breviary of Vaussin nor that of Rancati, seeing that there was little hope of his own book being accepted, thereupon proposed the adoption of the monastic breviary of Paul V. A decree was obtained from the Congregation of Rites to the effect that, while the use of the ancient breviary was forbidden, the various 17th-century reforms were also *ultra vires*. The Order, says the decree, was committed to the monastic breviary, with the addition of the offices of our Lady and of the dead. The procurator of the abbot of Cîteaux attempted to intervene, but a second decree, issued on 23 July of the same year (1661), merely repeated the injunction of 2 July. A year's grace was permitted before the monastic breviary became obligatory, but the Feuillants and the Congregation of Lombardy and Tuscany adopted it immediately, and also the missal of Paul V; while the rest of the Order continued with the books of Claude Vaussin. The abbot of Cîteaux was profoundly attached to the Cistercian rite, and he applied through his procurator for an extension of the reprieve. On 3 June 1662 the Congregation of Rites directed that he could keep his liturgical books *usque ad Capitulum generale in quo possit deliberari super provisione novorum codicum*. The Pope disapproved of this concession,¹ but the abbot of Cîteaux was determined to continue the struggle and, in order to facilitate the retention of the books, he resolved to make the liturgical reform a part of the general reform of the Order. A brief of January 1662 declared the reforming activities of Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld and the other commissaries who had been authorised by the Holy See to be null and void, and an assembly for the general reform of Cîteaux was summoned to the supreme tribunal of Rome. The judges were to be no longer members of the Congregation of Rites, but a commission of cardinals. The *supplica* presented by the Cistercian procurator was astutely worded, with the question of the liturgical books made part of the general reform. The ruse succeeded, and the Pope (Alexander VII) ordered a *supersederi* to the immediate execution of the decree prescribing the adoption of the breviary and missal of Paul V. On 19 April 1666 the famous constitution for the reform

¹ Decree, 8 July 1662.

of the Cistercian Order, *In Suprema*, was issued. One of the articles gave pontifical approbation to the *ensemble* of the Cistercian rite: *prout hactenus consuevit Ecclesia cisterciensis*. The liturgical reforms of Claude Vaussin were saved. 'The Order of Cîteaux, thanks to the clever diplomacy of Claude Vaussin, preserved its own rite, if not in integrity, at least in a measure which still gave a richness to the Order'.¹

The brief, among other things, directed: (1) All should follow strictly the form established by St. Benedict, which has always been observed in the Cistercian Order. (2) Only those Roman usages should be adopted which the Order of Cîteaux has been accustomed to use. (3) The Order is to practise the uniformity which is required by the Charter of Charity and the constitutions of Blessed Eugenius III and St. Pius V, in conformity with the traditions of Cîteaux, Mother of all the churches of the Order.² Papal approbation was accorded to the reformed books of Claude Vaussin because they contained the liturgical customs in use at Cîteaux: it was not the Cistercian rite as found in any particular book.³ *In Suprema* heralded an era of stabilisation after a long period of confusion, agitation and struggle. There was, however, a certain liturgical codification still to be achieved, as the Order had retained its traditional *liber usuum* or *consuetudines*. The general chapter of 1667 deliberated on the practical application of the points made in the decree of reform, and decided not to make any further alterations in the breviary, which was to be followed by all professed monks of the Order.⁴ The brief *Ecclesiae catholicae* of Clement IX (26 January 1669) renewed the approval of Alexander VII (*In Suprema*), and confirmed the previous decisions of the general chapter.⁵ A century later, we find Clement XIII, who wished to encourage a reform, of which the abbey of Salem in Swabia was the centre, repeating word for word the brief of Alexander VII.⁶ Again in 1871 (7 February),

¹ Malet, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² *In Suprema*, cap. IV, circa cap. VIII usque ad cap. XIX *Reg. Bened.*, *De forma officii*; Séjalon, *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 596; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 429.

³ Trilhe, *Mémoire pour le cérémonial cistercien*, p. 21.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1667, XXIII; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. VII, p. 447.

⁵ *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 608.

⁶ Brief *Impositi nobis*, 8 August 1760.

Pius IX, in the brief *Quae a sanctissimis*, used almost identical terms.

We have seen how much of the traditional Cistercian rite was sacrificed on the altar of 'novelty', but, as Fr. Colomban Bock says, 'When one sees with what levity a Cistercian of the stamp of Cardinal Bona has encouraged the suppression of the Cistercian rite and clung without regret to this line of action, one is filled with a profound gratitude for the work realised by Claude Vaussin, who was and will ever remain one of the shining glories of the Order of Cîteaux'.¹ The general chapter continued its vigilance for the maintenance of uniformity, but the most important achievement after the Vaussinian reform was the composition of the ritual of 1689. The ancient rubrics of the breviary and missal were all to be found in the *liber usuum* or the section *Officia ecclesiastica* of the *consuetudines*,² but the introduction of the reformed liturgy no longer permitted the rites and ceremonies to be governed by them. Each house was thus forced to adapt the Roman elements with those of the traditional liturgy, thereby producing a number of ceremonials, rituals or customaries for the solution of liturgical difficulties. Such a book had been compiled at the request of Peter II Scherenberger, abbot of Ebrach (1646–58) and vicar-general of the houses in Franconia, by Joseph Agricola in 1648, which received the approbation of the abbot of Cîteaux on 16 June 1654.³ The general chapter of that year, considering the principle of uniformity to be at stake, affirmed its intention to impose a single ritual on the whole Order.⁴ The brief *In Suprema* had prescribed a codification of the constitutions and statutes of the Order by the general chapter, which was to be translated into the vernacular for the benefit of the nuns. The intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff embraced a codification of the whole of Cistercian law, an explanation of the

¹ *La Réforme du Droit Liturgique dans l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.* (January 1952), p. 23.

² Séjalon, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 *seq.*

³ Claude Vaussin distinguished between the ceremonies of Mass and Office: *Missa in altari quoad caeremonias et ritus, celebranda est a sacerdote et a ministris more Ecclesiae Romanae. In choro servantur usus et caeremoniae Ordinis.*

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1654, XIV; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, p. 419.

Libellus antiquarum definitionum, which followed the *voluntatem* of the general chapter of 1487.¹

The general chapter of 1667 included this work in the agenda, and entrusted its execution to the abbots of La Ferté and Foucarmont, together with the provisor of the College of St. Bernard in Paris and John Petit, prior of Bonport and future abbot of Cîteaux. The chapter, without excluding the vast compilation envisaged in the pontifical text, insisted on an undertaking that would include equally the *us*, the ceremonies and the rites.² In fact, the *compilatio et reductio usuum, caeremoniarum tam intra quam extra ecclesiam* was the only part of the work to be realised. Five years later we find the general chapter directing the abbots of Tamié, Hauterive and Grüssau to examine the rough draft of the new ritual which the commission had produced.³ The abbots, being unable to complete the work, asked the abbot of Cîteaux either to finish the task himself or to appoint mandatories, in order that the ritual might appear without delay.⁴ Other drafts also were submitted to the general chapter, which in 1683 appointed as examiners the abbots of Orval and Pontifroid (Metz), with the priors of Cîteaux, La Ferté, Pontigny and Clairvaux, and Ursus Schultz, secretary to the abbot of Wettingen.⁵ The commission rejected all but two of the drafts; retaining those of the coadjutor of La Charmoie and Nicholas Villart, a monk of the Dunes.⁶ The second of these drafts was eventually chosen, and the abbot of Cîteaux was directed to put the finishing touches, and then to get it printed and circulated throughout the Order as soon as possible. A further delay, however, was caused by certain religious, who thought that their own drafts ought to be considered. The prior of Barbeaux offered one to the general chapter of 1686, which entrusted its examination to the abbot of Sept-Fonts and the priors of Cîteaux, La Ferté, Clairvaux, Leroy and Longpont,⁷ with the stipulation that they could not leave the

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1487, LI; *ibid.*, t. IV, p. 590.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1667, XXIII; *ibid.*, t. VII, pp. 446-7.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1672, LII; *ibid.*, t. VII, pp. 493-4.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1672, CCIV; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 519.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1683, XXIV; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 536.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1683, LVI; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 543.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1686, XIV; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 584.

monastery until the work had been completed.¹ The abbots of Tamié and La Charité, the prior of Fontenay and the subprior of Cîteaux were appointed as extra examiners.² The *mandatum* of the new ritual was signed by the abbot of Cîteaux (John Petit) on 28 July 1688, and it was published in the following year.³ The purpose of the ritual may be considered under four heads: (1) To save what remained of the traditional rite from those who desired to 'make all things new': *Omnes ritus nostros negligendos*; (2) To show clearly how many of the ancient usages of the Order could be preserved. (3) To re-establish order and harmony in the different parts of the liturgy, obtaining, as far as possible, an agreement between the new rubrics and the ancient rite. (4) To abolish the ceremonies and customs foreign to the Cistercian rite: *quo omnes ab ordine nostro diversae caeremoniae, ritus et consuetudines e medio tollerentur ac solis legibus nostris deinceps viveremus*.⁴

The ritual shows a very real knowledge of Cistercian usages, and if harmony between the two liturgical elements has not been always attained, it is the result of their mutual incompatibility. The abbot of Cîteaux, in approving the ritual and imposing it on the houses of the Order, gave only a provisional approbation, and permitted monasteries to send criticisms and suggestions, which would be submitted to the next general chapter before proceeding to a final and definitive edition. Edmund Perrot, confessor to the nuns of Battant, was appointed at the general chapter of 1697 to consider suggestions and make the necessary corrections.⁵ Two years later, however, we find that nothing had been done, and the general chapter (1699), wishing to hasten the solution of the matter, directed Benoît Rioux, prior of Royaumont, and

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1686, XXII; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 585.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1686, CLXXXI; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 609.

³ *Rituale cisterciense ex libro Usuum. Definitionibus Ordinis et caeremoniali Episcoporum collectum.* Paris, Frédéric Léonard, 1689. The pontifical ceremonies were based on the *caeremoniale episcoporum* of Innocent X (1650): the actual Roman rite depends on that of Benedict XIV (1752).

⁴ E.g. the use of a biretta with the hood. This absurdity had been permitted by a chapter for the houses of Bohemia and Moravia in 1630, although the biretta was forbidden in 1667. The reimpression of the missal in 1669 had again sanctioned its use going to and from the altar: a hood was recommended, but the head was not to be covered with it during Mass.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1697, V; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, pp. 616-17.

Edmund Perrot to remain at Cîteaux for three months in order to complete the revision of the ritual.¹ The work appeared under its old title in 1721, prefaced by the *mandatum* of Edmund Perrot, who had become abbot-general in 1712.² The editor had sacrificed more than was necessary to the Roman rite, and at the same time showed disquieting tendencies towards Gallicanism, while far from correcting the slight errors in the ritual of 1689 he more often than not had made them worse. It was, however, this edition of the ritual which was in general use till 1892, when Lérins reprinted the 1689 text, adding the 1721 variations in footnotes, and leaving the choice to each community. Nevertheless, it is the 'provisional' edition of 1689 which is the standard edition, since it alone reproduces the rite duly approved by Pope Alexander VII, and its legitimacy and authority have been maintained in the reply of the Congregation of Rites on 8 March 1913. It has been suggested that the *mandatum* was signed without the abbot of Cîteaux ever having read the book (1721), for there is no explanatory note in regard to the additions inspired by the particularist views rampant in France at that time. Some years before the publication of this second ritual, Edmund Perrot had arranged for a French translation of the ritual of 1689 for the requirement of the nuns of the Order.³ It appeared in 1715, and bore the title: *Rituel françois pour les religieuses de l'Ordre de Cisteaux*. The general chapter of 1738 imposed the book on all the convents of the Order.⁴ A German translation had been made by the prioress of Eschenbach near Lucerne, Anne Lucy Cloosings, in 1723.

A ceremonial in French for the use of the mother house of Cîteaux, containing the liturgical peculiarities proper to the abbey,

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1699, XXXVIII; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 627.

² The *mandatum* is dated 10 June 1720, the text of which occurs in the ritual of the following year, as well as in those published at Lérins in 1892 and 1899. It is omitted in the Westmalle edition of 1949. The 'Gallican' additions were retained in the form of notes in 1899, and the actual ritual in use (1949) has made no alteration in this respect. Canivez, *Le Rite Cistercien*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIII (1949), fasc. III, p. 279.

³ The work continued the programme outlined by Alexander VII in the bull *In Suprema*.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1738, CVII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, pp. 679–80. It is in use today in Trappistine convents.

was published in 1724: *Rituel propre de l'Abbaye de Cisteaux*.¹ Some of the rubrics in the ritual are at variance with those in the missal, but it has been explicitly stated in a decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated 8 March 1913, that reference should be had to the ritual rather than to the rubrics of the missal for the elucidation of a difficulty. New rubrics, adapted to this norm, were approved for the Reformed Cistercians by the Congregation of Rites on 11 June 1924.² Controversy, however, has pursued the liturgical books of the Order. So late as the middle of the 19th century, in spite of the approbation given by Alexander VII and subsequent Popes, certain members of the Order maintained that the Cistercians were deprived of the right to their own liturgy in the 17th century, and that it was therefore incumbent on them to adopt the monastic breviary which the Congregation of Rites had prescribed in 1615. Fifteen religious of Bornhem, in the diocese of Malines, raised the matter in Rome, complaining also of the missal and of the deficiency of the calendar. The question was debated for fifteen years, but on 3 July 1869, a decree was issued by the Congregation of Rites, and confirmed two years later by a pontifical brief,³ which once again recognised the legitimacy of the Cistercian breviary and missal, and at the same time prescribed a revision of the calendar.⁴ The terms of the brief, however, went beyond a mere approval of the liturgical books of Claude Vaussin, as the Holy Father made it clear that the modifications introduced in the 17th century were incidental, and consequently failed to touch the substance of the rite.⁵ It has thus become possible for the White monks to return to their traditional liturgy, such as was followed in the 'golden age' of the Order. Later we will see how a return of this nature has been effected in several houses of the Common Observance.

In 1900 a *mémoire* was presented to the general chapter,

¹ *Dijon, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 119 (86).

² Schneider, *op. cit.*, append. II, pp. 258-9.

³ *Quae a Sanctissimis*, 7 February 1871.

⁴ Forty new feasts were added to the calendar: nine feasts of two Masses, two of twelve lessons, and the rest as three lessons or simple commemorations. Feasts of three lessons had been introduced by the reform of Claude Vaussin.

⁵ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, *ibid.*, col. 1809-10, n. 2.

suggesting the publication of a new and definitive ceremonial, as the discrepancy between the rubrics of the missal and the ritual was causing difficulties. A manual of ceremonies appeared in 1908: *Manuale Caeremoniarum in missa et altaris ministerio juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis servandarum ad usum monachorum Stricteris Observantiae*. Opposition was again experienced, and the book was denounced to the Congregation of Rites, complaining of its alleged 'Gallican' tendencies: *gallicanas redolens doctrinas*, and at the same time emphasising its disagreement with certain of the rubrics of the missal. The abbot-general of the Reformed Cistercians, Mgr Marre, thereupon sent two *dubia* to the Congregation: (1) whether the reformed Cistercian rite, approved many times by the Sovereign Pontiffs, might be retained; (2) whether the ritual of 1689 is legitimate. The reply was received on 8 May 1913: *Affirmative ad utrumque*, with the further direction that the missal should conform to the ritual and not *vice versa*, and that the liturgical books should be corrected as soon as possible, with the ritual as the norm. In 1913, the general chapter appointed a 'commission to revise the missal, *liber usuum* and ceremonial, but the work, interrupted by the First World War, was not completed and approved by the Congregation of Rites till 11 June 1924. The restoration of several of the ancient rubrics had been made possible by the formula *adhibito antiquo missali*. Thus the Easter Mass *Resurrexi* became the matutinal Mass on the Sundays in Eastertide, and, in similar circumstances, the Mass of the Holy Trinity for the Sundays after Pentecost. On Palm Sunday, also, the Passion has been reserved for the solemn conventual Mass, with the gospel of the Palm ceremony recited at a private Mass.

As we have seen, the reformed books of Claude Vaussin were adopted by the houses more or less directly under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Cîteaux, while a different breviary was used by the French Feuillants, and the Roman missal and monastic breviary of Paul V by the Feuillants of Italy. Some of the houses of the Common Observance in Italy have also the monastic breviary, and when their chapter wished to adopt the reformed Cistercian book, the Congregation of Rites (31 May 1907) refused to permit a change.

One Cistercian congregation, the Congregation of Regular Observance of Castile,¹ maintained the traditional rite for both Mass and Office until the 19th century, although love of 'novelty' had introduced certain Roman features. An echo of the struggles between the conservative and 'modernist' parties is found in a work by the general of the Congregation, Augustine Vasquez: *Ilustracion apologetica al Breviario, Misal y Rituale Cisterciense de la Congregacion de San Bernardo en los reinos de Castilla*, published in Madrid in 1783. A missal had been issued for the Congregation in 1589 (*Missale Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*), 1606 and again in 1762. In the last-named edition, printed in Antwerp, the following note occurs under the paragraph *Ritus servandus*: *Cum in nostro hoc Ordine semper fuerit peculiaris liber ceremoniarum qui vulgo Usus vocari solet, in quo Rubricae generales et particulares necessariae ad missarum celebrationem maxima cum claritate habentur, idcirco nihil hic inserendum duximus*. An edition of the old missal appeared for the use of the Congregation of Portugal in 1738.²

The religious orders were suppressed in Portugal in 1834, and in Spain in the following year. Many of the dispossessed religious took refuge in France, and it is said that the last Cistercian monk of the Spanish congregation, a monk of Valdigna in the diocese of Valencia, died in 1877 or 1878, and that the old Mass died with him, although the Office lingered on in some of the Bernardine convents. This has been the commonly accepted opinion, but a recent history of the abbey of Veruela says that a former monk of that house by the name of Antonio José Viñes returned on a visit in 1877, after its occupation by the Jesuits, and that he was present also at the ceremony of the crowning of our Lady of Veruela in 1881.³ A former abbot of Ste Marie du Désert, speaking of the retention of the old Office by the Spanish convents, says: *Le rit Cistercien traditionnel est donc encore sur un coin de terre*

¹ In 1425 a bull of Martin V excluded the Congregation from the jurisdiction of the general chapter at Cîteaux.

² *Missale Cisterciense ad usum sacrae Congregationis Divi Bernardi in Lusitania et Algarbiorum Regnis, Antwerpiae et Architypographia Plantiniana.*

³ Pedro Blanco Trías, *El Real Monasterio de Santa María de Veruela*, XI, pp. 284, 290. Palma de Mallorca, 1949.

*comme une étincelle couverte de cendre. Dieu permettra-t-il qu'il soit rallumé.*¹ God has heard his prayer, and the 'spark' has become a steady flame. In the abbey of Boquen in the diocese of St. Briec, a house of the Common Observance which was restored in 1936, the Divine Office is recited according to the old Spanish breviary,² and the Mass is celebrated with the rite of 1608, collated with that of the 12th century.³ An indult was received from Rome for the restoration of the traditional rite, although it may be argued that this was unnecessary as it had never been formally suppressed.⁴ The monastery of Hauterive in Switzerland, which was restored to the Order in 1938, has been permitted to use the old rite at the conventual Mass on Sundays *ad experimentum*. Poblet, also, in Catalonia, recovered by the White monks in 1940, is working towards a revival of traditional usages.

In addition to the liturgical studies in the houses of the Common Observance, notably at Hauterive, we find an active liturgical commission in the Reformed Observance (so-called Trappist) at Chimay (N.-D. de Scourmont) under the Apostolic administrator.

CHANT

The early Cistercians did not seek deliberately to restrict melodies, after the manner of the Carthusians, but they sought to reproduce the authentic Gregorian chants in their purest form, while at the same time suppressing the more ornamental passages. Metz was considered to be the home of authentic plainchant, and it was consequently from there that St. Stephen Harding obtained copies of the antiphoner and gradual.⁵ The result was

¹ André Malet, *op. cit.*, part II, art. IV, pp. 25-6. Missals may still be seen in some of the convents, says the abbot, but there are no priests to use them.

² *Breviarium operis Dei ad usum sacri almi Ordinis Cisterciensis per Hispaniam*, Madrid, 1826.

³ *Dijon, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 114 (82). Written between 1179 and 1191.

⁴ An appendix (III) will be found at the end of the chapter, devoted to the liturgical revival at Boquen and elsewhere.

⁵ *In caetera quae optime aemulati sunt patres nostri cisterciensis videlicet ordinis inchoatores, hoc quoque studiose et religiose curaverunt, ut in divinis laudibus id canerent quod magis authenticum inveniretur. St. Bern., Epist. super antiphon. cist.; Pat. Lat., t. CLXXXII, col. 265.*

disappointing,¹ and, although several houses adopted it, the general chapter, some time between 1132 and 1148, directed St. Bernard to carry out a revision.² The actual work was undertaken by William, monk of Clairvaux, who became later first abbot of Rievaulx; Guy, abbot of Cherlieu; and Guy d'Eu, monk of Longpont. The prefaces to the antiphoner³ and gradual were composed by the abbot of Cherlieu.⁴ St. Bernard was enthusiastic about the new antiphoner: *cantu sicut credimus et littera irreprehensibile*,⁵ claiming the 'suppression of unnatural chants and intervals, of abnormal licences, and the exact observance of the rules of musical art'. The authors admit a certain novelty,⁶ but excuse themselves on the ground of the divergence of antiphoners, which agree only in their errors.⁷ The general chapter, however, was far from according unstinted praise to the new work: *Hortatu dominorum et patrum nostrorum multa retinuimus de veteri antiphonario quae quidem tolerabilia sunt, sed multo melius possent haberi*.⁸

The views of St. Bernard on ecclesiastical chant are given in a letter to Guy, abbot of Montiéramey,⁹ on the occasion of a request from the Victorines at Paris that the Saint should compose an office for their patron, St. Victor: 'Not that men should deny their praises to those who are glorified by the angels, but in their festivals anything that savours of novelty or frivolity would be out of place. Such occasions require something venerable and beyond question orthodox, something redolent with holy gravity that would edify the people. But if you want to hear something new, and if the occasion demands it, then let something be chosen that would both please and profit the hearers by the dignity of its

¹ *Exammatum displicuit eo quod et cantu et littera inventum sit vitiosum et incompositum nimis ac pene omnia contemptibile.*

² *Penitus indignum videbatur qui regulariter vivere proposuerant hos irregulariter laudes Deo decantare. Praef. seu Tract. de cantu seu correct. antiph. ; Pat. Lat., t. CLXXXII, col. 266.*

³ Guy of Longpont wrote the second part of the preface of the gradual.

⁴ *Tract. de cantu . . . ; Pat. Lat., t. CLXXXII, col. 1121.*

⁵ *Epist. super antiphon. cist., loc. cit.*

⁶ *Contra usum omnium ecclesiarum, antiphonarium hoc corrigere coacti sumus, magis nimirum naturam quam usum aemulantes. Tract. de Cantu.*

⁷ *Licet enim in vitiis omnia fere conveniant. Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Benedictine house in the diocese of Troyes.

diction and the authority of the author. Furthermore, the sense of the words should be unmistakable, and they should shine with truth, tell of righteousness, incite to humility, and inculcate justice; they should bring truth to the minds of the hearers, devotion to their affections, the Cross to their vices, and discipline to their senses. If there is to be singing, the melody should be grave and not flippant or uncouth. It should be sweet but not frivolous; it should both enchant the ears and move the heart; it should lighten sad hearts and soften angry passions; and it should never obscure but enhance the sense of the words. Not a little spiritual profit is lost when minds are distracted from the sense of the words by the frivolity of the melody, when more is conveyed by the modulations of the voice than by the variations of the meaning.¹

Later opinion has failed to substantiate this claim to perfection for the Cistercian chant, which was retained in the Order till the 17th century. The work, however, is far from being devoid of merit, and in our day it has been taken as the basis for the restoration of the authentic plainchant. In the 12th century, Clairvaux in particular was famed for the purity of its chant, of which both St. Malachy (*ob.* 1148) and Stephen, bishop of Tournai (*ob.* 1203), write enthusiastically. Stephen, in a letter to Robert de Gallardon, prior of Pontigny, compares the singing of the Office to the chanting of a choir of angels.² The general chapter took immediate steps to eradicate any breach of the rules governing the chant that might be brought to its notice. The first collection of statutes, now considered to date from about 1150, contained a prohibition of singing either falsetto (*non more femineo tinnulis*) or with 'false voices' (*falsis vocibus veluti histrionicam imitari lasciviam*),³ while the chapter of 1217 directed the abbots of Neath and Flaxley to reform the chant at Dore and Tintern, where 'part-singing' (*triparti vel quadriparti voce*) had been introduced.⁴

¹ Letter 430; *Letters of St. Bernard*, edit. Bruno Scott James (London, 1953), p. 502.

² *Epist.* LXXI; cf. Bona, *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII (*Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1694), IV, p. 547.

³ *Stat. Ord. Cist.* 1134, LXXIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 30.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1217, XXXI; Canivez, *ibid.*, p. 472.

A gradual with early polyphony, dating from the second half of the 13th century and formerly in the abbey of Hauterive, is to be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.¹ An irregular method of chanting was classed by the general chapter of 1302 among *novitates et notabiles curiositates*.² 'Absurd novelties' (*ridiculosas novitates*), such as the syncopation of notes (*syncopationibus notarum*) or 'sobbing' (*hoquetis*) were sternly condemned by the general chapter of 1320, which insisted upon the chant as it had been handed down from the time of St. Bernard.³ We find similar statutes in the chapters of 1439, 1445, and 1461, as well as in the *Articuli Parisienses*.⁴ The antiphony of 1545 still shows the Bernardine chant, but by the 17th century, under the influence of the Renaissance and the Baroque, decadence had set in, and even instrumental music was quite popular, at least in the larger houses on great solemnities. The traditional liturgical chant came to be reinterpreted according to the taste of the triumphant polyphony. The fruit of the movement was the so-called 'Medicean' edition of liturgical books, published in Rome in 1614-15, and the same style found its way into the Cistercian liturgy. The 'reformed' missal and breviary of Claude Vaussin displayed certain alterations and mutilations of melodies, such as are found in the 'Medicean' collection.⁵ Dom André Malet thus comments on the processional which appeared in 1649: *Voilà comment on traitait le chant Grégorien: une prodigalité de notes blessant l'oeil, et déchirant l'oreille par ses rudes dissonances*.⁶

The 18th century did nothing to rectify the chant, although we read in the preface to the processional of 1752: *Quoad cantum cum optime dispositi sunt quoad suavitatem et facilitatem*.

The early fathers of Cîteaux frowned on the use of an organ, and St. Aelred (*ob.* 1167) wrote scathingly of the music of his time, with its organs and cymbals, 'which brought the people to

¹ MS. *Lat. liturg.*, d. 5 (32556).

² *Cap. Gen.* 1302, IV; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 306-07.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1320, IX; *ibid.*, p. 349.

⁴ A series of articles for the reform of the Order drawn up by forty-five abbots in the College of St. Bernard (Paris) in 1493.

⁵ Louis Lekai *The White Monks*, XIV, p. 177. Our Lady of Spring Bank, Okauchee, Wis., 1953.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, part II, art. V, p. 27.



Fossanova (consecrated 1208)



Chiaravalle della Colomba
(1132 or 1135)



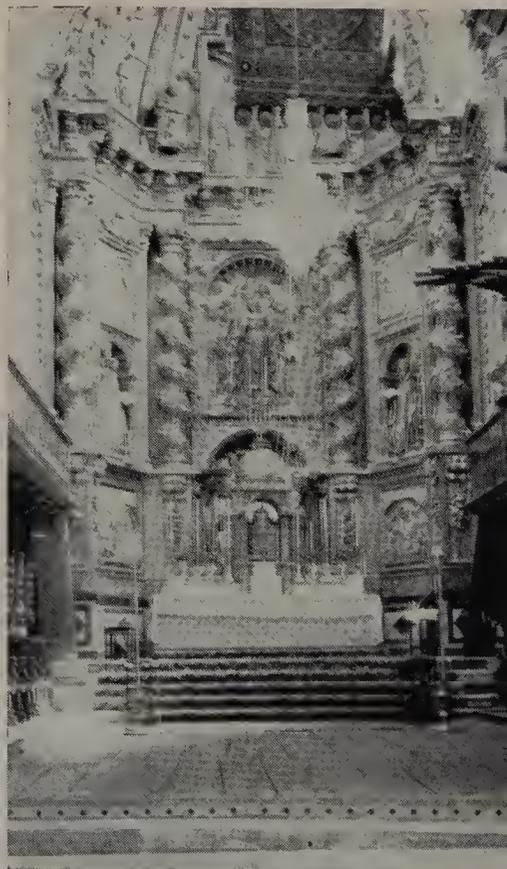
Santes Creus (1152)



Capella ad portam, Coggeshall (13th century)



Altenberg (13th-15th century)



La Huelgas (1187)

church as they go to the playhouse, not from devotion but to be amused'.¹ The strictures of the 12th-century Yorkshire abbot 'on the vain pleasures of the ears' are, as Dr. Coulton has pointed out, strangely reminiscent of the Puritan Richard Baxter.² In later times the Cistercians took more kindly to what the Presbyterians were wont to call a 'kist of whistles', and organs were not unfamiliar features in their churches,³ although the authorisation of the general chapter was required for their use as late as the 15th century.⁴ Two centuries later we read of the reforming abbot of Orval, Charles de Bentzeradt, who suppressed the organ in his abbey church, in order to conform more closely to the 'golden age'.⁵ The 18th-century organs from Clairvaux and Morimond are in use today in the cathedrals of Troyes and Langres respectively.

The Ambrosian hymns were probably received from Milan some time between 1109 and 1113. The collection included twelve out of the fourteen hymns ascribed by modern scholarship to St. Ambrose,⁶ most of which St. Bernard divided later into two equal parts. This Bernardine hymnal was used in the Order for five hundred years, and exercised an important influence in Cistercian life. The 'reformed' breviary of 1656, among the thirty ancient hymns discarded, abandoned eight out of the twelve authentic hymns of St. Ambrose. In all, about forty new hymns were received and about the same number of the old collection were retained.⁷

After some timorous attempts at a return to the traditional chant, the Congregation of La Trappe in 1883 edited a processional (Tournai), which drew its inspiration both from the ancient manuscripts and from a processional of the 16th century. In 1894 the general chapter of the Reformed Cistercians ordered

¹ *Speculum Caritatis*, lib. II, cap. XXIII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CXCV, col. 571.

² *Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. I, append. XXIII, b, p. 530.

³ Meaux (Yorks) in 1396 had *organa majora in occidentali fine ecclesiae* and *organa minora in choro*. *Chron. de Melsa*, t. III, LXXXII.

⁴ In 1486, the general chapter permitted an organ at Schöntal (Wurtemberg): *nam juxta prophetam in chordis et organo Domino laudare jubemur*.

⁵ *Gall. Christ.*, t. XIII, col. 633.

⁶ *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, an. X, no. 2 (1 April 1948), p. 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*

a reimpression of the chant-books, directing a study of 12th-century manuscripts. The gradual (Westmalle) appeared in 1899; antiphoner in 1903; processional in 1910; psalter with hymnal in 1925; and a second edition of the gradual in 1934. Identical chant-books are used by the Strict and Common Observances.

MISSAL

Many liturgical manuscripts have survived both the Wars of Religion and the Revolution. The library at Troyes has fifty Cistercian breviaries (six of the 12th century) and eighteen missals, besides other liturgical books.

The late 12th-century missal, which served as an exemplar for the other houses of the Order, may be seen in the municipal library at Dijon.¹ Many of the missals were of the sacramentary type, that is for the exclusive use of the celebrant, and some of them were for private Masses celebrated at a particular altar. Thus at Zwettl in Austria we find on the first page of a missal of the 14th-15th century: *Hoc missale pertinet ad altare S. Mariae Magdalene. Amen. I.Z.*²

The catalogue made at Cîteaux under John de Cirey in 1480 gives the following entry: *Missale pro magno altari valde solemne cum signaculis argenteis.*

The first printed Cistercian missal was, as we have seen, produced at Strasburg in 1487, and the last, before the 'reformed' book of Claude Vaussin, at Paris in 1617.³

A sufficiency of liturgical books is imperative for uniformity and discipline, and the general chapter of 1515 called the attention of the Order to this vital need.⁴ Again in 1565, when so many books had been destroyed in the Wars of Religion, the general chapter directed that all houses which had suffered in this way should make good their losses within three months.⁵

The beginning of the ancient missal was inscribed with the words: *In nomine Domini Jesu Christi; incipit missale secundum*

¹ MS. 114 (82).

² MS. 229.

³ The 17th-century missal was *Romano conformius editum*, and the Roman *ritus celebrandi* appeared side by side with the Cistercian text.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1515, X.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1565, XXIV; Canivez, VII, 92.

usum ordinis Cisterciensis. There was no common of saints before the reform, and when a new feast was prescribed by the general chapter, it was referred normally to one already in existence. The general chapter of 1329 arranged in this way at the introduction of the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas: *quod de beato Thoma de Aquino Ordinis Praedicatorum . . . septimo die martii fiat festum XII lectionum sicut de S. Dominico per universum Ordinem.*¹

LITURGICAL YEAR

The classification of feasts in the missal of 1617 is still Cistercian, and it seems to have remained so until the 'reformed' books of 1656 and 1657: twelve lessons with two Masses and sermon (rest from work for the whole community); twelve lessons with two Masses and no sermon (rest from work for the choir monks); twelve lessons with Mass; feasts of commemoration with Mass; feasts of simple commemoration. The nomenclature of the feasts has remained Cistercian, but the general arrangement has been remodelled on that of the Roman rite. The *collectaneum*, published at Tournai in 1900, gives: Sermon major with solemn octave (18); Sermon minor without solemn octave (10); Major Sundays arranged in two classes; Feasts MM major (42); Feasts MM minor (9); Feasts of twelve lessons (32); Feasts of three lessons (67); Commemorations with or without Mass (118).² The term 'sermon' shows that a sermon is preached on this day in chapter,³ while MM denotes two conventual Masses.

The reformed missal of Claude Vaussin (1657) suppressed the prophetic lessons for the Vigil and the three Masses of *Christmas*.

ASH WEDNESDAY

The four prayers at the blessing of the ashes are the same as in the Roman missal,⁴ but the ceremony begins with the antiphon *Exurge Domine, Kyrie eleison, Pater noster*, the psalm *Deus*

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1329, II; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 385.

² *Collect. Cist.* (Desclée, Tournai, 1900), pp. XVII–XVIII.

³ *Praecipua festa intelligenda sunt in quibus habetur sermo in capitulo.* *Cap. Gen.* 1154, XXX; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 58.

⁴ (a) *Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, parce poenitentibus*; (b) *Deus qui non mortem*; (c) *Deus qui humiliatione flectens*; (d) *Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui Ninivitis*.

misereatur, and the prayer *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae Christianae*.

LENT

The traditional usage of veiling crosses and images, and of extending a veil across the entrance to the presbytery after compline on the first Sunday in Lent has been restored. The missal of 1702 had the Roman rubric for the Saturday before Passion Sunday: *Ante vespervas cooperiuntur cruces et imagines*.¹ There was no reference to a lenten veil. The collection of rubrics (*Rubricae missalis*), which appeared in 1924, contained one to the effect that the Roman rubric was suppressed: *Sabbato post Dominicam IV Quadragesimae. Deleatur rubrica: Ante vespervas cooperiuntur cruces et imagines*.² The lenten veil³ is prescribed in the primitive *us* from the first Saturday of Lent⁴ till after compline on the Wednesday in Holy Week.⁵ It was opened on Sundays and feasts of twelve lessons from first vespers until after compline on the following day. Two rings for the hanging of this veil still remain in the church at Dore in Herefordshire, high up in the north wall between the wall shaft and the lancet eastwards of it, and another on the south side.⁶ A lenten veil is found among the items listed in the inventory of the treasury and sacristy of Clairvaux which was made in 1640: *Linge de Carême, 1041: Item, une grande courtine de lacis façonné en feuillage, qui se met devant le grand autel*.

The manual of ceremonies, published at Westmalle for the Strict Observance in 1908, enjoins the use of the lenten veil: 'On the first Saturday of Lent during the afternoon work, a purple curtain is hung in front of the presbytery. It is opened on feasts of twelve lessons, and on Sundays, from first vespers (inclusive) until compline of the following day, except during the ferial Mass. On ferias at the conventual Mass it is opened for the elevation at the words *Hanc igitur*; also for a solemn profession;

¹ Fo. 102.

³ *Vide* Appendix.

⁵ *Us*, cap. XIX; *ibid.*, p. 110.

⁶ Roland Paul, architect of the restoration (1892-93), ap. Edwin Sledmere, *Abbey Dore* (Hereford, 1914).

² *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), p. 49.

⁴ *Us*, cap. XV; Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

for a solemn Mass; when a bishop assists at high Mass and in other similar circumstances; at the processions on Fridays; when the cantor intones the antiphon *Ne reminiscaris*;¹ for a burial and the penitential psalms which follow. . . . On the Wednesday in Holy Week, after compline, the curtain is opened, and the next day, before Mass, it is taken away.' A rubric in the same manual is given for a ferial Mass with the abbot in choir: *accedit cum ampulla ad cornu cortinae quod paululum retrahit, et ibi stans super gradum ampullam ostendit abbati dicens: Benedicite Pater reverende. Et statim cortinam dimittens revertitur ad altare.*

The *Rubricae Missalis*, which appeared in 1924, are equally insistent on the use of the veil: *Domenica I in Quadragesima. In fine Missae ante feriam secundam ponatur rubrica: Post completorium cooperiuntur cruces et imagines et cortina tendatur.*² So also the current *ordo*: *Post Completorium (Dom. I Quadrages.) cooperiuntur Cruces et Imagines, et tenditur cortina . . . Post Completorium, aperiatu cortina et mane seq. auferatur (Fer. IV Major. Hebdom.).*³

The general chapter of 1948 decided to ask for permission to recite vespers in the afternoon on the ferial days of Lent, and the request was granted by the Congregation of Rites on 5 February in the following year.

PALM SUNDAY

The rite for this day is entirely independent of the *Ordo Missae*, and it would have been very simple to have followed the traditional Cistercian rite, without any borrowing from Rome.

The blessing of the palms, which is carried out at the presbytery step (*ad gradum presbyterii*), consisted of the salutation *Dominus vobiscum* with its response, and a single prayer of considerable length, not found in the Roman missal: *Omnipotens sempiternae Redemptor, qui de coelis ad terram descendere.*⁴ The

¹ The veil was not opened for the Friday procession. The general chapter of 1953 suppressed the procession altogether.

² *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), p. 49.

³ The *ordo* for the Common Observance has a similar prescription.

⁴ The officiant wears a violet cope; the ministers, albs and maniples. *Manual of Ceremonies*, 1908.

palms were then distributed to the community, and without any ceremony.

Today the introductory *Hosanna filio David* has been inserted, and also the solemn distribution of palms by the officiant, with the kissing of hand and palm, and the chant of *Pueri Hebraeorum*. In the procession round the cloister the deacon carried the cross uncovered,¹ with the figure facing the community, who carried palms and sang responsaries taken from the *consuetudines*. Three stations were made—before the chapter house, the refectory and the church. At the last station, when the antiphon *Ave Rex noster* was intoned, all prostrated, and then, rising, concluded the antiphon with faces turned towards the cross. The deacon gave the cross to the subdeacon, and, having asked a blessing from the abbot, sang the gospel without any further ceremony. The hymn *Gloria laus et honor* followed, and, at the responsary *Ingrediēte Domino*, the procession re-entered the church. In passing before the step of the presbytery, the members of the community laid down their palms, which were taken away by the sacristan. Love of ‘novelty’ has interpolated here too: the singing of the gospel has been surrounded with ceremonial adjuncts—*munda cor meum*, blessing of incense, censuring and kissing of the book, and censuring of the officiant.² The palms, also, are retained after the procession, and held during the passion and gospel.³

The borrowings from the Roman missal were accepted by the ritual of 1689, which, however, ‘Cistercianised’ some of the ceremonies.⁴ A custom, not found in the Roman rite, was prescribed in the ritual of 1721: the community broke off pieces of palm and threw them on the ground at the words: ‘others strewed the way with branches cut down from the trees’.⁵ The palms in this ritual are directed to be placed, after the procession, on the presbytery step.

¹ *Us*, cap. XV; Guignard, op. cit., p. 106.

² The deacon receives the maniple before the gospel.

³ *Rami tenentur in manibus dum cantatur Passio et Evangelium tantum. Missale Cist.*, 1702, fo. 116; *Rubricae Missalis* (1924), p. 50.

⁴ E.g. Kissing of the hand before the palm; the deacon at the blessing of the incense and *munda cor meum* acts as when the abbot is in choir.

⁵ *Dum cantatur haec verba: alii caedebant ramos de arboribus, quisque frangat aliquas particulas de ramo suo, quas in terram projiciat.*

The ritual proper to the abbey of Cîteaux (1724) also limits the palms to the procession, and omits *munda cor meum*, while preserving the text of the ritual of 1689 in respect to the kissing of the hand. The Congregation of Castile maintained the rite of Palm Sunday with traditional exactitude, even when the abbot was officiant,¹ and Dom Augustine Lestrangle revived it in the *Reglements de la Val-Sainte*. The processional cross remains uncovered on the altar until after compline. The passion is not said at the matutinal or private Mass, and at the conventual Mass it is preceded by the salutation and *Gloria tibi Domine*.²

HOLY THURSDAY

The Masses *de Beata* and *pro Defunctis* were said formerly on this day,³ but a private Mass was permitted only for the purpose of giving Holy Communion to the *conversi*. The community normally received Communion at the conventual Mass after prime, when the pax was given to the communicants. The reserved Sacrament was renewed at this Mass, and the corporal in the pyx was changed.⁴ The Host for the liturgy of Good Friday was kept in the same pyx. The rites and ceremonies in the reformed missal are almost identical with those of the Roman rite, but the cross is carried uncovered in the procession, and by the deacon.

GOOD FRIDAY

Two lights on the altar were required in the old rite. The officiant, after the veneration of the cross, said the *Confiteor* with his ministers as usual, and then placed the pyx on the altar, from

¹ *Pont. S. Ord.*, cap. VIII, p. 1.

² On Monday and Tuesday in Holy Week, *Dominus vobiscum* is said, but not *Gloria tibi Domine*.

³ The Masses *de Beata* (since c. 1175) and *pro Defunctis* had special privileges, and were omitted only on Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. On the three feasts, an additional collect was said for our Lady or for the dead in the Mass of the day. The privilege was suppressed in the missal of 1657, but the ritual of 1689 (lib. II, cap. III) prescribed the traditional usage in regard to the dead. The ritual of 1721 retained the contradictions of the earlier edition, with other contradictions elsewhere.

⁴ The old corporal was burned on the piscina by the sacristan.

which he took out the Blessed Sacrament, and communicated himself and the ministers. Today the only variation from the Roman rite seems to be two altar candles, and the single chant of *Ecce lignum crucis*.

A Cistercian processional of 1757, published in Lisbon and now in the *Instituto de estudos históricos* at Coimbra, gives the chants for the procession of the *Depositio Christi* on Good Friday. One of these follows the literary text of the rite of Braga, with the music arranged for four voices: *Heu heu Domine! Heu heu Salvator noster. . .*¹

HOLY SATURDAY

The traditional liturgy had neither tripartite candle nor the chant of *Lumen Christi*. The abbot blessed the new fire, from which the subdeacon lit a candle, holding it until it was required by the deacon for the paschal candle.²

The reformed rite gives the three prayers for the blessing of the fire,³ and the prayer for the grains of incense,⁴ as in the Roman missal. The ritual of 1689 and the missal of 1702 have taken the chant of *Lumen Christi* (sung once), but a single candle is lit from the new fire, although the ritual says *cereum tripartitum*.⁵ A paschal candle was enjoined in the primitive customs of the Order,⁶ and the general chapter of 1270 endorsed the regulations as to the weight.⁷ The candle is alight from the liturgy of Holy Saturday until after compline on Easter day, and it is not lit again until the first vespers of the Ascension, when it remains

¹ Solange Corbin, *Essai sur la Musique Religieuse Portugaise au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1952), chap. VIII, p. 312.

² *Consuet.*, cap. XXIII; *Usus Cist.*, 1586, 1641, 1798; *Missale Cist.*, 1512, 1545, 1590, 1762.

³ (a) *Deus qui per Filium tuum, angularem scilicet lapidem*; (b) *Domine Deus Pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens*; (c) *Domine sancte Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus, benedicientibus nobis.*

⁴ *Veniat quaesumus omnipotens Deus.*

⁵ *Lib. III*, cap. XXIII, n. 3, 7.

⁶ *Us*, cap. XXIX; Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁷ *Item, cum contineatur in Usibus quod paschalis cereus quantitatem trium librarum panis regularis non excedat, sic intelligit Capitulum generale quod idem paschalis cereus quantitatem decem librarum ad pondus Trecense ullatenus non excedat. Cap. Gen. 1270, XI; Canivez, Stat., t. III, p. 82.*

alight till after compline of the feast. The missal of 1702¹ and the manual of ceremonies published in 1908² direct the candle to be finally extinguished after the gospel on the feast of the Ascension, following Roman usage, but the traditional Cistercian practice has been revived.³ A chart is attached to the candle, inscribed with the moveable feasts of the year, and following the year, epact, golden number, dominical letter, *indictio Romana* and moveable feasts. The manual of ceremonial (1908) says: *in qua sint anni Domini, concurrentes et indictiones sub hac forma: cereus iste benedictus in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beatae Virginis Mariae, matris ejus, patronae hujus monasterii et totius Ordinis Cisterciensis.*⁴

St. Bede (*ob.* 735) mentions, as a custom of the Roman Church, the practice of attaching the date of the Passion of the Saviour, etc., to the paschal candle.⁵

The four lessons appointed to be read in the liturgy are the same as in the Sacramentary of Hadrian⁶—*In principio, Vigilia matutina, Apprehenderunt, Haec est hereditas.*⁷

The litanies on Holy Saturday and the Vigil of Pentecost include the names of Peter of Tarentaise, Edmund of Pontigny (Abingdon or Canterbury), Malachy, William of Bourges, Robert of Molesme, Alberic, Stephen Harding and Lutgarde.⁸

TRINITY SUNDAY

The general chapter of 1175 prescribed the observance of Trinity Sunday,⁹ which was elevated to a higher rank in 1230, with the proviso of 'no sermon' *propter difficultatem materiae.*

¹ Fo. 155–6. *Dicto Evangelio extinguitur cereus Paschalis a Diacono, nec ulterius accenditur, sed post Missam, ab Ecclesia auferetur*, fo. 243.

² *Man. Caerimon.* (Westmalle, 1908), lib. II, cap. VIII, 690–1, pp. 207–8.

³ *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), p. 53.

⁴ *Man. Caerimon.*, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ecclesia . . . ipsis testatur indiculis, qua suis in cereis annuatim scribere solet, ubi tempus Dominicae Passionis in memoriam populis revocans. . . . Lib. de Temp. Rat.*, cap. XLVII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. XC, col. 494–5. The practice is recalled in the rubric of the restored Paschal Vigil (1951): *et inter brachia crucis quattuor numeros experimentes annum currentem, interim dicens.*

⁶ *Paris Bibl. Nat.*, n.a. 1669.

⁷ Four lessons are read on the Vigil of Pentecost.

⁸ *Processionale* (1742); *Collectaneum* (1900), part II, *Rit. Cist.*, p. 136.

⁹ *Hystoria de Trinitate cantabitur, et missa dicetur sicut in festo unius Apostoli.* *Cap. Gen.* 1175, I; *Canivez, Stat.*, t. I, p. 82.

CORPUS CHRISTI

The exact date of its first celebration in the Order is uncertain, but it was observed at Villers (Brabant) as early as 1252.¹ The abbot of Kamenz in the diocese of Breslau petitioned the general chapter in 1278 that his house might be permitted to keep the solemnity, as was the custom in the diocese.² A similar request was made by Margaret de la Cellebor on behalf of the abbey of Clairefontaine in the diocese of Besançon in 1294,³ and by the Duke of Austria in 1313, who asked that the Cistercian houses in his dominions might be allowed, if they were willing, to observe the feast with twelve lessons and a Mass.⁴ In 1318 the general chapter, encouraged by the directions given by Pope Clement V in the council of Vienne (1311), ordered the feast of Corpus Christi to be celebrated with two Masses and a proper Office in all the houses of the Order. The *conversi* were to abstain from servile work.⁵ The injunctions were renewed in the following year, and it was stipulated that the feast should be kept *solemniter et devote*.⁶ Again in 1326, the general chapter was concerned with its due observance, and directed that the Office of Corpus Christi should be recited throughout the whole Order to the exclusion of any other Office.⁷ Corpus Christi became a solemn sermon feast in 1332,⁸ and in 1350 the *Novellae* prescribed a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, at the same time insisting that the Office should be identical with that recited at Cîteaux. A uniform Office seems to have caused a certain amount of difficulty, as the question was raised again in the general chapters of 1439, 1452 and 1486. It is interesting to note that in 1393, at Kaisheim in the diocese of Augsburg, a pious foundation was made for

¹ *Studia Eucharistica* (Antwerp, 1946), pp. 153-4. Thus Villers kept the feast six years after its first celebration at Fosses (1246), and in the year following its inauguration by the papal legate, Hugh de Saint Cher, in the church of St. Martin at Liège (1251).

² *Cap. Gen.* 1278, XLVI; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 182.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1294, LXIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 275.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1313, IV; *ibid.*, p. 327.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1318, I; *ibid.*, p. 338.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1319, I; *ibid.*, p. 344.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1326, I; *ibid.*, p. 372.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1332, I; *ibid.*, p. 397.

perpetual exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Perpetual adoration, however, was not organized until the 18th century.¹

Devotion to the sacred humanity of our Lord first acquired its popularity from the pilgrimages to the holy places in Palestine, as Pope Gregory VIII (1187) indicated,² but it owed much also to the writings of St. Bernard, 'the last of the Fathers'.³ Tradition has ascribed to the abbot of Clairvaux the hymn in which the stanza occurs: *Jesu, decus angelicum*,⁴ and the language and sentiment of the fifteenth sermon *super Cantica* strengthens the belief. The hymn also at vespers: *Dulcis Jesu memoria* seems to have been inspired by the fourth sermon *de Diversis*, although probably English in origin.

The early Cistercians were precursors of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. St. Bernard appears to have followed the sentiment of the 4th-century poet Prudentius in considering the lance to have entered the right side of our Lord, and to have penetrated across the body to the left side.⁵ He does not in fact say that it penetrated the heart, but we find here a beginning of the devotion to the wounded heart. William of St. Thierry saluted the 'most holy wound of the side, lateral door of the ark',⁶ and the symbolism of the 'ark' was repeated by Blessed Gueric of Igny.⁷ In the following century, a series of hymns in honour of the feet, hands, knees, breast and face of the Saviour was composed by Arnulf of Louvain, abbot of Villers (ob 1250).

BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

While it is possible in the light of the Marial emphasis of later centuries to exaggerate the cultus of the Blessed Virgin among the

¹ Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Our Lady of Spring Bank, Okauchee, Wis., 1953), part II, 13, pp. 150-1.

² Labbe, *Conc.*, t. X, col. 1749.

³ *Ultimus inter patres, primis certe non impar.* Mabillon, pref. gen. II, 23; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXII, cols. 25-26.

⁴ Lauds, *In fest. SSmi Nominis Jesu.* Lessons for 2nd nocturn of feast are taken from the same sermon.

⁵ *Serm. in Cantic.* LXI, 4; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXIII, col. 1072.

⁶ *Meditatio VI* (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXX, col. 225-6); *De Contemplando Deo*, I, 3 (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXIV, col. 368).

⁷ *In dom. palmarum, Serm.* IV, 5 (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXV, col. 140).

early Cistercians, it is nevertheless true that devotion to her held a very special place. Peter de Celles (*ob.* 1183) in a letter to Nicholas of St. Albans said: 'If you would touch the apple of the eye of our Lady write against St. Bernard, to whom she herself has said: "He who touches you touches me in the apple of the eye."' ¹ It seems probable that the title 'Our Lady' was popularised by the Cistercians. The abbey church of Molesme had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and the first fathers of Cîteaux, not only placed their own 'oratory' under her patronage, but directed that all the churches of the Order should be similarly dedicated.² The principal patron of Cistercian churches is our Lady under the title of the Assumption, but the first official allusion to her as the special patroness of the Order is found in a statute of the general chapter of 1281.³ In the same century, also, we find representations of the Blessed Virgin with members of the Order under her mantle, which became a pattern of similar symbolic pictures of 'Our Lady of Mercy'. The general chapter of 1335 directed that the image of the Virgin should be carved on the official seal of every monastery.⁴ The earliest statue of our Lady in a Cistercian church seems to be that at Fontenay, dating from the 13th century.

FEASTS OF OUR LADY

Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February)

The candles, like the palms, are blessed at the presbytery step (*ad gradum presbyterii*), with the officiant in a violet cope and without a maniple. The reformed missal gives the same five prayers for the blessing of the candles and the same prayer before the procession as in the Roman missal. In the ancient rite, the candles were distributed without ceremony by the sacristan,

¹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 613 *seq.*

² *Quia antecessores nostri et patres de ecclesia Molismensi, quae in honore est beatae Mariae ad Cisterciensem locum, unde et nos exorti sumus, primitus venerunt, idcirco decernimus ut omnes ecclesiae nostrae ac successorum nostrorum in memoria ejusdem coeli et reginae sanctae Mariae fundentur ac dedicentur. Stat. Ord. Cist. 1134, XVIII; Canivez, Stat., t. I, p. 17.*

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1281, VI; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 207.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1335, II; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 437.

whereas today they are given by the officiant with the kissing of the hand and the candle. The candles are held by the community during the gospel, and returned to the celebrant at the offertory.¹ The candles blessed on this day serve for the altar lights throughout the ensuing year.² The feast was provided with an octave in 1294, which was suppressed in 1304, but admitted again in 1321.³ It was finally abolished in 1656. A solemn Mass on the Vigil was prescribed by the general chapter of 1295.⁴

Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March)

It is sometimes said that the feast was given an octave in 1219, but a recent Cistercian writer says categorically: 'The Order never had an octave of the Annunciation.'⁵

Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (2 July)

The feast has been observed in the Order since 1476, and from 1533 with an octave. The collect is not found in the Roman missal.⁶

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August)

The patronal feast of the Order, and a sermon major with an octave. It has been celebrated with a Vigil since 1220.⁷

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September)

The feast was provided with an octave in 1245, and with a vigil in 1286.⁸ A solemn Mass on the vigil was prescribed by the general chapter of 1289.⁹

¹ *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), pp. 54-5.

² *Una cum candelis hac die conventui distribuendis, apponantur etiam cerei qui per annum in ecclesia accendi debent. Man. Ceremon.* (Westmalle, 1908), lib. II, cap. II, §16, p. 168.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1294, I (Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 267); *Cap. Gen.* 1321, I (*ibid.*, t. III, p. 352).

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1295, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 278.

⁵ Bernard Backaert, *Collect. Ord. Cist. Reform.*, an. XIII, no. 2, 1 April 1951, p. 118, n. 241.

⁶ *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ex abundantia caritatis beatam Mariam tuo Filio foecundatam ad Salutationem Elizabeth inspirasti, praesta quaesumus: ut per ejus visitationem donis coelestibus repleamur, et ab omnibus adversitatibus eruamur. Per eundem Dominum. Collectaneum Cist.* (Tournai, 1900), p. 75.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1220, VI; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 517.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1286, I; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 234.

⁹ *Cap. Gen.* 1289, II; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 242.

Presentation of the Blessed Virgin (21 November)

The Presentation was admitted as a feast by the general chapter of 1540. It became a sermon feast in 1613, although the missal published in that year gives no indication of its rite. The calendars of 1644 and 1648 accord the rite of sermon: that of 1656, sermon minor.

Conception of the Blessed Virgin (8 December)

The feast was strenuously opposed by St. Bernard, who objected to its introduction by the canons of Lyons in 1140. The observance was condemned because it was a 'new solemnity, resting on no legitimate foundation, contrary to reason, and instituted without any reference to the Apostolic See'. 'Are we more learned or more devout than the Fathers of the Church,' says the Saint. 'It was sufficient for our Lady to have been purified and sanctified before birth as Jeremias and St. John Baptist. . . .' St. Bernard finally concludes a virtual denial of the doctrine by declaring his veneration for the Holy See, and his dutiful submission to whatever it may decide.¹ It would seem, however, that some Cistercians in the 12th century admitted the sinless conception of the Blessed Virgin: Oger of Locedio, St. Amadeus of Lausanne and, if the sermons (*In Nativitate Domini*) attributed to him by Horst are genuine, St. Aelred. The letter written by St. Bernard to Gilduin, abbot of St. Victor,² in which he speaks of *Natalis animae Dominae nostrae dies festus*, alludes to the feast of the Nativity,³ not to the Conception, as Dr. Eales says.⁴

The general chapter of 1356 prescribed the feast of the Conception as a feast MM., with the Mass and Office taken from those of the Nativity.⁵ It was raised to the rank of sermon in 1604, sermon minor in 1656, and sermon major with an octave in 1672. The text of the Mass, since 1854, is that of the Roman missal. A vigil

¹ Letter 215; *Letters of St. Bernard*, edit. Bruno Scott James, pp. 289-93.

² Letter 442; *Letters of St. Bernard*, edit. Scott James, p. 508.

³ Anselme Le Bail, *Revue Liturgique et Monastique* (Advent, 1930), p. 30.

⁴ Eales, *Works of St. Bernard*, vol. III, p. 154.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1356, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 531.

was admitted in 1880, but it is found in the calendar of the missal of 1590, edited at Salamanca for the Congregation of Castile.

A votive Mass of Our Lady of Pity (*de Compassione B. M.V.*) is given in some 15th-century missals.¹

The general chapter of 1520 directed the antiphon *Inviolata* to be sung before the conventual Mass,² which the chapter of 1533 changed to *Sub tuum praesidium*.³ A versicle, response and collect (*Pietate tua*) follow the antiphon. They precede the matutinal Mass on feasts of two Masses, Sundays and some other occasions, but on a feast occurring in Lent they are recited before the lesser or ferial Mass. The votive Mass *de Beata* on Saturdays is found in the ancient rubrics,⁴ and the general chapter of 1220 added *solemniter dicatur*, and directed the *Gloria in excelsis* to be recited 'on account of the reverence due to the Blessed Virgin'.⁵ The days on which this Mass could be said were fixed by later general chapters. The votive Office was not prescribed till 1645.⁶ A daily Mass *de Beata* (also a daily Mass for the dead) was ordered by the general chapter of 1194.⁷ It was to be said at a special altar, and to be omitted but rarely. On the introduction of the Roman rite, it was considered by some of the religious to be a simple votive Mass which was superseded by a feast, while others maintained that it should be said on all the days specified in the old rite, as it was specially privileged. In 1623 the general chapter, in reply to a question on the subject, said: *Standum consuetudini Ordinis*, and it was noted in the *acta* of 1738: *sedulo servandas esse rubricas*. The *Rubricae missalis* (1924) direct the Mass *de Beata* to be said, with *Gloria* and the collects *de Spiritu Sancto* and *pro Ecclesia*, on every day of the year, with the exception of the three great feasts, feasts of our Lady and All Saints (including the vigil and octave).⁸

¹ Fo. 82v, Lille, *Bibl. municip.*, MS. 30; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 235.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1520, IX.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1533, VIII. Schneider (*op. cit.*, p. 130) gives the date of the introduction of *Sub tuum* as 1553. ⁴ *Consuet.*, cap. XXXVII; *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 112.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1220, VI; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 517.

⁶ Caesarius of Heisterbach (*ob. c.* 1240) suggests that the office *de Beata* on Saturday received its impetus from the miracle of the picture at Constantinople. Louis Gougaud, *Dévotions et Pratiques Ascétiques du Moyen Age* (Maredsous, 1925), chap. IV, p. 70.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1194, LXIII; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 181.

⁸ *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), p. 6.

The Little Office of our Lady was already authorised in 1157 for those who were travelling or residing in granges,¹ and in 1185 the general chapter prescribed its recitation in choir and in the infirmary.² It was again ordered by the general chapter in 1373,³ and the present custom of reciting the office *de Beata* before the corresponding office of the day⁴ was established in 1439. The general chapter of 1953 has suppressed the 'little office' on those days when the Divine Office is similar in character.⁵

The *Salve Regina*, which has become so intimately associated with the Cistercians, appears to have originated as an antiphon either to the *Benedictus* or to the *Magnificat*, and in an antiphoner of the 13th century (1225), preserved at Westmalle, it serves for the former on the feast of the Assumption, and for the latter on the Purification, Annunciation and Nativity. The general chapter of 1218 directed the *Salve* to be sung either after prime or after the daily chapter,⁶ but in 1220 and 1221 the religious were ordered to recite it privately.⁷ In 1251 (VII) and again in 1272 the *Salve* was prescribed after compline,⁸ a practice which had become general throughout the Order by 1335.⁹ The singing of the *Salve Regina* was therefore customary among the Cistercians for more than a century before 1483, the usually established date.

The *Memorare*, which tradition has ascribed to St. Bernard, seems to be a paraphrase of two texts in his sermons.¹⁰ Its use as a prayer was popularised by Claude Bernard, a French secular priest, early in the 17th century.

St. Joseph.

The feast of St. Joseph on 19 March occurs in the missal of 1613 with the rite of 12 LM., and in that of 1617 as MM., but

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1157, I; Canivez, op. cit., t. I, p. 60.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1185, XXVIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, pp. 101-2.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1373, I; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 553.

⁴ Compline *de Beata* follows compline of the day.

⁵ E.g. Feasts of our Lady. *

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1218, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 485.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1220, VI (*ibid.*, t. I, p. 517); *Cap. Gen.* 1221 (*ibid.*, t. II, p. 2).

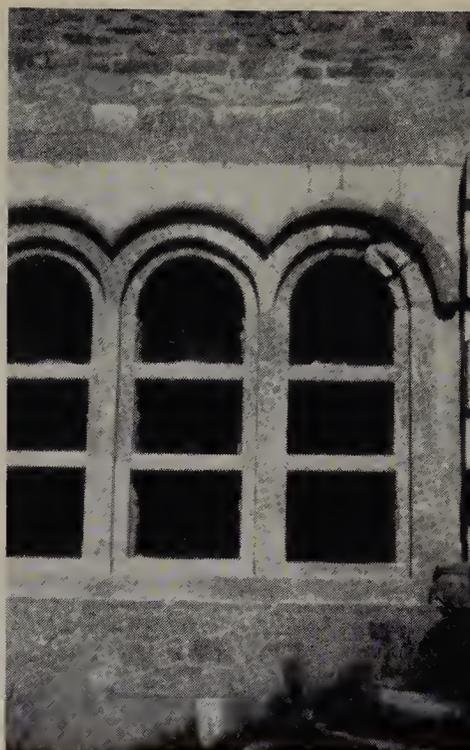
⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1272, IV; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 104.

⁹ *Novell.*, dist. V, cap. II; *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 502.

¹⁰ (a) *In Assump.*, *serm.* IV, 8; (b) *In Oct. Assump.*, *serm.* XV.



Transept Chapel, Boquen



Book Aumbries, Boquen



Little Cloister and Library, Cîteaux
(13th–15th century)



Shrine of St William, Chapter
House, Rievaulx



Lavabo, Mellifont



Lavabo, Poblet



Cistercian Abbot of the Strict Observance

Reading of the Gospel in the old Cistercian Rite, Hauterive



it had already found its way into the missal of the Congregation of Castile, which appeared at Salamanca in 1590 (12 LM.).

SANCTORAL

In the Middle Ages the general chapter was the final arbiter in all matters concerning the liturgy, and any attempt on the part of an individual house to introduce a variation was dealt with severely. The general chapter of 1448 threatened an abbot or abbess with suspension *a divinis*, if either of them should presume to introduce new hymns or lessons for Corpus Christi or the feast of St. Benedict.¹ Commemorations could not be made in the Office without the consent of the general chapter: *Commemorationes non fiant praeter consuetudinem Ordinis, nisi per Capitulum Generale*.²

The *jus liturgicum* of the Order was formally recognised by Pope Eugenius IV (1431–47) in 1437: *Necnon omnia alia et singula quae pro felici monasteriorum . . . in spiritualibus et temporalibus, ac aliis quibuscumque directione, . . . necnon religionis propagatione ac Divini cultus incremento expedire eis visa fuerint, plenam et liberam auctoritate apostolica habeant facultatem, et etiam potestatem*. The far-reaching reforms of St. Pius V and his successors included the reservation of liturgical matters exclusively to the Holy See, although we still find general chapters occupied with details pertaining to the rite, and that of 1771 forbade the observance of a new feast without its express consent. The Cistercians in fact have never been compelled to adopt a feast ordered by Rome, unless it has been either specifically imposed on the Order or first authorised by the general chapter.³

The calendar of saints in the first century of the Order was very restricted, and it had been the intention of the first fathers to disentangle themselves from local influences. We find only those feasts common to all Churches of Roman origin, with the addition

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1448, II; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. IV, p. 606.

² *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 297. The *Libellus Antiquarum Definitionum* says: *Commemorationes sanctorum novae vel festa non fiant, nisi de consensu Capituli Generalis*. *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 404.

³ *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, t. VIII (1946), pp. 9–16.

of a few Gallo-Roman saints, which took the form of commemorations rather than of feasts properly so-called. The calendar necessarily developed with the centuries, but new feasts were admitted sparingly. The canonisation of members of the Order seems to have been discouraged, but there is no evidence for the frequently repeated statement that such canonisations were formally prohibited by the general chapter of 1228. Clairvaux, Villers, Himmerod and Heisterbach, to name only a few houses, were veritable nurseries of saints in the 12th century. The 'four evangelists of Cîteaux' for the cultivation of Cistercian spirituality were St. Bernard, William of St. Thierry, St. Aelred and Blessed Gueric.¹

A contribution to the *Collectanea* of the Reformed Observance has revealed the names of no less than two hundred and eighteen saints and *beati*, whose cultus has been approved for the most part without any formal process.² Of official canonisation there is indubitable proof of no more than three, all of whom would seem to have been raised to the altars for their work in the world: St. Bernard in 1174, St. Peter of Tarentaise in 1191, and St. William of Bourges in 1218. St. Hedwig (*ob.* 1243), who was canonised in 1267, never made her vows as a Cistercian, but contented herself with living as a *soror familiaris*. Two nuns of the Cistercian convent at Avignon, who were martyred at Orange in 1794, were beatified in 1925: Sister Mary of St. Henry (de Justamont) and Sister of the Heart of Mary (de Justamont). The following table gives the number of new feasts introduced, and the elevation in rank of others:³

	Century						
	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th
New feasts	11	29	3	2	0	4	1
Raised in rank	6	6	6	1	1	0	0

¹ Anselme le Bail, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux: La Trappe* (Paris, 1947), chap. V, p. 115.

² Seraphin Lenssen, *Collect. Ord. Cist. Ref.*, an. X, no. 1 (January 1948), pp. 7-18.

³ André Malet, *op. cit.*, part II, art. III, p. 17. The recent edition of the *Statuta* has considerably augmented the number of concessions: *On trouve ainsi qu'au XIII^e siècle, le chapitre général fit environ deux cents concessions de fêtes nouvelles ou d'élévation de rite.* J. M. Canivez, *Le Rite Cistercien*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIII (1949), fasc. III, p. 288.

General chapters, also, made concessions to individual houses—three in the 12th century and ninety-nine in the 13th century. Several feasts were introduced by outside influence, and those of St. Dominic, St. Peter of Verona (1255) and St. Francis (1259) were added at the request of the friars. St. Bernard (20 August) had two Masses in 1175, a proper Office in 1202, sermon feast in 1260 and an octave in 1295. In 1200 Pope Innocent III composed a collect, secret and postcommunion for the feast of the Saint, which he sent to Clairvaux.¹ They are still in use.

Of the early abbots of Cîteaux, St. Robert (29 April) has had a feast since 1222;² St. Alberic (26 January) was given two Masses in 1738; while St. Stephen Harding (16 July) became a sermon feast with an octave in 1628.

There was the greatest reluctance in the early days of the Order to overload the calendar with feasts of twelve lessons, which was the only kind then known, and it was felt that new feasts tended to deprive the dead of their suffrages, as the office for the dead would be recited less frequently.

The petitions of houses for special commemorations were not readily granted, but it was felt that some of the requests could not be refused: St. Thomas of Canterbury for the English houses (1185), St. Malachy for Clairvaux (1192, 1220, 1234, 1250), St. Ursula and her Virgins in the diocese of Cologne (1217), St. Albert and St. Wenceslas for the houses in Poland (1217), St. John and St. Paul *de mandato Domini Papae* (1218), St. Edward for the English houses (1231), St. Lambert for the diocese of Liège (1246), St. Peter of Tarentaise for Bellevaux (1239), Crown of Thorns for the houses in France (1241), St. Edmund for Pontigny (1247, sermon feast), St. Augustine of Canterbury for Boxley (1266) and all the English houses (1267), St. Malachy for Mellifont (1268, sermon feast), St. Patrick for all the houses in Ireland (1274), and the Holy Blood for Hayles (1275, sermon feast). In 1705 Clement XI confirmed the decree of the

¹ The Apostolic letter was addressed to John, monk of Clairvaux, a former archbishop of Lyons.

² A feast of Twelve Lessons on 11 April; transferred to 29 April in 1224; a feast of Two Masses in 1259.

Congregation of Rites relating to the cult of Blessed Teresa and Blessed Sancha, daughters of the king of Portugal and members of the Order;¹ while the same Pontiff, in 1710, approved several feasts for the Congregation of St. Bernard in Italy: St. Robert of Knaresborough, St. Lutgarde, St. Hedwig, St. Robert of Molesme, and certain others.² Decrees relating to Blessed Gueric of Igny and Blessed Eugenius III were made by Pius IX in 1873.³ Theobald, abbot of Vaux de Cernay (*ob.* 1247), had an altar to his memory at Cîteaux in the 18th century, and his cultus was observed by the Italian Feuillants.⁴

The Reformed Observance had a supplement to the breviary, and in 1869 the Congregation of Rites approved the inclusion of nineteen Cistercian saints in the calendar.⁵ Unfortunately, however, rules were applied which referred rather to propers of the Roman rite, and sermon feasts (major and minor), two Masses (major and minor), twelve lessons, etc., were mistakenly regarded as equivalents of the Roman doubles of the first and second class, etc. Some saints, also, were admitted as feasts, which should have been commemorations, as they had no connection with the Order, while there were such serious omissions as Gertrude, Mechtilde, Albert of Sestri, Oger of Locedio, Gueric of Igny, Isebald of the Dunes and John of Montmirail.

The current *ordo* includes the following Cistercian saints and *beati*: St. Guarinus, bishop of Sion (14 January); St. William, bishop of Bourges (19 January); St. Alberic (26 January); B. Amadeus, bishop of Lausanne (28 January); B. Gerard, brother of St. Bernard (30 January); B. Aelred (3 February); B. Raymond, abbot of Fitero (6 February); B. Humbeline, sister of St. Bernard (12 February); B. Conrad of Bavaria (14 February); St. Boniface, bishop of Lausanne (19 February); B. Peter of Castelnau (5 March) St. Stephen of Obazine (11 March); B. Hugh of Bonnevaux (1 April); B. Juliana of Mont Cornelian (5 April); St. Francha

¹ *Sollicitudo pastoralis*, 23 December 1705.

² *Alias a Congregatione*, 27 September 1710.

³ Card. Bilio, *Concessio et approbatio officii et missae in honorem Beati Eugenii III*, Rome, 1873.

⁴ The relics of this Cistercian beatus disappeared at the French Revolution.

⁵ Confirmed by pontifical brief in 1871.

(26 April); St. Robert of Molesme (29 April); St. Martin (St. Sacerdos, 5 May); St. Peter, bishop of Tarentaise, (10 May); BB. Bernard, monk, and his sisters Maria and Gratia, martyrs (1 June); St. Robert of Newminster (7 June); B. Adelaide, nun of Brussels (Aleydis, 12 June); St. Lutgarde (16 June); B. Eugenius III, Pope (3 July); St. Theobald, abbot of Vaux de Cernay (3 July); St. Stephen Harding (16 July); St. Baldwin, abbot (24 July); St. Famian (8 August); Receiving of the Crown of Thorns (11 August); St. Bernard (20 August); St. Martin, abbot (8 October); St. Maurice, abbot (13 October); St. Bernard Calvo, abbot of Santes Creus and bishop of Vich (25 October); All Saints of the Cistercian and Benedictine Orders (13 November); St. Edmund of Pontigny, archbishop of Canterbury (16 November); St. Galgan, hermit (3 December).

The daily Mass for the dead had the same privileges and regulations as the daily Mass *de Beata*. The office for the dead, prescribed in the *consuetudines*, was restricted to ferial days in 1871. The general chapter of 1953 has suppressed it altogether, except for the *officium mensuale* and the four great anniversaries.

The old missal was richer in some respects than that of the 17th-century reform, with four Masses for St. Laurence (10 August)—vigil, two for the feast, octave.

The two conventual Masses, celebrated on certain solemnities, were not identical, and the matutinal Mass on Sunday was a votive Mass of the Holy Trinity (Octave of Pentecost till Advent), with a votive Mass of the Holy Spirit on Thursdays. The regulations, which were devised to break the monotony of celebrating the Sunday Mass twice on the same day, were prescribed by the general chapter of 1202.¹ The Mass *Resurrexit* was sung on all free Sundays from Easter till Advent, and the Resurrection was commemorated on the last Sunday after Pentecost.² The usage was derived from the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre, and may well have been borrowed from its *ordinarium* (1160).³ In 1359 the general chapter enjoined the Mass of the Sunday. A votive Mass

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1202, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 275.

² Cf. Carmelite rite.

³ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. II, col. 2169.

of St. Bernard was prescribed on all free Tuesdays by the general chapter of 1336.¹ The distribution of votive Masses was changed in the 17th century, so that they might approximate to those in the Roman rite. The ritual of 1689 followed the series in the Pian missal, with the exception of St. Bernard in place of the Holy Angels.²

The early Cistercians did not adopt the martyrology to which they had been accustomed at Molesme, but took that of Usuard, with certain additions and corrections.³ The *kalendarium* or *martyrologium* was uniform throughout the Order,⁴ and supplemented by the general chapters on the introduction of new feasts. An edition appeared in 1689,⁵ but it was not very satisfactory. An appendix was supplied in 1872, and a new edition in 1880. A revision of the martyrology was prescribed in the general chapter of 1911, but the work is of considerable difficulty, and has not yet been completed.

CHURCH ORNAMENTS

The ornaments of the church and ministers were in harmony with the architecture: 'nothing should be suffered to remain that savoured of pride and superfluity or might eventually corrupt poverty, the safeguard of virtues, which they had chosen of their own free will'.⁶ The following regulations, drawn up in all probability by St. Stephen Harding, are given in the *Exordium Parvum*: 'They resolved not to keep golden or silver crosses but only painted wooden ones; no candelabra, but only one of iron; no thuribles, but only of copper or iron; no chasubles, except of wool or linen, without silk, gold or silver weave; no albs or amices but of linen, similarly without silk, gold or silver. They eliminated entirely the use of all kinds of palliums, copes, dalmatics and tunicles. However, they retained silver chalices, not

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1336, V; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 442.

² *Rit. Cist.*, lib. II, cap. VI, n. 3. The votive Masses of Easter and the Holy Trinity were restored in 1924 (*Rubr. Missal.*, rubr. gen., tit. IV, no. 4, p. 5).

³ Canivez, *Le Rite Cistercien*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIII (1949), fasc. III, p. 310.

⁴ *Stat. Ord. Cist.*, 1134, III; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 13.

⁵ *Kalendarium cisterciense, seu Martyrologium sacri ordinis Cisterciensis, romanis rubricis accomodatam.*

⁶ *Exord. Parv.*; Louis Lekai, op. cit., append. I, p. 265.

golden, but when it could be done, gold plated, as well as the communion tube (*fistula*) of silver, gold plated if possible; stoles and maniples were of silk only, without gold and silver. They also ordered the altar cloths to be made of plain linen and without embroideries and the cruets to have nothing in gold or silver on them.¹

The lapse of centuries and the requirements of the Congregation of Rites make a return to these austerities impossible, but a simplicity and sobriety in church ornaments is prescribed: *Nihil omnino ponatur circa altare vel supra, quod modestiam et paupertatem Ordinis honestam dedecet; omnesque superfluae novitates et notabiles curiositates studiose evitentur; nec aliquid apponantur quod sacrificio non deserviat.*²

It is not, however, every Cistercian house that heeds these injunctions, and the many plaster statues of the 'Place St. Sulpice' variety that disfigure the 12th-century church and monastery of Aiguebelle savour of *superfluae novitates*, if not also of *notabiles curiositates*. The high altar was originally a simple table on columns, and a retable or reredos was strictly forbidden. In 1259 the general chapter ordered the abbot of Royaumont to remove the pictures, sculptures, curtains and columns with angels, which had been given by the king for the adornment of the high altar. There seems to have been a certain reluctance to comply with these commands, and we find the general chapter of 1263 threatening to deprive the abbot and prior of their wine if the offending 'novelties' were not removed within a month.³

ALTAR CROSS

The cross of painted wood (*Cruces tamen pictas quae sunt lignae habemus*)⁴ on the altar served also for processions, and its stark simplicity was an object of astonishment to Pope Innocent II on his visit to Clairvaux in 1131. The general chapter of 1157 expressly forbade crosses to be of precious metal: *Cruces cum auro non habeantur, nec tam magnae quae congrue non portentur ad*

¹ Ibid. ² *Rubricae Missalis* (Westmalle, 1924), rub. gen., tit. XXI, 4, p. 18.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1263, IX; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 11.

⁴ Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 17.

*processionem, sed ad altare ponantur. Item aureae vel argenteae cruces notabilis magnitudinis non fiant.*¹ Some houses appear to have disregarded the prohibition, and in the following year the general chapter again expressed its disapproval of gold or silver crosses in processions.²

A small cross, to be placed on the altar during Mass as an additional ornament on great feasts, was permitted by the general chapter of 1185.³ Later, the cross became a fixture, and the ritual of 1689 directed that the feet of the figure should be above the candlesticks.⁴

ALTAR LIGHTS

A single candle in an iron candlestick was prescribed for Mass by the *Exordium Parvum*.⁵ The *Consuetudines* speak of two candles, one on either side of the altar: *Accendat minister duas candelas quae solent ardere juxta altare, hinc et inde.*⁶ The use of two lights was, in early days, indicative of a great feast. Gaucher de Ochies, abbot of Cîteaux (1219–23), in a letter to Stephen Munerius, abbot of Larivour, says: *Duo luminaria circa magnum altare diebus solemnibus quibus sermo habetur in capitulo.*⁷ The restored abbey of Boquen in the diocese of St. Brieuc (1936) has revived the custom of placing a candle at either end of the altar rather than on the *mensa*. *In pavimento ecclesiae* was the normal place for candlesticks until the 13th century, and the custom of putting them on the altar was not universal until the 16th century. The general chapter of 1226 directed two lights to be carried before the cross in processions: *In processionibus quae fiunt in Ordine, duo cerei ante crucem a duobus monachis indutis albis*

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1157; Canivez, op. cit., t. I, p. 61.

² *Cruces cum auro et argento non portentur ad processionem. Cap. Gen.* 1158, XII; Canivez, *ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Unam tantum crucem licet super altare ponere praeter communem ligneam, cum vase reliquiarum, sine cereis, in praecipuis festivitibus tantum ad missas. Cap. Gen.* 1185, IV; Canivez, *ibid.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Lib. I, cap. II, n. 4.*

⁵ *Exord. Parv.*, cap. XVII. Candlesticks were also of wood or copper.

⁶ *Consuet.*, cap. LIII (*Nomast. Cist.*, p. 125); cf. cap. XXII (*ibid.*, p. 102) and cap. XXIII (*ibid.*, p. 105).

⁷ *Ex Cartario Ripatorii*; Martène, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, lib. I, col. 775.

candidis deportentur.¹ The cross, however, was carried on the Fridays in Lent without the accompanying lights.

General chapters continued to maintain the simplicity and austerity of the Ornaments, and in 1270 torches at the elevation were forbidden, as well as 'many lights around the altars on solemnities', unless they had been permitted by previous regulations.² In 1288 we find a slight relaxation of the austerity rules, and lights or torches were sanctioned at the elevation of the saving Host.³

Today, in addition to the six candles on the high altar, two standard candles (*majora candelabra ad gradum altaris*) are lit from the *Sanctus* until after the Communion at the conventual Mass, and at a private Mass a third candle is lit on the epistle side of the altar.⁴

LAMPS IN THE CHURCH

The custom of a lamp burning continuously in the oratory was permitted by the general chapter in 1152.⁵ On the occasion of the feast of a saint, a lamp, not candles, might burn during the night before his altar.⁶ Three lamps were lit before the high altar on solemnities, and the general chapter of 1195 directed that this was to include Palm Sunday, now that it had become a sermon feast.⁷

RELICS

Relics on the altar were permitted by the general chapter of 1185, but it was forbidden to light candles before them.⁸ Later,

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1226, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. II, p. 48.

² *Nec accendantur tortitia vel cerei in elevatione hostiae salutaris nec plura luminaria circa altaria in solemnitatibus accendantur, nisi secundum quod continetur in diffinitionibus distinctionis primae capitulo nono, quae sic incipit: Cruces pictas, etc.* *Cap. Gen.* 1270, XI; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 82.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1288, I; *ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴ *Similiter a parte epistolae extra altare habeatur cereus ad elevationem Sacramenti accendendus.* *Man. Caeremon.* (Westmalle, 1924), lib. I, cap. I, 6, p. 2.

⁵ *De lumine oratorii. Lampadem tam die quam nocte jugiter ardentem in oratorio qui voluerit et potuerit, habeat.* *Cap. Gen.* 1152, V; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 46.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1189, XII; *ibid.*, p. 112. ⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1195, XXV; *ibid.*, p. 186.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1185, IV; *ibid.*, p. 98. Cf. *Cap. Gen.* 1197, IV; *ibid.*, p. 210.

the prohibition was relaxed, and two candles were admitted on great feasts.¹

RESERVATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

The custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament for the sick must have existed from the earliest days of the Order, although the primitive documents are silent on the point. There is no mention of the introduction of the practice, and since the 13th century general chapters have stressed the importance of keeping the Eucharist under lock and key: *Eucharistia sub clave et bona sera conserventur*.² The most ancient method of reservation was probably an aumbry in the wall of the presbytery. Dom Edmund Martène, writing of his visit to Auberive in the diocese of Langres at the beginning of the 18th century, says that the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in an aumbry on the epistle side of the church, where it was closed by a grille in such a way that the ciborium was visible.³ Such an aumbry exists today in the fragment of the choir, but the presence of a drain suggests that it was used at some time as a piscina. In the abbey of the Dunes, we find a small Gothic tower as the receptacle for the reserved Sacrament, and at Altenberg near Cologne a pinnacled sacrament house, on the lines of those still to be seen at Nuremberg, Liège and Louvain, was constructed on the gospel side of the presbytery in 1490.⁴ Another method of reservation, found in many Cistercian churches, was a hanging pyx suspended over the high altar, and the Premonstratensian abbot of Grimbergen, who as Apostolic visitor went to Orval in the 18th century, mentions a 'silver dove under a little canopy'.⁵ At Cîteaux in the 17th and 18th

¹ *In præcipuis festivitaitibus cum reliquiae ponuntur altari . . . duo cerei apponantur altari cum eisdem, præter candelas hinc et inde parietibus defixas. Inst. Cap. Gen., dist. I, cap. IX (Nomast. Cist., p. 289); Lib. Ant. Def., dist. III, cap. II (Nomast. Cist., p. 396).*

² *Inst. Cap. Gen., dist. I, cap. VII; Nomast. Cist., p. 288.*

³ *Le Saint Sacrament n'y est point conservé au grand autel, mais dans un tabernacle ou armoire qui est dans le fond de l'église, du côté de l'épître, et qui n'est fermé que d'une grille de fer; en sorte que tout le monde peut voir le S. Ciboire. Voy. Lit. (Paris, 1717), part I, p. 113.*

⁴ The sacrament house is still in use, although the church has become parochial.

⁵ *Supra mensam altaris sub parva umbella. Archief. van het Aartsbisdom, Utrecht, XV, 420.* Melrose, at the time of its destruction in the 16th century, reserved in a hanging pyx.

centuries, the Blessed Sacrament was suspended from a bracket (*console*) in the form of a crozier, fixed to the cross and suspended over the altar.¹ A description of the usages of the mother house is given in the ritual of 1721: *Sur le gradin de cet autel et au milieu est la crosse servant à la suspension du St. Sacrement. Nostre rit moderne est de conserver les hosties pour les communions dans un ciboire doré mis en suspension sous un pavillon sur l'autel; y ayant dedans un linge fin et très propre entre les plis duquel elles sont enveloppées comme entre deux suaires. Ce linge sera changé tous les ans au Jeudy St. et les hosties renouvelées tous les quinze jours. Sous le pied du ciboire il y aura un petit corporalier de forme convenable.*² The Maurist travellers say of La Trappe: *Il y a l'image de la sainte Vierge qui tient la suspense de l'Eucharistie au dessus du grand autel.*³ Something similar existed at Boquen in Brittany, where a figure of the Blessed Virgin held a bell-shaped ornament from which was suspended the vessel containing the Blessed Sacrament. The statue was removed to Lamballe at the Revolution, and served as a representation of the Goddess of Reason. It may be seen today over the interior of the west door in the former collegiate church of Notre Dame at Lamballe.⁴ The ritual of 1689 already speaks of a tabernacle in the modern sense of the word, although expressing its preference for the more traditional usage: *Si Sacramentum fuerit suspensum super altare, ut debet, sacristia vel subdiaconus demittat ipsum, lente ac reverenter laxans funiculum sericeum, quo tabernaculum suspensum tenetur.*⁵ The modern form of tabernacle may have been in the minds of the fathers of the general chapter of 1601 when they directed that it should, if possible, occupy a conspicuous position on or over (*super*) the high altar.⁶

¹ *De crucifixo majoris altaris eminet baculus ferreus incurvatus super locum calicis, pendulum habens vitream capsam pro cibario ad instar lucernae.* Joseph Hahn, *Reflexions on Cîteaux on the occasion of the general chapter of 1699.*

² Liv. I, chap. III, n. 3.

³ Martène, *Voy. Lit.* (Paris, 1717), part I, p. 75.

⁴ It would be a gracious act if the figure was restored to Boquen to serve its original purpose.

⁵ Lib. II, cap. VIII, n. 34.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1601, cap. VII, XXVIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, p. 207.

The French Cistercian ritual of 1715 gives a description of the method of reserving the Eucharist: *Le Très Saint-Sacrement du Corps de Jésus-Christ sera renfermé dans un vase appelé ciboire, doré du moins au-dedans en sa partie inférieure, il sera suspendu sur le grand autel, ou bien ce vase sera mis dans une armoire fermant à clef, proprement garnie d'étoffe au-dedans et ornée au-dehors de quelques sculptures qui aient rapport au mystère du Sacrement, dorées ou richement peintes : cette armoire s'appelle tabernacle.*¹

The gilded tabernacle of sculptured wood, dating from the first half of the 18th century, which was taken from Morimond at the Revolution, is used today in the neighbouring village church of Fresnoy. Modern regulations require a tabernacle on or over the altar, unless an indult for some other method of reservation has been obtained. In 1926 Dom Alexis Presse, abbot of Tamié in Savoy, introduced a hanging pyx in the form of a dove, silver-gilt, with enamelled wings and diamond eyes,² but on the enforced resignation of the abbot ten years later, the pyx was removed. In the same year, however, Dom Alexis took possession of the ruined abbey of Boquen in the diocese of St. Brieuc, where, in a community of the Common Observance, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in a hanging pyx in the provisional church. At Hauterive in Switzerland, which was restored to the Order in 1938, the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in two places: an aumbry in the north wall of the presbytery for the sick, and a hanging pyx before the altar in the form of a dove standing on a dish, enclosed on three sides by curtains.

CLOTHS OF THE ALTAR

The plain linen cloths on the altar were removed at the conclusion of the Mass. They were permitted to be more ornate if a bishop was the celebrant: *Prohibetur ne in nostris altaribus mappae sive pallae habeantur cum limbo serico vel auriphrygio, nisi episcopo*

¹ Liv. I, chap. III, n. 8, 9.

² *Contre le milieu de l'autel formé d'une simple table de pierre que soutiennent un massif de maçonnerie et quatre colonettes, une crose en bronze doré tient suspendue une colombe dont les ailes pliées se soulevent pour recevoir la custode et le petit corporal contenant les hosties réservées aux infirmes.* Schneider, op. cit., part II, 1, p. 110.

*ibi celebrante. Hoc quoties transgressum fuerit, sacrista loci illius, et prior, si consenserit, tribus diebus sint in levi culpa.*¹

The general chapter of 1256 relaxed the austerity regulations in permitting silk hangings for the altar on great feasts: *Statuit et ordinat Capitulum Generale, ut in praecipuis solemnitatibus liceat nobis pannis holosericis et olosericis altaria nostra adornare.*²

THURIBLES

Thuribles in the early days of the Order were of copper or iron: precious metals were forbidden. In 1196 the emperor Henry VI (1190–97) gave the general chapter £2,000 out of the ransom money that he had received for Richard I of England, in order that thuribles might be made for all the houses of the Order. King Richard had been a generous benefactor to the Cistercians, who very properly declined to accept the money: ‘yet the abbots, detesting both the emperor and his house, refused to accept his gift from money so disgracefully gained’.

ALTAR VESSELS

The early statutes permitted the chalice and reed for Communion (*fistula*) to be made of silver or silver-gilt, but nothing was to be made of gold.³ It was, however, difficult to refuse the gifts of benefactors, and on the occasion of the consecration of the church at Mellifont in 1157, Devorgilla, wife of Tighernan O’Rourke, gave a chalice of gold for the high altar, together with costly furniture for the nine other altars.⁴

The 13th-century aumbry for the sacred vessels still exists at Obazine in the diocese of Limoges.⁵ The following regulations govern the present practice in regard to altar vessels: *qui (calix)*

¹ MS. of Lucern; ap. Martène, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, t. IV, col. 1293. Cf. *Prohibetur ne in altaribus nostris habeantur mappae limbatae. Cap. Gen.* 1199, V; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 233.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1256, VI; *ibid.*, t. II, p. 422.

³ *Omnia monasteria ornamenta, vasa, utensilia, sine auro et argento et gemmis, praeter calicem et fistulam: quae quidem duo sola argentea et deaurata sed aurea nequaquam habere permittimur. Stat. Ord. Cist.*, 1134, X; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 15.

⁴ Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (London, 1786), p. 479.

⁵ Today Tulle.

*debet esse argenteus, vel saltem habere cuppam argenteam intus inauratam, et simul cum patena itidem inaurata.*¹

VESTMENTS

The *Exordium Parvum* prescribed that the chasuble should be made of fustian or linen, and without gold or silver orphreys: *neque casulas nisi de fustaneo vel lino sine pallio auroque et argento.*² Copes, dalmatics and tunics were altogether forbidden;³ amices and albs must be without elaborate apparels;⁴ while stoles and maniples were to be made of cloth.⁵ The first statutes disapproved of the use of silk for vestments, with the exception of the stole and maniple: *Altarium linteamina, ministrorum indumenta sine serico sint, praeter stolam et manipulum. Casula vero nonnisi unicolor habeatur.*⁶ In course of time, wool came to be the normal material for vestments. In 1152 the general chapter permitted an abbot to wear a silk cope at his blessing, but at no other time;⁷ while the chapter of 1157 refused to sanction the use of either a cope or a dalmatic by a religious who was assisting a bishop at a solemn Mass.⁸ An abbot who had the temerity to wear a silk chasuble was ordered by the general chapter of 1183 to fast for a day on bread and water, and the sacristan who put out the vestments was subjected to a like punishment.⁹ Three days *in levi culpa* (one on bread and water) was inflicted by the general chapter of 1195 on a monk who wore a silk cope.¹⁰ Austerity in such matters was maintained during the early years of the 13th century, and the general chapter of 1207 renewed the statute respecting vestments: *Casulae simplices sint et unius coloris sine aurifrigio et additamentis quibusdam appositis ad ornatum, ne diversitas in Ordine habeatur.*¹¹

¹ *Man. Caeremon* (Westmalle, 1908).

² *Exord. Parv.*, cap. XVII.

³ *Pallia vero atque dalmaticas, cappas, tunicasque ac toto dimiserunt.* Ibid.

⁴ *Similiter sine pallio auro vel argento.* Ibid.

⁵ *De pallio tantum, sine auro et argento.* Ibid.

⁶ *Stat. Ord. Cist.*, 1134; X, Canivez, *Stat.* t. I, p. 15.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1152, XVI; Canivez, op. cit., t. I, p. 48. Cf. *Cap. Gen.* 1180, III; *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1157, XVII; *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁹ *Cap. Gen.* 1183, XII; *ibid.*, p. 93. ¹⁰ *Cap. Gen.* 1195; XXXIII; *ibid.*, p. 187.

¹¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1207, VII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 335.

The extension of the Order throughout Christendom and the steady flow of donations made relaxation inevitable. In 1226 the use of silk vestments was permitted, if they had been given to the monastery, but bread and water were still to be the punishment of those who wore such vestments, knowing that they had been purchased. The 17th-century annalist Manrique says: *Hic primus in Cistercio leges sancivit, ut pannis sericis, atque olosericis ad ornanda altaris; itemque in vestibus sacris liceret uti.*¹ At the special request of Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) the general chapters of 1257 and 1258 sanctioned the use of a silk cope by the abbot, not only on the occasion of his blessing, but also whenever he officiated with alb and crozier, in processions, and at the blessing of novices. The assistant ministers might use a dalmatic and tunicle at a pontifical Mass, a concession which came to include the wearing of these vestments at all solemn Masses when the abbot normally officiated, but when, in fact, he did not do so. The spirit of simplicity, however, was still maintained as far as possible, and vestments richly adorned or of precious material were discouraged. In our days wool is still the correct material for the chasuble, and the ampler form of vestment holds a place of honour. The following regulations are given in the Manual of Ceremonies, published at Westmalle in 1908: *Paramenta vero, tam celebrantis quam ministrorum, juxta veterem Ordinis consuetudinem, lanea (attamen stola, manipulus, velum, bursa, velum offertorii et velum tabellae pacis ex serico esse debent) sint, vel, si ex eleemosyna accepta, serica, ita tamen ut paupertatem Ordinis honestam non dedeant; amplioris etiam formae, ut aiunt, Gothicae ab antiquo apud nos receptae et a Patribus traditae habeantur. Serica autem pro diebus solemnioribus reserventur.*²

Chasubles, as we have seen, were to be 'of one colour and simple', according to the early regulations of the Order. Houses during the Middle Ages would seem to have worn their best vestments on feasts irrespective of colour. A curious list of liturgical colours for the abbey of Eberbach has been given by Braun.³

¹ *Annal. Cist.*, t. I, append. I, *Series Abbatum Archi-coenobii Cisterciensis* (B. Guy III).

² *Man. Caeremon.* (Westmalle, 1908), n. 24.

³ Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Okzident und Orient . . .*, p. 738, Freiburg, 1907.

A few of the more unusual items may be noted: Assumption (cloth of silver), St. Bernard (grey), Nativity of our Lady (white with pearls), Conception and Visitation of our Lady (donkey-grey and gold), Epiphany and Trinity Sunday (donkey-grey and gold), Vigil of Christmas (brown silk), First Mass of Christmas (grey), Second Mass of Christmas (red and gold), Third Mass of Christmas (green and gold), Purification and Annunciation of our Lady (white and gold), Vigils of Easter and Pentecost (brown), Easter (cloth of silver), Easter Monday and Tuesday (green velvet), Easter Wednesday (blue velvet), Octave of Easter (blue silk), Pentecost (green and gold), Whitsun Monday and Tuesday (green velvet), Whitsun Wednesday (blue velvet), and feasts of Apostles (green). The above list gives an indication of the immense wealth in vestments in some of the more important houses, and of the immeasurable loss sustained by wars and suppressions.

The Roman colour sequence seems to have been introduced at about the same time as it was forbidden to vest and unvest at the altar.¹ It was adopted in the missal of 1617: *Indiculus de coloribus congruis officii*.

DAILY MASS

In the first centuries of the Order, it was not customary for priests to say Mass every day, although this appears to have been the practice of St. Bernard (*ob.* 1153) until his last illness.²

The general chapter of 1202 reprimanded the Welsh abbots of Aberconway, Carleon (Llantarnam) and Valle Crucis for seldom (*rarissime*) offering the holy Sacrifice, but without specifying what *rarissime* implied.³ So late as the 17th and 18th centuries there was no obligation for a priest to say Mass daily. The

¹ J. M. Canivez, *Le Rite Cistercien*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIII (1949), fasc. III, p. 295.

² *In oblatione Hostiae salutaris quam usque ad defectum ultimum vix aliquando intermisit artus sibi vix cohaerentes vigore spiritus sustentabat, semetipsum pariter offerens acceptabilem Hostiam in odorem suavitatis.* Gaufrid, *Vita Prima*, lib. V, cap. I.

³ *De quibus dicitur quod rarissime celebrant et abstinent ab altari.* *Cap. Gen.* 1202, XXV; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 281.

general chapters of 1601 and 1768 said 'at least twice a week'; that of 1611 'more frequently' (*saepius*); while in 1738 it was 'at least three or four times a week'. If the harvest demanded an additional supply of labourers, the number of private Masses was curtailed, but in 1724 the ritual of Cîteaux exempted those priests who wished to say a private Mass from the obligation of manual labour.¹

Mass was customarily served by a cleric and a layman, as the Maurist travellers noted was the practice at Orval at the time of their visit.² The cleric answered the Mass, and the lay assistant gave the water for the *lavabo* and lit the candle for the consecration. The two assistants were referred to in the *Dialogue between the Cluniac and the Cistercian: Praecipimus ut sicut statutum est, nullus presbyter presumat missam celebrare, nisi ad minus duos habeat, quibus convenienter possit dicere Dominus vobiscum.*³

HOLY COMMUNION

Choir monks received Holy Communion on Sundays, if they had not said Mass during the week, and on feasts: the *conversi*, at least seven times in the year, unless the abbot should dispose otherwise.⁴ The first statutes had prescribed a monthly Communion, if the abbot did not consider this to be either too frequent or too seldom.⁵

The deacon and subdeacon received particles from the priest's Host, except on days of general Communion. It was not necessary to use the reed (*fistula*) for receiving the precious Blood, unless it was a general Communion. 'When the brothers communicate of the precious Blood', say the primitive *consuetudines*, 'the deacon, if there is need, pours some wine into the chalice from a vase prepared for this purpose by the subdeacon. And what remains of the precious Blood, this minister ought to consume.' Cardinal Bona (*ob.* 1674), commenting on the fifty-third

¹ *Les prestres qui voudront célébrer la messe depuis la sortie du Chapitre jusqu'à Tierce sont exempts du travail à moins que l'Abbé n'en juger autrement, en obligeant du moins une partie d'y aller. Rituel de Cisteaux (1724), part II, liv. I, chap. III, n. 7.*

² *Voy. Lit.* (Paris, 1717), part II, p. 149.

³ *Dial. inter Clun. et Cist. Mon.*, dial. 2a particula, LX; Martène, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, t. V, col. 1627.

⁴ The Constitutions of 1601 (VII, no. 26) still prescribed seven Communions a year.

⁵ *Stat. Ord. Cist.*, 1134, XII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. , p. 33.

chapter of the *liber usuum*, says: *fistulam inquit necessariam non esse, cum soli ministri communicant: cum vero pluries communicant fistula uti debent, quam peracta communione ab utraque parte sugendo a sanguine Domini evacuari jubet.*¹

The reception of the chalice was forbidden to the community by the general chapter of 1261,² but the ministers at the conventual Mass continued to receive under both kinds until 1437.³

An ablution of wine was given after Holy Communion to the communicants by the sacristan.⁴ This 'ablution of the mouth' was retained after the withdrawal of the chalice, and it is prescribed in the ritual of 1689,⁵ although the practice has since fallen into desuetude. The ritual (1689) directed that Holy Communion should be given with Hosts consecrated at a previous Mass,⁶ and the custom of the mother house was described in the ritual of 1724: *Notre rite moderne est de conserver les hosties pour la communion dans un ciboire doré mis en suspension sous un pavillon sur l'autel.*⁷

Later books forbade the renewal of the sacred species either during the conventual Mass or on a Sunday, but it is now the practice to renew the Hosts at the matutinal Mass on Sundays.⁸

In the early days of the Order, Holy Communion was taken to the sick in a chalice covered by a paten and small veil, but the general chapter of 1262 directed the abbots of the various houses to obtain some suitable vessel (*aliquod vas idoneum*) for the Host, which would be safer than the chalice.⁹

¹ *Rer. Lit.*, lib. I, cap. XXV, 4, p. 238.

² *Cum ex perceptione sanguinis Domini post sanctam communionem in calice solent percipere personae ordinis pericula gravia jam evererint, et possint evenire in posterum graviora, ordinat Capitulum Generale quod monachi, conversi et moniales Ordinis, exceptis ministris altaris, ad calicem more solito non accedant. Cap. Gen. 1261.*

³ The reception of the chalice by the deacon and subdeacon of the Mass was forbidden by the council of Basle (1437), at which the abbot of Cîteaux, John VII Picart, was present. A similar prohibition appeared about the same time for the Congregation of Castile. Manrique, commenting on this withdrawal of the chalice, says: *ne in re gravissima ab Ecclesiae Romanae usu recederemus. Annal. Cist.*, t. I, append. I.

⁵ Lib. II, cap. XIII, n. 29.

⁴ The lips were purified on a napkin.

⁶ Lib. II, cap. X, n. 34.

⁷ Part I, liv. I, chap. XVIII, n. 1. ⁸ Schneider, *op. cit.*, part II, XXII, p. 201.

⁹ *Cap. Gen. 1262*, VIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 2.

Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament was introduced into the Order for Corpus Christi and some other feasts in the 17th century, and the Congregation of La Trappe prescribed it for Sundays and days of precept in 1834.

GRADES OF CONVENTUAL MASS

The rubrics of the ritual of 1689, which are fundamentally Cistercian, differ from the rubrics of the missal, which are fundamentally Roman, in respect to the grades of Mass.

Three grades exist: (1) *Missa Solemnis* for great feasts, when the celebrant is assisted by deacon,¹ subdeacon, thurifer and two acolytes. Incense is used throughout the Mass. (2) *Missa Festiva* on days of twelve lessons, three lessons, and within octaves. There is a deacon, subdeacon and subminister, but no acolytes. The subminister acts as thurifer on feasts of twelve lessons, within the solemn octaves of Easter and Pentecost, on days of two Masses, and for the monthly anniversary. On these occasions incense is used at the offertory² and consecration.³ (3) *Missa cum unico ministro* for days below the rank of three lessons, matutinal Masses,⁴ ordinary requiems and ferial votive Masses. The celebrant is assisted by a deacon and a subminister, but there is no incense.⁵ A Mass of this type is known also as *Missa cum ministro non induto*, as the minister assists in a cowl, and the deacon does not wear a dalmatic.

PROCESSIONS

The *liber usuum* prescribed but three processions, all of which had been suggested by Gospel references—Palm Sunday, Ascension Day and the Purification of our Lady. The Assumption was added by the general chapter in 1223.⁶ The processions took place before Mass, and were made round the cloister, with three

¹ The general chapter of 1154 (*Cap. Gen.* 1154, XXVII; *ibid.*, t. I, p. 58) directed priests who officiated as deacons to wear their stoles round their necks.

² The *oblata* and cross are censured.

³ *Rubr. Missal.* (1924), II, *Rit. Servand. in celeb. Missae*, tit. XV, p. 45.

⁴ The general chapter of 1953 directed the matutinal Mass to be said after lauds without official assistance.

⁵ Incense is not used at solemn vespers.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1223, V; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. II, p. 23.

stations. In 1441 a procession was enjoined on all Sermon feasts, and about the same time in France on all Sundays. A procession to the cemetery on 2 November was enjoined by the general chapter in 1492,¹ and a procession with three stations on the feast of St. Bernard (20 August) in 1601.² The general chapter in 1672 ordered a procession on all Sundays from Easter till 14 September.³ The seven penitential psalms were appointed to be sung in procession on the Fridays in Lent by the general chapters of 1251 and 1252.⁴ The cross only was to be carried, and the abbot, if he was present, might not use a crozier.⁵ These Lenten processions have been suppressed by the general chapter of 1953.

rites and ceremonies of mass

The Cistercians, as we have seen, adopted the Roman rite in the 17th century, but, thanks to Claude Vaussin, the Order has succeeded in retaining at least a few features of the traditional ceremonial.⁶

At the asperges, the celebrant is directed to make a circuit of the altar: *Postea circuit altare celebrans.*⁷

On solemn feasts when incense is used, the celebrant, having put on his chasuble, places incense in the thurible and, after blessing the deacon, goes to the altar with his assistants at the *Gloria Patri* of the introit.⁸

The acolytes, kneeling on either side of the sacred ministers, raise their candles during the preparatory prayers. The name of St. Bernard is added to the *Confiteor*. The *Confiteor* of the old rite is still used in the Sacrament of Penance,⁹ and for the

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1492, XV; *ibid.*, t. VI, p. 34.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1601, IX; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 209.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1672, LXXXIX; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 502.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1251, VII (*ibid.*, II, 361-2); *Cap. Gen.* 1252, V (*ibid.*, II, 376-7).

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1273, I; *ibid.*, t. III, pp. 114-15.

⁶ The traditional rite and its revival in recent years are described in appendices.

⁷ *Rubr. Missal.* (1924), III, p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, *Rit. Servan. in celeb. Missae*, tit. II, p. 21. The imposition of incense in the sacristy is found in *Ordo Romanus I* (*O.R.* I, 8; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 941), an 11th-century sacramentary of Stavelot, and in the rite of Braga.

⁹ *Collect. Cist.* (Westmalle, 1900), part II, lib. I, *Rit. Cist.*, p. 127.

Communion of the sick¹ and Viaticum:² *Confiteor Deo, et beatae Mariae, et omnibus sanctis, et tibi pater, quia peccavi nimis, cogitatione, locutione, et opere, mea culpa.* The form was borrowed from Cluny, whose ancient customs forbade any addition to it, but the name of the Blessed Virgin was inserted by the Cistercian general chapter in 1184: *In confessione ponatur: Confiteor Deo, et Beatae Mariae, et omnibus sanctis.*³ The ritual of 1721 substituted the Roman form of *Confiteor*, with the addition of the name of Bernard, for Penance and the Communion of the sick, but, as we have seen, the typical edition is the ritual of 1689. Variants exist also for the *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam*: *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducatur ad vitam aeternam. Amen. Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, per gratiam sancti Spiritus, tribuat tibi omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.*

Cistercian simplicity eschewed sequences (proses), but the missal of 1687 (Paris), following the direction of the general chapter of that year, inserted sequences at the end of the book for the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Corpus Christi, and for the dead. They were, however, forbidden later, and omitted by the missal of 1702. The position of the ministers in the sedilia follows mediaeval custom, with the celebrant in the seat nearest to the altar. Genuflection in the creed at the words *Et incarnatus est* is prescribed in the missal of 1702 and the manual of ceremonies (1908), but the more traditional *rubricae missalis* (1924) directs the genuflection to be begun at these words, and then, having genuflected, to say *Et homo factus est.*⁴

At the offertory, the subdeacon brings the sacred vessels to the altar, wearing an oblong silk veil (*velum offertorii*), in which he holds the paten until the *Pater noster*. The veil was at one time worn also by the deacon when he presented the chalice and paten.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, lib. III, p. 185. The words *Ideo precor vos, orate pro me* have been added.

² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1184; IX; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 96.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, *Rit. Servan. in celeb. Missae*, tit. VI, p. 27.

⁵ *Diaconus opertis manibus de offertorio tenens sinistra manu pedem calicis, dextra autem patenam offerat sacerdoti. Us. Cist.*, cap. LIII; Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. I, cap. XXV, 12, p. 253.

The profound bow at *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* in the dialogue leading to the preface was authorised by the general chapter in 1396.¹ Six years earlier the chapter had prescribed a bell to be rung during the preface at the conventual Mass.²

The *Benedictus* normally follows the *Sanctus* immediately, and *O Salutaris hostia* is sung after the Consecration. The singing of this hymn was introduced by the abbot of Cîteaux, Nicholas I Boucherat, in 1574.³ *Ave verum* is sung sometimes in its place, and in Masses for the dead, *Pie Jesu*.

The custom of elevating the Host is not found in the *liber usuuum* (c. end 12th century), which reads: 'holding it thus elevated (to consecrate) till these words: *Hoc est corpus meum*, after which he will place it carefully on the altar, *without raising it again*'. References to the elevation of the Host occur in statutes of the general chapters of 1210⁴ and 1215,⁵ and again in 1232.⁶ The Cluniac liturgist Dom Claude de Vert must surely be mistaken when he says, on the authority of a monk of Orval 'in our day', that, despite the 13th-century directions, the ceremony of elevation did not become universal till 1606.⁷ The importance attached to the elevation in the Middle Ages can scarcely have failed to influence the Order, and the general chapters of 1214 and 1215 direct those who hear the bell at the elevation to kneel and pray.⁸ The ringing of a bell would not appear, however, to have been always the practice of houses, and the obligation was again enjoined by the general chapter of 1601, 'so that those in church or near by may adore'. In spite of this clear direction, the ritual of 1689 makes no mention of a bell at the elevation, while the ritual proper to the mother house (1724) says expressly that such is not the custom: *Ce n'est point au reste nostre coutume de sonner une clochette pour en avertir les assistans*.⁹

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1396, XXXIII; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, pp. 675-6.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1390, I; *ibid.*, pp. 572-3.

³ The diocese of Linköping in Sweden adopted its use as a hymn after Communion about 1450. ⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1210, V; Canivez, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 369.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1215, I; *ibid.*, p. 434. ⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1232, III; *ibid.*, t. II, p. 101.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XXVII, pp. 200-1.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1214, LXI (Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 429); *Cap. Gen.* 1215, I (*ibid.*, p. 434).

⁹ *Liv.* II, chap. IV, per. 3.

The earliest reference to the elevation of the chalice seems to be the direction of Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) to the Congregation of Castile in 1437: *Item quia Romana Ecclesia calicem post hostiam elevare consuevit, hanc consuetudinem volumus in omnibus monasteriis dictae Observantiae perpetuis temporibus observari ad tollendum scandalum saecularium.*¹ This was followed by a decree of the general chapter in 1444, directing that the chalice, as well as the Host, should be elevated in all the houses of the Order.²

Genuflections were unknown before the 17th century. In 1589 the Congregation of Castile had prescribed a profound inclination.³

The rubric regarding the inclination of the head at *per eundem Christum* was approved by the general chapter in 1609, and inserted in the missal of 1617. It is not found in the missal of the Congregation of Castile.

When the first *Agnus Dei* has been sung at the conventual Mass, the religious prostrate on the knuckles of their hands for the space of a *Pater noster*.

The kiss of peace is not given if there are no communicants: *Si nullus communicet, osculum altaris, et pacis datio omittitur.*⁴ The pax-brede (*instrumentum pacis*) is offered to the communicants by the subdeacon or minister at the presbytery step. At a private Mass, the priest and server kiss the pax-brede.⁵ It seems probable that the *pax* was originally given to the deacon without any formula, and the *Consuetudines* say merely: *divertat os suum ad diaconum osculans eum*. The *Usos* of the Congregation of Castile require the priest to place his right hand on the shoulder of the deacon, as he says: *Pax tecum*, to which the deacon responds: *Et cum spiritu tuo*. The edition of 1586 prescribes a different usage: the priest first kisses the Host which he holds over the chalice, and then the pax-brede, which he offers to the deacon.

¹ Henriquez, *Regula Const. de prévil. Ord. Cist.*, p. 273.

² Schneider, *op. cit.*, part II, XIII, p. 166.

³ *Ritus Celebrandi*. The *Usos* of 1586 directed the deacon to raise the chasuble at the elevation: the subdeacon and thurifer were to kneel. *Usos* (1586), cap. XV; Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴ *Rubr. Missal.* (1924), II, *Rit. Servand. in celeb. Miss.*, tit. X, p. 37.

⁵ *Man. Caeremon.* (1908), Lib. I, cap. III, 76, p. 22; lib. I, cap. VI, 151, pp. 38-9.

After which, all those who are receiving Holy Communion kiss the pax-brede.

The *Confiteor*, etc., are not said before Communion at a private Mass, as the server has joined in the preparatory prayers. A white cloth (*mappula*) is held under the chins of the communicants at the epistle corner of the altar by either the subminister or the deacon and the subdeacon.¹ The *liber usuum* forbade the reception of Holy Communion in a Mass for the dead, and there was consequently no kiss of peace.

After the conventual Mass on Sunday, the celebrant at the epistle corner of the altar blesses the reader in the refectory for the forthcoming week.² The formula was borrowed from Cluny.

¹ *Ibid.*, lib. I, cap. VI, 152, p. 39; lib. I, cap. XV, 332, p. 103.

² *Ibid.*, lib. I, cap. XVI, 382, p. 132; lib. I, cap. XVII, 432, p. 147. Cf. *Reg. S. Bened.*, cap. XXXVIII.

APPENDIX

Traditional Cistercian Rite

The prayer *Summe Sacerdos*, ascribed to St. Ambrose, is found in the ancient manuscripts, and, in a longer form, in the printed missals of the 16th century. The old rite provided also other prayers to be said at the discretion of the celebrant before Mass. The first of the vesting prayers: *Exue me, Domine, veterem hominem* is said by a bishop of the Roman rite when he takes off the *cappa magna*. The prayers are very similar to those in the Roman missal, but they were concluded with *Per Christum*, etc.¹

The altar was furnished with four cloths by the deacon and subdeacon, vested in girded albs, amices and maniples. After terce or the *Sub tuum* the ministers returned to the sacristy, where the chasuble was taken,² and they each washed their hands.³

In the mediaeval rite the vesting took place at the altar, but the custom was forbidden in 1609, even for private Masses, *pro majori reverentia et honestate*. On entering the church, the procession halted at the altar of the station (*altare stationis*), which in churches constructed on the model of Cîteaux, like La Ferté, Clairvaux and Wettingen, was on the eastern side of the transept. The sacred ministers went to the high altar at the *Gloria Patri* of the introit, where the celebrant said *Veni sancte Spiritus*.⁴ The priest signed himself at the words *In nomine Patris*, etc., kissed the altar,⁵ and descended the steps, where, with the deacon and subdeacon, the preparatory prayers were said:

*Confiteor Deo et beatae Mariae et omnibus Sanctis et vobis fratres, quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione et opere mea culpa. Ideo precor vos, orate pro me.*⁶

Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te ab omni malo, conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducat ad vitam aeternam.

¹ *Qui vivis*, etc., at the end of the prayer for the chasuble.

² Also the dalmatic and tunicle of the ministers, if they were worn.

³ Cf. Usage at Cluny. *Pat. Lat.*, t. CXLIX, col. 715, 724.

⁴ *Spiritus sancti assistentiam magna cum humilitate expostulet dicens: Veni sancte Spiritus. Missale Cist.*, 1672.

⁵ The deacon also kissed the altar.

⁶ As we have seen, the formula is of Cluniac origin, with the invocation to our Lady introduced by the general chapter in 1184.

Indulgentiam et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum per gratiam Sancti Spiritus tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus.

☩ *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*

R₇ *Qui fecit coelum et terram.*

Then, going up to the altar, the celebrant said a *Pater, Ave* and the prayer, *Aufer a nobis Domine*, while the deacon and subdeacon went to the credence.

Some slight modifications were made by the Congregation of Castile in the missal of 1762: the *Pater* and *Ave* immediately followed *Veni sancte Spiritus*, and a second invocation of the Holy Spirit preceded the *Confiteor*: *Sancti Spiritus adsit, nobis gratia Amen.* There was also a second versicle and response after the *Indulgentiam*: ☩. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.* R₇. *Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum. Aufer a nobis* was said as the priest went up to the altar.

The psalm *Judica me* was introduced into the Cistercian rite by the Romanising general chapter of 1618.

The *Consuetudines* say in respect to the preparatory prayers: *Quam confessionem, si ea hora complere non potuerunt dicant postea, cum eis vacuum fuerit.* Thus, if the singing of the *Kyrie* was finished, the celebrant immediately intoned the *Gloria* or sang *Dominus vobiscum*, saying the *Confiteor* as soon as an opportunity offered.

The altar was not censed at the beginning of Mass until a much later period. It is referred to in the *Usos* of the Spanish congregation in 1798, but there is no mention of the practice in those of 1586 or 1671.

The deacon, when he had said the *Confiteor*, was directed by the *Consuetudines* (1171-91) to take the corporal to the altar, while the subdeacon washed the chalice with water, and dried it: *liniens calicem intus aqua.* After which, the deacon, having placed a large host on the paten and poured the wine into the chalice, took the sacred vessels to the altar: the subdeacon carrying the cruet of water. The priest himself added the water,¹ but neither the *Consuetudines* nor the ancient missals give any special formula.² Cardinal Bona says that the Cistercians used the prayer *de latere Domini nostri Jesu Christi*,³ but he fails to give any reference, and neither the Carmelite nor the Dominican rite, both of which had an origin more or less similar to that of the White monks, provide any prayer. The vessels seem to have been placed at the epistle end of the altar, where, covered with the offertory veil, they remained until after the gospel or creed.⁴ If, however, the *Gloria* or *Dominus vobiscum* should be sung while the ministers were occupied

¹ This was enjoined in the missal of the Spanish congregation in 1762.

² Several formulas for the preparatory offertory ceremony are given in the Castilian missal of 1762. ³ *Rer. Lit.* (Rome, 1671), lib. II, cap. IX, 3, p. 369.

⁴ *Deinde posita patena super calicem cooperiat eum de offertorio.* Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs*. . . (Dijon, 1878), p. 142.

at the credence, they were directed to go and stand behind the celebrant. The exact time for the deacon to place the vessels on the altar seems to have been unimportant, provided that it was about the time that the priest went to the altar. Similar directions for the making of the chalice are found in the *liber usuum* of 1531,¹ but the missal of 1617 gives the ordinary Roman usage.²

The *Gloria in excelsis* was sung normally to one of two melodies, although we find others in some of the manuscripts. Tropes were specifically forbidden in the *liber usuum*, but a 15th-century manuscript from Alcobaça, now in the National Library at Lisbon, has the well-known farced *Gloria* for feasts of our Lady: *Maria gubernans*.³ The same also is found in a manuscript formerly belonging to the abbey of the Dunes, now the property of the diocesan seminary of Bruges. The days on which the *Gloria* was sung were indicated in the *consuetudines*, to which the general chapter added certain votive Masses.

Dominus vobiscum was said at the epistle corner of the altar, and the deacon was directed to arrange (raise) the ample chasuble: *trahat ei reverenter deorsum medium casule*.

After the collects, the celebrant and deacon retired to the sedilia, while the subdeacon recited the epistle. The *consuetudines* say that the priest 'may read in the missal': *Interim sacerdos usque ad evangelium sedere et in missali legere potest*.⁴ The reference, however, is not to what is being sung in the choir, but to the *Praeparationes ante missam* or *Apologiae*.⁵

The celebrant returned to the altar for the blessing of the deacon before the gospel: *Domne jube benedicere—Dominus sit in corde tuo et in ore tuo, ut digne annunties Evangelium Christi*.

Neither the *consuetudines* nor the ancient missals make any reference to incense at the gospel, but there is a mention of it in the later *Usos* of the Congregation of Castile.⁶ A rubric directed the priest to turn his face towards the gospel-book, 'standing with fear': *convertat*

¹ *Liber Usuum Cist. Ord.*, Paris, Engelbert de Marnet, 1531.

² *Missale ad usum sacri Ord. Cist.*, Paris, Sebastian Cramoisy, 1617.

³ *Lisbon, Nat. Lib.*, MS. 6207 FG. The same manuscript provides tropes for the traditional *Ave Rex* on Palm Sunday.

⁴ Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

⁵ The prayer *Summe sacerdos* is given before the *ordo missae* in the 12th-century Dijon MS. Cf. Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka (c. 1312): *ut si velit orationem Summe sacerdos dicere possit vel aliam prout devotionem habuerit. Deinde* (after epistle) *ministri cum sacerdote dicant graduale et ea quae pro tempore dicenda fuerint*. Zimmermann, *Ordin. de l'Ordre de N.-D. du Mont Carmel* (Paris, 1910), rubric XLI, pp. 77-8.

⁶ *Usos* of 1586 and 1671: The minister with censer and boat went to the subdeacon who, without any prayer or blessing, put on the incense. They accompanied the deacon to the lectern, where both the deacon and subdeacon censed the book two or three times.

*faciem ad Evangelium stans cum tremore.*¹ At the conclusion of the gospel, the celebrant kisses the open 'text', which is then replaced on the reading-desk under a veil (*super analogium sub palla*). There is no formula at the kissing of the book in the *consuetudines* and ancient missals, but at the end of several gospels in the Bruges manuscript we find: *Per haec evangelia dicta deleantur omnia nostra delicta.*

The creed, which was intoned at the epistle side of the altar, concluded, as in the Carthusian rite, with *vitam futuri saeculi*. There was but a single melody, the first in the actual Cistercian chant-books: *Credo uniformiter semper dicatur*, as the missal of 1516 said. The *consuetudines* gave the days on which there was a creed,² and the general chapter in 1347 directed it to be sung solemnly on sermon feasts.³

The salutation and *Oremus* were said at the epistle side of the altar, after which the celebrant moved the missal: *Deinde sumens librum ponat ad sinistrum cornu.*

The deacon spread the corporal after the gospel: *Diaconus autem post Evangelium displicet corporale habens tres plicatus in latum et quatuor in longum, medium latitudinis ponens in medio altaris.*⁴ The corporal served also as the pall.⁵

At *Oremus*, the deacon, covering his hands with the offertory veil, brought the sacred vessels to the altar. The celebrant, placing the paten on the chalice, then recited the offertory prayer: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, hanc oblationem quam tibi offerimus in memoriam beatae passionis, resurrectionis, et ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in honorem beatae Mariae semper Virginis, genitricis ejusdem Domini nostri et omnium sanctorum et sanctarum, coelestium virtutum et vivificae Crucis, ut eam acceptare digneris pro nobis peccatoribus et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*⁶ The printed missals (1512, 1515, 1516, 1519, 1545, 1584, 1617) direct the prayer to be said kneeling, but there is no mention of this in the *Consuetudines*.⁷ Neither is there any reference to kneeling in the missal of the Congregation of Castile, which, probably under Roman influence, had changed the rubric after its separation from the jurisdiction of the general chapter.

The *oblata* were arranged by the deacon on the corporal,⁸ a fold of which was spread over the chalice, while the paten and offertory veil were taken to the credence.

¹ Cf. *Reg. S. Benedicti*, cap. XI.

² *Consuet.*, cap. LXV.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1347, I; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. III, p. 505.

⁴ *Consuet.* cap. LIII. A similar rubric is found in the ceremonial of the Benedictine Congregation of Bursfeld; Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. I, cap. XXV, II, p. 250.

⁵ *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 203. Cf. Carthusian rite.

⁶ *Missale Cist.*, 1584.

⁷ *Offertorio dicto, elevatis patena cum pane et calice et genuflectans dicat: Suscipe. . . . Missale Cist.*, 1617.

⁸ *Panem ante calicem.*

The abbot, if he was present, put on and blessed the incense, but there was no formula of blessing, either in the *consuetudinès* or in the missal.¹ It may possibly have been the old custom to make a simple sign of the cross over the incense, to which perhaps was added: *In nomine Patris*, etc.²

The celebrant in censuring the *oblata* described a circle round the chalice. Then, with a single swing of the thurible, the altar was censured, to the right, to the left, and in the direction of the cross.³ The deacon, who during the censuring by the priest held the chasuble, then took the thurible and censured on his own account: censuring the epistle side of the altar and twice the cross, after which he went round behind the altar, and then censured the gospel side and again the cross.⁴ The ceremony seems to have been a combination of the general usage of the time and of the use of Cluny.

No special prayer was said at the *lavabo*, although the Congregation of Castile, influenced by Rome, directed the psalm *Lavabo* to be said.

The celebrant, when he had washed his hands, inclined before the altar, saying: *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur, Domine, a te, et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie et placeat tibi, Domine Deus*. Then, kissing the altar, he turned and extended his hands: *Orate fratres, pro me peccatore, ut meum pariter ac vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptabile fiat sacrificium*. There was originally no response, but the missal of 1584 gives: *Dominus sit in corpore tuo et in labiis tuis suscipiatque de manibus tuis sacrificium istud et orationes tue ascendant in memoriam ante Deum pro nostra et totius populi salute*.⁵

The deacon, having arranged the folds of the chasuble, then went with the subdeacon to wash their hands at the piscina. The secrets, which were said at the gospel side of the altar, were preceded by *Oremus*, said silently before each prayer.⁶ The priest returned to the middle of the altar for the *ekphonesis* of the last secret, with the deacon standing behind him, while the subdeacon took the paten, enveloped in the *velum offertorii*, from the credence, and then took up his position behind the deacon.

The single melody for the preface was an imitation of that for the

¹ The Castilian missal of 1762 gives the formula: *Ab illo benedicatur in cuius honore et nomine concrematur. Amen*.

² Cf. Dominican rite.

³ *Sacerdos accipiens (thuribulum), thurificet calicem isto modo, semel volvat illud circa calicem, semel thurificet dexteram partem altaris desuper, semel et sinistram, semel quoque anteriorem. Consuet.*

⁴ *Diaconus autem thurificet prius dexteram partem ipsius altaris. Deinde elevans manus thurificet bis crucem, et inde transiens per retro altare ad sinistram partem thurificet eam similiter et crucem. Consuet.*

⁵ A similar response is found in the missal of 1516 (Paris. fo. 82b).

⁶ Cf. several missals about 1100 and the Carthusian rite.

Exultet. The ministers said the *Sanctus* together, signing themselves at the *Benedictus*.¹ Two candles were lit on either side of the altar, which were extinguished after the Communion. The general chapter of 1188, in order to ensure uniformity of chant and at the same time to guard against heresy, directed that no pause should be made between the words of the preface, or, at least, only after the word *Pater*.²

The memento of the living in the canon omitted the words: *pro quibus tibi offerimus vel*, and it is possible that the manuscript-type of Cîteaux collated missals in which they were wanting. The two formulas are given in the Castilian missal of 1589. The text of the canon before the consecration had three slight variants, and there was no *Amen* prior to the missal of 1512, but these minor differences are all to be found in the Gregorian sacramentary. The general chapters sometimes directed the names of special benefactors to be commemorated, and such names are to be found in some of the Cistercian manuscripts. Before the introduction of the ceremony of the elevation of the Host, the consecration was a very simple affair: the sacred ministers stood one behind the other, while the community stood in the stalls facing the altar: *Et dicto extremo 'Hosanna in excelsis' versis vultibus ad altare, stent ita usque ad 'Per omnia saecula saeculorum'*.³ On the days when two Masses were said *in conventu*, the religious at the *Missa matutinalis* were permitted to remain seated from the *Sanctus* till the end of Mass, except during the *Agnus Dei*.⁴ There is a reference to the elevation of the Host in the general chapter of 1210, and in that of 1232 we find a definite ruling on the point, as if the ceremony had not been adopted in all the houses.⁵

The earliest regulations make no mention of the priest extending his arms in the form of a cross during the first two prayers after the consecration, but it is unlikely that the Cistercians differed in this respect from the other Orders with a similar liturgical background. In fact, Dom Edmund Martène says specifically that the custom obtained 'among the Cistercians as among the Carthusians',⁶ and the *ordinarium* of Cîteaux, in reference to the office of Good Friday, says: *Le prestre ayant les bras estenduz dira a voix moyennement basse: Oremus, etc.*⁷

At *Supplices te rogamus*, the *Consuetudines* prescribed a profound inclination. The priest kissed the edge of the altar in front of the chalice at the words *Ex hac altaris participatione*, signing the sacred

¹ The subdeacon signed himself with the paten still enveloped in the offertory veil.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1188, IV; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 108.

³ *Consuet.*, cap. LVI; *Nomast. Cist.*, p. 135.

⁴ Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵ *In elevatione hostiae salutaris, consecratione peracta, hostia aliquantulum elevetur, ut videri possit.* *Cap. Gen.* 1232, III; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. II, p. 101.

⁶ Martène, *De antiq. Monach. rit.*, lib. II, cap. IV.

⁷ Chap. XXXII.

species as well as himself. The following directions for the ceremonies accompanying the formula *Per ipsum et cum ipso*, etc., are given in the *Consuetudines*: About the end of the prayers after the consecration, the deacon, who had been standing behind the celebrant, came up on his right, and kissed the altar. Then, holding one side of the corporal with his right hand, the priest holding the other side, they raised the fold that rested on the chalice, and folded it back. The celebrant three times signed the chalice, which the deacon was supporting.

Four crosses are prescribed in the *Consuetudines*—three over the chalice, and a fourth in front of it. A fifth sign of the cross was introduced into the rite about the middle of the 17th century. It is worthy of note that the ceremonies of the deacon just described accord almost exactly with those found in *Ordo Romanus* I¹ and *Ordo Romanus* XIV,² except that the deacon in the Cistercian rite did not kiss the shoulder of the celebrant after kissing the altar.

The little elevation accompanied the formula: *omnis honor et gloria*, with the celebrant holding the Host in two hands over the chalice. Then, taking the chalice in his left hand, and the Host, as well as the chalice, in his right, the priest elevated the sacred species, assisted by the deacon. The chalice was replaced on the altar, and covered with a fold of the corporal after *Per omnia saecula saeculorum* and *Oremus*.

The subdeacon, at the words *Panem nostrum quotidianum* in the *Pater noster*, uncovered the paten, and took it up to the deacon, together with the offertory veil. The *Consuetudines* direct the subdeacon to kiss the hand of the deacon, a gesture unknown elsewhere. After the response of the choir: *Sed libera nos a malo*, the deacon kissed the hand of the celebrant, and gave him the paten. The subdeacon placed the offertory veil on the credence. The paten was put under the corporal, unless there were Communions, when it was placed *on* the corporal.

Prayers for special intentions were ordered from time to time by the general chapter to be recited after the *Pater noster* in the conventual Mass. These suffrages remained in force until the chapter of the following year, when they were suppressed, changed or renewed according to circumstances. The general chapter of 1194 prescribed prayers for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels: the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes* was to be recited at the conventual Mass, and a collect at a private Mass.³ The suffrages were renewed by the general chapter in 1195, 1196 and 1197.⁴ For the intention of the crusade against the Turks, and for the good estate of the Pope and the king of France,

¹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 945.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1167.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1194, X; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. I, p. 172.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1195, I (*ibid.*, p. 182); *Cap. Gen.* 1196, LVII (*ibid.*, p. 208); *Cap. Gen.* 1197, II (*ibid.*, p. 210).

the general chapter of 1245, at the request of the legate, Odo of Châteauroux,¹ ordered the recitation of *Deus venerunt*, *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster* and a *prayer*.² The chapters of 1255 and 1258 renewed the obligation of prayers for the Church and the Pope.³ The suffrages were maintained by the general chapter of 1261, but for the delivery of Christendom from the Tartars: *tuba praeconii terribilis nostris intonuerit auribus super ingruente saevitia Tartarorum, qui sibi, ut dicitur, subjugare intendunt universum populum Christianum. . .*⁴ The obligation was revoked by the general chapter in the following year,⁵ but in 1271, at the request of the king of France, special prayers were enjoined for the recovery of the Holy Land.⁶ An appeal was made by Pope Gregory X for this intention in 1274, which was supported by the general chapter of that year,⁷ and again in 1290.⁸ By 1302 the suffrages were either abrogated or had become a dead letter, but about that time we find a recitation of the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri*, versicle, response and prayer prescribed for a settlement of the dissensions between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, King of France. The liability of these suffrages was communicated to the general chapter of the nuns at Tart. Following the instructions of Pope John XXII, the general chapter in 1328 prescribed the recitation of the psalm *Laetatus sum* and certain prayers by way of suffrage for ecclesiastical and temporal peace.⁹

It was customary for the celebrant to continue with the embolism (*Libera nos*), while the community recited the psalm. On days when there were two conventual Masses, the suffrages were said at the first Mass.¹⁰ *Laetatus sum* continued to be sung until the introduction of the Roman *ordo missae* in 1618. So late as 1601, we find the general chapter recalling the obligation: *Immediate post Orationem dominicam sacri Canonis dicat Conventus Psalmum 'Laetatus sum' et sacerdos versiculos et collectas in Missali Ordinis descriptas pro indulgentiis consequendis a Joanne XXII Pontifice concessis*.¹¹ The general chapter of 1618 specifically suppressed the suffrages, while at the same time

¹ Contrary to generally received opinion, it is now established that Odo of Châteauroux, cardinal bishop of Tusculum (1244–73), was never a member of the Cistercian Order. Anselme Dimier, *Collectanea O.C.R.*, t. X, pp. 295–7.

² *Cap. Gen.* 1245, II; *ibid.*, t. II, p. 289.

³ *Cap. Gen.* 1255, II; *ibid.*, t. II, p. 409. *Cap. Gen.* 1258, I; *ibid.*, t. II, p. 435.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1261, III; *ibid.*, p. 475.

⁵ *Cap. Gen.* 1262, XIII; *ibid.*, t. III, p. 3.

⁶ *Cap. Gen.* 1271, LXXV; *ibid.*, pp. 91–2.

⁷ *Cap. Gen.* 1274, I; *ibid.*, pp. 126–7.

⁸ *Cap. Gen.* 1290, XX; *ibid.*, p. 248.

⁹ *Cap. Gen.* 1328, I; *ibid.*, pp. 378–9.

¹⁰ The following rubric occurs in the Castilian missal of 1762: *Quod si plures (missae) conventuales fuerunt, in prima tantum dicitur et non in aliis*.

¹¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1601, cap. VIII, III; Canivez, *Stat.*, t. VII, p. 204.

permitting the use of the traditional rite until such time as a 'reformed' missal was forthcoming: *Retinebitur tamen in reliquis Missale et Officium Ordinis, excepto quod Psalmus 'Laetatus sum' et annexae collectae omittentur.*¹ The *Usos* for the Spanish congregation, published in 1586, 1671 and 1798, make no reference to the suffrages, but they are found in the missal of 1762, at the end of the canon with the title: *Suffragium post elevationem calicis in Missa Conventuali dicendum.* It would seem that it was the custom in the Congregation of Castile to say the suffrages after the elevation of the chalice: the psalm *Ad te levavi*, the responsary *Aspice Domine*, *Kyrie eleison*, versicles and collects. The *collectaneum*, published in 1900, says: *Suffragium pro pace ecclesiastica et temporali, olim dicebatur in Missa post Pater noster.*²

At the conclusion of the suffrages, the celebrant finished the embolism in a low voice, and placed the Host on the paten, which he moved a little to the right of the chalice. The Host was divided into three parts, as he said the end of the prayer. Two of the particles were retained in the left hand, the other in the right. Thus he sang *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, and at *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* the priest signed the interior of the chalice three times with a particle of the Host.³

The solemn pontifical benediction took place at this point of the Mass.

The celebrant said the threefold *Agnus Dei*, holding the three particles over the chalice. Then, letting one of the particles fall into the chalice, the priest said the prayer for the commixture: *Haec sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi et omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis et ad vitam aeternam promerendam et capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Amen.*⁴

The kiss of peace was given to the deacon, with the priest holding the two remaining particles over the chalice. It was probably given without any formula. The *Consuetudines* say: *divertat os suum ad diaconum osculans eum.* The deacon then gave the *pax* to the subdeacon, who in his turn, if there was a general Communion, gave it to the senior in choir at the presbytery step: *osculans diaconus subdiaconum sibi invicem supplicando et subdiaconus similiter alium, si pacem quaesiret, eundo ad gradum.*

The particle for the Communion of the ministers was placed on the paten: *Sacerdos autem data pace diacono, eam partem hostiae, de qua*

¹ *Cap. Gen.* 1618, XIV; *ibid.*, t. VII, p. 333.

² Psl. CXXI, *Laetatus sum*; versicles and responses; two prayers: *Ecclesiae tuae Domine* and *Hostium nostrorum quaesumus Domine.* *Collect.*, lib. IV, pp. 243-4.

³ Cf. Carmelite and Dominican rites.

⁴ *Et postquam ter dixerit 'Agnus Dei' et dimiserit in calicem illam partem dominici corporis quam tenet in dextera manu dicens: 'Haec sacrosancta commixtio' totam orationem sub silentio. Consuet.*

ministri communicandi sunt super patenam ponat. The priest continued to hold over the chalice the particle for his own Communion. There was a single Communion prayer, which was almost identical with the prayer in the Roman missal: *Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris cooperante Spiritu sancto per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me quaeso per hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis et universis malis: et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis et numquam in perpetuum a te separari permittas, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

The *Consuetudines* describe a unique rite of Communion: holding the chalice in one hand and the Host in the other, the priest approaches them with his lips, and, placing the chalice under the Host, he receives the Body of Christ, then the precious Blood.¹ The paten, contrary to what one finds in other rites, plays no part in the Communion of the priest. Communion prayers were introduced into the Congregation of Castile under Roman influence, and the missal of 1762 directed the priest, after the prayer *Domine Jesu Christe*, to recite *Domine non sum dignus* three times, but without striking his breast, and then to say the two actual formulas for the reception of the Host and chalice. The two ablution prayers were also given, although not of obligation.²

There is no trace of a prayer of thanksgiving in any of the missals before 1618, except in a manuscript preserved in the abbey of Achel in Belgium.³

It was customary for the deacon and subdeacon to receive Holy Communion at the conventual Mass, even on Good Friday. The sole exception to this rule was in a Mass for the dead. The ministers received the third part of the Host of the Mass, and without any formula, unless it was that which was given in the *Consuetudines* for the viaticum: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam aeternam.* The Castilian *Usos* of 1586 provided the following formula: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam tuam et corpus tuum.* On Sundays, the deacon and subdeacon were communicated with the reserved Sacrament.⁴ As we have already seen, Communion under both kinds was suppressed for the community in 1261, and for the sacred ministers

¹ *Qua (oratione) dicta statim sumens corpus Domini cum calice utraque manu applicet ad se, et sic percipiat corpus Domini super calicem, deinde sanguinem. Consuet.*

² *Quod ore sumpsimus; Corpus tuum Domine.*

³ *Oratio postquam percepit corpus et sanguinem. Corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod accepi et sanguis ejus quem potavi inhereat queso in visceribus meis, ut non veniat mihi ad iudicium neque ad condemnationem, sed sit ad salutem et ad remedium anime mee et perducatur me ad vitam eternam. Amen.* Schneider, op. cit., part II, XX, p. 193.

⁴ The Eucharist was renewed on Sundays, and also on Holy Thursday. The latter day is mentioned in the *ordinarium* of Cîteaux (1516), and also in the Castilian *Usos* of 1586 and 1798.

in 1437. The Host was received at the epistle corner of the altar,¹ after which the communicants, prior to 1261, went round the back of the altar to the gospel side, where they received the precious Blood by means of a *fistula* (reed). Unconsecrated wine was added to the chalice, if the numbers required it. On such occasions, the subdeacon used the *fistula* himself, and at the Communion of the religious held the chalice, while the deacon held the *fistula*.² The section of the *Consuetudines* relating to the use of the *fistula* seems to have been inspired by *Ordo Romanus VII*, where the term is used for the first time.³ Earlier *ordines* speak of *pugillaris*. If the number of communicants was small, the particle of the priest's Host sufficed,⁴ and the *fistula* was not used: religious in major orders held the chalice themselves with the left hand. An ablution of wine was given at about the first stall of the lower choir. Holy Communion was originally given to nuns with a ceremonial similar to that of the monks. The details may be found in the French translation of the *pauvre Martin*, a 12th–13th-century work for the use of nuns of the Order, and also in the *Ordinaire de Cisteaux*.⁵ In 1493, however, it was decided by an assembly of abbots at the College of St. Bernard in Paris (*Articuli Parisienses*) that Holy Communion should be given in convents at a grille in the choir, through an opening closed with two shutters.⁶

When the Communion was finished, the celebrant returned to the middle of the altar, where he received the chalice from the deacon. He then purified his fingers with wine, offered by the subdeacon; placed the chalice on the corporal; and washed his hands at the piscina. Returning to the altar, he took the ablution, and also a second ablution of wine. The chalice was placed near the paten, but not on its side, as was customary with the Carthusians.⁷ The deacon, on the left of the celebrant, sucked the two ends of the *fistula*, passing it to the subdeacon from whom he had received the chalice. Then, consuming what remained of the precious Blood, he gave the chalice to the priest,⁸ and

¹ Each of the communicants received the *pax* at the presbytery step: in the middle, and not at the epistle side as the ritual of 1689 directed. Cf. *S. Reg. Ben.*, cap. LXIII.

² *Sumens fistulam, si tunc necessaria est, eat ad sinistram partem per retro altare . . . Subdiaconus percipiat sanguinem cum fistula priusquam se componat ad tenendum calicem. Consuet.*

³ *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 994.

⁴ *Ceteris tam privatis quam festivis diebus ad omnes missas una tantum hostia consecratur, cujus tertiam partem sacerdos super calicem tenens communicaturis distribuatur. Consuet.*, cap. LIV.

⁵ Schneider, *op. cit.*, part II, XIII, p. 208.

⁶ *Per duplici ostio fenestram ab intra et extra claudendam communicent. Art. XIV; Nomast. Cist.*, p. 556.

⁷ *Quo hausto ponat illum non reclinatum super altare juxta patenam. Similiter nec ad privatas missas reclinatur. Consuet.*

⁸ *Diaconus fistulam antequam reddat in quantum potuerit ab utraque parte sugendo a sanguine Domini evacuet. Si quid autem residuum fuerit de ipso sanguine bibat illud cum calice postquam fistulam reddiderit subdiacono. Consuet.*

during the second ablution folded the corporal and moved the missal. The subdeacon, when the Communions were finished, gave the chalice to the deacon and received in his turn the *fistula*, which he held horizontally as he went round behind the altar to the credence. Then, having taken the wine cruet to the deacon for the ablutions,¹ he stood at the altar until after the postcommunions, still reverently holding the *fistula*.² *Dominus vobiscum*, both before and after the postcommunions, was sung at the epistle side of the altar.

After the last collect, the subdeacon took the paten, *fistula* and chalice to the credence, where, after *Ite missa est*, he was joined by the deacon. The paten and *fistula* were washed over the chalice with wine, which the deacon drank, after which the chalice was cleansed twice, and, if it was considered necessary, a third time. The deacon consumed the first purification: the subdeacon the second and third. Finally, the sacred vessels were dried with the linen cloth which had served for the priest.³

The cleansing of the vessels is always with wine, and there is no reference anywhere to the use of water. No ecclesiastical writer of the 12th or 13th century mentions water, and it was only towards the end of the 13th century that several councils refer to its use, without, however, specifying the ceremony.

While the ministers were cleansing the vessels at the credence, the priest, inclined before the altar, said the *Placeat*, which, except for the slight variation of the words *unus Deus* following *sancta Trinitas*, was identical with the prayer in actual use. Then, kissing the altar, he said: *Meritis et precibus istorum et omnium sanctorum suorum misereatur nostri omnipotens Deus. Amen.*

The two prayers after *Ite missa est* were regarded by the *Consuetudines* as private prayers: *Finita missa, sacerdos incurvet se ante medium altaris faciens orationem solus sine diacono. Qua facta erigat se et osculans altare signet se.* The choir left the church as soon as they had responded *Deo gratias*.

The celebrant, having signed himself, returned alone to the sacristy,

¹ *Subdiaconus vero tenens fistulam contra faciem in transverso eat ad sacerdotem per retro altare ministrare ei vinum in calice. Consuet.*

² *Ex hinc subdiaconus tenens fistulam assistat altari habens faciem in patenam usque ad finem collectae. Consuet.*

³ *Deinde (diaconus) iens ad altare transferat inde calicem et patenam super ministerium, sumens ibi lingua sua si quid de corpore Domini remanserit super patenam. Et postea accipiens fistulam abluat eam vino et postea patenam. Quod bibens infundat aliud vinum circumliniens ipsum calicem intus quod iterum percipiat. Tertio infundat vinum eo modo circumliniens. Quod percipiat subdiaconus. Et adhuc alia vice infundat, si necesse fuerit. Quibus lotis et deterisis ad linteum quo sacerdos paulo ante digitos deterisit, recondat ea et corporalia cum calicibus. Consuet.*

unless the ministers had already finished cleansing the vessels.¹ On leaving the altar, the priest was directed to let the ample folds of his chasuble fall over his hands: *casula demissa quam ante missam tulit in brachiis sublevatam ad altare*.²

The small size of the existing mediaeval sacristies suggests that at a private Mass the vestments were taken from or near the altar, and the statute of the general chapter in 1609, prescribing the vesting and unvesting in the sacristy, seems to confirm this.³

The *Consuetudines* direct the priest, when he has taken off the vestments, to come to the epistle step of the altar, and 'ask pardon'.⁴

On Sunday, the reader in the refectory for the forthcoming week, after *Ite missa est*, went to the presbytery step for the blessing of the celebrant. The formula of blessing had been taken from Cluny.⁵

No Cistercian missal before the 17th century 'reform' of the liturgical books contains a blessing at the end of Mass. The following formula, borrowed from the Mozarabic rite, is found in the Castilian missal of 1762: *In unitate sancti Spiritus benedicat vos Pater et Filius*. The same missal gives the pontifical benediction at this time, and not in its traditional place before Communion.⁶

Already before the 16th century, it seems to have been the custom in some houses to recite the gospel *In principio* on the way back to the sacristy. The general chapter, towards the end of the 16th century, prescribed it to be said before the celebrant laid aside his alb, but there was no obligation for its recitation at the altar.⁷

¹ *Sicque signans se, et inclinans recedat. Missal. Cist.*

² *Consuet.*

³ Canivez, *Le Rite Cistercien, Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIII (1949), fasc. III, p. 295.

⁴ *Sacerdos autem exutus sacerdotalibus indumentis, veniet ad gradum ubi legitur epistola, et petat veniam sicut in festis diebus. Privatis vero diebus flectat genua mox recedens. Consuet.*

⁵ *Reg. S. Ben.*, cap. XXXVIII. The customs of Hirshau, which were adapted from those of Cluny, give two formulas, which seem to suggest that Cluny also had two. The Benedictine form is a little longer than that of the Cistercians: . . . *spiritum elationis et ignorantiae*.

⁶ *Si Abbas celebret, finita Missa, osculato Altaris medio, stans versus Altare dicit: Sit nomen . . . Rj. Ex hoc nunc . . . Adjutorium nostrum . . . Rj. Qui fecit . . . Deinde vertit se ad populum et elevat manus et dicit: Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus. Et cum dicit 'Deus' jungit manus ante faciem suam et porrigitur ei ad sinistram baculus pastoralis cum quo vertens se ad dexterum latus benedicat populum signans ter et dicens: Pa ✠ ter et Fi ✠ lius et Spiritus ✠ Sanctus. Amen.*

⁷ *Ad notitiam Capituli Generalis pervenit in nonnullis monasteriis Ordinis sacerdotes in fine missae dicere varias orationes omissa lectione Evangelii Divi Joannis 'In principio'. Quam ab rem idem Capitulum ordinat, ut de caetero, priusquam sacerdos albam deponat, dictum Evangelium pronuntiet. Mehrerau, MS. XII, 216.*

Revival of the Traditional Rite

Pius IX, as we have seen, had made it clear in the brief *Quae a Sanctissimis* (February 1871) that the 17th-century modifications, drastic as they were, had by no means touched the substance of the traditional Cistercian rite. A way had been left open, either by accident or design, for a restoration of the liturgy which had nourished the saints and *beati* in the golden age of the Order.

Such a revival is not possible at present in the Congregation of Strict Observance, but attempts have been made in three houses of the Common Observance: Boquen¹ in Brittany, Hauterive² in Switzerland, and Poblet³ in Catalonia. The abbeys have been restored to the White monks in recent times—1936, 1938 and 1940 respectively—and the actual revival differs in its extent in the three houses. Thus Boquen has the traditional rite exclusively for both Mass and Office; Hauterive, the ancient liturgy *ad experimentum* for the conventual Mass on Sundays; Poblet, the old Mass said by one father, with the intention to develop its use in the future.

The first two houses have restored the simple dignity of the high altar, which is devoid of all ornaments other than a crucifix. A standard candle rests on the step at either end of the *mensa*. The Blessed Sacrament is reserved in a hanging pyx covered with a silk canopy.⁴ The Divine Office at Boquen has been taken from the breviary of the Congregation of Castile. The Mass is that of the missal of 1608, collated with the 12th-century exemplar-type. Dom Alexis Presse, abbot of Boquen, has had the text typed and photographed, and it is hoped to get a missal printed for the use of the monastery. The conventual Mass on Sunday at Hauterive gives an impression of greater antiquity, and less 'home-made'.

The preparatory prayers at Hauterive are said by the priest in the middle of the presbytery facing south, with the ministers facing north. The mixing of the chalice takes place during the *Kyrie*; at Boquen during the *Gloria*. The use of incense at Hauterive is restricted to the offertory: the priest censens the *oblata*, and the deacon round the altar. The corporal is spread during the creed. In neither house is there a chalice veil, and the back of the corporal covers the chalice as a tent.⁵

¹ *Boquen*, founded in 1137, daughter of Cîteaux by L'Aumône and Begard. Some sixteen miles south of Lamballe in the diocese of St. Briec.

² *Hauterive*, founded in 1138, daughter of Clairvaux by Cherlieu. About four miles from Fribourg in the diocese of Lausanne.

³ *Poblet*, founded in 1151, daughter of Clairvaux by Grandselve and Fontfroide. Some thirty-six miles from Tarragona in the diocese of Tarragona.

⁴ The Blessed Sacrament is reserved also in an aumbry for the sick at Hauterive.

⁵ Cf. Carthusian rite.

The bread and wine are offered together. At Hauterive, the deacon and subdeacon wash their hands after the *Orate fratres*. The subdeacon holds the paten from the *Sanctus* till the *Pater noster*,¹ but without any veil. The celebrant at Boquen kneels on both knees before the elevations, and bows after them; but there is no genuflection at Hauterive. *O Salutaris hostia* is sung after the consecration in the Breton abbey, but not in the Swiss. The missal of Dom Alexis gives the suffrages after the *Pater noster* at the end of the *ordo missae*. The same book, also, supplies the Roman Communion prayers under the form of a rubric: *Hae orationes addi possunt. Perceptio Corporis tui; Panem caelestem; Domine non sum dignus; Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi; Quid retribuam; Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.*

Three ablutions are taken in the 'rite of Boquen': wine, wine and water, and water. The water for the last ablution is poured into a bowl or dish. Hauterive, on the other hand, faithfully follows the ancient practice. The Boquen missal gives the two ablution prayers, as they appear in the Castilian missal of 1762: *Quod ore sumpsimus* and *Corpus tuum, Domine.*

Neither 'rite' has a blessing or last gospel, although there is a *benedictio super populum* (in an appendix at the end of the Boquen book), which, in the Spanish missal (1762), is reserved to the abbot: *Adjutorium nostrum . . . ; Sit nomen Domini . . . ; Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus ✠ Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.* It is accompanied by the following rubric: *danda a Sacerdote se convertente ad populum, postquam se signaverit et antequam discedat ab altari quando danda fuerit praecedens benedictio immediate illam sequitur, quidam praemittunt.*

Among the blessings given in the appendix we find one also for the blessing of incense,² which again seems to have been inspired by the 18th-century missal for the Congregation of Castile. A *benedictio panis* occurs in the same collection: *Benedic ✠, Domine, creaturam istam panis, sicut benedixisti quinque panes in deserto, ut omnes gustantes ex eo per virtutem Sanctae ✠ Crucis Sanctissimaeque Virginis Mariae tam corporis quam animae recipiant sanitatem. Amen.*

Lenten Veil

The concealing of the altar by means of a veil during the penitential season of Lent may be regarded as a 'second stage' of discipline. In the early days of the Church, the 'sheep' were dramatically separated from the 'goats': penitents and those who were under censures being excluded from the liturgy until they had been reconciled publicly on Holy Thursday.

¹ At Hauterive, the embolism is sung.

² *Ab eo benedicaris ✠ in cujus honorem cremaberis.*

With the passing of the centuries, discipline was relaxed, and such differentiation was looked upon as invidious. Sin affects the whole human race without exception, and the rite of the imposition of ashes was extended to all the faithful by Pope Urban II at the council of Benevento in 1091: *Omnes tam clerici, quam laici, tam viri quam mulieres die illo (capite jejunii)¹ cinerem supra capita sua accipiant.*² About the same time also a veil was hung during Lent before the sanctuary in many of the churches, symbolical of the truth that sin excludes from the presence of God. A third stage was reached when the Roman Church contented itself with veiling crosses, pictures and images in Passiontide.

The Cluniac liturgist, Dom Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708), suggests a different origin for this veiling, since some of the churches of France hid the images of the altar on Passion Sunday at the concluding words of the gospel: *Jesu autem abscondit se.*³

The English Order of Gilbertines, which borrowed extensively from the Cistercians, had a very similar rubric in respect to the Lenten veil.⁴ The veil at Sempringham (and elsewhere) was dramatically removed on the Wednesday in Holy Week at the words in the Passion: *Et velum templi scissum est.*⁵ A similar veiling is recorded by John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079) for the churches of the province of Rouen: *cortina ante altare dependatur.*⁶ Claude de Vert speaks of the same custom as prevailing at Paris, Clermont in Auvergne, Besançon, Jumièges (veil is rent and torn in the middle) and Rouen at the end of the 17th century.⁷ The White canons had two lenten veils, although the actual *ordinarius* (1949) prescribes but one ('where the disposition of the place allows'), which is taken down or rolled back at the traditional time on the Wednesday in Holy Week. The lenten veil was a normal feature in the churches of mediaeval England. The Constitutions of Lanfranc (*ob.* 1089) for his monastery at Canterbury, which seem to have followed closely the usages of Cluny, directed a curtain to be hung between the choir and the altar after compline on the first Sunday in Lent: *Post completorium suspendatur cortina inter chorum et altare.*⁸ If a feast should occur, the curtain was pulled aside at the *Agnus Dei* in the conventual Mass on the previous day.⁹ It was removed after compline on the Wednesday in Holy Week: *Post completorium cortina deponatur.*¹⁰ It was the custom in the cathedral priory of Norwich for

¹ Ash Wednesday.

² Mansi, *Concil.*, t. XX, col. 739.

³ *Op. cit.*, t. II (Paris, 1720), chap. I, p. 22.

⁴ *Ordinale Gilbertinum*, edit. R. M. Woolley, *The Gilbertine Rite*, vol. I (London, 1921), pp. 24-5, *Henry Bradshaw Society*, vol. LIX. Cf. Norwich, *H.B.S.*, vol. LXXXII, p. 78.

⁵ *Ordinale Gilbertinum*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶ *De Offic. Eccles.*

⁷ De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. II, chap. I, p. 28.

⁸ Edit. David Knowles (London, 1951), p. 19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the veil, on Saturdays and the vigils of feasts of twelve lessons in Lent, to be drawn back at *Pax Domini : Die sabbati ad Pax Domini : trahatur totum velum ad unam partem, similiter in festis duodecim lectionum in vigiliis ad Pax Domini*.¹ The Lenten veil was commonly used in France till the Revolution. The ceremonial of Cardinal de Retz (1662), which was re-edited almost verbatim in the ceremonial of Cardinal de Noailles (1703), directed all crosses, images and reliquaries to be covered in violet or ash-colour on the Saturday after Ash Wednesday, and a great veil of the same colour to be hung on ferias between the choir and the altar, as in the cathedral church of Notre Dame (Paris). The neo-Gallican missal of Soissons (1745) prescribed the Lenten veil.

Dr. Wickham Legg says that in 1884 he saw such a veil in Toledo cathedral, 'drawn before the altar, hanging a little to the west of the footpace. At High Mass, it was drawn up for a moment to let the procession pass in, and again raised at the elevation. The veil did not quite reach the ground.'² In 1903, a white lenten veil was used throughout Lent at Gerona and Granada: at Toledo and Seville only in Passiontide.³ Whatever may be the case in the other cathedrals, the veil at Toledo had disappeared in 1953.

The following account of the use of the veil in Western Sicily is taken from a visit to the island by Dr. Wickham Legg in 1908 and by the author in 1911. The veils in Palermo did not touch the ground: they were either looped up or else had a semi-circular or rectangular piece cut out of them. They were commonly of a bluish colour, often transparent, and ornamented with one of the following designs: plain cross, brazen serpent of Moses, *pietà*, Jonas cast into the sea, the crucifixion.⁴ The veil in the cathedral church hung from the roof between the choir and the presbytery, but it did not nearly reach the ground. It was of a gauze-like material, so that the candles shone through. It was removed on Holy Saturday. In the church of St. Paul at Syracuse, the veil, which hung from the roof, did not reach half-way to the ground: a figure of the Blessed Virgin was worked on it. The veil in a collegiate church in the same city was ornamented with representations of the *Scala Sancta* and Pilate's house. A former Capuchin chapel, now serving as a poor house, had a veil reaching to the ground. There was no veil in the cathedral church of Monreale, and Termini Immerese had a veil without any design. In the cathedral at Cefalù,

¹ *Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich*, edit. J. B. L. Tolhurst, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LXXXII (1948), p. 66.

² 'Survival of the Lenten Veil in Sicily', *Church Times*.

³ J. Wickham Legg (quoting from Everard Green), *Ecclesiological Essays* (London, 1905), II, *Mediaeval Ceremonial*, p. 35.

⁴ The veil in St. Antonio, Palermo, had a representation of Adam and Eve.

the veil hung in the middle of the choir, but hung at a place where newer choir stalls projecting into the presbytery were begun. Apparently the veil continued to be hung in the old place after the choir had been lengthened. The veil was dated 1770, and had a descent from the cross on it. It did not reach the sides of the choir, and though hooked up it would not, if let down, have touched the ground. Six out of the eight churches at Trapani had a Lenten veil: usually hitched up about ten feet from the ground. In one church the veil seemed to be of the size and consistency of a small Persian carpet, not indeed blue, but of a dark blackish-brown colour. It did not stretch across the width of the church, but simply hung rather low down, reminiscent of sheets or table-cloths hung out to dry.

The rite of Braga prescribes a Lenten veil from first vespers of the first Sunday in Lent till Holy Saturday, but the rubric is not very generally observed. In 1949 the writer saw three veils¹ in the city of Braga—Cathedral, Santa Cruz, St. Paul—but in the surrounding country there was no church with a veil. In the cathedral church, where the ceremony of the *depositio* (burial) and *elevatio* (resurrection) is observed with much splendour, the chapel (eastern chapel in the north transept), in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved till Easter morning, is provided with a second veil.

¹ The veils are violet in colour, plain and without any designs.

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Chapter Three

PREMONSTRATENSIAN RITE

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

ST. NORBERT, the founder of the Order, was born at Xanten in Germany about the year 1080, and at an early age was admitted to a canonry in the collegiate church of St. Victor in his native city. In 1115 he felt himself called to lead a more perfect way of life, and Norbert resolved to give himself up to an apostolate of itinerant preaching. He obtained the approbation of Pope Gelasius II (1118-19) at St. Gilles in 1118, which was confirmed in the following year by his successor Callixtus II (1119-24) at the council of Rheims. Norbert by this time had gathered a number of disciples, and, through the instrumentality of Bartholomew de Vir, bishop of Laon, a site for the foundation of a religious house was given him in 1120 at Prémontré, twelve miles west of the cathedral city, in a valley between the rivers Oise and Arlette. The name Prémontré (*praemonstratus, pratum monstratum*) was probably derived from a clearing in the wood, but 'edification' called for a less prosaic interpretation, and alleged that it came rather from *locus praemonstratus*, 'a place foreshown', as we read in the life of St. Godfrey, one of St. Norbert's first disciples (1127): *Venit ad locum vere juxta nomen suum, a Domino praemonstratum, electum et praedestinatum*.¹ A similar spirit was at work in ascribing the white habit to an apparition of the Blessed Virgin to the founder, when the Mother of God is reputed to have said: *Fili, accipe candidam vestem*.² There seems little reason to doubt that the primitive habit was of unbleached wool, which would have required a number of washings before it

¹ *Acta Sanc.*, 13 January. Antwerp, 1643.

² J. Lepaige, *Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis*, cap. XI, Paris, 1633.

became white. The Order may be described as monastico-canonical, being at the same time both contemplative and active, with a rule which was largely that of St. Augustine. 'In its genesis,' says David Knowles, 'the constitution of the White canons was eclectic, reflecting alike Norbert's own bent, his admiration for Clairvaux and the contemporary spirit of simplicity and poverty. To preaching and spiritual ministrations were joined a certain amount of manual work and a more severe observance than was customary in the general run of Augustinian houses; the Order was strictly organized from the start on Cistercian lines, with Prémontré as the mother-house.'¹ Certain similarities are evident in the liturgies of the White canons and the White monks. In 1142, a fraternal pact of peace and charity was drawn up by the two Orders.²

The central idea of St. Norbert was, as Anselm of Havelberg (*ob.* 1158) says, 'the perfection of the apostolic life'.³ This conception, however, came to be substantially modified under Blessed Hugh of Fosses (*ob.* c. 1164), the successor of St. Norbert at Prémontré, and the active apostolate almost disappeared in favour of the cloistered and contemplative life. Later we find the canons in possession of churches, although this had been forbidden by the early statutes of Prémontré: *Non accipiemus altare nisi posset esse abbatia*.⁴

Germany, however, as we shall see, was an exception during the 12th and 13th centuries, but the foundation of St. Norbert in Magdeburg, which became the centre of Premonstratensian influence in middle Europe, depended from the archbishop rather than from Prémontré. The missionary activities of the White canons in Northern Europe were quite outstanding, and 'there is no second example in the long history of the Church during the Middle Ages of any religious order having completed the conversion of a whole country, such as the Premonstratensians

¹ Knowles, *Monastic Order in England* (London, 1940), chap. XI, p. 205.

² *Stat. Capit. Gen. Ord. Cist.*, edit. J. M. Canivez, t. I (Louvain, 1933), pp. 35-7.

³ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXXVIII, col. 1247.

⁴ R. van Waefelghem, *Les premiers statuts de Prémontré* (c. 1140), ap. *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, IX (1913), p. 45.

did in *Wendenland*.¹ A similar tendency for active work existed also in south Germany, but here it was less organised and more closely subject to Prémontré.²

When in the 18th century the ancient Orders felt it necessary to offer some justification for their continued existence, the White canons gave the five following characteristics of their life: *Laudes Dei in choro; Cultus eucharisticus; Cultus marialis; Spiritu jugis paenitentiae; Zelus animarum.*

The Eucharistic cult received its impetus from the work of St. Norbert in crushing the heresy of Tanchelin³ in Flanders, which he undertook at the request of Burchard, bishop of Cambrai, in 1124.⁴ A feast (Triumph of St. Norbert), commemorating the success of the undertaking, is celebrated on the day following the solemnity of the Sacred Heart (triple of the second class).⁵ It was formerly observed on the Third Sunday after Pentecost, but it is not found in the breviaries of 1741 and 1846.

Tradition has ascribed an office to St. Norbert in which the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception⁶ is expressed, but his authorship is improbable, and the dogma does not appear to have been taught in the Order till the middle of the following century.⁷

The original plan of St. Norbert seems to have envisaged double houses—canons and nuns—but the general chapter of 1135 directed that henceforward the two sexes were to be in separate establishments.⁸ A convent of nuns had been founded in the valley of Prémontré as early as 1122.

Apostolic approbation was given to the Order in 1124, and

¹ Franz Winter, *Die Prämonstratenser des 12 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1865), p. 31.

² François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1947), chap. III, p. 52.

³ Tanchelin himself had died in 1115, but his heresy was by no means dead.

⁴ The bishop, as a reward for his achievement, gave the church of St. Michael in Antwerp to St. Norbert and his canons. The abbey that sprang up became one of the first houses of the Order, but nothing remains today, either of the church or of the conventual buildings. A statue of St. Norbert holding a monstrance may be seen in the south aisle chapel of the cathedral church at Antwerp.

⁵ The general chapter of 1947, which abolished the titles of 'major' and 'minor', changed the rite of the feast from a triple major of the third class.

⁶ *Ave, Virgo quae Spiritu Sancto praeservante, de tanto primi parentis peccato triumphasti innoxia.*

⁷ François Petit, op. cit., chap. VIII, p. 255.

⁸ *Ibid.*, chap. III, p. 51.

two years later St. Norbert received a confirmatory bull from Honorius II (1124–30). In the same year also the Saint was appointed archbishop of Magdeburg, where he confided six parishes in the city and fourteen others in the neighbourhood to the care of the White canons.¹ St. Norbert remained at Magdeburg till his death on 6 June 1134, but it was not before 1582 that the saintly founder was officially canonised² by Gregory XIII (1572–85), although we find his name in the calendar of the missal of 1578 under 6 June, the date of the original feast. A principal feast on 11 July was approved by Urban VIII (1623–44) in 1625, which has been raised to the rank of a triple of the first class with a common octave.

The body of St. Norbert was translated from Magdeburg to the abbey of Strahov in Prague in 1627. With his active apostolate, the Saint can hardly be described as abbot of Prémontré, and the first abbot was rather Blessed Hugh of Fosses, who governed the Order till his death on 10 February 1161.

The *Primarii ordinis patres*, holding a position analogous to the four 'first fathers' in the Cistercian Order, were the abbots of St. Martin at Laon, Florefe and Cuissy: the prior, subprior and circator of the Order respectively.

The success of the White canons was almost as remarkable as that of the White monks, and nearly one hundred abbots attended the first general chapter in 1130. The chapter became an annual event in 1135, when a special section was added to the statutes: *De annuo colloquio*. Until some time after 1458 it was held on the feast of St. Denis (9 October),³ when the date was changed to the Fourth Sunday after Easter. War between France and England created difficulties, and the English kings not only prohibited the payment of subsidies to Prémontré by the houses in their kingdom, but also forbade the attendance of abbots at the general

¹ E. de Moreau, *Histoire de l'Église en Belgique*, t. III (Brussels, 1945), liv. V, chap. II, 3, p. 452.

² The earliest known representation of the Saint, with a halo, is to be found on the wall of the sacristy in the church of SS. Severus and Martirius near Orvieto. It dates from the 14th century. Norbert Backmund, *Monast. Praemonstr.*, t. I (Straubing, 1949), p. 386, n. 17.

³ Martène, *De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III, col. 920 C.

chapter. A national chapter was permitted by the abbot of Prémontré in 1316.¹

A catalogue, compiled by a religious of the abbey of Parc near Louvain, gives a total of seven hundred and thirty houses² of the Order, but the estimate of Fr. Norbert Backmund—‘nearly six hundred and fifty’—is probably more accurate.³

If we may believe an American religious of the Order, Soulseat in Galloway (Scotland) was founded as early as 1125,⁴ but between 1148 and 1153 is nearer the mark.⁵ Newhouse (Lincs), the first abbey in England, was established in 1143: a daughter of Licques in the Pas de Calais, and grand-daughter of St. Martin, Laon. The other houses in the country, with the exception of Bradsole and Bayham which were colonised directly from Prémontré, owed their existence either directly or by descent from Newhouse. Talley (Carmarthenshire), the solitary house of the Order in Wales, was founded from St. John, Amiens, between 1193 and 1197. The peak years in England were between 1170 and 1216, but, as in France, the houses never developed a very strong missionary character, and resembled rather those of the Cistercians, although we find the White canons officiating at an early date in parish churches.

In the 13th century two Englishmen occupied the position of abbot of Prémontré: Gervase⁶ (1209–20), who was nominated bishop of Sééz in 1220, and William (1233–36), a former abbot of Stanley Park (Dale) in Derbyshire, who has been described as *vir totius prudentiae*, but who for all his ‘prudence’ was forced to resign in 1236.⁷

The cathedral priory of Whithorn (Candida Casa) in Galloway was given to the Order in 1177, but, with two exceptions, the

¹ In 1466, Richard Redman was appointed by Simon de la Terrière, abbot of Prémontré, to act as commissary and visitor in England. Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia*. Royal Historical Society, 1904, 1906.

² Raphael Van Waefelghem, *Répertoire . . . des monastères de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, Brussels, 1930.

³ Norbert Backmund, ‘Premonstratensian Order in Scotland’, *Innes Review*, 1953, p. 2.

⁴ Kirkfleet, *White Canons of St. Norbert*, part 3, p. 178.

⁵ Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, t. II, p. 109.

⁶ Gervase assisted at the fourth council of the Lateran in 1215.

⁷ He retired to the abbey of Bayham in Sussex, where he died.

bishops were never chosen from among the White canons.¹ The constitutions seem to have been modelled on those of Boerglum in Denmark.² Premonstratensians formed also the chapters at Ratzeburg (Schleswig Holstein) in 1154, Boerglum (Denmark) in 1176, Riga (Livonia) 1212, and Litomysl (Bohemia) in 1343; while no less than thirty-two members of the Order occupied the see of Brandenburg between the years 1130 and 1560, and twenty-five that of Havelberg between 1129 and 1548.³

The first constitutions of the Order, which were in four parts, appeared about 1128, the work of Hugh of Fosses. The fourth part concerned the general administration and liturgical uniformity, especially in respect to the service books.⁴ In 1290, as a result of the bulls of Innocent IV (1245) and Alexander IV (1256), the constitutions were revised by the abbot of Prémontré, William de Louvignies.⁵ A third edition, abrogating all the previous constitutions, was published as an outcome of the bulls of Alexander VI (1502) and Julius II (1503) in 1505.⁶

Legislation, however, proved powerless to check decadence and decline, and measures of reform were initiated by John Despruets (1572-96) and continued by his successors. The general chapter of 1630 authorised the constitutions which are observed in substance today.

The decadence in the French houses was encouraged by the 'leprosy of the monastic state', as the rule of commendatory abbots has been called,⁷ and by 1770 no less than sixty-seven out of the ninety-two abbeys and priories were *in commendam*.⁸ Prémontré herself escaped with but three commendatory abbots.⁹

A reform of the Order was effected in Spain (1570-73), and another through the efforts of Abbot Lairvelz at the beginning of

¹ Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 114.

² *Ibid.*

³ Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 12.

⁴ *Primaria Instituta canonum Praemonstrat.*; ap. Martène, *De Antiq. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III (Venice, 1783), append., dist. IV, p. 321. Cf. Munich MS. 17. 174.

⁵ *Primaria Praemonstratensis Ordinis.*

⁶ *Statuta seu novae Constitutiones.*

⁷ Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. I (London, 1896), *Introd.*, chap. VII, p. 103. Cf. Martène, *Voyage Littéraire*, part II, p. 147.

⁸ Taiée, *Etudes sur Prémontré*, vol. II (Laon, 1874), p. 195.

⁹ Cardinal Francis of Pisa (1535-62); Hippolytus d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara (1562-72) and Cardinal Richelieu (1643).

the 17th century. This second reform, which was especially strong in Lorraine, and was followed by about forty abbeys, seems to have been chiefly concerned with abstinence from flesh meat.¹ France had ninety-two abbeys and more than six hundred benefices in 1789, but by a stroke of the pen they all disappeared in the following year. John Baptist l'Ecuy, sixty-second and last abbot-general, survived until 1834.² The Order was revived in France by a national Congregation in 1858, which was united with the rest of the Order in 1896. Today there are four circaries—Brabant, France, Bohemia and Austria-Hungary, with several houses which depend directly on the abbot-general, who resides in Rome.³ New statutes were promulgated by the general chapter of 1947.

A word must be said concerning the term 'circary', which is peculiar to the White canons. The definite division of the Order into circaries dates from the general chapter of 1290, and in 1320, according to an official catalogue compiled by Lepaige, there were no less than thirty such divisions, supervised later by a vicar-general. The term has been defined by Lairvelz: *a circumeundo vocatur circaria*.⁴ England in the Middle Ages had three circaries—North England and Scotland with thirteen houses; Middle England with thirteen; and South England with eleven.

Schools existed in some of the houses from the early days of the Order, and we find them in the 12th century at Cappenberg (1122) and Steinfeld (1121 or 1124). Later, higher studies were established, and a *Collegium Norbertinum* was founded at Paris in 1252. Colleges were attached also to the universities of Louvain (1571), Salamanca (1578), Cologne (1617), Rome (1618), Prague (1628), and Cracow (before 1674).

ARCHITECTURE

It has been suggested to the writer that the Premonstratensians in the 13th century and again in the 17th produced a distinctive style of architecture, but it is difficult to substantiate such a claim.

¹ Cf. Cistercian Order and Armand de Rancé.

² John Baptist l'Ecuy died canon of Paris.

³ E.g. United States.

⁴ *Optica*, p. 697. *Circumire*, 'to go round', 'to make the rounds'.

In the early days of the Order church architecture borrowed largely from the Cistercians. 'The close connection of Norbert with St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the great influence which the latter exercised over the foundation of Norbert's Order is reflected in certain Cistercian characteristics in Premonstratensian building; in fact all the peculiarities observable in the conventual planning of the younger Order are borrowed from the Cistercians, and are amply sufficient to differentiate the early French houses from the contemporary Benedictine and Cluniac buildings.'¹ 'The earliest churches built under St. Norbert', continues Mr. Clapham, 'appear to have been all of a temporary nature and to have been a similar type of structure to those raised at Clairvaux and Pontigny by the first Cistercians':² *Ad morem et mediocritatem aedificandi ecclesiam, quibus utuntur canonici ejusdem (Praemonstratensis) ordinis.*³ New churches sprang up everywhere, but little remains today of the 12th-century buildings of the *Primarii ordinis patres*. The church of Prémontré has disappeared, and what survives of the conventual buildings dates from the 18th century.⁴ St. Martin at Laon has been more fortunate, and the church, although partially burned in 1944, is a fine transitional building (1144-50), with two 13th-century towers unusually placed at the junction of the nave and transepts. Floreffe, with the exception of a late romanesque transept (1188-1250), was entirely transformed in the 18th century, while Cuissy was rebuilt in 1746. The 12th-century churches were for the most part of the normal Cistercian type, with a square east end, no structural tower, and square-ended chapels in the transepts divided with solid walls,⁵ which, as in Cistercian houses, gave way in the 13th century to open arches with screens between the chapels. The aisleless nave, common in the English abbeys, was comparatively

¹ 'Architecture of the Premonstratensians.' A. W. Clapham, *Archeologia*, vol. LXXIII (1923), VI, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, edit. Stubbs, II, 512.

⁴ The ruins of a 12th-century oratory, dedicated to St. John Baptist, which before the foundation of Prémontré was served by the monks of St. Vincent, Laon, may still be seen outside the precincts of the abbey.

⁵ Two such chapels exist today in either transept in the church of St. Martin at Laon.

rare on the continent,¹ and it had been abandoned almost everywhere by the White monks, who used the nave as a choir for the *conversi*. The later churches of the Order showed but little Cistercian influence, and the form of east end had as little uniformity as the contemporary buildings of other Orders. One of the most imposing monuments of the White canons which survives is the abbey of Bellapais (Episcopia) in Cyprus, founded by the royal house of Lusignan in 1267 or 1269. The church, which dates from the 13th century, is now in the hands of the Greek dissidents. The churches of the English houses were of a simple character: often cruciform in plan, with a chapel east of the transept.² A single aisle was sometimes built on the side opposite to the cloister,³ and the two-aisled nave was a rebuilding of the 14th or 15th century, when a bell-tower was often added.⁴ The lady chapels, unlike those of the Benedictines and Augustinians, rarely exceeded in size or importance the other chapels. Towers, as in other religious orders, were generally late additions to the original buildings.⁵ At Floreffe, a tower was built over the south transept in the 16th century, and at Tongerlo, Averbode and Antwerp (St. Michael) it was added to the east of the north transept. Postel was not provided with a tower till the 18th century.⁶ The earliest addition of a tower to a church of the Order in England seems to have been at Blancheland in Northumberland in the 13th century, where it was added at the end of the north transept.

Most of the churches were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but there was no definite ruling, as we find among the Cistercians, and unusual dedications to French saints are found at Newhouse (St. Martial) and Bradsole (St. Radegunde).

¹ Continental examples existed at St. Just en Chaussée (near Beauvais), St. Cruz de Rivas (Spain), Tüchelhausen (near Würzburg), and St. Samuel (near Jerusalem).

² E.g. Bayham, Titchfield, Bradsole, Cockersand and Egglestone.

³ E.g. Shap, Torre, Dale (Stanley Park).

⁴ E.g. Coverham (14th century), Leiston (15th century). Some few churches were planned from the first on a larger scale, e.g. Easby, Alnwick, Hales Owen.

⁵ E.g. Prémontré and Dommartin in France.

⁶ Bellapais in Cyprus never had more than a stone bell-cote over the west end of the nave.

The planning of the domestic buildings followed very closely the arrangements of the Austin Canons, and the only distinctive Cistercian feature was the form of the chapter house.

The wars of religion in France and Germany inflicted irreparable damage to the abbeys, but the mania for rebuilding in the *à la mode* Baroque style proved even more destructive to the mediaeval houses. The mother house of Prémontré was almost entirely remodelled by Claude Honoré Lucas de Muin (*ob.* 1740) and his successor, Bruno Bécourt (*ob.* 1757). Three elegant buildings have survived, forming three sides of a *cour d'honneur*.¹ Good examples of Baroque churches of the Order may be seen at Averbode, Ninove, Bonne Espérance and Parc (Louvain) in Belgium; Strahov (Prague) in Czechoslovakia; and Wilten (Innsbruck) in the Austrian Tyrol. The abbey of Parc outside Louvain has preserved its late 18th century character almost intact, with successive courtyards surrounded by buildings and workshops: each court entered by a monumental gateway. Postel has retained its Romanesque church.

A basilican form of altar, so conducive to the splendour of liturgical worship, is found at Tongerlo, Postel and Leffe.

HISTORY OF THE RITE

'The Norbertine life is basically liturgical. The public and choral celebration of the Divine Office is the prominent feature in each day's activities. . . . The very first requisite for the opening of a new Norbertine foundation was that it should be supplied with the liturgical books necessary for the choral celebration of the Office and the offering of Holy Mass.'²

There seems little doubt that in the first years of the Order the liturgical customs common to the Canons Regular were followed. A bull of Honorius II (1124-30), addressed *Premonstratensis ecclesie canonicis*, directed the White canons to celebrate the ecclesiastical offices *secundum aliorum regularium fratrum consuetudinem*. The community of Prémontré is the only one cited, and

¹ The central building is reminiscent, in its grace and symmetry, of a Versailles, rather than of the barrack-like constructions of the same period in the abbeys of St. Vaast (Arras) and Cîteaux. Prémontré is now used as a lunatic asylum.

² Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 11.

there is no reference to an abbot, so that the bull was probably issued after St. Norbert had left for Magdeburg, and before the designation of Hugh de Fosses, that is, in 1126 or 1127.

At an early date, however, there seems to have been a fixed type of prayers and ceremonies for all the houses, for which St. Norbert himself appears to have been partly responsible. The compilation met with a certain amount of hostile criticism from other canons, who accused the Saint of introducing 'novelties' in the recitation of the liturgical psalter.

Pontius of St. Rufus at Avignon and Walter, bishop of Maguelonne (1103-29), both complained of these 'novelties'; while Hugh Metel reproached St. Norbert with substituting an undyed woollen tunic for the traditional linen vesture. Bishop Walter, in a letter to the canons regular of the abbey of Chau-mouzey,¹ commends the piety of Norbert, but at the same time says that he prefers the authority of the ancient fathers: *Porro canonici officii mutationem quam nescio per quas antiphonarum et psalmodiarum varietates, trifaria temporum permutatione praedicat esse sequendum, sacris canonibus et ipsi Augustino obviare testamur.*² The accusations were refuted later by the Augustinian cardinal, James de Vitry (*ob.* 1240).³ Liturgical uniformity became a practical necessity with the holding of annual chapters at Prémontré, attended, as they were, by abbots from the various countries of Europe. Early legislation had enumerated the choir books, and we find regulations respecting prayers for the dead and the daily office of our Lady. It was to maintain an indissoluble unity between the abbeys that a statute of 1130 insisted upon uniformity in the books of the White canons. The books were said to include missal, gospel-book, epistle-book, collectar, gradual, antiphoner, hymnal, psalter, lectionary and calendar.⁴ The statute represents a faithful expression of the early *us* and customs of Prémontré, and seems to have been in the mind of

¹ Diocese of Toul, then in 1778 St. Dié.

² Raoul de Rivo, *De Canonum observantia*, proposit. VII; Hittorp, *De Div. Cath. Eccles. Offic.* (Paris, 1610), col. 1110; G. Madelaine, *Histoire de saint Norbert* (Tongerloo, 1928), I, p. 265.

³ Augustinian canon of Oignies (Belgium), who became bishop of Perugia (1216) and a cardinal (1229). He died at Rome in 1240. ⁴ D. 4, cap. X, XI

Innocent II (1130-43) in the bull *Sacra vestri*,¹ which put into relief the *Ordinis integritas* and the *consuetudo Premonstratensis* to which the abbots of the Order were bound in conscience. A similar insistence on liturgical uniformity is found in another bull of the same Pope: 'We wish unity to reign in all your churches, according as Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, a man of pious memory has established it.'² The same sentiments were expressed by Lucius II (1144-45) in the bull *Ad Uberes* (25 May 1144).

It is, however, impossible to determine the content of these early rites, prayers and chants, as no manuscripts of the period have survived. The compilation of the first official *ordo* has been ascribed, with some degree of probability, to Blessed Hugh of Fosses, the immediate successor of St. Norbert at Prémontré (*ob. c. 1164*),³ and the alterations in a manuscript of the end of the 12th century point to the existence of an earlier exemplar.⁴ The *ordinarius* was certainly completed before 1174, when members of the Order quote from its text, and pontifical bulls, prescribing unity of observance in all houses of canons, explicitly mention *iidem quoque libri, qui ad divinum officium pertinent, ab omnibus ejusdem ordinis ecclesiis uniformiter teneantur*.⁵ Liturgical uniformity would not seem to have been universally achieved before the 13th century. We find St. Norbert himself obliged to permit the use of choir books appertaining to the secular churches of the district in monasteries of his own foundation.⁶ In 1214 an abbot of Frisia made a journey to Prémontré in order to obtain a copy of the *ordinarius* and the other liturgical books: *cum tunc temporis in tota Alemania libri Ordinis non invenirentur*. Gervase,

¹ 12 April 1131.

² *Sacer Ordo*, 3 May 1135.

³ *Tum ipse vir beatus in suorum et posteritatis gloriam ejusdem Patriarchae Norberti vitae ac rerum historiam et librum utilissimum qui ordinarius Ecclesiae et Ordinis Praemonstratensis intitulavit, scripsit et evulgavit. Vita B. Hugonis, abbatis*. Lepaige, *Bibl. Praem. Ord.* (Paris, 1633), p. 423.

⁴ F. Lefèvre, *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré . . . du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle* (Louvain, 1941), *introduc.*, p. VI.

⁵ Alexander III, *In apostolicae Sedis*, 27 April 1174; Lucius III, *In eminenti*, 10 March 1187.

⁶ Chronicle of Gottesgnaden (Hungary). F. Winter, *Die Prämonstratenser des XII Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung für das nordöstliche Deutschland* (Berlin, 1865), p. 332.

abbot of Prémontré, at the same time issued a rescript forbidding changes and silencing those who still claimed the right *uti consuetudine vicinarum ecclesiarum*. Uniformity of rite was enforced by Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) in 1232.¹ A certain measure of unity was established, but autonomy and the lack of cohesion between houses favoured local peculiarities. When, at the invitation of the council of Vienne (1311), the Order added the feast of Corpus Christi to its calendar, it was necessary to take a firm stand against regional interpretations, and to impose by force the text and the rites of the Office as it had been received at Prémontré.

The choir-books of the 15th and 16th centuries show many variations, especially in the texts of the sanctoral, and the customs of the several abbeys give some idea of the latitude with which they interpreted the liturgical regulations of the Order.

ORIGINS OF THE RITE

A catechism of the Order, compiled by a member of the Congregation of France, has given the following misleading statement: *La Liturgie norbertine était simplement la liturgie de l'Église romaine*.² There is a sense in which it may be said to possess an element of truth, as every liturgy in Western Christendom, with the possible exception of the Mozarabic, is a Roman liturgy in one or other of its variants, but apart from remote ancestry and general framework it has little connection with that of the Apostolic see of Rome. Dom Guéranger takes us a step further, more or less accurate as far as it goes, but not very helpful: *Les livres liturgiques de l'Ordre de Prémontré sont restes purs et comme l'un des répertoires de l'ancienne liturgie romaine française, jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*.³ The origins of the rite have been studied in detail by Fr. Boniface Luykx, a canon of the abbey of Postel, who says: 'The first statutes of the Order and the *ordinarius* of Hugh have systematically banished the external pomp of Cluny and the

¹ F. Lefèvre, *La Liturgie de Prémontré*, *Ephem. Lit.*, vol. LXII (1948), fasc. III, pp. 201–2.

² P. Paulin, *Catechisme de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Tours, 1889), part IV, chap. II, p. 247.

³ *Instit. Liturg.*, t. I, p. 306 (Paris, 1878).

ostentation of Mainz, for the sober, but robust and majestic, framework of the Rhineland rite.¹

First, we may ask, what is meant by the Rhineland rite? As early as the days of the Merovingians, the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries had crossed the Alps, and under Charlemagne the whole Frankish kingdom was forced to accept the Roman liturgy. By this time, however, liturgical life in Rome was on the decline, and in any case the Roman liturgy as it existed in Rome was too terse and restrained for the Carolingian taste. The liturgy that Charlemagne and his successors sought to introduce was therefore Roman in its essential framework, but considerably altered and enriched to meet the requirements of the Nordic races. In the middle of the 10th century, a monk of the abbey of St. Alban at Mainz, which was the intellectual and cultural centre of the Empire, collated the liturgical manuscripts of Lorraine and produced what has been called by Mgr. Andrieu, the 'Romano-Germanic pontifical'. This Mainz pontifical had an immense influence, and in the region of the axis Mainz-Cologne one can trace the source of *Ordo Romanus VI*,² *Ordines missae* of Martène, *Micrologus* of Bernold of Constance³ and other documents, up to the time of the *missale plenarium* and the ordinaries of the 12th century.⁴

The Premonstratensian rite, in respect of its framework, was thus taken from the liturgical milieu of Lower Lorraine,⁵ and, as Fr. Boniface says: 'Our rite constitutes one of the most authentic examples of this Rhineland rite of the 11th century, which, imported to Rome, was adopted there, in an impoverished form, by the reforms of Innocent III and the Franciscans, and finally universalised by Pius V.'⁶ The antiquity of the liturgy of the White canons has been attested by Cardinal Bona (*ob.* 1674): *Nulla post Monachos Religiosarum Congregationum, quae proprios ritus habeat, antiquior est Praemonstratensi*.⁷

In addition to the framework, the rite shows also a synthesis

¹ *De la Liturgie et du Rit Prémontré, Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3.

² *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 989-94. ³ Hittorp, *op. cit.*, col. 697-766.

⁴ Boniface Luykx, *Essai sur les sources de l'Ordo Missae prémontré* (Tongerloo, 1947), pp. 5-6. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ Boniface Luykx, *Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3, p. 78.

⁷ *De Divina Psalmodia*, cap. XVIII (*Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1694), VI, pp. 547-8.

of elements borrowed from existing monastic usages—Regular Canons, Carthusians, Cluniacs and Cistercians. Of these, the most marked influence appears to be that of the Cistercians, although there has been a tendency to exaggerate it. Fr. Lefèvre says: *On sait que la législation de Prémontré dans le domaine de l'observance comme dans celui de la liturgie dépend étroitement des traditions cisterciennes.*¹ A comparison of the two texts, however, shows that it is superficial and inexact to say that the White canons borrowed the rite of the Mass and almost all their liturgy from Cîteaux.² Cistercian influence seems to have been subsequent to the compilation of the first books of the Order.³

Some writers have derived the usages of Prémontré from those of the cathedral church of Laon, the diocese in which the Order was founded,⁴ but a careful comparison of the two uses fails to show any outstanding similarity between them.

Others, again, assert that the feasts and offices of the White canons were drawn principally from the Church of Paris, although there appears to be little confirmatory evidence. The rite of the Holy Sepulchre has been suggested also as the source for much of the Premonstratensian rite: *Quand on compare le premier Ordinaire ou cérémonial des Prémontrés avec l'Ordinal du Saint-Sepulchre la ressemblance est frappante.*⁵ The offices for Holy Week in the two rites show a marked similarity, and the devotion to the Holy Cross in the liturgy of the White canons may be due to the association of the Order with the Holy Places in Jerusalem.⁶ The ordinary of Prémontré shows how important a place the Easter triumph of the Saviour occupied in the thoughts of the sons of St. Norbert.⁷ Finally, it is pointed out how the very names of some of the houses of the Order recall the Holy Land.⁸

¹ *L'Ordinaire de Prémontré* . . . (Louvain, 1941), introd., p. xvii.

² Boniface Luykx, *Essai sur les sources* . . . (Tongerloo, 1947), p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 21.

⁴ P. Paulin, *op. cit.*, part IV, chap. II, p. 248.

⁵ François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés*, (Paris, 1947), chap. V., p. 87.

⁶ The Order came to the Holy Land by a twofold way: (1) Almaric, abbot of Floreffe, founded St. Habacuc, probably in El Kenisey near Joppa, in 1137-8, and (2) St. Bernard induced the king of Jerusalem to give St. Samuel, eight miles from the holy city, to the White canons. The foundation was made in 1141.

⁷ François Petit, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-9.

⁸ E.g. Holy Cross, Bethlehem, Sepulchre of Mary, Jericho, Mount Olivet, Mount Sion, Temple of the Saviour, etc. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

The tracing of origins is at best conjectural, but we are on sure ground when we say that the Premonstratensian rite was derived from various elements current in 12th-century France.¹

MAINTENANCE OF THE RITE

The liturgical codification at the end of the 12th century remained the norm throughout the Middle Ages, although additions were made to the calendar, and the granting of *pontificalia* to abbots necessitated a more elaborate ceremonial.

The use of *pontificalia* had been refused by Peter I, abbot of Prémontré (1195–1201), out of humility, and a decision of the general chapter in support of this attitude was confirmed by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). They were accepted, however, from Clement V (1305–14) by Adam de Crécy (*ob.* 1327), twenty-fifth abbot of Prémontré, together with a faculty to use a portable altar.

A further codification of the *ordinarius* seems to have taken place in the 13th century, and was possibly the work of the English abbot, Gervase (1209–20).

The rapid growth of abbeys increased the possibility of local observances, and strict legislation was necessary to maintain the liturgical unity of the Order. A manuscript of the *ordinarius*, preserved at Munich, dates from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, as the feast of St. Laurence (10 August) ranks as a double,² and the reforms of Innocent III (1198–1216) are ignored.³ It is in agreement with the sanctoral in the Premonstratensian missal of the end of the 12th century and with the martyrology of Ninove (1185–90) in its absence of any reference to the feasts of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Bernard, both of which are found in liturgical manuscripts after 1228. The Munich manuscript shows evidence of the decree of Alexander III (1159–81), which limited the number of prefaces to ten.

¹ The Rite of the Holy Sepulchre was itself of French origin.

² The feast of St. Laurence was elevated to double rank after the foundation made by Eskil, bishop of Lund (*ob.* 1182), at Öved.

³ E.g. the vigil of a feast falling on Monday is to be observed on Saturday, and the regulations for a colour sequence. The Munich MS. says: *cappe autem serice et casule unius coloris erunt.*

The missal referred to above, which is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris,¹ is the most ancient in existence. Its provenance is uncertain, but Leroquais suggests the Soissons district or Champagne:² Boniface Luykx, Prémontré itself.³ Abbot Gervase (1209–20) maintained a lively interest in preserving the liturgical unity of the Order, and in 1214 reminded Emo de Huizinga, abbot of Werum in Frisia, who had himself copied the choir-books at Prémontré, of the importance of uniformity in respect to the liturgical books. Two years later we find him writing to Walter, abbot of Vicoigne⁴ (1211–29), respecting four Irish canons from Holy Trinity, Tuam,⁵ who had come to Prémontré to study the rules and observances of the Order, and had at the same time transcribed the Norbertine use.⁶ Gervase lived at a time when the work of foundation had been completed, but the early tradition was still living. A letter of this great English abbot of Prémontré has been the means, thanks to Fr. Wendelen, subprior of Tongerlo, of restoring the authentic chant of the Order: *Gervasius, Dei potentia Praemonstratensis dictus abbas, venerabilibus in Christo fratribus Ordinis Praemonstratensis abbatibus universis, has litteras inspecturis, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. Non facile debet convelli, quod cum labore conficitur, nec a filiis immutandum, cui patrum auctoritas suffragatus, quin potius in sua debet semper integritate persistere quod constat esse et multa diligentia comparatum et provida patrum sanctione statutum, sed et propria insuper honestate subnixum. . . .*⁷

Statutes relating to the liturgy were re-edited about 1236–45.⁸ A new compilation appeared at Prémontré itself under the title *Consuetudines ecclesiae Praemonstratensis* for the immediate use of the mother house, where the patron saint was St. John Baptist and the dedication of the church occurred in the month of May.

¹ *Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, MS. lat. 833.

² The neumatic notation and sanctoral suggest this. Leroquais, *Les Sacram. et les Missels . . . des Bibl. Pub. de France*, t. I (Paris, 1924), p. 309.

³ *Essai sur les Sources . . .*, p. 11.

⁴ Diocese of Arras.

⁵ Holy Trinity, Tuam, was founded from Prémontré in 1204.

⁶ *Venerunt autem, ut libros Ordinis et ecclesiasticos et secundum usum nostrum conscriptos ad propria reportarent. Epist. LXXIII.*

⁷ Cf. Hugo, *Sacrae Antiquitatis Monumenta*, t. I (St. Dié, 1731), p. 438.

⁸ F. Lefèvre, *op. cit.* (12th century), *introduc.*, p. XIII.

Usus I, however, as we shall call the document in order to distinguish it from a second compilation, of the beginning of the 14th century, must have soon had the force of law in the other houses of the Order, especially since it incorporated the decrees of general chapters. Innovations were made of a rubrical character, such as the elevation of certain feasts to the rank of triplex, the censuring of the altar at the beginning of Mass on doubles (and upwards), the celebration of private Masses, the weekly Mass of the patron of the church, and the daily Mass of the Blessed Virgin.¹ The manuscript in the British Museum probably came originally from the abbey of Parc, as it contains local feasts of the diocese of Liège, in which diocese Parc was situated.²

Usus II appeared under similar circumstances at the beginning of the 14th century. It contains several of the codified liturgical decisions of the general chapters which figure as additions to the reformed statutory text in 1290, but the decisions respecting the elevation of feasts of apostles and doctors and the introduction of Corpus Christi and the Conception of our Lady, which were made official in 1322, are not included. It was therefore compiled between these two dates.³ The document contains directions as to lights and bells, and describes the Rogation processions minutely. A priest is permitted, under certain reservations, to celebrate the three Christmas Masses. We find, also, observations on the occurrence and concurrence of feasts, as well as regulations for the Sunday and ferial offices. The manuscript of *Usus II*, which is now in the municipal library at Soissons,⁴ gives two sections on the observance of Corpus Christi, but they occur at the end of the document and not in their normal place. The calendar shows conclusively that the manuscript was written for the mother house.⁵ An antiphon and sequence (*Ave matris*

¹ F. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers lit. de Prém. du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle* (Louvain, 1953), introduct., p. IX.

² London, Brit. Mus., MS. 22604.

³ It is possible to narrow the time limit still further, as *Usus II* cites the Council of Vienne (1311).

⁴ Soissons, *Bibl. Municip.*, MS. 95.

⁵ E.g. 4 May, Dedication of the church of Prémontré; 11 May, Octave of Dedication; 8 March, *Allatio particule capitis beati Johannis Baptiste in Premonstratensi ecclesia, anno gratie millesimo CC quinto*; 14 February, *Commemoratio monachorum Sancti Vincentii*; 13 March, *Servitium sancti Nicolai in Busco*; 2 July, *Magdeburgi et Floreffie solempne servitium*.

Domini) for the feast of St. Anne have been added in a 15th-century hand. A copy of the *Usus*, containing the text of the ordinary, was produced at Ninove some time after 1464.¹ Its provenance may be gauged from the reference to the common suffrages which are to be omitted in Advent, where we find one of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian, the patron saints of Ninove.² This later exemplar of *Usus* II gives the feasts of Corpus Christi and the Conception of the Blessed Virgin in their proper places. It is interesting to note that many of the innovations in both *Usus* I and II have their significance in the 'reformed' 17th-century liturgy.

A further edition of the *ordinarius*, which comprises a codex of rubrics containing the method of saying and carrying out the liturgical services,³ appeared in the second half of the 15th century.⁴

The splendour of the ceremonial increased considerably, and James de Bachimont, forty-second abbot of Prémontré (*ob.* 1531), is said to have 'greatly enhanced the magnificence of divine worship and the splendour of the ceremonies in his abbey church'.⁵

John Despruets, forty-ninth abbot of Prémontré (1573–96), on the publication of the bull *Quo primum* (1570), issued a list of the liturgical books proper to the Order, thereby making it clear that he had every intention of maintaining the traditional Premonstratensian rite. A processional was published at Paris in 1574, and the last edition of the old missal in 1578.⁶ The use of

¹ A note on fo. 8iv., cap. XL says: *Capitulum generale hac dominica quarta (post octavam Pasche) celebratur. . . .* The general chapter was changed as to its date from the feast of St. Denis (9 October) to the fourth Sunday after Easter in 1464.

² The MS. has been given by Averbode to Parc, the former mother-house of Ninove.

³ *Liber in quo ordinatur modus dicendi et solemnizandi divinum officium.* William Lynwood (*ob.* 1446), *Provinciale Cantuar. Eccl.*, lib. III, tit. XXVII.

⁴ A processional from the abbey of Parc, dating from the second half of the 15th century, is in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The heavy square Gothic script is typical of the Low Countries. MS. *Liturg. misc.* 405 (29454).

⁵ P. Paulin, *op. cit.*, chap. III, 5, p. 53.

⁶ *Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri Ordinis Praemonstratensis, auctoritate Reverendissimi D. D. Joannis de Pruetis Abbatis Praemonstratensis, et totius ejusdem ordinis generalis Reformatoris, Auctum, repurgatum ac novissime editum. Parisiis: Apud Jacobum Kerver, 1578.*

these books was compulsory in all the houses of the Order, including those of the circary of Spain, where of late years the reformed Pian liturgy had found a certain amount of favour.

THE 'REFORM' OF THE LITURGY

The ancient tradition rapidly lost ground after the death of Abbot Despruets (*ob.* 1596). His successor, Francis de Longpré (1596–1613), seemed at first inclined to follow the 'old paths', and in March 1603 he confided to John Lepaige, a religious of Prémontré, the task of re-editing the missal and office books according to the most reliable manuscripts of the Order. Two years later (1605), however, the general chapter expressed the desire to effect a harmony between the old customary and the new Roman books. A breviary based upon that of Rome was published in Paris in 1608, but the work of compromise satisfied no one. A section of the Order wished to adopt the Roman rite *in toto*, while there were those who demanded a return to traditional usages. In the general chapter of 1618 the German abbots, especially those of Swabia, attempted to force the introduction of the liturgical books of the Pian reform. The majority of the chapter was averse to anything so drastic, although it was agreed to 'reform' the books on the same principles as those which had guided the Roman reformers. In the breviary: hymns and ferial antiphons were to be taken from the Roman book, and the chant of the Genealogy of our Lord at Christmas and the Epiphany was to be suppressed; while as regards the missal: votive Masses and Masses for the dead were to be altered, in order that they might approximate more closely to the Pian text; while sequences, except those for Christmas and some of the greater feasts, were to be abolished.

Peter Gosset, the abbot-general (1613–35), was directed to see that these measures were carried out. A new breviary appeared in 1621, and a missal in the following year (1622). Few changes were made in the breviary: hymns, antiphons and responsaries were not corrected, but there were alterations in the lectionary, common of saints, choice of psalms at vespers, and in certain of the chapters and prayers.

The work on the missal was more drastic, and the Order accepted the Ordinary of the Mass in its *Pian* form. The changes in the temporal included no more than the lessons for Advent and the introduction of the Roman arrangement for the concluding Sundays after Pentecost, but in the sanctoral few feasts remained unchanged beyond those for our Lady, the apostles and some of the more important solemnities; while feasts, borrowed from the Roman calendar, were substituted for traditional commemorations. Masses for the dead now conformed to the Roman model, save for some few survivals, and the series of lessons in the *Missa quotidiana pro defunctis*, distributed for the days of the week, was abandoned. Votive Masses (*familiares*), including those *de Beata*, suffered cuts and amendments, and the number of sequences was drastically curtailed. This suppression of sequences was prescribed by the general chapter of 1660, and in the missal, which appeared three years later (1663), *Laetabundus* for the three Masses of Christmas was the only sequence not to be found in the *Pian* book.

The reform of the liturgical books became general and definitive about 1650, but the hankering after 'novelties', expressed in the general chapters of 1618, 1622 and 1628, had greatly impoverished the genuine Premonstratensian tradition: *chaque romanisation signifie appauvrissement, une 'norbertinisation' (qu'on pardonne ce terme barbare) intelligente et consciente est un enrichissement*.¹

The liturgical changes necessitated a revision of the *liber ordinarius*. The work was confided to John Drusius, abbot of Parc near Louvain, who obtained the assistance of his subprior, John Masius. The *ordinarius* was completed in 1622, but it was not published before 1628. The revisers seem to have had a praiseworthy respect for Premonstratensian tradition, although it was found necessary to take into account the recent changes in the missal and breviary. Later editions of the *ordinarius* appeared in 1635, 1739 and 1789, but they have not substantially altered the text established in 1628.

The reformed books were imposed on all the houses of the

¹ Boniface Luykx, *Pro Nostris*, t. XIII (1947), no. 3, pp. 81-2.

Order, but in certain circaries, notably the German, some of the abbeys continued to use the Roman liturgy, which had been previously tolerated, on the pretext that the new books had not received the approval of the Pope. Elsewhere, lack of books permitted the temporary use of the Pian missal for private Masses, with the proviso that the rubrics proper to the Order should be observed.

The annual chapter of the reform of Lorraine insisted, in 1655, on a strict adherence to the revised *ordinarius: ordinarius rite servetur*. A similar injunction was issued by the general chapter of the Order in 1660: *ordinarius strictissime ad litteram observetur*. The mutilation of the traditional liturgy was not accomplished without protest. A spirited defence was made by John Lepaige, a religious of Prémontré, in 1633, for which he was intemperately attacked by the abbot of St. Michael's, Antwerp, John Chrysostom van der Sterre (1629–52), in a letter to Mathias Valentyns, abbot of Averbode (1591–1635). The book (*Bibliotheca Praemonstratensis Ordinis*) in which the defence appeared had been approved by the royal censors, but it had not been submitted to the authorities of the Order, and contained an attack on the decrees of the general chapter of 1630. Abbot van der Sterre described the work as *valde pestilentem et scandalosum . . . in quo spiritu omnino factioso et passionato. . . . Quare merito liber iste condemnari et prohiberi deberet*.¹

Towards the end of the 17th century the general chapter discussed the need for a further edition of the liturgical books. It was proposed to raise certain feasts to the rank of doubles, but the abbot of Prémontré, Michael Colbert, fearful lest the offices of the dead should be thereby curtailed, exclaimed with indignation: *Elevatio festorum, oblivio mortuorum*.

A missal, augmented by new Roman offices and others proper to the Order, was printed in Paris in 1697; processional in 1666; a ritual in 1676; gradual in 1680; antiphoner in 1680; and breviary in 1697 (Antwerp). The general chapter of 1738, through the initiative of the abbot of Prémontré, Claude Honoré Lucas

¹ Collect., *Mss. Gilles Die Voecht*, Averbode archives, sect. IV, reg. 30, fo. 180–1; ap. *Analecta Premonstr.*, t. XIX (1943), pp. 59–60.

de Muin (*ob.* 1740), proposed yet another edition of the liturgical books.

The *ordinarius* or *liber caeremoniarum*, printed at Verdun in 1739, was divided into three parts: (1) rites in general; (2) proper of the season and the sanctoral; (3) rites outside the liturgy properly so called. It was said of Abbot de Muin by a French member of the Order in the last century: *Une de ses préoccupations les plus constantes fut de maintenir partout la liturgie norbertine.*¹

The judgement savours of exaggeration, as the *ordinarius* reveals the faulty liturgical taste of the period, but at the same time a close study of the book shows that much of the ancient ceremonial was retained, and many of the rubrics were adopted from the *Usus ecclesiae Premonstratensis*, a 14th-century customary compiled for the use of the mother house. Augustine de Rocquevert, the successor of De Muin, authorised a new edition of the liturgical books of his predecessor.

The breviary, in spite of some unnecessary 'romanising', remained of great traditional value. It was edited at Toul in 1711 and at Verdun in 1725 and 1741.

NEO-GALLICAN INTERLUDE

An unfortunate attempt was made towards the end of the *ancien régime* to adopt neo-Gallican books modelled on the Parisian liturgy of Charles de Vintimille (1736, 1738). The plan was initiated by the national chapter which met at Prémontré under William Manoury (1769–80) on 15 August 1779. John Baptist l'Ecuy, his successor and last abbot of Prémontré, endeavoured to force the new books on all the houses of the Order. On 1 January 1786 he wrote to the abbot of Joyenval in the diocese of Chartres insisting that all religious without exception should adopt the new breviary and other liturgical books. The French houses complied with the order, but in other countries the abbeys seem to have continued to use the reformed 17th-century books. No one can fail to deplore the abolition of the last vestiges of the traditional rite, but the grossly exaggerated comment of Fr. Paulin is little

¹ P. Paulin, *op. cit.*, chap. III, 7, p. 65.

short of ludicrous: *L'ancienne liturgie de l'Ordre de Prémontré, si pieuse et si touchante, fit place à une liturgie littéraire absolument paganisée.*¹ It is hard to say which statement is the more absurd: to call the liturgy of the 18th century the 'ancient liturgy of the Order' or to speak of the neo-Gallican books as 'paganised'. The new books were printed by Hoener at Nancy: the breviary in 1780; antiphoner in 1786; missal, gradual, gospel-book and processional in 1787. A further edition of the breviary, printed at Brussels in 1786, was the work of Remacle Lissoir, abbot of Lavaldieu (Val Dieu) in the diocese of Rheims.² Many changes were made in the calendar: no feasts were permitted in Lent; the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas was moved from 7 March to 24 July; St. Romuald from 7 February to 20 June, etc. The feast of All Saints of the Order was suppressed and a commemoration of 'All Saints of the Canonical Order' was made on the Octave of St. Augustine (4 September). Many of the Paris sequences were adopted, and the Masses of St. Norbert and St. Augustine were replaced by texts considered to be more in harmony with the style of the Office in the breviary: *on y trouve intercalées deux longues proses, dans chacune desquelles la poésie profane brille certainement plus que la piété.*³ The prayers in the new processional were taken almost exclusively from either the Gregorian sacramentary or the liturgy of the Church of Paris, and in all the liturgical books we find that texts from Holy Scripture were substituted for those of ecclesiastical origin. Thus the Asperges antiphon for Eastertide was changed from *Vidi aquam* to *Effundam super vos aquam mundam*. The chant also suffered from an imitation of the 18th-century Church of Paris: *Le chant de tous ces livres gallico-prémontrés ne brille plus par la majestueuse simplicité de l'ancien chant de l'Ordre; c'est le chant parisien retouché par un chanoine de l'abbaye de Lavaldieu, Guillaume Hanser, remplissant les fonctions d'organiste dans ce monastère.*⁴

The use of these neo-Gallican books was happily of short

¹ P. Paulin, op. cit., chap. IV, p. 262.

² Remacle Lissoir published an abridgement of the book of Febronius in French. He took the oath of the civil constitution of the clergy, served as curé of Charleville, and sat in the assembly of Paris in 1797.

³ Paulin, op. cit., chap. IV, p. 269.

⁴ Ibid.

duration, and they disappeared, together with the religious houses, at the French Revolution.

RETURN TO THE STATUS QUO

The shortage of books was felt acutely, when in the 19th century a return was made to some of the suppressed houses.

An edition of the breviary was published at Innsbruck in 1846. A separate French Congregation was established in 1858, which adopted the actual Roman rite for the Mass and Office, and the Congregation of Rites (25 April 1861) conceded the Offices of the clergy of the city of Rome—*proprium pro clero romano*. In 1875 Edmund Boulbon, the superior of the Congregation, applied for permission to use the Premonstratensian breviary with certain modifications and the addition of a number of offices taken from the Roman breviary and missal, but he was very properly told that a liturgy of the Order was already in existence, and that he should adopt it as a whole, without any additions, suppressions or alterations. Permission, however, was obtained in 1884 (29 May) for the Congregation to celebrate the feasts and *beati* of the Order. The Congregation of France united with the rest of the Order in 1896.

A breviary appeared from the Cistercian printing-press at Westmalle in 1892, and a missal in 1900.

The statutes published in 1925 make it clear that a distinctive Premonstratensian rite exists, and number 329 of these statutes says that any change in the calendar or liturgy must be referred to the Apostolic See, whereas the editing of liturgical books for the Order is within the competence of the abbot-general.¹

The feast of Christ the King on the last Sunday in October has been adopted, but in a provincial chapter of the circary of Brabant it was decided not to take the common of supreme pontiffs and certain new feasts.

A revised calendar—*kalendarium perpetuum in usum ordinis Praemonstratensis*—was published at Tongerlo in 1924, the first liturgical document of the Order to receive the approbation

¹ Statute no. 431.

of the Holy See in conformity with the prescriptions of the new canon law. A number of feasts in the sanctoral were elevated in rank, thus breaking the harmonious equilibrium which had existed from the Middle Ages.¹

A decision to revise the Office according to the old traditions was made in the general chapter, held at Tongerlo in August 1927. A breviary was published at Malines in 1930, and a missal in 1936, both of which were approved by Rome. Some old rubrics, given up in the 17th century, were restored to the breviary, but the missal suffered little change. An edition of the processional appeared in 1932. The book is of extreme interest, as it is largely derived from the *Ordines Romani*² and ancient monastic usages.³ The *ordinarius*, regulating the ceremonies of the liturgical functions, was until recently the exemplar of 1739 (Verdun). So long ago as 1902 the general chapter at Averbode had decided that a new edition was overdue, but the work of revision was delayed by two world wars. In 1943 the Belgian abbots in consultation at Tongerlo agreed that the new *ordinarius* should be in the nature of a *via media*. It was felt that *melius quia antiquitus* was a sophism, and that the restoration of many of the details in the primitive book was impracticable. On the other hand, the commission had a sincere feeling of respect for the traditional rite, and a desire to bring back some of the ancient ceremonies which had fallen into desuetude. The intentions of the revisers were expressed by the chairman of the commission, Hugh Lamy, abbot of Leffe: *In proposita redactione nonnullae inveniuntur mutationes allatae ad textum ultimi Ordinarii, anno 1739 editi, quas ex veteribus codicibus desumpsimus. Non tamen opportunum visum est omnes antiquos ritus iterum assumere, qui sapienti discretione derelicti vel mutati fuerunt.*

The *ordinarius* appeared finally in 1949, and has on the whole

¹ An *ordo perpetuus*, edited by Nicholas Mansuy, a religious of Ste Marie au Bois in Lorraine, and approved by the abbot-general, Bruno Bécourt, was published at Verdun in 1746.

² E.g. Sunday procession, Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, and Easter vespers.

³ E.g. Blessing of conventual buildings from a 10th-century sacramentary of Fulda; monastic ordinations adapted for the congregations of reformed canons; and a 9th-century rite of burial.

respected the tradition of the Order, although one may be permitted to regret some of the lacunae, as, for example, the absence of a rubric directing the celebrant to extend his arms in the form of a cross after the consecration.

CHANT

Uniformity of chant, no less than uniformity of rite and ceremonial, was prescribed throughout the Order, and there are frequent injunctions in the visitation reports of the English houses that the chant must be *secundum formam nostre religionis*.¹ *Usus I* of the *Consuetudines ecclesie Premonstratensis*, a compilation written for the mother house of Prémontré towards the middle of the 13th century, enumerates the chants of the ordinary of the Mass for conventual and matutinal Masses.² The chants, however, do not always correspond with those given in the *ordo*, still less with the *kyriale* printed in the gradual in 1910. The following regulations are given in *usus I* in respect to the psalmody: *Psalmodia viva voce cantatur, sed non cum protractione dictionum. Ad metrum talis fit pausatio ut sufficienter possit spiritus resumī; ante metrum nulla fit pausatio, sed nec post metrum usque ad finem versus, nisi quandoque fieri oporteat pro necessitate*.³ A reform of the chant was approved by the general chapter of 1660, at which the abbot-general, Augustine Le Scellier (1645–60) presided. Some of the printed books⁴ included the official melodies of the prefaces and a certain number of passages from the Office, but the greater part of the chants of the Mass and Office, noted in the gradual and antiphoner, were still in manuscript, often inexact and with local variations. Thus in the first quarter of the 17th century, when an enquiry was set on foot to determine the traditional melodies, one of the Belgian abbots ingenuously replied: *quid sit*

¹ E.g. Langdon (Kent), 1482 (*Collect. Ang.-Prem*, vol. III, p. 4); Torre (Devon), 1491 (*ibid.*, p. 151); Eggleston (Yorks), 1494 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 216); Newbo (Lincs), 1497 (*ibid.*, vol. III, p. 65).

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers liturgiques* . . . (Louvain, 1953), *introduc.*, p. XI. Indications on the subject are found also in the *ordo* of the 12th century.

³ No. XXXVIII, *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴ E.g. Processional (1574), missal (1578), psalter (1617).

cantus Premonstratensis nescimus, adding: *cantitur nota nostra consueta*. The general chapter of 1660 appointed a commission of experts from Prémontré, Dommartin and the circary of Brabant to prepare an official edition of the chant-books. Three years later the general chapter approved the printing of the processional, together with the *ordo sepeliendi* and the *cantatorium*. The work appeared in 1666. The task of preparing the gradual and antiphoner was confided to two members of the Belgian circary in 1670. The authentic manuscripts of Prémontré were consulted, and assistance was given by the master of the chapel of the king of France. The two books were published in 1680. The period, however, was not favourable to tradition, and the chant lost something of its former beauty.

In accordance with the wishes of Saint Pius X (1903–14), the general chapter of 1903 appointed a commission to revise the chant in the light of traditional readings. The gradual, for which many ancient codices were consulted,¹ appeared in 1910; the processional in 1932; and the antiphoner in 1934.

LITURGICAL YEAR

The liturgical year presents many variations from the Roman (Pian) rite, especially in Lent and the *Triduum Sacrum* of Holy Week.

CHRISTMAS

A prophetic lesson from Isaias is recited on the Vigil and at the three Masses of *Christmas Day*.² Christmas also has the proper prose *Laetabundus*, the only one not in the Pian missal to survive the 'reform'. A different prose was sung at each of the three Masses in the traditional rite. The deacon sings the Genealogy of our Lord before the *Te Deum* at the night office.³

¹ One of the codices was of the 12th century.

² *Prophetia ab acolito vel subdiacono, alba vel superpelliceo induto et sine fanone, legetur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XX, p. 34.

³ *Ordin.* (1949), part 2, sect. 2, cap. V, no. 799, p. 211. It is sung also on the feast of the Epiphany. *Ibid.*, cap. VIII, no. 837, p. 221.

SEPTUAGESIMA

Folded chasubles are worn by the ministers on the three Sundays preceding Lent.¹

ASH WEDNESDAY

The ashes are blessed after the recitation of the penitential psalms and the prayers for the reconciliation of penitents: The customary of Prémontré (*usus* I) directs the psalms to be sung in procession, after which, during the litanies, the religious were to retire and remove their shoes.² The officiant at the liturgy has alb, maniple and stole:³ the assistant ministers wear albs. A single prayer is said for the blessing of the ashes: *Deus qui non mortem*. A second prayer is recited after the imposition: *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae Christianae*, followed by the litanies in procession.⁴ The ancient *ordinarius* directs the ashes to be blessed twice on the same day: before prime for the *conversi*, and for the rest of the community after sext and before the conventual Mass.⁵

LENT

On the first Sunday in Lent, the cross is carried unveiled, also when it is taken to the sick and to the sepulchre.⁶ It is veiled after the procession on the first Sunday:⁷ a custom unknown among the usages described by Dom Martène.⁸ The veiling of statues is not prescribed in the old *ordinarius*, but in that of 1622 we have the following direction: *Sabbatho ante Dominicam primam Quadragesimae a meridie operientur omnes tabulae altarium et imagines sanctorum velis violaceis*. The rubric is repeated in the editions of 1628⁹ and 1739;¹⁰ while that of 1949 says: *si mos est*.¹¹

¹ Dalmatic and tunicle are worn for the procession. *Ibid.*, cap. XI, no. 865, p. 229.

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . . usus* I, no. XIII, pp. 6–7.

³ The abbot wears tunicle and dalmatic, with a cope for the procession. *Ordin.* (1949), cap. XIII, nos. 883, 885, pp. 234, 235.

⁴ Cf. Mediaeval *ordinarius* and missal of 1578.

⁵ Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, cap. XXIX, pp. 47–8. Martène (*De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, t. III, col. 160 E.) speaks of a dual blessing of the ashes as existing in his day in the Churches of Narbonne and Bayeux.

⁶ *Hac I^a dominica XL^{me} tantum crux discooperta ante processionem defertur, deinceps autem ad infirmos et ad sepulchrum involuta portatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXX, p. 50.

⁷ *Processionale* (1932), p. 45.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, t. IV, col. 318–19. ⁹ *Ordin.*, 1628, p. 206. ¹⁰ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 329.

¹¹ The statues at Postel remained uncovered throughout Holy Week, 1948.

Two lenten veils were customary in the Middle Ages: at the entrance to the choir, and at the entrance to the sanctuary. They were removed on feasts of nine lessons.¹ The reformed *ordinarius* retained one of the veils, which, on Wednesday in Holy Week, was to be taken down or rolled back by acolytes at the words *et velum templi scissum est* in the Passion, and removed altogether after vespers.² The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the sanctuary veil to be let down and the choir veil to be drawn apart at the recitation of these words.³ In spite, however, of the rubric in the *ordinarius* of 1739, many of the houses had abandoned the use of the veil.⁴ The *ordinarius* of 1949 again prescribes the Lenten veil, *ubi locorum dispositio sinit*, in almost the same words as in the 18th-century book,⁵ and it is to be removed during the Passion on Wednesday in Holy Week.⁶

PALM SUNDAY

The ceremony of the blessing of palms begins with a gospel, followed by two prayers: *Deus cujus Filius* and *Deus qui Filium tuum*. The prayers are in the mediaeval *ordinarius*⁷ and also in the missal of 1578, but the neo-Gallican processional (1787) gives

¹ *In festo IX lectionum ad primas vesperas dimovetur velum sanctuarii, et quod inter chorum et populum forenssem pendet, usque in crastinum post completorium.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXX, p. 50.

² *Cantatur passio, ut pridie, in qua cum canitur, Et velum Templi scissum est, Acolythi dimittunt aut revolvunt velum quod pendet ad sanctuarium, et idem post vesperas ex toto auferetur.* *Ordin.* 1622, 1628 (p. 220), 1739 (cap. XVIII, p. 343).

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXIII, p. 56.

⁴ Tongerlo abandoned the use of the veil about 1938.

⁵ *Sabbato ante Dominicam I Quadragesimae, a meridie, teguntur imagines Crucifixi et, si mos est, sanctorum, velis violaceis. Similiter suspenditur ubi locorum dispositio sinit, violaceum quoddam velum supra gradus Presbyterii, quod instar cortinarum valeat commode claudi et aperiri. Velum autem illud semper manet clausum, et Sanctuarium a reliqua parte Chori dividit, quando per Quadragesimam usque ad Feriam IV in septimana sancta, sive in Festis, sive in Feriis, fit Officium aut Missa de Feria vel pro Defunctis. Idem tamen ad Elevationem semper tempestive debet aperiri et acolythus ministrans, vel alius ad hoc indicatus, Sacerdoti ex Choro ad Sanctuarium ante Missam ascendenti, aut post Missam regredienti partem veli aperit. In Dominicis vero, a I Vesperis usque post secundum Completorium et sub Officio de Sanctis, manet apertum.* *Ordin.* 1949, part 2, cap. XIV, no. 895, pp. 238-9.

⁶ *Cantatur Passio ut pridie, in qua, dum canitur Et velum templi scissum est, acolythi dimittunt aut revolvunt velum quod pendet ad Sanctuarium et idem post Vesperas ex toto auferitur.* *Ibid.*, cap. XVI, no. 926, p. 248.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, cap. XXXIII, p. 55.

the first prayer only. The missal of 1900 has a prayer before the procession: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui Dominum nostrum*. When the hymn *Gloria laus et honor* has been sung in the procession, and the doors of the church have been opened, the abbot intones the antiphon *Ave Rex noster*. This is repeated three times and all genuflect (three times), while the cross is uncovered.¹ After the procession the ministers change from dalmatic or tunicle to folded chasubles. There is no reference to this change of vesture in the ordinaries of 1622 and 1628, but the *ordinarius* of 1739 says: . . . *Abbas solito more paratus cum diacono et subdiacono indutis dalmaticis violaceis, quarum loco ad missam . . . assumant planetas plicatas. . .*² The Passion is customarily sung by a single deacon. The prostration by the choir at the passage relating to the death of our Lord has been prescribed since the second half of the 13th century.

Triduum Sacrum. The arrangement of the *Triduum sacrum*, which is given in *Ordo romanus antiquus*, has been preserved almost intact in the Premonstratensian *ordinarius*. The conclusion of the night office (*tenebrae*) on these three last days of Holy Week, with its litanic chant, trope and antiphon, alternated by groups of singers, dates from about the 10th century. Similar, but not exact texts, existed at Cîteaux, Laon, Senlis, Rheims, St. Denis, and St. Cornelius at Compiègne.³

HOLY THURSDAY

The liturgy, as on Ash Wednesday, begins with penitential psalms and prayers, a survival of the ancient rite of the reconciliation of penitents. The officiant and his assistants prostrate before the altar: the abbot in tunicle and dalmatic; the deacon and subdeacon in girded albs. The customary vestments are worn at Mass, but the processional of 1787 directs that they should be red in

¹ *Ibid.*, *Processionale* (1932), pp. 60-1. The 13th-century customary directs a genuflection to be made at *Ave Rex noster*, *Fili David* and *Redemptor mundi*. *Op. cit.*, no. XIV, p. 7.

² *Ordin.* (1739), p. 338; cf. *Ordin.* (1949), sect. II, cap. XVI, no. 917, pp. 244-5.

³ Cf. Carmelite rite, in which the same tropes are sung as in the Church of Paris in the 12th century. *Vide* John Beleth (*ob. post 1165*), *Rat. Div. Offic.*, CII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 108.

colour.¹ There is no *Gloria in excelsis* on this day, and a hand-bell is rung during the *Kyrie*.² The omission follows the *Ordines Romani*, where it is noted that the *Gloria* is sung only at a Mass in which the holy oils are blessed.³ A similar absence of the *Gloria* is found in John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079) and in the Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc.⁴

The abbot goes to the throne when he has said the *communio*, and vespers with its five psalms follow, but the altar is not censed at the *Magnificat*. At the conclusion of the canticle, the celebrant returns to the altar for the postcommunion. A solemn procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of repose was prescribed in the 17th century. The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed only that the Eucharist should be reserved in a suitable place, with a light burning before it.⁵

On the return of the procession, the high altar is washed, and commemorations are made in honour of our Lady, St. Norbert, etc.

GOOD FRIDAY

It was formerly the custom to receive Holy Communion on each of the days of the *Triduum sacrum*: *His tribus diebus sacerdotes et ceteri qui voluerint communicant*.⁶ The missal of 1578 permits the practice on Good Friday: *Fratres qui potuerint, cum Praelato communicent, sed non discalceati*. Communion on this

¹ Cf. Ambrosian rite. *Usus* II (no. XXII) directed the bells to be rung after compline the night before. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

² The neo-Gallican missal, introduced at Lyons in imitation of the Paris missal in 1771, directs the bells to be rung at *Pax Domini*: *Non dicitur Gloria in excelsis, nec . . . , nisi in Missa in qua consecratur Chrisma . . . Dicto Pax Domini, pulsantur usque ad Sabbatum Sanctum*.

³ Cf. Hereford missal (1502): *Si episcopus celebraverit, dicatur Gloria in excelsis*.

⁴ *Gloria in excelsis Deo minime dicatur, nisi episcopus missam celebret et chrisma faciat*. Edit. David Knowles (Thos. Nelson, 1951), p. 30. Cf. Bernard of Cluny (1067) II, XV, 311.

⁵ *Finita communione, abbas sumat Eucharistiam in crastinum reservatum, et in vasculo ante notato honorifice recondat seorsum in pulchro et honesto scrinio, ubi lucerna deinceps accensa ardeat usque in diem sequentem dum resumatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXIV, p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. XXXIV, pp. 58–9. Cf. *Constitutions of Lanfranc*, edit. Knowles (1951), p. 30.

day was very general at one time,¹ but it is no longer given, either in the Order or elsewhere.

During the singing of the Passion two of the brethren were directed by the old *ordinarius* to 'tear off' the two altar cloths *in modum furantis* at the words *partiti sunt vestimenta mea*.² A similar custom existed in some of the Benedictine monasteries, and at Lund (1514) we read that two acolytes vested in chasubles removed the cloths *in modum furantis rapte*, and hid them under their vestments.³ The deacon, not the subdeacon, says *Levate* in the solemn prayers, and before the final ending of the prayer. There is no *Levate* in the Lund missal (1514), and the faithful kneel throughout the prayers.⁴

The veneration of the Cross⁵ is begun behind the altar on the epistle side, and concluded at the step (*ante gradus*) before the altar. The reproaches (*improperia*) are shorter than those in the Roman rite, and the responsary *Dum fabricator* is sung. All genuflect at the *Sanctus* in the trisagion. The celebrant and the subdeacon do not remove their chasubles for the veneration.

The missal of 1578 does not prescribe any prayers in the Mass of the Presanctified before the *Pater noster*, but directs the priest to raise the Host and chalice (*sublevans corpus Domini cum calice*), as he says: *Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus*, etc.⁶ In the actual rite, the Host is elevated before the prayer, and the embolism is said silently.

The mediaeval *ordinarius* says that the wine is sanctified by the holy bread, but not consecrated, when the particle is put in the chalice,⁷ whereas the missal of 1578 has the rubric: 'Here the wine is consecrated by the body of the Lord.'⁸

¹ E.g. Corbie, Cluny, Dijon, Bec. The Danish missal of Lund (1514) says: *communicat ipse: et alii qui volunt* (fo. 90).

² *Ordin.*, cap. XXXV, p. 63. Cf. *Hac expleta (Passione) statim duo diaconi nudant altare sindone, quae prius fuerat sub evangelio posita, in modum furantis. Ord. Rom. I, 34; Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 953.

³ Fo. 85. Cf. Metropolitan church, Milan, at the words *Emisit spiritum*.

⁴ Fo. 87v. The chapter of the cathedral church was Premonstratensian. Norbert Backmund, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, t. I, p. 269.

⁵ The cross is veiled in black. The processional of 1787 says: *Crucem velo vel nigro, vel rubeo, juxta morem Dioecesis coopertam*.

⁶ The *Pater noster* is said in a medium voice: *mediocri voce dicat*.

⁷ *Sanctificatur enim vinum non consecratum per panem sanctificatum. Ordin.*, cap. XXXV, p. 64.

⁸ *Hic consecratur vinum per corpus Domini*.

HOLY SATURDAY

The liturgy has many variations from the Roman rite. The new fire is blessed at the step of the altar,¹ with the priest in a violet cope, deacon in a white dalmatic, and subdeacon in a violet tunicle. The 13th-century customary of Prémontré prescribed silk copes for the cantors.² A single prayer was provided for the blessing of the fire in the missal of 1578: *Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens*, but the actual missal gives also: *Domine sancte, Pater, omnipotens aeternae Deus. Veniat quaesumus, omnipotens Deus* is said at the blessing of the grains of incense. *Lumen Christi* is not said, and there is no incense. The deacon is directed in the customary of Prémontré (*usus I*) to make a cross with his hand at the words *in honore nominis tui consecratur* in the *Exultet*.³ The paschal light is lit from a candle held by a cantor in a violet cope.⁴ A chart is attached to the paschal candle, inscribed with the names of the Supreme Pontiff, bishop, abbot and king. The dates of the moveable feasts for the current year were at one time included, as we find in the Cistercian rite.⁵ The candle remains alight until after vespers on Easter day. It is lit also for the offices during Eastertide on *celebers* (semi-double) and feasts of higher rank, and it burns continuously from first vespers of the Ascension until after compline on the following day. The altar lights and those of the acolytes are lighted from the new fire during the *Exultet*.

The four lessons, read by religious in copes, are the same as in the Sacramentary of Hadrian—*In principio, Vigilia matutina, Apprehenderunt, Haec est hereditas*.⁶

If there is a baptismal font, the lityny is begun on the way to the baptistery, and concluded on the way back to the altar.⁷ The

¹ *Ad gradus presbiterii*. Lefèvre, op. cit., cap. XXXVI, p. 65.

² Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus I*, no. XVII, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Cereus paschalis pergrandis secundum consuetudinem loci*, Ordinaries of 1622, 1739 and 1949.

⁵ *Anni Domini et epacte et concurrentes ac indictiones in cartula a cantore scribantur, et ipsa cartula cereo ipsa die benedicendo affigatur*. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. XXXVI, et 66.

⁶ Cf. Amalarius, *De eccles. offic.*, lib. I, cap. XIX; Hittorp, op. cit., col. 343-4. Four lessons are recited also on the Vigil of Pentecost.

⁷ The procession sometimes proceeds to the baptistery by way of the cloisters.

customary of Prémontré, compiled in the 14th century, directs the litanies to be sung by two priests in silk copes, after the tract *Sicut cervus* and the collect *Concede quesumus*.¹ The arrangement of the litanies is given also in the reformed ordinaries of 1622, 1628,² 1739³ and 1949.⁴ The processional of 1787 provides a shortened form of litany, omitting the invocations to the saints, for use in churches where there is no font. The *Gloria in excelsis* in the Mass is preintoned to the celebrant by a cantor in a cope,⁵ and the 12th-century *ordinarius* prescribes bells to be rung for the duration of the chant.⁶ The *Offertorium* and *Agnus Dei* are omitted, and a rubric in the *ordinarius* of 1739 forbids the organ to be played in their stead.⁷ The 14th-century customary directs the prior, subprior and hebdomadary to cense the choir,⁸ as soon as the *Pater noster* is begun. The missal of 1578 says that the reception of Holy Communion on this day is not of precept, but that it may be given to those who wish for it.⁹

EASTERTIDE

The prose for Easter Day in the mediaeval *ordinarius* was *Fulgens preclara*,¹⁰ but it was changed to *Victime Paschali* in 1622. The Premonstratensian text with its extra verse (*Credendum est magis soli*) represents the original text.

Two alleluias are said after *Ite missa est* in the octave of Easter, and one during the remaining days of Eastertide.

A description of vespers does not lie within the scope of this book, but second vespers of Easter and of the days within the Octave include a procession to the baptistery to which some reference should be made.¹¹ The office begins with a ninefold

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, no. XXV, p. 54.

² *Ordin.* 1628, p. 250.

³ *Ordin.* 1739, p. 370.

⁴ *Ordin.* 1949, Part 2, chap. XIX, no. 979, p. 265.

⁵ The *Magnificat* in vespers is also preintoned.

⁶ *Campane pulsantur dum finiatur.* *Ordin.*, cap. XXXVI, p. 67.

⁷ *Offertorium et Agnus Dei non dicuntur, nec eorum loco sit pulsus organi.* *Ordin.* (1739), p. 371.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, no. XXV, p. 54.

⁹ *Neque enim communicatio ex praecepto ordinis, nisi sunt qui peterint.*

¹⁰ The ancient ordinary of the cathedral church of Laon prescribed half of the prose to be sung at Mass and half at vespers: *Sequentia Fulgens preclara, medietas ad missam, altera pars ad vespas.* *Ordinarium Ecclesiae Laudunensis a Lisiardo Decano* (12th century). *Ordinaire de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Laon.* Ulysse Chevalier (Paris, 1897), p. 121.

¹¹ *Vide* Appendix VI.

Kyrie, three psalms and a gradual, after which a procession is made to the baptistery or nave of the church.¹ The rubric says: *Deinde procedendo ad navim Ecclesiae*. A fourth psalm is sung in the baptistery (nave), and a fifth before the entrance to the choir under the 'triumphal cross'. The form of office has special reference to the newly baptised. If the church has no font or the baptistery is too small, the two final psalms are sung before the entrance to the choir. The religious, since the 17th century, have worn copes for these last two psalms.² The provincial chapter, held at Grantham in 1492, had directed silk copes to be worn by the religious for the procession into the nave of the church during vespers of Easter, as previously there had been a diversity of usages in the English houses: some had worn albs and others copes.³ The procession to the baptistery follows an ancient Roman tradition, which seems to have been introduced north of the Alps in the time of Charlemagne. It became popular in the churches of France and Germany, notably at Strasburg.⁴

During Eastertide, the conventual Mass (*summa*) of Sunday is always that of Easter, and the matutinal Mass that of the Sunday occurring. All the Masses, even those of the Saints, have a double alleluia: the first of the feast, and the second of the Resurrection. The customary (*usus* I) directed the cantors on the first three days of Easter week to wear silk copes for the singing of the gradual and alleluia.⁵ The litanies on the feast of *St. Mark* and the *Rogation Days* are recited *after* Mass.

Four lessons are sung on the *Vigil of Pentecost*, as on Holy Saturday, and a private Mass may not be of the Vigil, but of one of the Sundays after Easter. The 14th-century customary (*usus* II), imitating the practice on Holy Saturday, prescribed bells to be rung at the conventual Mass for the duration of the *Gloria in Excelsis*.⁶

The feast of the *Holy Trinity* has been observed since the end

¹ The baptistery is rarely large enough for the whole community.

² The religious wear copes also in the procession before Mass.

³ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 170.

⁴ Martène, *op. cit.*, t. III, col. 509.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. XVIII, p. 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Usus* II, no. xxxiv, p. 68.

of the 12th century, but the Octave, which ended on the Saturday following was suppressed in the 17th century. The *summa* on the Friday and Saturday of the Octave was of the Holy Cross and the Blessed Virgin respectively. In 1492 the provincial chapter at Grantham ordered the feast to be celebrated as a triplex of the first order. There are twenty-five Sundays *post octaves Pentecostes*.

CORPUS CHRISTI

The general chapter of 1322 prescribed the observance of the feast of Corpus Christi as a *duplex precipuus*, with a procession before Mass, and a solemn octave admitting no other feast below the rank of a double. In 1479 the provincial chapter at Leicester issued instructions as to the ceremonial, etc., to be observed in the English houses.¹ The practice of giving Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament several times at the Mass and vespers of the feast seems to have originated in the 17th century. It was given at *Ecce panis*, *Pange lingua* and at the end of Mass: also before and after vespers. The processional of 1787 prescribed Benediction at each of the stations in the procession, on the return to the church, and after Mass;² while on the days within the octave there might be exposition at the conventual Mass, with Benediction afterwards, if it was customary.³

SANCTORAL

A similarity exists between the Premonstratensian and Dominican calendars, but it is uncertain whether this was due to their mutual approximation to the Gregorian books or whether the Black friars made use of the list of the White canons by way of comparison.

Feasts are divided into five classes—triples, doubles, *celebers* (semi-doubles), nine lessons and three lessons. Triples of the first, second and third class originated with the reform in the

¹ *Sacramentum Corporis Christi, Dominici nostri Salvatoris, ab omnibus prelati nostri Ordinis reverenter ut deferatur circa claustrum vel alias cimiterium in processione, cum duobus ad minus torticiis sive ceroferariis a dextris et a sinistris ipsius prelati, cum sudario cooperto honestiori modo quo facultas eorum locorum se extendere valeat in hac parte, prima die ipsius festi. Collect. Ang.-Prem., vol. I, p. 149.*

² Process., 1787, pp. 78-91.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

17th century. The further division of third-class triples and doubles into 'majors' and 'minors' was suppressed by the general chapter in 1947. At the end of the 12th century the greater feasts numbered twenty-eight, rising to fifty-six by the end of the 16th century: with fifty-nine today.

FEASTS OF OUR LADY

Purification of our Lady (Candlemas): 2 February

The *usus* compiled at the beginning of the 14th century directed that if the feast should fall on either Sexagesima or Quinquagesima, the conventual and matutinal Masses should be of the feast, with one collect, but if it was Septuagesima, the matutinal Mass was to be of Sunday, with three collects.¹

Three short prayers are said today at the blessing of the candles: (1) *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui hodierna die*; (2) *Domine Jesu Christe, lux vera*; (3) *Domine Jesu Christe, qui hodierna die*. They are found in the missal of 1578, but only the first two prayers occur in the mediaeval *ordinarius*. *Exaudi, quaesumus Domine, plebem tuam* is said before the procession.

Usus I (mid-13th century) directed the sacred ministers to hold their candles at the gospel, the deacon also at *Ite missa est*, the subdeacon at the epistle, and the cantors whenever they were required to intone anything. All carried them on the return to the sacristy.² The custom of holding candles was extended to the choir in the 17th century.

Annunciation of our Lady: 25 March

Usus II (early 14th century) directed that if the feast of the Annunciation should fall on Palm Sunday or any day up to Easter, it was to be anticipated on the Saturday before Palm Sunday.³

Visitation of our Lady: 2 July

The feast was prescribed as of triple rite with a solemn octave by the provincial chapter held at Lincoln in 1476.⁴

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . , no. XIX (*Usus* II), p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, no. XI (*Usus* I), p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, no. XXI (*Usus* II), p. 49.

⁴ *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 141. The same chapter directed the feasts of St. George (23 April) and St. Anne (26 July) to be observed as doubles.

Assumption of our Lady: 15 August

An alternative collect was provided by both the 12th-century *ordinarius*¹ and the missal of 1578: *Famulorum* or *Veneranda*.

Conception of our Lady: 8 December

The sermons on the Nativity of Mary by Adam, abbot of Dryburgh and later a Carthusian of Witham (*ob.* 1213–14), make no mention of the Immaculate Conception,² and the doctrine is formally denied by Philip of Harvengt, abbot of Bonne Espérance (*ob.* 1183): ‘The Virgin like everyone else was by nature the child of wrath. . . . Because according to nature she had been conceived in sin. . . .’³ It is only at the end of the 13th century, about 1269, that the doctrine is clearly taught in the sermons of Robert de Wimpy: ‘The Virgin has been preserved from all original and actual sin.’⁴ The feast was introduced in 1322 with the same Mass (change of title) as on the feast of the Nativity of our Lady (8 September).

Votive Masses

The missal of 1578 gives two votive Masses of the Holy Tears⁵ and two of the Compassion of our Lady.⁶

A separate epistle and gospel for a Mass for the dead are given in the missal of 1578 for each of the days of the week.

The mediaeval sanctoral was similar to that in many of the calendars of the time. It included St. Vaast, bishop of Arras (6 February); St. Clotilde, queen of France (3 June); St. Claude, archbishop of Besançon (6 June); St. Medard, bishop of Noyon (8 June); SS. Crispin and Crispinian (25 October); and St. Eloi, bishop of Noyon (1 December). The reception of relics was sometimes the reason for the insertion of a name in the calendar: e.g. St.

¹ Lefèvre, *op. cit.* (12th century), cap. LIII, p. 95.

² *Sermones fratris Adae*, edit. Gray Birch, London, 1901.

³ *Virgo autem ut caeteri naturaliter filia fuit irae . . . Quae quoniam in peccatis naturaliter concepta.* *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCIII, col. 459.

⁴ *Caruit enim culpa et originali et actuali.* *Bibl. Laon*, MS. 282, fo. 33, cap. II, V; François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1947), chap. VIII, p. 255.

⁵ Fo. 46v–7; fo. 47v–8v.

⁶ Fo. 44–5; fo. 45–6v. The missal is numbered wrongly, with two folios 44.

Ursula and companions¹ (21 October) and St. Gereon (10 October), whose relics were given to St. Norbert in 1121.²

The heart of St. Roger de Bileghe, bishop of London (1229-41), who was canonised in 1249, was translated to Beeleigh (Maldon) in Essex, but there is no evidence for the observance of his feast there.

St. John Baptist (24 June), patron of Prémontré, had three Masses in the 12th century: Vigil (*Ne Timeas*); matutinal Mass (*Justus ut palma*), which was given up in the 17th century; and conventual Mass (*De ventre*) with a proper prose (sequence).

St. Peter and St. Paul (29 June) was even richer in Masses: Vigil (*Dixit Dominus*); Mass of the feast (*Nunc scio*); Mass for the days in the Octave (*Mihi autem*); and Mass of the Octave day (*Sapientiam sanctorum*).

St. Laurence (10 August) had a Vigil Mass (*Dispersi*); matutinal Mass (*Probasti*), which since the end of the 12th century has been reserved for the Octave day; and a Mass of the feast (*Confessio*).

All Saints (1 November) has had a solemn octave since the 13th century. A procession in albs before the Mass probably originated at the end of the 12th century. There was a proper sequence and the preface of the Trinity.

All Souls (2 November), if it fell on a Sunday, was commemorated on that day until the reform in the 17th century.

Dedication of the Church. The feast was observed with a procession in albs before Mass, a proper sequence and the preface of the Trinity. From the 13th century it was customary to have the asperges before the procession, with the Eastertide antiphon *Vidi aquam*.

It is interesting to note that some of the prayers in the common of saints in the traditional missal were found also in the missal of the Gilbertine rite.³

¹ Cf. Cistercian rite.

² Later, a gift of the relics of the brothers Ewald established a feast on 3 October.

³ E.g. collect, secret and postcommunion 'for abbots'; secret and postcommunion in the first Mass 'for many confessors'; collect, secret and postcommunion in the second Mass 'for many confessors'; collect, secret and postcommunion in the Mass 'for a virgin not a martyr'; collect in the votive Mass '*pro tentatis et tribulatis*'.

The following saints are included today in the calendar: St. Gerlac, conf. (14 January); B. Godfrey (16 January); B. Hugh, abbot (10 February); St. Evermode, bp. and conf. (17 February); B. Frederick, abbot (3 March); St. Ludolf, bp. and mart. (29 March); Conversion of St. Augustine (5 May); Translation of St. Norbert (7 May); B. Herman Joseph, conf. (8 May); Translation of St. Nicholas (9 May); Triumph of St. Norbert (Sat. after Oct. of Corpus Christi); Commem. of Death of St. Norbert (6 June); St. Isfrid, bp. and conf. (15 June); SS. Adrian Beckan, James Lacops and Comp., martyrs of Gorcum (9 July); Solemnity of St. Norbert (11 July); B. Hroznata, mart. (19 July); B. Gertrude of Altenberg, abbess (13 August); Death of St. Augustine (28 August); B. Bronislava of Poland, virg. (30 August); SS. Ewald, mart. (3 October); Translation of St. Augustine (11 October); St. Gilbert, abbot (26 October); All SS. of the Order (13 November); Relics in Churches of the Order (14 November); St. Siard (17 November). The Solemnity of St. Norbert was approved by Gregory XIII for 6 June in 1578, but as the day was liable to clash with the octaves of Ascension, Pentecost or Corpus Christi, it was assigned by Urban VIII to 11 July in 1625.

Blessed Gertrude of Altenberg, whose feast is kept in the Order and in the diocese of Trier on 13 August, was one of the first to introduce the solemnity of Corpus Christi into Germany, and obtained permission for its observance in 1270. Her feast was granted to Altenberg¹ by Pope Clement VI (1342-52).

DAILY MASSES

The celebration of three daily Masses, all of which, if possible, should be sung solemnly, is prescribed by the statutes in 1290: *Missa de Beata* early in the morning; *Missa Matutinalis* between prime and the chapter of faults; and *Missa summa major* after terce. The three Masses were approved by Pope Clement VI (1342-52), and confirmed by Gregory XV (1621-3), and their

¹ Altenberg, a convent near Wetzlar in the diocese of Trier (now Limburg) was founded in 1179. It is not to be confused with the Cistercian abbey of the same name, founded near Cologne in 1133.

celebration is of obligation in all houses where there are at least seven priests. *Missa de Beata* is offered for abbots and superiors; *Missa Matutinalis* for deceased brethren, sisters and benefactors; and *Missa summa major* for the abbey and the Order.

The Mass of our Lady does not appear in the first manuscripts of the *ordinarius*, and seems to have been introduced in the 13th century. It was celebrated in some houses with a certain degree of solemnity, and bequests for its maintenance appear in the cartulary of Mondaye.¹ Several missals provide sequences for this Mass, and at St. Martin's Laon it was customary to sing *Monstra te esse matrem*.² The statutes of 1290 direct novices to leave the choir in order to assist at the *Missa de Beata*, which, by reason of studies or some other work, is permitted to be said and not sung. The concession was repeated in the statutes of 1630 and 1770. The provincial chapter, held at Lincoln in 1489, directed that the Mass was not to be omitted on Christmas Day, Easter or Pentecost, and that it was to be said daily throughout the octaves.³ The present practice is to omit the Mass *de Beata* on triples of the first and second class.

The *Missa Matutinalis* was established in the 12th century as a Mass for the dead, but on *celeber*, double and nine lesson feasts, it is customary to have a low Mass of requiem, with the sung Mass either of the feast or of Sunday.

The ceremonial of this Mass is normally reduced to its simplest form: one assistant in a surplice suffices, as he is not required to carry either a torch or censer; a single candle is lighted on the altar; if there are sacred ministers, they are to be vested in albs without dalmatic or tunicle; while, even on great feasts, there is no prose (sequence).⁴ If, however, the celebrant is a person of consequence, or it is either a solemn anniversary or the first day after the death of a member of the community, two lights on the altar are permitted, with a further two carried by acolytes, and incense may be used.⁵ The 13th-century customary of the mother

¹ Diocese of Lisieux, today Bayeux.

² François Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés . . .* (Paris, 1947), part II, chap. V, p. 232.

³ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, pp. 163-4.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. V, pp. 14-15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

house directed that the Mass at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, when the lay brothers normally received Holy Communion, should be celebrated by the prior or subprior. Incense might be used both at the gospel and the *sacrificium* (offertory), and those receiving Communion were censured.¹

The *Missa summa major* or conventual Mass may be, if it is not a feast, either a votive Mass or the Mass of the preceding Sunday.

The three Masses respond logically to the three offices recited in choir.²

The *Little Office of our Lady* was established by John II de Rocquigny, nineteenth abbot of Prémontré (ob. 1269). It is still, as with the Reformed Cistercians, recited in choir, but the Office of the dead has been suppressed.

PRIVATE MASSES

St. Norbert, like St. Bernard, was accustomed to offer the holy Sacrifice every day: *quotidie sacrificia medullata offerens*. The practice, however, was by no means general in the early days of the Order, and at Prémontré, where the community numbered nearly five hundred, there were no more than nine altars; while at St. Martin's Laon, with a similar number of religious, we find seven. The proportion of lay brothers was certainly large, but, even so, it would have been impossible for all the priests to say Mass every day.³ Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, however, was evident from the title of the first chapter of the statutes of 1290: *De tremendo altaris sacramento*.

The celebration of Mass in granges⁴ (*curiae*), which at first had been forbidden to the Cistercians, was permitted to the White canons, and layfolk were allowed to receive the sacraments. Churches formed part of the original endowment of all the English houses,⁵ although, as we have seen, they had been forbidden in the first statutes of the Order, unless they could be

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *usus* I, no. XLIII, p. 21.

² The three Masses were celebrated daily in the royal chapel of St. Louis (ob. 1270).

³ François Petit, op. cit., part. II, chap. V, p. 232.

⁴ *Curia* was the Premonstratensian term for the Cistercian *grangia*.

⁵ H. M. Colvin, *White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), part IV, 2, p. 272.

transformed into abbey churches (c. 1140). Pope Clement III (1187–91) had permitted three or four priests to be sent into a parish, and in England, at least, we find canons as ‘perpetual vicars’ in a number of churches appropriated to Premonstratensian abbeys.¹

REQUIREMENTS FOR WORSHIP

The first chapter of the *ordinarius*, which has the title *De reverentia circa altare*, directs the altar to be adorned with clean accessories, which may be changed on festivals for more precious ornaments.² The general chapter of 1630 says: *altaria debita niteant puritate*.

LIGHTS

The *ordinarius* permitted five lamps in the church: three before the altar, one in the choir, and one for the conversi. There should always be one, at least, alight.³ *Usus* I (mid-13th century) prescribed seven lamps on doubles, five on *celebers*, and three on feasts of nine lessons.⁴ In respect to candles, the *ordinarius* required two on the altar for Mass on feasts, with a further two behind the altar: *Qui duo etiam ad missam ardebunt, cum aliis duobus tantum retro altare*.⁵ Two acolytes carried portable lights. On ordinary days there was a single candle on the altar, and, at the conventual Mass, a second one was carried by an assistant: *unus ministrorum, accensa una candela super altare, aliam candelam candelabro superpositam accendat*.⁶ *Usus* I prescribed three candles in the middle of the presbytery on triple feasts, with two on doubles.⁷ Two candles were required on the altar for Mass on the highest rank of feast, with an additional two above the altar: two only were prescribed on doubles.⁸ Individual abbots were permitted on triple feasts to add to the number of candles.⁹ A single portable candle was enjoined on days below the rank of

¹ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 283.

² *Altare ipsum mundis operimentis semper maneat adornatum, quod etiam, cum aliqua festivitas occurrerit, honestiori et preciosiori, si habetur secundum differentiam festivitatis, ornamento decorari poterit.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. I, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . . (Louvain, 1933), no. I, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. I, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. IV, p. 8.

⁷ *Coutumiers* . . . , no. I, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

double, but two were prescribed by the ordinaries of 1622, 1739 and 1949 for nine lesson feasts, *celebers*, days within the octaves of triples of the first class and on festivals of the Blessed Virgin (not in 1622), as well as for votive Masses, with the exception of those of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Cross, 'otherwise', says the *ordinarius* (1949), 'one (acolyte) ministers with a candle, and the other with the thurible'.¹

The high altar now has the customary six candles, with two, four or six lighted at the conventual Mass according to the day. The candles of the acolytes may be one or two, and a standard candle, at the epistle side of the altar, is lighted at the beginning of the canon and extinguished at the *communio*.

VESTMENTS

A general admonition regarding the sacred vessels, vestments and coverings for the altar is given in the *ordinarius*: *Vasa, vestimenta, lintheamina ad Altaris ornatum vel ministerium parata nulli alii usui cedant, sed omnia munda ad quod facta sunt, debent conservari*.²

Vestments, in the early days of the Order, were of the simplest character, although there does not seem to have been the same austerity as with the Cistercians. The Munich manuscript of the *ordinarius*, dating from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century, says: *Cappe autem serice et casule unius coloris erunt, et palle altaris sine imaginibus. In capellis autem, que in grangiis nostris sunt, nulla cappa serica habebitur, nec etiam casula, nisi ubi sorores habitant, una tantum et unius coloris*.³ The introduction of a colour sequence (1228–36) produced more elaborate vestments, and we find the 12th-century prohibition of silk embroidery on albs relaxed a century later, although there was never a display of magnificence, such as existed in many of the larger Benedictine abbeys.

¹ Ordin. 1949, part I, cap. IX, art. 8, no. 423, p. 122. Cf. *Ordin.* of 1739, part I, cap. XIV, 8, no. 2. Cf. John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079): *Unus qui cantet graduale et defert candelabrum, alter qui cantet Alleluia et ferat thuribulum. De eccles. offic.; Pat. Lat.*, t. CXLVII, col. 33. This was still the custom at Rouen in 1651. *Pat. Lat.*, *ibid.*, col. 73.

² Part I, cap. VIII, art. I, no. 219, p. 55 (1949).

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. II, p. 6.

Following the Rhineland tradition, the primitive statutes speak of the 'fanon',¹ whereas the statutes of 1290 and 1503 revert to the more general term of 'maniple'.

It was customary on great solemnities in the 17th century for the religious to wear silk copes for the procession, but in the following century the number of such days was reduced to two. On feasts, the canons in choir had surplices,² and on Holy Thursday they received Holy Communion in albs and stoles.³ The acolytes wear either albs or surplices. With the passing of the centuries, the ceremonial became more elaborate, and we read that the provincial chapter at Lincoln in 1489 was attended by prelates with festal copes and croziers 'for the greater honour and service of God'.⁴

The use of the mitre by abbots of the Order was by no means general in the Middle Ages, and there is no evidence that it was ever worn in Great Britain, Ireland or Scandinavia. A solitary exception appears to have been the prior of the cathedral priory of St. Martin and St. Ninian at Whithorn in Galloway (Scotland), who was granted the use of a white mitre without precious stones (*albam mitram non gemmatam*) in 1450.⁵ The canons of Whithorn wore a surplice and violet cope from Easter Eve till All Saints, when they changed their attire to an open black cope and a sleeveless rochet.⁶ In 1673 the general chapter conceded the 'title, mitre and rights of the abbots of Soulseat' (Scotland) to the abbots of Hamborn in the Rhineland,⁷ but the chapter was apparently unaware of the fact that there never had been a mitred abbot of Soulseat!

The first recorded concession of the use of a mitre to a Premonstratensian abbot in middle Europe seems to have been made to Gottschalk I, abbot of Knechtsteden in the Rhineland (1216–1226), and about the same time also to Wichmann, provost

¹ Luykx, *Essai sur les sources . . .*, p. 9; cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium Manuale*, t. III (Halle, 1774), pp. 473–4; Leroquais, *op. cit.*

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. II, p. 6.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. XXXIV, p. 59.

⁴ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Prem.*, vol. I, p. 161.

⁵ *Calend., Papal Letters*, X, p. 470; Backmund, *Monast. Prem.*, t. II, p. 114.

⁶ Martin Geudens, *Sketch of the Premonstratensian Order in Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1878), p. 18. ⁷ Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 166; t. II, p. 110.

(*praepositus*) of Magdeburg (1210–28). It would appear to have been the intention of St. Norbert to have a provost rather than an abbot as the superior of a house, and the title was very general in the countries of Eastern Europe. Later, the majority of houses replaced the provost by an abbot, but Saxony retained the title of *praepositus*, and regarded the old name as a mark of distinction and honour. Many of the provosts in the early days carried a T-shaped staff in place of a crozier. Some houses, however, were granted the use of *pontificalia* before they had abbots, while others were conceded the mitre, etc., on the change of title.

It is possible that a mitre was included in the *pontificalia* which King Hugh III (1267–84) obtained for the abbot of Bellapais in Cyprus. The king was a great benefactor of the Order, and had granted the abbot permission to wear a sword and golden spurs.¹ On the other hand, a mitre and ring were expressly omitted from the insignia of the 12th-century abbot of St. Samuel near Jerusalem, who was one of the six ‘suffragan’ abbots of the Latin patriarch, although he appears to have had the use of a crozier: *qui porte croce (? crosse) et non mitre ne anel*.²

By the 16th century the majority of abbots in Germany, France, Belgium, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Italy and Spain were already mitred, although we find exceptions even here, and it was not before 1717 that Matthias Widmann, abbot of Neustift (1692–1721) in Upper Bavaria, was granted the use of a mitre.³ In 1657 the ‘title and mitre’ of the abbots of Ildfeld in the Harz mountains were given to the abbots of Leffe in the Ardennes, since the German abbey had been appropriated by the Lutherans in 1546.⁴

Abbesses, especially in the German and Polish houses, adopted the use of a crozier and pectoral cross.

CHOIR HABIT

In the 15th century some of the English houses discarded the white habit for the black vesture of the Austin canons, but they

¹ *Ibid.*, t. I, p. 400.

² *Book of John of Ibelin*, chap. CCLXI; ap. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois I, Assises de Jerusalem I*, Paris, 1841; Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 405.

³ Backmund, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 43.

⁴ Backmund, t. I, p. 128.

were reprov'd in the chapter held at Northampton in 1454.¹ The statute, however, seems to have been disregarded, and a later provincial chapter (? 1485) forbade the use of black, except for hats (*pileis*) and shoes (*galeris*).² Again in 1500 the visitation report at Titchfield found it necessary to condemn the wearing of a black habit ornamented with black tassels (*liripipiis*).³ Similar trouble was experienced in Scotland, where Edward, abbot of Souleseat, is said to have been ordered by King James IV to restore the correct dress of the White canons.⁴ Certain sartorial concessions, however, were granted to the English houses, and in 1400 Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) permitted the religious of Easby in Yorkshire to have linen rochets under their copes or capuces and black birettas, like the Austin canons.⁵ The provincial chapter, held at Northampton in 1454, sanctioned the use of rochets in church, and allowed prelates to wear black skull-caps.⁶ The headgear approved in a statute of 1505 took the form of a simple round hat, although depending for its use on the permission of the abbot.

The Spanish reform (1570-3) changed both the shape and the colour of the habit, but the canons were directed by Pope Clement XI (1700-21) to conform to normal Premonstratensian practice.⁷

The White canons of Magdeburg wore the distinctive dress of canons regular—rochet and black cope—but for the recitation of the Office they followed the use of the cathedral church. A similar privilege was conceded for the Office at Gottesgnaden (*Gratia Dei*) in the same diocese.⁸ The provost of Magdeburg, who was also archdeacon, was permitted the use of gloves (*chirothecae*) in 1191, and full *pontificalia* in 1227.⁹ In 1403 *propter coelum asperum*, the canons of Boerglum in Denmark were allowed to wear a black habit.¹⁰

¹ Gasquet, *Collect. Ang.-Premonstr.*, vol. I, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 152.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 135.

⁴ The irregularity was the wearing of rochets under capes and the use of black birettas. Kirkfleet, *op. cit.*, part III, p. 179.

⁵ Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 235-6.

⁶ *Ubique pileis nigris uti poterit.* *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 129-30.

⁷ Hugo, *Vie de Saint Norbert*, p. 345; Helyot, *Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux*, t. V (edit. Migne), art. *Prémontrés*, col. 277.

⁸ Petit, *op. cit.*, chap. III, p. 52.

⁹ Backmund, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 232.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, t. I, p. 267.

The choir habit of the Order consists of surplice, almuce, and biretta in summer: rochet, *cappa* and hood in winter. The almuce of white fur, which is so distinctive of the canonical habit, is not mentioned in either the primitive *ordinarius* or in the statutes of 1290. Its use is enjoined at the provincial chapter held at Lincoln in 1476,¹ and in the visitation at Barlings (Lincs) in 1478 the religious were directed to wear almuces under their *cappas*.² The statutes of 1505 said that 'the almuce, which we wear whenever we put on an alb, should be white, of lamb's wool or some other simple and unassuming fur'.³ Aged canons received two almuces: one to cover the shoulders; the other to warm the feet. Somewhat similar directions were given by the general chapters of 1630 and 1647; while that of 1770 says: 'It is correct that the almuce should be white in colour, but flecked with black stitches, at least the canonical church does not admit of a different usage'.⁴ The almuce does not seem to have been worn prior to the 14th century, and it was never used in Spain. The general chapter of 1666 directs it to be worn on the left arm at Mass and vespers on Sundays and feasts; while the chapters of 1717 and 1738 confirm its use in France for all the Offices between prime and vespers inclusive on every day during the summer.

Today, in summer, the deacon wears an almuce as he goes to the altar for the conventual Mass, and then takes it off. He resumes it for the gospel, at the conclusion of which it is placed at the epistle end of the altar. The deacon takes it finally after the ablutions. The restored Congregation of France did not adopt the almuce.

The present practice of wearing a white biretta is comparatively modern. The statutes of 1630 and 1739 make no mention of the biretta as an essential part of the canonical habit, although a regulation says: *Byretis albis juxta regionis morem utantur*.⁵ Black birettas were prescribed by the general chapter of 1657, but blue were permitted for doctors at a public assembly or

¹ Gasquet, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 143-4.

² *Semper sub cappis utantur almiciis*. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 31-2.

³ Stat. 1505, d. 2, cap. *De vestitu*.

⁴ Stat. 1770, d. 2, cap. XX, no. 2.

⁵ D. 2, cap. XIX, no. 19.

academic gathering. In the following year the general chapter directed the use of a biretta in choir from Easter till All Saints, a prescription confirmed by statute in 1770. The general chapters of 1717 and 1738 order a biretta to be worn in the house, as well as in church.

RITES AND CEREMONIES OF MASS

The text of the *Ordo Missae* in the last traditional missal of the Order (1578) is given in an appendix.

Here it will suffice to describe the old ceremonial, which the 'reformed' books of the 17th century have retained in the Roman (Pian) Mass.

ASPERGES

The *ordinarius* of 1949 follows closely that of 1739, prescribing the rite, not only on Sundays, but also before the processions on Ash Wednesday, St. Mark, Rogation Days and the feast of the Ascension. The following form is observed: the celebrant turns first to the Sacrament house, if the Blessed Sacrament is not reserved on the high altar, and sprinkles it. Then, having aspersed the altar, he makes a circuit of it, where this is practicable. This done, the cross is sprinkled, and the aspergil handed to the deacon and subdeacon. The crucifer is aspersed, and, on double feasts, the assistants also.

A procession is prescribed on all Sundays and triple feasts, in the following order: acolyte with holy water; crucifer with the figure of the cross turned towards the community *more archiepiscopico*, and preceded on doubles by two taperers and a thurifer (two on triple feasts); sacred ministers; and, lastly, the community. Stations are made before entering the choir and at the step of the sanctuary.

INTROIT

The entry for the conventual Mass is made during the psalm verse of the introit, and on feasts, when the versicle is repeated three times, after the second repetition. One or two acolytes are

required, according to the day, and the subdeacon carries the gospel-book.¹

The missal of 1578, in respect to Christmas, says: *Introitus ad omnes tres missas post versiculum bis repetitur, et semel post Gloria Patri*. The following directions are given in the reformed ordinaries: 1622: *In festis triplicibus ac duplicibus inter psalmum et Gloria Patri ipse introitus reiteratur usque ad medium, idque tantum pro missis solemnibus*. 1739: *At in festis triplicibus, duplicibus, ac votivis solemnioribus inter psalmum et Gloria Patri, introitus ipse reiteratur usque ad medium, aut divisionem commodam*.² This threefold repetition of the introit is found also in the Carmelite rite (Old Observance) and in that of the diocese of Braga. Lebrun mentions it as existing in the Churches of Rouen, Sens and Laon in the early 18th century.³

PREPARATORY PRAYERS

The *Confiteor* has by way of an addition: *sanctis patribus Augustino et Norberto*. The acolyte stands during these prayers holding his candle, and when two servers are required, they face inwards, one on either side of the sacred ministers. The candles are put down at the beginning of the *Kyrie*, as prescribed in *Ordo Romanus II*.⁴

INCENSATION

On ferias there is no incense after the preparatory prayers, but on a lesser double the celebrant, kneeling with the ministers on the foot-pace, censes with three double swings; while on triples, greater doubles and more solemn votive Masses the cross and altar are censed *more Romano*.⁵

¹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 359, p. 99.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, cap. XIII, p. 116; *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 359, p. 99; cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 423, p. 122.

³ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, p. 163.

⁴ *Et continuo acolythi ponunt cereostata in pavimento ecclesiae, quatuor quidem in dexteram partem, et tria in sinistram, vel (ut alii volunt) lineatim ab austro in septentrionem*. *O.R.* II, n. 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 970. *Ordo Romanus II* dates probably from the time of the general introduction of the Roman liturgy into Gaul, that is about the beginning of the 9th century.

⁵ The 13th-century customary of the Mother House prescribed the censuring of the altar after the *Confiteor* on all double feasts. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *usus I*, no. IV, p. 4.

KYRIE and GLORIA

It seems to have been the custom in the Order from the earliest days for the priest to say privately what was sung by the choir. The *Kyrie* is said in the middle of the altar, with the deacon on the right of the celebrant, and the subdeacon on the left. A cantor in a cope preintones the *Gloria in excelsis* on great feasts. If it is not either Advent or Lent, the *Gloria* is recited in votive Masses of the Holy Trinity, Holy Spirit, Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady, 'Our Holy Father Saint Norbert', Holy Angels, and the Patron Saint of the house.

After the words *suscipe deprecationem nostram* the acolytes go to the sacristy, and the first server takes the chalice and the second the cruets. They are brought into the church during the first collect, unless it should be necessary to assist the subdeacon at the reading of the epistle, in which case it is during the *Kyrie*.¹ If the first server is not in orders, the chalice is held in a linen cloth (*muffula linea*). The vessels are placed on the credence, if it is a triple or double feast; otherwise in the centre of the altar.²

COLLECTS

The corporal is spread by the deacon during the collects or the gradual, whichever may be the more convenient.³ The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the deacon to wash his hands before unfolding the corporal at the offertory: *diaconus, lotis manibus, displicet corporale*.⁴

The deacon is told explicitly not to face the people at *Dominus vobiscum*: *diaconus non cum eo se convertat*,⁵ and he is directed to

¹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 429, p. 124.

² . . . *in credentia modo relinquit, si duplex aut triplex vel solemne fuerit; et vero alias in medio altaris ponit.* *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 166; Cf. *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 377, p. 105.

³ On the ferias in Holy Week, when there is a Passion, the corporal is sometimes spread towards the end of the lesson, e.g. Postel, Spy Wednesday, 1948.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9. It was the custom for the deacon to turn round according to *Ordo Romanus VI* (*O.R.* VI, 5; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 991): *Et pontifex se ad populum, Pax vobiscum dicturus, convertit, diaconi simul cum eo se conversuri sunt.* This was done also at Bayeux and Salisbury.

raise the edge of the chasuble: *sed reverenter ei trahat medium casule seorsum*,¹ unless, as at a basilican altar, the celebrant does not turn round. The raising of the vestment was customary in the Cistercian rite,² and also at Bursfeld and Soissons, where it was done by the subdeacon. There is no mention of the practice in the ordinaries of the 17th century, but that of 1739 says: *Diaconus flexis genibus fimbriam anterioris partis casule ori applicatam reverenter osculatur*.³ The actual *ordinarius* (1949) repeats the 1739 rubric,⁴ but the custom is very generally disregarded.

EPISTLE

The epistle is sung by the subdeacon, who stands between two acolytes and faces the people. At a sung Mass without assistant ministers, the priest may either sing the epistle himself or depute a reader vested in a surplice: *vel potius in loco consueto aliquis lector superpelliceo indutus*.

CHANTS

The missal (1900) gives five sequences or proses, as in the Roman rite, but the White canons have a prose for Christmas (*Laetabundus*) and omit the *Stabat Mater* (Sorrows of our Lady), although this has been added since to the missal. The mediaeval *ordinarius* provided about fifty proses,⁵ but their numbers were greatly reduced in the 'reformed' books: eleven in 1622, thirteen in 1628,⁶ and five in 1739. Proses were not sung normally on the days within the octave of a feast, but the Ninove manuscript of the 14th-century customary directs the prose, beginning at the words *Ecce panis*, to be recited during the octave

¹ The visitation report at Sulby (Welford, Northants) in 1482 says *Ac eciam quociens se verterit sacerdos versus chorum, diaconus genu flectendo casulam manu protrahere semper procuret*. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 109.

² *Post Dominus vobiscum, diaconus trahat ei reverenter deorsum medium casule. Lib. Us.*, cap. LII.

³ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 165.

⁴ Cap. IX, art. VI, no. 365, p. 101.

⁵ The prose for St. Ursula (*Virginalis turma sexus*), at one time popular in the churches of Germany, was composed by Blessed Herman Joseph, a religious of Steinfeld (*ob.* 1241). Petit, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, p. 3. The 12th-century ordinary of Laon had fifty-four proses.

⁶ Proses for St. John Baptist and the Dedication were restored.

of Corpus Christi.¹ From Septuagesima till Easter the tract *Qui confidunt* takes the place of *Veni sancte* in votive Masses of the Holy Spirit, and in the same period *Ab ortu solis* for votive Masses of the Blessed Sacrament. At other seasons, the second half of *Lauda Sion* is prescribed.²

GOSPEL

The rites connected with the singing of the gospel have preserved the main features outlined in the *Ordines Romani*, notably in *Ordo Romanus II*.³ The abbot, if he is present, blesses the incense for the gospel, but not for the offertory. The deacon asks a blessing, but he does not kiss the hand of the celebrant, unless he is the abbot.⁴ The gospel, according to the mediaeval *ordinarius*, is announced, with the signing of forehead and breast only,⁵ but this was changed in 1739, and the *ordinarius* of 1949 says specifically: *in fronte, ore et pectore*.⁶ The celebrant was enjoined in the traditional rite to 'stand with fear' (*cum tremore*), a monition borrowed from the Cistercian *us*,⁷ and reminiscent of the Eastern liturgies. One or two taperers assist at the gospel, which is sung either from an ambo or facing west. The mediaeval *ordinarius* directed the deacon, at the conclusion of the gospel, to kiss the book before the celebrant, unless he was a bishop or abbot: *Quod dum perlegerit diaconus, osculetur prius, nisi episcopus vel abbas (missam cantet), et tunc tradat subdiacono*.⁸ The injunction was omitted in the *ordinarius* of 1739, but it has been restored in the new edition (1949).⁹ The portable lights were formerly extinguished after the gospel, and not re-lit until the conclusion of the *Pater noster*: *perlecto evangelio, in parte deferens ante altare,*

¹ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus II*, no. LXIII, p. 92 note.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, part 2, cap. IV, art. 3, no. 675, p. 182.

³ *O.R.* II, 8; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 971-2.

⁴ The deacon, says a visitation report at Durford (Hants) in 1491, should bow, never bend the knee, when asking a blessing. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 196.

⁵ *Et cum dixerit Sequentia sancti Evangelii, signet se in fronte et in pectore tantum.* *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

⁶ Cap. IX, art. VI, no. 372, p. 103.

⁷ Cap. LII.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10. Cf. Carthusian rite, in which the deacon is forbidden to kiss the book before the priest.

⁹ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 373, p. 104.

*usque post Pater noster ibi extinctam relinquat.*¹ Today the candles are permitted to burn throughout the Mass.²

On feasts,³ when the creed has been intoned by the celebrant, each member of the choir kisses the closed gospel-book⁴ and is censured. On greater doubles and triples, the censuring is done by the deacon, and on other days by the thurifer. The *ordinarius* of 1622 says: *in utroque choro . . . osculandum praebebit*, which has been expanded in the edition of 1739: *in utroque clausum (textum) in imagine desuper affixae osculandum praebet, dicens (subdiaconus) singulis: Haec est lex Christi; illis respondentibus: Corde credo et ore confiteor*. An almost similar rubric is found in the *ordinarius* of 1949.⁵ The responses appear for the first time in 1622.⁶

CREED

The Diligheim manuscript of the 13th-century customary prescribes a genuflection from *ex Maria Virgine* until after *et homo factus est*.⁷ The actual practice is for the genuflection to be made from *Et incarnatus est* until *Et resurrexit* (exclusive), as we find in some of the ancient Roman missals and in that of the obsolete Benedictine rite of Tibães.⁸ The custom appears also in a 16th-century missal of Bayeux (1545),⁹ and at Lisieux, Clermont and in the books of the religious of the Holy Cross in the early 18th century.¹⁰ The first reference to the sacred ministers sitting in the sedilia for the *Gloria* and Creed seems to be the *ordinarius* of 1622, and the direction was repeated in 1739. In the traditional rite it

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, p. 9; Cf. *Ordo Romanus* II (*O.R.* II, 9; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 972): *Post lectum evangelium, candelae in loco suo extinguuntur*. Also, *Ordo* of Monte Cassino (Martène, op. cit., t. IV, col. 143): *Finito evangelio extinguendae sunt ipsae duae candelae ab acolythis in loco*.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 431, p. 125.

³ Nine lessons. Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10.

⁴ Cf. *Ordo Romanus* VI (*O.R.* VI, 7; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 992), a simplification of *Ordo Romanus* II (*O.R.* II, 8; *Pat. Lat.*, ibid., col. 972), in which both clergy and people are directed to kiss the book. The abbot kisses the open book. Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. XXXIV, p. 15.

⁵ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 376, pp. 104-5.

⁶ Cf. Rouen missal (1737), Paris missal (1738).

⁷ *Brussels Bibl. Roy.*, MS. 3956-3960. Op. cit., *Usus* I, no. L, p. 24, n.

⁸ A Portuguese Benedictine rite (1647), very similar to Braga.

⁹ De Vert, op. cit., t. III, part I, chap. IV, p. 126, n. 2.

¹⁰ Lebrun, op. cit., t. I, pp. 259-60, n. 5.

was customary for the sacred ministers to sit from the epistle until the gospel: *Interim sacerdos usque ad evangelium cum ministris suis sedere poterit.*¹

OFFERTORY

The ancient ceremonies connected with the making of the chalice have been described in the appendix. Today the corporal is spread on the altar during the creed, unless it has been done previously. The rubric directing the deacon to wash his hands before unfolding the corporal was omitted in the reformed ordinaries.

The book-stand is placed on the altar before the offertory, as the missal had been previously on the *mensa*. On feasts, when the vessels are on the credence, the subdeacon in a humeral veil brings them to the altar. Water is added to the chalice with a spoon, and in the old rite this was done by the deacon.² The mediaeval *ordinarius* is silent as to the prayer to be said at the addition of the water, but it seems probable that the formula was originally *De latere*, and that it was changed to *Fiat commixtio* about the middle of the 13th century.

INCENSATION

The thurifer kneels as the celebrant puts on the incense. It appears unlikely that there was any fixed prayer in the Middle Ages for the blessing of the incense. The missal of Schlägl (12th and 13th centuries) gives the following form, but the text is incomplete: *Placare, Domine, hoc thyamate, et miserere nostri parcens peccatis nostris, et presta, ut bonus.*³

No prayer at the censuring of the altar is given in either the old *ordinarius* or the last traditional missal (1578). The ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 introduced the Roman method of censuring the *oblata* and altar on days above the rank of greater double, while retaining the traditional form on other days: when the *oblata* have been censured, the celebrant at the step of the altar censes the cross

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

² The wine was poured into the chalice by the subdeacon at the beginning of the Mass.

³ Fo. 104vo. Schlägl was in the diocese of Passau, now Linz.

and each end of the altar with three swings.¹ The sacred ministers (deacon and subdeacon) are censured later in the Mass, even if it is a feast day, and there is no censuring of the choir.

The chasuble is held by the deacon during the censuring: *Diaconus vero, posita manu sub ascella, teneat ei casulam, ut expeditius possit agere.*²

ORATE FRATRES

The old *ordinarius* directed the deacon at *Orate fratres* to censure the priest, and at the same time to raise the chasuble: *Quem conversum diaconus thurificet, et trahat ei deorsum medium casule.*³ One of the very few differences in the text of the actual missal occurs in the response to the *Orate fratres*: *Suscipiat Dominus hoc sacrificium.*⁴

The subdeacon, if the sacred vessels have been brought straight from the sacristy to the altar, now takes the humeral veil.

PREFACE

In the ancient rite the censuring by the deacon took place during the secrets,⁵ but the *ordinarius* of 1739 directed that this should be done at the time of the preface. The celebrant changes from a 'high voice' at the *per omnia* of the secret to a chant for the dialogue preceding the preface. The *ordinarius* of 1622 prescribed the holding of the paten by the subdeacon in almost the same terms as we find in the actual Roman rite, but the edition of 1739 enjoined a practice which seems to have been peculiar to the mother house: *In ecclesia Praemonstratensi diaconus a dextris celebrantis stans, in principio praefationis acceptam manu dextra*

¹ The old *ordinarius* says: *facta cruce desuper, circumvolat ter calicem, deinde dexteram partem altaris semel, semel et sinistram desuper tantum, semel quoque anteriorem thurificet.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 10. Cf. John of Avranches (*ob.* 1079): *incensum desuper offerat*, and of the deacon: *in circuitu altaris.*

² Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The deacon was directed to hold the chasuble at Chezal-Benoît, Bursfeld and in the Cistercian *us.*

³ Lefèvre, *ibid.*, pp. 10–11. Cf. *Liber Ordinarius* of Liège (13th cent.) and Carthusian rite.

⁴ The Pian missal omits the word *hoc.*

⁵ Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 11. In 1478 a visitation report at Cockersand (Lancs.) says: *In majori missa, post offertorium ante calix incensetur, diaconus circuiat altare ante et retro incensando.* Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 112.

*patenam paulatim elevat ad Sursum Corda, et eandem modeste deprimit ad voces Domino Deo nostro; ab subinde descendit, eam traditurus in manu subdiaconi, ut supra. Et hic usus potest in aliis quoque ecclesiis introduci.*¹ The new *ordinarius* (1949) has retained the usage: during the *ekphonesis* of the secret, the deacon takes the paten from the altar, and from the words *Sursum corda* till *Domino Deo nostro* he elevates it in his right hand. The paten is then given to the subdeacon, who wraps it in the humeral veil.² A similar custom prevailed at Amiens in the 18th century. Claude de Vert, in commenting on the handing of the paten to the subdeacon at the beginning of the preface, says: *Et de là vient aussi, sans doute, l'usage presque universel de faire tenir la patène élevée par le sousdiacre pendant tout le Canon. Que d'effets du Sursum!*³ The deacon was directed in the mediaeval *ordinarius* to hold the missal during the preface,⁴ but he is occupied today with the censuring. The *ordinarius* of 1622 makes no mention of censuring by the deacon, but the practice was restored in the edition of 1739, and given its present position: the deacon, standing behind the celebrant before the altar, censes three times towards the left and three times towards the right. Then, wherever this is possible, he makes the complete circuit of the altar, censuring the while. If the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, the deacon three times censes the 'Sacrament house' (*aedicula venerabilis Sacramenti*) on his knees. This censuring of the Eucharist may have been in the mind of the compiler of the traditional *ordinarius*: *altare quod retro positum est.*⁵ Finally, the deacon censes the subdeacon, gives the thurible to the acolyte, and is censed himself.

The Order never had more than the ten prefaces prescribed by the Roman Church: *Decem prefationes tantum, ex romana auctoritate susceptas tenemus.*⁶ The common preface is used on the Sundays in Advent and the Sundays from the Octave of the Epiphany till Passion Sunday; while the preface of the Holy Trinity is reserved for the Sundays between Trinity and Advent,

¹ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 175.

² *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 381, p. 107.

³ *Op. cit.*, t. I, rem. sur chap. III, p. 222.

⁴ *Diaconus vero accedens ad altare, teneat librum apertum coram sacerdote usque dum praefationem compleverit. Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cap. X, p. 19.

when the office is of the Sunday, and for the feasts of All Saints and the Dedication.

The *Benedictus* is sung normally after the Consecration, following the present Roman usage, but, where it is the custom, it may be sung in its traditional position, immediately after the *Sanctus*.¹

CANON

A standard candle is lit at the beginning of the canon in the conventual Mass on the epistle side of the altar, and extinguished at the *communio*. The more primitive practice of bowing at the words *Hanc igitur*² was changed in the ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 to that of spreading the hands over the oblations.

One or two elevation torches, according to the number of the acolytes, are brought into the sanctuary before the Consecration. They are taken out after the elevation of the chalice, except at pontifical Masses on great feasts, when they remain until the beginning of the *Pater noster*. At low Mass, a candle is lit at the elevation—*cereus ad elevationem Sacramenti accendendus*—but the direction is very generally disregarded.

The celebrant, according to the mediaeval *ordinarius*, takes the host into his hands at the words *Qui pridie*, and elevates it slightly.³ The rubrics respecting the Consecration, with the exception of the ringing of the bell and the adoration of the choir, were taken almost verbatim from Cîteaux, but the Roman rubrics were adopted by the ordinaries of 1622 and 1739.

At the end of the 15th century the custom had become very general in England for the deacon to kneel at the Consecration, and for the celebrant to genuflect. The rubrics of the Order permitted the priest to genuflect before the elevation of the Host, but elsewhere we find the prescription: *reverenter inclinant*.⁴ No less than ten of the visitation reports of Bishop Redman are

¹ *Post Elevationem, Cantores stantes subjugunt Benedictus qui venit, etc, nisi jam ante Elevationem cantatum sit, juxta locorum consuetudinem. Ordin., 1949, cap. IX, art. IX, no. 440, p. 128.*

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11.

³ *Ibid.* A similar slight elevation for the chalice.

⁴ Cf. Titchfield, 1478. Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 126.

concerned with this 'abuse' of genuflecting.¹ The ringing of a bell at the Consecration seems to have been a further instance of the practice of the mother house (Prémontré) extending to the other houses of the Order. The ordinaries of 1622 and 1739 say: *secundum uniuscujusque ecclesiae morem*.² Injunctions for one of the large bells of the church to be rung at the time of the elevation of the Sacrament are found in three of the late 15th-century visitation reports of Bishop Redman.³

The provincial chapter, held at Grantham on 30 April 1492, directed two ministers in albs, on all double and triple feasts, to cense the Blessed Sacrament continuously from the elevation of the Host until the priest extended his arms at *Unde et memores*.⁴

The Cistercian custom, originating in France, of singing *O salutaris hostia* after the Consecration exists in many churches, but a recent general chapter has expressed the desire to discontinue it. An unsuccessful attempt was made at the recent revision of the *ordinarius* to restore the old rubrics for *Unde et memores*⁵ and *Supplices te rogamus*,⁶ but it was felt that the gestures prescribed were too singular for a public church. It is difficult, however, to see why the extension of the arms in the form of a cross should cause more *admiratio* in a Premonstratensian church

¹ E.g. Titchfield, 1478 (*ibid.*, III, 126); Langley, 1491 (*ibid.*, III, 24); Torre, 1491 (*ibid.*, III, 151); Welbeck, 1491 (*ibid.*, III, 191); Barlings, 1494 (*ibid.*, II, 38); Cockersand, 1494 (*ibid.*, II, 121); Coverham, 1494 (*ibid.*, II, 143); West Dereham, 1494 (*ibid.*, III, 221); Dale, 1497 (*ibid.*, II, 184); Titchfield, 1497 (*ibid.*, III, 134). At Coverham (1494) and Titchfield (1497), the deacon is directed to raise the chasuble at the elevation.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 222.

³ Titchfield, 1478 (*ibid.*, III, 126); Hagneby, 1491 (*ibid.*, II, 231); Cockersand, 1494 (*ibid.*, II, 122).

⁴ *In omnibus festis tam duplicibus quam triplicibus ad majorem missam in elevatione Hostie et Calicis, duo ministri albis induti, eadem tam Hostiam quam Calicem jugiter thurificent, inde non cessantes quosque executor officii ad 'Unde et memores nos Domine' pervenerit, et manus more extensas deponat.* Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 172. Cf. Dominican rite.

⁵ *Paulo altius extendat brachia et palmas suas, non tam attendens cautelam in conservandis digitis suis quam representans memoriam et conformitatem dominice passionis.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 11. Cf. *Deinde extendit manus in modum crucis*, Missal, 1578. *Extensis manibus*, *Ordin.* 1949.

⁶ *Incurvet se ante altare, cancellatis manibus in modum crucis.* Lefèvre, *Ordin.* Cf. *Profunde inclinatus, cancellatis manibus*, Missal, 1578. *Inclinat se ante medium altaris, manibus junctis super illud positus*, *Ordin.*, 1949.

than in one served by Dominicans or Carmelites! The *Micrologus* (c. 1100) is the first document to mention this characteristic gesture at *Unde et memores*,¹ and the Premonstratensian rubric depends from it, without suggesting any direct borrowing.² The extension of the arms in the form of a cross was very general in the Middle Ages.

The Roman rubrics respecting the little elevation at the end of the canon were adopted in 1608.

PATER NOSTER

An instructive ceremony takes place during the Lord's prayer at the conventual Mass. It is not found in any manuscript copy of the *ordinarius* or missal, nor in the reformed ordinaries of 1622 and 1628. It appeared in the *ordinarius* of 1739, as a custom of the mother house of Prémontré, which might be extended to other churches: *In ecclesia Praemonstratensi diaconus receptam a subdiacono patenam elevat, donec eam tradat celebranti*.³ The usage has been retained in the *ordinarius* of 1949.⁴ The deacon receives the paten from the subdeacon at the beginning of the Lord's prayer, and, with his right hand, elevates it from the words *Panem nostrum quotidianum* till the conclusion of the prayer. This 'invitation to Communion' occurs also in an ordinary of Bayeux (beginning of the 14th century) and in the mediaeval uses of Sarum, Bangor and York.⁵

PATER NOSTER TO THE COMMUNION

The *ordinarius* of 1739 adopted the Roman rubrics of the missal of Urban VIII (1623-44) respecting the embolism, and the priest kisses the paten at the word *pacem*. The precise moment when the sign of the cross should be made with the paten was not indicated in the mediaeval *ordinarius*. The following rubric occurs in the

¹ *Microlog.* Cap. XVI, *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 987; Hittorp, *op. cit.*, cols. 740-1.

² Luykx, *Essai sur les sources*, etc., XI, pp. 38-9. ³ *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 177.

⁴ *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VI, no. 385, pp. 108-9.

⁵ *Hic* (after *audemus dicere*) *accipiat diaconus patenam, eamque a dextris sacerdotis extento brachio in altum usque Da propitius discoopertam*. William Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 104.

missal of 1578: *Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris (Hic osculatur patenam faciendo crucem): ut ope misericordie tue adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi (Hic signat se cum patena in fronte) et ab omni perturbatione securi.*¹

From *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum* till the *Agnus Dei* inclusive, the acolyte is directed to hold his candle, which, as we have seen, was not extinguished as heretofore.² The ceremony, expressive of the respect due to the rite of the fraction which took place during the *Agnus Dei*, is described in the old *ordinarius*: *Minister autem candelam extinxerat, reaccensam ad gradus referat dum dicitur Pax Domini, et eam verso vultu ad altare teneat cum reverentia usque Agnus Dei tercio percantetur, et tunc eam deponat.*³

The same text for the kiss of peace, with slight and unimportant variations, is found in the ordinaries of 1628 and 1739. The later book adds: *dicit singulis Pax tecum*. The priest gives the *pax* to the deacon in the customary way, but on double feasts another method is followed for the other assistants: when the celebrant is making his Communion, an acolyte presents a *paxbrede (instrumentum pacis)* to the subdeacon, who in his turn takes it to the abbot and the religious in choir. This *instrumentum pacis* sometimes takes the form of a small *agnus Dei* set in a relic case.

The Communion prayers, as indeed the whole rite of the Mass, are those of the Pian missal. The 'reformed' ordinaries of 1622,⁴ 1628⁵ and 1739⁶ maintained the custom of the deacon and subdeacon receiving Holy Communion at the conventual Mass on feasts. It was, in fact, an obligation on Sundays and triple feasts, and the editions of 1628 and 1739 directed a fast on bread and water for such as failed to comply with the injunction. Neither

¹ Missal of Parc (12th–13th century): *ut ope ✠ misericordie tue adjuti et a peccato ✠ simus semper liberi et ab omni ✠ perturbatione securi*. Fo. 115vo. Text of folios 105vo–132vo is of the 15th century, and was certainly written for the Order.

² *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 203; *Ordin.*, 1949, cap. IX, art. VIII, no. 434, p. 126.

³ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

⁴ Fo. 48.

⁵ *Ordin.*, 1628, p. 100.

⁶ *Ordin.*, 1739, *Quo autem fratres juniores in spiritali vita magis solidentur, secundum Ordinis instituta, in omnibus dominicis et triplicibus, diaconi insuper et subdiaconi . . . ad summum altare de manu celebrantis communicare debent*. *Ordin.*, 1739, p. 106.

the primitive statutes nor those of 1290, 1505 or 1630 make mention of the punishment, but the minatory clause is found in a Grimbergen manuscript (1228-36) and also in a marginal addition to the 12th-century Munich manuscript, written in a hand of the 13th century.¹ This reception of Holy Communion by the ministers has unfortunately fallen into desuetude. The ablutions are taken *more Romano*, and, when the vessels have been adjusted by the subdeacon, an acolyte removes them to the sacristy. The last gospel found a place in the missal of 1578.

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13, n.

APPENDIX

Notes on Obsolete Rites and Ceremonies

The legislative code is the *ordinarius*, which should be taken as the basis of the traditional *Ordo Missae*. As, however, the *Ordo* was not yet fixed, the celebrant was free, within certain limits, to choose the prayers, thus accounting for the diversity of formulas in the various manuscripts.

The *Ordo Missae* in the missal of 1578, which is given in a separate appendix, represents fundamentally the Mass of the late 12th and 13th centuries, with the addition of certain Communion prayers and the last gospel in the 16th century.

General and provincial chapters, and also the visitors to the several houses endeavoured to maintain liturgical unity, as may be seen from a visitation report of St. Radegunde's abbey near Dover (Bradsole) in 1494.¹ A similar report from Cockersand (Lancs) in 1478 forbade the celebration of conventual Mass without the assistance of deacon and subdeacon.² Leiston in Suffolk was reported by Bishop Redman, at the conclusion of a visitation in 1488, to be especially commended for the way in which the worship of the Church was carried out.³

The English provincial chapter, held on 13 August (?) 1487, directed that a *missa sicca* should be said after the conventual Mass, and 'before the altar': *Ab omnibus professis sive profitendis, et tam abbates quam subditi, devote dicant evangelia Missus est et Exurgens Maria cum offertorio et postcommunione illis pertinentibus, omni cum devocione et genuflectione in principio Misse ante altare, exceptis hiis qui majori matutinali et Misse sancte Marie ascribuntur, qui intus in vestibulo suis ministris assistentibus, dicere debent.*⁴ The obligation was recalled in several of the visitation reports of Bishop Redman: *Et omnibus dicte ecclesie fratribus precipimus quatenus evangelia Missus est et Exurgens*

¹ *Necnon eisdem tam abbati quam conventui, inhibemus, sub pena excommunicationis majoris, ne aliquem usum de servicio divino, preterquam quod in nostra religione consuetum est, quomodo exerceant.* Gasquet, op. cit., vol. III, p. 102.

² *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 112. In the same year, the visitor at West Dereham (Norfolk) demanded the assistance of a deacon at the daily Mass at the high altar. *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 212.

³ *Quia ibidem pre ceteris nostri Ordinis monasteriis divinum servicium celebrius et laudabilius invenimus celebratum.* *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 102.

⁴ Gasquet, op. cit., vol. I, p. 156. The *missa sicca* is sometimes before the conventual Mass, and sometimes after.

*Maria cum genuum-fleccione cotidie ante altare dicant antequam casulam se induant.*¹

The washing of the hands before vesting for Mass is not prescribed in the old *ordinarius*, but the ceremony is authentically Rhineland and Premonstratensian. We have three characteristic witnesses to it, all of which are derived from the *ordines missae* of the 11th century. Their local traditions appear to have been different, but they date from the second half of the 12th century: (1) missal of Cologne;² (2) missal of the region of Aachen-Liège;³ and (3) the most ancient Premonstratensian missal extant, possibly coming from the mother house itself.⁴ The three missals have the same text in the same order for the prayers *ad vestimenta*, and the practice is found also in the missal of 1578.

The customary, compiled towards the middle of the 13th century for the use of the mother house of Prémontré, gives certain directions respecting processions: the deacon in the Sunday procession, unless it is a double feast, carries neither relics nor anything else;⁵ copes are to be worn by members of the community on solemnities;⁶ on triple feasts, two crosses, two thuribles and two portable lights are carried in the procession, while on double feasts a single thurible between the crosses and lights.⁷ The same compilation directs that during the introit at the conventual Mass on triple and double feasts all the bells shall be rung: on other days two only.⁸

The 12th-century Premonstratensian missal gives the following indication respecting the preparatory prayers:

Ante altare: Antiph. Introibo ad altare. Totum versum. Judica me Deus. Introibo. At the conclusion of the prayers, the priest kissed the altar and the cross depicted in the missal: *Tuam Crucem adoramus, Domine, tuam gloriosam recolimus Passionem. Miserere nostri qui passus es pro nobis.*⁹ If it had been inconvenient to say the *Confiteor* in its normal place, it was added after the prayer *Aufer a nobis.*¹⁰ The preparation of the chalice at the conventual Mass took place after the epistle, and at a private Mass before the preparatory prayers. The *ordinarius* says: *Interim etiam poterit subdiaconus calicem parare, si antea non paraverit.*¹¹ The priest was, however, directed, if he was at liberty, to place

¹ Coverham (Yorks.), 1494 (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 143). Cf. Hagneby (Lincs.), 1478 (*ibid.*, p. 227) and 1494 (*ibid.*, pp. 232-3).

² Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 215-16. *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 12055.

³ MS. in abbey of Parc near Louvain.

⁴ Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 307-10; *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 833.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus I*, no. V, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, p. 21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. XLV, pp. 21-2.

⁹ Petit, *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés . . .*, chap. V, pp. 87-8.

¹⁰ Luykx, *Essai sur les sources*, p. 17.

¹¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 9.

the bread on the paten and pour the wine into the chalice earlier in the Mass, covering them in a seemly fashion (*mundissime cooperiens*).¹ Fr. Luykx considers this direction to be the result of Cistercian influence, as was also the formula for the blessing of the deacon before the gospel.² The complete rite for the preparation of the *oblata* thus consisted of three stages: (1) Before the Mass, the deacon and subdeacon prepares the altar and the matter of the offering; (2) After the epistle, the subdeacon makes the immediate preparation of the *oblata*; (3) After the creed, at the offertory, the deacon presents them to the celebrant.³ The *ordinarius* is silent as to a prayer for the blessing of the water, but it may well have been originally *De latere*, which, about the middle of the 13th century, was changed to *Fiat commixtio*. *Usus I* speaks of an offertory procession which took place on all double feasts after the epistle at the conventual Mass. Three ministers walk one behind the other: the first carries ewers (*phylae*) containing wine and water, the second, cruets (*ampullae*), and the third, the chalice. The ewers and cruets are placed on a specially prepared credence (*scamnum*) behind the altar, while the chalice, when it has been prepared, is put on the altar.⁴

The *oblata* were placed in the second fold of the corporal, as was prescribed in the Cistercian *us*,⁵ the host *by the side* of the chalice. The direction *ante calicem* appears for the first time in the Roman missal of 1485, and it is found in the Premonstratensian ordinaries of 1622 and 1739.

The celebrant washed his hands before the offertory, and the host and the chalice were then offered separately: *offerat prius patenam deinde calicem*.⁶ In spite, however, of this clear direction, the Parc missal of 1539⁷ and the missal of 1578 envisage a joint offering. The prayer *Suscipe sancta Trinitas* was said before the censuring, and served as the offertory prayer.

The traditional rite followed the *Micrologus*⁸ (c. 1100) in prescribing five signs of the cross in the doxology at the end of the canon, whereas there were four only in the Cistercian liturgy. The deacon, in view of the part that he was to play in the fraction of the bread for Communion, was directed by the *ordinarius* to wash his hands at *Per omnia*, and then to support the foot of the chalice, kissing the shoulder of the priest at the words *Oremus : Preceptis*, etc.⁹ In all this, the rite was

¹ *Ibid.*

² Luykx, *op. cit.* . . ., III, pp. 18–19; IV, pp. 22–3.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 23.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers* . . ., *Usus I*, no. XLVIII, p. 23.

⁵ Cap. LIII.

⁶ Lefèvre, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷ *Bibl. Royale, Brussels*, MS. no. II, 2347.

⁸ Cap. XIV; Hittorp, *op. cit.*, col. 739–40; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 988.

⁹ Lefèvre, *op. cit.* p. 12. Similar directions were found in the liturgical books of Bayeux, Soissons and Chalon sur Saône.

following the Roman-Rhineland tradition, as we see it in *Ordo Romanus* II¹ and *Ordo Romanus* VI,² with, however, the absence of a single detail: the celebrant is not ordered to touch the chalice with the Host.

The Host was held over the chalice from *omnis honor et gloria* till the beginning of the *Pater noster*, and the following rubric occurs in the missal of 1578: *Omnis honor et gloria: Hic tangat calicem cum oblata, et mutet vocem. Nec reponat hostiam super corporale, sed teneat eam super calicem, quousque pervenerit ad Panem nostrum, et tunc ostendat manu extensa, et elevata supra latus dextrum, magna cum reverentia, more matricis Ecclesiae Premonstratensis, ut adoretur Christus oblatus in hoc augustissimo Sacramento pro omnibus.*³

A 15th-century missal of the Order, probably from the abbey of Silli en Gouffern in the diocese of Séz and now in the municipal library at Alençon, directs the psalm *Laetatus sum*⁴ to be recited after the Lord's prayer *pro pace et pro tribulacione et pro domino rege nostro Francie.*⁵ The same psalm, with versicles and collects, was ordered to be sung in England at either the matutinal Mass or the solemn conventual Mass. Bishop Redman in his visitation complains that many of the houses fail to recite these prayers.⁶

The Host was held over the chalice during the *Agnus Dei*, and consequently the priest did not strike his breast.⁷ The following directions for the kiss of peace are given in the ancient *ordinarius: Qua finita (Domine Jesu Christi, qui dixisti) divertat os suum ad diaconum, osculans illum, et diaconus subdiaconum, sibi invicem supplicando, et subdiaconus similiter alium, si pacem quesierit, eundo ad gradum.*⁸ The formula at the *pax* appears to have varied. The missal of Schlägl, an abbey in the diocese of Passau, says: *Pax tibi et ecclesie Christi, omnique populo sancto Dei* (1255-64); the missal of Chötisshow in the diocese of Prague: *Habete vinculum caritatis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis misteriis Dei. Amen* (1383). The latter form occurs in the missal of 1578, which also directs the deacon to respond: *Pax tibi, pater, et sanctae ecclesiae.*

The *ordinarius* does not give any prayer at the Communion of the priest: *Data autem pace, sacerdos dicat hanc orationem Domine Jesu*

¹ O.R. II, 10; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 974.

² O.R. VI, 11; *ibid.*, col. 993.

³ Fo. 146.

⁴ *Vulg. Psl.* CXXI.

⁵ Fo. 180, *Bibl. municip.*, Alençon, MS. 125; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, p. 179.

The same psalm and prayers are found in a missal of Séz of the second half of the 15th century. Fo. 138; *ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶ E.g. Torre, 1482 (Gasquet, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 147-8); Wendling, 1482 (*ibid.*, III, 202); Langley, 1491 (*ibid.*, III, 24); Stanley Park or Dale, 1497 (*ibid.*, II, 196); Sulby or Welford, 1500 (*ibid.*, III, 118).

⁷ De Vert (*op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VIII, pp. 354-5) says that the priest held the Host at the *Agnus* and commixture, but after he had recited the prayers.

⁸ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

*Christe, et sic sumat super patenam corpus Domini.*¹ The 13th-century missal of Schlägl contains the prayer *Perceptio corporis*, but it is written below the original text, and in a later hand. It occurs in the missal of 1578, *post perceptionem*.

The Host was given to the sacred ministers and the other communicants before the celebrant received the chalice.² The deacon kissed the hand of the priest before reception.

When the celebrant and deacon had taken the precious Blood, the *ordinarius* directed that the chalice should be offered to the other communicants by the deacon.³ The normal method of reception was direct from the chalice, but on great feasts, such as Easter, the three days preceding Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, when the whole community received Holy Communion at the hands of the abbot, a *fistula* or reed was used: *qui (diaconus) indutus alba et stola stans ad sinistrum cornu altaris, cum fistula argentea conventui sanguinem amministret, subdyacono patenam sub mente cujuslibet tenente*. A reference to the *fistula* is found in a 13th-century Grimbergen⁴ manuscript of the *ordinarius*, which reproduces an exemplar made between 1228 and 1236.⁵ It is not known when the practice of Communion in two kinds was given up, but it could not have been later than the 13th century. A large 'ministerial chalice' with two handles, together with two *fistulae* and a paten, were until recently in the possession of the abbey of Wilten near Innsbruck. They had been given to the house in c. 1160 by Count Berthold IV of Andechs (*ob.* 1204).⁶

The 12th-century Premonstratensian missal directs the ancient antiphon *Venite populi* to be sung during the general Communion on Easter Day.⁷ The antiphon,⁸ which is found in many manuscripts of the Middle Ages, is still sung on this day at Lyons and Milan (*transitorium*).⁹ Its history has been disputed, but it is generally considered to be of Eastern origin, and to have been adopted by the churches of Gaul and, perhaps, Milan.¹⁰ It was inscribed *In fractione* in some Roman manuscripts, and Dom Cagin thinks that it may have been a chant at the fraction, which was inserted in the papal Mass before Sergius I

¹ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴ Diocese of Cambrai (today Malines), about eight miles from Brussels.

⁵ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13, n.

⁶ The latest known example of the 'ministerial chalice'. It was sold to the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna shortly before the Second World War (1939-45).

⁷ *Bibl. Nat. Paris*, MS. lat. 833; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 308.

⁸ *Venite, populi, ad sacrum et immortale mysterium, et libamen sumendum cum timore et fide accedatis. . . .*

⁹ The *transitorium* is a variable Communion chant in the Ambrosian rite.

¹⁰ It is found also in MSS. of Gregorian chant at Monza, Padua, Nonantola (near Mantua), Winchester, Canterbury and Echternach.

Bellapais, Cyprus
(13th century)



Talley, Wales



Gateway, Averbode



Abbot's Lodging, Diligheim
(18th century)



Sepulchral Slab, Abbot of Diligheim



Premonstratensian Canon
(Winter) Parc



Premonstratensian Canon
(Summer), Parc

(687–701) introduced the *Agnus Dei*.¹ The text is probably taken from a Byzantine tropary for Holy Thursday: *Δεῦτε λαοὶ*.²

At Averbode³ and some other churches, two verses, composed by Adam of St. Victor (12th century), were sung after Communion:⁴

*Medicina Christiana
Salva nos; aegros sana
Quod non valet mens humana
Fiat in tuo nomine.*

*Assistentes Crucis laudi
Consecrator Crucis audi
Atque servos tuae Crucis
Post hanc vitam verae lucis
Transfer ad palatia.*

The mediaeval *ordinarius* gives the following directions for the ablutions: immediately after Communion, the deacon folds the corporal,⁵ while the subdeacon pours wine into the chalice, which the celebrant rinses round and drinks. After which, in a second ablution of wine, the priest cleanses his fingers.⁶ The 13th century Grimbergen manuscript directs the priest to purify the paten with wine, and to cleanse his fingers: *postea aspergat vino patenam et infundat in calicem, deinde respergat digitos suos*.⁷ This washing of the paten has been ascribed to the commemoration of a miracle, which is said to have taken place in 1121 (1122), while St. Norbert was offering the holy Sacrifice at Floreffe:⁸ a drop of blood, from which a dazzling light proceeded, miraculously appeared on the paten.⁹ The alleged altar-stone on which the Saint was celebrating Mass is preserved in the high altar of the abbey church, now used for the diocesan seminary.¹⁰ The story may be considered ‘edifying’, but the custom of washing the paten prevailed in the old Cistercian rite,¹¹ from whence the White canons may well have taken it, and it was the practice also in the Benedictine abbey of

¹ *Paléographie Musicale*, t. V (Solesmes, 1896), p. 186.

² It was received by the Churches of Gaul in the same way as the *Aius* (Ἄγιος) or Trisagion, the Byzantine *Sanctus*.

³ Diocese of Cambrai, today Malines.

⁴ Petit, *op. cit.*, chap. V., p. 88.

⁵ Cf. *Ordo Romanus* VI, 13; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 994.

⁶ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, note.

⁸ Diocese of Liège, today Namur.

⁹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXX, col. 1347.

¹⁰ F. Baix and C. Lambot, *La Dévotion à l'Eucharistie et le VII^e Centenaire de la Fête Dieu* (Namur, 1946), *introduc.*, pp. 12–13; G. Madelaine, *Histoire de Saint Norbert* (Tongerloo, 1928), pp. 190–1.

¹¹ *Et postea accipiens fistulam abluat eam vino et postea patenam. Consuet.* Fulgence Schneider, *L'Ancienne Messe Cistercienne* (Tilburg, 1929), part II, 24, p. 211, n. 4.

St. Benignus, Dijon. 'Wine,' says St. Thomas Aquinas (*ob.* 1274), following Pope Innocent III (*ob.* 1216), 'by reason of its humidity, has a special cleansing quality.'¹ Finally, the priest washed his fingers with water, either in the piscina or in a basin, and dried them on a towel.² *Usus* I, while permitting the priest to use for the purpose either the chalice or a dish, forbade him to leave the altar.³ The deacon raised the chasuble at *Dominus vobiscum: trahat ei diaconus casulam et maneat incurvatus*.⁴ After the postcommunion, the subdeacon removed the sacred vessels to the credence (*ministerium*), where they were cleansed with water, and dried with a cloth.⁵ The Mass concluded with *Ite missa est* and a private prayer (*Placeat*), which the priest said 'alone without the deacon'.⁶

Ordo Missae in the Missal of 1578

The sequence of prayers is that of the missal, which, in common with many manuscripts, inserts a prayer wherever there may be a space on the folio, irrespective of its actual position in the Mass.

The prayers of 'St. Ambrose', St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure are among those which may be said by the priest before vesting.

Dum manus abluit: 'Largire sensibus nostris'.

Ad amictum: 'Humeros et pectus meum Spiritus sancti gratia protege Domine: renesque meos a vitiis omnibus absterge, ad sacrificandum tibi Domino Deo regnanti. Per Christum'.

Ad albam: 'Indue me Domine ornamento humilitatis, castitatis, et pacis: et circumda me lorica fortitudinis. Per Christum'.

Ad zonam: 'Lumbos meos zona justitiae circumcinge Domine: et circumda vitia cordis et corporis mei. Per Christum'.

Ad manipulum: 'Da Domine virtutem manibus meis ad abstergendum peccati maculam: ut mundo corde, et casto corpore tibi valeam ministrare. Per Christum'.⁷

Ad stolam: 'Stola justitiae circumda Domine cervicem meam: et ab omni corruptione peccati, purifica mentem meam. Per Christum'.

Dum casulam induit: 'Induit me Domine vestimento humilitatis, charitatis, et pacis: ut undique protectus atque munitus, valeam resistere vitiis et hostibus mentis et corporis. Amen'.

Post casulam: 'Judica me Deus, et discerne. Introibo ad altare Dei. Ad Deum qui laetificat juventutem meam'.

¹ *Vinum ratione suae humiditatis ablutivum. Sum. Theol.*, pars III, Q. LXXXIII, A. 5, ad 10.

² Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

³ Lefèvre, *Coutumiers . . .*, *Usus* I, no. XL, pp. 18, 19.

⁴ Lefèvre, *Ordin.*, cap. IV, p. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14. The water was then poured into the piscina.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14. The last gospel found a place in the missal of 1578.

⁷ Cf. Prayer at the washing of the hands before vesting, in the missal of 1900.

Ad confessionem: 'Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beatæ Mariæ, et omnibus sanctis, et vobis fratres, quia peccavi cogitatione, locutione et opere. Mea culpa. Ideo precor te virgo Maria, et vos omnes Sancti, et vos fratres orare pro me'.

'Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus: et dimissis omnibus peccatis tuis perducat te ad vitam æternam. Amen'.

'Indulgentiam, absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum et gratiam sancti Spiritus tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus'.

Post confessionem ante altare: 'Aufer a nobis, quaesumus Domine, cunctas iniquitates nostras, ut mereamur puris mentibus introire ad sancta sanctorum. Amen'.

Benedictio super diaconum: 'Dominus sit in corde et in ore tuo: ut digne annuncies evangelium Christi'.

Benedictio incensi: 'Ab eo benedicatur, in cujus honore crematur. Amen'.

Dum ponitur aqua in calice: 'Fiat hæc commixtio vini et aquæ pariter, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, de cujus latere exivit sanguis et aqua'.

Dum offertur hostia et calix: 'Panem caelestem ✠ et calicem ✠ salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo'.

Cum calix coopertus fuerit: 'Veni invisibilis sanctificator: sanctifica hoc sacrificium tibi præparatum'.

Statim sacerdos inclinans se, dicit: 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in memoriam passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et in honorem beatæ Mariæ semper virginis, et sancti Joannis Baptistæ, et omnium caelestium virtutum, et omnium Sanctorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi: et illis proficiat ad honorem, nobis autem ad salutem et ut illi omnes pro nobis et pro cunctis fidelibus vivis et defunctis orare dignentur in caelis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris. Qui vivis et regnas'.

Deprecatio Sacerdotis ad populum: 'Orate fratres pro me peccatore: ut meum pariter et vestrum in conspectu Domini acceptum sit sacrificium'.

Responsio populi: 'Dominus sit in corde et in ore tuo: suscipiatque Dominus Deus de manibus tuis sacrificium istud: et orationes tuæ ascendant in memoriam ante Deum pro nostra et totius populi salute'.

'GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.'

Gloria in excelsis in festis B.M.V.: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo . . . fili unigenite Jesu Christe. Spiritus et alme orphanorum paraclete. Domine Deus agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Primogenitus Mariæ virginis matris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata, mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram, ad Mariæ gloriam. Qui sedes ad

dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, Maria sanctificans. Tu solus Dominus, Maria gubernans. Tu solus altissimus, Maria coronans Jesu Christe. Cum sancto spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen'.

'CREDO IN UNUM DEUM.'

Oratio ante communionem: 'Veni Domine Jesu Christe: veni cui ego miser peccavi: veni, et obliviscere peccatum meum, pro quo effudisti sanguinem tuum: veni Jesu dulcissime, et da mihi cibum salutis aeternae: veni infirmorum medicus, veni jejunantium cibus: veni et visita domum istam nomini tuo dedicatam: veni dilecte mi: teneam te, et in aeternum ne dimittas me: veni gaudium spiritus mei, veni laetitia cordis mei, veni exultatio et gloria mea: ut delectetur in te anima mea. Ecce pie Jesu ad te venio, in quem spero, quem toto corde desidero, quem tota mentis intentione aspicio, quem totis visceribus amplector, cujus corpus et sanguinem suscipere cupio: et ultra in me maneat, et usque in aeternum me non dimittas. Amen'.

'SURSUM CORDA', ETC.

PREFATIONES

Canon

'*Communicantes*': (Hic levet manus in altum).

'*Unde et memores*': (Deinde extendit brachia in modum crucis).

'*Supplices te rogamus*': (Profunde inclinatus cancellatis manibus).

'*Omnis honor et gloria*': (Hic tangat calicem cum oblata et mutet vocem. Nec reponat hostiam super corporale, sed teneat eam super calicem quousque pervenerit ad Panem nostrum, et tunc ostendat manu extensa, et elevata supra latus dextrum, magna cum reverentia, more matricis Ecclesiae Praemonstratensis, ut adoretur Christus oblatus in hoc augustissimo sacramento pro omnibus).

Post orationem dominicam: (Hic elevet patenam dicens sub silentio: 'Libera nos').

Commixtio: 'Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat mihi et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis: et ad vitam capessendam aeternam, praeparatio salutaris'.

'*Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti Apostolis tuis*', etc.¹

'*Habete vinculum pacis* charitatis et pacis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Dei. Amen.'²

Deacon receives the *kiss of peace*, as he says: 'Pax tibi pater, et sanctae Ecclesiae.' The subdeacon receives the pax, and passes it on

¹ The prayer is not omitted in Masses for the dead.

² Omitted in Masses for the dead.

to the *novitium ministrum*, who in his turn gives it to the abbot and the community, as he says: 'Pax tibi frater, Christus enim pax nostra offertur Deo in reconciliationem nostram: Et ideo nos invicem reconciliatos esse oportet, ut haec hostia oblata sit nobis propitia' (non ascendet autem Novitius gradus superiores, sed manebit in subsellis inferioribus).

Ante perceptionem: 'Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti: libera me per hoc sacrum Corpus et Sanguinem tuum, a cunctis iniquitatibus, et universis malis: et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis, et a te nunquam in perpetuum permittas separari. Qui vivis'.

Post perceptionem: 'Perceptio Corporis, Domine Jesu Christe, quod ego indignus sumere praesum, non mihi proveniat in iudicium et condemnationem: sed pro tua pietate prosit mihi ad tutamentum mentis et corporis, et ad medelam percipiendam. Qui vivis et regnas cum Deo Patre. Per omnia saecula saeculorum.' (The priest takes both parts of the Host in his left hand, and, striking his breast, says: '*Domine non sum dignus*, etc.' (once). (Signing himself, he says): '*Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.*' (He uncovers the chalice, and says): '*Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domino invocabo. Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.*' (He takes the chalice, signs himself, and says) '*Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.*' (He receives the chalice, and says): '*Quod ore sumpsimus Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.*' (The priest extends the chalice to the minister, who pours in a small quantity of wine and water, and then says): '*Corpus tuum Domine quod sumpsi, et Sanguis quem potavi, adhaereat visceribus meis: et praesta; ut in me non remaneat ulla scelerum macula, quem tam pura et sancta refecerunt sacramenta. Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*'

'*Ite missa est*'; '*Benedicamus Domino*'; or '*Requiescant in pace*'.

'*Placeat*'.

'*In principio*' (if it has been said already in the Mass, the gospel: '*Missus est Gabriel*' from feria IV quatuor temporum Adventus).
Gratiarum actio: Ant. 'Trium puerorum, Benedicite', etc.

The appendix of the missal gives eight proses of the Blessed Virgin,¹ in addition to proper proses for the common of 'all saints', 'martyrs' and 'confessors'.

¹ Fo. 48v-49v.

Procession to the Baptistery in Easter Vespers

The procession followed an old Roman tradition, which seems to have been introduced north of the Alps in the time of Charlemagne (*ob.* 814). Some 17th-century writers have seen Greek influence in the ceremony, since *Kyrie eleison* is sung, alleging that the Carmelites, who at the beginning of the 13th century had adopted the rite of Jerusalem, introduced the usage into France. There can be no doubt, however, that the Premonstratensians, Carmelites and others adopted the procession from contemporary French practice, which in its turn was derived from Rome. It was indeed from France that the 12th-century canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, had received, not only the solemn *Kyrie* for the vespers of Easter Sunday and the three following days,¹ but also their entire rite.

On the other hand there seems little doubt that the ceremony originated in 4th-century Jerusalem, where the Spanish pilgrim Etheria tells us that there was a solemn station *ad crucem*, that is a procession to the site of the crucifixion, every day after vespers.² A similar ceremony took place in the ancient churches of Georgia, where elaborate crosses were set up for the purpose.

In the West, a station *ad crucem*, in imitation of the practice in Jerusalem, was introduced between the 9th and 11th centuries on certain great feasts by the Benedictines of St. Gall.³ Elsewhere the baptistery came to be substituted for Golgotha, and at Milan there was a ceremony of chants and prayers, analogous to that at Jerusalem, at which every day after vespers and matins all assisted *ad baptisterium*.

A similar rite followed vespers at Rome, and the ancient sacramentaries for certain days provide special prayers *ad fontes*. Thus the Sacramentary of Padua, the most ancient official witness of urban tradition that we know, prescribes the ceremony for the feast of St. John the Evangelist, all Easter Week and the feast of St. John Baptist.⁴ The Octave of Easter had a solemnity all its own, which has been described in the appendix to *Ordo Romanus I: Die sancto Paschae conveniente schola temporius cum episcopis et diaconibus ad sanctum Joannem in ecclesia majore ad locum Crucifixi, incipiunt Kyrie eleison, et veniunt usque ad altare: ascendentibus diaconibus in pogium, episcopi et presbyteri statuuntur in locis suis, et schola ante altare. Finito Kyrie*

¹ *Ms. Barberini 659*, fols. 76r-77r. Library of the Vatican.

² *Itinerarium Aetheriae*, XXIV, 7-11, edit. Hélène Pétré (Paris, 1948), pp. 192-7.

³ Christmas and the three following days, Palm Sunday, Ascension and Pentecost after matins, and once a year (28 December) after vespers.

⁴ Edit. Mohlberg, pp. 4, 26-8, 42.

leison, innuit archidiaconus primo scholae, et ille inclinans se illi, incipiat Alleluia cum Psalmo, Dixit Dominus Domino meo.¹

It appears also in *De divinis officiis*, a document once ascribed to Alcuin (ob. 804), and now considered to date from the early years of the 10th century.²

The Jerusalem influence is discernible in the Greek canticles sung *ad locum crucifixi*.

A similar substitution of the baptistery for Calvary is found in a prayer on a liturgical roll of the 10th century preserved in the library of the monastery of Mount Sinai: λεγομένη ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ βαπτιστηρίῳ μετὰ τὸ πέρασ τοῦ λυχνικου. In the rite of Naples, as codified by John Orsini in 1337, vespers on Easter Sunday in the cathedral church was continued till after the antiphon *Haec dies*, when all went in procession to the church of St. Mary Major, where the office was concluded.³

The Carmelites of the Ancient Observance still begin vespers on Easter Sunday and the two following days with a ninefold *Kyrie*, but the Dominicans discontinued the traditional form of Easter vespers in the 17th century. The *ordinale* of the Gilbertine rite prescribed a procession to the font during vespers on Easter Sunday and the five following days.⁴

The Utrecht breviary of 1508, which seems to have borrowed many customs and usages from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, includes the solemn *Kyrie* and procession to the font on Easter Day.⁵ This rite of Jerusalem may well have been similar in character to that of the White canons, who were the first Western religious to establish a foundation in the Holy Land.⁶

Lyons, in spite of its reputation for fidelity to tradition, discontinued the ancient Roman form of Easter vespers so recently as 1914.⁷ Braga, however, has retained the procession to the font at the conclusion of vespers on Easter Sunday and the days within the octave, till Friday inclusive.⁸ In 1857 Cardinal Mathieu, archbishop of Besançon made the following reference to the old custom in a pastoral letter to his clergy:

¹ Hittorp, op. cit. (Paris, 1610), col. 87; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 965.

² Hittorp, op. cit., col. 261.

³ Domenico Mallardo, *La Pasqua e la Settimana Maggiore a Napoli*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXVI (1952), fasc. I, p. 35.

⁴ *The Gilbertine Rite*, edit. R. M. Woolley, vol. I (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LIX, 1921), p. 44.

⁵ The Utrecht missal of 1540 included some of the feasts in the calendar of the rite of Jerusalem, with votive Masses of the Holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; St. Heliseus; St. Job; St. Daniel; and St. Simeon the Just.

⁶ The *us* of the Premonstratensians was adopted by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre.

⁷ Denys Buenner, *Le Rite Lyonnais* (Lyons, 1934), part II, chap. II, pp. 176-7.

⁸ *Breviarium Bracarense*, pars verna (Rome, 1921), pp. 627-9.

*Persingulare est in ecclesia Bisuntina quod in die sancto Paschae, secundae vesperae non incipiant consueto modo per verba Deus in adiutorium, sed per Kyrie eleison, repetitum ut in missa. Hoc autem omnino astruit vetustatem bisuntini ritus. . .*¹ Today in Normandy, at least two dioceses have retained the old usage. Rouen on Easter Sunday and Monday has a procession to the font during vespers (no *Kyrie eleison*);² while a somewhat similar function, although different as to details, takes place at Bayeux on Easter Sunday and the two following days.³

¹ P. A. Pidoux, *Notes sur d'anciens usages liturgiques des diocèses de Besançon et de Saint-Cloud* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1904), pp. 3 *seq.*

² *Livre d'Offices à l'Usage de l'Archidiocèse de Rouen* (Tours, 1918), pp. 592-7, 604.

³ *Supplementum (Breviarium) pro Insigni Ecclesia Bajocensi*, pp. 8-9, 1900.

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26. 'Prémontré.' F. M. GEUDENS. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII.
27. *Processionale ad usum Ordinis Praemonstratensis*. Nancy, 1787.
28. *Processionale ad usum sacri et canonici Ordinis Praemonstratensis*. Desclée, 1932.
29. *Pro Nostris*. Ephemerides Trimestres Commissionis Norbertinae. L'ABBAYE DU PARC.
30. *Répertoire des sources imprimées et manuscrites relatives à l'histoire et à la liturgie des monastères de l'Ordre de Prémontré*. RAPHAEL VAN WAELFELGHEM. Brussels, 1930.
31. *La Spiritualité des Prémontrés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*. FRANÇOIS PETIT. Paris, 1947.
32. *The White Canons of St. Norbert*. CORNELIUS JAMES KIRKFLEET. St. Norbert Abbey, West de Pere, Wisconsin, 1943.
33. *The White Canons in England*. H. M. COLVIN. Oxford, 1951.

Chapter Four

CARMELITE RITE

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

THE date of the foundation of the Carmelite Order has been under discussion since the 14th century. The White friars themselves claim descent from Elias, the Old Testament prophet, and in 1727 they were permitted by Pope Benedict XIII (1724-30) to erect a statue in the Vatican basilica to the 'founder' of their Order: *Carmelitarum Dux et Pater*. The pedestal bears the inscription: *Universus Carmelitarum Ordo Fundatori suo S. Eliae Prophetae, erexit 1727*. Fierce and, at times, acrimonious controversy resulted from this claim, and the publication of a volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* in 1668 unleashed a literary war of a thirty years' duration, during which both sides appealed to Rome. The Bollandists categorically asserted that the Carmelite Order was founded by St. Berthold in 1155, but, says Daniel Papebrock, 'in bringing forward this thesis, I do not mean it to be understood that I intend to deny that the same seed was gathered from some great and antique tree, which, according to the tradition of the Order of Carmel, was planted in olden times by Elias, inserted in the law of grace by the Apostles, and becoming younger and stronger filled the East with monks'.¹

Mount Carmel,² nine miles south-west of Acre, has innumerable caves, and there may well have been a succession of Christian solitaries living in them until the days of the Crusades. Historical certainty, however, begins with the middle of the 12th century, when a number of men, feeling themselves called to the eremitical

¹ *Acta SS., Aprilis*, t. I, *Vita S. Alberti* (die VIII), cap. V, 42 (E), p. 777, Antwerp, 1675.

² *Carmel*, Heb. 'garden' or 'place planted with trees', becoming later a metaphor of 'spiritual fruitfulness' and 'beauty'.

life, settled on Mount Carmel, where they were joined by others.¹ St. Berthold (1154-98), who appears to have been their leader, was assisted by one of his relations, Aymeric de Malifaye, patriarch of Antioch, who founded two similar hermitages with subjects taken from Carmel.² The hermits of Carmel were mentioned by the Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, about 1160: 'Not far from Hepha and the Jewish cemetery is the cave of the prophet Elias; two sons of Edom (Christians) have built a chapel there.' In 1181 the place was visited by a Greek monk of the name of Phocas, who discovered the ruined monastery mentioned by Antonio of Piacenza about the year 570, and said that 'a Calabrian monk, white with age, and invested with the priestly dignity, came to the place, built a little wall around the ruins of the monastery, erected a tower and a chapel, and collected together some ten brethren'. After the loss of Jerusalem,³ the number of hermits on Carmel increased considerably, and those of the Latin rite under St. Brocard (1199-1231) applied in about 1210 to St. Albert of Vercelli, apostolic delegate and patriarch of Jerusalem, for a definite rule. The patriarch, who was living at Tyre, complied with their request, giving them a rule, part of which was taken verbatim from St. Augustine: the hermits should elect a prior; cells were to be separate one from the other; the Divine Office, according to the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, was to be recited in the cell, unless the hermit was illiterate when certain other prayers or meditations might be substituted; devotions were to be followed by manual labour; the community was to meet daily in the chapel for Mass,⁴ and on Sundays also for a chapter; meals were to be taken in the cells.

Recitation of the Divine Office in the oratory seems to have

¹ A Carmelite writer has thought fit to say: 'The original Carmelite rule, written in Greek, was confirmed by John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, A.D. 412; and simply comprised the pious customs observed by the hermits of Carmel even from the time of the Prophets!' James Rushe, *A Second Thebaid* (Dublin, 1905), chap. XIV, p. 228.

² The two houses near Antioch were destroyed in 1268.

³ Jerusalem had been taken by the Crusaders in 1099, and captured by Saladin in 1187.

⁴ *Oratorium prout commodius fieri poterit, construatur in medio cellularum, ubi mane per singulos dies, ad audienda missarum solemnina convenire debeatis, ubi hoc commode fieri potest.* Reg. Albert., cap. VIII; ap. *Bullarium Carm.*, I, 2.

been early established, and in 1254 William of Sandwich (Sanvico), who was probably an eye-witness, relates how St. Louis, when in danger of shipwreck, promised, if he was saved, to visit Mount Carmel. The king fulfilled his vow, and with great devotion assisted at matins with the brethren.¹ From the same century, we read of the visits to Mount Carmel of Wilbrand of Oldenburg, bishop of Utrecht (*ob.* 1234), and of the Canon Regular James de Vitry (*ob.* 1240).² The former says: 'where today the dwelling of Elias is shown and honoured. . . . In which place the sacrifice of the Mass is daily offered'.³

The Carmelite Order is definitely committed to Elias and the prophets of the Old Law in a book entitled *On the Institution of the First Monks*, first mentioned in 1342 and published in 1370. It was known in England half a century later. It was indeed from this time that the Elian 'tradition' came to be adopted by the White friars. The preamble to the first constitutions (after 1247) somewhat naïvely says that the Carmelite origins were set out in order to satisfy the younger generation, which found itself unable to give any information as to when, how or why their institute came into being.⁴ The evidence of the Order itself has not always been very explicit. A notice, written between 1247 and 1274, says in general terms: 'from the days of Elias and Eliseus the holy fathers of the Old and the New dispensation dwelt on Mount Carmel for the sake of contemplation, and that their successors after the Incarnation built there a chapel in honour of our Lady, for which reason they were called in papal bulls "Friars of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel"'.⁵ A similar account of the foundation is found in the constitutions of 1324. The

¹ *Speculum Carm.*, I, 102; Benedict Zimmerman, *Mon. histor. Carmelit.* (Lérins, 1907), t. I, p. 283. William of Sandwich assisted at the general chapter at Montpellier, as definitor of the province of the Holy Land, in 1287. His *Chronica* is of great importance for the history of the Order.

² *Historia Orientalis seu Hierosolymitana*, cap. LII; Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), t. II, p. 1065. ³ II, I, 5; *Bibl. Vaticana*.

⁴ *Cum quidam fratres in ordine nostro juniores quaerentibus a quo, quando vel quomodo ordo noster sumpserit exordium, vel quare dicamur fratres ordinis Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli juxta rei veritatem nesciant satisfacere, pro eis in scriptis formam talibus relinquentes volumus respondere.* *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, I, 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX, 267.

general chapter, held at Montpellier in 1287, speaks of the Order as of a 'plantation of recent growth' (*plantatio novella*). The letter 'On the progress of his Order', sometimes ascribed to St. Cyril of Constantinople,¹ but in reality written by a Latin (probably French) about 1230, is a trifle more definite. By the end of the following century the origin of the Order is no longer a matter of speculation to the Carmelites. The present device of the Order depicts the hand of Elias grasping a flaming sword, and the motto: 'With zeal I am zealous for the Lord God of hosts.'²

After the reception of the rule (c. 1210), a number of small communities sprang up in the Holy Land, numbering in all about fifteen. Several times the hermits were driven from Carmel by the infidels, but they always returned, and a new 'monastery' was build in 1263, the remains of which were still visible at the end of the 15th century. It was, however, evident that the position of Christians in the Holy Land was getting steadily worse, and, if the hermits were to survive, a migration to Europe was felt by many to be necessary. Carmel was indeed taken in 1291, and tradition says that the brothers were put to the sword as they were singing the *Salve Regina*.³ In 1603 we find three Carmelites living in the ruins of the house, but a definite return to Carmel was not made before 1767. In 1799, the community was again massacred, and the buildings burned. The first stone of the actual 'monastery' was laid in 1827, and the Order took formal possession of the holy mount three years later. So early as 1238, returning Crusaders took with them several groups of hermits, who settled in Cyprus, Sicily, Marseilles and Valenciennes.⁴ Then, a few years later, others accompanied Sir William Vescy, Lord of Alnwick, and Sir Richard Grey of Codnor, who were returning

¹ Prior-general, 1231-34. *Etudes Carmelitaines*, t. II (1912), p. 124.

² III Kings (I Kings), XIX, 10. This escutcheon was added in 1595.

³ The story is told by Daniel a V. Maria in *Vinea Carmeli* (Antwerp, 1662, p. 383), but a recent member of the Order considers the story to be an interpolation, and impossible to verify. F. M. Xiberta, *Anal. Ord. Carm.*, vol. VII, p. 186.

⁴ The Chronicle of Milendunck (*Chronicon Universale de Ortu et Progressu Ordinis Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo in Germania inferiori*) mentions the solemn consecration of a Carmelite house and church in Cologne in 1220.

to England from the expedition of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III (1241). Carmelite foundations were made at Hulne¹ (near Alnwick), Burnham Norton (Norfolk), Ayesford (Kent) and Newendon (Losenham, Kent). We have seen how St. Louis in 1254 visited Mount Carmel, and he took six of the hermits back with him to France, giving them a house near Paris (Charenton).

The Order was thus firmly established in Europe, and in the early lists England ranked third, after the Holy Land and Sicily. It is not surprising therefore that the English Carmelites played an important part in determining the fortunes of the institute. Changed conditions and circumstances, however, soon made an alteration in the rule and purpose of the Order imperative, and the very considerable number of recruits necessitated legislation for a centralised Order. In 1229 a community in south Italy appealed successfully to Pope Gregory IX (1227-41) to be recognised as a house of mendicants, thus slipping almost unperceived into the rank of friars. Before the middle of the 13th century a crisis arose which threatened the very existence of the Order. Some of the bishops had refused to recognise it on the ground that it had introduced a new rule contrary to the decision of the Lateran council of 1215. The cause of the friars, however, was upheld by Alexander IV (1254-61), who wrote on their behalf (13 February 1259) to the archbishops and bishops of those dioceses in which there were Carmelite houses. In another matter, also, action was imperative, as the original regulations regarding diet and silence were found to be unsuited to those who lived under northern skies. The lead in this crisis was taken by an Englishman, of whom but little is known beyond the fact that he was endowed with talents of the highest order. St. Simon Stock, as he is known today, was destined to determine the whole future scope and policy of the Order. Both name and surname are traditional, and 'all that is known with certainty is that an English general, called Simon by the next generation, effected certain

¹ A complete cartulary of Hulne, with a catalogue of the books and an inventory of the vestments (c. 1375), is in the British Museum, MS. Harley, 3897.

changes in the Order's constitutions'.¹ The original rule, as we have seen, was given about the year 1210, and confirmed by Rome in 1226. St. Simon Stock succeeded Alan the Breton as prior-general of the Order at the chapter of Aylesford. The situation at the time was delicate, but the wisdom and energy of Simon enabled him not only to modify the rule, but also to transform the solitaries of Carmel into a flourishing mendicant Order, after the fashion of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The following paragraph had been inserted in the second chapter of the rule of St. Albert: 'You may have convents in solitary places or in others which are given to you, if they are convenient and apt for the observance of your rule, according as it may seem to the prior and the brethren.' A provisional approval was now obtained from Innocent IV (1243-54), who charged two Dominican prelates to revise and frame the Carmelite constitutions.² Under the circumstances it was to be expected that the work would be modelled largely on the constitutions of the Black Friars,³ and, as we shall see, the rite was at the same time 'Dominicanised'. The Carmelite Order, as such, was approved officially at the second council of Lyons in 1274. With the change in the purpose of the Order, from eremitical to mendicant, foundations were made in cities and towns,⁴ and the White friars undertook intellectual and apostolic work. By 1260 St. Simon Stock had established houses in Cambridge (1249), Oxford (1256), London (c. 1256), York (1255), Paris (1259) and Bologna (1260). Eight *studia generalia* were approved in the constitutions of 1324 (*rubr.* XVI): Paris, Toulouse, Bologna, Florence, Montpellier, Cologne, London and Rome. This new 'school of thought', however, desirous of emulating the intellectual triumphs of the Grey and Black friars, did not oust entirely the old eremitical way of life,

¹ Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, chap. XVI, II, p. 197; Zimmermann, *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, I, 317 seq.

² A preface in the Carmelite MS. (c. 1263) in Trinity College, Dublin, (MS. B. 3. 8) mentions these Dominican revisers.

³ *Maximam videre est similitudinem inter nostras constitutiones modumque gubernandi in eis descriptum et ejusdem naturae ordinationes apud Fratres Praedicatorum.* Zimmermann, *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, I, 3.

⁴ *Bullarium Carmelitarum*, I, 8-11.



Mount Carmel



Elias, Vatican Basilica



Carmine Maggiore, Palermo



Preparatory Prayer
Carmelite Rite, Aylesford
(July 14, 1951)

Cardinal Piazza at
Aylesford Celebrations
(1951)



Translation of St Simon
Stock from Bordeaux to
Aylesford (July 15,
1951)

and in some countries we find 'desert' friaries to which the religious might retire for periods of seclusion.

The prior-general has normally resided in Rome since 1472. From 1247 till the end of the 14th century, the general chapter met every three years, a period extended later to six, ten or even sixteen years. The *acta* of the chapters are complete from 1318. The actual constitutions prescribe the holding of a provincial chapter every third year. The oldest constitutions extant date from 1324, when the Order was divided into fifteen provinces to correspond with the various countries. There is, however, evidence of an earlier collection to supplement the rule, begun about 1256. A revision of the constitutions was effected by John Balistarius (1358-74), and a further edition by Blessed John Soreth (1451-71), which had been made necessary by the mitigation of the rule by Pope Eugenius IV in the bull *Romani pontifices providentia* (15 February 1432).¹

A division in the Order resulted from the Western schism, which was healed in 1411 by the 'Clementist' prior-general, John Grossi, becoming the superior of the whole Order. The English Carmelites played an important part in the intellectual life of the country, and were the outstanding opponents of John Wycliffe. The most distinguished literary Carmelite in the English province is said to have been Robert Bale, prior of Burnham Norton in Norfolk (*ob.* 1503). His chief work was the annals of the Order, but he composed also an office of St. Simon Stock in verse for the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel: *Ave Simon Pater inclyte*. This office, which is not to be confused with the earlier (1435) one for the use of the whole Order, of which it is a poetical paraphrase, is of great importance in the controversy concerning the scapular vision.

At the suppression of the religious houses in England, the English province had thirty-nine houses, including Calais. Two Carmelites are known to have been martyred under Henry VIII: Reginald (John) Pecock of Burnham Norton (1 June 1537, at Lynn) and Lawrence Cook, prior of Doncaster (4 August 1540).

¹ The rule was mitigated in respect to abstinence, fasting and enclosure. The new constitutions were completed in 1462, and printed in 1499.

In the 16th century a reform in Spain divided the Order into two distinct congregations—'Calced' and 'Discalced'—a division which has persisted to the present day. The reformers had been condemned by the general chapter in 1575, but they paid no heed to the condemnation, and by 1580 it was found necessary to form a separate province for them. Nicholas of Jesus (Nicholas Doria, *ob.* 1594) was appointed provincial of the 'Discalced' province, but 'he widened rather than lessened the breach by laying aside (1586), on a mere pretext and against the wishes of the friars, the venerable Carmelite liturgy in favour of the new Roman office books, and by solliciting useless privileges from Rome'.¹ The acts of the definitory (August 1586) made no secret of the motive for this move, which was to prepare the way for the entire and definite separation of the reform from the ancient Order. The complaint that so many liturgical revisions had been made in the course of half a century that it was no longer possible to know what was the rite of the Holy Sepulchre was a mere pretext. The formation of 'Discalced' houses had been largely the work of St. Teresa of Avila (*ob.* 1582), but she had known no rite other than the venerable rite of the Holy Sepulchre, and a saying has been attributed to her to the effect that she would rather suffer a thousand deaths than relinquish the very smallest ceremony of the Church. In 1593 Nicholas Doria proposed at the general chapter, 'for the sake of peace and tranquillity and for many other reasons', the total separation of the reform. The request was ratified by a papal bull on 20 December of the same year. The title of *praepositus generalis* was given to the Discalced Order.

Carmelite nuns seem to have originated in the Netherlands, when in 1452 communities of Beguines requested affiliation to the Order. Houses were established at Gueldre and Liège.

The oldest printed breviaries and missals contain the form for the admission of seculars to a third order. The tertiaries were known at first as *bizzoche*, but the name was changed later, as the original term had come to be used in the pejorative sense of 'bigots'.

An event of primary importance to the Carmelites of the Old

¹ Zimmermann, 'Carmelite Order' *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. III, p. 362.

Observance took place in 1949, when the Order recovered their historic house at Aylesford in Kent. This was followed two years later by the return of the relics of St. Simon Stock from Bordeaux (1951).

HABIT OF THE ORDER

The habit of the Order was changed by the general chapter of Montpellier in 1287, and authorised for the English province by the provincial chapter at Lincoln in that year. The variegated mantle, whereby the friars had earned the name of *fratres barrati* (*de pica, virgulati*), was exchanged for one of pure white wool, thus giving the title of 'White friars'. The original habit, which had four black and three white stripes, had given rise to the following couplet:

*De Carmelo veniunt fratres virgulati
Hi ut vulgo dicitur fratres sunt beati.¹*

The seven stripes of the mantle have been likened by a chapter of the Order to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Others saw in them a symbolic reference to the four gospels and the three religious virtues; while others again likened the black stripes to those of the folded mantle of Elias: the inner folds of which, untouched by the fire from the chariot, remained white, with the outside of the mantle scorched.² The subsequent colour of the habit seems to have been a matter of dispute for some centuries. The Constitutions of 1324-69 prescribed brown, whereas in a Vatican manuscript of the Constitutions of 1396 black is ordered.³ In 1473 Pope Sixtus IV confirmed the use of black, but opposition to the colour persisted till 1626, in which year brown was finally re-established.

ARCHITECTURE

The Carmelites, despite their widespread popularity, seem rarely to have attained to great wealth. They had few churches of any

¹ Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Scriptores*, XXV, p. 358.

² Cf. IV Kings, II, 8-13.

³ *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, III, p. 151.

size, such as we find in many of the other Orders, and the communities were often not large enough to carry out in full the more elaborate liturgical functions. The remains in this country are scanty: the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Oxford was served by the Carmelites from 1318 till the foundation of Christ Church College (1525-32). The White friars added the south chapel of our Lady of Pity to serve as a choir for the community in 1320. A part of the west front of the church at Burnham Norton still exists, but at Aylesford, although a considerable portion of the buildings remains, there is nothing left of the church. On the Continent there are but few Carmelite churches of any outstanding architectural merit, but many of them have been rebuilt or refashioned in the baroque style. Two famous churches in Rome are now served by Carmelites of the Old Observance—S. Martino ai Monti and S. Pancrazio—but neither of them were built for the Order. A third, S. Maria in Transpontina, which was founded by the Dominican cardinal who later became Pope St. Pius V (1565-72), preserves a picture of our Lady said to have been brought from the Holy Land by the Carmelites when they fled from the Saracens. S. Maria della Vittoria, a small, early-17th-century church served by the Discalced reform, contains the famous group of the ecstasy of St. Teresa by Bernini.

POVERTY OF THE ORDER

The ordinal of Sibert de Beka (1312) makes frequent references to the poverty of the Order, and takes this into account in his liturgical instructions: 'Where, however, on account of the small number of the brethren, the aforesaid solemnity of ministers cannot be observed . . .' Again, when prescribing extra ornaments and vestments to increase the solemnity of the Divine Office on certain days: 'The prior, vested in a silk cope, if that is obtainable.' Further evidence of simplicity may be seen in the absence of any allusion to liturgical colours, and the colour sequence of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre¹ was deliberately omitted in the ordinal. The restricted use of candles and incense have regard to a like poverty.

¹ Cf. Barletta codex (1229-44), fo. 22a.

The Henrician plunderers found but little to tempt them in the Carmelite houses. The suppression papers contain inventories of less than a dozen, all of which testify to a condition of poverty. A similar story comes also from a 14th-century inventory at Hulne in Northumberland.¹ Benefactors, however, had not been wanting, and we read of John of Gaunt (*ob.* 1399), who left the following bequests to the altar of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the church of the White Friars in London: *Item jes devise a l'autrei principal des frers Carmes en Londre mon veille vestment blank de drap d'ore apelle Rakams, ovecq ces a ycelle vestment apputtient; a celle XV marcs d'argent en l'onur des XV joyes de n're dame.*²

It might not be without interest to describe the 'spoils' in some of the English houses at the Dissolution: *Bristol* (28 July 1538): 'A suit of mermaids (maremayds), priest, deacon and subdeacon, 12s.; a white suit with lions, 16s.; a silk cope with birds, 5s.; five old copes, 8s.; and other vestments. . . . Two copper chalices which the visitor has; . . . silver there was none.'³ *Chester* (15 August 1538): 'The Sextry:—three red copes of scarlet branched; copes, vestments, etc.; a purse of relics, pillar for the pascall; a cloth for the rood; a cloth for the sepulchre; a pix for the Sacrament puresse with in and a lande with tassels. Three Mass books and pystoles, books, etc. . . . The visitor has a little chalice.'⁴ *Shoreham* (16 July 1538): 'A spit; a sorry bell; three or four old forms; two or three ragged chasubles and tunics, 3s. 4d.'⁵ *Ludlow*: 'hidden in a ditch at the back of their said house in an old hose . . . two cruets and a pax of silver; two chalices; one patent; and the foot of a monstrall to bear the Sacrament on Corpus Christi day'.⁶ *Gloucester*: 'Inventory of the White Friars of Gloucester, and sold by the visitor, except a little chalice. Vestments of white, blue and red. A requiem vestment lacking

¹ Brit. Mus., MS. Harley 3897.

² 'Old white vestment of cloth of gold called *Rakams*, with all belonging to it, and 15 marks of silver in honour of the 15 joys of our Lady.' P. M. McCaffrey, *The White Friars*, chap. IX, p. 168; L. Sheppard, *The English Carmelites*, chap. IV, p. 43.

³ McCaffrey, *op. cit.* (Dublin, 1926), chap. XIV, pp. 273-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. XV, p. 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, chap. XVI, pp. 315-16.

an alb; an old banner cloth; eight chasubles; two altar cloths, old and rent. Our Lady's coat. A cross, staff and lamp. A pair of organs, 3s. 4d. A foot for the cross, and a holy water stoup.¹ At *Oxford* the Carmelites were forced to sell the benches of the church and the trees in the rood, and the commissioner said that soon they would have to sell the tiles off the roof to buy a few loaves of bread. 'The church of so important a convent as *Cambridge*', says Dom Aidan Gasquet, 'was furnished with a poverty among these friars not incongruous with their profession, but of which the smallest parish church would have been ashamed.'² In Counter-Reformation Spain, the Discalced solitaries were expressly forbidden the use of marble in their chapels, although wood painted in imitation of marble was permitted.

HISTORY OF THE RITE

The first hermits of Mount Carmel are said to have used the liturgy of some Eastern Church, but there is nothing to show what this might have been.³ The rule given by St. Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, about 1210 had the following reference to the liturgy: *hi qui litteras noverunt et legere psalmos per singulas horas eos dicant qui ex institutione sanctorum patrum et ecclesiae approbata consuetudine ad horas singulas sunt deputati.*⁴ *Ecclesiae approbata consuetudine* are the important words. The 'Church' in question is undoubtedly St. Albert's own Church, that is the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and 'the approved usage of the Church' was therefore the liturgical usages of the ecclesiastical province in which the Carmelites lived. The ancient liturgical manuscripts all say that the regulations had been taken *de approbato usu dominici sepulchri sanctae Jerosolymitanae ecclesiae in cujus finibus dictorum fratrum religio sumpsit exordium.*⁵ The printed books, modern no less than ancient, repeat the declaration. What then was this rite of the Holy Sepulchre which the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-31.

² Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, vol. II (London, 1890), p. 240.

³ *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, vol. III, p. 91.

⁴ *Bullarium Carmelitarum*, edit. E. Monsignano, Rome, 1715.

⁵ Ordinal, begin. 14th century; cf. Lambeth codex 193, fo. 2a.

hermits of Mount Carmel received? One of the first cares of Godfrey de Bouillon when he was elected king with the title of baron of the Holy Sepulchre (1099) was the due ordering of religious worship. William of Tyre (*ob.* 1190) tells us: *Postquam regnum obtinuit, paucis diebus interpositis, sicut vir religiosus erat, in his quae ad decorem domus Dei habebant respectum, sollicitudinis suae cepit offerre primitias.*¹ So as to effect this, 'the order and arrangement, which the wealthy and extensive churches beyond the mountains (i.e. Gaul) observed, was adopted at Jerusalem'. The same writer, also, says of the patriarch Arnold: *Ordinem, quem primi principes studiose et cum multa deliberatione instituerant, Canonicos Regulares introducendo, commutavit.*² The Holy Sepulchre was served by a chapter of canons, formed after the model of the cathedrals and collegiate churches in Europe, but the secular canons were soon displaced by Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The ecclesiastics who followed the Crusaders were for the most part French, some of whom, as documentary evidence shows, belonged to the chapter of Paris.³ The rite which they observed was therefore a Gallo-Roman variant in which local influence played an important part.

A certain number of manuscripts of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre exist: that of Barletta has been described by Charles Kohler, who attributes it to the years 1229-44,⁴ but the most helpful for the Carmelite rite is Codex 659 in the library of the Vatican. The folio of 139 leaves was written in 1160, and contains rubrics for the functions in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; incipits of antiphons, responsories, hymns, etc. for the Divine Office; and introits, graduals, etc. for Mass—ferias and feasts—throughout the year.

The rite of the Holy Sepulchre has been described as *un compromis entre plusieurs coutumes locales du centre de la France.*⁵ The liturgical ensemble, however, corresponds almost exactly to the

¹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCI, col. 441.

² *Lib. XI*, cap. XV.

³ The cantor of the Holy Sepulchre basilica was Anselm, a former canon of Paris. Grancolas, *Commentaire historique sur le Breviaire Romain*, t. I, p. 93.

⁴ *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1900-01), t. VIII, pp. 385-500.

⁵ Zimmermann, *Carmes (Liturgie de l'Ordre des)*, *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. II, part II, col. 2167.

rite of Paris as described by John Beleth¹ (*ob. post 1165*), except for Holy Saturday, when the liturgy is entirely Roman: twelve lessons recited in Latin and Greek. Nevertheless, the use of Paris² has been supplemented from elsewhere, and the sanctoral contains feasts unknown to that Church, as, for example, St. Albinus (St. Aubin), who was venerated at Angers.³ Several of the tropes and proses are considered by Bannister to show an influence of Nevers, while others again suggest that parts of the rite of Jerusalem may have been borrowed from Rouen.⁴ It seems clear, however, that the rite was not fixed immediately in all particulars, and the Barberini codex says that *priores praedictae ecclesiae* (Holy Sepulchre) did not cease to perfect it.⁵ The alternatives, which have been given for antiphons, responses, little chapters and even for gospels, show that in 1160 custom had not yet been entirely established by usage. There is a great irregularity in the antiphons for the canticles during octaves, which are sometimes very numerous, with their choice left to the director of the choir, and in some cases there is an insufficient number, which necessitates repetitions. The offices and Masses for the feasts of martyrs and confessors are hardly distinguishable from each other, and the common for holy women is wholly lacking. Specific directions are given sometimes, as in the case of Arnold, who 'commanded us under obedience to sing the *Te Deum*, *Gloria* and *Creed* on the feast of the Annunciation'.⁶ The most interesting parts of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre are the ceremonies and processions for Christmas, Easter, Ascension and some other feasts, which have a local character, and owe nothing to the liturgies from which it has been derived. Such a development was to be expected, as the mysteries of Christ were being

¹ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 14 *seq.*

² E.g. SS. Denis, Rusticus and Eleutherius, martyrs.

³ The calendar includes SS. Vedast, bishop of Arras, and Amand, of no fixed see (6 February); Germanus, bishop of Auxerre; Giles, abbot of Narbonne; Remigius, bishop of Rheims; Leonard, abbot of Limoges; and Lazarus, bishop of Marseilles. The later Carmelite calendar received from Jerusalem the names of St. Cleophas (25 September) and St. Mark, first Gentile bishop of Jerusalem (22 October).

⁴ *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, vol. X (Oct.–Dec. 1938), fasc. II, pp. 87–8.

⁵ *Vat. Barberini MS.* 659, fo. 26b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 54a.

celebrated in the very place where they were originally enacted. Two of the processions proper to the Carmelite rite, prescribed in the missal for the feasts of the Ascension and Assumption, are taken from the solemnities observed by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre. In the rite of Jerusalem, a procession was made to the chapel of the Resurrection on Saturdays from Easter till Advent; on Sundays after the Octave of Pentecost, if no feast occurred, the gospel of Easter with its corresponding response was recited at matins; while the solemn Mass, except on a great feast and the Sunday in the Octave of the Ascension, was that of Easter, with the Mass of the Sunday celebrated earlier in the morning and with less solemnity. The last Sunday after Pentecost, immediately before Advent, was observed with the highest rank as a solemn commemoration of Easter. This was retained in the Carmelite Ordinal of Sibert de Beka¹ (c. 1312) and copied verbatim in the late 14th-century missal of the White Friars in London.² The antiquity of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre is discernible in the Masses prescribed for the Wednesdays and most of the Fridays of the year, as well as in the two or three verses for the offertory. On feasts, tropes were added to the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus*, and proses were numerous. The sanctoral shows local influence: the discovery of the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob³ was responsible for the feast on 6 October, and the calendar includes also St. Cleophas (25 September), St. Lazarus (17 December) and the early bishops of Jerusalem. The anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem (15 July) was replaced after 1157 by the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre which fell on the same day.⁴

¹ *Commemoratio Resurrectionis dominicae juxta consuetudinem ecclesiae Sepulchri Jerosolymitani et antiquis patribus approbatam.*

² *Brit. Mus.*, Eng. MSS., addit. 29704-5, 44892, fo. 67 vo. The commemoration *Et valde mane*, which is still recited by the Carmelites at lauds on certain Sundays of the year, is a relic of this devotion to the Resurrection.

³ William of Tyre; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCI, col. 462, 781.

⁴ The commemoration of the liberation of the city was continued in the matutinal Mass and procession: *quam sollempniter celebramus juxta voluntatem et preceptum domini Fulcherii patriarche. Missa matutinalis de captione tantum canitur sed processio nunquam dimittitur, sed festive peragitur, ut prescriptum est. Ms. Barberini 659, fo. 101.*

The rite has been described as in a 'state of transition',¹ but it had passed through several phases, and we find allusions to 'ancient custom' and to the injunctions of successive patriarchs, although this 'ancient custom' could not have been more than fifty years old. Despite assertions to the contrary, there would not seem to have been any borrowing from Eastern rites or ceremonial. Some writers in the 17th century asserted that there was Greek influence in the solemn *Kyrie* at the beginning of Easter vespers, which is a usage common to the rites of Jerusalem and the Carmelites, but its origin was rather in the procession to the baptistery once made at Rome, which many of the churches in France and Germany had adopted. The White friars were said also to have introduced the feasts of the Conception of our Lady and St. Joseph into France, but it was they who received them in Europe, the one at the beginning of the 14th century, and the other about the end of the 15th century.²

The title page of the liturgical books of the Carmelites bore witness to their indebtedness to the rite of Jerusalem: *juxta ritum Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae Dominici Sepulchri*. It was, however, manifestly impossible for them to carry out the elaborate ceremonies performed by the clergy of a patriarchal chapter, and it sufficed for them to adopt the substance of the rite for Office and Mass. The primitive Albertine rule prescribed liturgical assemblies: 'an oratory, sufficiently large, shall be constructed in the middle of the cells, where you shall gather early each day to hear Mass, where this can be conveniently done'.³ The recitation of the Divine office was also enjoined: 'Let those who know how to read and to recite the psalms, say for each of the canonical hours, those psalms which, by the institution of the holy Fathers and the approved usage of the Church, had been assigned to the various hours.'⁴ It is uncertain whether the Office was choral, but the Chronicle of William of Sandwich tells us that such was the case on Mount Carmel in 1254. It would seem from the fourteenth chapter of St. Albert's rule, in which vespers and terce

¹ Zimmermann, *Ordinaire*, etc. (Paris, 1910), introduct., p. XII.

² *Ibid.*

³ Cap. VIII.

⁴ Cap. VI.

are assigned at the beginning and end of a period of strict silence, that choral recitation was the custom from the beginning.

A Carmelite liturgical manuscript of the 12th century very possibly exists in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris.¹ Its provenance would seem to be Palestine, and according to the colophon to have belonged to a Church of ' . . . tarum ', which a later hand has corrected to *Carmelitarum*, although the original may well have been *Eremitarum*.

The migration of the hermits of Carmel to Europe, which appears to have started about the year 1238, and their subsequent adoption of the mendicant way of life had a marked effect on the liturgy. An epistle-book of the 13th century, dating from about 1270, has been preserved, but it is unfortunately incomplete,² and of the breviaries and missals of the earlier period not one is known to have survived.³ A chance discovery at Trinity College, Dublin, of an *ordinale* of the second half of the 13th century has, however, provided the key to a mystery which has long puzzled liturgical scholars.⁴ The hermits of Carmel, as we have seen, had adopted the rite of Jerusalem. How then can one account for the many similarities between the Carmelite and Dominican rites, when it is well known that the Holy Land exercised no influence whatever on the Friars Preachers? The similarity between the two ordinals was noted by Dr. Wickham Legg, who thought that they might be descended from a common ancestor, 'though the Carmelite text is shorter than the Dominican'.⁵ Attention was drawn also to the 'very considerable resemblance' between a 13th-century Dominican *ordo*⁶ and a Carmelite ordinal of the 16th century.⁷ The mystery has been solved by Fr. Bonniwell in a recent work

¹ *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, ms. fonds lat. 12036.

² *Bibliot. Magliabecchienne*, D. 6, 1787.

³ In 1375 the prior of Hulne still preserved two *portiforia* 'according to the ancient ordinal'.

⁴ The discovery was made accidentally by Fr. Joseph of St. Patrick, a Discalced Carmelite. The MS. B 3. 8, was published in 1912.

⁵ *Tracts on the Mass*, V, introduct., pp. XXIII-XXIV, *Henry Bradshaw Society*, vol. XXVII. London, 1904.

⁶ *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MS. 23, 935.

⁷ *Ordinale divinatorum officiorum sacre religionis Carmelitarum. Decreto capituli generalissimi celebrati Padue, 1532.* Venice, 1544. Cap. XLI, fo. 28c.

on the Dominican liturgy.¹ First, it was recalled how the Teutonic Knights,² who, like the Carmelites, had followed the rite of Jerusalem, were granted permission by Pope Innocent IV to adopt the Dominican rite in 1244.³ The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre was used also by the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, both in Rhodes and Malta,⁴ as well as by many houses of Canons Regular in France and the Low Countries, which had been previously in the Holy Land. The *Acta Sanctorum* records twenty-four houses of men and seven of women in the diocese of Utrecht alone where the rite of Jerusalem was observed.⁵ In Poland the office of the Holy Sepulchre was followed from 'time immemorial' by the Canons Regular on the second Sunday after Easter as a double of the first class with an octave. The solemnity was extended to the whole Order in 1742.⁶

The new constitutions of the Carmelites, as we have seen, completely changed the status of the Order, and as they were now friars rather than hermits their statutes came to be largely based on those of the Friars Preachers. It seems also that the rite of Jerusalem was changed at the same time to what was virtually the Dominican rite. The substitution was probably effected at the general chapter held at Messina in 1259, when we know that a number of liturgical regulations were made, although the *acta* of the chapter unfortunately have been lost.⁷ A proof of this

¹ William Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*. New York, 1945.

² Founded at Acre in 1190, and approved by Rome in the following year.

³ *Ceterum quia divinum officium secundum ordinem sancti Sepulchri pro eo quod a pluribus ex iisdem fratribus clericis ignoratur vix absque scandalo sicut accepimus in vestro potest ordine observari, quod illud secundum ordinem fratrum praedicatorum amodo in vestris ubique domibus celebretur vobis concedimus facultatem.*

⁴ *Codex Baroli* (Barletta); *Rituale-Directorium S. Sepulchri*, edit. Chas. Kohler; ap. *Revue de l'Orient latin*, vol. VIII (1900-01), pp. 383-500.

⁵ *Instituta congregatio Canonicorum Sacri Sepulchri reddidit Europae, quod inde acceperat, cum exigua valde mutatione, adeo ut in sola Ultraiectina dioecesi . . . fuerint domus Regularium istiusmodi viginti quatuor, et Sanctimonialium ejusdem Congregationis omnino septem.* Papebrock, *Acta SS., Aprilis (die 8)*, vol. I, p. 789.

⁶ *Domine Jesu Christe, qui pro nobis mortem subire, et in sepulchro depositus tertia die resurgere voluisti, concede famulis tuis, ut qui Sepulchri tui memoriam recolimus, resurrectionis quoque gloriae participes esse mereamur. Qui vivis . . .* Collect for the office.

⁷ *In quo capitulo fuerunt quamplures fratres Terrae sanctae specialiter Conventus Acon et Conventus Monti Carmeli . . . (et) fuerunt plures constitutiones editae, specialiter ad augmentandum officium divinum.* MS. Harley 1819, fo. 59d. *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, p. 203.

alteration of rite is provided in the Carmelite *ordinale* discovered at Trinity College, Dublin.¹ The manuscript appears to be of English origin, written after 1262, but before the publication of the constitution of Boniface VIII (1294–1303), *Gloriosus Deus*.² It must therefore date at least six years after Humbert de Romans had completed his revision of the Dominican rite.³ A careful comparison between Humbert's *ordinarium* and the Carmelite *ordinale* shows conclusively that the Carmelite rite, at least during the second half of the 13th century, was an adaptation of the Dominican rite.⁴ This adaptation is especially noticeable in the rubrics for high Mass, where we find that the two texts are almost identical. One of the chief variations between the two ceremonies lies in the omission by the Carmelites of various passages found in Humbert, so that the Dominican rubrics are often more explicit than those of the White friars. Occasionally the Carmelites substitute something themselves or group together several of Humbert's sentences. However, we find whole sentences taken bodily from the *ordinarium* of Humbert with hardly a word changed, and sometimes even entire paragraphs have been translated with only minor changes.⁵ The Carmelites, even so, did not adopt the complete Dominican rite, and some of their ceremonies were taken from other sources, as for example the position of the ministers before the altar at the beginning of the asperges, and the manner in which the celebrant blessed himself with the paten. Such non-Dominican rubrics, however, are relatively infrequent, and an examination of the Latin text shows that most of the other variants are trivial, as, for example, the substitution of a synonym (*tamen* for *autem*); use of a different

¹ MS. B. 3. 8 contains 146 pages, with at least two missing—all feasts from the Octave of the Assumption till the Octave of the Nativity of our Lady. The MS. has fifty rubrics, in addition to the twenty-four rubrics in the ordinal itself.

² The feast of St. Richard, who was canonised in 1262, appears in the calendar (2 April), but neither Corpus Christi nor the Conception of our Lady, which were authorised by the general chapter held at Toulouse in 1306.

³ The Latin text of the high Mass, produced by Humbert de Romans in 1256, is contained in the *Missale Conventuale* (fols 393r–94r) under the heading: *De Officio Ministrorum Altaris*.

⁴ Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, chap. XV, pp. 197–8.

⁵ Cf. Similarity of the 13th-century rubrics in the Latin text of Humbert's rubrics for high Mass. Bonniwell, op. cit., pp. 375 seq.

form of the same verb (*dicit* for *dicet*); or a slight alteration in the order of the words (*trahat casulam* for *casulam trahat*).

We can now see the explanation of the puzzling disappearance of all the Carmelite breviaries and missals of the 13th century. It was felt by Sibert de Beka and others in the early years of the following century that the Carmelites should cease copying the Dominicans, and return to the liturgical usages of the Holy Sepulchre, which for over half a century had been discontinued. By this time (1312), however, there were few, if any, fathers who remembered the old rite, and the only liturgy known to the Order was the one it was then using. In imposing a new ordinal, Sibert de Beka met with the same resistance as John of Wildeshausen had met when he attempted to impose the Dominican revision of the 'four friars'. Fr. Zimmermann says that Sibert's ordinal 'experienced some difficulty in superseding the old one',¹ and Fr. Joseph, the discoverer of the Dublin ordinal, says that opposition was especially strong in England, where it was not adopted until 1333: 'a proof of their attachment to the ancient ceremonial'.² In 1324 the general chapter at Barcelona had threatened penalties for non-compliance: 'and the prior-general is directed to depose the provincial of England from the provincialate, if through his carelessness the ordinal continues to be disregarded'.³ In spite of the insistence on the adoption of the new book with its restoration of the old rite, we find the English Carmelites under three successive provincials (Richard Blyton, John Walsingham, John Baconthorpe) ignoring the order, and it was only finally accepted by John Bloxham (*ob. c.* 1334).⁴

The Middle Ages had an effective way of putting an end to the use of a troublesome book, namely to destroy it,⁵ and apparently this is what happened to the large number of Carmelite missals

¹ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XIII, p. 73.

² *Antiquum Ord. Carm. Ordinale, saec. XIII*, 5. Scotland and Ireland may have adopted the ordinal about the same time. *Biblioth. Carm.* II, 742.

³ *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, pp. 25-6.

⁴ *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, an. I (1909), p. 66.

⁵ Cf. Franciscan chapter of 1266, which directed all previous lives of St. Francis to be destroyed, and, when such lives were in the possession of persons outside the Order, the friars were to endeavour to 'remove' them! *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, VII (1914), p. 678.

and breviaries of the 13th century.¹ Sibert de Beka, who was provincial of the lower German province in the early years of the 14th century (*ob.* at Cologne, 1332), rearranged and revised the entire ordinal, eliminating many Dominican practices, and reintroducing a number of usages from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre.² Henry Pantaleon, commenting on this ordinal, says: *Sibertus de Beka . . . Cum autem is intellexisset, Ordinem suum a vero tramite declinasse, ipsum Ordinale (quod vocant) sui Ordinis sagaci intentione correxit.*³

The ordinal makes no reference to the usages of the Dominicans, and professes to follow the old rite of Jerusalem: *Incipit ordinal Fratrum ordinis beatae Mariae de monte Carmeli extractum et exce(r)ptum de approbato usu dominici Sepulchri sanctae Jerosolimitanae ecclesiae in cujus finibus dictorum fratrum religio sumpsit exordium.*⁴ And again: *et omnia quae in divino officio cantanda vel legenda fuerint secundum usum dominici Sepulchri.*⁵ The Dominican influence, however, in spite of the drastic character of Beka's rearrangement and the subsequent changes in the Carmelite ordinal, is still recognisable. Sibert de Beka himself said that he had supplied what was wanting in the ancient ordinal, with the help of customs approved by other Churches, but he neither said what he had borrowed nor from whence he had taken it. Several manuscripts of this ordinal are in existence,⁶ and also a certain number of breviaries, missals, day hours and choir books arranged in accordance with it, which contain, beside local feasts, those which from time to time were introduced into the Order. The ordinal preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace dates from about 1320, and is thought by Fr. Zimmermann to have come either from Norwich or some other house on the east coast of

¹ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XV, p. 199.

² *Mihi valde probabile videtur, P. Sibertum ideo praecipue novum Ordinale scripsisse, quia alium nimis conveniebat cum Ordinali Praedicatorum et in pluribus non concordabat cum proprio Ritu S. Sepulchri.* Gabriel Wessels, *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, an. IV (1912), vol. II, p. 421, n. 1.

³ *Prosopographiae Heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae*, part II (Basle, 1565), fo. 314; *Annal. Ord. Carm.*, an. IX (1917-22), vol. IV, p. 120.

⁴ Zimmermann, *Ordinaire . . .* (Paris, 1910), p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶ E.g. Lambeth MS. 193; MSS. B. 9, 1795 and IX, 68, in *Bibl. Magliabec*, Florence (both incomplete); MS. 121, *Bibl. de Dijon* (1468).

England.¹ It represents, with a few modifications, the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre (1160).² In 1312 the general chapter at London approved the book, and directed that it should be used throughout the Order. The decision was repeated in the chapters of 1315 (Cologne under Gerard of Bologna), 1318 (Bordeaux) and 1321. The general chapter at Barcelona in 1324, under John Alerio, considered the ordinal to be the *codex fundamentalis liturgiae ordinis*, and renewed the obligation for it to be used by all the houses of the Order: *Ordinale autem jamdudum per Magistrum Sibertum ordinatum et correctum et per quatuor praecedentia nostri Ordinis generalia capitula confirmatum unanimi sensu approbamus et per totum ordinem ab omnibus praecipimus observari*. The Divine Office was directed to be recited 'according to the use of the Holy Sepulchre'.³

The ordinal is divided into two unequal parts. The first part contains fifty-six chapters or 'rubrics', and gives the liturgical rules; while the second part prescribes the order of the antiphons, psalms, chapters, hymns, versicles, responses, etc., and supplies some of the variable parts of the Mass for the Sundays, ferias and feasts of the year. Nowhere are the liturgical formulas given in their entirety, but only the first words, and very often only the first letters of each word. It is a directory to serve as a guide to the president of the choir and to the copyist of liturgical books. There is need of an intimate knowledge of the rite to understand the abbreviations, and the work would not be entirely intelligible without the help of breviaries and missals, either of the Carmelites or of some other Order which follows a similar liturgy. The simplicity and archaic character of the ordinal place it mid-way between the institutions of the Carthusians and those of the Dominicans,⁴ and the well-nigh universal poverty of the Order is admitted by the number of lights prescribed and the limited use of incense.⁵ The ordinal of Sibert de Beka shows, as indeed it

¹ Zimmermann, op. cit., introduct., I, p. V.

² Ibid., p. XV. The even cues of the secrets and postcommunions are omitted.

³ . . . *Uniformiter divinum officium compleant secundum usum Dominici sepulchri*, rub. III.

⁴ *Carmes (Liturgie de l'Ordre des)*, D.A.C.L., t. II, part II, col. 2169.

⁵ Zimmermann, op. cit., introduct., p. XIV.

professes to do, many of the distinctive features of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre: the double repetition of the introit on feasts; three lessons at Mass on solemnities; versicles at the end of the antiphons on the feasts of St. Paul, St. Laurence and Trinity Sunday; a commemoration of the Resurrection in the suffrages; a solemn commemoration of the Resurrection on the last Sunday after Trinity, with an office of nine lessons and the Mass of Easter; the ninth lesson taken from the Paschal office, with corresponding responsary, on all Sundays between Easter and Advent (if no feast), with the high Mass of Easter and the Sunday Mass sung without solemnity after prime. In 1539 the order was reversed by the general chapter (Vicenza), and the Mass of Sunday took the more solemn place. The following saints of the Church of Jerusalem were included in the calendar: Matthias, bishop and confessor; Simeon, bishop and martyr; Quiriacus, bishop and martyr; Mark, bishop and martyr; and Narcissus, bishop and martyr. The ordinal, however, was no mere transcription of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. There was much in the Carmelite liturgy that was distinctive. The proses, for example, were very numerous, and seem to have formed a homogeneous collection, but it has been found impossible to trace their source.

No variations are discernible between the ordinal of Sibert, later manuscripts and the first printed missals, apart from the appearance of new offices and Masses. The rubrics of the missal of 1504 were taken almost verbatim from the ordinal, and even have the same numbers.¹ English Carmelite missals are of extreme rarity, and the only manuscript of a complete missal known to exist in this country is in fact not of English use, although two English saints are found in the calendar: St. Richard of Chichester and St. Edmund, king and martyr. The full Mass of high rank for St. Justina of Padua suggests that the book, which is of the late 14th or 15th century, emanated from North Italy.² The incomplete missal in the British Museum³ was in all probability written

¹ A photostatic copy of this rare book is in the British Museum: *Missale factum ad usum Fratrum Carmelitarum*, Venice, 1504.

² John Rylands Library, Manchester, MS. 123.

³ Brit. Mus., Eng. MSS., Addit. 29704-5, 44892.

and illuminated towards the end of the 14th century for the house of the Order in London.¹ It had been cut up for the sake of the miniatures to form a number of scrap books, but it has now been reconstructed, as far as possible. The fifty-two miniatures in successive parts of the missal were painted by six different artists,² who seem to have influenced each other very little in the course of their collaboration. Three distinct styles have been noted in the course of reconstruction.³ The rubrics are given in minute detail, as if for the sake of absolute completeness, but as it is impossible for them to be read at the altar, the book may well have served rather as an exemplar copy than for use at Mass.⁴ The library of University College, Oxford, has a Carmelite manuscript of English use, comprising a breviary and short missal, of the same period.⁵ A complete missal, dated 1458 and now in Trinity College, Dublin, comes from Kilcormic (Kilcormuck) in County Leix (King's County).⁶ A colophon says that the missal was written at the Carmelite convent of 'kylcarmaye'.

No tropes appear in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, but, as we find troparies in the catalogues of some of the libraries, it seems clear that they were not unknown in the Order. The Carmelites have made their choice where the rite of Jerusalem gives alternatives in the Office or Mass, and they appear to have inverted the order of the chapters and versicles of the hours. Sibert de Beka replaced the twelve lessons in the liturgy of Holy Saturday by five. Finally, it may be noted that the prominence of devotion to our Lady was rather a distinctive feature of the Order than a borrowing from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre.

General chapters prescribed the celebration of new feasts, but the 14th-century ordinal remained in force till the chapter of 1532 (Padua). In that year, 'in order to ensure uniformity in worship', especially in respect to the calendar, a commission of friars from the priories of Rouen, Meaux, Ghent, Cologne, Brussels and Malines, under the presidency of Theodore of Gouda, provincial of Lower Germany, was appointed to examine and correct the

¹ Written before 1391; illuminated before 1398. Rickert, *Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (London, 1952), I, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 24-5.

⁵ Univ. Coll., Oxford, MS. 9.

⁶ Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS. 82, B. 3. 1.

ordinal, *salvo tamen semper speciali fundamento antiqui ordinalis*. The work was approved in the general chapter of 1539 (Vicenza),¹ but the revised ordinal did not appear until 1544, when, after some further changes had been introduced by the prior-general, Nicholas Audet, it was published at Venice. The slight modifications chiefly concerned the sanctoral, and the general rubrics and the temporal cycle remained almost intact. For some unknown reason, Nicholas Audet, between the years 1544 and 1551, abolished the proses, with the exception of the four or five in general use.

If we may judge from the constant concern of the general chapters with liturgical uniformity and the due performance of divine worship, the eve of the Protestant Reformation seems to have been a time of laxity or, at least, diversity in these matters. In 1524, the general chapter (Venice) deprecated the prevalent ignorance of ceremonies, and directed members of the Order to pay attention to them, and to carry out the services in a uniform manner. Provincial priors in the visitation of houses were ordered to examine the religious in respect to the ordinal and the ceremonies of the Mass. The printing, correcting or altering of either the breviary or the missal without the sanction of the prior-general was strictly forbidden. The *Isagogicon*, a work concerned with the general reformation of the White friars, edited by Nicholas Audet as vicar-general of the Order (1523), stressed the importance of liturgical uniformity.

The missal of 1574 inserted a rubric as to possible accidents and defects in the Mass, as well as one on the colour sequence. Black and violet might be used interchangeably; yellow was the colour for confessors who were not bishops, and white for virgins, even though they were martyrs. A proper preface for St. John Baptist was added at the end of the missal, and it was noted before the votive Mass of the Holy Name that it was to be said 'with three candles'.

Uniformity at Mass was again the subject of discussion at the general chapter of 1564 (S. Martino ai Monti, Rome),² and the

¹ *Omnibus approbatum Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae morem et usum, ac antiquum Carmeli Eliae institutum sequentibus ubique locorum agentibus maxime necessarium.*

² *Ordinarentur in singulis conventibus duo reformatores: qui omnes ad uniformitatem reducant.*

compendium of the constitutions for the Italian houses, issued by the prior-general, John Baptist Rubeo (Rossi), in 1568, demanded a strict adherence to the rubrics: *nihilque addito, praeter illud quod uti consuevimus, videlicet Domine non sum dignus et quae sequuntur, manu dextra pectus percutientes*. The Pian liturgical reform called for a further 'overhauling' of the Carmelite rite, although by the terms of the bull (*Quo primum*) the general structure of the traditional liturgy was safe from interference. The work was entrusted to Honorius Francis de Turcis, prior of Treviso, and the emended missal appeared in 1574: the breviary in 1575 and 1579. The reform reduced the number of Carmelite saints in the calendar to nineteen; provided one hundred and forty-five ferias;¹ changed some of the prayers of the celebrant before Communion; altered certain of the ceremonies before the offertory; and abolished the matutinal Masses of the Resurrection. Many of the friars, however, were far from satisfied with the reform, and the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina and S. Martino ai Monti, Rome) appointed a new commission under the prior-general, John Baptist Caffard de Senis, in 1580. The approbation, given by the Pope on 4 August 1584, shows the nature of many of the changes: the suppression of apocryphal or doubtful matter; rejection of sermons and homilies of suspected origin; adoption of antiphons, responses and lessons according to the order of the new Roman breviary, in so far as the difference of rite would permit; revision of the classification of feasts;² and a reduction in the number of saints in the calendar. The traditional and venerable Carmelite rite was retained, but where the rubrics of the Order were silent on any point those of the Roman rite were to be followed.³ General chapters and priors-general were forbidden to make any changes in the liturgy without the approval of the

¹ The missal of 1551 had no more than thirty-four ferias.

² The traditional classification was *totum duplex, duplex, semiduplex, IX lectionum, III lectionum*, which was changed to *duplex majus, duplex minus* (the distinction of 1st and 2nd class (for both) was introduced into the calendar by Fr. Peter of the Apostles in 1588), *semiduplex, simplex* and *simplicissimum* (abolished in 1930).

³ Zimmermann considers the reform to have retained all the distinctive features of the rite, preserving it in its integrity. *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. II, part II, col. 2175.

Congregation of Rites. The new breviary appeared in 1584, and the missal in 1587. The reform of the liturgical books necessitated a revision of the ceremonial, for although the ordinal of Sibert de Beka was still the *fons primarius* of the Carmelite liturgy it had lost its juridical value. The need was expressed by the general chapter (Cremona) in 1593: *ut servetur uniformitas in ceremoniis in Missis celebrandis, statuerunt quamprimum imprimendum esse Ordinarium, seu Ceremoniale. . .*¹ A new edition of the ceremonial was demanded also by the general chapters of 1609 and 1613, and the work of preparation was set in hand by Cyril de las Heras, and achieved by another friar of the Spanish province, Peter of the Apostles, in 1616. It was felt by some, however, that the new book had, in certain respects, failed to conform to the norm of the missal and breviary, and the general chapter of 1660 ordered the discrepancy to be rectified: *Statutum est, renovandum esse Ceremoniale Ordinis, illudque reducendum ad normam rubricarum missalis, ac breviarii, et quantum licebit, ad uniformitatem pro omnibus provinciis.* Small ceremonials made their appearance in different provinces,² but it was not until 1906 that a new edition was published for the whole Order, based on the rubrics of the missal of 1587.³ The reformed breviary of 1584 had, as we have seen, provided an excuse for the Discalced friars to discard the traditional rite, although the real reason lay elsewhere. The Carmelites, in common with other religious orders in possession of a distinctive liturgy, were divided among themselves as to how far 'reform' should go. There were those who considered that nothing further should be added or taken away from the liturgy,⁴ while others continued to crave for a closer approximation to Roman formulas and ceremonial. On the advice of Baronius, a new edition of the breviary was decided upon in 1602, but in 1635 the prior-general, Theodore Stratius, in a letter to Pope

¹ *Act. Cap. Gen.*, vol. I, p. 589.

² Spain, 1680 and 1910; Italy, 1726; Germany, 1744.

³ The rubrics as to processions, censing and Holy Week ceremonies were omitted. Slight discrepancies between the missal and the ceremonial are apparent, e.g. genuflections in choir at requiems and the position of the subdeacon after the *Agnus Dei*.

⁴ *Cap. Gen.* 1598, S. Martino ai Monti, Rome.

Urban VIII (1623–44) offered to relinquish the Carmelite breviary and missal in exchange for the Roman liturgical books with a supplement of saints of the Order and the retention of the *Salve Regina* at the end of Mass. The catastrophe was happily averted, but the craving for change continued unabated. The general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina, Rome) in 1666 directed that new editions of the breviary and missal should be prepared,¹ although a missal had appeared in 1640 (Rome).² In 1672 Pope Clement X (1670–76) commissioned Matthew Orlando to re-examine the Carmelite breviary, and authorised its use throughout the Order, as soon as it had been emended. The revision marked the final and definite sanction of the post-Tridentine reform of the Carmelite liturgy. Four invocations to our Lady were added to the litany: *Mater decor Carmeli*,³ *Virgo flos Carmeli*, *Patrona Carmelitarum*, *Spes omnium Carmelitarum*. The proper preface for the Sundays in Lent (*Qui corporali jejunio*) was prescribed by the general chapter in 1686, which said that except for this preface, the rubrics of the ceremonial were to be followed rather than those of the missal should there be a discrepancy between the two. Further editions of the breviary appeared in 1734, 1855, 1886 and 1939. The new arrangement of the psalter, which had been proposed in the general chapter of 1931, in order to comply with the constitution *Divino afflatu* (1911), was carried into effect in 1933. The ‘levelling’ spirit, which had been so marked a feature of the 16th and 17th centuries, was shown as recently as 1919, when, at the request of certain members of the Dutch province, the prayers at Mass for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels were discontinued. The last edition of the missal appeared in 1935. A ritual, after a protracted struggle as to its juridical validity, was printed in Rome in 1903, and approved by the Congregation of Rites two years later.

¹ *Mandatum fuit, ut breviaria et missalia denuo imprimenda imprimantur pro uniformitate ad normam breviarii et missalis.*

² A copy of this missal in the British Museum was destroyed in the Second World War.

³ *Ab antiquissimo tempore, cujus initii memoria non extat.* Cf. *Bull. Carm.* IV, 494–5; *Anal. Ord. Carm.*, vol. III, p. 252.

LITURGICAL YEAR

The solemn commemoration of the Resurrection on the Sunday next before Advent, formerly celebrated in the Order, has been mentioned elsewhere.¹ The Mass of *Ember Wednesday in Advent*, known as *Missa aurea*, is observed with solemnity: Marial in character, excluding the penitential note.

CHRISTMAS

Prophetical lessons from Isaias are recited by an acolyte on the Vigil and in the three Masses of the feast. They are identical with those found in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre.² The *Gloria in excelsis* is not said on the Vigil, even if it be a Sunday.³ The same solemnities are observed for the chanting of the Genealogy before the *Te Deum* on Christmas night and the night of the Epiphany as we find in the early 14th-century ordinal. Lauds is sung after the communion (*In splendoribus*) of the Midnight Mass, without *Deus in adiutorium*, chapter or hymn.⁴ Altar and ministers are censed during the *Benedictus*, and the Mass is then concluded in the usual way.⁵ A prose for each of the Christmas Masses was provided in the missal until 1551.

SUNDAYS AFTER THE OCTAVE OF THE EPIPHANY

These differ from the corresponding Sundays in the Roman rite only in respect to the alleluatic verse.

ASH WEDNESDAY

The ceremony of the blessing of ashes begins with four versicles and responses, followed by two prayers: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui misereris omnium* and *Omnipotens sempiterne*

¹ *Dominica proxima ante Adventum Domini fiat festum duplex de commemoratione Resurrectionis dominicae secundum usum et consuetudinem approbatam ecclesiae sepulchri Hierosolymitanae.* Rub. XXIII, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 37. It was omitted in 1584.

² Fo. 34 a-r, MS. Barberini 659.

³ Zimmermann, *Ordin.* . . ., p. 417.

⁴ Cf. *Micrologus* (*Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 1005) and John Belet (Ration.; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 56).

⁵ Cf. Ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre, ms. Barberini 659, fols. 33-4.

*Deus, parce poenitentibus.*¹ The priest says *In nomine Patris*, etc., as he sprinkles the ashes. The psalm *Salvum me fac*, forced with the antiphon *Exaudi, Domine*, is sung during the imposition. The formula: *Memento quia cinis es et in cinerem reverteris*, which is found in the missal of 1733, has been replaced by the Roman form. This is followed by a versicle, response, prayer,² and two antiphons.³

LENT

The lenten veil, which formerly hung before the presbytery from after compline on the first Sunday in Lent until Wednesday in Holy Week, was discontinued in 1616. The ceremonial of that year says: *Praeterea hac die (fer. IV Cinerum) vel sequenti Dominica, cortina seu velum (quod velum Templi appellatur) ante presbyterium extendi solet; quae etiam consuetudo omnino aboleri debet. . . . Ideo licet patriae consuetudo illud velum postulet, nullo modo in missa et officio poni debet: quamvis ad ostensionem et adorationem ligni Sanctae Crucis, ubi fit, vel ad similia, ob devotionem majorem poni permittatur.*⁴ The absence of the veil from the papal chapel was one of the reasons alleged for its suppression, but as the White friars had a distinctive rite of their own, the excuse does not seem to be *ad rem*. The veiling of crosses and statues now takes place, as in the Roman rite, before first vespers of Passion Sunday.⁵

Flectamus genua is said in the ferial Masses of Lent, but it is omitted on the Wednesday and Saturday in the Ember weeks of Advent and September. There is no *oratio super populum* on Ember Saturday in Lent.

PALM SUNDAY

White vestments are used for the blessing of the palms: purple for the Mass.⁶ The 14th-century ordinal prescribed dalmatic

¹ The second of these prayers is the first in the Roman rite. The Ordinal of Sibert de Beka gives *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui parcis* as the second prayer. *Ordin. . . .*, p. 142.

² *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae.* The missal of 1733 gives: *Parce Domine, parce.*

³ *Juxta vestibulum; Immutemini.*

⁴ *Caerimon.* (1616), p. 219.

⁵ *Caerimon.* (1906), par. III, rub. XXI, no. 443, p. 255.

⁶ *Sac. Rit. Congreg.*, 12 April 1640.

and tunicle for the deacon and subdeacon,¹ but they are no longer worn.² The blessing takes place *ad cornu epistolae*, but in the ancient rite: *ante gradus presbyterii*. The ceremony begins with versicles and responses, followed by the prayer *Deus qui dispersa congregas*. The palms are then sprinkled and censed, and a second prayer is said: *Deus qui per olivae ramum*. In the Middle Ages the palms were distributed without ceremony by the sacristan. The subdeacon carries the holy water in the procession: the deacon, the cross (uncovered).³ Four stations are made, and at the last, before the door of the church, *Ave Rex noster* is sung three times, and each time the community genuflects.⁴ The deacon then sings the gospel,⁵ and, after the hymn *Gloria, laus, et honor*, the procession enters the church. The palms were formerly placed on the presbytery step, and not held during the Passion in the Mass: *ramos . . . super gradum presbyterii hinc inde deponant, quos secretarius statim auferat*.⁶ The same ordinal directs the cross to remain uncovered until after compline.⁷ The ceremony concludes with the versicle: *Eripe me de inimicis meis, Deus meus*, and the prayer: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui humano generi*. The rite of the Holy Sepulchre has the rubric: *ad missam sacerdos, diachonus, subdiachonus casulis coccineis induuntur*. The ordinal of 1312 directs a single deacon to sing the Passion, but the missal of 1490 prescribes three. The original practice was restored in the missal of 1574, and is maintained today.

TRIDUUM SACRUM

The tropes for the *Kyrie* at the end of lauds (*tenebrae*) on these days are mentioned by John Belet (ob. post 1165).⁸ Five candles were lit for the night office,⁹ which was concluded in much the same way as in the Premonstratensian rite.¹⁰

¹ Op. cit., p. 157.

² In the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, the ministers wore chasubles in Advent and Lent: albs only on the Ember days.

³ *In qua (processio) crux discooperta deferatur*.

⁴ Cf. Rite of Holy Sepulchre, Barletta codex, fo. 79.

⁵ The Dominican custom of singing the gospel *before* the procession was prescribed in the 13th-century ordinal. This was changed by Sibert de Beka (1312).

⁶ *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 159.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Rat. Div. Offic.*, cap. CII; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CCII, col. 108.

⁹ *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 162.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

HOLY THURSDAY

The *Gloria in excelsis* was not originally sung on this day,¹ but the actual missal (1935) says: *Dicitur Gloria in excelsis, quo intonato pulsantur campanae*. Vespers² follow the communion of the Mass, but there is no incense at the *Magnificat*. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the deacon during the canticle to take the Blessed Sacrament 'to the place prepared', accompanied by torch-bearers.³ Mass is continued after the antiphon following the *Magnificat*, with the postcommunion *Refecti vitalibus alimentis*,⁴ but the *Salve Regina* is not said before the last gospel. According to immemorial Carmelite usage, roses or other flowers are strewn on the high altar after it has been washed.⁵ Carmelite usages for Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday and Good Friday were similar to those prescribed in the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre,⁶ although it was impossible to attempt solemnities on the same scale of magnificence.

GOOD FRIDAY

The liturgy begins with an acolyte, *ante gradum presbyterii*, reciting the lesson: *In tribulatione*.⁷ Then, after a tract (*Domine audivi*) and collect (*Deus a quo et Judas*), the subdeacon, in an alb, but no maniple, says: *Dixit Dominus ad Moysen*. This is followed by the tract *Eripe me*, the Passion, solemn prayers,⁸ and the adoration of the cross. When the preparatory prayers of the Mass of the Presanctified have been said,⁹ the Blessed Sacrament is brought from the 'sepulchre' to the altar by the deacon: *Postea diaconus ceroferariis praecedentibus deferat calicem cum hesterno*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164. Cf. Premonstratensian rite.

² The rubric in the Carmelite missal is similar to those in the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre (fols 69v-70r, MS. Barberini 659) and in the Dominican missal.

³ *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 164.

⁴ Fols. 69v-70r, MS. Barberini 659.

⁵ Forcadell, *Rit. Carmel. Antiq. Observ.*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIV (1950), fasc. I, p. 49.

⁶ MS. Barberini 659, fol. 34a.

⁷ Subdeacon in a surplice, Rite of Jerusalem, MS. 659, fo. 84.

⁸ The deacon, not the subdeacon, says *Levate*.

⁹ *In nom. Patris, Confitemini Domino, Confiteor, Aufer a nobis*.

*Corpore Domini corporali coopertum.*¹ The deacon spreads the corporal on the altar and pours wine into the chalice: the sub-deacon, water. The *Pater noster*, with introduction and embolism, follows the censing and *lavabo*. The priest kisses the paten, and touches his eyes with it, as he says: *da propitius pacem.*² Neither incense nor rattle are used at the elevation of the Host,³ and there is no prayer at the commixture. Before Holy Communion, the priest says: *Domine non sum dignus*⁴ and *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat me in vitam aeternam. Quod ore sumpsimus* is said at the ablutions, but not *Corpus tuum* or *Tibi laus*. The candles on the altar are then extinguished, but the sacred ministers remain for vespers: *Et sic missa et vesperae simul terminantur.*⁵

HOLY SATURDAY

The Carmelite writer, Thomas Netter of Walden (15th century), speaks of the liturgy of Holy Saturday as still celebrated in the night.⁶ The old ordinal directs the statues to be uncovered before the hour of the Office.⁷ The new fire is blessed before the door of the church, with the *Miserere* (Psl. L) recited as the procession goes down the aisle. The officiant wears a white cope. Versicles and responses are followed by two prayers: *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus benedicientibus nobis* and *Omnipotens sempiternae Deus, lumen indeficiens*. The collect: *Veniat quaesumus, omnipotens Deus* is said at the blessing of the grains of incense. A tripartite candle (*candela triangulans*) is lit from the new fire, and the procession returns to the presbytery, while Psalm LXVI (*Deus misereatur*) is sung. The paschal candle, acolytes' tapers and the other lights in the church are lit during the *Exultet*, at the words: *Quam in honorem Dei rutilans ignis accendit*. The eulogy of the bee occurs after the words *apis mater eduxit: O vere beata et mirabilis apis, cujus nec sexum masculi*

¹ *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 169.

² *Patenam osculatur, et cum eadem oculos tangit et se signat.* Missale, 1935.

³ *In elevatione hostiae non insensatur, nec pulsatur tabula.* Missale, 1935.

⁴ Not in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.

⁵ *Missale*, 1935; cf. *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 170.

⁶ *Doctrinale*, t. III, cap. XXV. Thomas Netter entered the Order in London in 1395, and died in 1430/31.

⁷ *Ordin.* . . . (edit. Zimmermann), p. 171.

violant, foetus non quassant, nec filii destruunt castitatem sed sicut sancta concepit Virgo Maria, virgo peperit, et virgo permansit. The melody of the *Exultet* is more ornate than that in the Roman missal. The paschal candle burns at all the offices on Holy Saturday, including compline, and also at matins, Mass, vespers and compline on Easter day and the succeeding days till Low Sunday inclusive. On the other Eastertide Sundays it is lit for Mass and vespers, otherwise only at Mass, but on ferias and simple feasts it is not lighted. The candle burns at vespers and compline on the Vigil of the Ascension, and on the feast at matins, terce and Mass (until after the gospel). The old rite directed the candle to be extinguished at the conclusion of the Mass, but the missal of 1587 prescribed Roman usage.¹ If between Easter and the Ascension the feast of dedication or title should occur, the candle is lit for the vespers and compline of the eve, as well as on the day itself for matins and an hour before Mass. If a general procession to a Carmelite church should be ordered during Eastertide, the candle is lit for the procession and for the Mass or office which follows, regardless of the day.

A violet chasuble is worn by the officiant for the lessons, and a white cope, with dalmatic and tunicle for the ministers, at the blessing of the font. The Carmelite liturgy prescribes five lessons, not twelve as in the rites of Rome (Gelasian), Benevento and Jerusalem. The Sacramentary of Hadrian and *Ordo Romanus Primus* each have four, but the last lesson in the sacramentary is *Haec est hereditas*, whereas *Ordo Romanus I* gives *Scriptis Moyses*. The Carmelites follow the Roman order, with the addition of *Audi Israel: In principio; Vigilia matutina; Apprehendent; Scriptis Moyses; Audi Israel*. The litanies include invocations to 'Father Elias', Eliseus, Angelus, Albert, Teresa and Mary Magdalene of Pazzi.

Judica me is said as the priest, with his head covered, goes to the altar for Mass. Vespers are sung after the ablutions, with the altar censed at the *Magnificat. Regina Coeli*, with versicle, response and collect, are recited before the last gospel: *sic missa et vesperae simul finiantur.*

¹ The Dublin MS. of the ordinal directs the candle to be removed *sexta finita*.

EASTER

Vespers of Easter Sunday and the four succeeding days began with *Kyrie eleison* in the 14th-century ordinal,¹ whereas the 'Dominicanised' book of the previous century had given Easter, with but two days following.² This earlier usage was adopted by the Order in 1584.

ASCENSION

The procession was taken from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, the ordinal of which says: *vadit processio ad montem Oliveti*.³ The Dublin manuscript has the antiphon *Omnis pulchritudo* for the second station in the procession, as in the Dominican liturgy. A solemn octave was prescribed by the general chapter (Brixen) in 1478.⁴

VIGIL OF PENTECOST

The liturgy, as on Holy Saturday, has four lessons. A rubric in the ordinal of the Holy Sepulchre directs the bells to be rung during the *Gloria in excelsis*: *Quod (Gloria in excelsis) dum cantatur, sonat totum classum, donec finiatur*.⁵

The *Wednesday after Trinity Sunday* is observed as the anticipated Octave of the Holy Trinity.

CORPUS CHRISTI

The feast was prescribed with a common octave in the general chapter in 1306. In 1324 a solemn octave was permitted, where it was desired,⁶ which was imposed throughout the Order in the chapter of 1369. The procession of the Blessed Sacrament is

¹ *Vesperae sic incipiuntur: Kyrie eleison in tono Rex splendens atque Deus in adiutorium usque ad feriam V non resumitur. Ordin. . .* (edit. Zimmermann), pp. 174–6. Cf. Premonstratensian rite.

² The Dublin MS. follows the Dominican rule of a single antiphon at vespers on a *duplex* feast. The five antiphons were restored in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.

³ MS. Barberini 659, fo. 87r.

⁴ Octaves were provided by the same chapter for Epiphany, St. Michael and the Transfiguration.

⁵ *Classus*, cf. Du Cange, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 457–8.

⁶ *Quod qui devotionem habuerint, octavam de Corpore Christi cum pleno officio tenere possint.*

mentioned in several French provincial councils of the 14th century,¹ but it does not appear to have been customary in the Carmelite Order before the end of the 15th century. In 1492 Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) authorised the Carmelites of Cracow to carry the Blessed Sacrament ‘uncovered’ (*discooperatum*) on all Thursdays and some feasts of the year;² while in 1502 the privilege of carrying the Host, *sine velamine in ejus monstrantia*, on certain days in the year was granted to the Carmelites of Heilbronn.³

SUNDAYS BETWEEN TRINITY AND ADVENT

The ordinal of Sibert de Beka provides Sundays after Trinity, Sundays of August, Sundays of September, Sundays of October and Sundays of November, an arrangement still retained in the Order. The gospels for the Sundays after Pentecost in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre⁴ were similar to those for the same period in the Carmelite liturgy, except that those for the first and second Sundays were transposed. The grouping was followed in the Order until the reformed missal of 1584.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN IN THE LITURGY

The Carmelites, in common with many other religious, claim an especial devotion to our Lady. The original title of the Order, *Fratres eremitae de Monte Carmeli*, was changed about the year 1220, after the building of a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to *Eremitae Sanctae Mariae de Monte Carmeli*. This in its turn was altered, owing to the decisions of the general chapter at Aylesford (1247) and the subsequent confirmation of the rule by Pope Innocent IV (1243–54). Hermits had become friars, and a new title had become necessary: *Fratres Ordinis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli*. In 1447 an ordinance of the

¹ E.g. Sens (1320), Paris (1323), Tournai (1325), Chartres (1330).

² *Singulis feriis quintis et in quibusdam anni festivitibus SS. Sacramentum ‘discooperatum’ per ecclesiam et claustrum deferre valeant.* 16 June 1492. *Bull. Carm.*, I, p. 411.

³ *Ut id facere possint aliquibus diebus sine velamine in ejus monstrantia . . . processionaliter . . . et in aliquo altari ejusdem ecclesiae sub missarum solemnibus detinere.*

1 February 1502. *Bull. Carm.*, I, p. 425.

⁴ MS. Barberini 659, fo. 128.

apostolic chancery approved a slight change in the wording: *Fratres Ordinis Beatissimae Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli*. This was declared to be the official title by the general chapter in 1680. So early as 1287, we hear of the general chapter (Montpellier) appealing to the prayers of the Mother of God, since the Carmelite Order had been founded expressly in her honour.¹ The alleged gift of the scapular and the Sabbatine privilege, which have played so great a part in later Carmelite devotion, do not concern us here, as they have but little connection with the liturgy.

FEASTS OF OUR LADY

The actual Carmelite calendar has seven feasts of the Blessed Virgin, in addition to those celebrated in the Universal Church: Espousals (23 January), Patronage (30 January), Help of Christians (24 May), Mediatrix of all graces (31 May), Purity of Mary (16 October), Holy House of Loreto (10 December) and Expectation (18 December).

It is possible that in the Middle Ages the 'patronal' feast varied according to the province. We know, for example, that at Toulouse a Feast of Miracles was celebrated on 7 August in honour of a statue of our Lady, which, says Arnold Trenqua, was brought by William Anesia a Johosan from Mount Carmel in 1238.² The Assumption was probably the principal feast in the majority of houses till it was to a certain extent superseded by the Commemoration, which became known later as the feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel.

Purification of the Blessed Virgin (2 February)

The ceremony of the blessing of candles takes place *ad cornu epistolae*, but the ordinal of Sibert de Beka prescribed *in presbyterii gradu*.³ The officiant has a white cope. A single prayer follows

¹ *Suffragium imploramus B.V. Mariae Matris Jesu in cujus obsequio et honore fundata est nostra Religio de Monte Carmeli, in monte coagulato et pingui, monte in quo beneplaceat Domino habitare. Act. Gen. Cap.*, vol. I, p. 7.

² *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, t. II, col. 2173.

³ Edit. Zimmermann, p. 212.

the versicles: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum in ulnis sacri Simeonis. . .* Then, when the candles have been sprinkled and censed, and the altar candles lit, there is a second prayer, which is not in the old ordinal: *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, benedicere et sanctificare. . .* During the distribution, the *Nunc dimittis* is forced with the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, as in the Roman rite. There are four stations in the procession,¹ after which the torchbearers say before the altar: *℣. Responsum acceperat Simeon a Spiritu Sancto. R. Non visurum se mortem, nisi prius videret Christum Dominum*, and the priest recites a collect: *Perfice in nobis, quaesumus Domine.* The old ordinal, which directs the candles to be presented at the offertory,² gives the following rubric: *Qui facit officium teneat rotundam candelam suam ad processionem et ad primum et ad ultimum Dominus vobiscum, et ad Gloria in excelsis, et ad Evangelium, et ad Credo, et ad Dominus vobiscum post Credo. Dum cetera aguntur sistatur prope sacerdotem, scilicet ante Evangelium a dextris super altare et post Evangelium a sinistris.*³

Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin (25 March)

Carmelite devotion to this mystery may be seen in the number of churches dedicated to the Annunciation. Sometimes also we find confraternities with the solemnity as their principal feast, as Ferrara in 1432 and Paris in 1452. If the feast should fall on Palm Sunday, the 14th century ordinal directed the solemnity to be transferred to the following day, but if it fell on some other Sunday the feast was to be observed. The general chapter approved octaves for the Purification, Annunciation and All Saints in 1362.

Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (2 July)

The feast was introduced, together with those of *Our Lady of*

¹ Several of the antiphons sung during the procession differ from those found in the Roman missal.

² *Post offerendam offerant fratres candelas suas.* *Ordin.*, pp. 212-13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

the Snows (5 August) and the *Presentation*¹ (21 November) by the general chapter in 1391, and they were raised to the rank of *totum duplex* in 1420.

Joys of our Lady

The feast occurs in a 15th-century manuscript missal.²

Feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel (16 July)

A confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel existed at Florence before 1280, as we learn from the *Liber degli ordinamenti de la Compagnia di Maria del Carmino*,³ although there is no mention of a specific feast under that title. It has been suggested that the feast originated in England, on account of the strong tradition of the vision of St. Simon Stock. It was at first known as the feast of the 'Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin', and under that name it appears in the calendar of Nicholas of Lynn (c. 1386) on 17 July. It is found in the Arundel Calendar, written for John, Duke of Lancaster, in 1386, in which it is styled *festum confratrum*;⁴ also in the London Carmelite missal (late 14th century), Oxford breviary (1399), and the Irish missal of Kilkormic (1458), after which time we find it in all the liturgical books of the Order. Fr. Zimmermann concludes that the feast was instituted some time between the year 1376 and 1386, on account of the protection afforded by our Lady to the Order in 1374 and the following years.⁵ There is, however, no proof of this, and if such was the case why do the lessons at matins, when referring to the approbation of the Order by Honorius III in 1226, speak of the feast as *inviolabilis antiquitatis*? Towards the end of the 16th century the feast had come to be observed with great solemnity in the Order, and in 1609 the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina, Rome) prescribed its celebration, *praecipuum ac solemne*, in all houses. The general chapters of 1620 and 1625 petitioned

¹ The feast was at one time celebrated with an octave.

² Fo. 125, Paris, *Bibl. de l' Arsenal*, MS. 611 (193 T.L.); Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels . . .*, t. III, p. 219.

³ Edit. Julio Piccini, Bologna, 1867.

⁴ Brit. Mus., MS. Arundel 347.

⁵ *Mont. Hist. Carm.*, p. 335.

Rome for an octave, which was accorded by Urban VIII (1623–1644) in 1628. A proper Mass, with vigil and octave, had been granted to the Discalced Carmelites in 1609. The feast of our Lady of Mount Carmel was admitted as a feast of the Universal Church in 1726. A new and proper office was obtained by the Order in 1828, and the octave was raised to the second order in 1917. The Mass, before the appearance of the reformed missal, had been *Salve sancta parens* from the common, with the collect *Deus qui excellentissimae*. The missals of 1587 and 1640 also used the common, but with the introit *Gaudeamus* and the collect *Majestatem tuam*. From 1663–1866 the collect was *Deus qui Beatissimae*, and the postcommunion, *Adjuva nos, quaesumus Domine*,¹ with the addition, except in the missal of 1665, of the prose *Flos Carmeli*. *Flos Carmeli* is found in the late 14th-century London missal,² as well as in the ancient metrical office composed by John Bale (*ob.* 1503), in which it was the antiphon to the *Magnificat* for first vespers, the responsary after the 9th lesson at matins, and the responsary after the chapter at second vespers. It was introduced as the prose or sequence in the missal of 1663, but for some unknown reason it was omitted in the missal of 1665, although restored in 1684 and retained in all subsequent editions. *Flos Carmeli* is recited also as the sequence for the feast of St. Simon Stock (16 May), and a very ancient tradition ascribes the authorship to him. It is not found in the missal of the Discalced Carmelites.

Flos Carmeli
Vitis florigera
Splendor coeli
Virgo puerpera
Singularis

¹ The postcommunion had been previously: *Repleti vitalibus alimoniis*.

² 'It is very much crowded into a space too small for it, although it seems unlikely that it could have been introduced into the Missal as an afterthought.' Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, chap. I, p. 40. *Flos Carmeli* appears to have been used as a prose later than as an antiphon or responsary in the Office, and it may well be an addition to the missal.

Mater mitis
Sed viri nescia
Carmelitis
Da privilegia
Stella maris. Alleluia.

Two metrical compositions in an early-15th-century gradual of the use of York bear a curious resemblance to this hymn. They were sung on the days of the octave of the Assumption.¹ Dr. Frere suggests that these strange compositions 'probably belonged to the *Felix namque* offertory'.² A York sequence of the same type is found in a manuscript in the possession of Sion College in London:

Ave gloriosa
Virginum regina

Saint Pius X granted a proper Mass for both the vigil and the feast in 1913. A proper preface was conceded by Benedict XV in 1919.

Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (15 August)

The feast of the Assumption was the annual feast *par excellence* of the Order before the adoption of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and at Venice it remained so until at least the end of the 15th century, as we learn from the constitutions of the third order, compiled between 1452 and 1486. The Assumption seems likely to have been the *festum confratrum* in London, as the missal (end of 14th century) gives the Mass for 15 August in full, and in larger type than the Mass for the Commemoration in July.³ The attempt, however, of the prior-general, Bernard Olerius, at the provincial chapter in Doncaster (1376) to establish the feast as such met with strong opposition, *minime vero talis ordinatio generalis in morem inolevit*.⁴ The collect in the Mass—*Veneranda nobis*—which suggests a belief in the corporal Assumption, may

¹ *Generosi germinis; O Virgo pulcherrima*. Frere, *Journal of Theological Studies* II (1901), p. 585.

² *Ibid.*

³ Rickert, *op. cit.*, chap. I, p. 40.

⁴ E. Magennis, *The Scapular and Some Critics* (Rome, 1914), p. 234.

have been inspired by a Byzantine *kontakion*. It was recited at the assembly point (St. Adrian) of the procession instituted at Rome by Pope Sergius (687–701). The ordinal of Sibert de Beka, following the rite of Jerusalem,¹ prescribed a procession on the feast, with the recitation of the collect *Concede nobis, quaesumus* at its conclusion.² In the mediaeval rite, this prayer was said also at first vespers of the octave day.³ *Concede nobis* is found in two manuscripts of the Gelasian sacramentary: Rheinau MS. 30 (*Kantonsbibliothek*, Zurich) of the 8th century, and St. Gall, MS. 348 (St. Gall) of the beginning of the 9th or end of the 8th century.⁴ It occurs also in a Beneventan missal (11th–12th century), now in the British Museum; in the Ambrosian missal as the *oratio super sindonem*;⁵ and in the Hereford missal (1502) as the prayer for the octave day.

Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September)

The feast was celebrated with an octave at an unknown date, but the 14th-century ordinal prescribes its observance: *Octavam Nativitatis beatae Virginis facimus solemniter ad modum octavarum Assumptionis ejusdem, prout etiam in Rubrica de octavis est signatum*.⁶ The arrangement in the 13th century ‘Dominicanised’ ordinal is uncertain, as the rubric in respect to the feast is missing.

Conception of the Blessed Virgin (8 December)

The general chapter at Toulouse directed the Conception to be observed as a solemn feast in 1306,⁷ and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka says: *In Conceptione vel potius Veneratione sanctificationis beatae Virginis, sicut totum duplex*.⁸ It is possible that the Carmelites had previously kept the feast as a ‘minor solemnity’, but it is not found in either the 13th-century ordinal or in the rite of the

¹ *Vadit processio ad montem Sion, ubi gloriosa Virgo migravit de saeculo*, MS. Barberini 659, fo. 106a. Collect: *Concede misericors*.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 242–3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴ Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiae Alemannicae* (1777), p. 165.

⁵ The collect occurs at vespers in the *manuale ambros.* of Val Travaglia (11th century). Fo. 213, altera pars, edit. Magistretti (1904), p. 239.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

⁷ Also Corpus Christi as a solemn feast, and St. Louis with nine lessons.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

Holy Sepulchre.¹ In 1396 the general chapter ordered it to be observed with greater solemnity,² and a solemn octave was prescribed in 1411 (Bologna). The title 'Immaculate Conception' is found in the Carmelite missal of 1733, an unusual designation prior to the definition of the dogma in 1854. The ordinal of Sibert gives *Deus ineffabilis misericordiae* as the collect: the missal of 1733, *Supplicationem fervorum tuorum*, the prayer for the Nativity, with the necessary change in the wording. John Baconthorpe (c. 1330) speaks of Pope John XXII (1316–34) celebrating the feast with his cardinals in the church of the Carmelites at Avignon, when a sermon was preached before the Sovereign Pontiff and his court.³ The function, which seems to have been celebrated with a considerable degree of magnificence, was continued until at least 1469, some long time after the return of the Pope to Rome.⁴ This papal assistance at the feast was recorded by Thomas of Strasburg⁵ in 1341, in a reply to a gloss on the Decretal of Gratian, which had denied that the feast was recognised by the Roman Church.⁶ The expenses of the festival were beyond the means of the local Carmelites, and the general chapter decided to assist in defraying the cost. In 1393 we find in the chapter (Frankfurt) records: *Item pro festo Conceptionis Beatae Mariae floreni quinque*. The expenses incurred by the previous prior-general were also quoted: *Item pro festo Conceptionis Beatae Mariae pro sex annis in prandio Praelato qui facit sermonem, et pro illo qui celebrat missam, et pro potu famulorum duorum Cardinalium, dando quinque florenos in anno, ascendit in summam flor. XXX*. The influence of the Carmelites was second only to that of the Franciscans in spreading the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and in obtaining the general observance of the feast.

¹ *The Sword*, vol. VIII (May 1944), no. 2, p. 114.

² Also *Corpus Christi*.

³ The function is described as a 'public custom of long standing'. ⁴ *Sent.*, D. 2, Qu. 4, art. 3.

⁴ The Pope may have later celebrated the feast in his own chapel. Mario Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica*, vol. II (Milan, 1946), cap. VIII, p. 259.

⁵ Professor at the university of Paris and attendant at the papal court in Avignon.

⁶ *Dato quod illa verba sint in glossa praedicta, hodie tamen de facto essent abrogata, quia sancta Romana Ecclesia festum Conceptionis ipsius Virginis gloriosae solet solemniter celebrare. Lib. Sentent., III, dist. III, art. I.*

Marial Devotions

Votive Masses are always said with the *Gloria in excelsis*.¹

The *Salve Regina* seems to have made its appearance in the liturgy about 1260, the year following the general chapter at Messina, and we learn that in 1265 the Carmelites of Toulouse were accustomed to sing it in community.² The 13th-century ordinal prescribes it to be sung every night after compline, even on Holy Thursday and Good Friday, but in Sibert's edition it is to be omitted from Holy Thursday till after the octave of Easter. Early forms of the *Salve* do not contain the word *Mater*, and it is wanting in the missal of 1574.³ The general chapter of 1324 (Barcelona) enjoined the *Salve* to be sung at the end of each canonical hour and at the conclusion of the conventual Mass.⁴ The *Regina Coeli* in Eastertide was prescribed in the reformed breviary of 1584.⁵ It is uncertain when the solemn processional *Salve* on Saturdays was introduced, but it existed at Pisa in 1434, and a century later had become a custom throughout the Order.⁶ The solemn *Salve* was deemed important, and Sibert de Beka directed that at least two candles should be lit, in addition to the large candle in the middle of the choir: the lenten veil was to be removed; and the organ played, even in Advent and Lent.⁷ The constitutions of John Soreth added the *Ave Maria* to the *Pater noster* at the canonical hours in 1462, but the addition had been prescribed already in the regulations for the *conversi* (1367).⁸ The Little Office of our Lady was enjoined, except on certain specified days, in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka,⁹ and it is found in the 13th-century ordinal, borrowed from the Dominicans.

¹ In 1399, the general chapter authorised votive Masses of the Holy Spirit and the Blessed Sacrament to be celebrated on alternate weeks.

² *Chronicon* of Arnold Tranqua.

³ Early forms omit also *vitae* and the final *virgo*.

⁴ The revisers of the ordinal of 1544 had before them the constitutions of 1369, and they erroneously attributed to this chapter all the liturgical prescriptions contained in it, including the use of the *Salve Regina* at Mass.

⁵ *Regina Coeli* was a memorial *de Beata* in Eastertide in the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka. Op. cit., p. 29.

⁶ Its use was prescribed by the ceremonial of 1616 (p. 165) on all Saturdays and feasts of our Lady.

⁷ *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 6, rubr. XLI.

⁸ The *Ave Maria* is not found in the breviary of 1495, but it was enjoined to be said before each of the canonical hours in the ordinal of 1544.

Op. cit., p. 14.

Solemn Masses *de Beata* occur frequently in the 14th century ordinal: Matutinal Mass on the Sundays in Advent (*Rorate*) and the Sundays after the Octave of the Epiphany until 2 February (*Vultum tuum*); the conventual Mass on the free Wednesdays in Advent, and at other times. The solemn Mass on Saturdays, with prose or tract, was of especial importance, and if a major feast occurred on that day, the Mass was transferred to some other day during the week.¹ In 1324 the general chapter (Barcelona) prescribed a daily matutinal Mass of our Lady, and in 1339 the chapter (Limoges) proposed that the Saturday commemoration should rank as a double feast, with *Gloria* and creed. The reformed book of 1584 abrogated the matutinal Mass, and limited the Little Office and the commemoration on Saturdays, but the ceremonial of 1616 refers to the daily sung Mass *de Beata* as *adhuc viguit*, and the solemn votive Mass on Saturday was retained in the missal. In fact, the general chapter in 1692 ordered the community to assist at this Mass, *nemine excepto*.² It was enjoined also by the general chapter in 1896, 'according to the ancient privilege and pious custom of our Order'. The privilege was confirmed by Leo XIII in 1902, who approved the Mass of our Lady of Mount Carmel, with *Gloria*, creed and a single collect.³

The antiphon *Ave stella matutina* was attributed by Zimmermann, *omni dubio remoto*, to St. Simon Stock,⁴ but Blume-Dreves, who cites it as an antiphon to the *Magnificat*, claims Peter the Venerable (*ob.* 1156) as the author.⁵ It is found among the common memorials of the Blessed Virgin, sometimes said at Lauds, in the 13th-century ordinal, and in matins for Saturday in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.⁶ In 1690 the general chapter ordered the antiphon, with versicle and prayer, to be said after vespers or compline *ad implorandum auxilium Divinum in Ordinis nostri necessitatibus*.⁷

¹ The hours of the Divine Office on Saturdays were taken from the office known as 'The Commemoration of the Blessed Virgin'.

² *Act. Cap. Gen.*, vol. II, p. 241.

³ The Mass was confirmed in 1913 and again in 1918.

⁴ Cf. *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, p. 322.

⁵ *Analecta hymnica mediæ ævi*, vol. XLVIII, p. 243.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁷ *Act. Cap. Gen.*, vol. II, p. 132.

St. Joseph. 'The general opinion of the learned', says Benedict XIV, 'is that the Fathers of Carmel were the first to import from the East into the West the laudable practice of giving the fullest cultus to St. Joseph.'¹ There is, however, no evidence to support such a claim. A Carmelite missal, written between 1449 and 1481, gives St. Joseph, 'spouse of the glorious Virgin Mary', as a feast *duplex officium*.² The name of St. Joseph occurs in the breviary of 1480 (Brussels), and that of 1485 provides a proper office. In 1621 the Discalced Carmelites nominated the Saint as their patron, and in 1689 adopted the feast of the Patronage (third Sunday after Easter). St. Joseph was proclaimed as the *Primarius protector totius Ordinis* by the general chapter of the Ancient Observance in 1680, and a proper office was prescribed by the Congregation of Rites six years later (1686).³

St. Anne. The popularity of the cultus of St. Anne was due in a great measure to the Carmelites, and the first church erected in her honour in Europe is said to have been the church of the Order at Clermont Ferrand (1317).⁴ The feast was already of double rite in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka (1312), and in 1375 the general chapter prescribed a commemoration of St. Anne to be made after that of the Blessed Virgin. It may well have been at the request of St. Teresa that in 1580 the general chapter permitted the feast to be observed with an octave in the convent of the Incarnation at Avila.

St. Joachim. It was in 1497 that Arnold Bostius⁵ had written: *non desistamus, precor, donec Joachim ita celebris fuerit ut Anna*, and in the following year (1498) the general chapter (Nîmes) approved a feast (*duplex*) on 16 September, *sicut de Sancto Joseph fieri solet*. St. Joachim and St. Anne were chosen as particular patrons of the Order in 1666.⁶

¹ *De Serv. Dei beatif.*, I, 4, n. 11; XX, n. 17.

² Fo. 185v, Rouen, *Bibl. municip.*, MS. 287 (A. 22); Leroquais, op. cit., t. III, pp. 218-19.

³ St. Joachim and St. Anne were similarly honoured.

⁴ *The Sword*, vol. IX (May 1945), no. 2, p. 155, n. 18.

⁵ *Alias* John Trithemius, Benedictine abbot of Sponheim (*ob.* 1508).

⁶ In 1756, the general chapter (Cesena) appointed St. Gabriel as a secondary patron.

St. Elias (20 July). It seems strange in view of the Elian tradition that the feast of St. Elias was not officially authorised till about the end of the 16th century. The cult of the prophet, however, was no new development: two 4th-century frescoes of the fiery ascent into heaven may be seen in the Catacombs (Rome); an Irish litany of the 8th century invokes Elias;¹ while there exists a fragment of a Mass in his honour (*In Assumptione Sancti Helie*), written in South Italy about the end of the 11th century.² The *Martyrologium Hieronymiarum* (11th century) already includes the feast, and about 1080 we find many chapels, monasteries and hospitals dedicated to Elias, especially in Italy and Sicily. In the 13th century, veneration of the prophet is shown in art, eschatological drama and in the names of such prominent persons as Elias of Cortona and Elias of Trikingham, writers of the period. The Roman breviary of 1406, with a Franciscan calendar, gives *Raptus Helye prophete* on 17 June. The earliest Carmelite evidence appears to be the martyrology of 1480, in which Elias is styled 'Prophet and Patriarch of the Carmelite Order'. Papebrock suggests that 17 June was chosen as the date since it was within the octave of the feast of St. Eliseus (14 June). It is strange, however, that the 'Ascent' should be commemorated on 17 June when the Eastern Church made so much of the feast on 20 July, yet towards the end of the 15th century we find the July celebration slowly growing in England, Germany and perhaps elsewhere, without it becoming either general or obligatory. The Mass of St. Elias appears for the first time in a Carmelite book as a votive Mass in the sanctorale of the missal of 1551: *Eliae Prophetae, Fundatoris Ordinis Carmelitarum*. The feast is not found in the breviaries of 1551 and 1564, but it appears with an octave on 20 July in the reformed breviary of 1584, from which such prominent Carmelite saints as St. Berthold and St. Simon Stock had disappeared. In 1610 these saints were restored to the calendar, and Elias and Eliseus were given the proper offices which are in use today. Other proper offices were admitted in 1628.

¹ *Litany of Jesus* (I), Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LXII, p. 32 (1925).

² Vat. codex, lat. 10645, fo. 6v, with Beneventan script of the Bari type. *Paléograph. Music.*, XIV, p. 231. Tournai, 1931.

By this time the observance of the feast of Elias was universal in the Order, notwithstanding a certain amount of opposition to its celebration. In 1645 the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina, Rome) decided that 'the feast of our holy Patriarch Elias shall be solemnly celebrated in every convent of the Order'. Controversy and attack had the effect of making the Carmelites more 'Elias minded', and in 1680, when the Bollandist controversy was at its height, the general chapter prescribed a fast on the vigil of the feast; requested Rome for permission to recite a weekly office of St. Elias, similar to those in use by the Dominicans and Augustinians for their founders; and, in order 'to preserve uniformity', directed the words *Pater noster Elias* to be added to the *Confiteor* in all the provinces of the Order. A Carmelite of Lisbon, Emmanuel Ferreira (*ob.* 1654), thought fit to compose a paraphrase of the *Te Deum* in honour of the prophet: *Te Eliam laudamus, te Tesbiten confitemur*. The feast was ordered by the general chapter in 1722 to be celebrated with all possible pomp, and was made a day of general Communion in 1889. A proper preface for the Mass, refused in 1840, was accorded by Benedict XV in 1919. The reform of the calendar in 1930 retained the octave of St. Elias, while suppressing all other sanctoral octaves, including the very ancient one of St. Eliseus. At the same time also the votive office was suppressed, but not the votive Mass. St. Elias, *Prophetae, Primi Ducis et Patris nostri*, is a greater double of the first class with a major octave. The liturgical colour is red, by reason of the tradition that St. Elias will be martyred.¹ *St. Eliseus* (14 June). It is strange that St. Eliseus, who plays but a secondary role in the legendary history of the Order, should have been honoured with a feast (*festum duplex vel majus*) as early as 1399, and his name appears in two French Carmelite missals of the 15th century.² A tax was imposed by the general chapter in 1369, in order to obtain the body of St. Eliseus, which was said to be in the church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, but the

¹ *Et cum finierint testimonium suum, bestia, quae ascendit de abyssu, faciet adversum eos bellum, et vincet illos, et occidet eos. Apoc. XI, 7.*

² Leroquais, *op. cit.*, t. III, pp. 218-37. The name appears in two Celtic martyrologies, Tallaght (797-808) and Gorman (12th century), Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LXVIII (1931), p. 67 and vol. IX (1895), p. 117.

transaction was never completed. The martyrology of 1480 calls Eliseus 'after Elias, father and leader of our holy Order'. His name occurs in the calendar of the breviary of 1504, and the Utrecht missal (1540), which bears a certain similarity to a Carmelite book, provides a Mass of St. Eliseus. A solemn octave was accorded in 1564, but, as we have seen, it was suppressed in 1930. The feast (*Prophetæ et Patris nostri*) is a greater double of the second class.

Modifications in the calendar

The calendar approved by Pius XI (1930) suppressed the votive offices and the many octaves not observed by the Universal Church, with the exception of those of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and St. Elias.¹ At the same time also the rite *simplicissimum* was abolished, and the three lessons which had previously corresponded to the rite came into the category of *simplex*.

The sanctorale in the mediaeval missals began with the Mass of St. Maur (15 January) and ended with that of St. Thomas the Apostle (21 December), whereas in other rites the starting point was either the Vigil of St. Andrew (29 November) or the feast of St. Sylvester (31 December).

Carmelite Saints

The ordinal of Sibert de Beka (1312) gives some twenty-nine Carmelite saints, and the late 14th-century London missal, thirty-seven.

The following 'saints of the Order' are in the actual calendar, but, as will be seen, the designation for the early hermits and fathers is somewhat loosely applied! *St. Telesphorus* (19 January), pope and martyr (c. 126–c. 136). *B. Archangela Giralani* (28 January), nun of Mantua (ob. 1494). *St. Andrew Corsini* (4 February), bishop of Fiesole (ob. 1373). The name appears in the breviaries of 1462 and 1480 (30 January). *St. Peter Thomas* (16 January), martyr. In 1609, the feast, as of 'bishop and confessor', is given on 29 January. *All Saints whose relics are pre-*

¹ The Octave of the Holy Trinity was also retained. The Ordinal of Sibert de Beka gives three grades of octaves: most solemn, solemn and common.

served in Carmelite Churches has been observed since 1324 (16 February; today 5 November). *St. Simeon* (18 February), second bishop of Jerusalem (*ob. c.* 107). *St. Avertan* (25 February), lay brother of Limoges (*ob.* 1380). *B. Romaeus* (4 March), companion of St. Avertan (*ob.* 1380). *St. Teresa Margaret Redi* (11 March), nun of Florence (*ob.* 1770). *St. Euphrasia* (13 March), nun in Egypt (*ob. c.* 420). *B. Baptist Spagnuolo of Mantua* (20 March), prior-general (*ob.* 1516). *St. Berthold* (29 March), according to some writers founder of the Order (*ob. c.* 1195). *B. Joanna of Toulouse* (31 March). *St. Albert* (8 April), patriarch of Jerusalem (*ob.* 1214). *St. Angelo* (5 May), martyr (*ob.* 1220). The feast, which was approved by Pius II in the time of John Soreth (*c.* 1459), is found in the breviary of 1462. The general chapter attempted to obtain his official canonisation in 1478.¹ A solemn octave was prescribed by the general chapter in 1564. *B. Aloysius Rabata* (11 May), Carmelite of Sicily (*ob.* 1490). *St. Simon Stock* (16 May), prior-general (*ob.* 1265 at Bordeaux). A feast first appeared in liturgical books at Bordeaux in 1435, and was introduced into Ireland² and, probably, England before 1458. The relics were solemnly translated from Bordeaux to Aylesford (Kent) in 1951. *St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi* (29 May; 25 May in the Order), nun (*ob.* 1617). *B. Anne of St. Bartholomew* (7 June), founded the Carmel at Antwerp (*ob.* 1626). *B. Joanna Scopelli* (9 July). *Translation of St. Teresa* (13 July). *BB. Teresa and Companions* (24 July), virgin martyrs. *St. Albert* (7 August), prior of Trapani and provincial of Sicily (*ob.* 1306). The general chapter (Bologna) prescribed a feast in 1411. John Soreth was granted permission by Calixtus III about 1455 for churches and altars to be dedicated in his honour. The breviary of 1480 says: *Quod est festum devotionis et non ordinalis*. The formula for the blessing of the water of St. Albert is found in the missals of 1490, 1500, 1504 and 1509. *B. Angelo Agostino Mazzinghi* (17 August), Italian Carmelite (*ob.* 1438). *Translation of St. Angelus* (24 or 26 August). *Transverberation of the Heart of St. Teresa* (27 August). *Dedication of all Carmelite Churches* (31 August). *St.*

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, p. 279.

² E.g. Missal of Kilcormic.

Brocard (2 September), superior of Mount Carmel (*ob.* 1231). *St. Albert* (16 September), bishop of Jerusalem (*ob.* 1214). *St. Cleophas* (25 September), martyr. *St. Gerard* (26 September), 'bishop of our Order'. *St. Teresa* (15 October), canonised in 1622 (*ob.* 1582); proper preface. *St. Hilarion* (21 October), hermit of Palestine (*ob. c.* 371), 'of our Order'. *St. Serapion* (30 October), bishop of Antioch (*ob. c.* 212), 'of our Order'. *B. Frances d'Amboise* (4 November), Carmelite of Vannes (*ob.* 1485). *B. Nonius* (6 November), known as Nuñez Alvarez de Pereira, national hero of Portugal and Carmelite lay brother at Lisbon (*ob.* 1431). Benedict XV confirmed the cultus for the Order and for Portugal in 1918, with a proper Mass and office authorised in the following year. He was canonised in 1947. *All Saints of the Carmelite Order* (14 November). *All Faithful Departed of the Order* (15 November): prescribed by the general chapter in 1680. *B. Louis Morbioli* (16 November), 'confessor of our Order', a young married layman of Bologna (*ob.* 1485). *St. John of the Cross* (24 November), canonised in 1726, and declared a doctor of the Church in 1926 (*ob.* 1591); proper preface. *B. Bartholomew Fanti* (5 December), Carmelite of Mantua (*ob.* 1495). *B. Franco Lippi* (11 December), lay brother of Siena (*ob.* 1291). *St. Spiridion* (14 December), bishop in Cyprus (*ob. c.* 340), described as 'of our Order'. *B. Mary of the Angels* (16 December), Italian Carmelite (*ob.* 1717). *St. Dionysius* (30 December), 'Pope of our Order' (259–*c.* 268). *St. Cyril of Constantinople* (6 March), prior-general in Palestine (*ob. c.* 1235), whose feast was directed to be observed with an octave by the general chapter in 1399, no longer holds an important place in the calendar.

The convention of a general chapter in a town was a costly proceeding for the inhabitants, and by way of recompense the patron saint was sometimes added to the Carmelite calendar, or, if it was already there, the feast was raised in rank. Thus, the general chapter at Brescia adopted SS. Faustinus, Jovita and Honorius in 1478; at Nîmes, St. Baudelius in 1498; at Naples, St. Januarius in 1510; at Vicenza, the feast of St. Vincent was raised to double rite in 1539; and at Venice, that of St. Mark was given an octave in 1548.

The first printed breviary appeared at Brussels in 1480 through the instrumentality of Valentine of Cologne, who took the office of his province as a basis, thereby including several local commemorations, as, for example, the Division of the Apostles (15 July), St. Joseph and St. Alexis. Subsequent editions, produced in Italy (1490, 1495, 1504, etc.), copied the calendar without the official authorisation of the feasts. The Carmelite house in Genoa venerated a thorn from the crown of thorns, and a feast of the *Crown of Thorns and of the Holy Lance* was prescribed for the Friday in Easter week¹ by the general chapter in 1488.

A votive office of the Blessed Sacrament was authorised for the provinces of Spain and Portugal on all free Thursdays, except in Advent and Lent, by the general chapter in 1564. At the same time also a calendar was issued to serve for the editors of liturgical books. Whole lists of saints were added, but there was little historical criticism. By 1579 the calendar was so congested that there was scarcely a free day left.² The Old Testament saints in the missal of 1551 may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that it was produced at Venice, where they are held in great veneration. The ferial office had been literally squeezed out of existence, although the *Isagogicon* (1523) had prescribed its recitation in choir at least twice in the month *sub poena privationis loci et vocis, et suspensionis ab officio subpriori infligenda*.³ The constitutions of 1524 confirmed the ruling. The multiplication of feasts would seem to be not unrelated to the desire on the part of the community to rid itself of the ferial office, with its accompaniments of gradual psalms, penitential psalms, office of the dead, etc. The Tridentine reform, however, produced a reaction, and in 1580 the general chapter directed that the ferial office should be recited each week. In 1587 many feasts of Carmelite saints were suppressed, thereby producing no less than one hundred and forty-five free days in the year, but in 1610 the feasts were all back again in the calendar. The change in the classification of feasts, achieved in 1584, has been already mentioned. In 1628 the Car-

¹ Transferred later to the following Friday.

² Thirty-four free days were found in the missal of 1551.

³ *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, vol. II, p. 203.

melites of the Ancient Observance obtained the use of those proper offices which had been accorded to their Discalced brethren in 1609.¹

It is unfortunate that the reform of the calendar in 1930 should have failed to include three feasts traditional in the Order. Two of them were in both the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka: *St. Lazarus*, bishop and confessor (17 December) and the *Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* (6 October).² The third, the *Three Marias* (25 May), had been given a double rite by the general chapter in 1342.³

CHANT

Choir-books of the Middle Ages are exceedingly rare, and the manner of singing is uncertain, but it would seem that there was no chant peculiar to the Order, which made use of the traditional melodies. The constitutions permitted fauxbourdons on solemnities, but motets were forbidden.⁴ The chant was the subject of attention in the *Isagogicon*⁵ (1523) and again in the general chapter (Padua) in 1532.⁶ The provinces of the Order were directed by the general chapter (Vicenza) in 1539 to introduce the *cantus antiquus Reformatorum* within a year. The compendium of the constitutions for Italy, drawn up by John Baptist Rubeo in 1568, issued the following instructions: *Cantus harmonia et modulatione, quem vulgariter (canto figurato) non utantur fratres nostri in choro, nisi pro Kirie eleison, Sanctus et Agnus Dei*. In 1614 a directory for the choir and a processional appeared for the first time (Naples).⁷ Organs and organists are mentioned by the beginning

¹ The permission was again confirmed in 1648.

² The Utrecht missal of 1540 gives a Mass of the Holy Patriarchs.

³ The chapter approved also the rhythmic office already widespread in France.

⁴ *Mon. Hist. Carm.*, t. I, p. 25.

⁵ *Cavendum est autem, ne saeculares cantilenae figuratu cantu, seu ad organa, posthac proferantur. Verumtamen moneantur pulsantes organa, ut religiose pulsent et incipiant semper dimisse graviter et severe ad hoc ut chorus possit organis conformari.*

⁶ *Item ordinamus, quod fiat per totum ordinem uniformitas in cantu plano, et psalterio, ac in caeteris Divinum cultum concernentibus.*

⁷ *Directorium Chori una cum Processionali juxta ordinem ac ritum Fratrum . . . de Monte Carmeli*. Cf. *Direct. Chori* (Antwerp), 1650; *Ibid.* (Rome), 1668; *Process.* (Rome), 1668; *Manuale Chori* (Brussels), 1721.

of the 15th century, and in the 16th the study of the harpsichord and the organ, which was already very widespread, was deemed necessary for novices. Stringed instruments were forbidden. The earliest notice of an organist seems to be that of Mathias Johannis de Lucca, who was appointed to the post in the Carmelite church in Florence in 1410. The organ had been the gift of Johannes Dominici Bonnami, surnamed *Clerichinus*, who died at an advanced age on 24 October 1416.

The prior-general, John Baptist Rubeo (1564–78), mentions friars who had accepted the post of organist in parish churches, and in 1568 we hear of religious singing in the choirs of various churches in Venice. Permission was given also to one friar to repair the organ in any church where his services might be required. The choirmaster of Charles V and Philip II was a Carmelite, Matthew Flecha (ob. 1604), and the author of many musical compositions. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka (1312) directed the cantors to wear surplices,¹ a prescription repeated in the ordinal of 1544, to which was added: *cum rotundis manicis et cum cappis sericis ubi habentur.*²

PROCESSIONS

The ordinal of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre prescribed four annual processions to the holy places in Jerusalem: *In die Purificationis sancte Marie ad templum Domini. In die Ascensionis in montem Oliveti. In die Pentecostes ad montem Syon. In Assumptione beate Dei Genetricis Marie in valle Josaphat.*³ Four also were enjoined in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, but Palm Sunday was substituted for Pentecost.⁴ The processions are noted in the actual missal. Later, processions were introduced for All Souls⁵ (1362) and Corpus Christi (end 15th century). In addition to

¹ Fo. 3d, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 8.

² Quasi pontifical vestments (with mitre) were prescribed for the cantor in the 13th-century customary of the cathedral church of Bayeux. Ulysse Chevalier, *Ordin. et Coutum. de l'Eglise Cathédrale de Bayeux*, *Bibl. Lit.* VIII (Paris, 1902), p. 299.

³ Fo. 33r, MS. Barberini 659.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, rubr. XLIX, pp. 94–5.

⁵ The 'Recommendation' (Psl. CXIII–CXIX) was recited before the conventual Mass on All Souls' Day.

these, the general chapter in 1362 ordered a procession with four stations to be made each week after Mass on *feria secunda*—through the cloister and cemetery for the absolution of the faithful departed.

The rite of the Holy Sepulchre directed the places in the vicinity of the church to be sprinkled with holy water on all Sundays in the year: *ad aspergenda aqua lustrali loca ecclesiae adjacentia*.¹

MISSA SICCA

A *missa sicca* is given in the 'Dominicanised' 13th-century ordinal as the thanksgiving after Mass, when the priest takes off his vestments: *Officium de beata Virgine, et evangelium Johannis In principio cum oratione Protector in te, Actiones praemisso. Sit nomen Domini benedictum et Oremus poterit deponendo vestes dicere, ita tamen quod nimis non impediatur celebraturum post se.* The *Gloria, Sanctus* and *Agnus* were omitted after a private Mass, whether of the season or *de Beata*. The postcommunion *Gratiam tuam* was said at a *missa sicca de Beata*. A somewhat similar rubric is found in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka² and a Dominican missal printed at Lubeck in 1502.³ The 14th-century ordinal prescribes a *missa sicca* also for priests on a journey or otherwise prevented from saying Mass: *In via tamen vel alibi, quando fratres missam habere non possunt: dicere potuerunt officium missae diei cum Gloria in excelsis, si dicendum fuerit eo die, et etiam officium beatae Virginis*.⁴ A similar rubric occurs in the ordinal of 1544 (Venice).⁵ The Carmelite Thomas Netter of Walden in his controversy with John Wycliffe refers to the *missa sicca*, which he calls *Commemoratio Missae* or *Memoria*. It may be said in houses, in fields or on the sea: *Ceterum totum lectionum et cantuum variorum officiorum Antemissale est; quod item dicitur Missa Catechumenorum; quod item sine canone commemoratio Missae vel memoria nominatur; et in ipsis domibus, aut agris, vel super mare dici fas est*.⁶ The

¹ Fo. 69r, MS. Barberini 659.

² Op. cit., rubr. XLVI, pp. 89–90.

³ Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 283.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 90.

⁵ Fo. 36, cap. XLVI, *Ordinarium divinarum officiorum sacre religionis Carmelitarum*, Venice, Nic. de Bascarinis, 1544.

⁶ *Thos. Wald., De Sacramentalibus Missae*, cap. XXXV, tit. 8; ap. *Opera* (Venice, 1759), t. III, col. 245.

missa sicca was suppressed in the 16th-century reform of the liturgical books.

FLABELLUM¹

The *flabellum* or fan for the warding off of flies from the chalice in warm weather was until recent times a distinctive ornament in the Carmelite rite. An alternative name, *muscatorium*, tells of its primary purpose.² The ordinal of Sibert de Beka gives the following rubric: *Tempore etiam muscarum post inceptionem secretarum debet diaconus tenere flabellum quo cohibeat eas honeste a molestando sacerdotem, et abigat a sacrificio.*³ It was repeated in the ordinal of 1544, but the ceremonial of 1616 permitted its use to be optional. The variations of usage were described in an appendix to the ceremonial of 1906, without, however, committing itself as to whether the fan should still be used: *Juxta Ordinale divini officii anni 1544 debet et juxta Caeremoniale 1616 poterit diaconus (et etiam minister in missa privata) tempore muscarum post Secretorum incoptionem Flabellum in manu tenere, quo eas honeste a molestando celebrante cohibeat et a Sacrificio abigat, prout adhuc alicubi usus est. Pro ministro in Missa privata additur: atque ad Sacerdotem aliquantulum consolandum . . . praecipue in locis calidis.*⁴ Fr. Zimmermann says that its use has never been entirely abandoned, but he fails to say in what provinces it may be found.⁵ A Carmelite of the Irish province told the writer (1949) that the *flabellum* has figured in some churches in recent years for the rite of 1504, but as a ceremonial adjunct rather than as a fan for the *oblata*. It was formerly used by the deacon⁶ from the beginning of the secrets till the end of the canon.

HOLY COMMUNION

A general Communion is made on the first Sunday in Advent, Christmas, Purification, first Sunday in Lent, Annunciation, Holy

¹ *Vide* Appendix.

² Lat. *Musca*, fly.

³ Op. cit., p. 80. A very similar rubric is found in the actual Dominican ceremonial (1869).

⁴ *Caerimoniale* (Rome, 1906), appendix, no. 508, p. 296.

⁵ *Dict. d'Archéol. Chrét. et de Lit.*, art. *Carmes* (*Liturgie des*), t. II, col. 2170.

⁶ Server in a private Mass.

Thursday, Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Assumption and all solemn commemorations of the Blessed Virgin, Nativity of our Lady, All Saints, and All Souls. St. Elias was added in 1889. The traditional custom is to receive Holy Communion at the conventual Mass, except on the Commemoration of All Souls. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka devotes the forty-fifth rubric to the general Communion. The *Confiteor*, *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* are said before the administration, and also *In nomine Patris*, etc.¹ A cloth is held under the chins of the communicants. The priest says: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam aeternam. Amen.* An 'ablution of the mouth' is given by the deacon, who stands at the right-hand side of the altar, holding a chalice of wine and a cloth to wipe the lips.² If there are many communicants, as for example on Holy Thursday, the subdeacon, in order to save delay, holds another chalice on the left side of the altar.³ Fr. Zimmermann says that it would appear that Communion under two kinds was given until about the beginning of the 14th century, although it is impossible to give the exact date of its suppression.⁴ It seems unlikely, however, that the practice existed so long in the Order, and the 'ablution of the mouth' may well have served as a substitute for the reception of the chalice.

COMMUNION OF THE SICK

Sibert de Beka prescribed that the Blessed Sacrament should be taken to the sick in a chalice covered with a paten and a clean cloth. The form of administration in the ordinal of 1312, as well as in that of 1544, was *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te et perducatur ad vitam aeternam.*⁵ In the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, Holy Communion was given under both kinds with the formula: *Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi ad salutem perpetuam hic et in eternum. Amen.*⁶

¹ *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), pp. 87-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, introduct., p. XVIII.

⁵ Rubr. LII, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), pp. 98-9.

⁶ Fo. 245, Codex Barletta.

RESERVATION OF THE EUCHARIST

The 'Dominicanised' 13th-century ordinal directed the Eucharist to be reserved for the use of the sick (*ad usum infirmorum*) on the high altar in a comely vessel or ciborium, within which was a pyx of ivory, silver or some other precious vessel. The rubric was retained by Sibert de Beka, who, however, added *et chori devotionem*.¹ Two Hosts were reserved, and changed every fortnight, if possible on a feast, but the Blessed Sacrament was never to be left longer than a month. The renewal took place after the giving of the *pax* in the Mass, when the deacon, accompanied by torch-bearers, brought the newly consecrated Hosts to the altar. The priest consumed the old Hosts, unless it was a day of general Communion, when they were given to the communicants.² Nicholas Audet in the *Isagogicon* (1523) repeats the injunction to renew the Blessed Sacrament every fifteen days, and directs a light to burn day and night before the place of reservation.

PRAYERS FOR THE HOLY LAND

Special prayers for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels were ordered to be recited after the *Pater noster* in the conventual Mass. Sibert de Beka prescribes the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes* (Ps. LXXVIII) to be said without note on ferias by two choirs alternately. This is to be followed by *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, *Exurgat Deus*, *Dominus vobiscum*, and the prayer *Deus qui admirabili*.³ The embolism is said at the conclusion of the prayers. In 1362, the general chapter directed the psalm *Laetatus sum* (Ps. CXXI) and the prayer *Hostium nostrorum* to be said for the peace of the Church and of kingdoms.⁴ The missal of 1504 prescribed the prayers to be said at the end of the canon, and it was probably here also that they occurred in the late 14th-century London missal. The prayer given in the missal of 1509 seems to have been the one indicated by Sibert de Beka:

¹ Rubr. XLIV, *Ordin.* *ibid.*, p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

³ Rubr. XLIII, *ibid.*, *Ordin.*, p. 86.

⁴ The psalm *Deus venerunt* was recited in Lent.

Deus, qui ineffabili et admirabili providentia cuncta disponis: te suppliciter exoramus: ut terram, quam Unigenitus tuus proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum Crucis eripiens, restituas cultui christiano: vota fidelium ad ejus deliberationem instantia misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis aeternae. Per eundem Christum. . . In the ordinal of 1544, the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes* is directed to be said immediately after the consecration, *sine interventu celebrantis*, in the same way as *Laetatus sum* is recited outside the Lenten season, unless it is a double feast. Full directions for these prayers are found in the missal of 1733: on ferias in Lent, *Deus venerunt gentes* is to be said by two choirs alternately immediately after the elevation of the chalice, with the prayer *Pientissime Deus. Laetatus sum* on Sundays in Advent, Septuagesima till Passion Sunday, semi-doubles, 'very simple' feasts, ferias, vigils and votive Masses. The psalm is followed by five versicles and responses, and the collects: *Ecclesiae tuae, Hostium nostrorum*, and *Deus, a quo sancta desideria*. The prayers are to be omitted in octaves, Holy Week, vigils of the Nativity and Epiphany, and Masses of the dead. They were retained in the liturgy until 1919, when it is said that they were suppressed at the request of certain members of the Dutch province.

COLOUR SEQUENCE

A colour sequence appeared for the first time in the missal of 1574: *de coloribus quibus Ecclesia utitur in ecclesiasticis indumentis, secundum diversitatem temporum*. Saffron (*croceus*) was admitted for confessors who were not bishops, and white for virgins and matrons, whether they were martyrs or not, as well as for the blessing of candles, palms and the new fire. Red was to be used for the Circumcision and St. Elias, and no distinction was made between violet and black. In 1580, the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina, Rome) directed Carmelite churches, especially those with large sacristies, to have vestments of a hyacinth or reddish colour: *Adsint in singulis ecclesiis nostris, praecipue in sacristiis celebribus, hyacintini vel punicei coloris casulae, tunicae, dalmaticae, cappaeque sericae*.

LIGHTS

The 13th-century ordinal (Dublin) directs four candles to be lit at the conventual Mass on doubles and 'all' doubles; two on semi-doubles, Sundays, feasts of nine lessons, and, sometimes, at private Masses. A somewhat similar arrangement was envisaged by Sibert de Beka, but for a private Mass one candle was prescribed on the left side of the altar, which, if the priest was otherwise unable to see, could be moved at the same time as the book.¹ The earlier ordinal envisaged something of the same kind: *Candelam quaque statuatur in sinistra parte altaris, nisi ipsa oportuerit haberi ad librum, tunc enim cum libro transferatur, nisi ex utraque parte altaris fuerit cereus vel candela.*² The liturgical reform in the 16th century required a minimum of two lights on the altar for Mass, and the constitutions drawn up in 1589 by the commissary-general, Chizzola, for the houses in France prescribed: *Semper duae candelae ardeant in missa.*³ It seems to have been the custom in the Middle Ages for the four or two lights at the conventual Mass to stand on the presbytery step, rather than on the altar. A large candle, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, stood in the middle of the choir, which was lighted for the hours, Masses *de Beata* and the *Salve* after compline: *In quolibet insuper conventu cereus honestus in medio chori decenter appendatur, qui ad omnes horas et ad missas beatae Virginis et ad Salve Regina ad honorem ejusdem Virginis accendatur.*⁴ These five lights, four in the presbytery and one in the choir, provided the illumination at *tenebrae* for the *triduum sacrum*.

Two candles or torches were held by the assistants at the elevation of the Host in the conventual Mass.⁵ They seem also

¹ *Minister missae . . . statim a principio missae candelam de cera accensam habeat et illam in sinistra parte altaris super candelabrum honestum statuatur, nisi ipsam oporteat habere ad librum, et tunc cum libro transferatur.* Rubr. XLVI, op. cit., p. 90.

² Rubr. XXX. Cf. Dominican ordinal of 1582 and Augustinian ceremonial of 1602 (p. 68).

³ The constitutions were printed in Paris in 1590.

⁴ Rubr. IV, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 6.

⁵ *Ad elevationem dominici corporis in missa conventuali duo magni cerei seu torcisii a ministris altaris accensi teneantur.* The miniature for Corpus Christi in the London missal (fo. 38) depicts the server kneeling to the left of the celebrant and holding a fourfold elevation candle. Rickert, op. cit., V, pp. 101-2.

to have been carried on feasts in the entrance procession and at the gospel: *Primo acoliti cum cereis in candelabris decentibus et hoc praecipue in majoribus festis*.¹ The constitutions for the Order in Spain and Portugal, published at Seville in 1595, said that, 'in honour of so great a Sacrament', a candle was to be lighted at the elevation. The ceremonial of 1906 prescribed an elevation candle to be lit on the epistle side of the altar, but the custom has fallen into disuse.

A superstition in respect to the number of altar lights was condemned by the general chapter (S. Martino ai Monti, Rome) in 1564: *Imposterum non celebrantur missae cum quinque, aut sex, aut tredecim, aut pluribus candelis ex nonnullarum rubricarum praescripto; quoniam ut docet sacrosanctum concilium Tridentinum*.

In 1580 the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina and S. Martino ai Monti, Rome) authorised the ringing of a hand-bell at the *Sanctus* and the elevation: *In quolibet conventu saltem duo reperiri tintinabula, quae in manibus teneri possint et pulsari in prolatione Sanctus et SSmae hostiae elevatione*.

Altar cards were prescribed for the houses in France in 1589,² and for those of the Iberian Peninsula in 1595.³

Relics are enclosed in the altars, in accordance with normal Catholic practice, but the ceremonial of 1616⁴ and a treatise on the rubrics of the Mass, published with the permission of the prior-general in 1726,⁵ envisage the possibility of saying Mass on an altar in which there were no relics.

INCENSE

Incense was not used at the beginning of Mass in the Middle Ages, but the *oblata*, altar and priest were censed at the offertory on

¹ Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 75.

² *Emantur folia juxta missale reformatum, in quibus expressa sunt Gloria, Evangelium S. Johannis, Credo et reliqua consueta, ac super singulis altaribus reponantur*.

³ *In quolibet altari ponantur tabella consueta sacri convivii pro secretis, Gloria in excelsis, Credo et aliis recitandis*.

⁴ *Si in altari reliquiae non fuerint, nec in lapide consecrato orationes hoc modo (Sacerdos) dicet: Oramus te Domine per merita omnium sanctorum tuorum, ut indulgere digneris; et osculetur altare. Ceremon. 1616, p. 334.*

⁵ *Trattato delle Rubriche spettanti al S. Sacrificio della Messa.*

semidoubles and feasts of higher rank, the principal Mass on Sundays, feasts of nine lessons, and at solemn Masses of the Blessed Virgin.¹

ASSISTANTS AT MASS

The ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the acolytes to wear surplices on ordinary days: albs on doubles and *totum* doubles.² The 'Dominicanised' ordinal of the previous century had prescribed a single acolyte for ferias, feasts of three lessons, days within octaves and matutinal Masses, except for the elevation of the Host. He is required to stand on the right side of the celebrant for the *Confiteor*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus*; while at the beginning and end of Mass he is to unfold and fold up the cloths of the altar. The deacon and subdeacon do not wear dalmatic and tunicle on these lesser occasions.

The 14th-century ordinal mentions a single acolyte where the community is small in numbers.³

rites and Ceremonies of Mass

On very solemn feasts, the actual ceremonial (1906) permits the celebration of Mass according to the use in the missal of 1504: *In aliquibus locis adhuc observentur in Missis solemnissimis, quae habentur jam in Missale 1504. Rubr. XLI.*⁴

The *Vesting* prayers differ from those in the Roman rite:

Amice: Pone Domine, in capite meo vestimentum salutis.

Alb: Dealba me, Domine, tua infinita misericordia.

Girdle: Praeinge me, Domine.

Maniple: Manipulum innocentiae pone, Domine.

Stole: Stola justitiae circumda, Domine.

Chasuble: Fac me Sacerdotem ministrum tuum.

The celebrant wears a capuce (*caputia*) under the amice.⁵ The 13th-century ordinal says: *In hujusmodi autem praeparatione semper a ministrantibus sic aptanda sunt capucia sub vestibus*

¹ Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 79.

² Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.* *ibid.*, p. 75.

³ *Ordin.* *ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴ *Caeremoniale* (1906), *append.*, art. 512.

⁵ *Missale* (1939), rubr. I, no. 3.

*ecclesiasticis ne gibbus aliquis notabilis appareat in humeris fratrum.*¹ A similar direction is found in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka: *Aptentur etiam in praedictis fratrum caputia ut gibbus in eorum humeris non appareat.*² In 1324 the general chapter (Barcelona) forbade the celebration of Mass without a scapular.³ A cloth for wiping the nose during Mass is recommended in the ordinals of the 13th and 14th centuries. The former says: *Cum fluxu narium vestes sacras non deturpet, sed panno ad hoc deputato utatur ad ista.*⁴ The recommendation was clearly borrowed from Dominican usage (c. 1250): *et de aliqua mappula ad tergendas nares juxta missale ponenda provideant.*

Priests were directed by the constitutions of 1462 to celebrate Mass at least three times a week, but it seems clear from the general chapter in 1324 that it was customary to say Mass more frequently.⁵

The 13th-century ordinal prescribed hot coals to be brought to the priest during Mass in times of extreme cold: *Provideat et quod tempore frigoris magni prunae accensae in patella decenti habeantur per acolithos ministrandae tempore opportuno.*⁶ The rubric is taken from the Dominican rite, in which it is found almost verbatim in the ceremonial of 1869.⁷

Invocations to the Holy Spirit are enjoined before the conventual Mass by the ordinal of 1544, unless it is a Mass of the dead.⁸

ASPERGES

Maniples are worn by the assistant ministers, but not by the celebrant. A special antiphon is sung from Septuagesima till

¹ Rubr. XXVIII, *De Officio Ministrorum altaris in Missa.*

² Rubr. XLI, *De modo celebrandi Missam Conventualem et officio ministrorum altaris. Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 75.

³ *Nullus frater celebret sine scapulari sub poena inobedientibus infligenda. Mon. Hist. Carm., I, p. 31.*

⁴ Rubr. XXX, *De Missis Privatis.* Cf. Rubr. XLVI, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 89.

⁵ *Mon. Hist. Carm., I, p. 41.*

⁶ Rubr. XXVIII. Cf. Carthusian rite.

⁷ *Caeremon., pars. II, art. II, I, no. 502, p. 140.*

⁸ The general chapter (Piacenza) approved the practice in 1575: *sicut fieri consuevit in conventibus reformatis.*

Easter: *Sancte Deus*.¹ It is found in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre² and also in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.³ If there is a procession after the ceremony of the asperges, the ordinal of 1544 says that the sacred ministers then vest in cope, dalmatic and tunicle respectively.

Beginning of Mass and Preparatory Prayers

The entry for the conventual Mass is made during the introit, with the subdeacon carrying the gospel-book and the deacon the missal.⁴ On great feasts there may be an assistant priest in a cope. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka says nothing about the psalm *Judica me* at the beginning of Mass, but the ordinal of 1544 directs it to be said on the way to the altar at a private Mass. The actual missal (1935) has the following rubric: *Sacerdos, cum ad altare accedit, submissa voce dicit sequentem: Judica me*. It is recited in Passiontide and Masses of the dead, but without *Gloria Patri*.

The celebrant, as he goes to the altar, wears the amice over his head. At a private Mass the chalice is made before the preparatory prayers at the foot of the altar, as in the Dominican rite. Wine and water⁵ are poured into the chalice, after which the paten is placed on the chalice, and the vessels are covered with the veil. The priest then opens the missal, and descends *in plano* for the *Confiteor*. The priest says: *In nomine Patris*, etc. *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus*, and the assistant responds: *Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus*. In the time of Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708), it was customary for the priest to say also: *Et ego reus et indignus sacerdos* before the *Confiteor*.⁶ *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, beato Patri nostro*

¹ It was sung in some French churches in the 18th century, e.g. St. Maurice at Angers. De Moléon, *Voyages Liturgiques* (Paris, 1718), p. 66.

² Fo. 55a, MS. Barberini 659.

³ *Sanctus*, not *Sancte Deus*. *Op. cit.*, rubr. XLII, p. 85.

⁴ In some churches, the missal is already on the altar, and the master of ceremonies carries the gospel-book, e.g. S. Martino ai Monti, Rome.

⁵ At the blessing of the water the assistant says: *Benedicite*, and the priest: *In nomine Patris*, etc.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. I, p. 23. This was formerly the practice at Laon, Lyons and Verdun.

Eliae, omnibus sanctis, et vobis fratres: quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, opere, et omissione: mea culpa (non percutitur pectus). Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Patrem nostrum Eliam, omnes sanctos Dei, et vos fratres orare pro me ad Dominum Jesum Christum. The confession ended originally with the words: *mea culpa. Precor vos orare pro me.* The second half: *Ideo precor beatam Mariam, etc.,* was added by the general chapter (Genoa) in 1309, with the exception of the invocation to St. Elias, which was introduced first by the Discalced friars and later by those of the Ancient Observance. In 1680 the general chapter prescribed that the name of the Prophet should be added throughout the Order. The words *et sanctas* were included in the *Confiteor* in the breviary of 1495, but they are not found in the ordinal of 1544. The *Misereatur* is similar to that in the Dominican liturgy: *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua: liberet te ab omni malo: conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducatur ad vitam aeternam. Indulgentiam, absolutionem, et remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus.* The priest then says: *Adjutorium ✠ nostrum in nomine Domini,* and the ministers respond: *Qui fecit coelum et terram.* The position of the celebrant for the *Confiteor* is clearly defined in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka: *ante superiorem gradum,*¹ but there arose an ambiguity in 1587, and it was prescribed that the position should be *ante infimum gradum altaris* at a solemn Mass, evidently taken from the Roman missal, and *ad primum gradum ante altare* at a private Mass. Approaching nearer to the altar and humbly inclined, the priest says the prayer *Aufer a nobis.*² *Oramus te Domine* was added in 1584.

The two torch-bearers stand in line with the sacred ministers, facing each other during the preparatory prayers.³ Then, in the rite of the Middle Ages, the candles were placed on the presbytery step and extinguished, and the acolytes, while *aufer a nobis* was being said, spread the cloths on the altar.⁴

¹ Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ *Acolitis cum cereis stantibus erectis et versis ad se mutuo vultibus.* *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

INTROIT AND KYRIE

The introit is tripled on doubles and *totum* doubles, and a rubric to this effect is found in the ordinals of the 13th and 14th centuries.¹ The actual missal gives the rubric: *In duplicibus majoribus tam primae quam secundae classis repetitur Introitus post Psalmum, et post versum Gloria Patri, sic quod ter dicatur.*² Sibert de Beka directs a genuflection at the opening words of the introit when it is *Salve Sancta Parens.*³ The general poverty of the houses is indicated by the suggestion in the 13th- and 14th-century ordinals that the choir, if necessary, may be supplemented by the subdeacon and acolytes.⁴

Today, the altar and celebrant are censed at the conventual Mass during the singing of the *Kyrie*. The incense is blessed with the formula: *Ab illo benedicaris, in cujus honore cremaberis. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.* The tabernacle is first censed, with the sacred ministers kneeling. At the censuring of the altar, the priest says: *Dirigatur, Domine, oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo. Elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum. Pone, Domine, custodiam ore meo, et ostium circumstantiae labiis meis. Non declinet cor meum in verba malitiae, ad excusandas in peccatis.* The *Kyrie* in private Masses is recited at the book, as was once the general custom at Rome. The position of the ministers and acolytes, when the missal is at the epistle side of the altar, is in echelon. On doubles and *totum* doubles, the sacred ministers may sit in the sedilia until the singing of the *Kyrie* is finished, with the priest in the seat nearest to the altar.⁵ The ordinal of 1544 says: *Vel secundum consuetudinem aliorum: sedeat sacerdos in medio diaconi ad dexteram, et subdiaconus ad sinistram, et acolyti ad pedes eorum.* The practice of the community sitting during the *Kyrie* or *Gloria*, unless they be weak or sick,

¹ Rubr. XXXIX, *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 70.

² Rubr. Gen. *Missal.*, rubr. IX

³ Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴ 13th-century *Ordin.*: *Dum autem sacerdos sedet, ministri cum non sint occupati in aliquo ministerio possunt ire ad adjuvandum fratres in choro, maxime in parvis conventibus.* 14th-century *Ordin.*: *Potuerunt tamen subdiaconus et acolyti ubi opus fuerit ad cantandum adjuvare.* Edit. Zimmermann, p. 76.

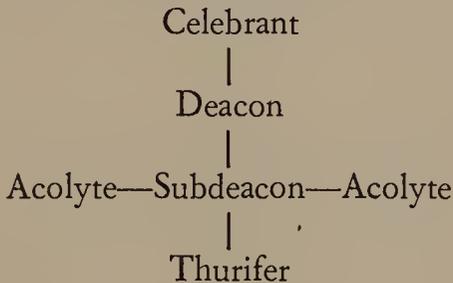
⁵ Rubr. XLI, *Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 76.

is censured in the *Isagogicon* of Nicholas Audet (1523).¹ The rubric in the missal of 1574, to the effect that the sacred ministers sit in the sedilia after the prayer *Aufer a nobis*, and return to the altar at the conclusion of the chant of the *Kyrie*, is cited by Claude de Vert as a proof that the celebrant at a conventual Mass did not say the introit himself.²

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS AND COLLECTS

Sibert de Beka describes the position of the ministers and acolytes when the priest is at the middle of the altar: *Ita tamen quod dum canon vel aliud a sacerdote ad altare dicitur, unus acolytorum ad dextram diaconi, et alius ad sinistram, et subdiaconus ut prius post diaconum in modum crucis stent ordinati.*³

The normal position today is as follows:



The ceremonial of 1616, for some unknown reason, directed the *Gloria in Excelsis* to be sung on the feasts of All Saints and Christmas to the tone proper to feasts of our Lady.

During the singing of the *Gloria* (or *Kyrie*), the deacon spreads the corporal, while the subdeacon takes the vessels in a humeral veil (*mappula*), and places them in the middle of the altar: *Subdiaconus cum pulchra et munda mappula coopertum calicem ante faciem suam cum ambabus manibus deferat reverenter et superponat altari, et hoc quantum ad mappulam praedictam praecipue in festis majoribus observetur.*⁴ The vessels are covered with the chalice veil (formerly the corporal), and the *mappula* is taken to the credence.⁵

¹ *Item ordinamus, quod dum cantatur Kyrieleison, Gloria in excelsis Deo, nemo audeat sedere praeter valetudinarios. . .* ² *Op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XII, pp. 59–60

³ *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴ *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 77.

⁵ In some churches the corporal is spread and the vessels are taken to the altar after the epistle.

The altar is not kissed each time the celebrant turns round.¹ It is kissed three times in all: on approaching the altar; at the words *ex hac participatione* in the *Supplices* of the canon; and at the conclusion of Mass.

The priest signs himself before *Dominus vobiscum*, even when there is no *Gloria*, 'apparently from habit', as Claude de Vert says.² The deacon raises and kisses the front of the chasuble, both at the salutation and *Orate fratres: Diaconus vero, non flexis genibus nisi episcopus celebraverit, leviter casulam per inferiorem trahat extremitatem*.³ The actual ceremonial has retained the practice, but it does not seem to be always carried out.⁴ The ordinal of Sibert de Beka forbids the number of collects to exceed five.⁵ At *per Dominum* of the last collect, the priest goes to the middle of the altar to conclude, perhaps from reverence to the cross.

LESSONS AND CHANTS

The subdeacon is directed by the 14th-century ordinal to read the epistle *super pulpitem ante gradus presbyterii in medio*.⁶ The missal of 1733 says: *stans ad partem epistolae contra altare*. Today it is sometimes the custom on solemn occasions to read the epistle facing west.⁷ A blessing is given at the end of the lesson: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.

On some days, when neither alleluia nor tract follows the gradual, it is the custom to repeat the gradual in its entirety after the verse, as was done by the *schola cantorum* in the ancient Roman liturgy. The priest at a solemn Mass sits in the *sedilia* for the epistle, during which time the ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the deacon to spread the corporal on the altar.⁸ An acolyte places a *mappula* over the knees of the celebrant, and hands him a

¹ Cf. Pontifical Mass in the Roman rite.

² Op. cit., t. III, part I, chap. I, p. 65.

³ Ibid., p. 77.

⁴ *Caerem.* (1906), pars. III, rubr. IX, *passim*.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 89.

⁶ Ibid., p. 77.

⁷ E.g. S. Martino ai Monti, Rome. The position of the subdeacon, however, is by no means uniform.

⁸ *Diaconus autem explicet corporale, quod habere debet duas plicas in latum et tres in longum, medium latitudinis ponens in medio altaris et aliud corporale superponendum est calici juxta illud.* Ordín., op. cit., p. 77.

missal, in order that he can say the prayer *Summe sacerdos* or some other devotion, and also the gradual, etc.¹ The priest now says only the lessons and chants. Claude de Vert cites the Carmelite missal of 1574 as the first time that the rubrics permit the gradual to be said at the altar before going to the sedilia.²

On great feasts the traditional practice is observed of the subdeacon bringing the chalice in a humeral veil, accompanied by an acolyte with the cruets, to be prepared *in oculis sacerdotis* at the sedilia. The ceremonial (1906) says that the custom was prescribed in the missal of 1504,³ but it dates back to the primitive ordinals. The deacon pours the wine, and the subdeacon the water, unless the latter is not in major orders, when it is done by the celebrant himself.⁴ The formula for the blessing of the water is the same as at a private Mass. The paten and host are then placed on the chalice, and the vessels are taken back to the altar. If *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is sung, outside the octave of Pentecost, the sacred ministers kneel on the top step of the altar (*ante gradum superiorem altaris*), as is done also at *Adjuva nos Deus salutaris* in Lent.⁵ The traditional liturgy had a proper sequence (prose) at the conventual Mass between Easter and Septuagesima, and on some other occasions, for nearly all feasts with at least the rank of semi-double.⁶ The rubric prescribing these proses is given in the ordinal of 1544, but a new rubric appeared in 1551 in which they had been nearly all suppressed: *Nota prosas omnes praeter suis locis signatas Generalis iussum amotas*. The proses admitted in the Roman missal were retained, and the Carmelite missal of 1733 had in addition a proper prose for the feast of the Holy Name on the first Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany:

Lauda Sion Salvatoris
Jesu nomen, et amoris
Toto cordi júbilo.

¹ Ibid., pp. 77-8.

² Op. cit., t. IV, rem. XIX, p. 127.

³ Rubr. XLI, *De modo celebrandi missam conventualem*.

⁴ The 14th-century ordinal directs the subdeacon to pour both the wine and the water into the chalice: *vinum et aquam sicut ei innuerit infundendo* Op. cit., p. 78.

⁵ Ibid., p. 78.

⁶ Rubr. XXXIX, *ibid.*, p. 73. A Carmelite missal, written between 1479 and 1481, includes twenty-eight proses. *Rouen, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 287 (A.22), Leroquais, op. cit., t. III, p. 219.

Today, the only distinctive prose is that recited on the feasts of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (16 July) and St. Simon Stock (16 May), which has been described elsewhere. Towards the end of the chants the ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the acolytes on doubles, *totum* doubles and first Masses to light their candles in preparation for the gospel, while the subdeacon takes the book *ad pulpitum in sinistra parte presbyterii praeparatum*.¹ Incense is blessed with the same formula as at the beginning of the Mass. The priest, in response to the *Jube Domne benedicere* of the deacon, says: *Dominus sit in corde tuo, et in labiis tuis: ut digne, et competenter annunties sanctum evangelium suum: in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*.² The cross and, sometimes, a banner are carried in the gospel procession, as in the Dominican rite. The book is censed by the deacon before the salutation. After *Gloria tibi Domine*, he says secretly: *qui natus es de Virgine, cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu, in sempiterna saecula. Amen*. The strophe is said also at a private Mass and at the last gospel.³ The epistles and gospels are not always uniform with those of the Roman missal, and when in 1613 the general chapter (S. Maria in Transpontina, Rome) enquired whether they should be made to conform exactly, the Congregation of Rites replied: *non expedire et nihil immutandum esse*.⁴

CREED

The celebrant is censed and given the gospel-book to kiss after he has intoned the creed. The book may be kissed also by the assistant priest and the deacon. The sacred ministers kneel for the *Incarnatus*, either before the sedilia or on the lowest step of the altar. The missal of 1733 says: *usque dum dicitur, Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*.⁵

¹ *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 78.

² The 14th-century ordinal has a slight variant: *et in labiis ad pronuntiandum evangelium pacis*. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³ The strophe varied with the feast in the ancient missal of Bayeux. Cf. Obsolete Benedictine rite of Tibães in Portugal: *Qui natus es de Virgine, succurre nobis nunc et in omni tempore*. *Ceremonial Monastico reformado da Congregação de S. Bento de Portugal*. Lisbon, 1820.

⁴ *Act. Cap. Gen.*, vol. II, p. 27.

⁵ The ministers, says Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708), prostrate at the words: *Et homo factus est*. *Op. cit.*, t. I, rem. sur chap. III, p. 246.

OFFERTORY

The chalice veil is removed, and the priest, blessing the *oblata*, says: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*¹ The chalice and paten are offered together, with the following prayer: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offerimus in commemorationem passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionisque in coelum Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et in honore beatae et gloriosae Dei genitricis, semperque Virginis Mariae: et omnium sanctorum, qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi: ut illis proficiat ad honorem; nobis autem ad salutem: et omnibus illis pro nobis intercedentibus in coelis, sit in salutem vivorum, et requiem defunctorum. Qui vivis, et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* The chalice is placed on the altar, with the host *circa pedem calicis*,² and the paten, since it is not given to the subdeacon until later, partially hidden under the corporal. The priest, having covered the chalice with the pall,³ blesses the *oblata*: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super hanc oblationem, et maneat semper.*

INCENSATION

The incense, if it is used, is blessed with the same formula as before, and it is put on by the deacon. The *oblata* are first censured: *Incensum istud a te benedictum: ascendat a te Domine: et descendat super nos in misericordia tua.* Then the sacred ministers kneel on the top step of the altar, and the priest censes the tabernacle. The censuring of the altar follows.⁴

¹ The 14th century ordinal says: *Dicto offertorio, verso vultu ad calicem, dicat Calicem salutaris accipiam* etc. *In nomine Patris* etc. Op. cit., p. 79.

² *Ante pedem calicis.* Ibid., p. 79.

³ *Cum alio corporali.* Ibid. The 13th-century ordinal makes no mention of a second corporal, and the one corporal covered the chalice, as today in the Carthusian rite. The Dominican missal of 1604 says: *Deinde de parte corporalis vel palla calicem operiat.*

⁴ The censuring is thus described in the 14th-century ordinal: *Qui (sacerdos) accepto thuribulo, faciat cum eo super calicem signum crucis. Deinde thurificet ante se in directum et super calicem versus sacramentum, postmodum ad dextram primo et ad sinistram secundo, procedendo in thurificando a medio altaris usque ad cornua, et dum ad sinistrum cornu venerit et illud thurificaverit, ipsum altare antequam thurificet de sinistro ad dextrum cornu progrediendo, et deinde super altare thurificando ut prius ad medium altaris revertatur.* Op. cit., pp. 79–80.

The deacon, as the priest is censed, raises the chasuble with his left hand, and censes with the right: *trahendo casulam cum manu sinistra et cum dextra thurificando*.¹ Then, says Sibert de Beka, if it is a double or *totum* double feast, or a first Mass, the thurifer censes the cantors, choir and laity with unblest incense.² A similar rubric is found in the 13th-century ordinal, but without the reference to incense at the elevation. The actual ceremonial (1906) forbids the addition of incense: *Nunquam etiam thus superaddat*,³ and the ceremonial of 1616 had been equally clear on the point.⁴

LAVABO TILL THE PREFACE

Present practice directs the priest to wash his hands at the epistle corner of the altar, as he says the customary psalm, but in the ancient rite the *lavabo* was normally carried out at the piscina,⁵ with a choice of formulas: Psalm XXV (*Lavabo*), *Veni Creator* or Psalm LXVI (*Deus misereatur*). The 13th-century ordinal prescribed the Psalm *Lavabo*. Returning to the middle of the altar, the priest says: *In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito suscipiamur a te Domine: ut sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie et placeat tibi Domine Deus noster. Amen*. The celebrant signs himself before turning for *Orate fratres*, which is proper to the rite: *Orate fratres ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem*. The deacon raises the front of the chasuble: *Diaconus vero trahat casulam non flectans genua*.⁶ R7. *Memor sit Dominus omnis sacrificii tui: et holocaustum tuum pingue fiat. Tribuat tibi secundum cor tuum: et omne consilium tuum confirmet*. In the meanwhile, says the 14th-century ordinal, the ministers draw the veils hanging at the sides

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

² *Deinde si fuerit festum duplex vel totum duplex aut prima missa, et non aliter, thurificet cantores de thure non benedicto, et postea fratres in choro, incipiens a superiori parte dextri chori et sic deinceps utrumque chorum et laicos praesentes thurificando; et his peractis thuribulum deponat usque ad elevationem Dominici Corporis*. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Caerimon.* (1906), n. 397.

⁴ Gabriel Wessels, *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, vol. II, p. 13, n.

⁵ Sibert de Beka says that if the piscina is unsuitable, the celebrant may wash his hands at the corner of the altar. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

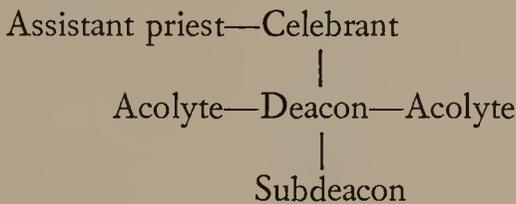
⁶ Dublin. Trinity Coll., MS. *Ordinale* (post. 1262), B. 3. 8.

of the altar.¹ A similar rubric is found in the ordinal of 1544. The custom is mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis: ad honorem et gloriam sacri altaris*.² A more practical reason for thus enshrouding the altar seems to have been the wish to prevent the priest from being disturbed by bystanders (*circumstantes*).

The priest, before the secrets, says silently: *Domine exaudi orationem meam: Et clamor meus ad te veniat*. This is followed by *Oremus* and the secrets. A rubric in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the deacon to turn the pages of the missal: not the priest whose fingers will touch the Blessed Sacrament.³ The rubric as to the use of the *flabellum* follows.

PREFACE AND CANON

The prefaces and canon in the London missal (late 14th century) were bound up between the temporale and sanctorale, as in the Lytlington Westminster missal (1383-4) and the later Sherborne missal (between 1396 and 1402).⁴ At *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* all bow, and the acolytes turn inwards, but there was no rubric to this effect in the 14th-century ordinal. The following positions are observed for the preface:



Until the appearance of the missal of 1587 the common preface was said on the Sundays in Eastertide, and it is prescribed also by Sibert de Beka for the Sundays in Lent and the Sundays after Trinity.⁵ Proper prefaces are found in the actual missal (1935) for St. Elias, St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. At the end of the *Sanctus* the deacon gives the paten to the subdeacon, who receives it kneeling, and holds it, elevated and wrapped in a

¹ *Interim ministri trahant velamina ad latera altaris pendentia. Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 80.

² Edit. Duchesne, II (Paris, 1892), p. 153.

³ *Cum digitis autem quibus Sacramentum tractaturus est folia non vertat, sed diaconus circa haec intendat. Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 80.

⁴ Rickert, op. cit., I, p. 27.

⁵ Op. cit., Rubr. XL, pp. 73-5.

humeral veil (*mappula*), until the conclusion of the *Pater noster*.

There is no direction in the 14th-century ordinal for the subdeacon to kneel, and the giving of the paten is reserved for greater feasts.¹ The earlier ordinal enjoined the subdeacon to hold the paten at the conventual Mass on Sundays, feasts of nine lessons (and above) and solemn Masses of the Blessed Virgin. The missal of 1574 gives the substance of a rubric which occurs in the Dominican ordinal of 1504: the *Sanctus* must not be dragged out unduly, and the priest should recite the prayers before the elevation of the Host, in such a way that the ceremony never takes place before the conclusion of the *Sanctus*. A rubric in the 13th-century ordinal refers to the voice in which the canon should be said: *Canonem sic submissee dicat, quod intelligi non possit a circumstantibus*. The canon is identical with that of the Pian missal, with the single exception of the particle *que*, which has been added to the *Communicantes*: *semperque*. A missal, written for the Carmelites of Paris in the first half of the 14th century, included the words *atque omnium christianorum fidelium* after *omnium circumstantium*, but they have been scratched out.² The altar is not kissed at *Uti accepta habeas et benedicas*, and at *Hanc igitur* a rubric says: *Junctis manibus super altare positis, inclinatus dicit*.³ An interesting history attaches to the rubric concerning the word *fregit* immediately preceding the consecration. The 14th-century ordinal says: *et cum dicit Fregit, eam (Hostiam) desuper cum pollice et indice dextrae manus tangat*, to which the ordinal of 1544 added: *leviter agitando*. The missal of 1640 said: *Bene ✠ dixit, et cum pollice, et indice dextrae manus, leviter premens superiorem partem Hostiae, dicit Fregit tenens cum indicibus et pollicibus utriusque manus Hostiam ad latere super lapidem, dicit, deditque*

¹ *Tunc in festis majoribus, praecipue duplicibus et totum duplicibus, diaconus cum mappula sumat patenam et tradat eam subdiacono stanti in loco suo, mappulam decenter replicans super eam. Subdiaconus vero patenam istam cum manu dextra teneat elevatam, quantum cum bono modo poterit, usque ad Pater noster, sic quod sinistra manu supposita per eam brachium dextrum sustentetur. Ibid., Rubr. XLI, p. 81.*

² Fo. 131, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 884; Leroquais, op. cit., t. II, pp. 214-5.

³ Cf. Durandus (ob. 1296), *Rat. Div. Offic.*, lib. IV, 39; *Ord. Rom.* XIV, 53 (*Pat Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 1166); Lebrun, op. cit., t. II, pp. 437-8.

discipulis suis. A somewhat similar rubric occurs in the missal of 1733: *Hostiam superius cum pollice et indice dexteræ leviter premit*.

Now, in the actual missal (1935), the celebrant is directed to press the upper part of the Host lightly at the word *fregit*: *Hostiam in superiori parte leviter premit*. What, we may ask, was the original purpose of this rubric, which in some form or other has been retained so tenaciously? The answer seems to be given by Dr. Wickham Legg.¹ Some such rubric was very general in the Middle Ages, both in England and on the Continent. There is in fact a line of tradition from the 13th to the 15th century that at the word *fregit* the priest was to do something akin to the breaking of the Host. The practice is frowned upon by two writers in the 14th century, William de Pagula and John de Burgo, which is some evidence of its continuance. It may be noticed that the word *frangat* could easily have been changed into *tangat*, and it would almost seem as if the attempt to break the Host were commuted in the 14th century for a direction merely to touch it. The Sarum and York printed missals say: *Hic tangat hostiam*, but in the ordinary of a 13th-century Sarum missal in the possession of the Earl of Crawford, a rubric directs: *hic faciat signum fractionis dicendo: fregit*. The Paris missal of 1489 goes a step further, and contains the direction: *frangat modicum*, although the rubric is to be found only in this one edition. Claude de Vert, however, gives several examples of a somewhat similar nature: Chartres (1489) has *simulat fractionem*; Langres (1517), *fingat frangere*; and the missal of the abbey of Essomes, *facit signum frangendi, dicens fregit*.² A rubric in the missal of Coutances (1557) says: *Bene ✠ dixit. Cancellat eam modicum cum dextra non frangendo*.

We may therefore infer that the direction to touch or press the Host at the word *fregit* was derived from a simulated fraction, which in its turn originated in an actual breaking of the Bread. Why then was the fraction at this point of the Mass given up? The rest of this section of the canon is accompanied by a close

¹ *Tracts on the Mass* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXVII, 1904), notes pp. 259-61.

² *Op. cit.*, t. I, p. 245. Essomes was an Augustinian abbey in the diocese of Soissons.

following of the words of our Lord on the part of the celebrant, and it would seem a natural following of the words of the Gospel to break the bread at *fregit*. The priest in the Coptic rite is directed to break the bread into three parts, but without separating them, as he says: 'He break it.'¹ Again, in the daughter Church of Ethiopia, the celebrant is enjoined to break the bread into five parts, without separating them.² Dr. Wickham Legg suggests that the cause of the abandonment of the practice of breaking the bread at the word *fregit*, if it had previously existed, although the absence of rubrics makes it impossible to prove, was the introduction of the elevation of the Host immediately after the actual words of consecration. It would not be thought seemly to elevate a broken Host, and thus the custom of breaking it was changed to one of pretending to do so.³

Certainly no ceremony in the Mass had a more profound influence on the course of the liturgy than the elevation of the Host. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka directs the acolytes to kneel, with lighted tapers, near the sacred ministers for the consecration;⁴ while the thurifer on doubles and *totum* doubles is enjoined to kneel behind the celebrant, and cense the Blessed Sacrament, taking care lest the smoke of the incense impedes the view of the Host or inconveniences the priest.⁵ The ordinal of 1544 instructs the thurifer to kneel *super inferiorem gradum*. The words of consecration in the English manuscript of the ordinal are *Hoc est enim Corpus*: in the Italian exemplars: *Hoc est Corpus*.⁶ Sibert de Beka directs the priest, after he has consecrated, 'to incline reverently, but without genuflecting', and then to elevate the Host, so that it may be seen conveniently by the bystanders.⁷ The 13th-century ordinal had said *aliquantulum inclinans*. A rubric in the missal of 1551 seems to have been the first to prescribe a genuflection: *Hic reverenter inclinans cum genuflexione hostiam levet in*

¹ Archdale A. King, *Rites of Eastern Christendom*, vol. I (Tip. Pol. Vat., 1947), chap. V, p. 457.

² *Ibid.*, chap. VI, p. 621.

³ Wickham Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Acoliti cum cereis accensis juxta eos (ministros)*. *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ The missal of 1733 directs the words of consecration to be said: *distincte, secreta, attente, et continue*.

⁷ *Reverenter inclinans sine genuflectione hostiam levet in tantum ut omnibus a stantibus convenienter appareat et eam statim reponat*. *Ordin.*, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

tantum, although we find at the beginning of the book: *Hic reverenter inclinans sine genuflexione*. There was probably no genuflection after the consecration of the chalice, as there was no real elevation: *aliquantulum levet*. Genuflections were prescribed by the general chapter in 1575,¹ and ordered in the missal of 1587, which directed that an inclination should be made after the genuflection.² The first express mention of a genuflection with the right knee seems to have been in the provincial chapter of the Belgian province in 1603, and we find it prescribed in the ceremonial of 1616. The custom may have originated with the papal master of ceremonies John Burchard, who advocated it *ut facilius surgat*, although the bending of *both* knees prevailed for some considerable time. The ceremonial published for the nuns of the Discalced Observance in 1610 distinguishes between the double genuflection and that made with the right knee: a distinction that we find also in the general definitory of the Spanish congregation in 1590, and in the chapter of the congregation of Italy in 1605.

The chalice is raised slightly before it is consecrated: *aliquantulum eum elevat*, says the missal of 1733.³ There does not appear to have been an elevation of the chalice after consecration until the reformed missal in the 16th century. The missal of 1733 says: *ad populum elevat, ut dictum est de Hostia*. The elevation is made at the words *Haec quotiescumque*, etc. The ministers raise the chasuble at the two elevations, with the deacon holding the pall, and the subdeacon the paten in the veil. Claude de Vert writes: *du moins de luy est-t'il pas possible de soustenir de son costé la chasuble du prêtre pendant l'élévation*.⁴ The rubrics of the actual missal (1935), no less than those in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka,⁵ direct the celebrant to extend his arms in the form of a cross at *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae*.⁶ It has been suggested that this extension of the arms was derived from the rite of the Holy

¹ *Acta Capit. Gen.* (edit. Wessels), I, p. 519.

² The Dominicans make an inclination *before* the genuflection.

³ *Ipsium modicum elevet ab altari. Ordin.* (edit. Zimmermann), p. 82.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VI, p. 277.

⁵ *Extendat brachia sua plus solito ad modum crucis. Ordin.*, p. 82.

⁶ *Extensis brachiis in modum crucis. Missal. Carm.*, 1935.

Sepulchre, and that the Dominicans, who had no connections with the Holy Land, say merely that the arms are extended *mediocriter tamen*. It may be noted also that the 'Dominicanised' ordinal of the 13th century gives *mediocriter autem*. The difference in this respect between Carmelite and Dominican usages was commented on by Joseph Pereira, a Portuguese Carmelite, in the 18th century.¹ The rubric at *Supplices te rogamus* in the actual missal (1935) is identical with that in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka: *profunde inclinatus, brachiis cancellatis*.²

At *per ipsum, cum ipso*, three crosses of different proportions are made; a fourth within the chalice, and the fifth from rim to foot 'before the front of the chalice' at *omnis honor et gloria*.³

PATER NOSTER TO THE COMMUNION PRAYERS

The subdeacon kneels, and gives the paten uncovered to the deacon, together with the veil, after *Sed libera nos a malo* in the Lord's prayer.⁴

The embolism, which follows, has certain ceremonies peculiar to the rite. The deacon kisses the shoulder of the celebrant, and hands him the paten before the words *da propitius*. The priest kisses the paten, and continues with the prayer. It has been pointed out that the kissing of the paten cannot be an act of devotion to the vessel on which the sacred Host will be laid, as the Host is never placed on the paten in the Carmelite rite, unless some ceremony originally existing in the use of the White friars or in that of Jerusalem has disappeared.⁵ Perhaps, however, sufficient reason may be found from the fact that the paten is placed on the altar *seorsum ad corporale*.⁶ At the words *Ope misericordiae*, the celebrant touches his left eye with the paten, and at *Et a peccato simus liberi*, his right eye.⁷ Finally, at *Ab omni*

¹ *Dissertatio apologetica, historica, liturgica, dogmatica et politica* (Venice, 1757), pp. 218-19).

² The arms are crossed at the elbows, the right under the left.

³ *Signet ante pedem calicis*. *Ordin*, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵ The Sarum rite gives the rubric: *Hic* (about the end of the *Pater*) *assumat patenam et tangat eukaristiam cum patena, deinde deosculet patenam*. . . Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916), p. 225.

⁶ *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 83.

⁷ Cf. Sarum use.

perturbatione, he signs himself with the paten,¹ and replaces it on the altar near the corporal.²

The fraction, with the rubrics, is thus given in the missal of 1733: *Per eundem . . . Filium tuum (calicem prope se trahit, et in ipsum frangit (incipiendo ab inferiori parte) Hostiam per medium super calicem (a quo nullo modo removenda est, usque ad illius sump-tionem;) prosequitur :) Qui tecum vivit et regnat (Partem quam dextera tenet, superponat parti sinistrae et inferius eam denuo frangat dicens :) in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus: (Particulam dextra, duas alias sinistra super calicem tenens, dicit :) Per omnia saecula saeculorum*. Similar rubrics occur in the 14th-century ordinal. A question has been raised as to why the two particles are placed upon each other in the form of a cross after the fraction. Two reasons have been given for this, but neither of them seems very convincing. Mgr. Duchesne suggests that the practice is a relic of the old Gallican rite,³ while the alternative would see in it a symbol of Mount Calvary, which was within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, from whence the first Carmelites derived their rite. With the third particle, which is held in the right hand, the priest makes three signs of the cross over the chalice, as he says: *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*.

In the mediaeval rite the *Agnus Dei* followed immediately, and then the commixture, but in the missal of 1587 and all subsequent editions the order has been reversed. The particle is placed in the chalice with the formula: *Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fiat mihi, et omnibus sumen-tibus, salus mentis et corporis: et ad vitam aeternam promerendam, atque capescendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen*.⁴

The *Agnus Dei* follows, and the priest recites the prayer: *Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti discipulis tuis*. The ceremonial of

¹ Cf. Missals of Liège (1515) and Strasburg (1520). The missal of Meaux (1556) directs the priest to sign himself three times with the paten: at the words *adjuti, liberi and securi*.

² *Seorsum ad corporale, Ordin.*, p. 83; *a corporali*, ordinal of 1544.

³ Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1904), p. 219.

⁴ *Et dum praedictam orationem dicit, partes Hostiae decenter componit ad rotunditatem et facilem sump-tionem*. A. M. Forcadell, *Ritus Carmel. Antiq. Observ.*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXIV (1950), fasc. I, p. 47.

1616 says that *dona nobis pacem* is not said at the third *Agnus* on Holy Thursday, nor the prayer, by reason of the betrayal of Judas with a kiss on that day. Until 1574 the prayer concluded: . . . *pacificare, custodire et adunare digneris, Salvator mundi. Qui vivis*. This was changed in 1587: *pacificare, custodire et coadunare digneris. Qui vivis*, but for some unknown reason the missal of 1660 and the subsequent editions omitted the word *custodire*, which the missal of 1935 has restored. The celebrant at high Mass, unless it is a Mass of the dead, kisses the pall¹ and the rim of the chalice: the deacon kisses the altar and the pall.

The kiss of peace is given at the conclusion of the prayer, with the formula: *Habete vinculum pacis, et charitatis: ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Both prayer and formula are found in connection with the *pax* in the so-called Mass of Illyricus, which is a collection of Franco-Roman prayers, variously dated from the 9th–11th century.² The ordinal of 1544 prescribes the use of a *pax-brede* for the priest and server at a private Mass: the celebrant blesses the assistant, as he says the formula. The 13th-century ordinal says that the *pax* at a private Mass is reserved to the server, unless the custom of the place be otherwise. At the conventual Mass on Sundays and feasts (semi-doubles and upwards), the manuscript directs the *pax* to be given to the choir, lay brothers and others, whereas at other times to the ministers of the Mass and seculars only. Acolytes transmit it to the cantors, and the cantors to the choir on double and *totum* double feasts. A similar rubric occurs in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.³ The missal of 1587 provided a rubric which differed considerably both from the ancient ordinals and the Roman missal, but the traditional method was more closely followed in the ceremonial of 1616: . . . *Celebrans autem, finita praedicta oratione, dextra manu diaconum amplectens, et sinistram genam suam sinistrae diaconi appropriquans (ita ut se invicem leviter tangant) dicensque: Habete vinculum pacis, etc.* The present practice is for the celebrant to place his right hand round the

¹ *Osculetur corporale et labium calicis. Ordin., op. cit., p. 83; Osculetur corporale sive cooperculum et labium calicis. Fo. 31, Ordin., 1544.*

² Bona, *Rer. Lit.* (Rome, 1671), appendix, p. 501.

³ *Op. cit., p. 83.*

shoulder of the deacon (assistant priest), but the other assistants receive the *pax more romano*, with the formula *Pax tecum*. The use of a pax-brede had been recommended in a French Carmelite treatise published in 1680,¹ and Lebrun (*ob.* 1729) says that in his day the majority of houses gave the kiss of peace in this way.²

COMMUNION PRAYERS AND HOLY COMMUNION

A prayer 'to the Father' is found after the *pax* in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka and the missals until 1574: *Domine sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus; da mihi hoc sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ita digne sumere, ut merear per hoc remissionem omnium peccatorum meorum accipere; et tuo Sancto Spiritu repleri quia tu es Deus solus; et praeter te non est alius: cujus regnum gloriosum permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* A second prayer, which finds a place in the Roman rite and its many variants, is identical with the one in the Pian missal, except that the Carmelites have *obedire mandatis* in place of *inhaerere mandatis*: *Domine Jesu Christi, Filii Dei vivi. . .* The prayer which followed in the ancient rite: *Salve salus mundi*, was changed in the missal of 1574 for a Roman communion prayer: *Perceptio Corporis*. *Salve salus* had been included in the 14th-century ordinal among the ablution prayers, to be said if time allowed.³

The priest, while saying the prayers *Domine Jesu Christe* and *Perceptio Corporis*, holds the Host in his left hand over the chalice: *et dexteram manum, simili digitorum dispositione, sinistrae appropinquans, licet cum illius digitis Hostiam non tangat.*

The old Carmelite prayer, which in 1574 had given place to the Roman prayer *Perceptio*, was happily saved from oblivion, and restored to the missal in 1587, to be said as a third prayer: *Salve, salus mundi, verbum Patris, hostia sacra, viva caro, Deitas integra, verus homo.*⁴ The priest is directed to 'incline slightly' for the recitation of the prayer, and a rubric says: *parum genuflectere*

¹ *Traité des Offices à l'Usage de l'Ordre en 1680*, p. 351.

² *Op. cit.*, t. I, p. 593.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴ Adalbert Daniel refers to an almost identical prayer after the *Agnus*: *Salve salus mundi, verbum Patris, hostia vera, viva caro, Deitas integra, Deus et homo. Thes. hymnolog.*, t. II (Leipzig, 1844), pp. 328-9.

debemus, etsi ex usu immemorabili profunde tamen inclinemus, ob specialem incommoditatem, quam praedicta genuflexio praeseferet. Panem coelestem is not said in the Carmelite rite. The 14th-century ordinal directs the priest to say: *Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen*, and then forthwith to receive the Host and chalice.¹ The threefold recitation of *Domine non sum dignus* was introduced in the compendium of the constitutions for the province of Italy in 1568, and incorporated in the missal in 1574. There is, however, a *Domine non sum dignus* in a missal of the first half of the 14th century, written for the Carmelites of Paris.² It is customary, as we have seen, to hold the Host over the chalice in the left hand from the fraction till the Communion. The ordinal of 1544 directed that the two particles should be held in the right hand, with the result that when, on the introduction of certain prayers, new rubrics were devised, it was found difficult to observe them. Thus the provincial chapter in the Belgian province (1603) prescribed that the priest should strike his breast at *Domine non sum dignus* with the right hand, not with the left, as had been apparently the practice hitherto. Communion prayers from the Roman rite were introduced into the missal in 1574. Separate formulas were provided for the reception of the Host and chalice: *Corpus Domini Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen. Sanguis Domini Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam. Amen.* Prayers also were enjoined to be said before the priest received the precious Blood: *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus, quae retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo: Laudans invocabo Dominum, et ab inimicis meis salvus ero.*

ABLUTIONS

The ceremony of the ablutions is given fully in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka: the priest goes to the epistle corner of the altar, and the subdeacon pours wine over his fingers.³ Then, placing

¹ Op. cit., p. 83.

² Fo. 136v, Paris *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 884; Leroquais, op. cit., t. II, p. 215.

³ A warning is given lest drops should fall from the fingers of the priest: *Caveat tamen ne aliquid de digitis stillet in terram.*

the chalice on the altar, the celebrant bows and says *Quod ore sumpsimus*. If there is a suitable piscina, he washes his hands there, saying in the meanwhile *Tibi laus, tibi gloria*.¹ The priest, when he has dried his hands, returns to the altar, and again cleanses the chalice (not the fingers) with wine, laying the chalice sideways on the paten. If time should permit, the celebrant says also the prayers *Perceptio Corporis et Sanguinis* and *Corpus tuum Domine*. The deacon in the meanwhile folds the corporal, and moves the missal to the epistle side of the altar. When the priest has said the 'communion', he gives the chalice to the subdeacon to dry, who then takes it back to the sacristy.² A somewhat similar rubric for the ablutions is found in the 'Dominicanised' 13th-century ordinal, but water, not wine, is used for the second ablution. A suggestion is made also that in private Masses the washing of the fingers is more suitably done at the altar than at the piscina. The ablutions today are carried out *more romano*. Three prayers are prescribed: *Quod ore sumpsimus*, with the additional words: *in vitam aeternam; Corpus tuum, Domine, quod sumpsi*; and *Tibi laus, tibi gloria*. The third prayer, peculiar to the Carmelite rite, and given in the ordinals of the 13th and 14th centuries, is recited as the priest wipes his mouth and the chalice: *Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio, O beata, et benedicta, et gloriosa Trinitas, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus*. This is an uncommon formula, which is found also in a pontifical of lower Italy (c. 1100).³ Somewhat similar wording occurs in the eighth responsory for the feast of the Holy Trinity, and also in the first antiphon for lauds on the same feast.

POSTCOMMUNION, DISMISSAL AND PLACEAT

The 13th-century ordinal directs an acolyte to light the portable candles as soon as the last postcommunion has been said: the subdeacon receives the gospel-book. The cloths are then folded, and the altar is covered. *Ite missa est* is sung facing south, with

¹ Alternatively, the priest cleanses his hands at the altar.

² *Ordin.*, op. cit., p. 84.

³ Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia*, t. III, p. 341, n. 35.

two Alleluias from Holy Saturday till Trinity Sunday (exclusive). On the Rogation Days and in the votive Masses in Eastertide, when the *Gloria* is not said, *Benedicamus Domino* has a single Alleluia. Two slight variants occur in the *Placeat*: *hoc sacrificium* in place of *sacrificium*, and *in vitam aeternam* for *per Christum Dominum nostrum*.

The rite ended originally with the *Placeat*, after which the priest kissed the altar, and returned to the sacristy.

BLESSING

A blessing at the end of Mass was envisaged, if it was the custom of the country, in the ordinals of the 13th and 14th centuries,¹ but there is no indication of it in the late 14th-century London missal. The missal, printed in Venice in 1514, repeated the permissive use found in Sibert de Beka. By 1544, the blessing seems to have been regarded as an integral part of the Mass, and the ordinal of that year directed the priest to bless the faithful with his thumb and two fingers, and never with the paten, chalice, or any other ornament: four signs of the cross were to be made.² Present custom demands a single sign of the cross.³ The deacon faces north for the blessing: the subdeacon, east. The formula is distinctive: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, Patris et Filii ✠ ii et Spiritus Sancti descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen.*

SALVE REGINA

The recitation of the *Salve Regina* at the end of Mass seems to have been unknown in the time of Sibert de Beka (c. 1312), but it was directed to be said after the blessing, at a conventual and

¹ 13th century: *Si consuetudo patriae fuerit et extranei affuerint hanc expectantes, det benedictionem secundum modum patriae.* 14th century: *Si consuetudo patriae fuerit det benedictionem, et non aliter.* Op. cit., p. 84.

² *Tali modo quod fiat cum pollice et duobus digitis sine patena aut calice aut alia quavis re, sed cum quatuor crucibus: dicendo Benedictio Dei omnipotentis, facit crucem ante se. Et cum dicit Patris, faciat secundam crucem in latere dextro versus populum. Et cum dicit Et Filii, faciat tertiam ex directo versus populum. Et cum dicit Et Spiritus Sancti etc, faciat quartam ad partem sinistram versus populum.*

³ *Missale* (1935), *Ritus Servandi*, rubr. XII.

private Mass alike, by the provincial chapter of Lombardy in 1328.¹ The constitutions of 1357 and 1362 (John Balistarius) order its use, with the prayer *Protege*, at the conventual Mass. There is no mention of the private Mass, but we may conclude that, except on some solemnities, it would have been said. The ordinal of 1544 expressly included private Masses. The prayer (*Protege*) was taken from the Gelasian sacramentary, where it figures among the prayers to be said in time of war,² and it is found in almost the same form in the so-called Leonine sacramentary.³ The necessary words have been changed to make it applicable to the occasion: *Protege, Domine, famulos tuos subsidiis pacis: et Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis patrocinis confidentes, a cunctis hostibus redde securos. Per.* The recitation of the *Salve* at Mass was adopted by the Discalced Observance in 1766. The usage was approved for the whole Order by Rome in 1854. Thus, since the introduction of the Leonine prayers, the *Salve* is said twice, and the Congregation of Rites, in answer to a question on the subject, replied (June 1885): *juxta probatam praxim . . . Ordinis.*⁴ *Regina Coeli* and the prayer: *Deus, qui per resurrectionem* are said in Eastertide. The prayers are recited on the top step of the altar.

Several of the Marial features in the rite of Braga were introduced by the Carmelite archbishop, Balthasar Limpo, and they appear for the first time in the missal of 1558. Ferreira says that the primate inserted *Ave Maria* at the beginning of the Mass and *Salve Regina* at the end.⁵ The actual missal (1924), however, which was the very next edition, gives four antiphons of our Lady to be said after the last gospel at different seasons of the year, but *Salve Regina* is not one of them.

¹ *Imprimis circa divinum officium ordinaverunt et constituerunt quod omnes horæ tam diæ quam noctis cum nota et spatiose cantentur et quod in qualibet missa tam conventuali quam privata, data benedictione a sacerdote, dicatur statim Salve Regina cum vers. Ora pro nobis et oratione Protege. Postea evangelium Joannis. Analecta Ord. Carm., vol. III, p. 154.*

² *Gelasian Sacramentary*, edit. H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 275.

³ *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, edit. C. L. Feltoe (Cambridge, 1896), p. 72.

⁴ Decr. 3637, ad. VII.

⁵ J. A. Ferreira, *Estudos Historico-Liturgicos. Os Ritos Particulares das Igrejas de Braga e Toledo* (Coimbra, 1924), cap. III, p. 181.

LAST GOSPEL

The *Salve Regina* was adopted at Mass before the gospel *In principio* had become an integral part of the liturgy, although it would seem to have been recited *ex devotione* by way of a thanksgiving, which took the form of a *missa sicca*. In 1328 the provincial chapter of Lombardy, after prescribing the *Salve* to be said at all Masses, continued: *Postea evangelium Joannis*.¹ The missal of 1490 certainly seems to consider the last gospel as an integral part of the Mass, and the ordinal of 1544 directed it to be said on the way back to the sacristy after the conventual Mass: *Sacerdos dicebat versiculum post Salve Regina, et eundo ad sacristiam perficiebat evangelium S. Joannis*. At a private Mass the priest recited the gospel at the altar, while he was engaged in folding the corporal and wiping the chalice and paten. The ordinal enjoined the words *Per haec evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta* to be said at the end of the gospel. It was not, however, until 1587, or perhaps 1584, that the recitation of the last gospel became obligatory in the liturgy of the Order. The priest, as at the gospel in the Mass, says secretly after *Gloria tibi Domine: Qui natus es de Virgine, cum Patre, et sancto Spiritu in sempiterna saecula. Amen*.² At the end of the gospel, he signs himself, and says: *Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta*. The last gospel appointed for the third Mass of Christmas is the gospel for the Nativity of our Lady: *Liber generationis*.

The priest returns to the sacristy wearing the amice on his head, and reciting the thanksgiving.³

¹ *Analecta Ord. Carm.*, vol. III, p. 154.

² Rubr. XV, *Missale*, 1733.

³ *Te Deum*, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum* and response, and the prayers: *Protector in te sperantium*, *Actiones nostras* and *A subitanea et improvisa morte*.

APPENDIX

Flabellum

A liturgical fan of leather, silk, parchment or feathers was used in the sacrifices of the heathen and from very early times in the Christian Church. The Apostolic Constitutions (late 4th century) say: 'Let two of the deacons, on each side of the altar, hold a fan, made up of thin membranes, or of the feathers of the peacock, or of fine cloth, and let them silently drive away the small animals that fly about, that they may not come near to the cups.'¹ John Moschus relates the story of an Italian bishop, offering the Holy Sacrifice in the presence of Pope St. Agapitus I (535-6), who requested the Pope to tell the deacon with the *flabellum* to go away from the altar at the prayer of the holy oblation.² Hildebert de Lavardin, bishop of Tours (1125-34), sending a *flabellum* to a friend, says: *Dum igitur destinato tibi stabi flabello descendentes super sacrificia muscas abegeris; a sacrificantis mente supervenientem incursus tentationum Catholicae fidei ventilabre exturbari oportebit. Ita fiet ut quod susceptum est ad usum, mysticum tibi praebeat intellectum.*³

The fan⁴ was in use in Ireland in the early Middle Ages, and it is mentioned in various texts of the period, while the ornament itself is represented in ancient Irish illuminations.⁵ A Hiberno-Saxon manuscript of the gospels (8th century) at Trier depicts a fan in the right hand of St. Matthew, and the monogram of the Book of Kells (8th century) shows angels bearing a fan which seems to be made of thin plates of metal surrounded by little bells.⁶ The liturgical fan was commonly used in Rome and the West generally from the secret till the end of the canon during the Middle Ages. Its use has been described in the Cluniac customary: *Usus ministrorum, qui semper duo debent esse, stans cum flabello prope sacerdotem, ex quo muscarum infestatio exurgere*

¹ *Apost. Constit.*, VIII, cap. XXII; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, p. 14.

² *Prati Spiritualis*, cap. CL; Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. I, cap. XXV, 6, p. 242.

³ *Epist.* VIII; Bona, *op. cit.*, lib. I, cap. XXV, 6, pp. 242-3.

⁴ Irish, *culebad*; Old Irish, *culebath*.

⁵ L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (London, 1932), chap. X, p. 360.

⁶ F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), vol. II, p. 144. Cf. Keshotz in the Armenian rite: ceremonial fans, shaken during the liturgy.

*incipit, donec finiatur, eas arcere a sacrificio et ab altari, seu ab ipso sacerdote non negligit.*¹ *Ordo Romanus XIV* (14th century) prescribes the fan, *si tempus requirit*,² and a pontifical ceremonial of the time of Pope Nicholas V (1447–55) gives the rubric: *Deferant quoque aestivo tempore flabella ad eijciendas muscas a ministerio.*³ The sacristan is reminded in the *ordinarius* of Liège (c. 1285) to provide a *flabellum* ‘at the time of flies’ for the private Masses of the brethren, as well as for the conventual Masses. Its use is attested also by Durandus of Mende (*ob.* 1296).⁴

It may be of interest to give a few examples of the fan in the documents of the Middle Ages: the treasury of the cathedral church of Monza has a specimen that has been attributed to the 7th century; a silver *flabellum* is mentioned among the ornaments of the abbey church of St. Riquier near Abbeville in 813, ‘for chasing flies from the sacrifice’.⁵ And in the will of Everard, founder of the abbey of Cysoing near Lille (*ob.* 937), there is a reference to a silver *flabellum*. An inventory of the treasury of Salisbury cathedral, taken in 1222, enumerates one fan of silver and two of parchment; Amiens in 1250 has a fan made of silk and gold; while three years later it is recorded that the Sainte Chapelle in Paris has ‘two fans commonly called *muscalia*, ornamented with pearls’. Further references to *flabella* in England include a *muscatorium* or fly-whisk of peacocks’ feathers in the chapel of St. Faith in the crypt of St. Paul’s cathedral in London, noted in the visitation of the treasury in 1295;⁶ a fan of silver with an ivory handle, given to his church by Haymo, bishop of Rochester (*ob.* 1352); and a ‘silver-gilt handle for the *flabellum*, which was gilded and had on it the enamelled figure of the bishop’, presented to York Minster by John Newton about the year 1400. The richest and most beautiful specimen of liturgical fan in existence is probably the 13th-century example preserved in the abbey of Kremsmünster in Austria.

The use of a fan as a liturgical ornament seems to have disappeared from the Western Church, except in the Carmelite and Dominican Orders, after the council of Constance (1415), continuing merely as part of the honorific insignia of the Pope on solemn occasions. It exists today in the Eastern Church in the Syrian (*Marwah'tho*), Byzantine (*ripidion*) and Armenian (*keshotz*) rites. A *ripidion* is given to the Byzantine deacon at his ordination.

¹ Dachéry, *Spicilegium*, t. IV, lib. II, cap. XXX; Bona, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

² *O.R.* XIV, 53; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 1165.

³ Barberini Library, cod. 2365; Bona, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

⁴ *Rat. Div. Offic.*, IV, 25.

⁵ *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLXXIV, col. 1257.

⁶ *Unum muscatorium de pennis pavonum*, *Visitatio Thesauriae*, 1295; Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, t. III et ult. (1673), p. 331.

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Chapter Five

DOMINICAN RITE

GENERAL HISTORY OF THE ORDER

THE Dominican Order is essentially liturgical. The founder, St. Dominic, was 'the first in time of the four great Spaniards who in their different ways have exercised such a prodigious influence over the religious life of the Church'.¹ It would seem that St. Dominic was appointed a canon of Osma shortly after the bishop, Martin de Bazan, had established a chapter of Canons Regular in his cathedral church. The mission of the Saint, however, was not to be confined to Spain, and, passing through Toulouse with his bishop, where he witnessed the havoc that was being caused by the Albigensian heretics,² the idea occurred to him to found an Order for the express purpose of combating their errors. A house for women converts was established at Prouille near Toulouse in 1205. The preaching of St. Dominic in the diocese soon attracted disciples, and in 1215 a community was approved as a diocesan congregation, for whom Foulques, bishop of Toulouse, gave the church of St. Romaine. In the following year an Order of canons under the rule of St. Augustine,³ vowed to teaching and defending the truths of the faith, received papal approbation in the bull *Religiosam vitam: Nos attendentes fratres Ordinis tui futuros pugiles fidei et vera mundi lumina confirmamus Ordinem tuum*.⁴ The introduction of

¹ Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, part II, chap. XIII, I, p. 147.

² *Albigensianism* was a revival of Manichaeism, which taught the usual dualism, namely that there are two opposing principles, one good, the other evil, which created the spiritual and material worlds respectively; all flesh is in itself evil, all spirit good. Consequently our Lord did not have a real human body, and his earthly life was merely 'appearance', and there could be no resurrection of the body. The Sacraments were rejected, especially marriage.

³ Mortier, *La Liturgie Dominicaine*, I, part I, chap. I, p. 7.

⁴ Balme-Lelaidier, *Cartulaire ou Histoire Diplomatique de St. Dominique* (Paris, 1893), II, pp. 71-88.

new rules for religious orders had been forbidden by the fourth council of the Lateran (1215), and St. Dominic therefore adopted that of St. Augustine, with the addition of *consuetudines* borrowed in great part from the constitutions of the White canons of Prémontré, but adapted to the purposes of the new Preachers. Humbert de Romans says that the friars took from the Premonstratensians 'whatever they found that was austere, suitable and prudent for the end they had in view'.¹ 'Our Order', say the Constitutions, 'was instituted principally for preaching and for the salvations of souls', the first Order in the Church to be established with an academic mission.

The Friars Preachers were destined to be world-wide, and the diaspora began on 15 August 1217, when the number of members was no more than sixteen. By 1256 the friars totalled about seven thousand; at the end of the century ten thousand; and in 1337 thirteen thousand. Pope Honorius III (1216–27) gave St. Dominic the church of St. Sixtus in Rome with its adjacent house in 1219, and foundations were made in France, Spain, Italy and other countries, especially in university towns.

The first general chapter was held at Bologna in 1220, when constitutions were added to the original *consuetudines*. These constitutions regulated the organization and life of the Order, and are the essential and original basis of the Dominican legislation. 'Thus the Order of Preachers was in origin a canonical institute with a markedly monastic character, though from the first they had taken an important step which set them midway between canons and friars.'² The true Dominican, says Stephen of Salanhac (*ob.* 1290), is 'a canon by profession, a monk in the austerity of his life, and an apostle by his office of preacher'.

The chapter of 1220 relinquished revenues and adopted the strict poverty of mendicants, at the same time renouncing the title of 'abbey' for houses of the Order, and abandoning the use of the rochet, the distinctive vesture of canons. The title *canonicus*, however, was never wholly expunged from the constitutional

¹ *De Vita Regulari*, II, 3. The prologue of the constitutions is taken verbatim from that of the White canons.

² David Knowles, *op. cit.*, part II, chap. XIII, I, p. 149.

documents, and the habit was that of Canons Regular, a white tunic with black cloak. Annual general chapters were established as the regulative power of the Order, and the source of its legislative authority. A new text of the constitutions was drawn up by St. Raymond of Penafort (*ob.* 1275), to which the general chapters of 1239, 1240 and 1241 gave the force of law.¹ In 1257 Pope Alexander IV (1254–61) directed the fifth master-general, Humbert de Romans, to unify the constitutions of the sisters of the Order, which was put into effect by the general chapter at Valenciennes two years later.

The chapter, which constitutes the supreme authority in the Order, met annually from 1220 till 1373: from that year until 1553, every two or three years; 1553 to 1625, every third year. The time was extended in 1625 to six years, but in the 18th century and the early years of the 19th, general chapters were infrequent. They are summoned today every three years. The first chapters met at Bologna and Paris alternately, and after 1244 in most of the principal cities of Europe.

The master-general, who since the 14th century has usually resided in Rome, was elected for life until 1804, in which year Pope Pius VII (1800–23) reduced the tenure of office to six years. This was extended to twelve years by Pius IX (1846–78) in 1862.

In 1221 three bulls were issued in as many months by Honorius III (1216–27), commending the Order to the bishops. The year was memorable, as it witnessed the death of St. Dominic, who was canonised by Gregory IX (1227–41) on 13 July 1234. Eight provinces and some sixty houses were represented in the general chapter of 1221, when it was decided to extend the Order to England. The first houses were established in Oxford² and Holborn, and at the last named general chapters were held in 1250 and 1263.³ The number of Dominican friaries in England ultimately attained to some fifty-three, with foundations in nearly

¹ Three successive chapters are required before legislation is finally accepted, but in a *capitulum generalissimum*, only two of which are known (1228, 1236), the decisions take effect at once.

² A provincial chapter met at Oxford in 1230.

³ The general chapter at Holborn in 1263 was attended by St. Thomas Aquinas.

all the cathedral cities and in many of the important market towns.

‘During the reigns of the three first Edwards the Preachers came to occupy something of the position filled by members of the Society of Jesus in the castles and palaces of the Counter-Reformation. They are found acting, by special dispensation, as household chaplains and confessors to the great, and for some two hundred years without a break the post of royal confessor was given to the friars.’¹ The chief house of the Order was St. Jacques in Paris, which the Dominicans had occupied since 1218. By 1228 Paris had become a *studium generale*, with a chair attached to the University. Later, similar *studia* were established at Oxford, Cologne, Montpellier, Bologna and other places. In fact, every house of the Friars Preachers was a school, and ‘the teaching activity of the Order and its scholastic organisation placed the Preachers in the forefront of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages’.² It is given to few religious orders to boast of two such intellectual giants as St. Thomas Aquinas (*ob.* 1274) and St. Albert the Great (*ob.* 1280). The office of the Blessed Sacrament, composed by St. Thomas, has become one of the masterpieces of Catholic liturgy. Armand du Prat (*ob.* 1306) was the author of an office of St. Louis, which came into universal use in France, and Cardinal Latino Malabranca, who in his time was famous as a composer of ecclesiastical chants and offices, has been claimed as the author of the *Dies irae*.

Two Dominican popes were elected in the first three centuries of the Order—B. Innocent V (1276) and B. Benedict XI (1303–4).

During this same period twenty-eight friars were appointed cardinals, the first of whom was Hugh of St. Cher, cardinal of S. Sabina (*ob.* 1263). It is estimated that by the end of the 15th century about fifteen hundred Preachers had attained the mitre. More important, however, than ecclesiastical preferment, there were nine canonised saints and at least seventy-three *beati* from among the Black friars. The Dominicans, in company with the other religious orders, suffered grievous losses at the Protestant

¹ David Knowles, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV, p. 167.

² P. Mandonnet, ‘Preachers, Order of’, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII, p. 362.

Reformation, although these were to some extent compensated by the many new foundations in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of the New World.

Friars Preachers continued to occupy important positions in the Church, and there were two more popes—St. Pius V (1566–72) and Benedict XIII (1724–30)—forty cardinals and more than a thousand archbishops and bishops. In addition, we find sixteen canonised saints and more than three hundred *beati*.

ARCHITECTURE

The general chapters in the first years of the Order laid emphasis on poverty and austerity, forbidding anything that might savour of ostentation or luxury, but by the second half of the 13th century the Order had begun to erect churches which could be justly described as *opera sumptuosa*. Large cities, in which the Dominicans were for the most part established, brought the Order into contact with the general movement of civilisation, and it was hardly possible for them to maintain their early uncompromising attitude.

There is no style of architecture that can be called ‘Dominican’, but ‘the distinct characteristic of their churches resulted from their sumptuary legislation which excluded decorated architectural work, save in the choir. Hence the predominance of single lines in their buildings. This exclusivism, which often went as far as the suppression of capitals on the columns, gives great lightness and elegance to the naves of their churches.’¹ It may be of interest to enumerate some of the more noteworthy buildings of the Order that have survived:

Italy. S. Maria Novella, Florence, which has been called ‘the purest and most elegant example of Tuscan Gothic’; S. Maria sopra Minerva, a solitary example of Gothic architecture in Rome; SS. Giovanni e Paolo (S. Zanipolo), Venice, too overcrowded with works of art, but after St. Mark’s the most famous church in the city; S. Domenico Maggiore, Naples, with twenty-seven chapels; S. Domenico, Bologna, containing the white

¹ P. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

marble sarcophagus of the founder of the Order; S. Caterina, Pisa; S. Eustorgio, Milan, with the magnificent Gothic tomb of St. Peter Martyr; and, also in Milan, S. Maria delle Grazie, which has the world-famous fresco (Last Supper) of Leonardo da Vinci on the wall of the old refectory.

England. The 14th–15th-century church of the friars at Norwich, known today as St. Andrew's Hall.

France. St. Maximin, reputed to be the finest Gothic church in Provence, containing the alleged relics of St. Mary Magdalene.

Germany. In North Germany many of the churches of the Order are of the *hallenkirchen* type, so prevalent on the Baltic coast. Of brick and resembling a hall, the aisles are as high and almost as wide as the nave, while the choir terminates in a straight gable-wall. The general appearance of rudeness and heaviness is avoided by the rich ornamentation of the gables, and by a full use of coloured decorations. Many of these interesting survivals of the 14th–15th centuries have been unfortunately destroyed by air attacks in the Second World War.

The Order of Teutonic Knights adopted the Dominican rite in the 13th century, and their churches are a matter of concern to us here. The plain, massive and severe brick exterior of the majority of the churches was due to the fact that they generally formed part of the fortified posts of the knights. The cathedral of Frauenburg, which has been described as 'the most important ecclesiastical building in East Prussia', is the only church of the Order displaying any great attempt at exterior embellishment. The interiors of the churches are simple in character, generally with nave and aisles of equal height.

Belgium. The magnificent, but little known moated castle of the Teutonic Knights of Alde-Blessen at Rijckhoven near Bilsen has a small 17th-century church without aisles.

Spain. Fine, but late, Dominican churches may be seen at Avila (San Tomás), Seville (San Pablo), Granada (Santa Cruz), Valladolid (San Pablo) and Salamanca (San Esteban). The last two present the strange fashion of treating the west front as an immense stone *retablo* (reredos).

Portugal. The church and convent of Batalha, dedicated to

S. Maria de Vitoria, was erected by King John I of Aviz in thanksgiving for the victory over the Spaniards at Aljubarrotta in 1385. It has been described as 'perhaps the most splendid ever dwelt in by the Order'.

In early days the choir was in front of the altar, enclosed on three sides, and with a screen at the west end. A pulpit or ambo for the epistle and gospel was on either side of the screen, while in the middle of the choir stood the *pulpitum majus*. Then, after the 16th century, it became customary for the choir to be either behind the altar or in a gallery at the west end (*alto coro*). The screen was suppressed. The high altar came to be known as the 'conventual altar', and private Masses were not permitted to be said at it. A special missal, gospel-book and epistle-book were provided for the altar. The piscina in ancient churches is often provided with twin drains, and a clue as to their purpose is forthcoming from a rubric in an ancient Dominican *ordinarium*: *Ablutio digitorum sacerdotis recipiatur in pelvi, alia quam sacra ablutio*.¹

HISTORY OF THE RITE

ADOPTION OF A UNIFORM LITURGY

The liturgy used by St. Dominic and his disciples at Toulouse for the first two and a half years of the Order's existence would have been that of the diocese, but on 15 August 1217 the community scattered, thus inaugurating a period of liturgical diversity, since the friars, not to arouse prejudice, followed the usages of the towns and lands in which they settled. Even after the formation of a distinctive rite, we find the fifth master-general, Humbert de Romans (1254-77), advising the adoption of local customs under certain circumstances: '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.'² The rapid growth of the Order necessitated a uniform rite, without which one can well imagine the liturgical confusion that would ensue at the general

¹ De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. V, p. 192, n. 2.

² *De Vita Reg.*, II, 6-7.

chapter, when friars assisted from many different countries. Did St. Dominic, attached as he was to the canonical order, ignore the question of liturgical uniformity? It would hardly seem likely, and yet there is no positive proof to the contrary. St. Dominic died in 1221, and there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that he had already begun to organise this uniformity when death overtook him. If this be true, it was left to his successor, Blessed Jordan of Saxony (1222–37), to give to the Dominican liturgy its first uniformity, as he gave to the Constitutions its first official text.¹ The work, however, was hasty and unsatisfactory, and unauthorised changes were made in it. The general chapter, held at Bologna in 1244 under the fourth master-general, John the Teuton (1241–52), directed the definitors to bring to the chapter at Cologne in the following year the rubrics and notes of the breviary, gradual and missal, in order that the details of the office might be harmoniously arranged (*pro concordando officio*). This chapter of 1245 appointed a commission of four friars from four different provinces—France, England, Lombardy and Germany—to undertake the work of revision. It would be well, however, before continuing the history of the unification of the rite, to see what arguments there are in favour of the above thesis.² Some writers say that liturgical diversity, even to the point of chaos, existed in the Order before the work of the ‘four friars’; while others maintain that efforts had been made to obtain some measure of uniformity, but that they were ineffectual. The course of events seems to show that the period of ‘diversity and chaos’ lasted only a very short time. It is true that Humbert de Romans says that there was great diversity in the Office in the early years of the Order, and consequently uniformity was brought about by the four friars and later by himself, but he speaks of the work as entrusted to the friars ‘in course of time’, as if there had been some previous rite.³ At the end of the constitutions of Jordan of

¹ Mortier, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 14–15.

² The arguments have been examined at length in a most excellent history of the Dominican liturgy: *A History of the Dominican Liturgy*, W. R. Bonniwell. New York: J. F. Wagner, 1945.

³ *De Vita Reg.*, II, 140; edit. J. J. Berthier, *Le B. Humbert de Romans, Année Dominicaine ou Vies des Saints*, 14 Juillet.

Saxony, we read: '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 must surely represent the decision of a general chapter, the *acta* of which have been lost.¹ The general chapters of 1240 (Bologna), 1241 (Paris) and 1242 (Bologna) have been often cited as affording a proof that there was no uniform Dominican rite before the work of the four friars. Fr. Bonniwell, however, has now shown conclusively that the permission to use the rite of the place where the friars might find themselves only concerned travellers, and that those Preachers who resided in the houses of bishops or other dignitaries were required to follow their own use.² The privilege for travellers, although it had long remained a dead letter, was in fact in the Constitutions³ up to the time of the present edition.⁴

Three liturgical manuscripts, written before the final revision of Humbert de Romans, are known: (1) Breviary of St. Dominic, now in the convent of St. Dominic and St. Sixtus in Rome, which has many erasures, additions and modifications, possibly made by the Saint himself. (2) Dominican missal of Paris, preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, which seems to have been written about the year 1240, and later adapted to the use of the Church of Paris.⁵ Many Parisian saints were added to the missal in the 14th century.⁶ (3) Breviary-antiphoner, now in the Dominican archives in Rome, and written before the revision of Humbert de Romans, probably a late copy of the original. The illumination and the style of writing both indicate a Paris origin in the first half of the 13th century. The value of the books in determining the approximate date of the first attempt at a uniform Office,

¹ B. Jordan of Saxony was master-general till February 1237.

² *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, chap. VI, pp. 56-60.

³ Second Distinction, chap. XIII, n. 993.

⁴ Provisional form in 1926: final form in 1932.

⁵ *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 8884.

⁶ The last feast in the original MS. is the Translation of St. Dominic, whose tomb was opened in May 1233. The general chapter of 1243 approved St. Elizabeth of Thuringia and the Eleven thousand Virgins as feasts of nine lessons, but in the MS. there is no mention of the former, and the latter is a simple *memoria*. Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. IV, pp. 34-5.

and also in providing a clue to an understanding of the reasons for the persistent opposition to the various stages of the liturgical revision will be considered later. Further evidence is forthcoming in support of the existence of a uniform Office prior to the work of the 'four friars'. The *acta* of the first twelve general chapters (1220–32) have unfortunately disappeared, and yet it was during these years that the framework of the Constitutions was built, which was to serve the Order for seven hundred years. It would seem very unlikely that the chapters would have made absolutely no provision for a liturgy. We know, in fact, that Gregory IX (1227–41) granted permission in 1235 for the Dominican nuns of S. Maria delle Vetteri in Milan to give up the Ambrosian Office, and 'to celebrate the Office according to the way the other sisters of your Order celebrate it'.¹ An unlikely concession if there was 'liturgical chaos' in the Order. A similar privilege was obtained by another Milanese convent, S. Maria desuper muro, in 1309.² The permissions seem to have been granted on the ground that the Office was a private affair, and the Ambrosian rite was retained for Mass. The friars followed the Milanese use in both Office and Mass.

In 1236 the *capitulum generalissimum* debated whether to stand or sit for the psalm *Laudate Dominum* (Psl. CXVI), and, as Fr. Bonniwell says, such a trivial liturgical detail would hardly be under discussion if there was no uniform liturgy, especially when the intellectual standard of the Order was so high.³

A uniform liturgy certainly existed in 1243, as on 13 February of the following year, Innocent IV (1243–54) permitted the Teutonic Knights to adopt the Dominican rite,⁴ which they changed to the corrected liturgy of Humbert de Romans in 1257 (27 February).⁵ In speaking of 'uniformity of rite', however, it must be remembered that there was no Congregation of Rites to demand liturgical exactitude down to the last detail. Most of the rubrics were transmitted orally, and Humbert de Romans in the later years of his life admitted that it 'is more expedient, as

¹ *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum; Anal. Ord. Praed.*, VIII (1900), 498, no. 474.

² W. R. Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. VII, pp. 64–6.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 63–4.

⁴ *Tabula Ordinis Theutonici*, 357, no. 471.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 378, no. 536.

regards some customs, to conform to the people among whom the friars dwell than it is to preserve uniformity in all things'. Clement IV (1265–68) says of the Humbertian revision that it was occasioned by the various customs existing in the different provinces.¹ This, however, is not to say that there was a state of 'liturgical chaos' in the Order, even before the work of the 'four friars', who, says Humbert de Romans, were given the task of 'arranging the liturgy in a better form' (*ut melius ordinarent*). This revision of the 'four friars' may be looked upon as a third stage in the development of the liturgy.

It is not known for certain whether Humbert de Romans, who in 1244 succeeded Hugh de Saint-Cher as provincial of France, was one of the original four, but the compilation of the lectionary was entrusted to him in 1246.² Each of the four members of the commission was directed to bring the books of his province by the feast of St. Remigius (1 October) 1245 to the convent of B. Maria de Recooperta at Angers, where the entire liturgical service—text, rubrics and plainchant—was to be corrected and harmonised 'with the least possible expense'.³ This revision of the 'four fathers', which was completed in eight months, was approved by the general chapters of 1246 (Paris), 1247 (Montpellier) and 1248 (Paris), thus becoming official in the Order. Its appearance was not received with universal satisfaction, and in 1250 the general chapter (London) said that 'complaints have been received from many of the brethren of different provinces concerning the numerous discordances in the Divine Office'. In the following year (1251), the 'four friars' reassembled at Metz with a corrected Office, which they had arranged in a single volume. The chapter approved the revision, and it was confirmed also by the general chapter of 1252 (Bologna), but there was no 'third time of asking', as on 5 November of that year the master-general, John of Wildeshausen, had died, and in accordance with custom there was no general chapter the next year. Thus, despite

¹ *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, 486.

² Humbert de Romans, when provincial of Rome, compiled a uniform collection of liturgical books and customs for his province, which was undertaken by Peter, subprior of S. Sabina, and which was later disseminated in other houses of the Order.

³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 33.

opposition and complaints, no less than five general chapters had supported the liturgical work of the 'four friars'. No exemplar of their revision remains, and it is therefore impossible to assess its merits, but Humbert de Romans seems to have based his work on what the 'four friars' had accomplished.

In 1254 the general chapter at Buda elected Humbert de Romans as master-general of the Order, and at the same time authorised him to correct the liturgical books, arranging the entire Office and everything connected with it, thus taking the first step towards making this revision of constitutional obligation.

The decisions of the chapter at Buda were approved and confirmed by the general chapters of 1255 (Milan) and 1256 (Paris), and the 'new correction' became henceforth the official liturgy of the Dominican Order: 'We confirm the whole Office for the day as well as for the night, according to the correction and arrangement of the venerable Father Humbert, master of our Order, and wish it to be uniformly observed by all, in such a way that it should be unlawful for anyone henceforth to introduce any innovation.'¹ The revision was completed in 1256, and Humbert de Romans appeared satisfied with the result: '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'. Fourteen books were enumerated, bound together in one large volume, which was to serve as a prototype. Until the French Revolution the book was preserved in the house at Paris (St. Jacques), and it is found today among the archives of the Order in Rome.

The fourteen books comprise ordinal, antiphoner, lectionary, psalter, collectar, martyrology, processional, gradual, missal for the conventual altar, epistle-book, gospel-book, missal for the side altars, pulpitory and portable breviary.

The martyrology was that of Usuard, a Benedictine of St. Germain des Prés (c. 875), adapted to the requirements of the Order. By the end of the 15th century it had been adopted in most of the Churches of the West, including Rome. The gradual contains the twenty-seven proses sung at solemn Masses on feasts

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 73, 78.



S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome



Dominican Church, Norwich



S. Sisto Vecchio, Rome



Cloisters, Colégio de San Tomás,
Coimbra



S. Eustorgio, Milan



San Esteban, Salamanca (1610)

of the rite of *totum duplex*, of which there were thirteen at the time, and in certain Masses of the Blessed Virgin. The conventual missal is a sacramentary in which only the parts said or sung by the celebrant are included. The gospel-book contains all the formulas necessary for the deacon.

One of the most ancient written regulations for honouring a bishop who assists at Mass is found in the *ordinarium* of this collection, which directs the bishop to say the *Confiteor* and to give the final blessing, as well as to bless the water at the preparation of the chalice, and to bless the incense. It is he also who is first censured and who first receives the *pax*.¹

The Dominican liturgy has remained faithful to this revision, and the slight variations and retouches in the course of seven centuries have in no way altered the essentials.

The rite of the Friars Preachers was one of the first to show the characteristics of unity, stability and precision, and, as we shall see, it was adopted by other Churches. Humbert de Romans succeeded in establishing and bringing to perfection what had been formulated in previous revisions.

The general chapter of 1256 (Paris) enjoined that copies of the liturgy might be made only in Paris, and all provincial priors were requested to send twenty *livre tournois* towards the cost of production.² In the following year the chapter at Florence ordered all copies to be corrected carefully according to the Paris exemplar. The opposition to the liturgical revision had been overcome, but it seems to have been some time before it was entirely extinguished, and the universal acceptance of the 'new correction' continued to be slow. It was found necessary for the general chapters of 1258 and 1259 (Valenciennes) to remind the friars that they must procure copies of this new revision, and the latter assembly made it clear that the master-general would make no more changes in the liturgy: *Sciant omnes quod magister ordinis nichil de cetero immutare proponit*.

¹ Guerrini, *Ordinarium juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome⁹ 1921), pp. 245 *seq.*

² In the same year (1256) the provincial chapter at Avignon directed all the houses in the province to contribute sixteen shillings *pro communibus exemplaribus quae fiunt Parisiis de officio ordinis*.

Humbert de Romans¹ resigned at the general chapter which met in London in 1263, and Blessed John of Vercelli was elected master-general. Two years later the general chapter at Montpellier (1265) again had to 'admonish priors to take efficacious steps towards acquiring the liturgical books of the new correction',² while a similar request in the *acta* of the Roman province shows that so late as 1270 there was still a stubborn adherence to other usages.³ The question of the revision of the Dominican liturgy had, however, been settled permanently in 1267 by the bull *Consurgit in nobis* of Pope Clement IV (1265-68). Not only did the liturgy become an official liturgy in the Roman Church, but a formal prohibition was issued against making any change in it without the express permission of the Apostolic See.⁴

SOURCES OF THE LITURGY

A study of the sources gives a clue as to the reason for the prolonged opposition to the revision. The theory, at one time commonly accepted, that the Dominican rite was largely influenced by Paris has been shown by Fr. Bonniwell to be without foundation.⁵ A detailed comparative study proves clearly that the Friars Preachers chose the early 13th-century (or more accurately the late 12th-century) rite of Rome, and made certain changes in it.⁶ No less than eight theories have been put forward at one time or another to account for the sources of the Dominican liturgy. Some have seen in it a combination of the Carthusian and Premonstratensian rites, claiming the former source for the Mass, and the latter for the Office;⁷ while a more generally accepted opinion looks to the Roman rite as it was carried out in the 13th century Church of Paris. Lebrun is quite categorical on the point: '... must unhesitatingly make us regard their missal

¹ Humbert de Romans died at Valence on 14 July 1277.

² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 130.

³ *Acta Cap. Prov.*, II, 528.

⁴ *Bull. Ord. Praedic.*, I, p. 486.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, chap. XIV, pp. 167-92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁷ Marcellus de Cavaleriis, *Statera Sacra Missam juxta ritum Ordinis Praedicatorum practice, historice et mystice expendens* (Naples, 1686), 28-9, par. 39. Dom Baudot (*Le Missel Romain*, II, pp. 102, 104-5) says: 'The Roman rite as developed by the Church of Lyons.'

(Dominican) as the ancient missal of the Church of Paris'.¹ The Chronicle of Henry of Hervorden (*ob.* 1370) says: 'He (Humbert of Romans) 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*].² If, however, one examines carefully the Dominican Mass and Office, as it has been done by Fr. Bonniwell, it becomes clear that little, if anything, is borrowed from the Church of Paris.

As regards the calendar, only one Parisian feast was accepted by Humbert de Romans—St. Denis and Companions (9 October)—and this occurs in both the Vatican and Lateran calendars, besides being celebrated widely throughout Europe. The Dominicans, in fact, chose the Gregorian calendar as a basis.

In respect to the Mass, all the details for which a Paris origin has been claimed were general in many other Churches of the same period. The Divine Office was clearly taken from that of the Roman basilicas, and shortened, 'lest the studies suffer'.

The question is rather: Why was the 'Paris influence so surprisingly small'? Paris was at the time the intellectual and cultural centre of Christendom, and the seat of the chief house of the Order, while many of the famous Preachers were in residence there, among them Humbert de Romans himself. The answer is bound up with the mystery of the prolonged liturgical struggle. The first unified liturgy seems to have caused little trouble. Then came the Franciscan revision of the breviary of the Curia, which encouraged the Dominicans to improve their book. The work of the 'four friars', as we have seen, raised great opposition, although their revision had been approved by no less than five general chapters, and it was only carried through to a successful conclusion by the dogged perseverance of Humbert de Romans. What provoked the storm? Fr. Bonniwell suggests that the answer is to be found in two of the manuscripts already noted—the Paris missal of about 1240 and the breviary-antiphoner. The missal bears a great resemblance to one of the rite of Paris, so

¹ Lebrun, *Explication . . . des prières et des cérémonies de la Messe*, t. IV (Paris 1726), dissert. XV, art. IV, p. 285.

² *Liber de rebus memorabilioribus*, 209

great in fact that it was easily adapted for continued use in that Church. The next Dominican missal in point of time extant is that of Humbert de Romans, which has little or no resemblance to Paris. 'In the interval, some fifteen years, the Dominican friars had changed from a Paris missal to a Roman missal. Here then apparently we have the answer: the Dominican liturgists (of whom Humbert de Romans was one) were fighting to Romanise more fully the Dominican rite. Hence the battle.'¹ The liturgical tradition of the largest and most influential house—St. Jacques in Paris—was thus upset, and the hostility incurred of some of the most outstanding men in the Order, former students of Paris, who cherished Parisian traditions. This theory, continues Fr. Bonniwell, is strengthened by the breviary-antiphoner, which was so excellent that Humbert de Romans, when master-general, took page after page of it without change, and incorporated them into the new edition. This would show that Humbert, while rectifying discordances in the rubrics, had adhered to the principles of his former fellow-liturgists. The Romanisation of the rite seems therefore to have been begun by the 'four friars', and to have been carried to a successful conclusion by Humbert, despite the opposition of a powerful Paris group. This theory explains many puzzling angles of the subject, and is based on four facts: (1) The oldest Dominican missal closely follows the rite of Paris; (2) The breviary-antiphoner of the 'four friars' possesses high liturgical excellence; (3) There was a violent and prolonged opposition to this revision; (4) Humbert de Romans' revision, based on that of the 'four friars', is Roman throughout.² If then the dictum of Tertullian:³ *Id verius quod prius* can be maintained, the *ensemble* of the Dominican liturgy is more Roman in character than the actual Roman liturgy.⁴

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RITE

Two notes have been said to characterise the Dominican rite—brevity and simplicity.

¹ Op. cit., chap. XIV, p. 192. ² Ibid., pp. 190–2. ³ *Ob.* early 3rd century.

⁴ M. D. Constant, *La Liturgie Dominicaine, Annuaire Pontifical Catholique*, XXXV (1932), p. 20.

Brevity. St. Dominic directed that the Divine Office should be recited *breviter et succincte*. Thus we find short antiphons, and an absence of long historical lessons in those offices which are distinctively Dominican. This brevity, however, has not resulted in a suppression of the secondary elements of the liturgy of the 13th century, as, for example, graduals, litanies, processions and the daily offices of the dead and the Blessed Virgin. Brevity is noticeable in the Mass, where we find a single formula for the offering of the bread and wine, and but few prayers before Communion. Humbert de Romans gave as his reason for brevity that divine worship ought to be recollected and speedy at one and the same time, for long ceremonies might either hinder study or cause fatigue to the brethren.¹

Simplicity. The invasion of the *temporale* by the *sanctorale*, which exists in nearly all liturgies, had had the effect of impairing the primitive simplicity of the rite. The prototype of Humbert de Romans shows a great respect for the ferial office, as we see in the restraint shown in the number of feasts. Luxury and ostentation were strictly forbidden, but as early as 1240 silk vestments were permitted at Mass, and a silk cope at lauds, vespers and in processions. Humbert de Romans says that vestments may be rich in quality out of reverence for the officiant, the majesty of God and the devotion of the assistants.

ADOPTION OF THE RITE BY OTHER ORDERS AND CHURCHES

The unity, stability and precision that characterised the Dominican liturgy made a great impression in the Church, and we find religious orders, dioceses and even countries obtaining permission to adopt it or, at least, to borrow from it.

(1) *Teutonic Knights.* The Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem or Teutonic Knights, as they came to be called, were established in Palestine at the time of the Third Crusade (1146-47). They adopted the rule of St. Augustine and the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1228, the Knights, who in the meantime had migrated to northern Europe, conquered East Prussia, with

¹ *Humb., Opp.*, I, pp. 85 seq.

the aid of Dominican missionaries. Four dioceses were established in 1243: Culm, Pomerania, Ermland and Samland. In the following year the Teutonic Knights, who had obtained ducal rights in the country, applied for permission to adopt the Dominican rite. Pope Innocent IV acceded to their request on 13 February 1244: 'We grant you permission to celebrate in your houses everywhere the divine services according to the rite of the Friars Preachers.'¹ Later, Alexander IV permitted the use of the liturgy 'corrected' by Humbert de Romans, but the text of the concession (27 February 1257) shows that the Knights had adapted the rite to their particular requirements.² The changes, however, could not have been very drastic, as we find their liturgical books were used for the Dominican rite by the secular clergy of Finland.

(2) *Carmelites*. The Carmelites, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, went through a period of 'Dominicanisation' before they were recalled by Sibert de Beka (c. 1312) to the rock from whence they had been hewn.

(3) *Croisiers*. The Order of the Holy Cross or Croisiers obtained permission from the Holy See to use the Dominican arrangement of the liturgy. The Croisiers were very numerous in the Middle Ages, but they were not united under a single head. The most important group was established in Flanders, where they were founded by Theodore of Celles, canon of Liège, at Clair-Lieu near Huy in 1211. Theodore chose the rule of St. Augustine, but his successor, Peter de Valcourt, was permitted by Innocent IV to adopt the Dominican constitutions and rite (23 October 1248).³

(4) *Mercedarians*. The Order of Our Lady of Mercy or Mercedarians, which was probably founded in 1223, also took the liturgy of the Black friars, but the date of its adoption is uncertain. We know that the master-general, Ramon Albert, who was elected in 1317, insisted that the brethren should follow the rite of the Preachers in their liturgical services: 'We command that it be said, celebrated, and observed perpetually and uniformly

¹ *Tabula Ordinis Theutonici*, 357, no. 471.

² *Ibid.*, 378, no. 536.

³ *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, VII, 21-2.

by all, both by our present and by our future brethren.¹ The same injunction occurs in the constitutions of the Order formulated in 1327.

(5) *Humiliati*. The Humiliati of Lombardy, after investigating the rules and regulations of several of the religious orders, appear to have modelled their constitutions and liturgical practices on those of the Dominicans about the end of the 13th century.²

(6) *Abbey of St. Jacques, Liège*. Individual monasteries seem to have accepted the liturgical arrangements of the Black friars, and in the last quarter of the 13th century William of Julémont, Benedictine abbot of St. Jacques, Liège (1283–1301), compiled a *liber ordinarius*, treating of monastic regulations, as well as of rubrics for Mass and the Divine Office, which closely resembled two Dominican works—the *Instructiones de Ordinibus* of Humbert de Romans and his *Codex liturgicus*. Thus chapter LX gives in detail many of the rubrics of Humbert's conventual missal; chapter LXI repeats substantially his rubrics for the reception of Holy Communion; while in chapter LXII 'the rubrics for a private Mass are surprisingly like those of the Dominicans in their missal for a private Mass'.³ Other monasteries, says Dr. Volk, were affected by the Liège reform. Jungmann speaks of the *liber ordinarius* as 'no more than a discreet elaboration of the Dominican Mass'.⁴

(7) *Diocese of Zagreb (Agram)*. In 1303 the Dominican Blessed Augustine Kažotic (Gazotich) of Trau was appointed bishop of Zagreb. The diocese was in a deplorable state, and Blessed Augustine, as one of the means to improve the spiritual life of the faithful, introduced the Dominican liturgy as the official liturgy of the diocese, which it remained for three hundred years. Augustine Kažotic, who assisted at the council of Vienne (1311), was translated to Lucera in south Italy in 1322, where he died in the following year. The cultus of the *beatus* was confirmed by Clement XI (1700–21) on 4 April 1702, and his feast is observed

¹ Cited in E. V. Galindo, *San Raimundo de Peñafort* (Rome, 1919), p. 526.

² Cf. Stephen of Salanhac, *De Quatuor in quibus . . .*, 85.

³ The MS. was published by Dr. Paulus Volk in 1923.

⁴ *Missarum Sollemnia*, t. I (Paris, 1951), part I, 10, pp. 135–6.

in the dioceses of Zagreb and Lucera, and by the Dominican Order.

(8) *Diocese of Lucera* (Nocera). As we have seen, Blessed Augustine Kažotic was appointed bishop of Lucera, but the Dominican rite was not adopted in the diocese until 1478, when Pope Sixtus IV (1471–84) appointed another Friar Preacher as bishop, Pietro Ranzano, who by an Apostolic indult established it as the diocesan rite. The diocese was compelled to return to the Roman rite in 1568, as the Dominican liturgy had been in use for only ninety years.

(9) *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*. It was here that the Dominican rite attained its greatest popularity, and there was hardly a diocese that was not to some extent influenced in its liturgy by the Preachers: ‘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.’¹ In 1220 St. Dominic had sent two missionaries to Sweden, and eight years later it was possible to form the province of Dacia, comprising Denmark, Norway and Sweden.² The Norwegian liturgy was clearly influenced by the Dominican rite, but in Sweden not only was the Dominican calendar adopted (with national feasts super-added), but the missal reveals unmistakably a Dominican basis. The similarity is especially noticeable in the offertory prayers in the Swedish missals. Dominican influence seems to have been considerably less in the Danish province of Lund.³

The influence of the rite in East Prussia, Latvia and Estonia (Est-land) was due both to the Dominicans and to the Teutonic Knights. The Knights tried unsuccessfully to impose their liturgical books on the clergy of Riga, but in spite of this failure the Dominican rite left evident impressions on the Latvian Mass.

In Finland there was Dominican influence without the aid of the Teutonic Knights. The Finnish calendar was formed on that

¹ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XV, p. 204.

² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, 3,

³ Eric Segelberg, *Ordo Missae secundum ritum Scandinavicum*, *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXV (1951), fasc. IV, p. 260.

of the Preachers, and the entire liturgy, Mass and Office, was fundamentally Dominican, at least after the end of the 14th century. Aarno Malin, however, thinks that the Dominican rite 'gradually found its way into the Finnish churches as early as the second half of the 13th century', and that Bishop Benedict (1321-38) merely 'conferred an official status on the liturgy already established in the diocese'.¹

(10) *Royal Court of England*. The Dominican rite seems to have been the official rite of the English court under Edward III² (1327-77) and his successor. A letter of Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404) to Richard II, dated 8 September 1398, recalls that it is the custom of the King and the clergy of the court, whether regular or secular, to recite the Divine Office according to the rite of the Friars Preachers.³

It is possible that the liturgy was introduced into the private chapel of Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, who married King John I of Portugal in 1387. A recent writer on the ecclesiastical history of the country suggests that the Queen brought with her the Sarum rite,⁴ but such a thing is most unlikely. The only alternative to the rite of the English court would have been the Carmelite rite, since her father, and the House of Lancaster generally, especially favoured the White friars as confessors.⁵

(11) *Greece*. The work of Humbert de Romans even influenced the Eastern Church. On 25 February 1398 Boniface IX authorised the foundation of a monastery in Greece by Maximus Chrysoberges of Constantinople, in which Mass was to be said in Greek, but according to the Dominican rite.⁶ The Mass appears to have been translated by a certain Manuel Chrysoloras, but beyond that no more is known of the venture.

(12) *Armenia*. At the beginning of the 14th century the rite of the Friars Preachers achieved an unusual success through the

¹ *Der Heiligenkalendar Finnlands* (Helsinki, 1925), p. 193.

² M-H. Lavocat, *Liturgia* (Paris, 1930), part III, 22, part 12, p. 861.

³ *Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, II, 352.

⁴ Miguel de Oliveira, *História Ecclesiástica de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1948), pp. 165-6.

⁵ David Knowles, *Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948), chap. XIV,

p. 167. ⁶ *Bull. Ord. Praed.*, II, pp. 369, 370.

Fratres Peregrinantes. A number of schismatic monks were converted by Blessed Bartholomew the Little of Poggio, adopting the constitutions¹ and liturgical books of the friars, which they translated into Armenian. Thus the Order of United Friars of St. Gregory the Illuminator came into being, and was approved by Innocent VI (1352–62) in 1356. These United Friars, which at one time are said to have numbered six hundred, were established in Greater and Lesser Armenia, Persia and Georgia. They survived until the 18th century, when the remnant was absorbed in the Dominican Order.

(13) *Transylvania.* An echo of the Armenian friars is heard in Transylvania before the 'Bolchevisation' of the country. Four Catholic Armenian churches, entirely Latin in appearance and furnishings, in which the 1728 edition of the missal of the United Friars was used, that is the Dominican Mass translated into old Armenian.²

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Changes contrary to the revision of Humbert de Romans were forbidden by papal decree, but there was no idea of making the liturgy static and unalterable in respect to details. Thus, the general chapter approved the insertion of the name of St. Dominic in the prayer *A cunctis*, and altered some of the rubrics relating to the *pax* in 1270, while in the following year it gave a final assent to the pausing of the deacon at the words *Emisit spiritum* in the Passion, in order that the friars might have time to prostrate.³ In 1285 St. Dominic's name was added to the *Confiteor* in both Mass and Office.⁴ There is no indication that papal permission was either granted or sought for the changes. Munio de Zamora,⁵ however, asked Honorius IV (1285–92) to sanction certain alterations in some of the antiphons, versicles, sequences,

¹ The Dominican regulations in respect to fasting and the ownership of churches were changed.

² Donald Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches* (Milwaukee, 1935), chap. VIII, p. 219.

³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, I, pp. 156–7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227–8.

⁵ The tomb-slab of Munio de Zamora (*ob.* 1300), with his portrait in mosaic, may be seen today in the basilica of S. Sabina, Rome.

etc., in the offices of the saints. The Pope granted the request in the decree *Meritis vestris* (1285), if three successive general chapters were in agreement, but nothing came of the proposal.

The ruling of the Pope in support of the revision by Humbert de Romans was in fact tantamount to a second approval of the Dominican rite by the Church.

An encroachment on the *temporale* by the increase in the number of feasts of saints continued throughout the Middle Ages, and by the 14th century it became necessary to make corrections in the liturgical books. The general chapter of 1308 (Padua) requested the master-general to take the matter in hand, but there is no evidence of any immediate action being taken. In 1355 provincials were directed by the general chapter to supervise the correction of liturgical books, and again in 1370 superiors were ordered to revise their missals, especially in respect to the canon.¹ There does not seem to have been a ready response, and we find the general chapters of 1376 and 1378 threatening to depose provincials who failed to correct their missals within a year. The Black Death and the schism in the Papacy,² which resulted in a schism in the Order,³ were not conducive to good observance and discipline, and in 1376 the master-general, Elias of Toulouse, lamented that friars who carried out the ceremonies correctly were often looked upon as persons affecting singularity.

Devotion to the liturgy, however, was not dead. We read of Hervé de Nédellec, fourteenth master-general (1318-23), who 'every day, at early dawn, celebrated Mass, a practice unfailingly carried out even during his many journeyings', and the same was said of Blessed Raymund of Capua (*ob.* 1399). An English Dominican, Nicholas of Treveth (1312), produced a book on the Mass in eight volumes,⁴ while in the following century James Gil, master of the sacred palace, composed an office for the Transfiguration at the request of Calixtus III (1456), and Jerome Savonarola

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 414.

² In 1318, the general chapter (Lyons) appointed a 'papal hebdomadarian' in every house, whose duty was to offer a daily Mass for the Pope.

³ In some countries houses followed the Roman Pope, and in others the Avignonese.

⁴ *De Missa et ejus partibus*. Also, *De officio Missae*.

(ob. 1498) compiled the treatise *De Sacrificio Missae et Mysteriis ejus*.

The invention of printing in the second half of the 15th century led to a steady flow of liturgical books for the use of the Order: breviary in 1476 (Milan) and 1477 (Venice); missal in 1482 (Venice) and 1483 (Naples).

The 16th century brought a liturgical awakening. The general chapters of 1501 and 1502 devoted considerable attention to the liturgy, and examined the rubrics. It was agreed among other things that those rubrics which concerned the celebration of Mass were to be read at least once a year by the priests of the Order. Mass must be said in a uniform manner with a due care for the ceremonies, and in a moderate tone of voice, loud enough to be heard and understood by the bystanders. The friars were reminded also that the veil was to be hung at the entrance to the presbytery at the beginning of Lent. Superiors who neglected to see that the rubrics were observed would be deposed. The revision and publication of the chant-books were undertaken by Alberto Castellani of Venice, who was employed on the work for over a quarter of a century. An important work of liturgical revision was carried out by the general chapter held at Salamanca in 1551, and its *acta* were declared by Pope Julius III (1550–55) to have the same force as if they had been passed by three consecutive chapters. The paramount importance of Sunday was emphasised by elevating the day to the rank of *duplex*, and transferring the majority of feasts to a weekday. The canon, including the words of consecration, was enjoined to be said ‘secretly and reverently’.¹ Attention was again called to the rubrics, and the friars were directed to celebrate Mass in strict conformity to the traditional ordinary. The chapter condemned the practice of farcing the *Kyrie* or *Gloria in excelsis*, which the Order had never permitted (*nequaquam approbata fuerunt*), although an introduction of these tropes had been attempted on several occasions. Another prohibition affected the custom of reciting aloud prayers of private devotion after Holy Communion, such as the *Nunc dimittis* and *O Sacrum convivium*. Finally the chapter directed

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.* IV, 321.

the suppression of all unauthorised Masses and offices, and enjoined a revision of the lessons in the breviary. A revised missal appeared in 1551 (Salamanca) and a breviary in the following year (Venice). The work received the approval of the general chapter in 1553 (Rome), effecting a few minor changes. There were, however, those who considered the revision to be wanting in thoroughness, especially since no effort had been made to lighten the choral burden, particularly in respect to the additional offices. The Order had become definitely 'rubric conscious', and in 1569 the general chapter (Rome) once again reminded the brethren of their obligations concerning them. At the request of the Dominican cardinal, Michele Bonelli, a genuflection, in addition to the profound inclination, was enjoined before the Blessed Sacrament.¹ A perpetual calendar had appeared at Salamanca in 1563 and at Antwerp in 1566, but they were rendered useless by the revision of the liturgical books under Clement VIII (1592-1605).² The *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans was edited several times in the course of the 16th century,³ and martyrologies appeared in 1579 and 1582. The general chapter of 1589 (Rome) requested the master-general Beccaria to publish a 'corrected' edition of the breviary, missal, martyrology and perpetual calendar. The same chapter also enjoined the gospel *In principio* to be said at the end of Mass. The work of the revision was entrusted to Paolo Castrucci of Mondovi.

The 'reformed' edition was said by the general chapter of 1592 to be 'under way', and the missal was printed in 1595, appearing in the following year.⁴ Clement VIII (1592-1605) approved 'the corrections, changes and additions', but the innovations were very far from receiving general approval. Castrucci seems to have introduced any rubric he thought fit, some of which were taken from the Roman missal, while the origin of others appears to have been known only to the compiler! Details of the revision will be discussed later, but it may be noted that for the first time a treatise was given on possible defects in the Mass, and also

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 91.

² A new edition was produced in Rome in 1571.

³ Parts of the *ordinarium* in 1505, with complete editions in 1520, 1558, 1576 and 1582.

⁴ A second edition was published at Venice in 1600.

rubrics for the celebrant, with a preparation for Mass, the manner and rite of saying Mass (illustrated), and what may be omitted in requiems. The general chapter of 1596 enjoined the ministers of the Mass and the choir to genuflect at the words *Et homo factus est* in the creed and at *Et verbum caro factum est* in the last gospel, which shows that it had not seen Castrucci's missal, in which the genuflections are prescribed.

In 1601 we find that the first commission to the new master-general, Jerónimo Xavierre, was 'that he undertake with the utmost dispatch the correction of the martyrology, breviary and missal'. The general chapter of that year was presided over by Cardinal Baronius, at the command of Clement VIII. The Pope had decided on a special commission for the revision of the liturgical books, and was said, once the revision was completed, to have the intention of forcing them on the whole Church, thus suppressing all variations. When, however, the Cardinal had heard the reasons for the retention of the Dominican rite, he persuaded the Pope to abandon his decision. Others maintain that the Pope wished to preserve the traditional rite of the Preachers, desiring them only to take advantage of the corrections and improvements in the Roman books. Historical evidence, says Fr. Bonniwell, supports the contention that Clement VIII at one time had the intention to abolish the Dominican liturgy, although he does not seem to have given any intimation that he wished to do away with all particular rites.¹ A revision was now entrusted to Malvenda, a friar of the Spanish province. The calendar underwent little change, but special attention was paid to the martyrology. Most drastic changes were made in the lectionary in order to obtain more conformity with that of the Roman Church. In order to solve the problem of variations from the Roman missal in respect to the epistles and gospels, particularly for the period between Trinity Sunday and Advent, Malvenda fused the Masses of two consecutive Sundays, so as to obtain the Mass for the previous Sunday, thus leaving very little of the original text of Humbert de Romans. The complete text of the Roman missal was not adopted, in which case it would

¹ Op. cit., chap. XXI, p. 314.

have been necessary to take on also the inferior music then in vogue in the Roman Church or else to provide some genuine plainchant for these Masses, which no one was capable of undertaking. The epistles between Trinity and Advent differed from the Roman only about six times, and the gospels somewhat more frequently: these were changed, but not any other part of the Mass. Epistles and gospels were altered also in the *sanctorale*. There was thus complete agreement in the Roman and Dominican rites as regards the collect, epistle and gospel, without modifying the way of reckoning Sundays in the rite of the Preachers. Many legends also were removed from the breviary, and the traditional Easter vespers that began with *Kyrie eleison* was abolished. The revision has been described as 'sweeping and drastic', but the manner of reciting the Office and carrying out the ceremonies of Mass remained as heretofore: *servato tamen antiquo praedicti ordinis ritu*. The breviary and two editions of the missal appeared in 1603 (Rome), the martyrology in 1604, and the diurnal in 1606.

The general chapter of 1605 (Valenciennes) directed all houses to follow the revised books, but there does not seem to have been any formal approbation of the revision itself, although the official liturgy of the Order has been based on it. Editions of the psalter (1609), processional (1610) and breviary (1611) followed in due course. A postulator-general for raising members of the Order to the honours of the altar was appointed by the general chapter of 1629. The Dominicans did not adopt the revised hymns of Urban VIII (1623-44), but continued with their ancient Roman form. A need for a ceremonial was felt in the Order, and the question was raised in the general chapters of 1622, 1628, 1642 and 1644. In the last of these chapters, the work was entrusted to Camillus Jasinski, a Pole, but it is doubtful whether anything was done in the matter, and we find the chapters of 1650 and 1670 continuing to petition for a ceremonial. Ignazio Cianti, Dominican bishop of Sant' Angelo de' Lombardi in South Italy, had produced a ceremonial in 1654, but it was found to contain so many errors that the general chapter refused to approve it. A complete ceremonial for the whole Order was not forthcoming

until 1869. A new and revised edition of the liturgical books was published in accordance with the decision of the general chapter of 1670, but there were no serious changes.

In 1686 Antonin Cloche, a Frenchman, was elected master-general (1686–1720), of whom it was said: ‘Since the days of St. Dominic, no general displayed such intense zeal for the liturgy as did Antonin Cloche.’¹ No less than twenty-six editions of the liturgical books appeared during his term of office, and in 1714 a new revision of the Dominican breviary in Armenian was published in Venice. The revisions entailed many changes, but they were for the most part all of a minor character. The calendar was brought into closer harmony with Rome by the adoption of new feasts. The most serious alteration was the discarding of all sequences (proses), with the exception of six. This was the last great change that was made in the missal until our own day.

Popes Innocent XI (1676–89) and Clement XII (1730–40) prohibited the printing of liturgical books without the permission of the master-general, and an office book was required to bear the seal of the general and to include a reprint of the decree *Quo primum*. No alteration in the liturgy was permitted without the consent of the Congregation of Rites.

A request for a ceremonial was renewed by the general chapter of 1649, but Marcello Cavalieri, to whom the work was entrusted, was appointed bishop of Gravina, and died before the work could be accomplished. The evils attending the French Revolution inflicted the most serious injuries on the Order, but a revival took place in the time of Vincent Jandel, who was elected master-general in 1850. New editions of the liturgical books were published. What Castrucci had done for the rubrics of the Mass, a Fr. Bernard now did for the entire liturgical service. The *ordinarium* had presumed that tradition would take care of the lesser details of the ceremonies. Castrucci had reduced many of the rubrics to writing, but only for the Mass. ‘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

¹ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XXIII, p. 342.



Dominican Friar, Avila



Dominican Way of Carrying the Missal



Celebrant leaves the Altar for the Asperges



The Deacon sings
the Gospel



Position of Ministers
at the Sanctus



Church of St Andrew
Sempringham

his ceremonial imperfect.¹ He has been described in the necrology of the general chapter of 1901 (Ghent) as 'a real restorer of the ceremonies and plainchant of the Order'.

The imperfect restoration of Dominican plainchant and the constant stream of new feasts from the Congregation of Rites, the acceptance of which was obligatory, soon created the need for a new revision of liturgical books. The work was assigned to Vincent Laporte, a musician of the first rank. The *vesperarum liber* appeared in 1900, gradual in 1907, *triduo ante Pascha* in 1910, compline book in 1911 and processional in 1913. Laporte revised and published a diurnal in 1903, missal in 1908, and breviary in 1909: 'For accuracy of text, clarity of rubrics and convenience of arrangement, it was the finest addition of the Dominican breviary ever published.'² The Dominicans were directed to revise their calendar and psalter according to the principles laid down in the decree *Divino afflatu* (1 November 1911) of Pope Pius X. The work was approved by the Congregation of Rites in 1921, and the new office became obligatory two years later (1923). The principal results of the revision were similar in character to those in the Roman rite. The daily office of our Lady, long a dead letter, was abolished, and the rosary took its place; while the weekly office of the dead was no longer a 'grave obligation'. 'Not only was the Dominican psalter with its versicles and antiphons abandoned, but little was left of the original calendar when the revisers had finished with it.'³ Rubrics fared even worse than the calendar, and a novel nomenclature for feasts was introduced: major and minor Sundays; major Sundays of the first and second class; ferials major and minor; major ferials privileged and non-privileged; and *totum duplex* feasts that were primary or secondary.

LITURGICAL YEAR

CHRISTMAS

A lesson from Isaias, in addition to the epistle, is recited on the Vigil of Christmas and in the three Masses of the feast.

¹ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XXIV, pp. 359-60.

² Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XXIV, p. 362.

³ *Ibid.*, chap. XXV, p. 369.

SUNDAY

The Dominican reckoning of Sundays differs from the Roman, in which the first Sunday is that which follows the feast, whereas in the liturgy of the Friars Preachers it is the Sunday that follows the octave. Thus, the first Sunday after the Epiphany is the Sunday *within* the octave, and the second Sunday is the first Sunday after the *octave*.

HOLY NAME OF JESUS (15 January)

The feast, which is the only modern one that has not been taken from the Roman calendar, was introduced in the time of Antonin Cloche (*ob.* 1720). It was not in the calendar of the Universal Church until 1721. It is observed today on the Sunday between the Circumcision and the Epiphany.

ASH WEDNESDAY

The officiant wears surplice and stole, not a cope, for the blessing and imposition of ashes. The ceremony follows the recitation of the seven penitential psalms, versicles, collect and a formula of absolution. The ashes are blessed *infra gradus*.¹ The customary salutation is followed by a single prayer: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui misereris omnium*. Antiphons are sung during the distribution, with the formula of imposition: *Memento quia cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris*. The ceremony is concluded with two versicles and responses, and the prayer: *Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae christianae*.

LENT

The lenten veil (*cortina*), prescribed in the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans and, later, by the general chapters of 1501 and 1505, is no longer used. It was hung before the presbytery from the first Sunday in Lent until after compline on the Wednesday in Holy Week. The actual ceremonial (1869) gives the following note: *Ordinarium ad I Dominicam Quadragesimae haec habet: Hac die post Completorium ante Presbyterium cortina tendatur. In diebus vero Dominicis et Festis Sanctorum die praecedenti*

¹ *Caeremoniale* (Malines, 1869), pars IV, art. II, I, 1379, p. 405.

ad Vesp. cortina a conspectu Presbyterii abstrahatur, et in die Festi post Completorium retrahatur. Similiter in profestis diebus ad inchoationem Missae abstrahatur, et ea finita retrahatur, quod faciat sacrista; et in IV in Hebdomada Sancta removeatur ex toto post Completorium. Sed hoc non est apud nos amplius in usu.¹ The custom of veiling crosses and images on the first Sunday in Lent has been transferred to the Roman date, the Saturday before Passion Sunday: *finita Missa Conventuali, Sacrista cooperiat Cruces omnes, et Imagines Altarium et Ecclesiae, quae sint coopertae antequam inchoentur Vesperae; sicque permaneant usque ad Parasceven.*²

PALM SUNDAY

White vestments are worn for the blessing of the palms, with violet for the Mass, as in the Carmelite rite. The palms are blessed *ante gradus presbyterii*, with a single prayer of considerable length: *Omnipotens sempiterne Redemptor, qui de coelis ad terram descendere.* Two antiphons are sung during the distribution, which is made by the sacristan. The gospel *Cum appropinquasset* and the procession follow. The crucifer, who is vested in an alb, carries the cross uncovered, and it so remains until after compline.³ At the third station, as the procession arrives at the door of the church (gate of the choir), all kneel at the words: *Ave Rex noster Fili David, Redemptor mundi.* The hymn *Gloria laus, et honor* follows, and, as the procession enters the church (choir), the antiphon *Ingrediēte Domino* is sung. The ceremony concludes with a versicle, response and prayer.⁴ The palms are laid aside after the procession. The Passion in the Mass is sung by three deacons in girded albs, stoles and maniples.

HOLY THURSDAY

The conclusion of *tenebrae* for the *triduum sacrum* is similar to that in the Premonstratensian rite.

¹ Ibid., 2, 1392, n. 1, p. 408.

² Ibid., 1397, p. 409.

³ *Quae discooperta usque ad Completorium remaneat.* Ibid., 3, 1415.

⁴ *Ÿ. De ore leonis libera me, Domine. Rj. Et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam. Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus, qui humano generi ad imitandum humilitatis exemplum. . . .*

The liturgy, as on Ash Wednesday, is preceded by the penitential psalms, etc., which are recited with the ministers and acolytes prostrate on the altar steps. The Mass has no unusual features, but an 'ablution of the mouth' is taken by the communicants at the epistle side of the altar, with wine from a second chalice, and the lips are wiped on a clean cloth (*mappula*).¹ The procession of the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of repose follows the Mass. Sometimes, however, vespers are recited *in* the Mass, and the procession takes place after the communion. Then, on the return from the 'sepulchre', vespers are said, followed by the postcommunion and the conclusion of Mass.²

GOOD FRIDAY

The cloths are unfolded on the altar, and two candles are lighted during sext and none. As the sacred ministers proceed to the altar, one of the brethren in a surplice recites the prophecy from Osee: *Haec dicit Dominus*. Folded chasubles are not worn by the deacon and subdeacon. The sacred ministers go to the sedilia, where the celebrant reads the prophecy and tract. The other lessons and solemn prayers follow as in the Roman rite, but *Levate* is said by the deacon, according to ancient usage. At the veneration of the cross, two priests in girded albs, stoles and maniples sing the versicles and hold the cross, while two deacons, without dalmatics, sing the first part of the trisagion. The rite has several minor variations, and, while the cross is venerated, the antiphon *Tuam crucem* and the hymn *Crux fidelis* are sung. Then the priest elevates the cross, intoning the antiphon *Super omnia ligna cedrorum*. Still holding the cross, and before the procession from the altar of repose, the prayer *Respice, quaesumus Domine, super hanc familiam tuam* is said. At the conclusion of the ceremony of veneration the ministers retire to the sacristy, where they wash their hands, and the celebrant puts on the chasuble. Returning to the altar, the customary preparatory prayers³ are said, and the deacon unfolds the corporal.

The procession then goes to the altar of repose, where the

¹ *Caeremoniale*, art. III, 2, 1442, pp. 421-2.

² *Ibid.*, 3, 1451-2, pp. 424-5.

³ *In nomine Patris . . . , Confitemini . . . , Confiteor . . .*

priest receives the chalice with the sacred Host, and *Tantum ergo* is sung. *Vexilla regis* follows for the procession back to the altar. The *oblata*, but not the altar, are censed. When the celebrant has washed his hands, he says neither *In spiritu humilitatis* nor *Orate fratres*, but at once *Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus*, etc., and the *Pater noster* with its embolism (*Libera nos quaesumus*). The Host is elevated and then divided into three parts, as the priest says aloud: *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*. One of the particles is placed in the chalice, and a Communion prayer is said: *Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi*.¹ After the prayer *Corpus Domini nostri*, the celebrant receives the Host and the particle with the wine in the chalice. *Quod ore sumpsimus* follows the ablutions, and, when the corporal has been folded and the chalice covered with the veil, the rite is ended.

HOLY SATURDAY

The priest wears a white cope for the blessing of the new fire: the deacon and subdeacon a dalmatic and tunicle respectively. The fire is blessed *ante gradus presbyterii*. There is a single prayer, without either salutation or *Oremus: Domine sancte Pater omnipotens, aeternae Deus, bene ✠ dicere et sanctificare digneris ignem istum*. When the fire has been sprinkled with holy water, a candle is lit from the fire, and the deacon, having obtained the blessing of the celebrant,² sings the *Exultet*. The candles of the acolytes are lit after the words: *tamen luminis detrimenta non novit*. The following inscription is affixed to a chart on the paschal candle:³

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini. . . .
Anno a Confirmatione Ordinis. . . .
Anno a Transitu B.P.N. Dominici. . . .
Epacta. . . .
Concurrente N^o (lettera Dominicalis)
Indictione. . . .

Benedictus est cereus iste ad honorem D.N.J.C.

The ceremonial gives directions as to when the candle is to be lit: *Cereus hac die ardeat usque post Completorium, et in crastino*

¹ The Roman rite gives the prayer *Perceptio Corporis*.

² *In nomine Patris, etc. Amen.*

³ *Caeremoniale*, art. V, 1, 1520, pp. 443-4.

*ad Matutinum et ad omnes horas et ad Missam.*¹ *Caeteris vero diebus per Hebdomadam Paschae et in Octava ad Missam tantum et ad Vesperas accendatur, et deinceps usque ad Ascensionem in suo loco remaneat. Accendatur etiam in omnibus diebus Dominicis et Festis simplicibus, et diebus Octavis simplicibus et supra, et in tertiis Feriis quando de B. Dominico et in quintis quando de SS. Corpore Christi, et Feriis quartis quando fit de sancto Ordinis, et in Sabbato quando de B.V.M. agitur, ad Missam tantum. In Ascensione vero Domini ad I Vesperas et ad Completorium, ad Matutinum, Primam, Tertiam et Sextam ardeat, et Sexta finita removeatur.*² The liturgy, as in the Sacramentary of Hadrian, has four lessons. During the first of these the sacred ministers retire to the sacristy and the celebrant exchanges the cope for a chasuble. If there is no font the litanies follow immediately, sung in the middle of the choir by two religious in surplices: the ministers sit down and read them privately. *Sancte Pater Dominice* is repeated twice, and the names of several Saints of the Order are included. The customary Mass follows.

EASTER

There is a procession of the Blessed Sacrament round the cloisters after lauds, in order to bring the Body of Christ back to the church. One or more of the following hymns are sung: *Ad cenam Agni providi*;³ *Jesu nostra redemptio*. At the conclusion of the procession a versicle, response and the collect of lauds are recited. It is permissible, also, to sing the sequence *Victimae Paschali laudes*, the responsary *Christus resurgens*, and the antiphon *Regina Coeli* during the procession.⁴ Two alleluias are said

¹ *Postquam autem accensus fuerit ad Matutinum, non extinguatur usque post Primam. Haec clausula, quae dempta fuit in Offic. Hebdom. sanctae, habetur in Ordinario, et servari potest, saltem ubi Matutinum celebratur in diluculo Resurrectionis.*

² *Caeremoniale*, 2, 1528, pp. 446-7.

³ Three stanzas of the hymn are given in the processional of St. John the Evang., Dublin (14th century), for the procession of the *Elevatio* before matins on Easter Day (MS. *Rawlinson Liturg.* d. IV, fo. 85v-86v, Oxford, Bodleian Lib.). The verse *O vere digna hostia* was sung at Bamberg (1587) as the celebrant blessed with the Host at the conclusion of the *Elevatio* procession (*Agenda Bambergensia* . . . , Ingoldstadt (1587), part II, pp. 585-97).

⁴ Cf. Rite of Braga, in which, however, the 'Procession of Alleluia', as it is called, is the complement to the 'Procession of Burial' on Good Friday.

after the *officium* (introit) in Paschaltide: one after the offertory and communion.

VIGIL OF PENTECOST

Four lessons and the litanies are recited before Mass, as on Holy Saturday. A note in the ceremonial forbids the ringing of bells at the *Gloria in excelsis*.¹

PENTECOST

In the Spanish and Italian provinces terce is sung with especial solemnity on the feast and the two following days. A blessing and distribution of roses takes place in some houses at Pentecost.²

SUNDAYS AFTER THE OCTAVE OF TRINITY

The Sundays, as we have seen, follow the octave, and the third Sunday after Pentecost in the Roman rite is the first Sunday after the Octave of the Trinity in the Dominican rite. This method of enumerating the Sundays after Trinity was established by Angelo Bettini, a Florentine and titular provincial of England, in the revision prescribed by the general chapter of 1551 (Salamanca).

CORPUS CHRISTI

The feast was probably directed by the general chapters of 1304, 1305 and 1306 to be observed in the Order with the rite of *totum duplex*.³ The Dominicans, however, had been concerned with the solemnity from its inception. St. Juliana of Réttines, a nun of Mont Cornillon near Liège (*ob.* 1258), who in 1208 had a vision respecting a feast of the Blessed Sacrament, consulted four friars of the local house, who maintained the genuine character of the revelation. In 1251 the Dominican Hugh de Saint Cher, cardinal of S. Sabina and apostolic visitor to Germany, came to Liège, where he was shown an office of Corpus Christi composed by John of Cornillon. The cardinal not only approved the office,

¹ *Ad Gloria in excelsis campanae non pulsantur.* Ibid., art. VI, 5, 1580, p. 463.

² Ibid., 1585, n. 1, pp. 464-5.

³ The *acta* do not mention it, but the feast was probably established by these chapters.

but ordered the feast to be celebrated in the church of St. Martin (Liège), becoming henceforward an ardent supporter of the solemnity. Its observance was prescribed throughout his legation¹ for the Thursday in the week following the second Sunday after Pentecost.² Corpus Christi was established as a feast of the Universal Church by Pope Urban IV in 1264, but insistence on its celebration was found necessary in 1311 and again in 1317. A very generally accepted tradition, supported by the testimony of Tolomeus of Lucca, disciple and confessor of St. Thomas Aquinas, claims the Saint as the author of the actual Roman office for the feast. A recent scholar, however, considers the office to have been composed at Rome a more or less long time after 1279, whereas St. Thomas died in 1274. There is, continues the writer, nothing to prevent the Saint from composing the extraordinary office used in the celebrations at Orvieto in August–September 1264. The Roman office borrowed from several sources, of which the most important was the office drawn up by the Cistercians of Villers (Belgium).³ The Dominicans do not seem to have adopted the Roman office immediately, and the general chapter, while reminding houses that the observance of the feast was obligatory, said: ‘Let the master-general take steps to provide the office for this feast.’ A reliable tradition credits St. Albert the Great (*ob.* 1280), among others, with the composition of an office for Corpus Christi. It was only in 1324 that the general chapter (Barcelona) decided to impose the Roman office on the Order.⁴ A solemn octave was accorded to the feast in the second half of the 15th century.

DEVOTION TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN

The most popular devotion in the Church, the *rosary*, has come to be associated with the name of St. Dominic, although there

¹ Germany, Dacia, Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, etc.

² It may be noted that as Liège and certain other dioceses kept Trinity with an octave, Corpus Christi was not observed in the week following Trinity Sunday.

³ *Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXV (1951), fasc. II, pp. 132–3.

⁴ *Officium novae solemnitatis Corporis Christi*. This ‘new office’ is mentioned also in the *Ordinale and Customary of Barking Abbey* (1404). Vol. I. Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. LXV, 1927, p. 143.

seems to be but little evidence in support of the tradition. It is generally considered that the first certain connection between the Friars Preachers and the rosary dates from about the middle of the 15th century, when Alan de la Roche (*ob.* 1475) propagated the 'psalter of Mary' at Lille (1463),¹ but Mgr. Gillet, quoting Bernard Gui, 'an authority on historical subjects',² says of B. Romeus de Livia, who was a contemporary and immediate disciple of St. Dominic (*ob.* 1261): *serrant fortement dans ses mains la corde à noeuds sur laquelle il comptait ses Ave Maria, méditant et inculquant à ses religieux cette dévotion à la Sainte Vierge et à l'Enfant Jesus.*³

The mutilated Carmelite missal, dating from the late 14th century and now in the British Museum, has two miniatures in which figures are depicted carrying rosaries.⁴

SALVE REGINA

The singing of the *Salve Regina* in procession after compline seems to have been instituted by the second master-general, Blessed Jordan of Saxony, at the end of 1221 or the beginning of 1222, as an antidote to alleged diabolic attacks on certain members of the community at Bologna. The procession was extended to all the houses in the province of Lombardy, and finally throughout the Order. At the words *Eia ergo advocata nostra* all kneel, and the hebdomadary sprinkles the community with holy water, which recalls a vision of St. Dominic, who is said to have seen the Blessed Virgin blessing and sprinkling the first friars. The procession returns to the church singing the antiphon of St. Dominic, *O lumen Ecclesiae*. The general chapter of 1334 directed the *Salve Regina* to be recited after every office, with two versicles and prayers.⁵

¹ The first confraternity of the rosary seems to have originated at Douai in 1470. Moreau, *Hist. de l'Eglise en Belgique*, t. IV, liv. VI, chap. II, 3, p. 379, Brussels, 1949.

² Bernard Guidonis, inquisitor of Toulouse and bishop of Lodève, died in 1331.

³ *Ecclesia*, no. 29 (August 1951), p. 40.

⁴ *Brit. Mus.*, MS. addit. 29704-5, 44892, fo. 68v and fo. 192.

⁵ *Protege, Domine; Ecclesiae tuae.*

MASS DE BEATA

The general chapter of 1314 introduced a weekly solemn Mass *de Beata*, together with one of St. Dominic, in reparation for a slanderous accusation, invented by a Cistercian and circulated by the Franciscans, which alleged that Bernard of Montepulciano, Dominican chaplain to the emperor Henry VII of Luxemburg, had poisoned his master. A daily Mass was to be said, also in honour of the Blessed Virgin, during the octave of the Assumption.¹ The calumny ceased within two years, but the general chapter of 1318 retained the weekly Mass on account of the unjust imprisonment of Thomas Waleys, who had attacked the private error of Pope John XXII (1316-34) in respect to the souls of the just not attaining to the beatific vision until the last day. Later, we find the retention of these weekly Masses, because Pope Benedict XII (1334-42) wished to change 'our manner of making profession, our constitutions, and our rule'. Then, when this third crisis was safely over, the practice had become so well established that it was continued in the Order.

In 1354 the general chapter (Narbonne) ordered the large bell to be rung three times after compline, while the friars knelt and said at least three *Aves*.

The calendar of Humbert de Romans included four feasts of our Lady, all of which had the rite of *totum duplex*: Purification (2 February), Annunciation (25 March), Assumption (15 August) and Nativity (8 September).

PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (2 February)

A single prayer is said at the blessing of the candles, the second of the five prayers in the Roman missal: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum ulnis sancti Simeonis*. The *Nunc dimittis*, with the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, is recited during the distribution. The procession has four stations, and at its conclusion the prayer *Erudi (Exaudi), quaesumus, Domine, plebem tuam* is said.

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, II, 70.

ANNUNCIATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (25 March)

The feast was originally styled the Annunciation of the Lord¹ or the Conception of Christ.

ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (15 August)

The collect is *Veneranda nobis*. The octave day (22 August) is given in the calendar of Humbert de Romans as 'octave of St. Mary. *Simplex*'. A solemn octave was accorded to the feast in the second half of the 15th century, together with octaves for the Ascension, Corpus Christi, St. Dominic and All Saints.

NATIVITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (8 September)

The octave day (15 September) is inscribed in the 13th-century calendar as for the feast of the Assumption.

Two feasts of our Lady made their appearance in the second half of the 14th century: Conception and Visitation.

CONCEPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (8 December)

'By the middle of the 14th century the acceptance of the feast and the dogma implied in the feast had become quite general outside the Dominican Order.'² The apparent hostility of the Order seems to have been due to the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, whose doctrine was declared by the general chapters of 1279, 1286, 1313, 1329, 1344, etc., to be obligatory for members of the Order. It may be said perhaps that the term 'conception' was used in different senses in the 13th century, and that if St. Thomas had known the doctrine as it was defined in 1854 he would have been numbered among its defenders, and 'yet it is hard to say that St. Thomas did not require an instant, at least, after the animation of Mary, before her sanctification. His great difficulty appears to have arisen from the doubt as to how she could have been redeemed if she had not sinned.'³ In other words,

¹ Cf. St. Bede (*ob.* 735).

² Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XVII, p. 230

³ *Summa Theol.*, III, Q. XXVII, a2, ad2^{um}; Cf. Frederick Holweck, Art. 'Immaculate Conception', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. VII, p. 679.

St. Thomas was opposed to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, as he understood it. The Dominican Durandus de Pourçain (*ob.* 1334) protested against the use of the term 'Conception', and maintained that 'Sanctification' was the more correct title.¹ In 1387 a Spanish member of the Order, John of Monzon (Montesono), went a step further, and declared at Paris that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was heretical. Fourteen of the friar's propositions were condemned by the masters of the University and Peter d'Orgemont, bishop of Paris, but he was supported by Elias of Toulouse, head of the Avignon obedience of Dominicans. In the following year (1388), the general chapter of the obedience met at Rodez, and, while opposing a feast of the 'conception', approved a feast of 'true innocence and sanctification' with the rite of *totum duplex*.² 'The truth of orthodox faith', said the chapter, 'is expressly affirmed in a doctrinal manner by the famous doctors, Albert and 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.' The master-general of the Roman obedience, Blessed Raymond of Capua (*ob.* 1399), the general chapter of 1391 and the two following chapters adopted the feast of the Sanctification of our Lady, but rather as an act of piety than one of defiance to their opponents.³

In 1439 the council of Basle solemnly defined the doctrine, but it had ceased to be ecumenical before the definition was made. Acceptance of both doctrine and feast became, however, practically universal, and Pope Sixtus IV (1471-84) formally approved the feast of the Conception and enriched it with indulgences in 1477. The prayer of the office is almost identical with that in use at the present day. A section of the Order seems to have been prepared to accept the feast, and in 1481 the general chapter

¹ *Quod autem fit festum de Conceptione ejus, aut non bene fit, aut non bene nominatur . . . Vocatur festum Conceptionis quod deberet vocari festum Sanctificationis. Lib. Sentent. III, dist. III, q. 1.*

² *Acta Cap. Gen., II, 30-1.*

³ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XVII, p. 231.

(Rome) directed that such a feast should be observed on 8 December with the rite of *totum duplex*. Opposition, however, was by no means dead, and in 1483 we find the Pope in the bull *Grave nimis* condemning a book of Vincenzo Bandelis in which the Dominican author had denied the doctrine. In the following year the general chapter decided to change the title of the feast to 'sanctification': an amendment passed by three successive chapters. It is not known what had happened to the office adopted by Blessed Raymond of Capua a century earlier. Pope Paul V (1605-21) was petitioned by the provincial chapter at Madrid in 1618 to order the Dominicans everywhere to preach the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, but the Pope declined to do so. Nevertheless, the liturgical books of the Order in ever increasing numbers came to include the feast of the Conception, as we see in the martyrologies of 1582 and 1604, breviaries of 1640, 1668 and 1672, missals of 1666, 1674 and 1687.¹

VISITATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (2 July)

Pope Urban VI (1378-89) extended the feast to the Universal Church in 1389, and Blessed Raymond of Capua accepted it for the Order, composing a rhythmic office based on that of St. Dominic, which came to be used for over a hundred years.

OUR LADY OF THE SNOWS (5 August)

The feast was established on 5 August by Pope Paul IV (1555-59) in 1558, and the decree *Gloriosus in Sanctis* transferred St. Dominic to the previous day. The change caused much resentment in the Order, and it was not until the revision of Malvenda in 1603 that the feast was observed.

ROSARY SUNDAY (1st Sunday in October)

All churches which had a chapel or altar in honour of the rosary were permitted by Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) to celebrate a feast on the first Sunday in October, which was extended to the Universal Church by Clement XI (1700-21) in

¹ Two MS. breviaries of the 14th century, now in Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., cite the feast as the 'Conception'.

1716. When the solemnity was transferred to 7 October the Friars Preachers retained the original day.

Secondary feasts of our Lady were added later, but five of these were suppressed in the revision which followed the decree *Divino afflatu* (1 November 1911) of Saint Pius X (1903–14).

SANCTORALE

The calendar of Humbert de Romans was founded on the Gregorian sacramentary, but there was a greater similarity to the 12th-century monastic calendars than to those of the Vatican and Lateran. Great respect was shown to the ferial office, and in the 13th century we find only twenty-three *totum duplex* feasts,¹ four doubles,² twenty semidoubles,³ thirty feasts of three lessons and forty-eight simple memorials. Raoul of Tongres (*ob.* 1403) praises the Order for its fidelity to the ferial office.⁴ A comparison of the first Dominican calendar with the 9th-century Gregorian calendar reveals that of the eighty-four Roman saints all but six appear in that of Humbert de Romans. Lent accounts for the paucity of feasts in March (four) and April (six).

The feast of the *Crown of the Lord* (4 May) found a place in the early Dominican calendar, as two members of the Order had been among those who escorted the relic from Constantinople to France.

A gradual multiplication of feasts took place about the second half of the 15th century, when 'the pretext was to conform more closely to the Roman calendar, but the real motivating force was generally to lessen the heavy burden imposed by the ferial office'.⁵ The revision authorised by the general chapter at Salamanca (1551) restored the paramount importance of Sunday, but the calendar was not sufficiently pruned, as, although seven

¹ Twelve feasts of our Lord and eleven of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints.

² Circumcision, St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, and St. Michael.

³ Feasts of Apostles, etc.

⁴ *Radul., De canonum observantia liber*, propositio XVIII; Hittorp, *De Divin. Cath. Eccles. Offic.* (Paris, 1610), col. 1142–3.

⁵ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XVIII, p. 255.

feasts were dropped and ten lowered in rank, ten others were raised and nine new feasts were added.¹

The general chapter of 1601 and the subsequent revision by Malvenda were not concerned with the primacy of Sunday, and the calendar which resulted had sixty-six *totum duplex* feasts, some of which were assigned annually to Sunday, while only one feast was lowered, and a number raised to higher rank.

The 17th century showed a notable increase of Dominican saints in the calendar, and in the following century a number of *beati* were added with Mass and Office. More Dominican saints have been included in the calendar since the beginning of the 19th century than in all the previous centuries.²

Considerable changes resulted from the decree *Divino afflatu* (1911): one hundred and four feasts were lowered in rank, sixteen more feasts introduced from the Roman calendar, and a number of other alterations carried out—'obviously the revision did not leave much of the original calendar unchanged'.³

ST. JOSEPH

The feast seems to have been introduced about the end of the 15th century. A French Dominican missal gives: *Officium b. Joseph patris putativi et nutrici Jesu Christi salvatoris generis humani*.⁴

ST. ANNE

The rite of *totum duplex* was given to the feast in the second half of the 15th century.

ST. DOMINIC

Gregory IX (1227–41) in the bull of canonisation (1234) appointed 5 August as the feast of the founder of the Order. A weekly Mass in his honour was celebrated as early as 1239, and, as we have seen, a solemn Mass in 1314. An office of the Saint

¹ The common for matrons and widows was borrowed from the Roman rite.

² The Order has more than one hundred saints and *beati*.

³ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap XXV, p. 370.

⁴ Fo. 315, *Bordeaux, Bibl. municip.*, MS. 89; Leroquais, *Les Sacramen. et les Missels . . .* (Paris, 1924), t. III, p. 193.

with the rank of three lessons was prescribed for all Tuesdays, excluding Lent, in 1362. The name of St. Dominic was inserted in the liturgy of 1254, and it made its appearance in the prayer *A cunctis nos* in 1268–70. *Et beatae Dominicae* was added to the *Confiteor* in 1282, and *patri nostro* in 1644.¹ The actual preface was composed by the provincial of Lombardy, Egidio M. Guinassi, in 1921. Deep resentment was felt in the Order by the decree (*Gloriosus in Sanctis*) of Paul IV in 1558, which changed the date of the feast to 4 August. The general chapter of 1561 (Avignon) made a 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'.² Opposition continued throughout the century. The general chapters of 1571³ and 1574⁴ directed that the feast should be observed on 5 August, but that where it had become the custom of the country to celebrate it on the previous day, the friars might follow local usage. It was not until the revision of Malvenda in 1603 that the Order came to accept the change of date.

TRANSLATION OF BLESSED DOMINIC OUR FATHER (24 May)

The feast was suppressed by the revision of Angelo Bettini, following the general chapter of 1551 (Salamanca), but it was restored in 1603.

ST. PETER MARTYR OF VERONA (29 April)

The calendar of Humbert de Romans gives 'Blessed Peter Martyr of the Order of Preachers as a *totum duplex*'. A second feast of the Saint, his Translation, was directed to be observed as a *totum duplex* on the Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi by the general chapter of 1348. The day, however, was inconvenient, and it was changed to 7 May by the general chapters of 1388, 1391 and 1394. This second feast was later suppressed.

The Dominican feasts are too numerous to record in full, but it may be of some interest to mention a few of them.

¹ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VII, 105. The additional words had been prescribed in collects of the Mass and Office by the general chapter of 1596.

² *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 32.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 165.

ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (7 March)

A second feast (28 January) in honour of his translation was introduced by the general chapter of 1369. It was dropped in 1551, but reintroduced in 1644, when it continued to be observed until the revision of Cormier in 1909. The Order was granted a special feast by Pope Pius XI in 1923: 'St. Thomas Aquinas, Patron of Catholic Schools' (13 November).

ST. CATHERINE OF SIENA (30 April)

The general chapter of 1462 directed the feast to be observed on the first Sunday in May, but it was changed by Urban VIII to 30 April in 1630. The stigmata of the Saint were not formally approved by the Church until 1629, and a special feast (1 April) was conceded in 1727.

ST. ALBERT THE GREAT (15 November)

The raising of St. Albert to the honours of the altar was effected by Innocent VIII in 1484, who in that year permitted the houses of Cologne and Ratisbon to dedicate altars in his honour, and to observe his feast with Mass and Office. In 1670 Clement X granted the celebration of the feast to the whole Order, 'with solemn rite'. He was equivalently canonised by being declared a doctor of the Church in 1931.

ST. MARY MAGDALENE (22 July)

The feast appeared in the calendar of Humbert de Romans with the rank of semidouble. It was later raised to *totum duplex*, and St. Mary Magdalene became the unofficial protectress of the Order. The increased popularity of her cult seems to date from 1295, the year in which the Friars Preachers took possession of the church of St. Maximin in Provence, where the head of the Saint is said to be preserved. The Dominicans,¹ like the Carmelites, sometimes added to their calendar by adopting the patron saint of a town in which a general chapter was held. Thus St.

¹ Cf. Carmelites.

Servatus (13 May), patron saint of Maastricht, was acquired in 1330, and St. Martial, patron saint of Limoges in 1334.¹

CHANT

'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':²

This chant seems to have been largely the work of Jerome of Moravia, a friar of the house of St. Jacques in Paris. He composed a *Tractatus de Musica*, which was the most important theoretical work on liturgical chant in the 13th century,³ some fragments of which appeared as a preface to the liturgy of Humbert de Romans. This view, however, has been contested, and the chant of the Order is said to have been derived from Metz, where one of the sessions of the 'four friars' had been held. No manuscript has been found which contains or even closely approximates to the Dominican variants, and it is therefore impossible to determine the origin of the chant with any certainty. Descants were not permitted, and the nearest approach to the Dominican chant is said to be the Cistercian, although whether Humbert de Romans actually used the chant of the White monks as his model must remain in doubt. A definite deterioration in the chant was noticeable in the later Middle Ages, but the level never sunk so low as in the Roman rite. The general chapters of 1501 and 1505 directed that the chant, particularly in respect to versicles at the beginning of the hours, the epistles, gospels, prayers and lessons, should be in accordance with the plainchant of the Order. In 1661 a book on the study of the chant was published in Rome: *Clavis Cantus Ecclesiastici*. The musical tradition of the Order was interrupted by the French Revolution and its aftermath. Chant books became scarce, and it was found necessary to consult mediaeval manuscripts. A not altogether satisfactory *cantus missarum* or gradual

¹ The feast of St. Servatus was raised to the rank of *totum duplex* by Pope Leo XII in 1829, and the Saint, by reason of an alleged miraculous intervention, was declared a patron of the Order. The feast was observed on 22 May, as we find in the missal of 1892. The actual missal gives only a memorial on 13 May.

² Ambrose Kienle, *Grammaire du Chant Grégorien* (Tournai, 1911), p. 11.

³ *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 16, 663; edit. Coussemaker, ap. *Scriptores de musica medii aevi*, I. Paris, 1864.

was produced at Ghent in 1854; processions in 1861 and 1873, with a third and better edition in 1894. The complete antiphony appeared in 1862 and 1863; while a new edition of the gradual, based on the prototype of Humbert de Romans, was published in 1890.

MISSA SICCA

The custom of saying a 'dry Mass' as a thanksgiving after Mass, and also when on a journey or otherwise hindered from offering the Holy Sacrifice, probably dates from the time of Humbert de Romans, as Lebrun noted it in a Paris manuscript, which was one of the five or six special copies made about 1254.¹ The practice is found in the early Dominican missals, and probably formed part of their rule.² It occurs in a rubric of a missal printed at Lubeck in 1502, under the heading: *De missis privatis*.³ The *missa sicca* was said as the priest removed the vestments. It could be either 'of the day' or 'of the Blessed Virgin'. There was no *Gloria in excelsis*, *Sanctus* or *Agnus Dei*, and the gospel *In principio* was said at the end. If the 'Mass' was *de tempore*, the priest said the collect *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus dirige actus nostros*: if *de Beata*, the postcommunion was *Gratiam tuam*. When a 'dry Mass' was said in place of the ordinary Mass, there was a *Gloria* (if proper to the day), *Sanctus* and *Agnus*. The *Missa sicca* has long since disappeared from the Order.

PROCESSIONS

Processions before the conventual Mass are customary on the Purification, Palm Sunday, Easter (at dawn before lauds), St. Mark, Rogation Days, Ascension, Corpus Christi, St. Dominic and All Souls. In the Easter procession the Blessed Sacrament is carried round the cloisters with great solemnity. It is said to take place in many houses.⁴

¹ Lebrun, *Explication . . . de la Messe*, t. I (Paris, 1726), p. 670, n. 1.

² Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti*, t. I (Paris, 1719), p. 143.

³ *Bodleian Laud Misc.*, 283, fo. 1b; Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXVII, 1904), append., p. 96.

⁴ *Caeremon.* (1869), pars IV, art. VI, 2, 1547, p. 453.

HOLY COMMUNION

A general Communion is prescribed by the ceremonial on the following days: a Sunday in Advent and Lent, Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Holy Thursday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity and Corpus Christi, as well as on all feasts of our Lady, All Saints, SS. Peter and Paul, St. Dominic and of the Saints of the Order (12 November). It is made also on all Sundays appointed for the confraternities of the Rosary and of the Holy Name, in order to gain the indulgences.¹ The brethren wear the *cappa* for Communion, and prostrate themselves while reciting the *Confiteor*.² An 'ablution of the mouth' after Communion is customary in some of the houses, and the ceremonial prescribes it on Holy Thursday.³ The *ordinarium* of 1256 directed priests to receive Holy Communion with the community on days of general Communion, unless they were saying Mass the same day (*nisi celebret ipsa die*).⁴ Except on Holy Thursday, the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans permits Communion to be given after Mass, if there are many communicants and the people would be impatient.⁵ The following formula is used in administering Holy Communion to the sick: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te et perducatur ad vitam aeternam. Amen.*

ALTAR LIGHTS

Directions for altar lights at the conventual Mass are given in a 13th-century manuscript, now in the British Museum: *In dominicis vero: et festis simplicibus: non accendantur plusquam duo. In semiduplicibus: plusquam tres. In duplicibus et totis duplicibus: plusquam quatuor. Idem servetur in vespertis et in matutinis.*⁶ The

¹ *Ibid.*, pars III, cap. II, art. V, 1, 1308, pp. 379–80.

² *Fratres in modum quo fit venia in longum extensi dicant omnes simul cum ministris prostratis: Confiteor.* *Ibid.*, 2, 1311, pp. 380–2.

³ *Uti fieri debet in die Coenae.* *Ibid.*, 2, 1315, pp. 381–2.

⁴ F. M. Guerrini, *Ordinarium juxta ritum sacri Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum* (Rome, 1921), p. 248.

⁵ De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VIII, p. 400, n. 4. A similar rubric is found in a ceremonial of Ste. Croix de la Bretonnerie, Paris.

⁶ *Brit. Mus.*, add. MS. 23, 935, fo. 480; Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXVII, 1904), p. 73.

actual usage is similar, but four lights are lit on Sundays (semi-double feasts have been suppressed), and on great solemnities at least six candles are required.¹ A candle is lit in private Masses before the consecration on the epistle side of the altar, which the missal (1892) seems to envisage as held by the minister until the Communion.² The ancient Dominican ordinary and the missal of the Croisiers direct the assistant, when moving the missal, to move also the hand-candle, unless there is one on either side of the altar. The Cluniac liturgist Claude de Vert (*ob.* 1708) cites the custom as affording a proof that the pontifical hand-candle was used originally for the purpose of giving light.³

VESTMENTS

Surplices are worn by the acolytes on days below the rank of a double: albs at solemn Masses on feasts.⁴

The use of the maniple varies from the Roman rite. It is worn by the sacred ministers for the asperges, the penitential psalms and blessing of ashes on Ash Wednesday, the penitential psalms and washing of the altar on Holy Thursday, the office and adoration of the cross on Good Friday, and at the office of burial.⁵

The vesting prayers in the actual missal are the same as in the Roman rite, but, except in the prayer for the amice, very considerable variations are found in the Dominican Paris missal (*c.* 1240).⁶

BRAZIER, FLABELLUM, ETC.

BRAZIER

The 13th-century rubric is retained in the modern ceremonial (1869), directing the acolytes, when it is cold, to bring a brazier (*patella*) with burning coals for the benefit of the celebrant.⁷

¹ *Caeremon.*, pars II, cap. I, art. II, 3, 514-16, pp. 143-4.

² *Et ab eadem parte ponatur cereus ad consecrationem et elevationem Sacramenti accendendus, et teneatur a ministro accensus usque ad communionem peractam. Rubr. Gen. Miss.*, XXXIX, 4, 1892. ³ *Op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XX, pp. 159-60.

⁴ *Caeremon.*, pars II, cap. I, art. III, 1, 535, p. 149 (539, p. 151).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2, 541, pp. 151-2.

⁶ *Paris, Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 8884, fo. 126v.

⁷ *Tempore frigoris magni habeatur patella decens cum prunis ardentibus, ab acolythis ministranda tempore opportuno. Brit. Mus.*, add. MS. 23935, fo. 480; *Caeremon.*, pars. II, cap. I, art. II, 1, 502, p. 140.

FLABELLUM

The Paris missal (c. 1240), which is the oldest known Dominican missal, has an illustration in which the priest is depicted at the altar, assisted by a deacon waving a *flabellum* (liturgical fan).¹ The actual ceremonial of the Order (1869) gives a rubric similar to that in the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka (c. 1312): *Tempore vero muscarum Diaconus utatur flabello ad abigendas muscas, ne molestant sacerdotem.*² A note says that the fan is still in use in a few houses.³

MAPPULA FOR THE NOSE

A cloth (*mappula*) for wiping the nose, says the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans, should be placed on the altar near the missal: *et de aliqua mappula ad tergendas nares juxta missale ponenda provideant.*⁴ A similar rubric is found in the missal of 1604, but the actual ceremonial (1869) says that the custom has become obsolete.⁵

MASS IN THE DOMINICAN RITE

ASPERGES

Several of the formulas differ from those in the Roman rite: (1) In Passiontide, *Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam* takes the place of *Gloria Patri*; (2) On Easter Day, *Haec dies quam fecit Dominus: exultemus, et laetemur in ea* is sung in the middle of *Vidi aquam*, and on the Sundays till Pentecost (exclusive): *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus*; (3) on the feast of Pentecost, *Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur; et renovabis faciem terrae*. A cope is not worn unless the asperges is followed by a procession.

¹ Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. lat. 8884.

² *Caeremon.*, pars II, art. II, 1, 502, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Brit. Mus.*, add. MS. 23935, fo. 480. The council of Cologne gave a similar direction in 1280. Lebrun, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 49.

⁵ *Usus autem ponendi dictam mappulam (ad extergendas nares) juxta Missale, jam obsolevit. Caeremon.*, no. 509, n. 1, p. 142.

MAKING OF THE CHALICE AT A PRIVATE MASS

The chalice is made at the altar before the preparatory prayers, and in presenting the water cruet, the server says: *Benedicite*, to which the priest answers: ✠ *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. The invocation, which was said at one time in the Roman rite,¹ seems to have been the origin of making the sign of the cross over the water, and its absence at requiems has resulted in the omission of the blessing in Masses for the dead.

The making of the chalice before Mass seems to have caused a certain amount of *admiratio* in the 17th century, and we find a Dominican writer protesting that the maintenance of an ancient practice was not 'introducing novelties'.² The Friars Preachers did not adopt the custom from the Church of Paris, where the chalice was made before the celebrant took the vestments from the altar, but it was the practice in the dioceses of Palencia, in which St. Dominic took his university course, and Osma, where he resided as a Canon Regular.

Before descending the steps for the preparatory prayers, the celebrant says secretly the following prayer, as in the mediaeval uses of York and Hereford: *Actiones nostras, quaesumus, Domine, aspirando praeveni, et adjuvando prosequere, ut cuncta nostra operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te coepta finiatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*

ENTRY AT THE CONVENTUAL MASS

The sacred ministers approach the altar during the *Gloria Patri* (or verse, if the *Gloria* is omitted) of the introit, their heads covered with the capuce and amice. The deacon carries the missal, and the subdeacon the gospel-book, but in Masses for the dead and at certain other times³ the sacred vessels (not in a veil) are carried instead of the book.

¹ Cf. Mozarabic rite.

² Marcello de Cavaleriis, *Statera sacra missam juxta ritum ordinis Praedicatorum* . . . (Naples, 1686), tit. V, not. 165, p. 93.

³ E.g. Ash Wednesday.

PREPARATORY PRAYERS

The prayer *Actiones nostras* is said secretly. Then, signing himself, the priest says aloud: *Ÿ. Confitemini¹ Domino quoniam bonus*, and the ministers respond: *Rŷ. Quoniam in saeculum misericordia ejus*. A usage once found in the Dominican rite is mentioned by Claude de Vert: the priest added *Et ego reus et indignus sacerdos* before the *Confiteor*. The custom existed also in the Churches of Laon, Lyons and Verdun at the beginning of the 18th century.²

The short *Confiteor* resembles those found in most mediaeval rites: *Confiteor Deo omnipotenti, et beatæ Mariæ semper virgini, et beato Dominico Patri nostro, et omnibus Sanctis, et vobis fratres quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, opere, et omissione, mea culpa: precor vos orare pro me*. The following additions have been made: *et beato Dominico* in 1282; *semper virgini³* in 1629; *Patri nostro⁴* in 1644; and *omnipotenti* (after *Deo*), to conform to Roman usage, in 1650.⁵ A strange rubric was introduced in the revision of Paolo Castrucci in 1586: the priest was directed not to hold his hands joined together, as is the present practice, but to allow only the finger-tips of one hand to touch those of the other, keeping the palms well apart.⁶ The priest does not strike his breast at the words *mea culpa*.⁷

The *Misereatur* is proper to the rite: *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua: liberet te ab omni malo, salvet et confirmet in omni opere bono, et perducatur te ad vitam æternam*. The 'Indulgentiam' is similar to the Roman form, but it omits the opening word, *Indulgentiam*, and has *peccatorum vestrorum* in place of *peccatorum nostrorum*. There is no sign of the cross.⁸ A versicle and response conclude the prayers: *Ÿ. Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini. Rŷ. Qui fecit coelum et*

¹ *Confitemini* came to have a sort of logical connection with *Confiteor*. The transposition of the term *confitemini* from the praise of God to the confession of sins dates from the time of St. Benedict (*ob. c. 547*), who uses the term in this latter sense in the 5th degree of humility. *Reg. S. Ben.*, cap. VII.

² *Op. cit.*, t. III, part 2, chap. 2, p. 23. Cf. Ainay missal of 1531.

³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VII, 10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII, 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, 288.

⁶ Similarly for *Aufer a nobis*, *In spiritu humilitatis* and *Te igitur*.

⁷ *Caeremon.*, pars II, cap. II, art. III, 3, 1220, p. 354.

⁸ *Ibid.*

terram. The acolytes, following ancient usage,¹ turn inwards for the prayers,² and at the conclusion put out their candles. These acolytes' candles are relighted for the gospel, then again extinguished, and finally lighted after the ablutions in preparation for the return to the sacristy. A similar custom existed among the Carmelites, and also at Arles and Narbonne in the time of Dom Claude de Vert.³

BEGINNING OF MASS

The ministers ascend to the altar, and the priest says the prayer *Aufer a nobis* (profoundly inclined). *Oramus te Domine* is not said, but the celebrant kisses the altar, first signing it with his right thumb. Then signing himself and saying secretly *In nomine Patris*, etc., he goes to the missal for the introit. Incense is never used at the beginning of Mass, and not at all in Masses for the dead. The introit is known as the *officium*, a term which some writers have thought applied originally to the liturgy as a whole, and not merely to the opening antiphon. When the priest stands before the missal at the epistle side of the altar, the assistant ministers, radiating from him, form a semicircle. On Sundays and solemnities, the sacred ministers may sit in the sedilia until the last *Kyrie* has been sung. The priest occupies the seat nearest to the altar, with a cloth (*mappula*), often the colour of the office, spread over his knees and those of the deacon and subdeacon, in order that their hands may not soil the vestments.

The *Gloria in excelsis* is begun at the middle of the altar, and continued at the epistle side.⁴ The sacred ministers do not sit in the sedilia, even on great feasts, and it is suggested that the priest should recite meanwhile some of those prayers found at the beginning of the missal.⁵ During the *Gloria* (or *Kyrie*), the

¹ Cf. Cistercian, Carmelite and Premonstratensian rites.

² *Et versis ad se mutuo vultibus*. *Brit. Mus.* add. MS. 23, 935, fo. 480; Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, V (op. cit.), p. 74.

³ Op. cit., t. IV, rem. XX, p. 158.

⁴ Until about the beginning of the 13th century it was the custom at Rome to say the first *Dominus vobiscum*, *Gloria* and Creed at the side of the altar. Amalarius (*ob.* 853) mentions this (*De eccles. offic.*, lib. III, cap. VIII), whereas Durandus (*ob.* 1296) records the present practice (*Rat.*, lib. IV, cap. XIII).

⁵ *Interim poterit legere nonnullas pias orationes positas pro praeparatione Missae in principio Missalis*. *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. IV, 2, 1280, p. 372.

subdeacon, accompanied by an acolyte,¹ brings the sacred vessels enveloped in a humeral veil (*mappa*) to the altar.²

Dominus vobiscum is said at the book, unless the Blessed Sacrament is reserved on the altar, in which case the priest goes to the middle. The general chapter of 1622 directed that if the Blessed Sacrament is in the tabernacle, the celebrant should turn slightly before saying *Dominus vobiscum*.³ The chasuble is raised by the deacon at the salutation: also at the *Dominus vobiscum* at the offertory and before the postcommunion.⁴ In the ferial Masses of Lent, the deacon, not the subdeacon, responds *Levate*.

EPISTLE, CHANTS AND MAKING OF THE CHALICE

According to the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans, the subdeacon on Sundays and feasts sings the epistle from an ambo, at other times from a lectern in front of the presbytery steps. There are few churches today with an ambo, but the old custom has been retained in the basilicas of S. Sabina and S. Clemente in Rome. The old *ordinarium* directs the minister at a private Mass to read the epistle, if he is in orders. There is no response at the end of the epistle, and the subdeacon does not receive a blessing. On Sundays and feasts the sacred ministers, at the conclusion of the collects, sit in the sedilia.⁵ While the priest is reading the epistle, gradual, etc., from a book held by an acolyte, the deacon washes his hands and spreads the corporal on the altar. The missal of 1687 conforms to all the ancient missals and to the *ordinarium* of 1254 in saying that the priest is provided with a book, but it is to read something other than the epistle, etc., of which there is no single word in the rubric.⁶

When the priest at the sedilia has read the gospel, the subdeacon places the cushion and missal on the altar.⁷ Then, having

¹ The acolyte carries the cruets.

² The veil is folded towards the epistle side of the altar, and the vessels are placed on the veil.

³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, VI, 325.

⁴ *Leviter casulam per inferiorem elevet extremitatem. Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. I, art. VI, 2, 1054, p. 314.

⁵ The subdeacon also at the conclusion of the epistle.

⁶ De Vert, op. cit., t. IV, rem. XIX, pp. 126-7.

⁷ The *ordinarium* of Humbert says: *ad altaris sinistram*, which in his day denoted the gospel side. Since 1485, however, *sinistram* has been used for the epistle side.

washed his hands, he brings the vessels in a humeral veil to the celebrant, preceded by an acolyte with the cruets. The deacon shows the paten with the host to the priest, while the subdeacon pours the wine and water into the chalice. At the blessing of the water the subdeacon says *Benedicite*, and the deacon *Dominus*, after which the priest says: ✠ *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*.¹ The paten is then replaced on the chalice, and they are taken by the subdeacon to the epistle side of the altar.

The sacred ministers stand and bow their heads if *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is sung in the Mass. A proper sequence (prose) was originally provided for all feasts of *totum duplex*, and in the archetype of Humbert there were twenty-seven such proses.² When the number of feasts was increased, so also were the proses, and in the last quarter of the 17th century we find thirty-three, some of which were of considerable length. The revision of the liturgy under Antonin Cloche (1686–1720) suppressed all but six, but they were for the most part of mediocre value. Proses for Christmas (*Laetabundus* at the third Mass), Easter, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, St. Dominic (*In caelesti hierarchia*) and for the dead were retained. The missal provides also a proper sequence for the feast of St. Francis (*Sanctitatis nova signa*) and for the Compassion of our Lady on the Friday after Passion Sunday (*Stabat Mater*). *Laetabundus* is sung also on the Epiphany and the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. Proses were at one time forbidden in private Masses,³ and they are still not said during octaves, even on the octave day. An exception is made in the case of Corpus Christi, as each of the days within the octave is regarded as a solemnity. It was not before the 17th century that the *Dies irae* was sung in Masses for the dead, although its authorship had been ascribed by some writers to the 13th-century

¹ Neither here nor at the blessing of incense does the *ordinarium* of Humbert prescribe the sign of the cross, although it was probably made on both occasions.

² *Juxta rubricas in Missis tantummodo solemnibus festorum ritus totius duplicis et B.M.V. in sabbatis extra Quadragesimam erant Cantandae, minime vero in Missis privatis legendae. Graduale.*

³ The *alleluia* was not sung, and consequently a continuation of the notes that gave rise to the prose was considered to be inappropriate. The Order of Croisiers held the same view. De Vert, op. cit., t. IV, rem. XV, p. 94.

Dominican Cardinal Latino Malabranca. General chapters considered that proses were out of place in Masses without an Alleluia, as the prose was in fact its neums or continuation of notes.

GOSPEL

For the blessing of incense at the gospel, the thurifer says *Benedicite*, and the priest: ✠ *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. In the formula for the blessing of the deacon, the words *Evangelium pacis* are substituted for *Evangelium suum: Dominus sit in corde tuo et in labiis tuis ad pronuntiandum sanctum Evangelium pacis*. In nomine ✠ *Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. The cross is carried at the gospel on *totum duplex* feasts. St. Albert the Great (*ob.* 1280) refers to the custom as if it was a general practice: '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.'¹ Its use was not confined to the Dominicans, and many of the English cathedrals in the Middle Ages directed that a cross should be carried at the gospel. The ministers and assistants themselves form a cross during the gospel, with the subdeacon standing behind the deacon. *Per evangelica dicta deleantur nostra delicta* is now said by the priest when he has concluded the gospel, but it is not found in the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans. The revision of Paolo Castrucci (1586) has a strange direction as to the position of the priest during the gospel at a solemn Mass: he was to stand erect, with his right foot somewhat in advance of his left, as if about to genuflect. The gospel-book is kissed by both priest and deacon.

The custom of kneeling at the words *emisit spiritum* in the Passion is said to have been introduced into the Order at the request of St. Louis IX (*ob.* 1270).²

CREED

In the 13th century, the creed was recited on the feasts of those saints whose names were recorded in Scripture, and there was consequently no creed on the feast of the founder.

¹ *Opus de mysterio Missae*, tract. II, cap. VII, 3.

² De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. II, chap. I, p. 27, note a.

The celebrant intones the first words at the middle of the altar, and then goes to the gospel side, after he has kissed the book. The sacred ministers return to the middle of the altar for the *Incarnatus*. The *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans does not prescribe a genuflection, but it must have been customary soon after his time. Geoffrey de Beaulieu ascribes its introduction to St. Louis.¹ At a solemn Mass the sacred ministers remain in the middle until the end of the creed, but at a private Mass the priest returns to the book after he has genuflected. The use of an organ to sustain the chant of the creed was forbidden by several general chapters: 'lest we seem to hide our faith under the music of the organ'.² It is contrary to Dominican practice for the sacred ministers to sit in the sedilia during the creed. The thurifer and crucifer at a solemn Mass remain before the altar until after the *Incarnatus*, and, with the sacred ministers and acolytes, form a cross with double arms.

OFFERTORY

After the salutation and *Oremus* at the epistle side of the altar the priest goes to the middle, and says: *Quid retribuam, Domino, pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi?* This is not found in the *ordinarium* of Humbert, and it is omitted today in Masses for the dead. When the deacon gives the chalice to the priest, he says: *Immola Deo sacrificium laudis et redde Altissimo vota tua*³, and the celebrant responds: *Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo*. The bread and wine are offered together with a single prayer: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offero in memoriam Passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et praesta ut in conspectu tuo tibi placens ascendat; et meam et omnium fidelium salutem operetur aeternam*. The prayer is identical with the offertory prayer in the ancient use of Hereford,⁴ but it bears little

¹ *Vita S. Ludovici, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, cap. XX, p. 20.

² W. R. Bonniwell, *Dominican Ceremonial for Mass and Benediction* (New York, 1946), part II, chap. IV, p. 128, note 3c.

³ Cf. a 15th-century missal of Troyes. Leroquais, *Les Sacram. et les Missels* . . . , t. III, p. 46.

⁴ William Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* (London, 1846), p. 57.

resemblance to the prayer in the rite of Paris. It is found in a slightly different form after the washing of the hands in the Pian missal.¹ The *Micrologus* (c. 1100) speaks of the prayer as said 'by ecclesiastical custom and not by virtue of a prescription'.²

The old practice of covering the chalice with the back of the corporal was retained by the Friars Preachers till the end of the 17th century.

INCENSATION

The form for blessing the incense is the same as before the gospel: *In nomine ✠ Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*. The deacon offers the incense for the blessing in a spoon, and puts it into the thurible himself. There is no prayer at the censuring of the *oblata* and altar, and the deacon holds the chasuble, *ut expedite possit incensare*.³ The sign of the cross is made with the censer over the chalice and paten, and the offerings are three times incensed. The censuring of the tabernacle or cross and the altar follows.⁴ The deacon raises the front of the chasuble slightly as he censes the celebrant. The censuring of the ministers, acolytes and choir is deferred until the beginning of the preface, although there is no indication of this delay in the ancient *ordinarium*.⁵

LAVABO

At the washing of the hands the subdeacon pours the water, and the deacon offers the towel. Three verses only of psalm XXV are said: *Et non plus ultra*. A single verse was prescribed in the ancient *ordinarium*.

PRAYERS TILL THE PREFACE

Profoundly inclined before the middle of the altar, the priest says an adaptation of the prayer of the three children in the fiery

¹ The Dominican prayer commemorates only the Passion of our Lord.

² *Microlog.*, cap. XI; Hittorp, op. cit., col. 738; *Pat. Lat.*, t. CLI, col. 984.

³ Cf. *Ne impediatur thurificans*, Ceremonial of Bursfeld (O.S.B.).

⁴ There is no reference to the cross, and naturally not to the tabernacle, in the *ordinarium* of Humbert: *Postmodum corpus Christi (oblata) super altare repositum. Missale Conventuale, Tracts on the Mass*, V (ibid.), fo. 481, p. 78.

⁵ Bonniwell, op. cit., append., p. 384; *Tracts on the Mass*, p. 78.

furnace: *In spiritu humilitatis, et in animo contrito, suscipiamur Domine a te: et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum, ut a te suscipiatur hodie, et placeat tibi Domine Deus.*¹ The circle is not completed by the celebrant at *Orate fratres*, the formula of which differs from the Roman: *Orate fratres, ut meum, ac vestrum pariter in conspectu Domini sit acceptum sacrificium.* The deacon raises the chasuble slightly, but there is no audible response to the invitation to prayer. The response, in fact, was a later addition to the Roman missal, and still finds no place in the liturgy for Good Friday. Innocent III (1198–1216) makes no mention of it in his description of the Mass. Before the secrets the priest says silently: *Domine exaudi orationem meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat,*² and *Oremus.*

The *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans directed the priest during the secrets to stand between the missal and the chalice: ‘with the fingers with which he is about to handle the sacred body of the Lord, the priest must not turn any pages nor touch anything’.³

The rubric on the use of the *flabellum* or liturgical fan occurs here.

PREFACE AND SANCTUS

The mediaeval rite had no proper preface for either the feast of the Dedication or for the dead, and the preface for Lent was continued until Holy Thursday.⁴ In the last revision of the missal, the prefaces for St. Joseph and for the dead were added, and in 1921 a proper preface for the feast of St. Dominic.

During the dialogue, preface, and *Sanctus* (also the *Agnus Dei*), the deacon and subdeacon face each other on the top step of the altar, with the acolytes in a similar position *in plano*. The censuring of the ministers, acolytes and choir takes place during the preface,

¹ *Ut possimus invenire misericordiam tuam: sed in animo contrito, et spiritu humilitatis suscipiamur. Daniel, III, 39.*

² Cf. Missals of Langres (1491), Bayeux (1501), Liège (1513), Cambrai (1527), Sens (1556, 1575), etc.: also, preceded by *Dominus vobiscum*, missal of Chartres (1489) and a MS. missal of St. Pol de Léon.

³ *Missale Convent.*, fo. 481; *Tracts on the Mass*, *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ The preface for the Holy Cross was used only on the two feasts of the Cross: 3 May and 14 September.

but the cantors, choir and lay brothers are censured only on *duplex* and *totum duplex* feasts, when the thurifer adds unblest incense.¹ Similar directions existed in the Carmelite missal, and also in the liturgical books of the religious of La Mercy (1507) and of the Holy Cross (18th century).²

On Sundays and feasts, the deacon during the *Sanctus* gives the paten to the subdeacon, who holds it in the humeral veil (*mappa*), with the chalice veil folded on the top.³

A rubric directs the celebrant to say the first part of the canon in such a way that the elevation does not take place before the conclusion of the *Sanctus*.⁴ A similar injunction is found in the *ordinarium* of 1507, in which the choir is warned not to drag out the *Sanctus* unduly. The *Benedictus* follows the *Sanctus*.

CANON

In the 16th century some members of the Order appear to have said the whole Mass, including the canon, in an audible voice, and the general chapter of 1551 (Salamanca) threatened those friars with punishment who failed to say the canon secretly. At the same time proceedings would be taken against those who said the audible parts of the Mass in such a low voice that no one could hear them. The injunctions were renewed and confirmed in the general chapter of 1569 (Rome).⁵

The priest does not kiss the altar at *uti accepta habeas et benedicas*. The Roman rubric regarding the position of the hands at *Te igitur* was introduced in the revision of Paolo Castrucci (1586), but the present rubric merely says: *manus extendens et elevans, dicat*.⁶ The crosses over the *oblata* are made with the three first fingers extended, but the traditional usage was 'with two fingers, so that the forefinger was above and the middle finger

¹ *Caeremon.*, pars. III, cap. I, art. III, 4, 966, p. 285.

² Cf. John Beleth (*ob. post 1165*).

³ The consuetudinary of the Sarum rite (Frere, *Use of Sarum*, 1898, vol. I, p. 79) directs the subdeacon immediately after the secret to take the paten from the deacon and give it to the acolyte.

⁴ *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. IV, 4, 1293, pp. 375-6.

⁵ Lebrun, *op. cit.*, t. IV, part 2, p. 56.

⁶ *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. III, 5, 1245, p. 361.

below'.¹ Paolo Castrucci, who introduces the strangest rubrics into his revision, directs the priest at the consecration to move his right foot somewhat to the rear, with his left knee bent towards the altar. The 13th-century *ordinarium* enjoined the celebrant to elevate the host and chalice slightly when he took them into his hands before consecration.² At a solemn Mass the subdeacon, holding the paten, kneels to the left of the celebrant for the consecration, and the deacon, with the thurible, to the right. The Blessed Sacrament is censed continuously at each elevation.³ The censuring of the Host is prescribed in the *ordinarium* of Humbert de Romans: the earliest known use of incense at the consecration.⁴ The ceremony of the elevation of the chalice seems to have been adopted in the Order in the latter part of the 16th century. Lebrun says that it was prescribed first in the supplement to the *ordinarium* which was approved at Salamanca in 1576, when it was considered desirable to imitate the clergy who followed the new Pian liturgy.⁵

After the consecration the deacon stands behind the priest, and goes up to the altar as required. A direction for the celebrant to genuflect is given in the general chapter of 1611,⁶ but the chapter of 1569 had suggested that the priest should 'incline the whole body' after the consecration, while the other ministers knelt.⁷ There is no mention of a genuflection in the *ordinarium* of 1585. Present-day regulations prescribe that those in choir should kneel a little before the consecration, and remain with head raised until after the elevation of the chalice, when they prostrate. The following injunctions are contained in the 14th-century constitutions (1358-63): *De inclinationibus: in ferialibus quoque diebus jacemus prostrati a 'sanctus' usque ad 'agnus'. In festis vero trium*

¹ Bonniwell, op. cit., append., p. 385.

² Ibid., p. 386.

³ *Incenset continue in elevatione Corporis et Sanguinis. Caeremon., pars. III, cap. I, art. VI, 4, 1069, p. 320.*

⁴ *Incenset continue.* Bonniwell, op. cit., append., p. 386.

⁵ Op. cit., t. I, p. 484. *Nota quod calix non elevatur in verbis rubricae stando, sed statim post consecrationem deponitur et cooperitur corporale, sed tamen jam usus habet quod elevetur, sed discoopertus sicut etiam modo clerici omnes faciunt quotquot recitant secundum ordinarium novum romanum. Adnot. Joan. de Palent. Venet. 1583.*

⁶ *Monum. Ord. Praed., t. XI, p. 145.*

⁷ *Acta Cap. Gen., V, 90.*

*vel novem lectionum, jacemus ab elevatione corporis usque ad 'Pater noster'.*¹

The anamnesis: *Hoc quotiescumque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis* is said *after* the elevation of the chalice: a practice prescribed in the missal of 1687.² At *Unde et memores* and *Supra quae*, a rubric directs the priest to extend his arms: *extendat brachia plus solito, mediocriter tamen.*³ Fr. Bonniwell suggests that 'the extension of the arms immediately after the Consecration came from the Ambrosian rite. From the 12th century the rubric spread from Milan over a considerable portion of Europe'.⁴ This traditional position of the arms was changed in the revision of Paolo Castrucci (1586): the prayer was to be said in a bowed posture until the words *necnon ab inferis.*⁵

For *Supplices te rogamus*, etc., the rubric says: *inclinat profunde, cancellatis manibus ante pectus brachio sinistro supposito dextero.*⁶ The inclination of the head at *per eundem Christum* in the memento of the dead was prescribed for the first time in the missal of 1705 (Rome).

The arrangement of the signs of the cross at *Per ipsum*, etc., differs from that of the Roman rite: the first three crosses are of different proportions; the fourth, in raising the Host slightly before the lip of the chalice over the corporal;⁷ and the fifth, before the foot of the chalice.⁸ There is no little elevation, and the ceremonial says: *non tamen populo ostendat.*⁹

PATER NOSTER TO COMMUNION

The deacon, at the beginning of the *Pater noster*, takes the chalice veil from the subdeacon and places it on the altar. At the end of the prayer the subdeacon gives the paten to the deacon. The paten during the *Pater* was without a covering, as 'we who are the children of God say "Our Father" without any veil between him and us'. The humeral veil is folded by the acolytes,

¹ Cap. II, *Brit. Mus.*, addit. MSS. 23,935, fo. 572-9v.

² *Lebrun*, op. cit., t. I, p. 482.

³ *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. III, 6, 1251, p. 363.

⁴ Bonniwell, op. cit., chap. XIV, 3, p. 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. XXI, p. 308.

⁶ *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. III, 6, 1252, p. 363.

⁷ *Ante labium calicis in alto aliquantulum super corporale.* *Ibid.*, 1255, p. 364.

⁸ *Ante pedem calicis in imo.* *Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

and laid on the altar. At *da propitius pacem in diebus nostris* in the embolism, the deacon kisses the shoulder of the celebrant (unless the Blessed Sacrament is exposed), and gives him the paten. The priest, having signed himself with the paten, kisses it and places it on the altar 'away from the corporal'.¹

Several changes in the traditional ceremonial were made in the revision of Paolo Castrucci (1586), but they have been rectified since: thus the priest was directed at *Oremus* and *Praeceptis salutaribus* to hold his arms extended in front of him with just the middle fingertip of each hand resting on the altar, instead of extending his hands, and resting them on either side of the corporal. And again, the paten was received by the celebrant at *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, in place of *Da propitius pacem* in the embolism, and it was to be held until the words *Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo*. At *Petro* the priest was to sign himself with the paten, and at *ab omni perturbatione securi* to stand as he was directed at the consecration.

When the celebrant says *Per eundem Dominum nostrum* at the end of the embolism, he breaks the Host into two parts, placing mid-way over the first half, in a cross-wise direction, the part he had been holding in his right hand. Then, holding the second half in this position, he breaks off a particle, as he says: *Qui tecum vivit et regnat*. This third particle, which is held in the right hand, is put into the chalice at the commixture. The two other particles are held in the left hand over the edge of the chalice until they are received in Holy Communion.

Agnus Dei follows *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*, but the priest does not strike his breast. At a solemn Mass the ministers and acolytes adopt the same position as for the *Sanctus*. The formula for the commixture, after the *Agnus*, is identical with that in the missal of Humbert de Romans, except for the omission of the words *promerendam atque* in the 13th-century liturgy: *Haec sacrosancta commixtio Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, et omnibus sumentibus, salus mentis et corporis:*

¹ *Et mox ipsam super altare deponat seorsum a corporali*. Ibid., 1257, p. 365. Cf. Ancient use of Hereford: *Tunc reponat patenam super altare*. Maskell, op. cit., p. 109.

*et ad vitam aeternam promerendam atque capessendam praeparatio salutaris. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*¹

The priest then kisses the lip of the chalice and the paten or pax-brede with which the kiss of peace is communicated. It seems to have been the custom in the time of Claude de Vert (*ob* 1708) for the priest to give the *pax* to the server at a private Mass, unless it was a Mass for the dead or one of the days in the *triduum sacrum*.² Commenting on this, the Cluniac liturgist remarks: *plus qu'en nulle autre église, on conserve aux messes particulières, tous les caractères possibles de la messe solennelle*.³ The practice has very generally fallen into desuetude, although the ceremonial (1869) says: *ubi consuevit hoc fieri*,⁴ and it is still observed in the Spanish province.⁵ The formula for the *pax* is *Pax tibi, et Ecclesiae sanctae Dei*.⁶ Lebrun, on the strength of certain remarks in the *ordinarium* of 1576 (Salamanca), has suggested that the kiss of peace was given by accolade, rather than by the *instrumentum pacis*, until the 16th century.⁷ On Sundays and feasts of the rank of *duplex* and *totum duplex*, the *pax* is taken to the choir by an acolyte,⁸ but on great solemnities, unless the choir is far from the altar, this may be done by the subdeacon.⁹

HOLY COMMUNION

There is a single Communion prayer,¹⁰ which is substantially the same as that in the missal of Humbert de Romans: *Domine Jesu Christe Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris, cooperante Spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti: libera me per hoc sacrosanctum Corpus et Sanguinem tuum, ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, et universis malis: et fac me tuis semper inhaerere mandatis, et a te nunquam separari permittas: Qui cum eodem Deo Patre et*

¹ An identical formula is found in the missals of Sarum, Hereford and Bangor.

² *Op. cit.*, t. III, part I, chap. VII, p. 364. Cf. Cistercian rite.

³ *Ibid.*, t. I, chap. IV, sect. 2, p. 325, note a.

⁴ *Caeremon.*, pars. III, cap. II, art. III, 6, 1261, p. 366.

⁵ *Annal. Ord. Praedic.*, XIV (1906), p. 720.

⁶ The formula was very general, and is found in the Paris missal of 1738: *Pax tibi, frater, et Ecclesiae sanctae Dei*. The missal of the abbey of St. Rémi at Rheims (1556) directed the priest to kiss the Host, as he said: *Pax tua sit mihi Christe*.

⁸ *Caeremon.*, pars. III, cap. I, art. V, 4, 1038, p. 309.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 1039, p. 309.

¹⁰ The second prayer in the Roman missal.

Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

There is no *Domine non sum dignus* before the Communion of the priest, but it is said before the administration of Communion to the faithful. It would seem, however, that its recitation was not omitted at the beginning of the 18th century, as Claude de Vert, commenting on the custom of receiving Holy Communion from the left hand, says: *Les Jacobins, qui tenant naturellement l'Hostie de cette main, lorsqu'ils disent Domine non sum dignus à la Messe, ne croient point devoir exprès changer de main, pour porter l'Hostie à leur bouche; car voilà tout le mystère.*¹ A single prayer is said before receiving Holy Communion: *Corpus et Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiant me in vitam aeternam. Amen.* We find a similar formula, doubtless derived from Dominican usage, in the missal of Åbo (Finland) and, as the first prayer after Communion, in the missal of Straengness (Sweden).² No less than four explanations have been given to account for the custom of the priest communicating himself with the Host from the left hand. (1) The first of these says that the singular practice of the Preachers was a punishment inflicted upon the Order for a crime committed by one of its members. The emperor Henry VII of Luxemburg, who was at war with Pope Clement V (1304–14), died suddenly of a fever at Buonconvento near Siena in 1313, whereupon the Ghibelline party spread the rumour that he had been poisoned by his Dominican confessor, Bernard of Montepulciano. The friar established his innocence without difficulty, but the crime continued to be laid at his door, and the general chapter of 1314 directed that the litanies of the saints should be recited throughout the Order. So late as 1420 we find a Franciscan writing in the Chronicle of Lubeck that the Friars Preachers in punishment for the crime had been compelled to communicate with the left hand. In point of fact the custom had been observed in the Order at least sixty years before the death of the emperor. (2) A second explanation suggests that the usage

¹ Op. cit., t. II, pref., pp. XLII–XLIII.

² The Åbo missal dates from 1488; that of Straengness from 1487. Eric Segelberg, *De Ordine Missae secundum Ritus Scandinavicum Medii Aevi. Ephem. Liturg.*, vol. LXV (1951), fasc. IV, p. 258.

was on account of the left hand being nearer to the heart than the right! (3) Savonarola (*ob.* 1498) in his *Treatise on the Mass* attempts to give mystical reasons, and for him the three particles into which the Host is divided represent the three divisions of the Church: Militant, Suffering and Triumphant. The Church Triumphant is symbolised by the particle which is put into the chalice at the commixture, as the elect are inebriated with heavenly delights. The Church Suffering by the section from which the priest detached the third particle, because, although the souls in purgatory will attain heaven, they are still undergoing purification. The Church Militant by the particle which for a time lies on the paten, because her members are still sojourners upon earth. Among the Dominicans, however, the particle for the commixture is not laid on the paten, but, being held in the right hand, signifies 'glory', while the two particles for Holy Communion, which remain in the left hand, symbolise 'trial' and 'suffering', conformably to the bride in the *Canticle of Canticles*: 'His left hand is under my head; his right hand embraces me.'¹ (4) The true explanation is very simple: a matter of practical convenience, resulting from the fraction of the Host over the chalice. The fraction was made with the right hand and with the same hand the particle was placed in the chalice, so that to communicate with that hand would necessitate two movements, which would not be graceful: to change the Host from the left hand to the right, and then to take the chalice, over which the Communion is made, with the left hand. It is therefore under the circumstances simpler and more harmonious to receive the Host from the left hand.² From whence, we may ask, did the Friars Preachers derive the practice? Humbert de Romans, as we have seen, borrowed little from the Church of Paris, and in any case it is impossible to say whether the usage was followed in that Church. The Paris missal of Sir Sidney Cockerell certainly 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 with that hand. In the Sarum use, for example, the priest divided the Host in the same

¹ *Laeva ejus sub capite meo, et dextera illius amplexabitur me. Cant. Cantic.*, II, 6.

² Mortier, *La Liturgie Dominicaine*, part II, chap. II, p. 85.

way as was done in Paris, but he then held the Host in *both* hands. There is, however, evidence of communicating from the left hand in 14th-century Rome. *Ordo Romanus XIV* says: '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.'¹ A similar rubric is found in the 13th-century *Caeremoniale Romanum multiplex* (Matthew Texte), *Dissertation sur la Cérémonie de la Communion du Prêtre faite avec la main gauche*, etc.² 'Just how the Friars Preachers came to receive a rite peculiar to cardinal-bishops, remains one of the unsolved mysteries of the Dominican rite.'³ The formula for the administration of Holy Communion has *custodiat te*, not *custodiat animam tuam*.

ABLUTIONS

At the second ablution, wine and water, the priest says a prayer similar to the first ablution prayer in the Roman rite: *Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus: ut de Corpore et Sanguine Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat nobis remedium sempiternum. Amen*. The priest wipes both the chalice and his mouth with the purificator. At a solemn Mass the deacon, after the Communion, moves the missal, and, having washed his hands, folds the corporal and places it in the burse. The subdeacon administers the wine and water for the ablutions, and then in his turn washes his hands. During the postcommunion prayers he purifies and covers the sacred vessels, removing them to the sacristy, unless there is only a single prayer or the sacristy is some distance away, in which case he takes them out in the procession at the conclusion of the Mass. The rubrics for the ablutions in the missal of Humbert de Romans were similar to those in the actual missal.⁴ The direction to rinse the fingers at the second ablution is thought to have originated with the Dominicans.⁵ An alternative method

¹ O.R. XIV, 53; *Pat. Lat.*, t. LXXVIII, col. 1168.

² *Mercure de France* (Oct. 1740), pp. 2154 *seq.*; Pompeo Sarnelli, *Lettere Ecclesiastiche*, vol. IX (Venice, 1740), lettera XV, 31 *seq.*

³ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV, 3, p. 187.

⁴ Bonniwell, *op. cit.*, *append.*, p. 389.

⁵ *L'Ordinaire des Jacobins de 1254 paroist avoir le premier marqué cette précaution*. De Vert, *op. cit.*, t. IV, rem. XXXVII, p. 307.

of taking this ablution is suggested by Humbert, at the discretion of the priest: the celebrant covers the chalice with the paten, and then, holding his wet fingers above his joined hands in such a way that no drops fall on the ground, he washes his fingers with water in a basin presented by the subdeacon.¹ The water was poured down the piscina. The cloth, which was placed within the chalice for the drying of the fingers, was the ancestor of our modern purificator.

At the conclusion of the ablutions, the vessels were put on the gospel side of the altar outside the corporal, but the actual ceremonial (1869) prescribes *in medio altaris*.²

We have already had occasion to mention the custom in some houses of reciting, immediately after Communion, prayers of private devotion such as the *Nunc dimittis*³ or *Sacrum convivium*, and we have seen that it was condemned by the general chapter in 1551 (Salamanca). In the later Middle Ages the singing of some such canticle or hymn was well-nigh universal in Scandinavian churches, and it is possible that the Black friars had been influenced by them.

CONCLUSION OF MASS

Humbert de Romans says that during the postcommunion prayers the subdeacon may, if necessary, cleanse the chalice with water, drying it lightly with a cloth appointed for the purpose. The removal of the sacred vessels to the sacristy is not mentioned, although it was probably the custom.

The salutation before the postcommunion is said at the epistle side of the altar. The candles of the acolytes are relit in preparation for the return to the sacristy.

The *Placeat*, after *Ite missa est*, concluded the Mass of Humbert de Romans. Its formula was the same as that in actual use:

¹ Humbert considered the taking of the ablution in the chalice to be the most satisfactory method, especially in private Masses. Bonniwell, *ibid.* At Paris, the priest cleansed his fingers at the piscina.

² *Caeremon.*, pars III, cap. II, art. IV, 1295, p. 376.

³ A Meaux missal prescribed its recitation while the priest cleansed his fingers at the piscina. Cf. Missal of St. Ouen, Rouen (Martène, *De Antiq. eccles. rit.*, t. I, p. 637, Rouen, 1700).

Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas obsequium servitutis meae, et praesta, ut sacrificium, quod oculis tuae majestatis indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihique, et omnibus, pro quibus illud obtuli, sit te miserante propitiabile. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Then the celebrant kissed the altar, and returned to the sacristy.

A blessing at the end of Mass had, however, become very general in churches by the 13th century, and Humbert de Romans, in order not to confuse the people, permitted such a blessing to be given in those countries where it was the custom.¹ Here again Dominican practice differs from that of the Church of Paris, and not only is the formula different, but in the Parisian liturgy the priest blesses the people with the chalice or paten, as he gives the existing episcopal formula, and a long prayer follows. The Dominican form differs also from the Roman: *Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris ✠, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen.* The practice in some houses of giving the blessing in Masses for the dead was forbidden by the general chapters of 1608 and 1611.

The last gospel *In principio* was prescribed as an integral part of the Mass at the end of the 16th century, although it had long formed part of the *missa sicca*, which had been said as a thanksgiving while the celebrant took off his vestments. It is mentioned in this connection in the rubric of a Dominican missal printed at Lubeck in 1502.² The gospel seems to have been said at the altar in 1586, as the revision of Paolo Castrucci directed the priest at a private Mass to fold the corporal and cover the sacred vessels during its recitation. Three years later (1589), we find the general chapter, at the request of the master-general Beccaria, ordering all celebrants to say the last gospel at the end of Mass.³ It is possible, however, if one may judge from the rubrics in the missal of 1596, that the injunction had reference only to a private Mass.

¹ *Et si consuetudo patriae fuerit, et extranei affuerint hoc expectantes, det benedictionem secundum modum patriae.* Bonniwell, op. cit., append., p. 390.

² *Bodleian Laud Misc.*, MS. 283; Wickham Legg, *Tracts on the Mass*, V, (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXVII, 1904), append., p. 96. Lebrun (op. cit., t. I, p. 333) cites a 13th-century Missal of the Order in which the gospel is among the devotions after Mass: *ob suam ipsius peculiarem pietatem.*

³ *Acta Cap. Gen.*, V, 281.

Thus the priest, when he has given the blessing, is to go to the gospel corner of the altar, where he is directed to say *Dominus vobiscum* and *Initium*, etc., making the customary signs of the cross. Then he is to return to the middle of the altar, and, while reciting the gospel, to place the corporal in the burse, put the burse on the top of the chalice, and fold back the edge of the veil over the burse. The priest in this way remains in the middle of the altar for the whole of the gospel, genuflecting at the words *Verbum caro factum est*. This compromise between the actual Roman rubric and the ancient Roman practice has been discarded by the Dominicans for three centuries, and the last gospel is said at the gospel corner of the altar.¹ The ceremonial, however, continues to warn the priest not to fold the corporal while he is saying the gospel.² At a private Mass the corporal is placed in the burse at its conclusion.

In the procession to the sacristy, the deacon carries the missal, and the subdeacon the gospel-book or sacred vessels. The priest recites the canticle *Benedicite omnia opera*.

The server, after a private Mass, kneels in the sacristy and asks for a blessing, as he says: *Benedictus Deus*, to which the priest responds: *Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus*, and the server answers *Amen*.

¹ Bonniwell, op. cit., chap XXI, p. 309.

² *Neque tunc temporis complicit corporale*. *Caeremon.*, pars. III, cap. II, art. III, 7, 1271, p. 369.

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APPENDIX

Gilbertine Rite

The many religious houses that took their rise in the 11th and 12th centuries were founded for the most part in France or Italy, but there was one which not only originated in England, but which never in any of its houses reached the Continent. More than this, it remained essentially the Order of a single county, although we find eight or more houses situated elsewhere.¹ The founder, St. Gilbert, who was born in 1083, was the son of a Norman knight of Sempringham in Lincolnshire. He served for nine years as a clerk to two bishops of Lincoln, returning to his native village as parish priest, where he erected a dwelling for seven young women against the north wall of the church (St. Andrew). It was this little community that formed the beginnings of the Gilbertine Order. Later, St. Gilbert established also a community for men, of which he became the master or prior-general ('prior of all'). In 1139 a double priory church, together with a double cloister and other buildings were erected in a pasture to the west of the parish church. The rule for the women was based upon the rule of St. Benedict, while that for the men was modelled on the constitutions of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine.² Neither of these rules, however, were observed in their original form, and where the Saint thought that he could improve on them from other sources, he did not hesitate to do so: *a multarum ecclesiarum et monasteriorum statutis et consuetudinibus, quasi flores quosdam pulcherrimos excerpisit, collegit et praelegit.*³

This eclecticism, as we shall see, was extended also to liturgical matters. A second foundation for nuns was made about 1139 in the island of Haverholme near Sleaford, which had been previously rejected by Cistercians from Fountains on account of its swampy site. Sempringham had become overcrowded, and Haverholme served for nuns, lay brothers and lay sisters till 1148 when canons were added. St. Gilbert, throughout his long life, rarely left his native Lincolnshire,⁴

¹ Dugdale (*Monast. Anglic.*, vol. IV (London, 1655), t. II, part II, pp. 791-828) gives a total of twenty-two houses, fourteen of which are in Lincolnshire and four in Yorkshire. Two houses, also, were in West Meath (Ireland).

² *Monialibus regulam beati Benedicti, clericis vero regulam Sancti Augustini tenendam proponens. Vita S. Gilb.* XII; cf. *ibid.*, XII; *Instit.* XXX.

³ *Vita S. Gil.*: Dugdale, *op. cit.*, p. 678.

⁴ St. Gilbert seems to have finished his education somewhere in France, but there is nothing to indicate the place of his studies.

but in 1147 he attended the Cistercian general chapter at Cîteaux, at which Pope Eugenius III (1145–53) was present. It was the golden era of the Cistercian Order, and St. Gilbert requested that his foundation might be affiliated to that of the White monks. His demand, however, was refused, as the Cistercians had not yet undertaken the direction of women: *Dominus autem Papa et abbates Cisterciae, dixerunt sui ordinis monachos aliorum religioni et praesertim monalium, non licere praeesse.*¹

The dual foundations of St. Gilbert had large communities of nuns and comparatively small groups of canons to act as chaplains, to which were added a considerable staff of lay brothers and lay sisters. These *conversi* followed a slightly modified form of the rule governing the Cistercian *laici barbati*: *Fratres nostri laici in modo victus et vestitutus sequantur formam ordinis Cystercii. qui morantur in grangiis.*²

The Order was approved by the Pope: *ad imperium Apostolici, et consilium Sanctorum jussus est, quod inchoaverat prosequi in gratia Christi.*³ A general chapter was held at Sempringham annually on the Rogation days, at which the nuns, as well as the canons, were represented. St. Gilbert died at the age of 106 in 1189, but failing eyesight had compelled him to resign his office of prior-general some time before. He was canonised in 1202, with a feast on 4 February, to which 13 October was added later as a commemoration of translation.

Twenty-six Gilbertine priories were suppressed at the dissolution of the monasteries. Of the fourteen houses in Lincolnshire next to nothing remains. Sempringham, which in the 13th century could boast of two hundred nuns and lay sisters and forty canons and lay brothers, has not one stone upon another: several mounds, a well and the site of the fish ponds alone survive.⁴ The tower and nave of the parish church of St. Andrew are extant, but it was never the conventual church. Haverholme, the second foundation, has preserved no more than the base of a clustered Early English pier and a few coffin slabs. Yorkshire is slightly more fortunate in its Gilbertine remains: Old Malton has the nave of the priory church, shorn of its two eastern bays, clerestory and aisles; while Watton, which was reputed to have been the largest house of its kind, retains the prior's lodging of the 14th and 15th centuries.

Gilbertine churches were divided into two unequal parts by a wall: the larger part reserved for the nuns, who were the more numerous, and the south side of the building allotted to the canons. A small

¹ *Vita S. Gil.*, XI.

² *Instit.* LIX.

³ *Vita S. Gil.*, XI.

⁴ No trace remains of the 16th-century mansion built out of the materials of the house.

window in the dividing wall served for the reception of Holy Communion and the giving of a pax-brede.

The austerity and simplicity in church plate and vestments enjoined by St. Gilbert seems to have been maintained till the suppression of the Order. The strictest care was taken to avoid unnecessary luxury, and a chapter of the *Instituta*, 'commonly pertaining to nuns and sisters', forbids the making of silk bags (*marsupia*), unless they are for the Blessed Sacrament or ornaments required for the worship of the Church: *Non fiant marsupia a monialibus, vel sororibus nostris, nisi de coreo albo et sine seryco colorato: nec aliqua omnino opera sericata; nisi forte ad corpus domini et ad hostias et calices et corporalia; et alia divini cultus et librorum ornamenta.*¹ One of the *Instituta*, which is found in *De Institutione Canoniorum*, reads like a passage from the *Exordium parvum* of the early Cistercians: *Sculpturae, vel picturae superfluae in Ecclesiis nostris, seu in officinis aliquibus Monasterii ne fiant interdiciamus, quia, dum talibus intenditur, utilitas bonae meditationis, vel disciplina religiosae gravitatis saepe negligitur. Cruces tamen pictas, quae sunt ligneae habemus.*²

The same chapter of the *Instituta* requires the churches of the Order to have St. Mary, with other saints, for their dedication, and prescribes a strict uniformity in the matter of liturgical books: *Dehinc ut idem libri, quantum dumtaxat ad divinum officium pertinet . . . Missale, Epistolare, Textus, Collectarium, Graduale, Antiphonarium, Regula, Ymnarium, Psalterium, Lectionarium, Kalendarium ubique uniformiter habeatur.*³

No more than four Gilbertine books have survived the pillage at the suppression of the Order, and our knowledge of the rite is confined to what can be deduced from them.

In the first place, there is a missal, which in its present state forms more or less a *parvum missale*.⁴ It has three different sections. The first, which was the original book, and now occupies the centre of the volume, is a collectar with the prayers of the *temporale*, *sanctorale* and *commune*, dating from about the end of the 12th century. The second part, which seems to have been compiled gradually, is an appendix, showing, by the inclusion of such names as St. Hugh and St. William, additions up to about the middle of the 13th century.⁵ Lastly, there is a supplement, which has been prefixed to the volume, probably before the middle of the 13th century, so as to reduce the special Gilbertine

¹ *Capit. instit., communiter ad moniales et sorores pertinentium*, no. 8. W. Dugdale, *Monast. Anglic.*, vol. IV (London, 1655), t. II, part II, p. 784.

² No. XV. Dugdale, op. cit., *Coenobia Anglicana Ordinis S. Gilberti de Sempringham*, vol. IV, t. II, part II, p. 725.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Lincoln MS. 115.

⁵ St. Hugh of Lincoln was canonised in 1220; St. William of York in 1227.

Masses to some sort of order. At the end of the supplement we find a Mass for St. Edmund of Canterbury, who was canonised in 1247.

Three additions to the manuscript make it clear that the book was originally written for a house of canons only, and later adapted, in order to render it more serviceable when *sorores* were added to the community. The house for which the manuscript was compiled seems to have been the priory of St. Katherine at Lincoln (founded in 1148), the prior of which was given the care of the Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre, an institution under lay sisters. All the other houses of the Order appear to have been double from the date of their foundation. Additional evidence as to the provenance of the manuscript is afforded by the special Mass of St. Katherine in the prefixed supplement, where it is given with choir parts.¹ A second Gilbertine manuscript is a calendar with Masses peculiar to the use, which is preserved in St. John's College, Cambridge.² It is probably a norm or standard text of the Gilbertine calendar and Mass, and never intended for use at the altar. There seems little doubt that it was written shortly before 1265, as on the end fly-leaf we find some of the prophecies of Joachim, one of which foretells the return of all Greece to communion with Rome in the year 1265. It represents the final form of the missal now in the cathedral library at Lincoln, but in a shorter form, being not so rich in its common, and lacking those Masses in the Lincoln book which are of local interest. All the Masses are in the Lincoln missal, with some difference of title in certain of the votive Masses. The number of Masses, however, peculiar to the Gilbertine use are less here than in the Lincoln book. A 14th-century Office of St. Gilbert, containing also the statutes of the Order, is found in the Bodleian library at Oxford.³ Lastly, there is an *ordinale* of the Order, inscribed: *De ecclesiasticis officiis secundum ritum canonicorum ordinis de semp (ingham)*, and probably dating from the first half of the 15th century, in Pembroke College, Cambridge.⁴ It is written in two hands, and the exemplar from which this copy was made was of an early date, since the feast of Corpus Christi was not part of the original contents, but inserted in a different hand.

The Gilbertine rite seems to have been an eclectic production of the founder, who took prayers from whatever source he fancied. Generally speaking we may say that the use owes most to the Cistercian rite, from which the body of the missal has evidently been copied. The rubrics in the missal and some of the ordinances in the *ordinale*

¹ R. M. Woolley, *The Gilbertine Rite*, vol. I (Henry Bradshaw Society, LIX, London, 1921), introd., pp. XII-XIV.

² St. John's Coll., Cambridge, MS. 239.

³ *Bodl. Lib.*, Oxford, MS. Digby 36, fo. 110b.

⁴ *Pembroke Coll.*, Cambridge, MS. 226.

are taken directly from the *consuetudinarium* of the Cistercians, in some cases word for word the same. We even find the title *abbas* taken over from the Cistercian books, although the Gilbertines had no abbot in any of their houses. In spite of all this, however, it was clearly intended from the first to depart in certain places from the Cistercian exemplar. The breviary, as far as one can judge from the *ordinale*, differed very considerably from that of the Cistercians, especially in the matter of the hymns. The Gilbertine calendar has a marked affinity with York. The majority of the English saints come from the north, and many are connected, in some form or other, with Lincolnshire.

At the same time there is an appreciable amount of matter in the Gilbertine rite which is not derived either from the Cistercians or from the known mediaeval English uses. Whence then came these apparently unique forms, and these combinations of prayers and forms which seem eclectic? They can hardly have been composed by St. Gilbert himself, who, as we are told in his life, was not a man of very much intellectual ability. The editor of the 'Gilbertine Rite' in volumes 59 and 60 of the Henry Bradshaw Society suggests that the answer to the question is to be found in the little known use of Lincoln.¹ It is clear from the admonition in the preface of the Protestant Book of Common Prayer that such a use existed in the Middle Ages: 'And whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within this Realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, *some of Lincoln.*'

Unfortunately no missal of Lincoln has survived, and the conjecture that St. Gilbert adopted rites and ceremonies from his cathedral church must remain unproved, although it may be admitted as a possibility. St. Gilbert, as we have seen, was born and bred in Lincolnshire, and, except for a 'finishing school' somewhere in France and a visit to the Cistercian general chapter at Cîteaux, he seems to have remained there throughout his long life of one hundred and six years. For nine of those years he was in the household of the bishop of Lincoln, serving under Bishops Robert Bloet and Alexander. Naturally and instinctively, says Mr. Woolley, he would follow the service books with which all his life he would be familiar, that is of the great diocese of Lincoln.² On the other hand it is unwise to assume that an Order necessarily adopted the rites and customs of the diocese in which it was founded. The Premonstratensians, for example, derived little or nothing from Laon, despite the efforts of writers to prove the contrary.

The Gilbertine missal seems to have received its final form about

¹ R. M. Woolley, *op. cit.*, introd., p. XXIX.

² *Ibid.*

1250. A part only of the ordinary of the Mass is found in the manuscripts at Lincoln and Cambridge, and the prayers do not follow one another in their correct sequence. It is therefore difficult to give a detailed description of the Mass as it was celebrated in churches of the Order. We know, however, that the acolytes were directed to wear surplices, and the celebrant to cross his stole over the breast.¹

The prayer 'before the altar', which was said before Mass, has no indication as to whether it was a purely private devotion or part of the normal preparatory prayers. It stands alone, without any versicle or confession, and it does not occur in the Cistercian missal: *Oratio sacerdotis coram altari ante missam. Ante conspectum divine majestatis tue Deus reus assisto qui invocare nomen tuum presumo. Miserere mihi homini peccatori; ignosce indigno sacerdoti, per cujus manus hec oblatio videtur offerri; parce polluto labe capitalium criminum pre ceteris. Et non intres in judicium cum servo tuo quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens. Sed licet viciis ac voluptatibus carnis aggravatus sim: recordare Domine quod caro sum: etiam celi in conspectu tuo non sunt mundi, quanto magis ego homo terrenus immundus, sicut pannus menstruate: sed tu Domine qui non vis mortem peccatoris, da mihi veniam in carne constituto, ut per paciencie labores, vita eterna perfrui merear, per te Ihesu Christe salvator mundi. Qui cum. . .*² At the bottom of the page in the St. John's manuscript, a somewhat later hand has written: *Aufer a nobis, Domine, omnes iniquitates nostras ut mereamur puris mentibus introire in sancta sanctorum.*³ The introit bears the title *officium*, but this may refer either to the entrance chant or to the beginning of the Mass as a whole. The number of the collects was limited to seven. A prophetic lesson was prescribed in the *ordinale* to be recited by one of the senior canons at each of the three Christmas Masses.⁴ Contrary to Cistercian usage, a number of sequences or proses are found in the missal, but it was stipulated that they were not to be sung on days when there was no alleluia.⁵ Two sequences were sung alternately on the Sundays in Advent—*Salus eterna* and *Potestate non natura*; while for the Sundays between the Octave of the Holy Trinity and Advent there was a rotation of three—*Benedicta sit beata Trinitas*, *Sancta Spiritus*, and *Jubilantes*. Each of the three Masses of Christmas was provided with a proper sequence: *Nato canunt omnia* at midnight; *Laetabundus*⁶ for the aurora (and daily throughout the octave); and *Christi hodierna* at mid-day. Easter and its octave had four sequences.

¹ *Sacerdotes vero in Missis stolam habeant, in modum crucis in pectore.* Dugdale, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 725.

² R. M. Woolley, *The Gilbertine Rite*, vol. II (Henry Bradshaw Society, LX, London, 1922), pp. 85–6.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84, n. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 11–12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶ *Laetabundus* is sung at the third Mass of Christmas in the Dominican rite.

The 14th-century office of St. Gilbert (*Servicium S. Gilberti*) contains an exceptionally long sequence for the feast of the founder, occupying two folios of manuscript.¹

The final article of the creed, as in the actual Carthusian rite, terminates with *vitam futuri saeculi*. The prayer, recited by the Cistercians after the *lavabo*, and by the Carthusians at the offering of the bread and wine, is found also in the Gilbertine missal: *In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito suscipiamur Domine a te et sic fiat sacrificium nostrum ut a te suscipiatur hodie et tibi placeat Domine Deus.*²

The Cistercian offertory prayer, in a somewhat different form, follows: *Suscipe sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem quam tibi offero in memoria incarnationis, nativitatis, passionis, resurrectionis, ascensionisque in celum Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, et in veneratione beatissime Virginis Marie, et omnium sanctorum qui tibi placuerunt ab initio mundi, ut illis proficiat ad honorem nobis autem ad salutem, ut illi omnes pro nobis intercedere dignentur in celis quorum memoriam faciam in terris. Qui vivis.*³

In the Cistercian variant: the words *unus Deus* follow *sancta Trinitas*; the commemoration of the incarnation and nativity are omitted; the plural *offerimus* is used; the title of the Blessed Virgin is enlarged; and a petition of the faithful departed is inserted.

On Easter Day, if there was to be a general Communion of seculars, the Gilbertine *ordinale* prescribed a sermon after the offertory, by way of a *fervorino*: *cantata itaque offerenda sacerdos ipse vel aliquis alius sermonem faciens populo, mentes audiencium de tanto solemnitate instruat.*⁴

Two forms of the *Orate fratres* seem to have been in use, neither of which agree exactly with the Cistercian formula: *Orate pro me fratres ut meum vestrumque pariter sit acceptum Domino Deo sacrificium istud.*⁵ At the bottom of the page in the manuscript of St. John's Cambridge, a later hand has written: *Orate fratres ut meum vestrumque sacrificium acceptabile sit apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem.*⁶ The prefaces agree with those in the Cistercian missal, except for the absence of the common preface. The chant is almost identical with the one in the Cistercian missal of 1584.⁷ The canon has a prayer for the king: *et rege nostro, N.*⁸ Three signs of the cross only were made at *Per ipsum*, etc.⁹ The following prayer was said at the commixture: *Haec sacrosancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi: sit nobis Domine et omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam*

¹ Fo. 115, 115v, 116, *Bodl., Oxford*, MS. Digby 36; Woolley, *ibid.*, pp. 124-6.

² Woolley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 84.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84, n. 3.

⁷ *Missale ad usum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis . . . Paris*, 1584.

⁸ Woolley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 87.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

*eternam promerendam et capessendam preparatio salutaris. Amen.*¹ 'Perhaps the most interesting feature of the book are the prayers at Communion.'² Here originally the Cistercian rite was followed, with one single prayer (*Domine Jhesu Christe fili Dei vivi*) before the formula for Holy Communion (*Corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi*). Then, by a very early hand, probably contemporary, the Gilbertine manuscript had the rare prayer, *Agimus tibi Deo Patri*, inserted at the bottom of the page in small writing. This was erased, and rewritten in the right-hand margin rather later and in a larger hand. Finally, since this proved unsatisfactory, two leaves were inserted, and the whole series of prayers rewritten: *Domine Jhesu Christi; Agimus tibi Deo Patri; Corpus Domini nostri; Sanguis Domini nostri; and Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas.*³

*Domine Jhesu Christe Fili Dei vivi qui ex voluntate Patris cooperante Spiritu sancto per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti libera nos obsecro per hoc sacrum corpus et sanguinem tuum ab omnibus malis et universis iniquitatibus nostris, et fac nobis tuis semper obedire mandatis: et a te imperpetuum numquam nos permittas separari. Qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*⁴ In the margin of the St. John's College manuscript, the ending of the prayer has been corrected by a contemporary hand: *Qui cum Deo Patre in unitate ejusdem Spiritus sancti vivis et regnas Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*⁵

*Agimus tibi Deo Patri gratias pro jam beatificatis postulantes eorum interventu nos apud te adjuvari, pro hiis autem qui adhuc in locis purgatoriis sunt immolamus tibi Patri Filium supplicantes, ut per hanc sacrosanctam hostiam eorum pena et levior sit et brevior. Pro nobis autem miseris quos adhuc gravant peccata carnis et sanguinis immolamus tibi Patri Filium obsecrantes ut peccata que ex carne et sanguine contraximus, caro mundet et sanguis lavet Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Qui tecum. . .*⁶ The prayer is found in the Hereford missal,⁷ and also in a manuscript which probably belonged to the church of St. Paul in London.⁸ The manuscript is later than 1414, when St. Paul's adopted the Sarum rite, and, with the exception of this prayer and certain of the old ceremonies, it follows the church of Salisbury.

The formulas at the reception of Holy Communion are peculiar in their use of the word *maneant*: *Corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi mihi maneant ad salutem et conservet animam meam in vitam eternam. Amen. Sanguis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi mihi maneant ad salutem et conservet*

¹ Ibid.² Ibid., vol. I, *introduc.*, p. XXVII.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid., vol. II, p. 90. In the Gilbertine MS. the singulars in the prayer are changed to plurals.⁵ Ibid., p. 90, n. 2.⁶ Ibid., p. 90.⁷ Maskell, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 123.⁸ Ibid., p. 122, n. 67; Woolley, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 90. Brit. Mus., Harl. MS.

*corpus meum et animam meam in vitam eternam. Amen.*¹ Very similar forms occur in the 15th century missal of the Augustinian priory outside Bristol, which is now in the public library of that city: *Corpus Domini nostri Jhesu Christi michi indigno maneat et proficiat ad remedium in vitam eternam. Amen. Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi. . .*² The Gilbertine canons, as we have seen, followed the rule of St. Augustine.

The reception of Holy Communion by the lay brothers and novices was regulated: *De Institutione et ordinatione fratrum: Octies tantum in anno communicabant fratres laici nisi magistro crebrius vel rarius de certa causa accedere judicaverit.* The eight occasions on which the brothers and sisters received Holy Communion were the feasts of Christmas, Purification, Assumption, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Holy Thursday, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints. Those who were novices communicated but three times in the year: *Novicii vero fratrum et sororum ter in anno; scilicet Die Natalis Domini, die Absolutionis, et die Paschae; et quociens pro infirmitate opus habuerint.*³ The *ordinale* directed choir novices and those of the community who were not priests to receive Holy Communion after the sacred ministers at the Mass of the aurora on Christmas Day: lay brothers, nuns and sick-folk received after the Mass; while in the houses of the canons, the lay brothers had Communion during prime, which followed the Mass.⁴ In the general Communion for seculars on Easter Sunday, two assistants held a cloth (*manutergium*), while a third offered wine mixed with water, as an 'ablution of the mouth'.⁵

Mass, as was customary in the 12th century, concluded with the *Placeat: Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas obsequium mee et presta ut hoc sacrificium quod oculis tue majestatis indignus optuli tibi sit acceptabile mihi que et omnibus pro quibus illud optuli sit te miserante propiciabile in vitam eternam. Qui vivis et regnas.*⁶ The Cistercian missal of 1584 added the word *unus* after *Trinitas*, and omitted *vitam eternam* at the end. This omission is found also in the missals of Sarum, York and Hereford, but the words occur in the missal of the Augustinian house near Bristol.

The Gilbertines adopted the custom, common to Cistercian and

¹ Woolley, op. cit., vol. II, p. 90. The MS. in St. John's College, Cambridge, has: *corpus meum et animam meam.* Ibid., p. 90, n. 3.

² Cf. MS. Pontifical of St. Prudentius of Troyes (845-61); ap. Martène, *De Ant. Eccles. Rit.*, t. I, cap. IV, art. XII, p. 532 (1700).

³ Dugdale, op. cit., p. 742.

⁴ Woolley, op. cit., vol. I, p. 12.

⁵ *Deinde cum magna cautella communicet venientes, duo teneant manutergium inter ipsum et illos, et unus offerat illi singulos, et alter teneat vasculum cum vino aqua mixto ut inde bibant.* *Ordin.* Woolley, op. cit., vol. I, p. 45.

⁶ *Missale Gilb.*; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 90.

Augustinian houses alike, of blessing the reader in the refectory for the forthcoming week after the conventual Mass on Sunday: *Dominus custodiat introitum tuum et exitum tuum, et aufer a te spiritum elationis. Amen.*¹

The psalm *Deus venerunt gentes* was sung at the conventual Mass for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels, except on principal feasts, doubles, and certain other days.² In the houses of the nuns a procession before Mass took place on fourteen days in the year: *In domibus monialium XIV processiones sollempnes fiant per annum.*³

The body of the Gilbertine missal, as we have seen, was copied from that of the Cistercians, but from the first it was clearly intended to deviate from it. Two references will make this clear: (1) The original copyist left blank the space for the collect, secret and postcommunion for *Feria quinta* after the third Sunday in Lent, and these prayers have been filled in by a different hand, and are not taken from the Cistercian missal.⁴ (2) The same thing has been done for the collect and postcommunion for the Vigil of the Ascension.⁵

A departure from the Cistercian norm is shown also by the generous *commune sanctorum* in the Gilbertine missal. The *ordinale* shows a marked eclecticism, sometimes approximating to the use of York, sometimes to that of Hereford, but all through manifesting a very decided spirit of independence. In the matter of ceremonies, there is not always uniformity even within the Order itself, and local usages influenced different houses. This is expressly stated in respect to the procession on Palm Sunday: houses of canons followed a different order from houses of nuns.⁶ There was similar diversity for the Rogationtide processions.⁷ The ceremonies on Holy Saturday, also, were not identical in the two types of houses: *Officium autem hujus diei a benedictione ignis usque ad introitum misse aliter fit in quibusdam domibus canonicorum ordinis nostri, et aliter in domibus monialium.*⁸

On the feast of the Purification, the *ordinale* directed that the candles on the altar were not to be lit until after the introit (*officium*), while

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 84.

² *Ordin. Gilbert.*, ff. 58v, 59.

³ *Institutiones ad Moniales Ordinis pertinentes*, n. 24; Dugdale, op. cit., vol. IV, t. II, part II, p. 765.

⁴ Collect: *Concede quesumus omnipotens Deus: ut jejuniorum nostrorum sancta devotio . . .*; Secret: *Fac nos, Domine, quesumus ad sancta misteria purificationis mentibus accedere . . .*; Postcommunion: *Sacramenti tui, Domine, veneranda perceptio. . .*

⁵ Collect: *Presta quesumus omnipotens Deus: ut nostre mentis intentio . . .*; Postcommunion: *Tribue quesumus omnipotens Deus: ut per hec sacramenta. . .*

⁶ *Hec processio a diversis: diverse autem in ordine nostro agitur. Ordin. Gilbert.*; Woolley, op. cit., vol. I, p. 27.

⁷ *Processiones rogacionum varie fiunt in domibus canonicorum secundum consuetudines et situs locorum. Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

the sacristan and two brothers collected the blessed candles which had been distributed. The candle of the celebrant was held, as far as possible, throughout the canon, and remained alight on the altar until the conclusion of Mass, when it was divided, and distributed in the workshops and granges to serve as a talisman against storms, etc.¹

At the blessing of the ashes on Ash Wednesday, the priest had alb, stole and maniple; deacon, alb and maniple; subdeacon, alb only.² Statues and pictures were covered after compline on the first Sunday in Lent, and a curtain (*cortina*) was extended across the sanctuary.³ This curtain was taken down on the Wednesday in Holy Week at the words *Et velum templi scissum est* in the Passion.⁴

On Palm Sunday in the churches of the nuns the covering of the processional cross was removed at the singing of *Ave Rex noster* after the gospel, which was recited at a station during the procession. The ceremony was certainly taken from the Cistercians, who venerate the cross at these words, which precede the gospel at the third station in the cloister.⁵ The Premonstratensians have a somewhat similar ceremony after the singing of *Gloria laus et honor* at the entrance to the church.⁶ When the procession was finished the Gilbertines unveiled all the crosses and images (*yconie*) in the church until after compline.⁷ A slightly different procedure obtained in the houses of the canons.⁸ The deacon and subdeacon took off the dalmatic and tunicle (respectively) after the procession, and assisted at Mass in albs.⁹

The *pax* is given on Holy Thursday 'according to our use' (*secundum usum nostrum*).¹⁰ 'Our most Christian king' was substituted in the solemn collect on Good Friday for 'our most Christian emperor'.¹¹ On the same day also, the priest and deacon said the customary prayer (*orationem solitam*) and the confession before bringing the Blessed Sacrament for the rite of the Presanctified,¹² at which the sacred ministers received Holy Communion with the celebrant.¹³ The rubric in the missal, which has been copied verbatim from a Cistercian book, styles the celebrant '*abbas*',¹⁴ but the ordinal gives the correct title of 'prior'.¹⁵

The paschal candle remained alight from the liturgy of Holy Saturday

¹ *Cereus vero sacerdotis quem infra totum canonem manu tenebit, exceptis locis inconvenientibus, ut qui pridie etc, remanet accensus in altari usque post missam, et dividitur post ea per officinas, et per grangias ut accendatur cum opus fuerit contra aereas potestates.* Ibid., p. 69.

³ Ibid., pp. 24-5. Cf. Cistercian rite.

⁵ The cross in the Cistercian rite is uncovered for the procession.

⁶ *Processionale . . . Ord. Praemonstr.* (1932), pp. 60-1.

⁷ Woolley, op. cit., vol. I, p. 28.

⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

⁹ Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 34.

¹¹ Ibid., vol. II, p. 125.

¹² Ibid., p. 126.

¹³ Ibid., p. 127.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Deinde prior et ministri communicent.* *Ordin. Gilbert.* Ibid., vol. I, p. 38.

until after compline on Easter Day. It was lit also for the conventual Mass on feasts, and at vespers on the Vigil of the Ascension.¹

Corpus Christi was known as the 'Feast of Transubstantiation' (*festum transubstanciacionis*). The ordinal directed the celebrant to carry the Blessed Sacrament in 'some vessel' (*in aliquo vasculo*) in the procession.² The proper of the Mass agrees in substance with the uses of York and Hereford, but it was added to the Gilbertine manuscript, which was probably copied from an early Cistercian book, in an untidy hand of the 14th or 15th century.³

The feast of the Dedication was observed with an octave on the Sunday after the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (6 July).

A Mass of St. Gilbert does not seem to figure in any mediaeval missal, except those of York and the Gilbertines. There was apparently no feast of St. Gilbert in the Lincoln calendar, in spite of the fact that he was a Lincolnshire man born and bred. As if out of 'revenge', the Gilbertine ordinal makes no mention of St. Hugh of Lincoln, and but little was made of him at Sempringham. The Mass of St. Gilbert was very similar to, but not identical with, the Mass in the York use for a confessor not a bishop. The introit (*officium*) for the feast was *Gaudeamus*, and for the days within the octave, *Os justi*. The collect, secret and postcommunion, according to the 'Life of St. Gilbert', were composed by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216), in consequence of a vision which he had while the process of canonisation was impending: *Statimque, specialem orationem de eo composuit, quam et secretam et postcommunionem quas postea edidit, decrevit in commemorationem ipsius esse dicendas. Oratio autem haec est, Plenam in nobis, etc.; Secreta, Accepta sit tibi, etc.; Postcommunio, Quod ad te Domine, etc.*⁴ In the use of York, the collect for the Mass is *Adesto*, which is the collect for a confessor not a bishop. The secret and postcommunion are not given, but they were probably taken from the same Mass. The collect *Plenam in nobis*, although ascribed to Innocent III, is not found in any other missal.⁵

The Gilbertine collectar, written at the end of the 12th century, seems to have been copied from a Cistercian exemplar anterior to the canonisation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (1172), and the collect for the feast has been inserted by another, although nearly contemporary, hand. The collect, however, is not the usual one, as we find in the

¹ *Magnus autem cereus ardeat usque post Completorium in crastinum in loco ubi benedictus fuit permansurus usque ad diem ascencionis, et diebus celebribus ad altam missam illuminandus et ad vespervas in vigilia Ascencionis.* Ibid., p. 40.

² Ibid. p. 56.

³ Ibid., vol. II, p. 90.

⁴ Dugdale, op. cit., p. 695.

⁵ *Plenam in nobis eterne, salvator tue virtutis operare medelam: ut qui preclara Gileberti confessoris tui merita veneremur ipsius adjuti suffragiis, a cunctis animarum nostrarum languoribus liberemur.* Per. *Missale Gilbert.*, Woolley, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 26–7.

later supplement, but taken from the common of a martyr bishop. Spaces, also, have been left blank deliberately, where a prayer not found in the Cistercian book has been inserted. The collectar gives the collect for the Assumption as it is in the Cistercian and Roman missals (*Famulorum*), whereas the later supplement and the ordinal provide a collect which agrees with Sarum, York, Hereford, Westminster, Durham, Braga, the Carmelites and the Dominicans (*Veneranda*). A change was effected also in the collect for the Nativity and Visitation of the Blessed Virgin: *Famulis tuis* was exchanged for the one more usually found in the English missals, *Supplicationem*.

Even during the time covered by the writing of the supplement, we may note the substitution of prayers, and a general process of development.¹ The body of Masses with characteristics peculiar to the Gilbertines is found chiefly in the prefixed supplement. There is, however, even here much that is common with the Cistercian use, although there is also a considerable amount of variation, showing great eclecticism as regards the sources from which the various forms were derived. The Masses of St. Gilbert and *De Perseverantia*, as well as some of the prayers, are not known elsewhere, while the sequences for the feasts of St. Catherine (*Inclita*) and St. Jerome (*Interni festi*) are not found in any extant English use. Perhaps the most perfect example of Gilbertine eclecticism is seen in the Mass of St. Catherine: *Introit*, Hereford; *collect*, Hereford and York; *lessons*, Hereford; *gradual*, York; *offertory*, Sarum, York and Hereford; *postcommunion*, Sarum and York; *sequence*, unknown in any other English use. The later development of the rite shows, in spite of the continuance of Cistercian usages, a certain preference for English missals, although it is difficult to see any one marked influence, unless it be that of the use of York.

A certain number of saints in the calendar have Lincolnshire connections—St. Cedde (sometime bishop of regions of Lindsey), St. Guthlac, St. Erkenwald (born in Lindsey), St. Eadburga or Ethelburga (sister of St. Erkenwald), St. Botolph, and St. Hibald (abbot in Lincolnshire). The feast of relics was observed some time between 19 October and 28 October.² The Translation of St. Andrew was kept on 9 May, the same day as in the Augustinian Order, in which the feast was combined with St. Nicholas.

The inclusion by the Gilbertines of a common of saints was a definite departure from Cistercian usages. The rich choice of prayers seems to have been the work of the compiler of the collectar, who appears to have used the proper as his source.

¹ E.g. the Mass of St. Mary Magdalene is taken from the common in the collectar, while in the supplement it has a proper.

² The feast of relics was observed at York on 19 October, and at Lincoln on 10 July.

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