

RAISING ARMS

**CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS
IN LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES**

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VOLUME 2

RAISING ARMS

Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem
in the Late Middle Ages

by

Amnon Linder



BREPOLS

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To my children Immanuel, Ilan, and Irit

‘Adversus hostes visibiles invisibilibus armis, id est,
orationibus, dimicare veteribus exemplis instruimur’

(Honorius III, Adversus hostes visibiles)

Contents

List of Illustrations	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Preface	xv
Chapter 1. The Holy Land Clamor	1
Chapter 2. The Holy Land Mass	97
Chapter 3. The Dedicated War Mass	175
Chapter 4. The Gregorian Trental	275
Chapter 5. The Holy Land Bidding Prayers	353
Postface	363
Select Bibliography	367
Indices	379
1. Index of Manuscripts	379
2. Index of Incipits	399
3. Index of Names and Subjects	413

List of Illustrations

Front Cover

Moses raising his arms while the Israelites fight against the Amalekites.
Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525. fol. 34.

Colour Plates

Colour Plate 1: Joshua and the Israelites go round the city of Jericho with the Ark of Covenant. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525, fol. 41^v. 13

Colour Plate 2: The encompassing Israelites blow their trumpets and the walls of Jericho come tumbling down. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525, fol. 42. 14

Colour Plate 3: Prayers for those who enter war against the heathen. Psalter of Alfons V, king of Aragon and Naples, 1442. Source: London, BL, Add. 28,962, fol. 78. 15

Colour Plate 4: Why do the heathen rage? I am ordained king upon my holy hill of Zion. Psalm 2. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 6^v. 16

Colour Plate 5: Who shall ascend into the Mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? Psalm 23. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 40^v. 17

Colour Plate 6: Save me, o God, by thy name; I shall freely sacrifice unto thee. Psalm 53. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 93. 18

Colour Plate 7: When David set Syria on fire. Psalm 59. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 103^v. 19

- Colour Plate 8: On the former captives: deliver me in thy justice. Psalm 70. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 121^v. 20
- Colour Plate 9: O God, remember thy congregation, Mount Zion in which thou hast dwelt. Psalm 73. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 128^v. 21
- Colour Plate 10: O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled. Psalm 78. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 8846, fol. 141. 22
- Colour Plate 11: O God, thine enemies have taken crafty counsel against thy people: Edom, the Ismaelites, Moab, the Hagarenes, Gebal, Ammon, Amalec, the Philistines, Tyre and Assur. Psalm 82. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 147. 23
- Colour Plate 12: Come, let us sing unto the Lord. Psalm 94. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 169. 24

Figures in Text

- Figure 1: When the house was built after the captivity: sing ye to the Lord a new canticle. Psalm 95. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 170^v. 25
- Figure 2: The evolution of the Holy Land Clamor. Source: Pamplona, Archivo general de Navarra, Ms. 3, fol. 63. 109
- Figure 3: The traditional *Contra Paganos* Prayer. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 10, fol. 100^v. 110
- Figure 4: An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 56, fol. 126. 111
- Figure 5: An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 140, fol. 143. 112
- Figure 6: A new Holy Land Prayer has come into being. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 132. 113
- Figure 7: The new Holy Land Prayer has been received. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 8. 114

Map

- Geographic distribution of the Trental of St Gregory among the parishes of the Sudbury Archdeaconry. 296–97

Detailed comments on the cover photo appear below on p. 80.

Detailed comments on colour plates appear below on pp. 81–94.

Detailed comments on the black-and-white figures appear below on pp. 94–95 (Figure 1) and 172–73 (Figures 2–7).

Abbreviations

<i>BECh</i>	Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes
BL	The British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Canivez	<i>Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis</i> , 8 vols (Louvain, 1933–41), particularly vols I (1933), II (1934), and III (1935).
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio medievalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series latina
<i>COr</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, vols. CLX–CLXI, <i>Corpus Orationum</i> , ed. by E. Moeller (et alii) (1992–99).
EETS	Early English Texts Society
<i>EL</i>	<i>Ephemerides liturgicae</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Hefele-Leclercq	C. J. von Hefele, <i>Histoire des conciles</i> , trans. Dom H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907–21).
HMML	Hill Monastic Manuscript Library
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
Mansi, <i>Concilia</i>	<i>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , ed. by G. D. Mansi (Florence and Venice, 1759–98).
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Scriptores
MGH Epp	Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Epistolae

MGH SS rer. Germ.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica; Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
ÖNB	Österreichische National-Bibliothek
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
Potthast, <i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum 1198 ad annum 1304</i> , ed. by A. Potthast (Berlin, 1874-75).
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844-64).
Raynaldus, <i>Annales</i>	<i>Caesaris . . . Baronii Odorici Raynaldi . . . Annales ecclesiastici</i> (Bar-le-Duc, 1780).
RHGF	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. by M. Bouquet et al. (Paris, 1737-1904).
RS	<i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores</i>

Preface

Liturgy was one of the main forms of action that Europe embraced in its endeavour to liberate the Holy Land. Rites articulated the collective undertaking of thinking about the idea of Jerusalem and experiencing it emotionally. Liturgy inspired Christianity to raise armies and to furnish them with the sinews of war; it exhorted crusaders to enter battle, sang their victories, and lamented their defeats. Rites were also effective channels of information and propaganda, for the knowledge they imparted was perceived by the faithful as authoritative, as sharing in the authority of the divinely ordained rite in which it was comprised. Rites, furthermore, addressed the entire community as well as each individual, their appeal simultaneously collective and personal. Liturgy is interwoven, therefore, into the very fabric of the crusade. It can be observed in two complementary circles: an outer circle—of a predominantly collective character—generating commitment and support among the non-combatants, and an inner circle—focused mainly on the individual crusader and the actual crusade i.e., the crusading action on the field.

Liturgy was practiced, consequently, from the very start of the crusading act. The crusade led by the French king Philip August, for example, was practically launched with the obligatory ceremony at St Denis: like any French monarch going to war, the king was entrusted there with two standards and two ‘vexilla desuper corpora sanctorum’. But the particular crusading character of this campaign was further proclaimed through a supplementary rite: the relics of saints Denis, Rusticus, and Eleutherius were exhibited before the faithful:

ut ibi omnes fideles [. . .] cum gemitu et suspiriis pro sancta terra liberanda, et pro rege Francorum et universo comitatu suo, puras manus cum Moyse levantes ad dominum preces funderent; quia non in armorum potentia, sed in Christi virtute et miseratione Christiani confidunt, nec in se, sed in Deo virtutem faciunt.¹

¹ Rigordus, *De gestis Philippi Augusti*, RHGF, t. 17 (1878), p. 35.

This explication, so eloquently proffered by Rigordus, is echoed in other sources as well. The crusade was perceived, indeed, as joining together the sword with the Rod of God, the *orator* entering battle together with the *bellator*: Moses raising his arms in prayer while Joshua fights the Amalekites arms in hand, and victory is achieved by both, though clear precedence is recognised to the rite performed on high.

Preaching campaigns to take the cross depended, similarly, on clerics bringing the word to the laity in the framework of liturgy. They preached either in the course of Mass, usually a Votive Mass, or—when churches proved too small to accommodate the crowds—the sermon was deferred to the end of the Mass. This mode of action was applied during the 1188 preaching campaign in Wales—led by Archbishop Baldwin²—and in the similar circuit undertaken in 1214 throughout northern Germany by Oliverus Scholasticus.³ Even secular crusading initiatives bore an unmistakable liturgical imprint. The 1188 Imperial Diet—the official launching pad of the German crusade (Frederic Barbarossa and the German high nobility took the Cross on that occasion)—was convened for Sunday, 27 March, the *Laetare Jerusalem* Sunday of that year,⁴ and was widely designated as *Curia Dei* or *Curia Christi*. The departure date was fixed, in the same spirit, for 23 April (1189), the day of St George, patron saint of knights as well as crusaders.

The rites that the crusaders practised on the battlefield are fairly well documented. This is due mainly to the fact that most of the relevant narrative sources were written by clerics, either actual eyewitnesses to the events or chroniclers relying on others for their information, and they tended to transmute their knowledge through ecclesiastical filters and in a mode highly coloured by liturgy. Living, for the most part, in an enclosed world that was ordered through and for ritual, they usually perceived the outer world through liturgical lenses. A war diary written by a military chaplain is bound to read differently from that of the sapper in the trenches. One can expect, therefore, a certain measure of ecclesiastical/liturgical bias in the original crusade historiography. Indeed, some descriptions of the First Crusade read like an unbroken procession of liturgical and semi-liturgical acts—with some fighting thrown in between—performed all the way to Jerusalem and culminating in the first Mass that the crusaders celebrated in the liberated Holy Sepulchre. And in chronicling the fighting for Damietta, the *Gesta obsidionis*

² According to the detailed account given in Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Cambriae*, RS 21,6 (London, 1868). See, for example, pp. 73, 125–26.

³ Oliverus describes this general liturgical context in his accounts of the miraculous manifestation of the Cross that occurred during one of his sermons: ‘. . . sexta feria ante Pentecostem feci solemniter decantari missam de sancta cruce. Ecclesia erat repleta populi, multi vero conseruerunt extra illam in prato ad audiendum verbum dei. Finita missa . . . incohavi sermonem ‘Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Jesu Christi’. Et cum aer satis erat serenus (etc)’. See his *Historia regum Terre Sancte*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 202 (Tübingen, 1894), p. 287, also p. 285.

⁴ Fourth Sunday in Lent.

*Damiete*⁵ does not omit a single rite in an interminable sequence of Masses, prayers, fasts, and processions that were performed by the clerics among the crusaders. Yet records left by lay crusaders are not substantially different in this respect. In a letter sent from the 1249 Damietta campaign, Jean Sarrasin described how, on the eve of the landing, King Louis directed his commanders to have all the crusaders confess and make preparations as before death. Just before going down to the assault boats:

li roys oy le service Nostre Seigneur et telle messe que on fait en mer, et s'arma [. . .] Li rois entra en une coche de Normendie [. . .] et li legas ausi, si que il tenoit la vraie crois et seignoit les gens armees qui estoient entré les menuz vaissaus por aler prendre terre.⁶

Even with ecclesiastical bias recognised and compensated for, it is obvious that rites of war have been an important component of all wars. Close proximity to horror and death and the impending danger of violent annihilation have always drove people to seek solace from on high. St Louis could not act otherwise, of course, but even a priest-hater like William the Marshal—on his death-bed he would not listen to good spiritual advice concerning the spoils accumulated during a lifetime of soldiering—needed succour. He asked to die in the Templar's white robe, for he had taken a vow to this effect during his crusade to the Holy Land, and to be buried alongside his fellow Templars: 'Qant je fui outre mer, dès lors/ Donai je al Temple mon cors/ A[i] jesir, quant je morreie,/ Issi le vuil et g'i gerrai'.⁷ William died in his bed, but death on a battlefield was far more terrifying and those about to die in battle in greater need, as Williams—that contentious soldier—knew only too well on the eve of the battle of Agincourt: 'I am afeared there are few die well that die in battle; for how can they charitably dispose of anything when blood is their argument?'⁸

Nonetheless, the modern historiography of the crusades completely ignores liturgy; ritual is absent from both the detailed studies of particular crusades and the general accounts of the crusading phenomenon. This situation has been slightly changed in recent years, due to the pioneering work done by two experts on the preaching of the crusade—P. J. Cole⁹ and C. T. Maier,¹⁰ and to the cognate studies carried out by M.

⁵ Ed. by R. Röhricht, in *Quinti Belli Sacri scriptores minores* (Geneva, 1879).

⁶ Text edited by J. M. A. Beer, in *Journeys toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, ed. by B. N. Sargent-Baur (Kalamazoo, 1992), pp. 135–55.

⁷ *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. by P. Meyer, t. II (Paris, 1894), verses 18,233–18,236.

⁸ *King Henry V*, Act IV, Scene I.

⁹ P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991); 'Purgatory and Crusade in St. Gregory's Trental', *The International History Review*, 17 (1995), 713–25; 'Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 51, Pope Sixtus IV and the Fall of Otranto (August 1480)', in *A Distinct Voice, Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle*, ed. by J. Brown, J. Stoneman, and P. William (Notre-Dame, 1997), pp. 103–20.

McCormick and A. K. McHardy.¹¹ Nevertheless, the subject is still largely *terra incognita*. Almost two centuries of modern research on the crusades have yielded a rich harvest of primary sources of all types, but the liturgical sources are not among them. They have not yet been adequately surveyed, let alone made accessible in critical editions.

Survey of the sources and publication of the texts are the two main aims of the present study. I have planned it in two stages. The first comprises the five types of Holy Land liturgy that were evolved in Europe under the impact of the loss of Jerusalem in 1187: a) the Holy Land Clamor; b) the Holy Land Mass—extant and new triple sets of Mass prayers; c) the dedicated Holy Land Mass; d) the Trental of St Gregory; and e) the Holy Land segments in the Bidding Prayers. They are ‘outer circle’ rites in the sense that they were evolved and performed in Mass and in Office with a view to recruit crusaders and support the crusade, and in general to sustain the cause of Latin Jerusalem. The second stage of this study comprises sources of the ‘inner circle’—proper war rites answering the needs of the individual crusader, and rites peculiar to the crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. They will be published separately.

On the assumption that the Holy Land rites evolved out of—and within—larger liturgical types, these sources should be studied in their liturgical context. I have assumed, furthermore, that these rites were not commonly perceived in exclusive, absolute terms, and that they were targeted on more than one aim, in the same way that the concept ‘Holy Land’ usually signified more than just the biblical Holy Land defined in precise geographical terms. They should not be studied, therefore, in isolation from their wider contexts. One could not begin to appreciate the full significance of the Holy Land Clamor, for example, unless it is observed against the backdrop of the *Clamor contra invasores Ecclesie*; the Holy Land Mass should be studied together with the dedicated War Masses against the Turks; and the Trental of St Gregory within the general tradition of supplicatory sets of Masses. One obviously runs the risk of going too far in this direction, of letting a specific rite practically disappear against its backdrop. Putting things in context, nevertheless, is of prime importance in any study that deals with real life—in all its fuzziness and blurred distinctions—rather than with clear-cut, abstract Ideas. The right balance between the specific rite and its general context should provide us with a better understanding of both.

This study is based, first and foremost, on manuscripts. Hunting for them proved to be a long, protracted affair but great fun, a sensation fellow-hunters would easily recognize. I could not have followed it through without the hospitality and co-operation extended by numerous libraries and institutions. Many I have visited personally; others responded generously to my queries and requests. I am particularly grateful to the helpful and hardworking librarians and staff of the Duke Humfrey’s Reading Room in

¹⁰ C. T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades; Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994); ‘Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, *JEH* 48 (1997), 628–57.

¹¹ See Select Bibliography (pp. 367ff. below).

the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St John's University, Collegeville; and the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, Paris. Every visit to these libraries was as enjoyable as it was rewarding. I am also indebted to the following libraries and institutions, whose collections I have consulted in the course of my research, either in place, in central deposits of microfilms, or through photocopies courteously provided by librarians: Aachen, Domarchiv; Admont, Stiftsbibliothek; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Mejanès; Albi, Bibliothèque municipale; Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale; Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale; Arles, Bibliothèque municipale; Arras, Bibliothèque municipale; Autun, Bibliothèque municipale; Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale; Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale; Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale; Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek; Barcelona, Archivo Capítular de la Catedral; Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque municipale; Bourges, Bibliothèque municipale; Bregenz, Mehrerau Klosterarchiv; Bristol, Public Library; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique; Budapest, Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae; Budapest, Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár; Caen, Bibliothèque municipale; Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College; Cambridge, Newnham College; Cambridge, St John's College; Cambridge, Sidney and Sussex College; Cambridge, Trinity College; Cambridge, University Library; Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale; Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca della SS Trinità; Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale; Châteauroux, Bibliothèque municipale; Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale; Darmstadt, Hessischen Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek; Douai, Bibliothèque municipale; Downside Abbey, Stratton on the Fosse, Somerset; Dublin, Trinity College Library; Durham, Dean and Chapter Library; Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek; Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek; Essen, Domkapitel; Esztergom, Főszékesegyházik Könyvtár; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana; Frankfurt am-Main, Stadt-und-Universitätsbibliothek; Gerona, Archivo Capítular; Gerona, Archivo del Seminario Episcopal; Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek; Graz, Universitätsbibliothek; Güssing, Franziskanerkloster; Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek; Herzogenburg, Stiftsbibliothek; Holkham Hall, Wells, Norfolk; Huesca, Archivo de la Catedral; Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek; Jerusalem, Custodia di Terra Santa, Studio Biblico Franciscano; Klagenfurt, Bischöfliche Bibliothek; Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv; Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek; Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift; Köln, Diözesan-und-Dombibliothek; Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek; Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek; Laon, Bibliothèque municipale; Leeds, The University Library; Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek; Limoges, Archives Départementales de la Haute-Vienne; Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek; Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional, Fundo Alcobaça; Liverpool, The University Library; Loches, Bibliothèque municipale; London, The British Library; London, Guildhall Library; London, Lambeth Palace Library; London, The Oratory; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; London, Westminster Abbey; Lons-les-Saunier, Archives Départementales du Jura; Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional; Manchester, John Rylands University Library; Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale; Melk, Stiftsbibliothek; Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana; Minehead, Parish church of St Michael; Montargis, Bibliothèque municipale; Monte-Cassino,

Protomonasterio; Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine; Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monasterio; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; Munich, Universitätsbibliothek; Nantes, Bibliothèque municipale; Münster, Bistumsarchiv; Nantes, Musée Dobrée; Nantua, Bibliothèque municipale; Narbonne, Bibliothèque municipale; Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library; New York, The Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary of the City of New York; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; New York, The Public Library; Orleans, Bibliothèque municipale; Oxford, Corpus Christi College; Oxford, Keble College; Oxford, Oriel College; Oxford, Pembroke College; Oxford, Trinity College; Oxford, University College; Paisley, Renfrew District Museum and Art Gallery; Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France; Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève; Paris, Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris; Partridge Green, St Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster; Philadelphia, The Free Library; Philadelphia, The Library Company; Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale; Pontarlier, Bibliothèque municipale; Princeton, University Library; Provins, Bibliothèque municipale; Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale; Reun, Stiftsbibliothek; Rome, Biblioteca Angelica; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale; Salzburg, Museum Carolino-Augustum; Salzburg, Sankt-Peter Erzabtei; Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek; Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek; Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek; Sankt Pölten, Bischöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek; Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek; Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek; Spalding, Gentlemen's Society, Lincolnshire; Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia; Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral; Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo; Toronto, The Pontifical Institute; Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa; Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale; Trier, Bistumsarchiv; Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale; Ushaw (Durham), St Cuthbert's College; Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale; Vallbona de las Monjas, Biblioteca del Monasterio; Vatican, Archivo S. Pietro; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Vich, Biblioteca Episcopal; Vienna, Dominikaner Kloster; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek; Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek; Winchester College; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek; York, York Minster Library; Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capitular; Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek. Research depends on openness, and these libraries opened their treasures and provided me with the required knowledge generously and willingly. I am greatly in their debt.

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The Holy Land Clamor

I. Origins and Antecedents

I.1 Initiating

Liturgical practices formed the core of Latin Christianity in immediate reaction to the defeat of Hattin. Some of the liturgical measures introduced at that time were initiated in Rome, general directives issued by the Curia that sparked off enactment down the ecclesiastical hierarchy; others were due entirely to local initiatives.

On 29 October 1187, barely four days after his consecration, Gregory VIII directed all Christians to observe various measures of penance during the next five years in order to avert God's anger and promote a new crusade,¹ and William of Andres reports that he

¹ *Nunquam Melius Superni*, issued on 29 October 1187 (J. Radamackers, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, N.F., 2. Band: *Normandie*, Göttingen 1937, No. 290, pp. 385–86; PL, 202, col. 1539), and *Audita Tremendi Severitate*, issued on the same date (PL 202, cols 1539–42). See also the text of *Quam Divina Patientia in Anonymi de profectione Danorum in terram sanctam*, ed. by J. Langebek, *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi*, vol. v (Copenhagen, 1783), p. 346, and Z. Harttung, 'Eine Kreuzzugsbulle Papst Gregors VIII', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 17 (1877), 620–22. The connection between these measures and the planned crusade is highlighted in the *Chronicon* of Burchard of Ursberg: 'Gregorius VIII. . . . Hic primum litteras transmisit in orbem pro liberatione Terrae sanctae, multa statuens de correctione morum, tam in clero quam in populo' (*Burchardi et Cuonradi Urspergensium chronicon*, MGH SS 23, ed. by O. Abel and L. Weiland, p. 361). For information about the measures personally undertaken by the Cardinals immediately after Hattin in the report Peter of Blois sent to Henry II from Ferrara (Epist 219 in Giles' edition, PL 207, cols 508–09), see R. W. Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. by H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 207–18.

instituted ‘orationes publicas . . . universis ecclesiis obervandas’.² A very active campaign of mobilisation was launched by Henry of Albano, *legatus a latere* for preaching the crusade, in Germany, France and Flanders during the early months of 1188.³ Clement III continued this policy. Roger of Howden refers to the ‘sine intermissione oratio’ that the Curia called for in 1188,⁴ and Arnold of Lübeck specifies in reference to the same year: ‘Clemens . . . in universum orbem Romanum epistolas direxit, scribens omnibus ecclesiis . . . Ieunia etiam quedam omnibus indixit et orationes publicas in canone in omnibus ecclesiis, monasteriis, parochiis celebrari constituit, psalmum videlicet “Deus venerunt gentes.”’⁵ Conrad of Scheyern concurs, adding that, ‘Hic [i.e., Clement] instituit inter missas post Dominicam orationem psalmum “Deus venerunt gentes”’,⁶ and while his evidence for events prior to 1194 is of no great weight in itself, it nevertheless corroborates that of Arnold’s *Chronica*, a prime source for that period.⁷

The loss of the registers of Celestin III has deprived us of what should have been our prime source of information on the role of the Curia in these matters during most of the first decade after Hattin (1191–98). Nonetheless, it is clear that this pope too promoted the introduction of liturgical measures, mainly the Holy Land Clamor in Mass and in Office. In 1195 in the bull *Misericors et miserator* he called on the clergy of Canterbury to institute unceasing prayers and to preach the crusade energetically,⁸ while the Apostolic Legate Michael introduced in the Council of the Province of Narbonne, which assembled in Montpellier towards the end of the same year, a series of penitential measures in the same context.⁹ Five liturgical regulations decreed by the annual Cistercian General Chapters during his pontificate, in the years 1193–97, prove, first, that special prayers for the Holy Land were said by the Cistercians already before 1193¹⁰ and, second, that these were both Office Clamors (on Fridays after Chapter and on other

² *Chronica Andrensis*, ed. by J. Heller, MGH SS, vol. 24, p. 719.

³ See the measures detailed in the Cardinal’s letter to the Imperial Council of Mainz, 17 March 1188 (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 22, cols 540–42), and the account given of his activity by *Chronicon Clarevallense* ad annum 1187 (PL, 185, col. 1251; this is the source of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines’ *Chronica*, MGH SS, vol. 23, ed. by P. Scheffer-Boichorst, p. 861).

⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by W. Stubbs, vol. II (RS 51b) (London, 1869), p. 359.

⁵ *Chronica Slavorum*, Lib. IV, c. 6, ed. by M. Lappenberg, MGH SS, vol. 21, pp. 169–70.

⁶ *Chronicon*, ed. by P. Jaffe, MGH SS, vol. 17, p. 630.

⁷ Arnold’s text seems, furthermore, to echo an official document (‘In omnibus ecclesiis, monasteriis, parochiis celebrari’).

⁸ Issued by Celestin III to the clergy of Canterbury in 1195. See Radulfus de Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. by W. Stubbs, vol. II (RS 68) (London, 1876), p. 134.

⁹ Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 22, cols 670–71.

¹⁰ Stat. 14 (Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 160).

occasions)¹¹ and Mass Clamors (specific Clamors assigned to the Masses for the Dead and to all other Masses).¹² Innocent III applied the same policy during the first two years of his pontificate. He extended in 1199 to the whole of Sicily a local practice of saying a daily Mass Clamor for the crusaders,¹³ and he directed the French clergy to say a daily Clamor for the Holy Land at about the same time or in the early months of 1200.¹⁴

The evidence proves, consequently, that various liturgical measures—mainly Clamors—bearing on the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Land were introduced during the first decade after Hattin. A Clamor consists of a sequence of supplicatory texts of three types: psalms, versicles, and prayers, all chosen for their relevance to the particular crisis on which the Clamor bears. The Holy Land Clamors were either appended to Office services or inserted into Mass, and they were held in churches open to the public as well as in those serving cloistered communities. Such Clamors were not complete innovations, of course, for temporary, ad hoc Clamors bearing on various public crises were common practice before 1187. Their main novelty consisted in their long duration, which eventually transformed their essentially temporary and exceptional character into a regular, fixed component of both Office and Mass. Long duration characterised these Clamors, for they accompanied the long, protracted agony of Latin Outremer and the numerous crusades launched after the defeat of Hattin. It extended, in fact, for the next three centuries.

I.2 Typology

Although the different Holy Land Clamors constitute a common identifiable body, with largely common goals, structures, and (to a lesser extent) source material, they fall into two major types anchored on two prayers, the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* and the *Deus qui admirabili providentia*, which comprise, in turn, several subtypes—families, variants, and strains. A third type, anchored on the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*, is known from only few scattered sources.

This typology employs the principal prayer—rather than the psalms or the versicles—as the main criterion for identifying types and subtypes. Three reasons may be adduced

¹¹ 1193 Stat. 14 and 1195 Stat. 1 (Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 160, 181–82), confirmations in 1196 Stat. 57 and 1197 Stat. 2 (Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 208, 210).

¹² Details in 1194, Stat. 10, and 1195 Stat. 1 (Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 172, 181–82), confirmations in 1196 Stat. 57 and 1197 Stat. 2 (Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 208, 210).

¹³ *De vestra discretione*, Reg. I, No. 508, *Die Register Innocenz III*, ed. by O. Hageneder, et al. vol. 1 (Graz-Köln, 1964), pp. 741–43; PL 214, cols 470–71.

¹⁴ *Verendum est nobis*, *Gesta Innocentii*, no. 84, PL, 214, col. CXXXIV. Here too Innocent was probably authorizing rather than innovating, for he refers to the prayer said during the Clamor using the term ‘oratione consueta’.

for this. First, all the Holy Land Clamors share Psalm 78, either as a single or as a principal psalm in a group of several psalms. It has acquired a Holy Land specificity and has become identified with the cause of the crusade to such an extent that when the papacy diverted this Clamor to other causes it immediately replaced Psalm 78 with another psalm. A very useful marker of this Clamor against other Clamors and services, Psalm 78 becomes, for that very reason, practically useless for differentiating its various types or subtypes.

Second, the Holy Land Clamors practically share the same body of versicles; it was borrowed, more often than not, from other Clamors and services. Sequences of versicles that are typical in varying degrees to specific Holy Land Clamors can contribute, indeed, to the identification of types and subtypes, but the extent of common sharing and inter-borrowing of versicles between Clamors is such that evidence derived from versicles alone is usually circumstantial and very rarely decisive for this purpose. It can provide, at best, corroborative testimony.

Third and finally, among the three elements of the Holy Land Clamor only the principal prayer possesses both Holy Land specificity and distinct originality. Unlike the psalms and the versicles, the prayers of the two main types of the Holy Land Clamor are original texts created for this particular Clamor and bearing directly on its goals. Recycled texts—whether psalms, versicles, or prayers—could and did acquire varying measures of Holy Land specificity, but they were never entirely free from their ultimate Scriptural roots or from the different meanings that accrued to them in the course of their employment in other contexts and in the service of other goals. The new original texts, on the other hand, were absolutely and exclusively identified with the specific goals of the Holy Land Clamor, and, furthermore, they have retained their original identity for a long time. This is the main reason, to my mind, why the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Clamor, which was anchored on a recycled though extremely well known prayer, is so poorly documented, while the two Clamors that were anchored on the new original prayers, the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* and the *Deus qui admirabili providentia*, achieved such a remarkable popularity.

I.3 Sources

The Great Litany served as the principal matrix for the Holy Land Clamor. This relationship can be observed in respect of the Clamor's function within larger liturgical systems, its composition, and its structure.

An integrated series of intercessory prayers, the Great Litany was performed on certain regular dates, mainly on the feast of St Mark (25 April) and on the three Rogation Days before Ascension, as well as on special occasions when a public crisis called for a communal service of penitence and intercession. A typical service of this kind included litany-singing processions consisting of entire communities or of clerics together with other specific groups, and it culminated with a Mass particularly chosen for the occasion. The Great Litany comprised two parts. The first begins with a *Kyrie*

eleison and contains invocations of God and the saints ('Sancte N . . .'), supplications for cessation ('ab . . .') and petitions for bestowal ('ut . . .'), commemorations of the mysteries and means of salvation ('per . . .'), and a further series of 'ut' supplications. The second part opens with a triple *Agnus Dei* and *Kyrie eleison* and proceeds with the *Pater noster*, Psalm 69 (*Deus in adiutorium*), twelve versicles, ten prayers, and, finally, three other versicles.

That the Holy Land Clamor derived from the Great Litany can best be deduced from a formal comparison of the two. The Holy Land Clamor corresponds, in fact, to the second part of the Great Litany: it too opens with a triple *Agnus Dei* + *Kyrie eleison* and *Pater noster*, and it consists of analogous sets of psalms, versicles, and prayers. Its scope, however, is much more limited. While the Great Litany's supplications range over the vast field of human needs, wants, and hopes, from the hope in Redemption to distress in face of scourges like earthquake, famine, and war, the Clamor concentrates on one specific goal, on the deliverance of the Holy Land. Conciseness was undoubtedly dictated by the much more restricted time allotted to the Clamor in its particular location in relation to Mass: while the Great Litany was said during the procession that preceded Mass and was usually allowed a very generous length of time, the Clamor was firmly embedded in Mass itself and, consequently, had to be relatively short and compact. Similar restrictions operated probably in Office, with its tightly organised employment of time. Conciseness, again, certainly owed much to the specificity of the Clamor's goal, in contrast with the Litany's almost universal scope. Adapting the Great Litany to the particular configuration of the Holy Land Clamor therefore entailed the elimination of its first part, with its numerous intercessions, and the adoption of only its second part—and even that not without considerable pruning.

The Great Litany exerted its influence on the new Holy Land Clamor, both in Office and in Mass, indirectly also, through its later derivatives. Some of these were relatively short and restricted in scope, like the eleventh-century Nevers Sacramentary which transmits a Litany with a shortened second part consisting of the opening section (*Agnus Dei* + *Kyrie eleison* + *Pater noster*) and five versicles.¹⁵ Others were more elaborate and focused on issues that were closer to the case of the Holy Land, war in general, and fighting non-Christians in particular. A service of this type is known from a ninth-century manuscript containing a collection of prayers, its provenance either the abbey of Saint-Loup or that of Saint-Eloi in Noyon.¹⁶ It offers—under the title 'Contra infideles tempore belli adversus ecclesiam insurgentes'—a daily Office service consisting of ten

¹⁵ *Sacramentarium ad usum Aecclesiae Nivernensis* (Farnborough, 1969), pp. 63, 120.

¹⁶ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, No. 512, fol. 141^v.

psalms¹⁷ (including Psalm 78) and a 'Laetania' that comprises one responsory,¹⁸ the *Pater noster* segment, nine versicles,¹⁹ one psalm,²⁰ four prayers,²¹ and one antiphon.²²

Among the later derivatives of the Great Litany, the *Clamor contra invasores Ecclesiae*²³ exerted probably the strongest influence on the Holy Land Clamor. This ad hoc service, evolved about the beginning of the eleventh century in ecclesiastical communities despoiled of lands and properties by rapacious nobles, is extensively documented in liturgical sources between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries.²⁴ An obvious derivative of the Litany, by form as well as by content, it was usually integrated into Mass and less frequently into Office, for a large audience was essential to its purpose. In this Clamor the oppressed community supplicated God to protect it from its persecutors, proclaimed the transgressions openly, and pilloried their authors in front of the attending community. The openness of the proceedings together with the threat of a complete cessation of worship was intended to generate enough social pressure on the individuals thus singled out and force them to mend their ways. The predominantly social context of the Clamor was further enhanced through the elaborate liturgical drama performed by the clergy and—in a peripheral and secondary role—by the attending faithful as well: a dramatic enactment of the main themes put forward in this Clamor—mourning, penitence, and exclusion from Grace and Redemption. Striking visual acts, such as placing sacred objects on the ground or on a coarse cloth and covering them with thorns, embodied notions and sentiments that were typically associated with the drama of the Passion, in the first place, but also with a cluster of notions and sentiments

¹⁷ Psalms 3, 24, 27, 89, 55, 78, 93, 119, 120, 122.

¹⁸ *Congregati sunt + Disperge illos.*

¹⁹ 1) *Dominus deus meus + Nequando rapiat ut leo*; 2) *Tu autem dominus ne elongaveris + Erue a framea animam*; 3) *Salva me ex ore leonis + Ne simul tradas*; 4) *Iudica domine nocentes + Apprehende arma et scutum*; 5) *Effunde frameam + Eripe me domine ab homine*; 6) *Eripe de inimicis meis + Eripe de operantibus*; 7) *Ne tradas domine a desiderio + Eripe me de inimicis*; 8) *Educes de tribulatione + Et perdes omnes*; 9) *Domine exaudi orationem meam + [Et clamor].*

²⁰ Psalm 82.

²¹ 1) *Parce domine parce populo tuo*; 2) *Hostium nostrorum*; 3) *Omnipotens deus Christiani nominis inimicos*—COr No. 3726; 4) *Deus qui misericordiae tuae potentis auxilio.*

²² *Solve linguam meam.*

²³ Similar titles—*Contra raptos ecclesie, Pro malefactoribus.*

²⁴ Three very useful studies of the evolution of this Clamor exist: P. Geary, 'L'humiliation des saints', *Annales* 34 (1979), 27–42; L. K. Little, 'La morphologie des malédictions monastiques', *Annales* 34 (1979), 43–60; idem., *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, 1993). While I disagree with some of the hypotheses and conclusions offered in these studies, i.e., the centrality of the humiliating acts and of the cursing in this Clamor, I profited greatly from the rich information they contain and the challenging new viewpoints they provide.

subsumed in the symbolic figure of Jerusalem in penitence and mourning. This Clamor publicised its message through various means: the explicit word from lectern and pulpit, the meaningful gesture (for some of the audience certainly more meaningful than the spoken word), the carefully contrived contrast between light and darkness, and the alarm signals of the tolling bells. Curses, anathemas, and excommunications were sometimes associated with this Clamor, and though not uncommon or unimportant, they did not form an integral part of the Clamor itself and should be considered adjuncts to it.²⁵

Our sources have mainly preserved the textual content of this Clamor. Inserted into Mass after the *Pater noster* or the *Agnus Dei* and in Office after the daily Chapter, it usually consisted of three parts, containing, respectively, psalms, versicles, and prayers. They differ in length from one Clamor to another. The shorter Clamors present only single items (a psalm, a versicle, or a prayer), but others are much more lavishly furnished, with a maximum of three psalms arranged in two optional sets, seven versicles, and three prayers. There is great variety in the choice of the pieces (the common pool contains seven psalms, fifteen chapters/ versicles, and six prayers), but one prayer appears in most Clamors, and sometimes separately, on its own: the *In spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito*. Written especially for this Clamor, perhaps by Fulbert of Chartres, it expresses well its purport and declares the topical information that was altered (*mutatis mutandis*) from one Clamor to another, such as the identity of the celebrating community, the names of its patron saints and those of the accused oppressors. Several variants of this prayer testify to its evolution in time, but it has always retained an unmistakable physiognomy.

The most advanced form of this Clamor is known from the votive Mass *Contra raptores ecclesiae*, preserved in the twelfth-century Sacramentary of St-Barbe-en-Auge.²⁶ Its three original Mass prayers restate the specific goal of this Mass in a repeated call for succour against the *invasores* and *raptores* of the monastery's possessions.²⁷ One might assume that a Clamor *Contra raptores ecclesiae* would be quite superfluous in a votive Mass targeted on the very same goal, but we still find it in its usual place, a clear case of liturgical overkill. It presents a highly evolved structure, consisting of three

²⁵ The analytical table of the manuscript material published by Little (*Benedictine*, as in note 24, Appendix F) is very useful in this regard. Of the sixty-two services signaled in fifty-six manuscripts, only twelve combine a Clamor with a curse, an excommunication, or an anathema, and all the others bring them separately. Twenty Clamors have no curse, excommunication, or anathema at all.

²⁶ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève, No. 96, fols 220–22.

²⁷ A) Collect: 'Concede nobis omnipotens et iustissime deus apud quem nulla est iniquitas, ut qui sanctuarii tui possessiones invadunt, et invadendo diripiunt, te miserante celeri satisfactione corrigantur. Per'; B) Secreta: 'Hostias tibi placationis offerimus, poscentes, ut quos inimicus ad invadendam et diripiendam sanctuarii tui possessionem suadendo attrahit, tu misericorditer corriges. Per'; C) Postcommunio: 'Preces nostras quesumus domine placatus exaudi, ut quod de raptoribus et inimicis ecclesiae tuae sanctae deprecamur, consuetae misericordiae velocitate perficere non desinas. Per'. (fols 220, 221^v).

psalms (*Domine quid multiplicati* [Psalm 3], *Deus in adiutorium* [Psalm 69] and *Ad te levavi* [Psalm 122]), a *Kyrieleyson* + *Pater noster* segment, six versicles (*Exurge, Adiuva, Fiat pax, Memor esto, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and three prayers (*In spiritu humilitatis et in animo contrito*, along with two prayers borrowed from existing services: *Hostium nostrorum* and *Deus qui culpas nostras piis verberibus*).

Some kind of affinity between the Holy Land Clamor and the *Clamor contra invasores* is indicated by their common designation as *Clamor*, but the true extent of this affinity should best be measured by means of a structural and content comparison between the two. The liturgist who created the new Holy Land Clamor obviously adopted the overall structure of the *Clamor contra invasores* with its typical liturgical acts, most of its versicles (mainly *Exurge, Esto, Ostende, Domine exaudi* and the final *Dominus vobiscum*), and, more significantly, some of the ideas expressed in its texts and liturgical acts. The situations that gave rise to both Clamors were probably perceived by contemporaries to be similar, if not identical: the spoliation of lands pertaining to the Church by lay persecutors, enemies of God and the Faith, was easily assimilated to the loss of the Holy Land to the Muslim persecutors, unquestionably enemies of God and the Faith. And the portrayal of the afflicted Church in terms of Jeremiah's lament for the grieving Jerusalem ('*Ecclesia tua haec . . . sedet in tristitia, non est qui consoletur et liberet eam*')²⁸ became quite literal in the Holy Land Clamor, which bore upon the actual, historical Jerusalem rather than the idea of Jerusalem as it was perceived through the usual allegorical interpretation.

II. *The Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu Clamor*

The first documented case of a locally instituted Holy Land Clamor and, moreover, of one anchored on the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*, is the program of continuous prayers for the liberation of Jerusalem that was performed in London in 1188. Two sources describe it in detail, the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, traditionally attributed to Benedict of Peterborough, and the *Chronica*, convincingly identified as the work of Roger of Howden. Both were probably composed by Roger of Howden, the *Gesta* before he took the cross and his departure for Acre in 1192 and the *Chronica* subsequent to his return from the Holy Land and until he ceased working on it in 1201.²⁹

²⁸ In the *In spiritu humilitatis* prayer, paraphrasing Lam. 1:1–2.

²⁹ The close relationship between the two sources and the abundant information concerning the Third Crusade found in the *Chronica* convinced D. M. Stenton that both were written by Roger Howden. See her 'Roger of Howden and "Benedict"', *EHR*, 68 (1953), 574–82. This attribution seemed to be confirmed by discovery of the name of 'Roger parson of Howden' among the witnesses to a document drafted and signed in the crusaders' camp at the siege of Acre, and recent research tends to accept it. See, in particular, D. Corner, 'The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's "Chronica"', *EHR*, 98 (1983), 297–310; 'The "Gesta Henrici Secundi" and

The *Gesta*'s account of the 1188 program of prayers is, consequently, practically contemporary with the event (certainly prior to 1192), while the *Chronica*'s account seems to be a later (subsequent to 1192) reworking of the earlier version. Both sources are in an almost complete agreement in their descriptions of that event, but they differ in their accounts of the circumstances under which it was introduced. The later *Chronica* seems to have benefited from a better hindsight knowledge of events, especially events subsequent to 1188.³⁰

The *Gesta* describes a weekly program of daily Masses celebrated in Westminster Abbey, 'pro pace, et pro deliberatione terrae Jerusalem et Christianorum captivorum qui in vinculis Saracenorum detinebantur'. In Roger's account the introduction of this practice is linked to the widely publicised reception in London of a text believed to be a report written by French ambassadors to the Court of Emperor Isaac in Constantinople. It reported rumours about reverses that Saladin suffered in Antioch and in Tyre, about his difficult relations with certain Muslim rulers, and about his failure to resettle the Holy Land. It also expanded in some detail on Christian and Muslim prophecies that announced the imminent Muslim defeat and the occupation of both the Holy Land and Constantinople by the Franks. 'His auditis Christiana plebs plurimum gaudebat, fiduciam habens in Domino quod avertet iram et indignationem suam ab eis'. This text caused quite a stir in London, as we learn from another contemporary source, the *Imagines historiarum* of Ralph de Diceto.³¹ The *Gesta*'s account describes, therefore, a local event, independent of any directive from Rome. The *Chronica*, in contrast, provides a fuller—and markedly different—account of the Clamor's introduction. While it retains the reference to the ambassadors' report, it also notes a general directive issued by the pope and the cardinals, and it attributes the Clamor's introduction to the second rather than the first.

"Chronica" of Roger, parson of Howden', *BIHR*, 56 (1983), 126–44; J. B. Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in *Mediaeval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), pp. 60–75; J. Sayers, 'English Charters from the Third Crusade', in *Tradition and Change (Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall)*, ed. by D. Greenway, et al. (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 195–213. For a cautiously dissenting opinion consult A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 225–30.

³⁰ A striking example of this can be seen in the way these two sources treat the encounter between King Richard and Joachim of Fiore. While the earliest *Gesta* reports that the abbot revealed to Richard explicitly good omens for the liberation of Jerusalem and the success of the crusade, the later and wiser *Chronica* refers to the same omens in a decidedly blurred and inconclusive language.

³¹ *Imagines historiarum*, ed. by W. Stubbs, RS, 68,2 (London, 1876), pp. 58–60. While Roger of Howden dates it to late 1188, Ralph refers to that text in his account of the events of early 1189.

The two accounts give, furthermore, different locations. The *Gesta* locates the prayers in St Peter's, the *Chronica* in St Paul's Cathedral.³² Robbing Peter to give the prayers to Paul is certainly of no great consequence in itself, although one can safely assume that a much larger audience was exposed to the Clamor through the public ritual of the Cathedral of London than the more cloistered rites of the Benedictine Abbey of Westminster. But these two versions are by no means exclusive, and both can be accepted as truthful and complementary, witnessing to the introduction and practice of this special Clamor at these two churches since late 1188, either simultaneously or consecutively, and perhaps as late as 1192 (in the case of St Paul).

Both sources transmit an almost identical form. The differences between them—minute though not unimportant—probably resulted from their celebration in two different churches. It seems, however, that the *Chronica*'s account of the institution of these prayers owes much to hindsight wisdom and knowledge. By 1192 both Roger of Howden and his readers knew only too well that the 1188 rumours about the imminent downfall of Saladin and the liberation of the Holy Land were embarrassingly premature, and they were also much more familiar with the papal directives concerning the Jerusalem liturgy. The *Chronica* version, consequently, presented the Curial initiative rather than the Constantinople Report as the direct cause for the institution of these prayers.

Both sources describe a sequence of *preces* in Mass, immediately after the *Pax Domini* and before the *Agnus Dei*, in a seven-day program of daily Masses. The sequence consists of an antiphon (*Tua est potentia*), a psalm (seven different psalms for the seven weekdays—Psalms 2, 53, 59, 73, 78, 82, 93 in this order), *Kyrie* with the *Pater noster*, twelve versicles (*Ostende, Fiat misericordia, Dominus non secundum, Ne memineris, Adjuva, Salvum fac populum, Esto, Nihil, Fiat pax, Domine deus virtutum, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and one prayer (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*). The *Kyrie* and the *Pater noster* appear invariably in all the seven daily Clamors: we shall omit them henceforth from our discussion, but their inclusion in the proceedings should be taken for granted.

The entire program is devised along the lines of the closing part of the Great Litany, following the triple *Agnus Dei* and 'Christe audi nos—Christe exaudi nos'. Our liturgist added an antiphon, advanced both antiphon and psalm to the beginning of the *preces* so as to precede the *Kyrie eleison* and the *Pater noster*, and reduced the number of the closing prayers to one. He not only maintained the same number of versicles—twelve—but also retained five of the Great Litany's versicles: *Domine non secundum, Esto, Nihil, Domine exaudi*, and *Dominus vobiscum*. Three of the remaining seven he probably received from the *Clamor contra invasores ecclesiae* (*Ostende, Adjuva, Fiat pax*). The Litany's single psalm (Psalm 69) was replaced by seven single psalms assigned to the seven week-days, starting with Sunday (in the sequence noted above). The ascending numeral order of this scheme and its ferial character suggest that it was compiled on the

³² Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud 582, fol. 46.

basis of a similarly ascending ferial scheme, most probably the ferial Roman Psalter;³³ and a closer examination reveals, indeed, the underlying Roman structure. Four of the seven psalms have retained their places in the Roman sequence (Psalm 2—Sunday's Matins, Psalm 53—Monday's Prime, Psalm 78—Thursday's Matins, Psalm 82—Friday's Matins), and even the 'misplaced' three psalms (Psalm 59 on Tuesday instead of Wednesday, Psalm 73 on Wednesday instead of Thursday, and Psalm 93 on Saturday instead of Friday) still follow the ferial Roman order.

While our liturgist depended on an existing schema for his formal arrangement, his choice of each of the seven psalms was obviously determined by their content, and the complete series expresses well the particular character and circumstances of that liturgical occasion. The seven psalms were selected because they expressed sentiments and ideas pertinent to the situation of Latin Jerusalem, 'hereditas Domini', as it was perceived in the immediate aftermath of the defeat on the battlefield of Hattin. All seven psalms refer explicitly or implicitly to Jerusalem and to the Temple, usually in the broader context of a cry for succour against enemies. An even clearer dimension of topicality appears in two psalms. The rubric to Psalm 59 identifies these enemies in the historical context of Joab's campaign against 'Mesopotamiam Syriae et Syriam Sobal',³⁴ and both 'Moab' and 'Idumea' are further indicated in the text of this psalm.³⁵ A similar list of enemies is provided in Psalm 82: 'tabernacula Idumeorum et Ismahelitim, Moab et Aggareni, Gebal et Ammon et Amalech'.³⁶ Londoners in 1188 needed no commentator to identify for them, under these very names, some of the countries and peoples that formed Saladin's empire.

The Clamor's *oratio* reads as follows (the *Chronica* divergent readings are given in square brackets):

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice ad Christianorum benignus auxilium [ad Christianum benigne exercitum], ut gentes quae in sua feritate confidunt potentiae tuae dextera [potentia dexterae tuae] comprimantur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum [per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum].

This is, in fact, the prayer *Pro Christianissimo imperatore nostro*, said during the Good Friday service in the Roman station church in *Hierusalem* and propagated in the Gregorian Sacramentaries;³⁷ the Gelasian Sacramentaries employed another prayer for

³³ S. J. P. van Dijk, 'The Bible in Liturgical Use', in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1969), p. 246.

³⁴ Psalm 59.2.

³⁵ Psalm 59.10.

³⁶ Psalm 82.7–8.

³⁷ *Hadrianum* Nos 344–45 = *Gregorianum Paduense* Nos 309–10 (J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 1 (Fribourg, 1971), p. 177). See also *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, ed. by L. C. Mohlberg (Rome, 1958), Nos 100–01, p. 28 (eighth century); *Das Sakramentar von*

that purpose.³⁸ It also appeared—infrequently and rather late—as a Collect in Masses *Contra Paganos*.³⁹ Our Clamor adapted it to the particular circumstances of 1188 by rephrasing the original text *respice ad Romanum benignus imperium* to *respice ad Christianorum benignus auxilium* (in the Westminster Abbey's Clamor) and to *respice ad Christianum benigne exercitum*⁴⁰ (in St Paul's). The choice of this traditional Good Friday prayer asking for the protection of the Christian Emperor and Empire against the barbarians/pagans was highly appropriate to the new situation, of course, with the *Imperium Christianum* perceived as the *universal Church* actually locked in combat with the *pagan* Muslims.

This Clamor was probably maintained for the duration of the crisis, but we have no way of determining how long that was. As crises in relation to crusades and the Holy Land emerged quite frequently during the thirteenth century, it could have been pressed into service again, although we find no trace of such practice in the service-books. It probably contributed to the much later Sarum Clamor, but the bridging link between the London Clamor and the Sarum Clamor could have consisted of literary sources—Roger of Howden's works, for example—as well as specifically liturgical sources.

Detailed comments to the following plates and figure appear below at pages 81–95.

Salzburg, ed. by A. Dold and K. Gamber (Beuron, 1960), p. 9* (first quarter of the ninth century); *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Y. Hen, Henry Bradshaw Society, 110 (London, 1995), Nos 378–79, p. 147 (between 895 and 898). See, in general, *COr* No. 3846.

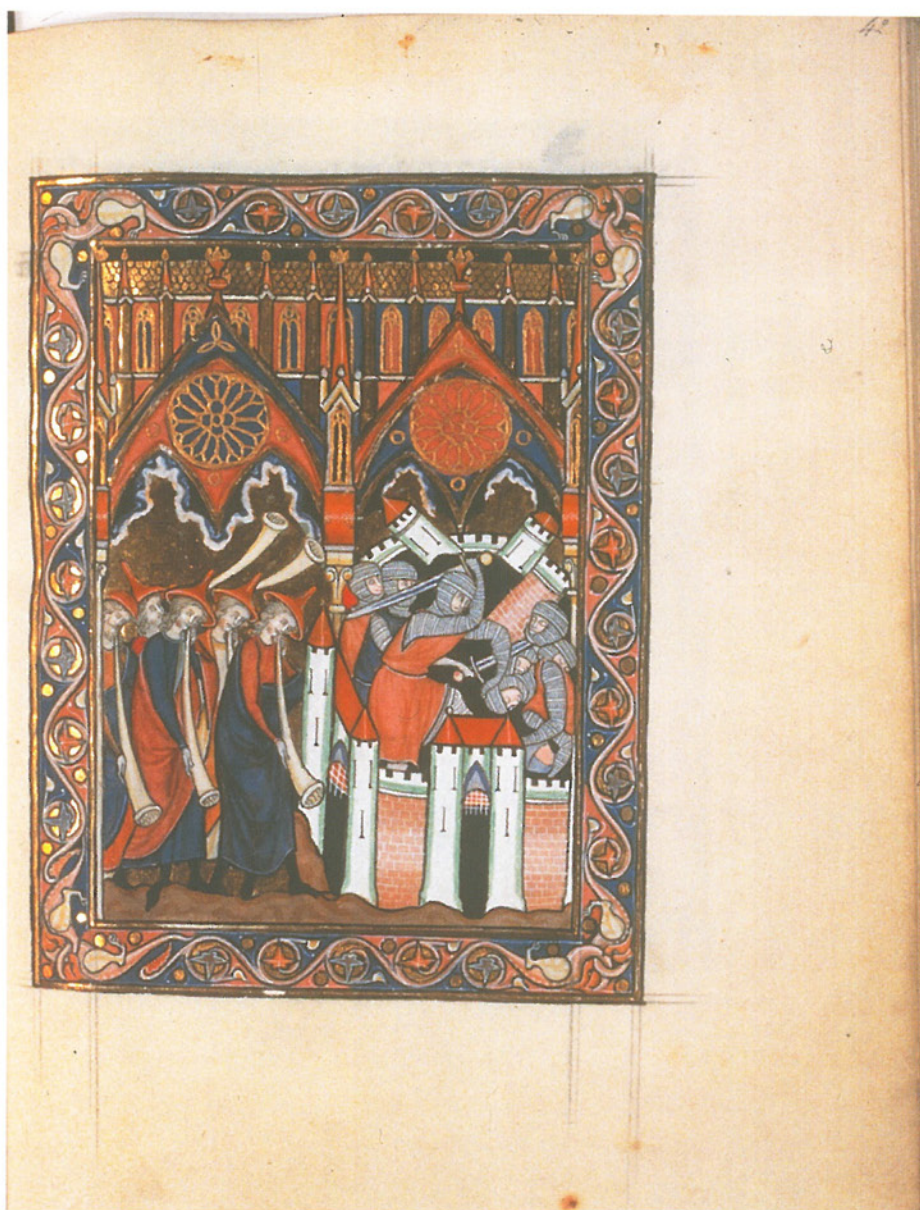
³⁸ *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui regnis omnibus*. See L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordini anni circuli* (Rome, 1960), p. 66; *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. by H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 76. See also *Sacramentarium Rhenaugiense*, ed. by A. Hänggi and A. Schönherr (Freiburg, 1970), p. 127 (c. 800); K. Mohlberg, *Das fränkische Sacramentarium Gelasianum in alamannischer Überlieferung* (Münster, 1939), p. 79 (c. 813–14); *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. by P. Saint-Roch, Nos 661–63, CCSL, 159C (1987), p. 93 (ninth century).

³⁹ The earliest example I have been able to identify is the late eleventh-century MS Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 299 fol. 209^v. See below, 115.

⁴⁰ Practically identical to the Riccardiana Cod. 299, which reads there 'ad Christianorum benignum exercitum' (fol. 209^v).



Colour Plate 1: Joshua and the Israelites go round the city of Jericho with the Ark of Covenant. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525. fol. 41^v.



Colour Plate 2: The encompassing Israelites blow their trumpets and the walls of Jericho come tumbling down. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525. fol. 42.



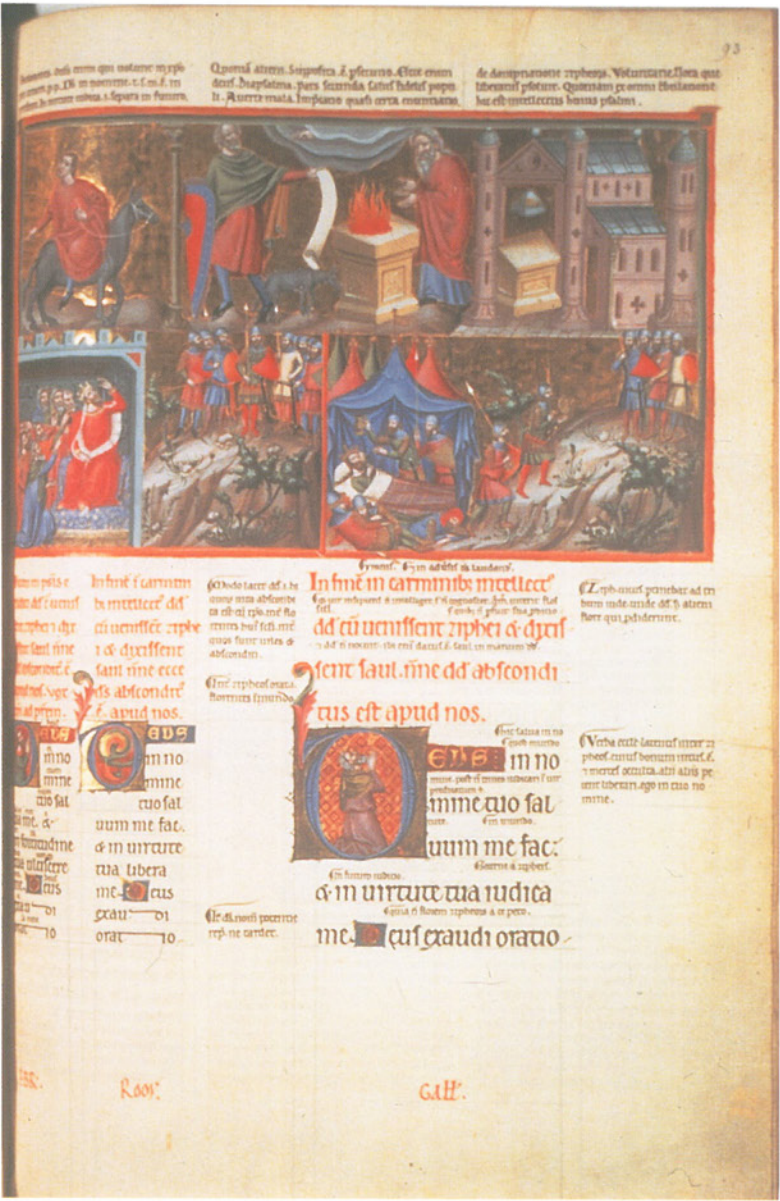
Colour Plate 3: Prayers for those who enter war against the heathen. Psalter of Alfons v, king of Aragon and Naples, 1442. Source: London, BL, Add. 28,962, fol. 78.



Colour Plate 4: Why do the heathen rage? I am ordained king upon my holy hill of Zion.
Psalm 2. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 6^v.



Colour Plate 5: Who shall ascend into the Mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? Source: Psalm 23. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 40^v.



Colour Plate 6: Save me, o God, by thy name; I shall freely sacrifice unto thee. Psalm 53. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 93.



Colour Plate 9: O God, remember thy congregation, Mount Zion in which thou hast dwelt. Psalm 73. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 128^v.



Colour Plate 11: O God, thine enemies have taken crafty counsel against thy people: Edom, the Ismaelites, Moab, the Hagarenes, Gebal, Ammon, Amalec, the Philistines, Tyre and Assur. Psalm 82. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 147.



Colour Plate 12: Come, let us sing unto the Lord. Psalm 94. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 169.

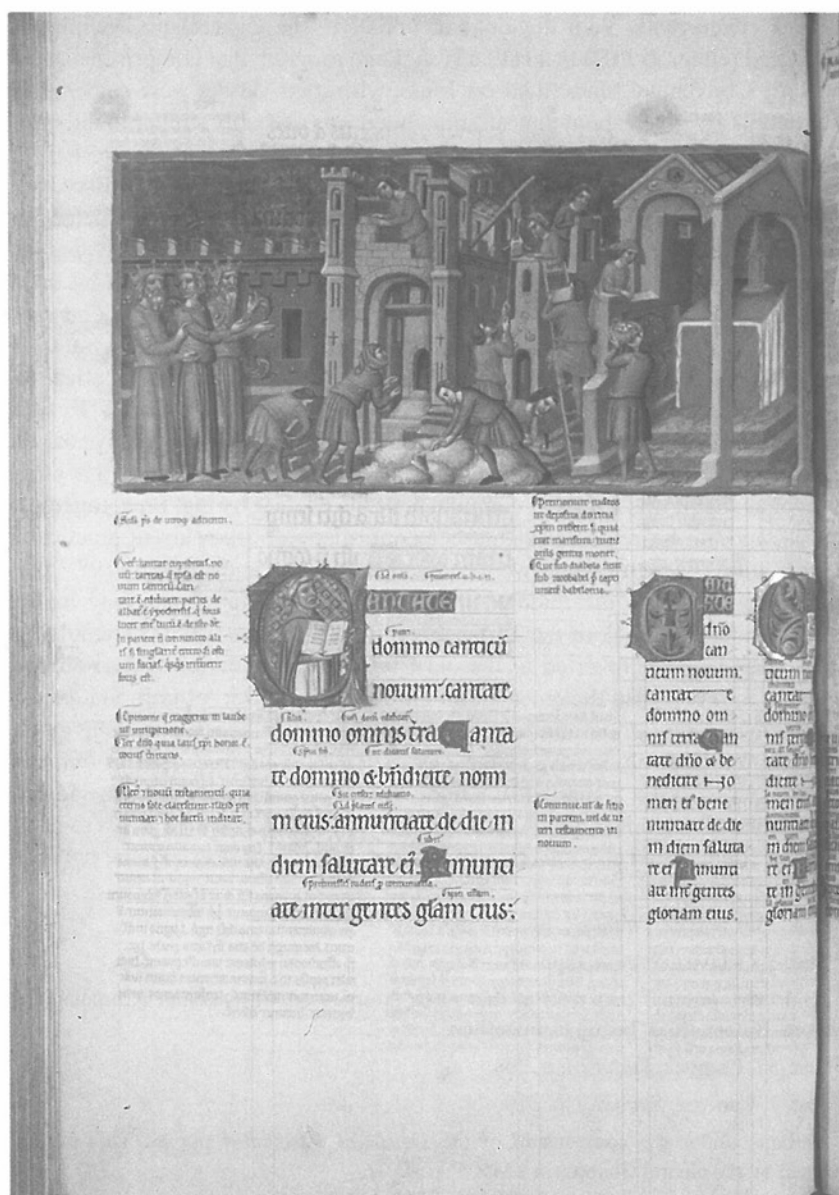


Figure 1: When the house was built after the captivity: sing ye to the Lord a new canticle. Psalm 95. Source: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 170^v.

Almost concurrently with the London initiative, the Cistercian General Chapter promulgated (either in 1188 or 1189) a Holy Land program that comprised an addition to the daily Conventual Mass (the Low Mass, when two Masses were celebrated). No further details are given about that addition, but it was probably similar to the supplication *Pro pace Ecclesiae* decreed by a Cistercian General Chapter in 1154, 1155, or 1156. That supplication consisted of a prayer with *venia* inserted in all Masses (with the exception of High Mass on festive days), and it was intended to endure as long as the war continued.⁴¹ Psalm 78, designated in 1194 as *Oratio pro terra Ierosolymitana*, was most probably at the core of the 1188/89 addition, for it was retained by the 1195 General Chapter and was described, on that occasion, as ‘Oratio solita ad sanctam missam’.⁴² The prayer said in the course of that Clamor was not specified, but the 1195 General Chapter authorised a textual change in that prayer that was identical to that known from the London Clamor in its Westminster Abbey’s version: ‘“Respice ad Christianorum benignus auxilium” emendetur’.⁴³ This is, unquestionably, the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. The casual reference to this prayer in 1195 implies that it was a regular component of the Clamor by that time, together with Psalm 78, and the entire decree suggests a confirmation of the current practice rather than innovation. These measures were confirmed in 1196⁴⁴ and again in 1197,⁴⁵ but they certainly lapsed before the middle of the thirteenth century,⁴⁶ for they had to be reinstated under the shock of the Tartar threat in 1261.⁴⁷ The abbots assembled in the 1261 General Chapter reverted to the old Clamor, ‘sicut antiquitus fieri consuevit’, taking care to repeat also the emendation introduced in 1195: ‘et infra ubi dicitur “ad Romanorum benignus imperium” dicatur “Respice ad christianorum benignus auxilium” etc.’. They referred, obviously, to the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. They revoked it a year later: ‘Oratio “Deus venerunt gentes”, quae ad missam dici consuevit, et responsorium “Aspice domine”, penitus revocantur’⁴⁸ but re-instituted it in 1290: ‘Item, pro Terra sancta, quam Deus noster proprio sanguine consecravit,

⁴¹ Stat. 33, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 58–59.

⁴² Stat. 1, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 181–82.

⁴³ Ibid. The original text read at this place ‘respice ad Christianum [Christianorum or Romanum, Romanorum] benignus imperium’.

⁴⁴ Stat. 57, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 208.

⁴⁵ Stat. 2, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Perhaps under the competition of the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. This prayer was introduced by the Genral Chapter in 1245.

⁴⁷ Stat. 3, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, pp. 475–76. The Tartar menace prompted a general return to Clamors anchored on Psalm 78. See, among others, MS Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1245 fol. 238 (the Provincial Council of Normandy); Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 22, col. 1048 (Bordeaux), cols 1100–01 (Mainz); vol. 23, col. 777 (Magdeburg).

⁴⁸ Stat. 13, Canivez, *Statuta*, III, p. 3.

psalmus “Deus venerunt gentes” cum versiculis et collectis consuetis ad missas conventuales, non tamen ad maiores, absque pulsatione campanae, dicatur per Ordinem universum’.⁴⁹

Our final evidence on the employment of this prayer in a crusading context consists of the instructions that John XXII issued in late 1322 to hold special Masses for the sake of the crusaders defending Cyprus and Armenia. One of the two forms of the Clamor designed for these Masses consisted of Psalm 78, four versicles (*Salvos fac servos, Esto, Nihil proficiat, Exurge domine*), and two prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in a highly unusual version, and *Hostium*).⁵⁰ It was replaced in 1333 by a completely different type of Holy Land Mass which lacked the Holy Land Clamor but received three additional prayers, among them the *Deus qui admirabili* Collect, which articulated the Mass’s overall Holy Land goal.⁵¹

The *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Clamor has been transmitted in at least twelve different forms.⁵² Only three can be positively identified through specific rubrics, one as Holy Land Clamor (No. 7), another as *Contra Turcas* (No. 9), and the third as *Contra Hereticos Hussitas* (No. 11). No. 4 exhibits a rubric (‘Oratio dicenda pro salute propugnantium’) and structure almost identical to those of No. 11: it should be identified, consequently, as an anti-Hussitic service. Three other Clamors allow at best a tentative identification of a Crusade aim (either Holy Land or other), due to their inclusion of Psalm 78 (Nos. 1, 3, 12), but the precise goal of the other clamors is more difficult to establish, as they are either untitled (Nos. 1, 2, 6) or designated generally as Clamors *Contra paganos* (Nos 3, 10, 12) or *Contra infideles* (No. 5). Some of these could have functioned as Holy Land Clamors (especially No. 12); others were probably aimed at other crusading targets.

Two fifteenth-century sources from England document the transformation of this Clamor from a Holy Land supplication to a typical royal prayer-set. Such was the service of intercession for the English royal family that was celebrated in the Abbey of Evesham throughout the fifteenth century.⁵³ Two forms of this service are preserved in six unnumbered leaves joined to the thirteenth-century MS Oxford, Bodleian Library

⁴⁹ Stat. 20, Canivez, *Statuta*, III, p. 248.

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 100–01.

⁵¹ Letters addressed to the entire hierarchy of the French Church, 26 July 1333 (*Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France*, ed. by A. Coulon and S. Clémencet (Paris, 1972), No. 5210, pp. 78–79).

⁵² See Sources to this chapter, II, pp. 68–70.

⁵³ The intercessions were said for Henry IV (1399–1413) and his queen Joanna, and for Margaret the queen of Henry VI (1422–61) and his son Edward (1461–83; the name of Margaret was later altered for Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV). The text was edited by H. A. Wilson, *Officium ecclesiasticum abbatum secundum usum Eveshamensis Monasterii*, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. 6 (London, 1893), p. 159.

Barlow 7. In its earliest form this service consists of two versicles (*Salvum fac servum tuum, Adducentur regi virgines post eam*), while its later form has three versicles (*Salvam fac ancillam tuam, Nichil proficiat inimicus in ea, Esto ei*) and an *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. This prayer, however, has been radically transformed. It now reads:

Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice ad anglicanum regnum et viam et actus famuli tui regis nostri . . . [N.] et famule tue . . . [N.] regine nostre et omnium sibi committantium in salutis tue prosperitate dispone, ut inter omnes vie et vite huius varietates tuo semper protegantur auxilio, ut sibi rebelles qui in sua feritate confidunt potentie tue dextera comprimantur.

The other record of this type is the personal prayer-set anchored on the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer in Richard III's Book of Hours.⁵⁴ It consists of that prayer in its Clementine version, *Christeleison* . . . , *Domine Ihesu miserere* (three times), the phrase 'Spiritus Dominus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis',⁵⁵ and the *Pater noster*.

Although these two cases derive from different liturgical functions—public service in Evesham and personal devotion intended for a king (who, by all accounts, needed it badly)—they close, in a way, a circle in the history of the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. They re-employ it in its original meaning and function as a Good Friday prayer 'Pro Christianissimo Imperatore [Rege]', though the versicles employed in the Evesham service and (to a lesser extent) the Clementine version in King Richard's Book of Hours suggest a direct dependence on the Holy Land Clamor.

III. The Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis Clamor

III.1 Manuscripts

This Clamor is known from liturgical manuscripts only. Unlike the other Clamors, its history cannot be reconstructed on evidence obtained from both liturgical and extra-liturgical sources, such as literary, historiographical, or other documents. The extent of its original diffusion can be deduced, nevertheless, from the considerable extent of its documentation: it has been preserved in no less than twenty-three manuscripts. Most of them (and practically all the earliest) cannot be dated precisely; their dating rests on palaeographical grounds alone, and it provides, at best, approximations stretching over several decades. Eight of these manuscripts present a further complication in that their

⁵⁴ London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 474, fol. 184^v. Richard's name was erased from prayers on fols 182 and 183.

⁵⁵ See *Philippians* 2.8.

Clamor texts are not integral to the original manuscripts but interpolations added at a later date. Faced with undated interpolations inserted into undated manuscripts, hence with approximate dates superimposed on other approximate dates, the historian should allow very generous margins of error in dating these Clamors. The apparently accurate dates offered by cataloguers and palaeographers—the seemingly precise distinctions between ‘the last quarter of the twelfth century’ and ‘early thirteenth’, or between ‘late twelfth’ and ‘thirteenth’, let alone the sweeping attributions to ‘twelfth-century’ and ‘thirteenth-century’ sources—should be treated, therefore, with the utmost caution and reserve.

I have divided these manuscripts,⁵⁶ consequently, into two groups: the first group (A) consists of fifteen manuscripts (integral and interpolated) produced during the last decade of the twelfth century (for this Clamor was written, by definition, after the defeat of Hattin in 1187) and throughout the thirteenth,⁵⁷ and a second group (B), which includes the nine later sources (integral and interpolated), produced during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.⁵⁸ The definition of the first group of fourteen manuscripts rests on palaeographical considerations alone, while precise dates as well as palaeographical considerations determine the second group. It comprises four manuscripts copied during the fourteenth century, three produced during the fifteenth, and one sixteenth-century print. Our sources testify, consequently, to a considerable duration, from the late twelfth century through the mid-sixteenth.

The chronological distribution of the sources, fifteen in group A against nine in group B, suggests a clear decline in the popularity of this Clamor after the thirteenth century. Inverse proportions were to be expected if it was regularly observed from the end of the twelfth century to the close of the fifteenth, for a higher rate of manuscript wastage (with time) in the earlier group would have resulted in a larger number of manuscripts surviving from the second group (assuming that the production of new manuscripts is maintained at least at a constant rate). Even if this factor is ignored, one would expect B to be proportionally larger than A, since the period represented by B is almost twice as long as that covered by A. Both assumptions are invalidated, therefore, by the actual distribution of the extant manuscripts.

The ratio of interpolated texts to integral texts in the manuscripts of group A (about 2:1) brings out the evolutionary aspect of the history of this Clamor. Clamor texts are interpolated in nine of the thirteen⁵⁹ manuscripts in group A, with only four integral sources, a proportion of approximately two to one that reflects its highly irregular practice in the established ritual of the twelfth/thirteenth century. Interpolated texts prove at least single performances in specific times and places, and as such they provide

⁵⁶ Sigla in Sources to this chapter, III.1, pp. 70–71.

⁵⁷ See Sources to this chapter, III.1, pp. 71–72.

⁵⁸ See Sources to this chapter, III.1, p. 72.

⁵⁹ It is impossible, of course, to say anything about the nature of the Clamor in the lost Chartres manuscripts.

valuable evidence on actual practice. They may also be taken to represent the first stage in a potential process of integration, with the interpolated manuscripts serving as archetypes to subsequent integral copies. Such a process seems to have taken place with the Carthusian Office Clamor and the Saint-Amand Mass Clamor, but the absence of a sizeable integral documentation from the later periods suggests that in the long run potentially 'first stage' interpolations were not followed by subsequent integration. They exhibit something of a stunted growth.

Examination of the liturgical typology of both groups leads to similar conclusions. While group A consists entirely of Mass books (Missals, Ordinals, and Sacramentaries), in group B one encounters both Missals and Office books (Breviaries and Diurnals with one Collectar, mainly Carthusian). Group B manuscripts reflect the integration of the occasional Clamor into the established daily Office, in a line that leads from the interpolated M to the integral texts of the five Office manuscripts of group B (E, F, K, N, U). The thirteenth-century Mass Clamor passed with great difficulty into the fourteenth century, while the Office Clamor survived at least until the end of the fifteenth.

The geographical distribution of the Mass Clamor manuscripts indicates a fairly large area of production and, by implication, of practice as well. It includes localities situated in the German area (Bamberg, Klosterneuburg, Linz, and Mainz), the French area (Chartres, Sens, Fecamp, St-Denis, and St-Valery), the intermediate regions (Arles, Arras, Saint-Amand), and as far south as Braga. The same triple provenance of German, French, and the intermediate area reappears in the Carthusian documentation, with manuscripts produced in Treves, Montrieux, and Dijon.

III.2 Structure

The Mass Clamor texts present a common structure: one psalm, several versicles, and one prayer. Psalm 78 appears in almost all the manuscripts. Most of them have seven or eight versicles,⁶⁰ largely identical and following the same order, and one prayer, the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis*. An antiphon is specified only in the Saint-Amand Clamor, though one would assume that an antiphon usually accompanied a psalm when it was read in its entirety. This is the common, primary structure of this Mass Clamor, preserved unchanged in eight manuscripts (C2, G, L, P, S, V1, V2, Y).

Six manuscripts and the late Iberian print diverge from it, witnessing to local variations, to the later evolution of the original Clamor, and to the hazards of the text's transmission. Manuscript A has three prayers; C1, C2, and Braga two: apparently local initiatives that enhanced the Clamor through the addition of other Holy Land prayers or prayers traditionally said in times of war and tribulation. Braga added as a second prayer the *Deus qui ad nostra redemptionis*, while the *Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam*—COr

⁶⁰ Three manuscripts (C1, K10, and L) have seven versicles, one manuscript (Z) nine.

No. 3129 (in manuscript A), a *De tribulatione* prayer, was employed by the Cistercians as a prayer for the Holy Land as early as 1239,⁶¹ in 1261 (against the Tartars),⁶² and in 1270 (for the crusaders).⁶³ *Hostium* (in C1 and C2) was a traditional prayer employed both *Contra persecutores et male agentes* and *In tempore belli*.⁶⁴ Z and Klo bring the Holy Land prayer in an augmented version (A2) that echoes more closely the particular context of the crusade.

Divergence in the versicles calls for a closer examination under three headings: identification of the versicles, their number, and their order.

All the first group manuscripts as well as the second-group Missals Klo and Y draw their versicles from a pool of eleven versicles; as most of them have eight versicles, they share, necessarily, a large number of them. Even the shorter O—with only five versicles—shares four of these versicles with other manuscripts, B—with six versicles—shares all six with the rest, and T—with seven—shares all seven. The ‘extra’ three versicles replace ‘primary’ ones in four manuscripts: *Nihil* replaces *Mitte* in A and L, *Salvos fac reges* replaces *Esto* in R, and *Salvos fac servos* replaces *Exurgat* in O and in Z. Both the *Salvos fac reges* and the *Salvos fac servos* versicles have been employed in the Cistercian ritual for the crusaders since the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁶⁵

Another typical crusading addition appears in G and T: the common *Oremus pro afflictis et captivis christianis* has been supplemented with ‘et peregrinis’, an explicit reference to the crusaders. *Fiat pax* appears only in Z and M. With the exception of O and Z, finally, these texts follow the same order. They all open with *Exurgat* (and most of them with *Non nobis* as well) and close with *Domine exaudi* and *Dominus vobiscum*. Many of them maintain the middle sequence of the four versicles *Salvum fac populum*, *Oremus pro afflictis*, *Mitte* and *Esto*. The same order was followed even in the reduced list of B, which skips two versicles.

On structural grounds alone, therefore, the first group of manuscripts (with the later Klo and Y) exhibits a considerable homogeneity, though frayed by the usual wear, tear and repair of a liturgy permanently attuned to the fortunes and misfortunes of the crusade. Only two manuscripts—D and O—stand out as complete mavericks, in a significant distance from the rest of the group. D has only one versicle, either the Clamor’s original number or an extreme abbreviation of it, yet neither alternative can be proved or disproved. O diverges from the other texts by having only five versicles, by bringing in—together with Z—a new versicle, and by rearranging these versicles in a completely new order.

⁶¹ 1239, Statut. 2, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 201.

⁶² 1261, Statut. 3, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 475.

⁶³ 1270, Statut. 75, Canivez, *Statuta*, III, p. 92.

⁶⁴ See *COr* No. 3007.

⁶⁵ Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 122.

Table 1.A: Structure of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor
(arranged by prayer variants; integ = integral; interp = interpolation)

MSS GROUP A	MSS GROUP B	PSALM	RESPONSORY	VERSICLE	PRAYER	PRAYER VARIANTS	SERVICE
D integ		1 (78)		1	1	I	Mass
A interp		1 (78)		8	3	I	Mass
C1 integ		1 (78)		7	2	I	Mass
	C2	1 (78)		8	2	I	Mass
O interp		1 (78)		5	1	I	Mass
L interp		1 (78)		8	1	I	Mass
P interp				8	1	I	Mass
S integ		1 (78)		8	1	I	Mass
T integ		1 (78)		7	2	I	Mass
	Y integ	1 (78)		8	1	I	Mass
	Braga integ	2 (3 78)	1 Res.	8	2	I	Mass
B interp				6	1	II	Mass
G interp		1 (78)		8	1	II	Mass
R interp		1 (78)		8	1	II	Mass
V1 interp		1 (78)	1	8	1	II	Mass
V2 integ		1 (78)	1	8			Mass
Z integ		1 (78)		9	1	II	Mass
	Klo integ	1 (78)		7	1	II	Mass
	M interp	2 (78 122)		7	5	II	Office Cart
	F integ	2 (78 122)			5+6	II	Office Cart
	U integ				1	II	Office
	E integ	2 (78 122)		6	5+2	III	Office
	K integ	2 (78 122)		6	6	III	Office Cart
	N integ	2 (78 122)		6	1	III	Office Cart

Table 1.B: The versicles in the *Deus qui ad nostre resemptionis* Clamor (MSS) (per = peregrinis)

MSS	EXURGAT	SALVOS FAC SERVOS NON NOBIS	SALVOS FAC REGES SALVUM FAC POPULUM	EXURGE DOMINE OREMUS PRO AFFLICTIS	MITTE DOMINE DEUS VIRTUTUM	ESTO NIHIL FIAT	DOMINE EXAUDI DOMINUS VOBISCUM	DOMINE NON SECUNDUM MEMOR ESTO SALVUM FAC REGEM	OREMUS PRO SERVIS SANCTA DELGENTRIX ORA PRO NOBIS BEATUS IACOBE
D	1				2		4	5	
O	1	3							
A	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8
C1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
C2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Klo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
L	1	2	3	4		6	5	7	8
P	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
S	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
G	1	2	3	4per	5	6	7	8	
R	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
V1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
V2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Y	1	2*	3	4	5	6	7	8	
T	1		3	4per	5		6	7	2
B	1			2	3	4	5	6	
Z		4	1	2	3	5	6	7	8
Braga							7	8	1
M	1	2	5	3		4	6	7	2
E	1	2		3		5		4;6	3
N	1	2		3		5		4;6	4
K	1	2		3		5		4	6
* Y reads here 'Esto nobis domine', but as it brings the <i>Esto</i> versicle again, in its correct place (the sixth), it is clear that it replaced erroneously 'Non' with 'Esto'.									

The essential uniformity of this group cannot be attributed to the cohesion of a closely knit community or to the unifying effects of a distinct culture, for its distribution is widespread over diverse cultural entities. Homogeneity in this case is probably due to the relatively short life of the Clamor. The usual process of progressive diversification, already visible in five documents, apparently stopped at a fairly early stage, when this

Mass Clamor encountered competition from other liturgical forms and, above all, from that of the Mass Clamor anchored on the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. The appearance of a Holy Land Mass anchored on a *Deus qui ad exhibenda* Collect in the mid-fourteenth-century Missal of St Denis corroborates, nevertheless, the evidence of the manuscripts cited above, that this Clamor maintained its hold (certainly in its Office form) at certain localities well into the fifteenth century.

The versicle portion of Braga is strikingly original, with only two (the ubiquitous final *Domine exaudi* and *Dominus vobiscum*) of its eight versicles shared with the other witnesses of this Clamor. It obviously reflects a later Iberian practice, for one of its versicles consists of a litany-type suffrage to St James (*Ora pro nobis beatus Iacobe*), and its overall structure is closer to that of the Office Clamor than to the Mass Clamor.

III.3 The Office Clamor

The history of the Office Clamor *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* seems to have begun when its sibling Mass Clamor practically petered out, sometime in the thirteenth century, for its earliest record is the interpolated text of M. It probably originated much earlier, in conjunction with the appearance of the Mass Clamor in the twelfth century, but we possess as yet no proof of such early beginnings. The comparable early introduction of the Office Clamor into the Cistercian ritual (before 1193, and again in 1194) makes this conjecture more than plausible. But whether a testimony to a new inception or to an evolved stage, M presents a structure that is substantially different from that of the Mass Clamor. It has two psalms (78 and 122), five prayers, and seven versicles, two of which are entirely new, and in an order that is quite different from that of the Mass Clamor: only the first two versicles keep their traditional places.

The later Carthusian manuscripts present an integrated Clamor; it has become regular, as regular as the daily Office of which it formed a part, preceding Prime of the Little Office of BVM. It still has the same two psalms, but the number of prayers tends to grow. F adds to the five obligatory prayers six optionals (according to 'recent regulation'), E supplements these five with two additional prayers (specifying 'non est ex ordine'), and K has six obligatory prayers. The number of versicles stabilises at six, three traditional and two completely new, organised in a system (shared by the three later manuscripts E, N, K) that repeats the *Domine exaudi* in the fourth and in the sixth places.

The Choir Breviary of St Denis with its single prayer is our only indication that this Office Clamor was practised in the fourteenth century also outside the Carthusian Order.

III.4 The Prayer

Collation of the texts of the Collect *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* brings out two main variants, I and II, distinct mainly through their openings, which were changed from I to II in a process of progressive simplification. The primary opening has an involved

ascending construction: 'Deus, qui ad nostre redemptionis exhibenda mysteria terram promissionis elegisti . . .'. The idea expressed by the rather long subordinate clause following 'Deus' unfolds suddenly at its end with the verb 'elegisti', and the listener is carried forward and up to this point 'on trust', as it were, accumulating on his way the various building blocks that will join together into a coherent statement only at the very end of the clause. He would have found this clause difficult to follow for other reasons as well: first, adjectives precede their nouns; second, the preposition 'ad' is separated from its verbal gerundive and noun in the accusative case ('exhibenda mysteria') by two words in the genitive case ('nostre redemptionis'), an association of 'ad' + Gen. that produces a disturbing dissonance; and, finally, the logical structure of the action described is inverted, recited, as it were, from end to beginning. Read from a written source this prayer would present some difficulty, certainly not insurmountable to a reader with enough leisure to return to the beginning of the clause once he arrived at its end. Heard in the course of a forward moving liturgical event, however, without any control of time and leisure to retrace his steps, a listener might find this clause somewhat difficult to grasp.

The most notable variants in the prayer's text appear, indeed, in this clause. They simplify its structure while preserving its general ascending movement (and tension) toward the verb and the clarification at the end. Simplification is achieved by reversing the original order of adjective + noun to a new one of noun + adjective, by moving the gerundive back and coupling it directly with the preposition 'ad', thus creating a smoother link between this preposition and the noun (and adjective) in the accusative case that the listener expects to follow, and, finally, by a sharper explication of the contrasting terms 'populus' and 'gentes' through additional adjectives.

The primary text with the original opening (I) appears in ten manuscripts of the group of Missal Clamor manuscripts: A, C1, C2, D, O, L, P, S, T, Y. It underwent a distinct change (II) in four manuscripts of the same group: B, G, R, and V1 ('redemptionis nostre' replacing 'nostre redemptionis'). A curious variant documented in the later Braga carries the process one step further by changing 'nostre' to 'nostra' and connecting it to 'exhibenda mysteria', an obvious effort to find a way round the stumbling-block of the close proximity of 'ad' to the genitive case. Version II2 (Z and Klo) consists of the primary text with an additional phrase that recalls the immediate concerns of the crusaders, namely remission of sins, successful *iter*, victory over the enemies, and the prize of eternal recompense.

The primary text of the prayer is as follows.

Deus, qui ad nostre redemptionis⁶⁶ exhibenda mysteria terram promissionis⁶⁷ elegisti, libera eam quesumus ab instantia paganorum, ut gentium⁶⁸ incredulitate confusa populus⁶⁹ in te confidens⁷⁰ de tue virtutis potentia⁷¹ gloriatur.

⁶⁶ redemptionis nostre B, G, Klo, R, V1; nostra redemptionis Braga.

⁶⁷ repromissionis D, Klo.

Variant I2 adds: ‘Omnibusque⁷² hunc laborem summentibus propter gloriam nominis tui, da eis quesumus, domine, remissionem peccatorum, itineris prosperitatem, victoriam de inimicis, et premium eterne retributionis’.

At the other end of the scale, represented by the six manuscripts of the Office Clamor and by an additional non-Clamor (a Mass triple-set) in St Denis manuscript,⁷³ stands version II: its distinctive opening is ‘Deus, qui ad exhibenda nostre redemptionis’. The text of M, its earlier witness, is as follows:

Deus, qui ad exhibenda nostre redemptionis mysteria terram promissionis elegisti, libera eam, quesumus, ab instantia paganorum, ut gentilium⁷⁴ incredulitate confusa populus Christianus⁷⁵ de tue virtutis potentia gloriatur.

This group includes, consequently, two sub-groups: manuscripts F, M, Q, U and the distinct Carthusian sub-group E, N, K. The latter sub-group represents the end of the line originating in version I, from a quantitative point of view—the extent of changes—as well as a qualitative point of view, for it exhibits a different conception of the Holy Land and the crusade. While the rest of version II manuscripts shared with version I the assumption that the Holy Land was still Christian, though under attack by the heathen and in need of succour, the fifteenth-century II already acknowledged its loss and prayed for its restoration to Christian cult. Its text reads as follows:

Deus, qui ad exhibenda nostre redemptionis mysteria terram⁷⁶ promissionis elegisti, libera eam, quesumus, ab instantia paganorum et restitue eam cultui Christiano, ut⁷⁷ gentilium incredulitate confusa, populus Christianus⁷⁸ in te confidens de tue virtutis potentia gloriatur.

A third version of this prayer is known from the Gerona triple set of Mass prayers, documented since the thirteenth century.⁷⁹ Closer to II than to I, it reads as follows:

⁶⁸ *Om.* Braga eorum O.

⁶⁹ fidelium populus Braga.

⁷⁰ in te credens B.

⁷¹ de tua virtute et [et added by corrector] potentia Klo.

⁷² *sic* Z; Omnibus quoque Klo.

⁷³ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 1346–1891, St Denis’ Missal, c. 1350, fol. 357^v, ‘Contra paganos’ (=Q).

⁷⁴ gentium F, Q, U.

⁷⁵ populus in te confidens F; populus tuus in te confidens Q, U.

⁷⁶ redemptionis terram misteria E.

⁷⁷ *Om.* K.

⁷⁸ populus tuus Christianus K.

⁷⁹ See below, p. 108.

Deus qui ad nostre salutis exercenda misteria terram promissionis elegisti, libera eam ab instantia paganorum, ut gentium infidelitate confusa, populus Christianus in te confidens de tue virtutis potentia gloriatur.

IV. The Deus qui admirabili Clamor

IV.1 Under Innocent III

The Curia initiated new liturgical practices in support of a new crusade to liberate the Holy Land in 1213, a short time after it organised in Rome, on Ember Wednesday, 16 May 1212, a spectacular service of public supplication for the Christian fighters about to enter battle in Las Navas de Tolosa.⁸⁰ It consisted of a virtual *peregrinatio* of penitents, with the entire Roman population taking an *iter crucis* to the Basilica of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem in a symbolical crusade.⁸¹ The Mass that closed that service comprised the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Clamor, and it served as a model for the new Holy Land Clamor that Innocent III instituted less than a year later, the *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor.

That Clamor was launched in the bull *Quia maior* about 19–22 April 1213. The next stage in its history, however, is less well documented, due to the loss of the Vatican Registers covering Innocent's last three years (XVII–XIX, from 22 February 1214 to his death) as well as the officially promulgated canons of the Fourth Lateran Council. It was undoubtedly issued again by that Council, among the measures it adopted for raising a new crusade. The thirteenth-century *Flores temporum* attributes, indeed, the promulgation of this Clamor to the pope in Council on 1 November 1214 [=1215], and the fact that it indicates correctly the Clamor's insertion point in Mass after the *Agnus Dei* (the most peculiar characteristic of the new Clamor) adds to the trustworthiness of this evidence.⁸² Johann of Winterthur transmits similar information (although he places this

⁸⁰Oliver the Scholasticus saw clearly the link between the pope's policies towards the two theaters of crusade: 'Post hanc gloriosam victoriam idem apostolicus orientali ecclesie compassus, predicatorum crucis per regna misit Occidentis, cor apponens ad liberationem Terre sancte, orationes generales instituit, concilium indixit in Lateranensi basilica . . .' (*Historia regum Terre sancte*, ed. by H. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vol. 202 (Tübingen, 1894), p. 116).

⁸¹Reg. Vat. 8, fols 114^v–15, n. 181, edited in D. Mansilla, *La documentacion pontificia hasta Innocencio III (965–1216)* (Roma, 1955), No. 473, pp. 503–04. This was not the only instance of the use of the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in a Spanish crusading context. The Clamor anchored on this prayer was enjoined on all Christians for the sake of the crusaders fighting in Spain by Clement v in 1309. See below, p. 122.

⁸²*Flores temporum*, ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 24 (1879), p. 240.

Clamor before the *Agnus Dei*).⁸³ It is safe to assume, furthermore, that a good proportion of the unspecific requests to pray for the Holy Land made during the first half of the thirteenth century bear upon that specific Clamor. This is obviously the case with Honorius III's instruction in 1224 that 'psalmum illum "Deus venerunt gentes" per ecclesias omnes diebus singulis more solito decantari',⁸⁴ for the contemporary evidence of the *Chronicon Turonense* ad annum 1226 specifies that that Clamor was held 'post pacis osculum, ante sumptionem hostiae salutaris'.⁸⁵ This very unusual insertion-point⁸⁶ denotes the Clamor of Innocent III.

Copies of the bull *Quia maior* document the first stage in the history of this Clamor. They have been preserved in several sources: the Vatican Register (=V); three copies of the promulgated bull made in Köln (=K), Trier (=Ro),⁸⁷ and somewhere in Sardinia (=S),⁸⁸ another copy preserved in the thirteenth-century MS Vienna ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1467 (=ÖN),⁸⁹ and the two copies transmitted in Burchard of Ursberg's *Chronicon* (=Bu)⁹⁰ and in the Romersdorf's *Bullarium* (=Ro), considered by G. Tangl to be copies of drafts produced in the

⁸³ *Die Chronik Johannis von Winterthur*, ed. by F. Baethgen, MGH SS. rer. Germ., Nova Series III (1924), p. 2. This source, written in 1340–48, is much later than that of the *Flores temporum*, hence probably the 'corrected' insertion place: 'ante agnus Dei'.

⁸⁴ *Cum predicende crucis*, 7 March 1224, Rodenberg, vol. 1, No. 244, p. 173.

⁸⁵ *Chronicon Turonense auctore anonymo S. Martini Turonensis canonico*, RHGF, vol. 18 (1822), p. 312.

⁸⁶ Almost a generation later—in 1261—a Clamor anchored on Psalm 78 was promulgated by the Council of Magdeburg against the Tartars. It was to be held 'post "Agnus Dei" antequam sacerdos communicet' but was provided with a different Collect (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 24, col. 777).

⁸⁷ According to the opening address: '... universis Christi fidelibus per Treverensem provinciam constitutes. . .'. But see G. Tangl, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III* (Weimar, 1929).

⁸⁸ Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 388, a fourteenth-century Miscellany, fols 14–16^v, *Epistula Innocentii pape tertii ad universam ecclesiam pro negotio terre sancte Ierosolimitane* ('... universis Christi fidelibus per Sardiniam constitutis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem . . .', fol. 14). Comparison of the 'Verum cum longe' paragraph of this bull (which contains the liturgical dispositions) with the text edited by Tangl (as in note 87) brings out the substantial identity of this text with the Register's text (V). It is not free of errors—it reads 'instantiam' in place of 'instantia'—and it transmits several readings which are either inferior to or as good as those preserved in the other sources ('in singulis mensibus' against 'singulis mensibus', 'sancti sui' in place of 'sui sancti', omission of 'populo' from 'cum diligenti exhortatione populo proponatur', and, finally, 'fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius' instead of the common 'fugiant a facie eius qui oderunt eum'). It exhibits, nevertheless, one reading which is superior to that found in the other sources: 'cum devota omnium instantia postulantium' is obviously much better than 'cum devota orationum instantia postulantium'.

⁸⁹ HMML 14,810, a thirteenth-century Miscellany. Following Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, *Ammonitio innocentii papae III pro liberatione terre sancte ierusalem* (fol. 142).

⁹⁰ The cue (*Deus qui admirabili*) only.

Curia while the new text was hammered out between the Chancery and the Consistory.⁹¹ These copies reflect, consequently, the evolution of the text from its very inception through the further stages of drafting (Bu and Ro) during the first months of 1213, registration (V) and promulgation as well as reception by some of its addressees towards 19–22 April and during the following months (K, ÖN, possibly Ro, and S). The Clamor it promulgated consisted of Psalm 78, one versicle (*Exurgat deus*) and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. All three were to be said daily in Mass, following the Kiss of Peace, with the entire congregation—men and women—prostrate on the floor. While the choice of these particular psalm and versicle is not exceptional—both appear in other Clamors as well—three traits are specific to this Clamor and constitute, therefore, important identification-markers: the insertion-point; the overall combination of these particular psalm, versicle, and prayer; and, above all, the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer.

It is still a moot point whether this prayer was an original new prayer or whether Innocent III adopted a prayer practised locally and promulgated it for a much wider use, as he did in 1199 with the Sicilian Clamor. If it was new, he might well have been its author, for he enjoyed a well-merited reputation in this field,⁹² but nothing in this documentation throws light on this question. From its very inception, however, it was transmitted throughout Christendom in more than one version. Two versions were already propagated in the copies of the *Quia maior*: version I, known from Ro, V, K, and S as well as the overwhelming majority of the liturgical sources; and version II, characterised by a theodicean addition to the primary text—explaining the loss of the Holy Land and its continuous subjugation to the non-believers—which is documented in ÖN and in liturgical sources from Rheims and Gerona.⁹³ Version I branched out into several variants, some of them under contamination from version II.

Service books that guided and reflected actual liturgical practice constitute our richest source of information on the Clamor's subsequent evolution. I have classified them in two groups, according to the degree of their divergence from the form of the Clamor promulgated in the *Quia maior*. The first group includes texts identical—or very close—to the original Clamor, while the second comprises texts that deviate from it. The two groups document, in principle, different stages of the evolution of this Clamor in time. The first group reflects the earliest stage, while the second attests to the Clamor's later

⁹¹ Tangl (as in note 87) provides a critical edition of the *Quia maior* in pp. 88–97. See there detailed description and discussion of the sources Bu, K, Ro, and V.

⁹² Asked to compose prayers in honour of St Bernard, Innocent did not conceal his pleasure at the request: “Petisti namque . . . ut ad honorem beati Bernardi . . . nos ipsi collectam et alias orationes, ore proprio, dictaremus, tum propter auctoritatem dictantis, tum propter stylum dictaminis cum maiori devotione dicendas” (*Register* V:62, PL, 214, col. 1032).

⁹³ See below, p. 43. The basic agreement of these three sources (ÖN is not entirely identical with these two liturgical sources) negates the hypothesis of a local variant produced in Rheims and later adopted in Gerona (or vice versa). Such a movement between the two places would be highly unlikely, though not absolutely impossible; but the presence of this particular version in the ÖN text of the *Quia maior* clinches the argument against this hypothesis. See, in general, *COR* No. 1349.

developments. One must bear in mind, nevertheless, that ‘original form’ does not necessarily imply early date. Some of the original forms were probably maintained for a long time after their introduction.

The first group is quite easily identifiable by two structural markers: the unusual insertion-point after the Kiss of Peace, and the triple structure containing the single elements (psalm, versicle, and prayer) introduced in the *Quia maior* bull. It comprises fifteen sources, fourteen of them manuscript service-books.⁹⁴ Only one manuscript (M) transmits a Clamor absolutely identical with the *Quia maior* model. Seven other sources omit the insertion-point but maintain the original triple structure (C, E1 and E2, F, O, P, R, W). Seven manuscripts transmit the prayer alone, undoubtedly a much weaker identification-mark (A, B, D, L, N, T, Z). Eleven of the fourteen manuscripts are interpolated pre-thirteenth-century manuscripts, and the remaining three are integral thirteenth-century manuscripts, corroborating our assumption that this group represents the inaugural stage of this Clamor. As a whole this group indicates a marked reluctance to adopt the form as it was introduced by Innocent III, in particular its unusual insertion-point. The new prayer, on the other hand, proved to be an immediate success.

The five copies of the *Quia maior* (K, ÖN, Ro, S, V) and manuscript M serve as our main sources for establishing the text of the prayer in its two versions, version I and version II. They are followed in a descending order of authority by manuscripts E, F, O, P, R, and the group comprising A, B, D, L, N, Z. The text of version I is as follows:

Deus qui ammirabili⁹⁵ providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram, quam unigenitus filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit, de⁹⁶ manibus inimicorum crucis⁹⁷ eripiens restituas cultui christiano, vota fidelium ad⁹⁸ eius liberationem⁹⁹ instantium¹⁰⁰ misericorditer¹⁰¹ dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per.

The ÖN strain of version II is as follows:

Deus qui ammirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te supplices exoramus, ut terram, quam unigenitus filius tuus dominus noster proprio sanguine consecravit, de manu hostium crucis eripias, qui non tam ex sue virtutis potentia quam ex nostre iniquitatis offensa eam detinent occupatam, ipsamque restituas cultui Christiano ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui sancti, vota fidelium qui ad eius liberationem institerint misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne.

⁹⁴ See Sources to this chapter, IV.1, pp. 72–74.

⁹⁵ ammirabili E2 admirabili (Bu, K, S), A, B, F, N, O, R, U, Z.

⁹⁶ de om. E1.

⁹⁷ crucis add. supra R.

⁹⁸ Om. N.

⁹⁹ liberationi N.

¹⁰⁰ instantie E2.

¹⁰¹ misericorditer om. R.

The Roman text in MS W conforms, essentially, to version I, although it contains some readings received from version II:

Deus qui ammirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram, quam unigenitus filius tuus dominus noster proprio sanguine consecravimus, de manibus inimicorum crucis eripiens, restituas cultui Christiano, vota fidelium qui ad eius liberationem institerint misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne.

IV.2 Evolution

The second stage in the evolution of this Clamor is characterised by structural expansion. As the traditional Clamors and even more so the parallel *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor demonstrated very plainly, people preferred their Clamors to be lavishly structured, with more psalms, versicles, and prayers. Expansion reflected, furthermore, the tendency to adapt the Clamor to contemporary needs and expectations through constant readjustments. The history of the Clamor during the decades following its introduction is consequently a history of expansion. This phase is delimited, in principle, by the reintroduction of this Clamor by Innocent IV in 1245. Originally a variant of the 1213 Clamor, the new Clamor became, in its turn, a source feeding its own particular line, a distinct subtype. The two Clamors differ from each other in several characteristics, mainly in the insertion-point, and in the number, choice, and order of their versicles and prayers. Yet, once again, one should not assume that the pre-1245 practice was totally replaced by the new form: the old certainly persisted alongside the new. Our second group of sources comprises, therefore, texts that differ structurally from the original form of the 1213 Clamor, on the one hand, but are not attributable to the 1245 Clamor, on the other hand. Sixteen manuscripts are comprised in this group.¹⁰² Eleven date from the thirteenth century, four from the fourteenth (mostly from the early part of the century), and one from the fifteenth. Their geographical provenance is wide: Italy, Flanders, France, Germany, Spain, and England.

Eight manuscripts indicate more or less precise insertion-points. D, E, and M maintain the insertion after the *Libera* as instituted by Innocent III (D: ‘infra communionem’, E: between the *Hec sacrosancta commixtio*—which follows in this manuscript the *Agnus Dei*—and the *Pax tibi*, M: between the *Libera* and the *Pax Domini*). B, G, H, L, and T revert to the more traditional location after the *Pater noster*.

Expansion was a simple matter: more psalms, versicles, and prayers were added to the rather meagre fare proposed by Innocent III, and some texts were replaced by others, omitted or rearranged in different sequences. Expansion resulted, on the whole, from unrelated decisions taken by many liturgists, in an uncoordinated activity carried out by numerous people in the field. Some measure of uniformity directed from above is documented in centralised and well-organised monastic orders such as the Cistercians

¹⁰² See Sources to this chapter, IV.2, pp. 74–75.

and the Carmelites (see the close relationship between the Carmelite B, N, T), or in particularly well-governed ecclesiastical dioceses and provinces, but this was the exception rather than the rule. This situation gave rise to both local traditions and more wide-ranging usages. The former are usually poorly documented—certainly in comparison with the latter—for several good reasons, not the least of them being the great disparity in terms of territoriality, stability, efficiency, and influence between organisations that instituted and practised local Clamors in contrast to ‘universal’ Clamors. No local monastery or a diocese could compete in this on equal footing with the Roman Curia or with the Cistercian order. Yet both types of Clamor should be considered in any comprehensive description of the Clamor phenomenon.

While G, K, and M retain the one and original *Exurgat*, the other manuscripts transmit an expanded versicle section. B, D, L, N, R, and T added a second versicle, *Dominus vobiscum*, obviously in order to delineate more clearly the versicle segment from the prayer. The same versicle is also found in A, C, E, F, and J, but as these manuscripts are supplied with a larger number of versicles, it is to be assumed that the pair of initiatory and final versicles formed the first stage in the expansion of the versicle section. S too has two versicles, but they are quite unusual, inspired by either the Office Clamor for the Holy Land practised by the Cistercians after Chapter or the traditional Clamor *Contra persecutores Ecclesiae* in its twelfth-century Fleury version. S eliminates the *Exurgat deus* versicle, one of the most typical markers of this Clamor, and H, O have no versicle at all. C counts already three versicles (the *Exurge domine*, probably borrowed from the thirteenth-century Holy Land Office Clamor documented in the Charterhouse of Montrieux),¹⁰³ E four, A and J five, and F six. The five versicles added in these manuscripts—*Non nobis, Salvum fac populum, Fiat, Esto, and Domine exaudi*—originated in the pool of versicles common to the two other contemporary Holy Land Clamors, the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*.

Expansion occurred also in the prayer section, although the pace of change here was much slower. Of the sixteen manuscripts only E, J, and M supplement the primary prayer with additional prayers. E adds the *Da pacem domine*, and M includes the *Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam*, an *In tribulatione* Mass Collect (COr No. 3129) employed by the Cistercians in the Office Clamor for the Holy Land decreed in 1239.¹⁰⁴ M and O exhibit two other changes that were certainly inspired by an Office Clamor: the introduction of a responsory (*Aspice domine de sede*) to precede the psalm in M, and the introduction of Psalm 69 (*Deus in adiutorium*), the typical psalm of the Litany of the Saints, as the first psalm (of two) in O and in place of Psalm 78 in M. J adds two supplementary prayers: *Ecclesie tue*, a *Contra persecutores Ecclesie* Mass Collect,¹⁰⁵ and *Deus a quo sancta desideria*, a *Pro pace* Mass Collect.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ See below, p. 71.

¹⁰⁴ Statutes 2,3. M employs this prayer as the *Pro quacumque tribulatione* Mass Collect (fol. 320^v).

¹⁰⁵ COr No. 2404a.–b.

¹⁰⁶ COr No. 1088.

Table 1.C: The versicles in the *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor (MSS, 2nd group)

MSS	EXURGAT	ASPICE DOMINE DE SANCTO	EXURGE DOMINE	ASPICE DOMINE QUIA	NON NOBIS	SALVUM FAC POPULUM	FIAT	MITTE	ESTO	DOMINE EXAUDI	DOMINUS VOBISCUM
A	1				2	3	4		5		
B	1										2
C	1		2								3
D	1										2
E	1				3	2					4
F	1					2	4	3		5	6
G	1										
J	1					2	3			4	5
K	1										
L	1										2
M	1										
N	1										2
R	1										2
S		1		2							
T	1										2

Seven of the seventeen manuscripts—F, L, M, N, O, S, T—preserve the text of the prayer *Deus qui admirabili* in version I. Two manuscripts (G, R) transmit a strain of version II already signalled in ÖN (above). It reads as follows:

Deus qui admirabili providentia¹⁰⁷ tua cuncta disponis te suppliciter exoramus ut terram quam unigenitus filius tuus dominus noster¹⁰⁸ proprio sanguine consecravit de manibus inimicorum crucis eripias, qui eam non tam ex virtutis sue¹⁰⁹ potentia quam ex nostre iniquitatis offensa detinent occupatam, ipsamque restituas cultui christiano ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui sancti, vota fidelium qui ad eius liberationem institerint misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per.

The significant alterations introduced in the other seven manuscripts (B has the incipit only) reflect, on the whole, contamination with version II, which served as the source for the replacement of ‘suppliciter’ with ‘supplices’ (D, E, J, K, O), ‘vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instantium’ with ‘vota fidelium qui ad eius liberationem insistent’ (A),

¹⁰⁷ potentia R; Obviously a scribal erroneous rendering of an (abbreviated?) ‘providentia tua’, though it was still partly maintained in the later Rheims tradition and in the fifteenth-century Pontifical of Henri de Ville-sur-Ilлон, bishop of Toul (see below). The scribe’s eye could have been arrested by the next ‘potentia’, thirty words down.

¹⁰⁸ Deus noster R.

¹⁰⁹ sue virtutis R.

‘eripiens’ with ‘eripias’ (A), and in the addition of ‘[cultui christiano] ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui sancti’ in C and A.¹¹⁰

IV.3 The 1245 Clamor of Innocent IV

This Clamor, a considerably expanded form of the Clamor instituted by Innocent III, was produced in the context of the preparations for the new crusade that was decreed by Innocent IV in the Council of Lyons and entrusted to the leadership of Louis IX. Unfortunately it is not documented directly in the papal sources or in the documents issued in the Council of Lyons, though indirect information highlights the role of the Papal Legate Eudes de Chateauroux in its introduction and propagation. Our best evidence on it comes from the Cistercian General Chapter of 1245, which decreed this Clamor ‘Pro domino Papa, pro rege Franciae qui signum sanctae crucis assumpsit, et pro terra sancta, maxime ad petitionem venerabilis patris Thusculani episcopi legati Franciae . . .’,¹¹¹ and from two Cistercian manuscript service-books.¹¹² Like the 1213 Clamor it was to be held in prostration during the daily Conventual Mass, to be anchored on Psalm 78, and to have an essentially triple structure (psalm + versicle + prayer), but several innovations testify to what extent it has evolved since 1213.

The insertion-point has been moved back to follow the *Pater noster*, and the number of versicles was increased to six by the addition of five new versicles to the original *Deus exurgat*. The pool of versicles employed included the already popular *Salvum fac populum*, the new crusading versicle *Oremus pro afflictis et captivis et peregrinis christianis* (borrowed, probably, from the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor), and two Great Litany versicles (*Mitte, Domine exaudi*). The prayer for the pope (*Deus omnium fidelium pastor*) was to precede the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer, which still conserved, essentially, the original text (replacing, though, ‘suppliciter’ with ‘supplices’). A special version of this Clamor was designed for the French kingdom. It is known from three manuscripts¹¹³ and from the Cistercian general promulgation: a supplementary versicle bearing specifically on the king (*Domine salvum fac regem*) was added to the six versicles of the general form, and a special prayer for the king (*Famulum tuum regem*) increased the number of the prayers to three. This prayer was to be said between the prayer for the pope and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer, an arrangement that reflects the exact positions of the three goals as they were enunciated in the preamble to the Cistercian statute. Further details on the actual practice of this Clamor in

¹¹⁰ A omits ‘sancti’.

¹¹¹ Stat. 2, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 289.

¹¹² See Sources to this chapter, IV.3, pp. 75–76.

¹¹³ See Sources to this chapter, IV.3, p. 76.

1248 among the Franciscans in France are given by Salimbene de Adam: it was performed daily in the conventual Mass throughout France during the whole year.¹¹⁴

The distinct physiognomy of this Clamor that emerges from liturgical and other sources consists, consequently, of the following elements: 1) insertion-point after the *Pater noster*; 2) a much larger number of versicles (usually six); 3) a new common pool of versicles which comprises the initiatory (*Exurgat deus*) and final (*Dominus vobiscum*) versicles as well as a group of the Litany of the Saints versicles (*Mitte* and *Domine exaudi* in all the manuscripts, *Esto* and *Fiat* in some) and the crusading versicle *Oremus pro afflictis et captivis et peregrinis christianis*; and 4) a tendency to expand the prayer section to two or three prayers. The *Deus qui admirabili* prayer does not differ, basically, from version I and its later evolved forms, although the influence of version II can be detected in the adoption of typical readings such as ‘filius tuus deus noster’, ‘Dominus noster’, and ‘Dominus noster Ihesus Christus’. These particular characteristics marked the Clamor variants that evolved directly from the 1245 form, and they contaminated to some extent forms that did not stand in direct relationship to this Clamor.

IV.4 Later Variants

One of the most successful channels for the propagation of the 1245 Clamor was provided by the Pontifical of Guillaume Durand, composed between 1291 and 1295, while Guillaume was actively performing his episcopal duties in his diocese of Mende. Our Clamor appears in III:XVI, under the title *Ordo pro liberatione terre sancte a fidei inimicis*. The success of Durand’s Pontifical was ‘immediate and permanent’, to use M. Andrieu’s description,¹¹⁵ and the extraordinary diffusion and influence of the Pontifical imply a corresponding knowledge—if not actual practice—of this particular ordo.

Andrieu’s critical edition, based on fourteen manuscripts, provides us with an excellent access to Durand’s variant of the 1245 Clamor. It should be corrected, however, in one detail: it omits one of the Clamor’s seven versicles (*Fiat*), either a printing error or an editing oversight. Four of the best manuscripts collated by Andrieu for his edition¹¹⁶ transmit this versicle, yet its rejection is neither signalled nor justified in the *apparatus criticus*.

¹¹⁴ ‘Et cum diceretur pre totam Franciam in missa conventuali qualibet die per totum annum psalmus ‘Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam’ et cet. . .’, *Cronica*, ed. by G. Scalia, vol. I (Bari, 1966), p. 340. Salimbene, who witnessed this practice during his stay with the Franciscans of Provins, refers to it in a passage that deals with the negative attitude of the Joachimites to the projected crusade of Louis IX.

¹¹⁵ M. Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au Moyen-Age*, t. III: *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand*, Studi e Testi, 88 (Città del Vaticano, 1940), p. 17.

¹¹⁶ Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 390 (9216) and Paris, BNF, mss. latins 733, 951, and 967. *Fiat* is also part of the Ordo in Philadelphia, Free Library MS 171 (De Ricci 36).

Durand's Ordo (=D) consists of Psalm 78, seven versicles, and two prayers, the whole inserted 'statim post Pater noster'. The six versicles added to the primary *Exurgat deus* are: *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat*, *Oremus pro afflictis et peregrinis christianis* (a remarkable omission of 'et captivis', one of the hallmarks of this variant), *Mitte*, *Esto*, and *Domine exaudi* (as a final rather than penultimate versicle, replacing the *Dominus vobiscum*).¹¹⁷ The second ('alia') prayer is *Hostium*, a Collect traditionally employed in Masses *Contra persecutores et male agentes* and *In tempore belli* and, more recently and pertinently, as a second prayer in the Chartres usage of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Mass Holy Land Clamor and as a Secret in the interpolated Holy Land Mass documented in the Sacramentary of St Trophime, Arles.¹¹⁸ The absence of the 'royal' versicle *Domine salvum fac regem* as well as the 'royal' prayer *Famulum tuum* suggests that the source of this Clamor was the general form of the 1245 Clamor rather than its special French version. The *Deus qui admirabili* prayer conforms, in general, to version I, although it adds 'Dominus noster Ihesus Christus'.

The exceptional popularity of Durand's Pontifical can be gauged from the great number of its surviving manuscripts as well as the reception of its texts into other Pontificals. This is obviously the case with the *Ordo pro liberatione terre sancte a fidei inimicis* found in the Pontifical of Henri de Ville-sur-Ilion, bishop of Toul, in Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12,079, fol. 233^v, executed in 1420 (=T). Its derivation from Durand's Holy Land Ordo is evident in its peculiar omission of 'et captivis' in the *Oremus* versicle, the equally unusual employment of *Domine exaudi* as a final versicle, and the choice of the same two prayers (*Deus qui admirabili providentia*¹¹⁹ and *Hostium*).

A variant of the general form independent of Durand's Pontifical is presented in Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 100, a late thirteenth-century Roman/Curial Ritual copied in Italy, on fol. 263 (=V). This interpolated Clamor counts nine versicles (the six 'general' versicles plus a 'royal' versicle which refers to 'salvos . . . reges' in plural, and the versicles *Fiat* and *Esto*), and only one prayer, the version I text with the addition '[filius tuus] dominus noster Ihesus Christus'. The plural mode of the 'royal' versicle as well as the omission of the prayer for the king are remarkable. They reflect a much broader view, more in tune with the position of the Roman Curia as expressed in Nicholas III's bull *Salutaria et sollicita* of 1280.¹²⁰ The two versicles *Domine salvos fac reges* and *Fiat* were comprised in the revised form of the Clamor that was enjoined in that bull, and the Roman liturgist might have borrowed them from this source.

Another variant of the 1245 Clamor was common to the Hospitallers of Autun and to the Paris Use. It retains the crusading versicle *Oremus* in its entirety as well as *Mitte* in a

¹¹⁷ Similar to the variant of MS Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale 218.

¹¹⁸ MS Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 825.

¹¹⁹ The erroneous reading 'potencia' in place of 'providentia' in the prayer is a scribal error already encountered in the Rheims Use (see above).

¹²⁰ *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. by J. H. Sbaraleae, t. III (Roma, 1765), No. CXLVII, pp. 446–49.

section of (usually) six versicles, and it has only one prayer, the *Deus qui admirabili*, in its primary text. Unlike Durand's Ordo, the absence of the 'royal' element does not indicate the general form of the 1245 Clamor as an ultimate source; it resulted from the later evolution of this Clamor.

The Clamor practised by the Hospitallers of Autun is documented in MS Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. ms. 1689, Missal of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, second half of the fourteenth century, integral, 'Pro terra sancta', followed by 'Pro rege nostro', on fol. 297 (=H). Its structure and texts are essentially identical to the Paris Use.

The Paris Use Clamor is known exclusively from liturgical manuscripts and early prints. I have been able to identify it in twenty Missals.¹²¹ This series of Missals, executed in Paris between c. 1297–1306 and 1501, reflects the liturgical practice in Paris throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It exhibits an integral Clamor, with identical rubric, structure, and texts. The rubric 'Pro terra sancta' differentiates these texts from another Holy Land service carried by these same sources, the Holy Land Mass, invariably entitled 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.¹²² The Clamor comprises Psalm 78, six versicles (*Exurgat, Saluum fac populum, Oremus pro afflictis et captivis et peregrinis christianis, Mitte, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer in version I with one common alteration ('supplices' in place of 'suppliciter'). Another alteration, 'votaque' instead of 'vota', appears in more than half our sources (P1, P4, P6, P7, P8, P9, P14, P15, P16, P17, P19, and P20) and in the Autun Hospitallers' manuscript. It indicates, therefore, a distinct strain of the Paris variant,¹²³ documented for the first time towards the end of the thirteenth century and, again, during the fifteenth century. Both Ste Chapelle manuscripts (P1, P6) have it. P17 and P19 finally, change 'dirigendo' to 'tribuendo'. On the whole, therefore, this Clamor exhibits a remarkable stability since its crystallisation towards the end of the thirteenth century and up to the beginning of the sixteenth, raising some doubt about the extent to which it was actually performed during these three centuries.¹²⁴

The absence of the traditional 'royal' elements seems to point to the general form of the 1245 Clamor as the ultimate origin of the Paris Use, and to raise the question why was the least 'royal' form of the Clamor practised in the most royal of all French cities, furthermore, in the royal Sainte-Chapelle itself. Closer study of these liturgical manuscripts (together with the Autun manuscript) reveals, however, that a fully-fledged Ordo 'Pro rege nostro'—with its own psalm, versicles, and Collect—follows in these

¹²¹ See Sources to this chapter, IV.4, pp. 76–77.

¹²² The Autun Hospitallers, though, employ the same rubric ('Pro terra sancta') for both.

¹²³ Though insignificant at first glance, this alteration cannot be explained away on grounds of simple scribal negligence, for no other variant exhibits it at the same proportion (twelve out of the twenty sources). Furthermore, as the Paris copyists rendered the whole text of this prayer with perfect accuracy, such frequent negligence in this one word alone would be highly improbable.

¹²⁴ On the assumption that frequent use generates changes and adjustments.

sources the Holy Land Ordo, and that its core consists of the ‘royal’ versicle and prayer introduced in the French form of the 1245 promulgation, namely the initiatory versicle *Domine salvum fac regem* (accompanied by *Domine fac servos*, *Mitte*, *Domine exaudi*, with the final *Dominus vobiscum*), and the Collect *Famulum tuum regem nostrum*. Far from rejecting these ‘royal’ texts, therefore, the Paris liturgist responsible for this innovation removed them from the Holy Land Clamor and remoulded them into a new Clamor, undoubtedly before the end of the thirteenth century. The fact that our sources place it next to the Holy Land Clamor might hint at some sort of association in practice as well, perhaps by way of retrieving chosen elements (a sort of a ‘reconstruction’ of the Holy Land Clamor in its original form, before the ‘royal’ pieces were removed from it) or in a combination of the two complete Clamors, recited one after the other; but this is pure speculation, as we have no evidence on the subject.

A unique example of a Holy Land Clamor centered on the Holy Land crusaders, the captives as well as the ‘afflicted’, has been preserved in Ms. Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, no. 224 (C.128), a fourteenth-century Rheims Missal, integral, fol. 258^v. This particularity is emphasised in the title, *Pro afflictis et captivis peregrinis Christianis preces et orationes*, by means of the specially greater initial ‘P’ of the ‘[Oremus] Pro afflictis’ versicle and by the inclusion of the unusual ‘Salvum fac servum tuum’ versicle, apparently intended to refer to individual crusaders in need. The entire Clamor consists of Psalm 78, the Kyrieleison segment, ten versicles (*Exurgat*, *Non nobis*, *Domine salvum fac regem*, *Salvum fac servum tuum*, *Salvum fac populum*, [Oremus] *pro afflictis et captivis peregrinis*, *Mitte*, *Esto*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*), the two Holy Land prayers *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis*—in a perfect rendering of the primary version—and *Deus qui admirabili potentia*—in the distinct Rheims variant of version I (see above)—, and, finally and most unusually for a Clamor, a Reading from John 19.25–27, apparently intended as a suffrage to Mary.

Just as the papacy promoted the Holy Land Clamor (mainly the *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor) since the immediate aftermath of Hattin and during most of the thirteenth century, it was the papacy, once again, that led the withdrawal from this Clamor towards the close of the thirteenth century and during the first decades of the fourteenth. Nicholas III took the first step in this direction in the bull *Salutaria et sollicitate*, issued in February 1280.¹²⁵

In this document he called for a new crusade to liberate the Holy Land, but deferred this goal till after the achievement of peace and stability in Europe, making peace among Christians at home an essential condition for launching a new crusade abroad. Practical considerations of this sort always loomed large in all plans to launch crusades, but in this bull they ceased to be instrumental to a higher goal and were given an unmistakable ideological significance: peace among Christians was perceived as a goal at least equal to that of the crusade and the liberation of the Holy Land.

¹²⁵Sbaraleae (as in note 20), CXLVII, pp. 448–49. On the copy sent to Canterbury see Potthast, *Regesta*, No. 21685.

Table 1.D: The versicles in the *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor (MSS, later variants)

	MSS	EXURGAT	SALVOS FAC REGES	DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM	SALVUM FAC POPULUM	OREMUS PRO AFFLICTIS CAPTIVIS ET PEREGRINIS	OREMUS PRO AFFLICTIS ET PEREGRINIS	FIAT	MITTE	ESTO	DOMINE EXAUDI	DOMINUS VOBISCUM
A	1			5	2	3			4		6	7
C	1			2	3	4			5		6	7
D ⁶⁰	1				2		4	3		5	6	
H	1				2	3			4		5	6
L	1			2	3	4			5		6	7
P ⁶⁰	1				2	3			4		5	6
T	1				2		4	3	5	6	7	8
V	1	2			3	5		4	6	7	8	9
W	1				2	3					4	5

The new perspective called, obviously, for a reformed Clamor. Psalm 78, the typical lament for Jerusalem and a cry for vengeance and war, was replaced by Psalm 121 (*Letatus sum*), a *canticum graduum* full of the joy and peace of heavenly Jerusalem rather than its devastated earthly *praefiguratio*. Quite logically, the pope also replaced the warlike *Deus qui admirabili providentia* prayer with the pacific *Largire quesumus domine fidelibus tuis indulgentiam*¹²⁶ and omitted from the versicle section the Holy Land versicles *Exurgat* and *Oremus pro . . . peregrinis*. He retained, however, *Domine salvos fac reges*, *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat pax*, *Domine exaudi*, and *Dominus vobiscum*. An indulgence of ten days was granted to those who would say the Clamor daily for one year.

The old Clamor did not disappear, however, and both Clamors were apparently practised side by side for some time. Pope John XXII dealt again with the matter of the Holy Land Clamor in 1322, when he instituted a daily Holy Land Clamor in two forms.¹²⁷ The first, assigned to a weekly Mass for the crusade, consisted of Psalm 78, four versicles (*Salvos fac servos*, *Esto, Nihil, Exurge*), and two prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu, Hostium*). The second was said in all the weekdays Masses. It consisted of Psalm 69 (*Deus in adiutorium*), the four versicles cited above, and only one prayer, *Hostium*. In 1328 he revised the new Clamor instituted by Nicholas III and reissued it in his bull *Discipulorum Christi gesta*.¹²⁸ The revised form too suppressed the Holy Land goal, but replaced Nicholas' irenic emphasis with a militant call to fight heretics, schismatics, and rebels within the body of the Church. Although it received from Nicholas III's Clamor Psalm 121 (replacing Psalm 78) and the five versicles (*Domine salvos fac reges*, *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat pax*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*), it replaced the prayer *Largire quesumus domine fidelibus tuis indulgentiam* with two militant prayers, *Ecclesiae tuae* (the traditional prayer *Contra persecutores Ecclesiae*—*COr* 2404a.–b.) and *Hostium nostrorum* (a prayer employed *Contra persecutores Ecclesiae* as well as *In tempore belli*)—*COr* No. 3007.¹²⁹ The indulgence for saying the Clamor was raised to twenty days. John XXII finally abolished the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Clamor in 1333, when the weekly Mass

¹²⁶ *COr* No. 3237.

¹²⁷ *Lettres secrètes et curiales relatives à la France*, ed. by A. Coulon, t. II (Paris, 1906), No. 1571, cols 204–05.

¹²⁸ E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. II (Paris, 1717), cols 748–49.

¹²⁹ One of the earliest records of the new Clamor is probably the interpolated *Preces pro ecclesia sancta Dei* (*Letatus sum cum Gloria*, *Pater noster*, *Kyrieleyson*, *Salvum fac regem*, *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Ecclesie*, *Hostium*) in MS Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra, No. 3, fol. 63. The three prayers—*Ecclesie* and *Hostium* followed by *Largire*—were interpolated into a fourteenth-century Italian Missal (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Reid 65, fol. 96).

for the Holy Land was redesigned as a Holy Land Mass anchored on the *Deus qui admirabili* Collect.¹³⁰

Pope John XXII rather than Nicholas III was, undoubtedly, the real promoter of the (redesigned) *Letatus sum* Clamor. During his pontificate and subsequently, this Clamor evolved in a manner not dissimilar to that of the *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor. The Cistercian General Chapter of 1328 seems at first glance to follow the pope's directive in all respects, in its intentions¹³¹ as well as its form, but it has already modified the first versicle (*regem* instead of *reges*) and omitted the final *Dominus vobiscum*. A random sample of fourteen liturgical manuscripts preserving the *Letatus sum* Clamor¹³² has failed to disclose even one source faithful to the form introduced by Nicholas III; they have diverged from it through addition of prayers,¹³³ omission¹³⁴ and replacement by new prayers,¹³⁵ and through changes and additions of versicles.¹³⁶ None of these manuscripts transmits the Clamor exactly as it was proclaimed in 1328.¹³⁷ This vitality proves, on the one hand, an actual and intensive practice and, on the other hand, the final suppression of the old Holy Land Clamor; only the Carmelites preserved the two Clamors in

¹³⁰ Coulon and Clémencet (as in note 51).

¹³¹ 'pro bono statu Ecclesiae sanctae, quae modernis temporibus gravissimis guerrarum fluctibus agitur, et diversorum schismatum erroribus vehementius impugnatur' (Stat. 1, Canivez, *Statuta*, III, p. 378).

¹³² See Sources to this chapter, IV.4, pp. 77–78.

¹³³ Three prayers in Nos 7, 10, 13 (*Ecclesie* and *Hostium* + *Deus a quo sancta desideria*) and in No. 3 (*Ecclesie* and *Hostium* + *Famulum tuum regem*); four prayers in No. 9 (*Ecclesie* and *Hostium* + *Famulum tuum regem*, *Deus a quo sancta desideria*) and in No. 14 (*Ecclesie*, *Deus a quo sancta desideria*, *Deus qui caritatis dona*, *Fidelium deus conditor*); six prayers in No. 8 (*Ecclesie* and *Hostium* + *Deus refugium nostrum*, *Excita quesumus domine tuorum*, *Absolve quesumus domine tuorum*, *Excita quesumus domine potentiam*). The Cistercian General Chapter of 1489 added—at the instigation of Pope Innocent VIII—*Deus fidelium omnium pastor* (COr No. 1287) as a second prayer. See Canivez, ad annum 1489, *Statuta*, 14, pp. 676–77.

¹³⁴ Only the *Ecclesie* prayer in No. 1.

¹³⁵ One prayer in Nos 5 and 6 (*Ambulantibus in atriis domus*); three in No. 12 (*Excita domine potentiam tuam*, *Sacrificium tibi domine celebrandum*, *Anime nostre divino munere*).

¹³⁶ The full correct section of versicles in Nos 4, 7, 8, 10; omission of *Fiat pax* in No. 2; change of *Domine salvos fac reges* to *Domine salvum fac regem* in Nos 3, 9, 11, 12; completely new sections of five versicles in Nos 5 and 6 (*Fiat pax*, *Domine Ihesu Christe ne statuas*, *Salvos fac fideles*, *Mitte*, *Domine exaudi*) and of six versicles in No. 1 (*Salvos fac servos*, *Mitte*, *Exurge*, *Fiat pax*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*); eleven versicles in No. 14 (*Exurgat*, *Salvos fac servos*, *Mitte*, *Domine salvum fac regem*, *Salvum fac servum*, *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat pax*, *Oremus pro cunctis fidelibus defunctis*, *Requiescant in pace*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*).

¹³⁷ Nos 2 and 11 are the closest.

separate liturgical functions as late as 1616.¹³⁸ The loss of both its Holy Land specificity and the authority that rested, in the last analysis, on Roman Curial origins, arrested all further development of this Clamor from about the beginning of the fourteenth century, except in England, where it acquired some new unusual features. Service-books will transmit it, henceforth, in ‘frozen’ thirteenth/fourteenth-century forms.

IV.5 The Later English Clamors

IV.5.1 First Trials

Until the end of the thirteenth century, the evolution of the Holy Land Clamor in England followed a course that was essentially identical to that observed on the Continent. Although the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor is not directly documented in any English source, it was not entirely unknown in England or to Englishmen returning from across the Channel, for the Sarum Clamor exhibits traces of its influence. The *Quia maior*, on the other hand, was certainly promulgated and applied in England as elsewhere in Europe. We have already noticed the presence of this Clamor in Lessness Abbey (Rochester Diocese) and of a variant of this Clamor in Exeter Cathedral about the middle of the century. It is quite possible, again, that the elaborate weekly Clamor *Deus in cuius manu*, documented in London in 1188, was still known—perhaps actually practised—at a later date. One of these forms was certainly referred to in the synodal statute that Bishop William of Blois promulgated for the Diocese of Worcester in 1229; it directed people who happened to be outside churches ‘quando pulsatur campana pro terra sancta in celebratione misse’ to kneel and say the *Pater noster* prayer for the succour of the Holy Land.¹³⁹ The Customaries of Westminster and Canterbury record a Clamor anchored on Psalm 78 (*Pro pace Terrae Sanctae*),¹⁴⁰ and as late as 1292 the clergy of Norwich advised Archbishop John Pecham in the Provincial Council held that year that all clerics ‘intra missarum sollempnia singulis diebus dicant salmum “Deus venerunt gentes” cum oratione Dominica et aliis orationibus more solito, in orationibus, vigiliis, ieuniis memoriam recuperationis Terre Sancte predicte

¹³⁸ See *Ceremoniale divini officii secundum Ordinem Fratrum B. Virginis Mariae de monte Carmeli, ad normam novi Missalis et Breviarii compilatum* . . . (Roma, 1616), Liber I, Pars v, *De Psalmis Laetatus sum et Deus venerunt gentes*, Rub. XLIX.

¹³⁹ *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church*, ed. by F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, vol. 1, Part 1 (Oxford, 1964), p. 175.

¹⁴⁰ The Customary of Canterbury followed that of Westminster, which was compiled under the direction of Abbot Richard de Ware, who held office from 1259 to 1283. See E. M. Thompson, *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, vol. 1 (London, 1902), p. 242, and vol. 2 (London, 1904), p. 202.

continuum habentes'.¹⁴¹ We can only guess at the particular Clamor forms to which William of Blois, the compilers of the Westminster and Canterbury Customaries, and the Norwich clergy referred, but the term 'more solito' in the Norwich document and the chronological spread of the evidence surely indicate a regular and sustained practice. We have no way of knowing, of course, whether it comprised features that were specific to the English Uses.

The heightened awareness of the fate of the Holy Land after the fall of Acre in 1291 induced the English Church to introduce several liturgical innovations, among them a new Holy Land Clamor. Our knowledge of it rests on the detailed instructions that Robert of Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, issued to the English clergy on May 1295. They are known from his letters to Anian, bishop of Bangor and to John of Pontissara, bishop of Winchester (=W),¹⁴² and from one liturgical source that incorporates his innovation—MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.142, a South-Yorkshire (?) Missal, mid-fifteenth century (after 1411), fol. 134 (=B). The Canterbury documents give only a partial description of the Clamor, but their evidence is valuable because the few details they do give are important for the correct identification of this particular form against other forms of the Clamor, and for the light they throw on the general liturgical context of this innovation.¹⁴³ The manuscript missal is the only extant source that transmits the Clamor in its entirety. In July 1298 Robert of Winchelsey issued another set of missives, exhorting the recipients to implement fully the 1295 dispositions, but these documents were drawn up in such a general way that they contribute nothing to our knowledge of the dispositions.¹⁴⁴

The goals set for the new Clamor—its more innovative characteristic—can best be observed in the rubric of the text in W, where two different, yet associated, goals are specified: 'Scribit ut celebretur et oretur pro terre sancte subsidio necnon pro statu regis et regni'. Both goals were already linked together in 1268, when Legate Ottobuono interpreted the subjugation of the Holy Land by the infidel and the civil war in England as two manifestations of God's anger and punishment for the iniquities perpetrated by the Christians, called for penitence and prayer to appease God's wrath, and instituted a

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 1104. Punctuation mine.

¹⁴² *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, A.D. 1294–1313*, ed. by R. Graham, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1952), p. 26; *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara, episcopi Wyntoniensis*, ed. by C. Deeds, vol. 1 (London, 1915), pp. 191–93. The two texts are identical.

¹⁴³ W and B concur in the insertion-point, the position and the identity of the three psalms; W alone specifies a daily celebration and the type of Masses concerned; only B transmits all the rest.

¹⁴⁴ Known from the Mandates sent to the bishops of London (*Registrum Roberti Winchelsey*, as in note 142; pp. 271–72) and Salisbury (*Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, Diocesis Saresbiriensis, A.D. 1297–1315*, ed. by C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1934), pp. 20–21).

yearly public procession as well as prayers ‘de pace . . . restituta’.¹⁴⁵ This interpretation reflected well the two objectives set for the Legate’s mission, preaching the crusade on the one hand and promoting political reconciliation and ecclesiastical reform in a country that has just emerged from the turmoil of the Barons’ Wars on the other. Adding goals to a clamor traditionally committed solely to the the liberation of the Holy Land and to the welfare of the crusaders represented, undoubtedly, a new departure. Kings and magnates were formerly included in this clamor only, when, and to the extent that they took the cross personally and shared in the fate of the Holy Land.

The 1295 Clamor was inserted in all daily Masses, with the exception of double feasts, immediately before the *Pax Domini*. It consisted of three psalms (*Deus venerunt gentes* [78]; *Deus misereatur* [66]; *Ad te levavi oculos* [122]), six versicles (*Exurgat, Domine salvum fac regem, Salvum fac populum, Domine fiat pax, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and three prayers (*Deus qui admirabili providentia, Deus auctor pacis*—*COr* No. 1110, *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus*).

The insertion-point was inspired by the original measure of Innocent III, and more precisely by the M variant of its evolved form. The triple psalm section, in contrast, is completely new. Of the two additional psalms, only Psalm 122 has already appeared in an earlier Clamor, the twelfth-century Fleury *Clamor pro malefactoribus*.¹⁴⁶ It was also comprised in the considerably later Carthusian Holy Land Office.¹⁴⁷ The versicle section is similar to the parallel section of the Clamor introduced by Nicholas III, but differs from it in two important points. First, it opens with *Exurgat*, practically the cue of the traditional Holy Land Clamor, which both popes omitted from their transformed Clamor. Second, it changed (quite appropriately) the versicle *Domine salvos fac reges* into *Domine salvum fac regem*. The prayer section is completely original in its choice of the two prayers to follow the traditional *Deus qui admirabili*: *Deus auctor pacis* is known as a Postcommunion prayer in a *Pro pace* Mass,¹⁴⁸ while the *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus* appears as a *specialis oratio pro rege nostro* in the same manuscript missal.¹⁴⁹ The text of the *Deus qui admirabili* reproduces, on the whole, version I. The reading ‘populo restituas Christiano’ is unique, but that of ‘crucis Christi’ is found already in version II. It will reappear in several later variants, notably the Sarum Clamor.

Robert of Winchelsey’s hybrid Clamor comprises, consequently, elements derived from two different sources: the insertion-point, Psalm 78, and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer were borrowed from various variants of the 1213 Clamor, the versicle section originated in the 1280 Clamor (though it appears here in an expanded and revised form),

¹⁴⁵ *Councils and Synods* . . . (as in note 39), p. 781.

¹⁴⁶ A. Davril, *The Monastic Ritual of Fleury*, The Henry Bradshaw Society 105 (London, 1990), p. 156.

¹⁴⁷ The earliest testimony comes from the second half of the fourteenth century (see above).

¹⁴⁸ *COr* No. 1110.

¹⁴⁹ Fol. 279, in the Votive Masses section.

and it innovates with two additional psalms and two additional prayers (borrowed from two different sources). In 1298 the archbishop complained that the measures instituted in 1295 ‘negligenter . . . hactenus ut audivimus sunt omissa’,¹⁵⁰ and called for their effective implementation. The response was hardly enthusiastic, if one is to judge by the extant manuscript service-books: this Clamor has survived in a single fifteenth-century manuscript (c. 1450). A lost intermediate manuscript tradition between 1295 and c. 1450 is almost self-evident but all the same in need of hard proof, and even this manuscript tradition would present an extremely slender lifeline. This Clamor left no trace in the York Clamor and very little—if any—in the Sarum Use.

Additional evidence of the effect produced by the 1295 Clamor comes, surprisingly enough, from the Continent, in the *Suffragia pro pace et rege* of the Angers Use, as documented in the Angers Missal printed in 1489.¹⁵¹ It is, in fact, a combination of a Mass Clamor with the triple set of Mass prayers.¹⁵² From the 1295 measures it received the complete versicle section and two prayers—*Deus auctor pacis* used as the Postcommunion prayer, and the *Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus* as the second Collect. It also borrowed heavily from John XXII’s Clamor of 1328: the insertion-point (after the *Pater noster*), Psalm 121 as a single psalm, and the two prayers (*Ecclesiae tuae* retained in its original position as a Clamor prayer and *Hostium* as the first Mass Collect). One can only speculate about the circumstances under which an English Clamor made its way up the Loire to fuse with the Clamor of John XXII into the Angers variant, but such an encounter was quite possible during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

IV.5.2 The Sarum Clamor

IV.5.2.1. The Sarum Clamor is recognisable by certain characteristics that are common to all its variants and strains on the one hand, and contrast with the corresponding components of the other two English Clamors of York and Hereford, on the other hand.

Some of them are ‘hard’, in the sense that they remained unchanged during most of the time—if not all the time—covered by our documentation. These are the insertion-point immediately before the *Pax Domini*, a psalm-section consisting of psalms 78, 66, and 20, the antiphon *Tua est potentia*, a versicle-section of eight with a highly stable composition, a prayer-section of three prayers—for the Holy Land, the (local) bishop, and the king, and, finally, the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer in a version marked by several peculiar readings, mainly the reading ‘in viam pacis eterne’ in place of the original ‘in

¹⁵⁰ See the letters to bishops of London and Salisbury cited above.

¹⁵¹ *Missale Andegavense* . . . (Paris: Du Pre I, Jean; 1489). I have consulted the British Library copy (IB 40106), fol. Niv.

¹⁵² The two services are not clearly separated in our source, yet the Clamor prayer is preceded by an ‘Oremus’, ends with ‘Per Christum Dominum’, etc., and is followed immediately by a second ‘Oremus’ and the two prayers of the Mass Collect. Although the term ‘Collect’ is not specified, ‘Communio’ and ‘Postcommunio’ are clearly denoted.

viam salutis eterne'. The 'soft' features, on the other hand, evolved in time and represent a heterogeneity characteristic of actual practice as well as textual alterations accrued in the usual process of manuscript transmission. This variable aspect of the Clamor is best seen in the evolution of the rubrical framework, perhaps the most characteristic handmaiden of actual practice, and in the various responses that were attached to the *Oremus* versicle. Rubrical structures and directives evolved with actual practice, while the relative novelty of the *Oremus* versicle and the fact that its response was usually left unspecified in the manuscripts allowed liturgists and copyists a fairly large measure of freedom in assigning a response to it. A correct identification of the Clamor's features and the necessary distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' features should provide us, consequently, with a reasonably certain method for identifying the Sarum Clamor as a distinct Holy Land Clamor and for tracing its evolution, from its inception in the fourteenth century until its demise in the sixteenth.

I have checked the Sarum Clamor, employing these criteria, in forty-nine manuscripts and early prints.¹⁵³

IV.5.2.2. The earliest version of the Sarum Clamor (variant α) is known from S2, a collection of Sarum uses and prayers preserved in a manuscript that was copied about 1405–10, probably in London. Its rubrical framework is still elementary. Its short opening rubric declares that this Clamor was held in ferial Masses, that it was said for the peace of the universal church as well as the realm, and that it was inserted between the *Per omnia secula seculorum* and *Pax Domini*: 'Iste preces dicantur in ferialibus diebus pro pace universalis ecclesie et regni postquam sacerdos dixit Per omnia secula seculorum antequam dicat Pax Domini'. It consists of three psalms (78, 66, 120),¹⁵⁴ one antiphon (*Tua est potentia*), seven versicles (*Exurgat, Non nobis, Oremus pro afflictis et captivis, Mitte, Esto, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum* in this order), and two prayers (*Deus qui admirabili, Rege quesumus domine famulum tuum*). These elements originated in three sources. The 1295 Clamor contributed the insertion-point, the psalm section—which includes two of the three psalms introduced by Robert of Winchelsey (they are also present at the Carthusian Holy Land Clamor), and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. The antiphon originated in the London Clamor of 1188, either directly—from a Clamor still actually practised—or indirectly, through the written descriptions transmitted by Roger of Howden. The entire versicle-section was borrowed from the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor (minus the *Salvum fac populum*, hence only seven versicles of the original eight), maintaining the original order and even the 'non-crusading' character of the *Oremus* versicle; at a time when most contemporary Clamors (mainly the Paris' and the Durand's variants) added to it the 'crusading' term 'et peregrinis', the Sarum variant held fast to its original's weaker version of 'Oremus pro

¹⁵³ See Sources to this chapter, IV.5.2.1, pp. 78–80.

¹⁵⁴ Unless the reference to the third psalm is a scribal error, mistaking *Ad te levavi* (Psalm 122) for *Levavi* (Psalm 120). Both are appropriate.

afflictis et captivis'. The response to this versicle ('Libera eos de tribulationibus eorum') is close to, but certainly not identical with, the response that appears in the Arles manuscript of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor,¹⁵⁵ an abridgement of the Gallican version of Psalm 24.22. The *Deus qui admirabili* prayer reproduces version I, with two notable alterations, and both will henceforth characterise the Sarum Clamor. The first consists of the addition '[crucis] Christi', another indication of this Clamor's dependence on the 1295 Clamor,¹⁵⁶ and the second replaces 'viam salutis eterne' with 'viam pacis eterne'.

Variant α exhibits several of the 'hard' features of the Sarum Clamor: the insertion-point, the first two psalms, the antiphon, seven of the eight versicles, the first two prayers, and the altered text of the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. It still lacks, however, a rubrical framework.

IV.5.2.3. The next stage in the Clamor's evolution—variant β —is characterised by the gradual creation of a comprehensive rubrical structure and enlargement of the Clamor's sections. All three sections received texts of supplication for the king typical of the traditional war liturgy, in addition to the existing entreaties for the Holy Land and for the bishop. The addition of the prayer for the bishop in variant α already broadened the scope of the Clamor and diminished, consequently, its relative crusading weight; adding another prayer—for the king—further emphasised this trend. Texts of supplication for the king were formerly said in the specific crusading contexts of this Clamor, of course, but the new 'royal' texts have no crusading bearing at all. They focus on the king mainly in his military role, reflecting, most probably, the military dimension of the English royalty during the Hundred Years War. Variant β consists of at least four different strains, documented in manuscripts that originated in Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Norwich, and Worcester during the fourteenth century and—to a lesser extent—in the fifteenth.

Strain $\beta 1$ is known from two manuscripts, S17 and S25, dated, respectively, to 1384 (date specified in a colophon), executed in Oxford, and to c. 1385 in nearby Adderbury. They provide us with an excellent *terminus ante quem* for this strain on the assumption that new service-books testify to current usage: they indicate roughly when and where this strain was already practised.

This strain presents a detailed title-rubric:

Notandum quod a Domine ne in ira usque ad Cenam Domini et a Deus omnium usque ad vigiliam Nativitatis Domini dicuntur iste preces sequentes ad missam cotidie in feriis et in festis iiii lectionum, et in Octavis et infra quando chorus non regitur, et dicuntur inter *Per omnia secula seculorum* post *Pater noster* et *Pax Domini*, sacerdote sic dicente *Per omnia*

¹⁵⁵ 'Libera deus eos ex omnibus tribulationibus suis' in the Arles manuscript version. See below, p. 71.

¹⁵⁶ See above, p. 54.

secula seculorum et choro respondente *Amen*, statim incipiat chorus in prostratione hoc modo.

A regular Clamor is thus established in all ferial Masses as well as in feasts of three Lessons, Octave days, and Octaves without a ‘regimen chori’, from the second Sunday after Epiphany to Maundy Thursday and from the first Sunday after Trinity to the Christmas Vigil. Consequently, most of the ferial Masses throughout the year are to receive it. This rubric also specifies the insertion-point after the *Pater noster*,¹⁵⁷ but the phrasing is rather vague, allowing both erroneous location and later efforts to render it in a more precise way. The rubric differentiates between the roles of the officiating priest and the choir. Further instructions concerning the reciting of the psalms and the versicles are given in a new rubric inserted after the *Kyrie/Pater noster*: ‘Et hec omnia—cum nota’. There is still no closing-rubric at the end of the Clamor.

The psalm-section comprises only two psalms, 78 and 66, but an eighth versicle (*Domine salvum fac regem*) has been added to the seven versicles of variant α, and an optional third prayer *in tempore belli* (*Da quesumus omnipotens deus famulo tuo regi nostro*)¹⁵⁸ to the prayer-section. These supplementary versicle and prayer add up to a distinct ‘royal’ component still absent in variant α. The response to the *Oremus* versicle in S25 reclaims the Gallican version of Psalm 24.22 (*Libera deus israhel ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum*), while S17 still retains an adapted version of this text.

Strain β2, preserved in two manuscripts—the fourteenth-century S1, a Sarum Missal with Lincolnshire peculiarities, and the early fifteenth-century S44, a Sarum Missal with Irish peculiarities—represents a more advanced stage than β1; while these two manuscripts share with it the same rubrical framework¹⁵⁹ and an identical versicle-section, they already classify the third prayer as ordinary and not optional, and add a third psalm (20) as optional, under the title *In tempore belli*. With the addition of this typically ‘royal’ psalm (*Domine in virtute tua laetabitur rex*) as a counterpoise to the ‘royal’ prayer, β2 achieves a good balance between the two sections of psalms and prayers, the last (and third) piece in each bearing on the king. A similar position was given to the late-coming ‘royal’ versicle; sixth in its section, it precedes the two concluding versicles, *Domine exaudi* and *Dominus vobiscum*.

Similar tendencies mark strain β3, documented in S11, S31, and S3. Their psalm-sections are by now complete with three psalms (78, 66, 20), and their versicle-sections have eight versicles. S11 and S31 still preserve the optionality of the third prayer (*Da quesumus omnipotens deus famulo tuo regi nostro*) under the rubric ‘in tempore belli’. All three innovate, however, by rounding off the common rubrical framework—

¹⁵⁷ The real intention becomes clear when parentheses are used: ‘Inter Per omnia secula seculorum (post Pater noster) et Pax Domini’.

¹⁵⁸ Unless it is simply a reference to the source of this prayer.

¹⁵⁹ The title-rubric—complete in S44—is missing in S1, but the presence of the post-*Kyrie/Pater noster* rubric ‘Et hec omnia’ in that manuscript hints strongly at the entire framework.

consisting of a title rubric ('Notandum—hoc modo') and a post- *Kyrie/Pater noster* rubric ('Et hec omnia—cum nota')¹⁶⁰—with a new closing rubric: 'Deinde dicat sacerdos *Pax Domini* et cetera ut supra'.¹⁶¹ They exhibit the same insertion-point we have already observed in β 1, and two of the three—S11 and S31—maintain the revised psalm text of the response to the *Oremus* versicle.¹⁶²

The fourth and last strain— β 4—appears in the fifteenth-century S24 from Worcester. It brings the same three psalms and three prayers we have already observed in the other β strains, but in a different order: the psalm for the king (20) was moved forward to the second place, before Psalm 66.¹⁶³ It presents a simpler definition of the insertion-point ('inter *Per omnia secula seculorum* et *Pax Domini*'), and like β 3 it expands the closing-rubric to 'Chorus respondeat *Amen*. Post hec incipiat sacerdos *Pax Domini*, cetera ut supra'. Its response to the *Oremus* versicle, on the other hand, agrees with S25 (β 1) in reproducing the Gallican text.

IV.5.2.4. Variant γ exhibits the Clamor's most popular form. I have been able to identify it positively in six manuscripts (S 4, 10, 15,¹⁶⁴ 19, 32, 35) and very probably in eight other manuscripts (S 8, 23, 28, 29, 33, 34, 36, 42). The 'probable hits' are incomplete texts lacking the closing parts of the Clamor, due to bad preservation or for other reasons.¹⁶⁵ One could identify them with strain β 4 as well, but it seems, on balance, that the identification with the much more popular γ presents the better choice.¹⁶⁶ Most of these manuscripts were copied during the fifteenth century, though the earliest (S36) is dated to 1389 and the latest (S34) to the early sixteenth century. Similar dates are also yielded by the six strains that branched off γ (see below γ 1, γ 2, γ 3, γ 4, γ 5, γ 6); the life span of γ with its strains roughly corresponds, therefore, to the fifteenth century. The wide geographic diffusion of γ is attested to by the provenance of its manuscripts from Norwich, London, Gawsworth (Cheshire), Winchester, Durham, Canterbury, and Lapworth (Warwickshire).

A new closing rubric marks this variant against the previous forms: 'Tunc surgant omnes a prostratione osculantes formulas ac sacerdote dicente *Pax Domini sit semper*

¹⁶⁰ Slightly different readings in S3 and S11, on the one hand, and S31 on the other.

¹⁶¹ This is the reading of S11, S31; S3 expands: 'Deinde sacerdos dicat *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum et Agnus Dei*'.

¹⁶² 'Libera eos deus ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum'. The original reading in S3—'nos'—was altered by a second hand to 'eos'.

¹⁶³ A scribal error rather than an editorial decision is not to be excluded.

¹⁶⁴ 'Et haec omnia' rubric omitted.

¹⁶⁵ S29 breaks off in the middle of the *Deus qui admirabili prayer*—the next page is missing; S34 omits the *Et haec omnia* rubric and breaks off before the end of the *Rege famulum tuum* prayer. S23, S33, and S42 have no closing-rubric.

¹⁶⁶ Although γ presents several definitions of the insertion-point, none of them is identical with the definition given in β 4.

vobiscum, chorus *Et cum spiritu tuo*, et cetera more solito'.¹⁶⁷ Otherwise γ consolidates the largely unstable forms evolved in the various strains of β . This characteristic is evident even in regard to the response of the *Oremus* versicle, where the Gallican text of Psalm 24:22, already found in $\beta 1$ and $\beta 4$ (S25, S24), was adopted by most of γ manuscripts (S 8, 10, 15, 19, 23, 28, 32, 35, 36, 42): 'Libera deus israhel ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum'. Three manuscripts (S 29, 33, 34) alter 'tribulationibus' to 'iniquitatibus', and both versions will be adopted in later adaptations of γ .¹⁶⁸

The definition of the insertion-point, however, is still unstable. At least eight different definitions reflect this confusion, from the simple adoption of the formula found in $\beta 3$ and $\beta 4$ (S 4, 8), to the clear definition of 'Ante Pax Domini et Agnus Dei' (S32) or the even shorter 'Antequam Pax Domini' (S15). The more common definition, however, is found in six γ manuscripts: 'Inter Per omnia secula seculorum post Pater noster ante Pax Domini' (S 10, 19, 23, 34, 36, 42). Three other definitions are undoubtedly revised versions of it (S 29, 33, 35).¹⁶⁹

The common form of γ consists, consequently, of an 'ordinary' structure (without any optionality) comprising three psalms (78, 66, 20), eight versicles (*Exurgat*, *Non nobis*, *Oremus*, *Mitte*, *Esto*, *Domine salvum fac regem*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*), and three prayers (*Deus qui admirabili*, *Rege quesumus domine famulum*, *Da quesumus omnipotens deus famulo*), as well as a rubrical framework that includes the title-rubric ('Notandum'), the post-Kyrie/Pater noster rubric ('Et haec omnia'), and the closing-rubric ('Tunc surgant'). This is undoubtedly the better documented and the most popular of all the Clamor's forms since it was first introduced by Robert of Winchelsey in 1295.

Variant γ was further evolved into strain $\gamma 1$, documented in manuscripts S 9, 16, 30, 38, and 40. All five manuscripts attribute the origin of this Clamor to the usage 'in ecclesia Sarum', a clear evidence that their text is a reproduction of the Sarum text rather than the Sarum text itself. Furthermore, unless one of these five manuscripts served as the intermediate link between the other four and the original, all five depend, necessarily, on an unknown sixth intermediary. We are dealing, in fact, with a Clamor at least once—and probably twice—removed from the original Sarum Clamor. The five manuscripts were produced in a period that spans the last decades of the fourteenth and the early decades of the fifteenth century, in complete agreement with what we know about the chronology of variant γ . Their distribution, from Somerset to London, Worcester and the North of England, precludes any hypothesis of a local variant.

¹⁶⁷ There are slight variations between the manuscripts, some expanding the texts recited and others abridging, but they are of no consequence for the purpose of variant classification.

¹⁶⁸ Both reappear in $\gamma 2$ (S21) and $\gamma 3$ (S20).

¹⁶⁹ Respectively 'Inter Per omnia secula seculorum post Pater noster antequam dicatur Pax Domini', 'Post Pater sed ante Pax Domini' and 'Inter Per omnia secula seculorum post Pater noster'.

Structurally $\gamma 1$ depends heavily on γ , but it differs from it in several points. It presents three different versions of the response to the *Oremus* versicle, all three completely different from the two versions of γ .¹⁷⁰ Its rubrical framework, again, underwent several important modifications. The title-rubric has been abridged and rephrased. The original incipit *Notandum*, rendered conspicuous in most manuscripts through a large and coloured initial ‘N’, has been omitted, and the rubric begins now with ‘Iste preces sequentes’. The temporal dispositions have been kept unchanged, but the rule concerning the days exempt from the Clamor was redefined: ‘... nisi in festis, et per octavas, et in octavis sive¹⁷¹ commemorationibus cum regimine chori’. There is no great difference in practice between the new rule and the old, for both make all exemptions depend on a ‘regimen chori’. They differ, however, in rephrasing the new directive negatively, thus emphasising the exception rather than the rule. Furthermore, it specifically excludes feasts, Octaves, and Octave-days that were included in the old rule, and it replaces the previous, precise definition of ‘feasts with three Lessons’ with an unqualified ‘feasts’. And, finally, it adds a completely new item—‘Commemorations’—to the old list of the exempt days. The new title-rubric specifies the Clamor’s objectives as ‘pro statu¹⁷² universalis ecclesie et regni’, and it has its own distinctive definition of the insertion-point: ‘Inter *Per omnia secula seculorum* ante *Agnus Dei* et *Pax Domini*’. The post-*Kyrie/Pater noster* rubric ‘Et haec omnia’ is absent from all five manuscripts.

Strain $\gamma 2$ has been preserved in six fifteenth-century manuscripts (S 21, 37, 39, 43, 45, 48). It originated quite early, for S45 dates already from c. 1400 and S21 from the early part of the fifteenth century, and it exhibits two structural and rubrical peculiarities. S 37, 39, and 48 (though not 21, 43, and 45) move the eighth versicle *Dominus vobiscum* to a new place, between the first and the second prayers, joining in this way the Holy Land prayer to the versicle-section and demarcating this pair of prayer + versicle from the second and the third prayers (S43 puts it after the prayer’s rubric, probably a misreading of its model’s rubric, as in S48: ‘Deinde sequatur prima oratio pro terra sancta cum *Dominus vobiscum*’). It was not an unreasonable change, for it reconstituted the original distinction between the Clamor’s primary objective (*Pro terra sancta*) and its two supplementary goals (*Pro episcopo*, *Pro rege*). Attention to the Clamor’s aims also motivated the insertion of explicit separate rubrics before each of the three prayers. Previous variants made do with short and indifferent rubrics such as ‘Oratio’, ‘Alia oratio’, or dispensed with them all together, but all six manuscripts of $\gamma 2$ precede the

¹⁷⁰ ‘Libera eos de tribulatione eorum’ in S30; ‘... de tribulationibus eorum’ in S 9, 38; ‘Libera eos domine de ...’ in S16. The original version of S40 was identical to that of S30, but a later corrector changed ‘de’ into ‘deus’, ‘tri[bulationibus]’ into ‘israel’, and added ‘ex omnibus tri[bulationibus]’ to arrive at the reading ‘Libera eos deus israel ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum’.

¹⁷¹ This is the reading of S16; ‘sive in’ in S 38, 40; ‘sine’ in S 9, 30.

¹⁷² ‘Statu’ in S 9, 30, 38, 40; ‘pace’ in S16.

first prayer with the rubric ‘Deinde sequitur/sequatur prima oratio pro terra sancta [hoc modo]’,¹⁷³ and five of them introduce the second prayer with ‘Sequitur/sequatur oratio pro episcopo’,¹⁷⁴ and the third prayer with ‘Sequitur/sequatur oratio pro rege’.¹⁷⁵

Strain γ 3, preserved in one manuscript only, the fifteenth-century S41, agrees with the main characteristics of γ —the same three psalms, eight versicles, and three prayers—and even its rubrical structure follows γ in its final item (‘Tunc surgant’). It presents, nevertheless, several peculiarities. Its *Notandum* rubric has been rephrased in several places; it terminates with the post *Kyrie/Pater noster* rubric ‘Haec’, which had been moved upwards from its normal position; and it enjoins on the Choir genuflection rather than the common prostration in the course of the Clamor.¹⁷⁶ The Holy Land prayer, finally, combines the traditional and the Sarum readings in an impossible ‘misericorditer dirigendo in viam pacis salutis eterne’.

Strain γ 4 is known from one manuscript Missal, S46, dated to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and—possibly—from S47 as well. Like the other γ Missals, S46 consists of the same three psalms, three prayers, and eight versicles with a complete rubrical framework, but several singular characteristics determine its particular identity against all the other γ forms. They appear, first and foremost, in the rubrical structure: the title-rubric has been rephrased in several places, not least in replacing the usual opening ‘*Notandum*’ with ‘*Sciendum*’; the versicle section as well as the prayer section have been provided with separate instructions—following the first item in each section—respectively ‘Eodem modo dicantur omnes sequentes preces’ and ‘Omnes orationes eodem modo dicantur et finiantur sub uno *Oremus* et sub uno *Per Christum*’; and an original closing-rubric reads ‘Tunc immediate sacerdos incipiat *Pax Domini* sit et sic finiuntur preces’. This strain’s textual peculiarities are even more noteworthy. The Collect maintains the readings of the Continental Clamors—or the York Use Clamor¹⁷⁷—‘unigenitus filius tuus’ and ‘in viam salutis eterne’ (in preference to the

¹⁷³ ‘Deinde sequatur una oratio pro terra sancta sic’ in S45.

¹⁷⁴ ‘Sequatur pro episcopo. Oratio’ in S45 and S48.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Sequatur pro rege. Oratio’ in S45 and S48. S21 breaks off (a page is missing) close to the end of the first prayer, but its first rubric (‘Deinde sequatur prima oratio—hoc modo’) is identical to that found in the other two manuscripts. S43 erroneously repeats the rubric ‘Pro episcopo oratio’ in place of ‘Pro rege oratio’.

¹⁷⁶ ‘Notandum est quod a *Domine ne in ira* usque ad cenam Domini et a *Deus omnium* usque ad vigiliam nativitatis Domini dicuntur iste preces sequentes ad missam cotidie in feriis et in festis III. lectionum et in octavis et infra quando chorus non regitur videlicet inter *Per omnia secula seculorum* post *Pater noster* et responsionem chori *Amen*. Statim ante *Pax Domini* dicat sacerdos cum suis ministris sine prostratione predictas preces. Similiter et chorus genuflectendo dicat easdem. Et hec omnia tam a sacerdote quam a choro sine nota dicuntur cum hiis psalmis’ (fol. 157v).

¹⁷⁷ See below, p. 65.

typical Sarum reading ‘in viam pacis eterne’). Its response to the *Oremus* versicle is similarly unusual: ‘Et libera eos de afflictionibus eorum’. Other idiosyncrasies are certainly due to copyist’s errors.¹⁷⁸

The Clamor in Missal S47 combines, in fact, two easily discernible elements: the first consists of Psalm 78, the Holy Land prayer, and the antiphon, all given in full and ready to be read, a striking return to the original form of the Holy Land Clamor; the other consists of the rest of the Sarum Clamor pieces in its γ strain—the two remaining psalms and the eight versicles, given in cues only and in need of further liturgical books for actual use (or a particularly good memory), as well as the two prayers in full added later in a second hand. There is absolutely no rubrical framework, and the title—‘Pro pace psalmus cum oratione’—clearly refers to the Holy Land component alone. The text of the Collect, similar to that of S46 (see above) presents the readings of the Continental Clamors—‘unigenitus filius tuus’ and ‘in viam salutis eterne’.

Strain γ 5 has been preserved in one manuscript (S20) dated to c. 1440, and in numerous later sources, incunabula and early prints dated to 1489 (S12), 1492 (S13), 1494 (S26), 1498 (S18), 1500 (S 14, 22, 27), 1513 (S6), and 1520 (S7). Expurgated from the Book of Common Prayer in 1549, it resurfaced for a short time in the Marian Sarum Missal of 1555 (S5). This variant essentially repeats γ , though it replaces γ ’s definition of the insertion-point with a new one (‘Post *Per omnia secula seculorum* et *Pater noster* inter *Per omnia secula seculorum* et *Pax Domini*’). It also exchanges γ ’s distinctive closing-rubric ‘Tunc surgant’ for a new and shorter one: ‘Sequatur *Pax Domini*’. The three earliest incunabula¹⁷⁹ follow the reading of the sole manuscript (S20) ‘ex omnibus iniquitatibus eorum’, but the later prints, beginning with S18 in 1498, replace it with the more common ‘ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum’.¹⁸⁰ The printed Sarum Clamor propagated, in fact, only one of the numerous forms that were in use since the fourteenth century, and a very rare strain at that; printers preferred (quite reasonably) to reprint existing editions rather than edit manuscript sources anew. It is a useful reminder of the arbitrary role played by the early printer in the survival of medieval sources.

Strain γ 6 was the last form of the Sarum Clamor to appear before the abolition of that clamor in the liturgical reform of 1549. It has been preserved in only one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 23, a Cistercian portable Psalter produced during the third quarter of the fifteenth century in southeast England. Although entirely faithful to γ structure and composition in its psalm and versicle sections, it diverges from it in the prayer section, which contains three traditional

¹⁷⁸ E.g., ‘Domine fac saluum regem’ in the versicle section, and, in the final clause of the Collect: ‘. . . eripias restituas cultui Christiano, vota fidelium ad eius liberationis instantiam misericorditer dirigendo etc.’.

¹⁷⁹ S 12, 13, 26.

¹⁸⁰ S 18, 14, 22, 27, 6, 7, 5.

Collects, all different from those of the Sarum Clamor: For the King (*Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus rex noster*—COr No. 4889d), For Friends (*Deus qui caritatis*) and the Collect from the votive Mass for Peace (*Deus a quo [sancta desideria]*). The ‘royal’ prayer has thus been advanced to the first and principal place and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer entirely suppressed; Psalm 78 has remained the only element still bearing the Clamor’s original Holy Land goal, but, as we have seen, like most Scriptural texts it has always been open to more than one topical interpretation. This service represents, consequently, a very advanced stage in the transformation of the Sarum Holy Land Clamor into a purely ‘royal’ service, though still considerably short of the final form we find in the Hereford Use.¹⁸¹ As this is our only witness to this process in the Sarum Use, however, we have to conclude that it was untypical of the Sarum Clamor as a whole.

IV.5.3 The York Clamor

The York Clamor has been preserved in late sources only. They exhibit two distinct forms, one transmitted in a manuscript source,¹⁸² and the other in three early prints.¹⁸³

The earliest documented York Clamor (=Y1) consists of two components. The first is a typical Holy Land Clamor: Psalm 78 followed by the *Kyrie/Pater noster*, eight versicles (*Exurgat, Salvum fac populum, Oremus pro afflictis et captivis, Mitte, Esto, Fiat, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. A short title-rubric¹⁸⁴ enjoins its performance in prostration in all ferial Masses throughout the year (with the exceptions noted in the Ordinal), immediately after the *Pater noster*.

The versicle-section is very close to that of the Sarum Clamor. Both have eight versicles, share six of them,¹⁸⁵ and bring the *Oremus* versicle in its ‘weak’, non-

¹⁸¹ See below, IV.5.4. In both cases we find that the Holy Land intercession is replaced with intercessions for king, peace and friends.

¹⁸² MS Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 33, York Missal, integral, fifteenth century, ed. by W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, vol. I, Surtees Society 59 (London, 1874), pp. 206–07 (=Y1).

¹⁸³ 1) London, BL, C.35.e. 6, Missal (Paris 1533), York Use. (=Y2); 2) London, BL, C.35.e. 9, Missal (1517), York Use (=Y3); 3) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 21, Missal (Rouen 1509?), York Use. (=Y4).

¹⁸⁴ ‘Notandum vero quod per totum annum in ferialibus diebus fiet prostratio statim post Sanctus tempore paschali et ubi celebrantur ordines exceptis prout in ordinali continetur, et post Pater noster a sacerdote dicente dictus sequatur psalmus’ (fol. 156).

¹⁸⁵ *Exurgat, Oremus, Mitte, Esto, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*. The trio *Oremus, Mitte, Esto* (placed in the same order and in the same ordinal places) is of a particular interest in this collation, for the other versicles are shared by so many other forms in varying orders that they are of no consequence.

crusading version.¹⁸⁶ They differ, however, in two of the eight versicles.¹⁸⁷ Both Clamors may have borrowed independently from the same source or sources, perhaps from the Clamor *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* in its general or particular Carthusian form, possibly also from a variant of the 1245 general form, e.g., the Roman variant documented in MS Avignon Bibiliothèque municipale No. 100. The absence from the York Clamor of the typically 'royal' versicle *Domine saluum fac regem* and its 'replacement' with the *Saluum fac populum* is quite noteworthy, and might hint at the particular circumstances under which this Clamor was inceptioned.¹⁸⁸

The text of the prayer, however, is closer to version I and its later versions than to the Sarum variant. Unlike Sarum, it reads 'unigenitus filius tuus' and 'in viam salutis eterne', and its only agreement with a Sarum marker—the reading 'crucis Christi'—is hardly significant, for this reading is already found in the 1295 Clamor as well as in version II.

The second component of Y1 consists of a sequence of two psalms (119 [*Ad Dominum cum tribularer*] and 120 [*Leuavi*]), five versicles (*Exurgat, Ostende, Esto, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and two prayers (*Ecclesiam tuam, Omnipotens sempiternus deus mestorum consolatio*). A short title-rubric defines its function in relation to the preceding Holy Land Clamor: 'Alie preces quando alia missa ferialis celebratur eodem die infra ecclesia, sive in capellis vel in missis processionalibus, alternatim dicende hoc modo'. This is consequently a supplementary Clamor, designed for Masses celebrated alongside the main ferial Mass. They could be either private Masses ('in capellis') or Masses joined to processions ('in missis processionalibus'). The two psalms suggest a funeral or a commemorative service, for both appear to have been borrowed from the Vespers prayer of the Service for the Dead, but the two prayers emphasise the communal nature of a supplication raised by the entire Church (*Ecclesiam tuam*) and employ, accordingly, the plural rather than the singular number ('mestorum', 'laborantium', 'clamantium' in *Omnipotens sempiternus deus mestorum consolatio*). The versicles *Domine saluum fac regem* and *Saluum fac populum* reinforce this communal aspect even further.

A later form of the York Clamor has been transmitted in the three early sixteenth-century prints (Y2, 3, 4). It comprises three distinct Clamors: the two documented already in Y1 and an alternative third Clamor.

A new, more detailed title-rubric precedes the first Clamor. It echoes the Sarum Clamor: 'In omnibus ferialiter et omnibus festis iii lectionum, a festo sancte Trinitatis

¹⁸⁶ It is characteristic of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Clamor as well. Valuable information could have been gleaned from the response to this versicle but, unfortunately, Y1 as well as the later prints are entirely silent on this point.

¹⁸⁷ *Saluum fac populum, Fiat* added in York, against *Non nobis, Domine saluum fac regem* in the Sarum Clamor.

¹⁸⁸ The Paris Holy Land Clamor comes immediately to mind.

usque ad vigiliam Nativitatis Domini et ab octava Epiphanie usque ad Cenam Domini ac etiam tempore paschali, exceptis octavis precipuis, post *Pater noster*, dicantur psalmi sequentes'. This rubric agrees with the earlier rubric in placing its insertion-point after the *Pater noster* and in assigning the Clamor to most of the ferial Masses of the year, but it differs from it in the specificity of its instructions and in assigning the Clamor to the Paschal period as well. The same comprehensiveness is common to all four York sources as well as the Sarum rubric, but Sarum and York differ in their modes of designation. While the Sarum rubric is based on the Incarnation Style and employs as demarcation signposts feasts as well as specific Sundays, its York counterpart employs the Easter Style and uses only feasts for the purpose of demarcation. The difference between the two seems slight enough, a matter of some two extra weeks at the utmost gained by the York Clamor, but it is not without interest or even some practical implications once it is seen as reflecting two different Styles. They also differ in their insertion-points; in both York rubrics it was located simply after the *Pater noster*, while the Sarum Clamor usually gives much more elaborate definitions.

The third Clamor is based on the Ordo promulgated by John XXII in 1328. It comprises one psalm (121), six versicles (*Sacerdotes tui, Domine saluum fac regem, Saluum fac populum, Fiat, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and two prayers (*Ecclesie tue, Hostium*). This Clamor and the 1328 Ordo share the same psalm, four identical versicles in an identical arrangement, and the same two prayers. They differ, however, in their versicle sections; The Clamor has six versicles against the Ordo's five, the sixth being completely new (*Sacerdotes tui*),¹⁸⁹ and it has modified the Ordo's *Domine salvos fac reges* to *Domine saluum fac regem*. It is quite close to the 1295 Clamor—both have six versicles arranged in an almost identical order (only their first versicles are different), and among them we find *Domine saluum fac regem*. It seems that the York liturgist responsible for the third Clamor did not merely exhume an old service and tack it to the two Clamors already documented in Y1 but selected and added a Clamor that was actively practised in York since 1295, one that evolved under the influence of the 1328 Ordo.

The exact demarcation between the first two York Clamors has become progressively blurred and finally skewed in the later sources. Y1 defined quite clearly how and when the two Clamors were to be celebrated: the first Clamor in the ordinary ferial Masses and the second in any other ferial Mass celebrated alongside the ordinary Mass. Y4 from 1509 has the same distinction,¹⁹⁰ but it became entirely skewed in Y3 from 1517, when 'alia' was corrupted to 'alta',¹⁹¹ and the second Clamor was consequently assigned as the main ferial

¹⁸⁹ I have failed to find it in any previous Clamor.

¹⁹⁰ 'Quando vero alia missa ferialiter celebratur eodem die infra ecclesiam sive extra ecclesiam preces dni [=dicuntur] in alia missa hoc modo' (fol. Ovii').

¹⁹¹ 'Quando vero alta missa ferialiter celebratur eodem die infra ecclesiam sive extra ecclesiam preces dicuntur in alta missa in hoc modo'.

Mass (High Mass). Y2 from 1533 followed suit.¹⁹² The difficulty of assigning the right Clamor to each of these Masses was compounded by the addition of the third Clamor. Y4 offered it as an alternative to the (correctly assigned) second Clamor,¹⁹³ hence to the secondary ferial Mass, but although Y3 and Y2 transmit an almost identical rubric they present it as an alternative to their (erroneously assigned) second Clamor, and hence, necessarily, to High Mass. One can only guess whether the first Clamor was actually transferred to secondary ferial Masses according to these two late sources, and what were the practicalities of the celebration of the alternative third Clamor.

IV.5.4 The Hereford Clamor

The Hereford Clamor has been preserved in the comparatively late *Opus sacri missalis ad usu[m] famose ac percelebris eccl[es]ie Herfordensis . . . Opera P. Oliuerii et I. Mauditier, impensa Iohannis Richardii: Rothomagi. Sep. 1502.*¹⁹⁴ I have checked the two copies of this edition held in Oxford and London (Bodleian Library, Arch.B.c.6 and BL, C.35.i.4). The only manuscript that transmits this Use—MS Oxford, University College No 78A, a fifteenth-century Herefordshire Missal from Monmouthshire—is, unfortunately, incomplete and the relevant folios (following the Ordinary of Mass) are missing.

This Clamor presents an advanced and composite form, based on—or influenced strongly by—both the Sarum and the York Clamors, and possibly other sources as well. The Holy Land has disappeared from it completely, while its ‘royal’ component has been much enhanced. It opens with a specific Hereford rubric: ‘In missa de die, vel de pace vel pro familiaribus dicantur preces hoc modo. Quando sacerdos hanc missam celebrans postquam *Pater noster* dixerit et *Per omnia secula seculorum*, antequam dicat *Pax Domini* dicantur hi psalmi a sacerdote cum ministris et similiter a choro sub silentio, videlicet..’. The Hereford Clamor is designated, consequently, for ferial Masses, for Masses said for peace and ‘pro familiaribus’, and it is inserted immediately before the *Pax Domini*. It consists of three psalms (20, 66, 121), six versicles (*Domine salvum fac regem*, *Salvum fac populum*, *Fiat*, *Domine deus virtutum*, *Domine exaudi*, *Dominus vobiscum*), and three prayers (*Da quesumus domine famulo*, *Miserere quesumus domine populo tuo*, *Deus a quo sancta desideria*—COr No. 1088).

¹⁹² Fol. Oi.

¹⁹³ ‘Alie preces alternatim dicende cum precibus’ (fol. Ovii’).

¹⁹⁴ Rouen: Olivier, Pierre & Jean Mauditier: Richard, Jean. No pagination, following the Mass’ Ordinary. A reprint of this edition—collated with the single manuscript—in W. G. Henderson, *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiae Herfordensis* (Leeds, 1874). The Clamor is printed on p. 139.

IV.6 The *Deus qui admirabili* Office Clamor

Our only evidence of an Office Clamor anchored on the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer comes from the Carthusian Order, which practised a Holy Land Office Clamor based on the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* prayer.¹⁹⁵ It is found in MS Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek Hs. 2772, *Liber precum* of the St Barbara Charterhouse, Köln, ca 1435, fol. 98, integral, no title. It consists of the opening *Deus in adiutorium*, Psalm 78, *Pater noster*, four versicles (*Exurgat deus, Saluum fac populum, Fiat pax, Domine exaudi*), and the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer. Its four versicles are typical to those encountered in both the Mass and the Office Holy Land Clamors since the thirteenth century, and the prayer's text is impressively faithful to version I.¹⁹⁶

IV.7 The *Deus qui admirabili* Holy Land Pilgrimage Prayer

The *Deus qui admirabili* prayer also served the Holy Land pilgrims, according to *La déclaration de tous les lieux ou il y a pardons en la Terre Saincte et les oroisons qu'on dit en aucuns desditz lieux*, preserved in the sixteenth-century MS Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 6110, fol. 1. On disembarking in Jaffa the pilgrim obtains complete remission of sins, and he is to say a psalm with a versicle as well as this prayer, appropriately adapted to the specific needs of pilgrims:

Deus qui mirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram, quam unigenitus filius tuus dominus noster Ihesus Christus sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum nostrorum per virtutem sancte crucis potenter eripias, et restituas cultum Christianorum; presta, quesumus, vota fidelium ad eius visitationem sitientium in viam salutis eterne dirigenda. Per dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum filium tuum. et cetera.

Sources to Chapter 1

II, to p. 27, footnote 52

1) Pamplona, Archivo general de Navarra, MS 3, Missal, thirteenth century, interpolation following the Canon, fol. 63. This untitled Clamor consists of Psalm 78, three versicles: *Exurgat, Saluum fac populum*, and *Dominus vobiscum* and the pre-Clementine *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. At a later date a second prayer was added, the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus edificator et custos civitatis superne Hierusalem*—see COr No. 3787. The same prayer appears also in the Office Holy Land Clamor of the Carthusians of Montrieux.

¹⁹⁵ See above, III.

¹⁹⁶ With one singular exception, 'inimicorum Christi' in place of 'inimicorum crucis'.

2) Vallbona de las Monjas, Cod. 13 (HMML 30,558), Sacramentary, thirteenth century, fol. 104, an integral untitled Clamor following the *Placeat*, consisting of three versicles (*Exurgat, Salvum fac populum, Dominus vobiscum*) and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer in the typical Cistercian version.

3) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4323, a fourteenth-century Ritual/Hymnar of the Benedictine monastery of St Ulrich in Augsburg, fol. 73, 'Oratio pro paganis'. It comprises Psalm 78, three versicles (*Exurgat, Salvum fac populum, Domine exaudi*), and one prayer (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*).

4) Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum, McClean Coll. No. 35, fourteenth century, Franciscan Psalter from southern Germany, fols 176–76^v, interpolation, 'Oratio dicenda propter salutem propugnantium'. It consists of Psalm 78, six versicles (*Salvos fac servos, Esto, Concede a facie, Nihil, Mitte, Domine exaudi*), and six prayers (*Respice quesumus domine super familiam, Ecclesie, Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in the Clementine version, *Hostium, Pretende domine famulis—COr No. 4587a, Da quesumus domine ut et mundi cursus*). The two last prayers were probably added to the original four at a later stage of the evolution of this *Oratio*.

5) Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, Cod. 35–15 (HMML 33,479), Roman Missal, fourteenth century, fols 109–09^v, 'Contra infideles', integral. This clamor consists of a Responsory (*Congregati sunt inimici—Ut cognoscant—Disperge illos—Ut*), Kyrie—*Et ne nos*, six versicles (*Exurgat, Esto, Fiat, Ora pro nobis sancta Dei genitrix, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and three prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in the pre-Clementine version, *Deus a quo sancta desideria—COr No. 1088, Concede nos famulos tuos—COr No. 706*).

6) Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, Cod. 35–15 (HMML 33,479), Roman Missal, fourteenth century, fols 116–17^v, untitled, integral. It consists of a Responsory (*Congregati sunt inimici—Ut cognoscant—Disperge illos—Ut*), Kyrie—*Et ne nos*, Psalm 67 (*Exurgat deus—nomen illi, Gloria patri*), nine versicles (*Domine deus virtutum, Exurge domine, Esto, Nichil proficiat inimicus, Domine non secundum, Effunde, Ut inimicos sancte matris, Ut regibus et principibus, Domine exaudi*), and four prayers (*Hostium, Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in an essentially Clementine version, *Defende quesumus domine beata Maria, Protege domine famulos tuos regem*). A series of marginal corrections and additions reconstructs this Clamor in the form of No. 5.

7) Cambridge, FitzWilliams Museum, McClean Coll. No. 58, fifteenth-century interpolation to a twelfth-century Morimond Collectar, 'Oratio pro terra sancta in auxilium cristianorum, post letanias'. This *Oratio* consists of six versicles (*Salvum fac populum, Mitte, Esto, Ut ecclesiam, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*) and two prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu, Deus a quo sancta desideria—COr No. 1088*).

8) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1268, the Winter Part of a late fourteenth-century Senlis Breviary, fol. 541, a fifteenth-century interpolation records two untitled Office *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Clamors, in the Matins and in the Vespers Hours. They consist of three elements: an antiphon (*Cogregate sunt gentes* in Matins and *Extende domine brachium tuum* during Vespers), one versicle (*Exurgat deus* in Matins and *Effunde iram tuam* in Vespers) and of the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer.

9) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 11,592, a fifteenth-century Toul Missal, fol. 150, two interpolated prayers 'Contra Turcas', consisting of one versicle (*Fiat misericordia tua* in the first, *Ostende nobis* in the second) and the essentially Clementine *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer. The Cistercian General Chapter of 1500 instituted this prayer in Mass against the Turks and other

barbarians and enemies of Christianity at the instigation of Pope Alexander VI (Canivez, *Statuta*, vol. VI, ad annum 1500, p. 228).

10) Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capitulare, Cod. 25–29 (HMML 31,722), Zaragoza Missal, last quarter of the fourteenth century, fol. CVIII, ‘Contra paganos’, interpolation. This clamor consists of eight versicles (*Exurgat, Disperde illos, Iudica domine nocentes, Aprehende arma, Fiant tamquam pulvis, Fiat via illorum, Afflige domine opprimentes, Exurge domine adiuva*) and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* in an essentially Clementine version.

11) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 80 (HMML 5045), Miscellanea, fifteenth century, fol. 130^v, interpolation at the end of the manuscript: ‘Oratio porrecta pro dominum regem Portugallie que dicenda est pro salute eius et omnium pugnantium contra perfidos hereticos Huzzitas Anno Domini 1426 in magna sexta feria’. Celebrated on Good Friday 1426 for Johann I, king of Portugal, in the context of the preparations for the anti-Hussitic crusade, it consists of Psalm 78, *Pater noster*, seven versicles (*Salvos fac servos, Esto, Concide a facie, Nichil, Mitte, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and five prayers (*Respice quesumus domine super familiam, Ecclesie tue, Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates iura regnorum* [sic] *respice in auxilium Christianorum ut gentes paganorum et hereticorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentie conterantur* [the Clementine version], *Hostium nostrorum, Pretende domine famulis*).

12) London, BL, Add. 28,962, Psalter written for Alfonso V, king of Aragon and Naples, c. 1442, fols 78–78^v: ‘Preces pro intrantibus bellum contra paganos’, integral. This Clamor comprises an antiphone (*Effunde iram tuam*), Psalm 78, the Kyrieleison segment (with *Pater noster, Et ne nos*), two versicles (*Disperge illos* and *Domine exaudi*), and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer in a highly contaminated Clementine version.

III.1, to p. 29, footnote 56

Sigla

- A: Arles, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 4
- B: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 11
- C1: Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1058
- C2: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,310
- D: Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 3183
- E: Basel, Bibliothèque universitaire MS B XI 14
- F: Geneve, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS lat. 144
- G: Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 126 (BB1. in fol. 35)
- K: Oxford, Keble College, MS 29
- Klo: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift 597
- L: London, BL Add. 17,355
- M: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1067
- N: Nantua, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 175
- O: London, BL, Add. 15,419

- P: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9440
 R: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 290
 S: Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11 (4)
 T: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 84-1972
 U: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 192
 V1: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 108 (101)
 V2: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 121 (114)
 Y: London, BL, Add. 34,662
 Z: Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, MS 125
 Braga: Braga Missal, 1558

III.1, to p. 29, footnote 57

- 1) Arles, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 4. Sacramentary of Arles, end of the twelfth century, fol. 220 added in the thirteenth century, before the Communion: '*Antequam pax Domini dicatur hec preces fiant*' (=A).
- 2) Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Msc. Lit. 11. Gradual and Missal of Bamberg, twelfth or thirteenth century, fol. 335^v, interpolation (=B).
- 3) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 84-1972. Missal of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, c. 1200, fols 228^v-29, integral, '*Pro terra sancta*', reinforced with a second prayer, *Deus qui admirabili providentia* (=T).
- 4) Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 1058. Ordinary of Chartres, destroyed in 1944, published by Y. Delaporte from a photocopy made in 1917, thirteenth century, p. 197: '*Hic est ordo quando oratur pro terra iherosolimitana*'. The same Clamor was probably also preserved in two fourteenth-century Chartres Missals destroyed in 1944: MS 502, fol. 431, with a shortened rubric; and MS 509, fol. 78^v, with an identical rubric, both integral (=C1).
- 5) Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 3183. Feast and votive Missal + Ritual, Diocese of Mainz, late twelfth century, fol. 188, end of manuscript, integral: '*Contra paganorum incursiones*'¹ (=D).
- 6) Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, MS 125, Missal, thirteenth century, integral, no rubric (=Z).
- 7) London, BL, MS Add. 15,419. Missal, France, thirteenth century, fol. 60, following the *Placeat*, contemporary (?) interpolation: '*Pro terra hierosolimitana P[reces]*' (=O).
- 8) London, BL, MS Add. 17,355. Missal, probably German, late twelfth century, interpolation at the end, fol. 195 (=L).
- 9) Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 126 (BB1. in fol. 35). Sacramentary of Arras (Use of Senlis), twelfth century, second half, thirteenth-century interpolation preceding the Sanctoral, fol. 108^v (=G).
- 10) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1067. Diurnal of the Charterhouse of Montrieux, provenance Periesc, thirteenth century, interpolation at the end of the manuscript, fol. 118 (=M).

- 11) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9440. Sacramentary of the Abbey of Saint-Lambert de Liessies, twelfth century, second half, fol. 13^v, interpolation following the *Placeat* (=P).
- 12) Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 11 (4). Missal of Sens, thirteenth century, early part, integral, in the votive Masses section, fol. 96^v: 'Contra invasores Iherusalem' (=S).
- 13) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 290. Missal of Fecamp, twelfth century, early part, interpolation on last folio, fol. 351^v (=R).
- 14) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 108 (101). Sacramentary of Saint-Amand, twelfth century, second half, interpolation, fol. 50^v: 'Pro tribulatione terre ierosolimitane' (=V1).
- 15) Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 121 (114). Missal of Saint-Amand, late twelfth century, after the *Placeat*, integral, fol. 88^v: 'Pro adversitate terre ierosolimitane', end missing (=V2).

III.1, to p. 29, footnote 58

- 1) Geneve, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. lat. 144. Psalter and Diurnal of the Charterhouse Saint Alban in Treves, fourteenth century, second half, integral, fol. 150 (=F).
- 2) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 597. Klosterneuburg Collectarius, fourteenth century, integral, fols 215^v–16: 'Contra paganos' (rubric mispalced) (=Klo).
- 3) London, BL, Add. 34,662. Missal of the church of St-Valery (north France), fourteenth century, integral, fol. 237, no rubric (=Y).
- 4) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 192. Choir Breviary, St-Denis, Paris, after 1351, integral, fol. 255^v: 'Pro terra sancta oratio' (=U).
- 5) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,310. Missal of Chartres, fourteenth century, early part, provenance Troyes, fol. 309^v: 'Oratio pro terra Iherusalem' (=C2).
- 6) Basel, Bibliothèque universitaire, MS B XI 14. Charterhouse of Basel, 1472, integral, fol. 177: 'De terra sancta' (=E).
- 7) Nantua, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 175. Carthusian Breviary, 1485, integral, fol. 352: 'Preces pro terra sancta' (=N).
- 8) Oxford, Keble College, MS 29. Carthusian Breviary, Dijon 1473, integral, fol. 587 (=K).
- 9) Missal of Braga, Braga 1558 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. E.1.d.26). Integral, fol. CCXLVIII: 'Preces tempore belli et succursu terrae sanctae'. The 'Contra paganos preces' constitute the bulk of these *preces*. The resultant structure is as follows: one responsory, *Kyrie*, one Psalm (either 78 or 3), eight versicles, two [possibly 7] prayers (=Braga).

IV.1, to p. 40, footnote 94

- 1) Monte Cassino, MS CXXVII, an eleventh-century Missal of the Monastery of Santa Maria d'Albaneta, interpolated text on p. 541. Text published in *Bibliotheca Casinensis seu codicum manuscriptorum . . . series*, vol. III (Monte-Cassino, 1877), p. 170. The insertion point is designated as 'Post pacis osculum' (=M).
- 2) Budapest, Bibl. Nat. Hung. 'Nyelvmélékek I', an early thirteenth-century interpolation (the manuscript was held 1203–16 in the abbey of Somogyvár) in a late twelfth-century Sacramentary of the Benedictine abbey of Boldau, no rubric, fol. 12^v (=P).

- 3) Klagenfurt, Bishöfliche Bibliothek, MS XXIX.d.9, liturgical miscellany, interpolation on fol. 97, following the *Praefationes* in the twelfth-century portion of this MS (=F).
- 4) Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. ms. 541, thirteenth-century, first half, Missal of Rouen, integral 'Oratio pro terra iherosolimitana' on fol. 90^v, following the *Placeat*. Probably an original triple structure, but the versicle is omitted and no insertion-point is indicated (=O).
- 5) Philadelphia, Free Library, MS 159, early thirteenth-century fragment, interpolated, Use of a Benedictine nunnery in Essen. a) fol. 1, probably an original triple structure but the psalm is omitted and no insertion-point is indicated (=E1). b) fol. 10^v, another interpolation, the prayer only (=E2).
- 6) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 273 (A.287), Sacramentary of Saint-Evroul, eleventh century, certain elements added during the first half of the twelfth century (before 1143), interpolated, fol. 40. Written on the side and lower margins of fol. 40, facing and under the Canon of the Mass (=R).
- 7) Statute 1 of the 1274 Cistercian General Chapter, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 127, has a triple structure and refers to this prayer but does not specify any insertion-point (=C).
- Nine manuscripts transmit the prayer only (items 8–15 following).*
- 8) Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 41, Sacramentary of Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire, second half of the twelfth century (before 1173), subsequently owned by the Abbey of Saint-Martin-au-Val (diocese of Chartres) and Mont-Saint-Michel, interpol., fol. 53 (on the margin, facing the *Libera*) (=A).
- 9) Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 4, interpolated Sacramentary and Gradual of the Domstift, Bamberg, eleventh/twelfth century, fol. 227 (=B).
- 10) Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und-Hochschulbibliothek, MS 891, Sacramentary of Laach, c. 1150, interpolated, fol. 170^v (=L).
- 11) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS lat. 730, Roman Missal, St. Lawrence-outside-the Wall (?), thirteenth century, interpolated, fol. 191 (=D).
- 12) Monza, Biblioteca capitolare della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista, MS CXXVIII = Ambr. H232 inf., Missal, eleventh century, interpolated, text published in L. Delisle, 'Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 32 (1886), 199 (=Z).
- 13) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M710, Missal of Weingarten Abbey, early thirteenth century, integral, fol. 159^v (=N).
- 14) Tortosa, Archivo Capítular de Tortosa, MS 13 (HMML 30,587), Gregorian Sacramentary, thirteenth century, interpolation, fol. 8 (=T).
- 15) Vatican, Archivio S. Pietro, MS F 18, Sacramentary of St Peter's Basilica, thirteenth century (after 1213, the date of the introduction of the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer), integral, fol. 167, *Pro terra ierusalem* (=W).

Sigla:

- A: Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 41
 B: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 4
 C: Cistercian General Chapter, 1274, Statut. 1

- D: Madrid, Bib. Nac., MS lat. 730
 E: Philadelphia, Free Library, MS 159
 F: Klagenfurt, Bishöfliche Bibliothek, MS XXIX.d.9
 L: Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 891
 M: Monte Cassino, MS CXXVII
 N: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M710
 O: Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 541
 P: Budapest, MNYI
 R: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 273 (A.287)
 S: Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 388
 T: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 13
 W: Vatican, Archivio S. Pietro, Ms. F 18
 Z: Monza, Bibl. capitolare, MS CXXVIII

IV.2, to p. 41, footnote 102

- 1) Assisi, Friary of San Damiano, 'Breviary of St Clare', Breviary-Missal of San Rufino, Assisi, executed after 1234, interpolated Clamor on fol. 264 (=A).
- 2) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Coll. No. 41, Flemish Psalter, thirteenth century, fol. 153^v, fifteenth-century interpolation, no rubric (=K).
- 3) Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. No. 90 (L.106) fourteenth century, Missal of St-Victor of Marseilles, integral 'pro terra sancta et stabilitate Ecclesie', on fol. 149^v (=M).
- 4) Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS No. 857, Premonstratensian Ritual, Wedinghausen, c. 1230, early thirteenth-century interpolation, fol. 49^v (=D).
- 5) Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS No. 885, Collectar and Ritual of Cornelismünster, Darmstadt, early thirteenth-century, interpolated 'Oratio sancti sepulchri', fol. 120^v (=C).
- 6) Gerona, Archivo Capitular, Cod. 20,d,3 (14) (HMML 30,926), Gerona Missal, thirteenth century (?), integral, 'Ad deliberandam terram promissionis a manibus paganorum. Inter sacra missarum solemnium videlicet ante osculum pacis dici cotidie a choro prostratis omnibus', fol. 381 (=G).
- 7) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 474, thirteenth century, Missal of the Augustinians of Seckau, integral, 'Pro Terra sancta' on fol. 344 (=S).
- 8) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 703, Missal of St Lambrecht, integral, beginning of fourteenth century, fol. 100 (=H).
- 9) London, BL, MS Add. 26,655, Missal of Evreux, copied before 1297, integral 'preces pro terra sancta', fol. 103 (=E).
- 10) London, Lambeth Palace, MS 193, executed c. 1320, Carmelite Ordinal, compiled by Sibert of Beka c. 1312, fol. 24^v, 'De Deus venerunt, quando et quomodo est dicendum. R. XLIII', integral (=B).
- 11) London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS L. 404-1916, Missal of the Abbey of Lessness, diocese of Rochester, a thirteenth-century parchment slip facing the *Pater noster*, fol. 82^v (=L).

- 12) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS No. 24, Sarum Use Missal executed c. 1240–60, interpolation, between *Oratio Sancti Augustini* and the *Credo*, preceding the *Praefationes* and the Canon, fols 144–44^v (=J).
- 13) Nantes, Musée Dobrée, ms. 4, Sacramentary of Angers, twelfth–thirteenth century, interpolation following the *Placeat*, fol. 77^v (=O).
- 14) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 884, Carmelite Missal, Paris, first half of the fourteenth century, integral, after the *Pater noster*, fol. 134^v (=T).
- 15) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9443, Cistercian Missal, early thirteenth century (before 1221), interpolation ‘Suffragia pro terra sancta transmarina’, fol. 139 (=F). The interpolation is probably later than 1297, for the next piece on fol. 139^v is a Collect for St Louis, who was canonized that year.
- 16) Princeton University, Garrett Collection, MS No. 40, begun probably before 1450 and finished c. 1476, Missal of a Carmelite House in Nantes with strong connections to the Ducal house of Bretagne, fol. 266–66^v (=N).
- 17) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 216 (C.126), Missal of Rheims, thirteenth century, integral ‘Oratio pro terra iherosolimitana’, fol. 7 (=R).

Sigla:

- | | |
|----|---|
| A: | Assisi, Friary of San Damiano, ‘Breviary of St Clare’ |
| B: | London, Lambeth Palace, MS 193 |
| C: | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 885 |
| D: | Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek, MS 857 |
| E: | London, BL, MS Add. 26,655 |
| F: | Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 94443 |
| G: | Gerona, Archivo Capitular, Cod. 20,d,3 (14) (HMML 30.926) |
| H: | Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 703 |
| J: | Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 24 |
| K: | Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Coll. No. 41 |
| L: | London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS L. 404-1916 |
| M: | Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. No. 90 (L.106) |
| N: | Princeton, University Library, Garrett Collection, MS 40 |
| O: | Nantes, Musée Dobrée, ms. 4 |
| R: | Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 216 (c.126) |
| S: | Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 474 |
| T: | Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 884 |

IV.3, to p. 44, footnote 112

- 1) Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS No. 139 (56), an early thirteenth-century Cistercian Missal, with an interpolated Clamor on its first page, preceding the Calendar. Of French

provenance, it follows faithfully the 1245 Cistercian decree. The prayer for the pope mentions Innocent [IV] by name: ‘famulum tuum Innocentium’ (=A).

2) Vallbona de las Monjas, Cod. 13 (HMML 30,558), Cistercian Sacramentary, thirteenth century, fol. 104^v, interpolation, no rubric. This untitled clamor opens with a *Pater noster*, does not refer to any psalm, and has only five versicles, but its *Deus qui admirabili providentia* prayer confirms its distinct Holy Land character. At a later date it was identified as an anti-Turkish Clamor in a barely legible marginal rubric (‘[contra] turcum cum omni exercitu suo’) (=W).

IV.3, to p. 44, footnote 113

1) Albi, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 5, Sacramentary of Albi (Sainte-Cécile), early twelfth century, interpolated, fol. 161. It has only two prayers: the prayer for the king (*Famulum tuum*) is followed by the primary prayer (‘alia oratio’). The insertion-point is explicitly designated after the *Pater noster* prayer (=L).

2) Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 61 (56), a thirteenth-century Sacramentary of Clermont, interpolated ‘Orationes pro terra sancta’ on fol. 250^v. It brings a third prayer—*Ecclesie tue domine*, the traditional *Contra persecutores Ecclesiae* Collect—in the first place, followed by the *Famulum tuum* (‘alia [oratio]’) and the *Deus qui admirabili* (‘alia [oratio]’) (=C).

3) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 218 (C.124), Missal, an untitled interpolated Clamor following the *Placeat* on fol. 122^v. One of its seven versicles is unusual (*Salvos fac servos* in the fifth place, replacing *Dominus vobiscum*). The three prayers follow a different order (*Famulum tuum*, *Deus qui admirabili*, *Ecclesie*). The *Deus qui admirabili* prayer is that of version II. (=R).

IV.4, to p. 47, footnote 121

1) Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 5122, Paris (Sainte-Chapelle) Use Missal, executed 1297–1306, fol. 398, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ (=P1).

2) Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 203 (184 B.T.L.), Paris Use Missal, early fourteenth century, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ on fol. D. 33 (=P2).

3) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 408 (737), Paris Use Missal, end of the fourteenth century, (before 1416), integral ‘Pro terra sancta preces’ on fol. 269 (=P3).

4) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 409 (218), Paris Use Missal, early fifteenth century, (before 1420), integral ‘Pro sancta terra’ on fol. 362 (=P4).

5) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, f. 1449 3377 (Paris 1489), Paris Use (incunab.), fol. CCXXXX ‘Pro terra sancta’ (identical to Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 560) (=P5).

6) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 406, Paris Use (Sainte Chapelle) Missal executed for one of the sons of Charles VI, fifteenth century, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ on fol. 384^v (=P6).

7) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 859A, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ on fol. 295 (=P7).

8) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12,062, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ on fol. 360 (=P8).

9) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,314, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral ‘Pro terra sancta’ on fol. 302^v (=P9).

- 10) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,315, Paris Use Missal, executed after 1481, integral 'Pro terra sancta' on fol. 369 (=P10).
- 11) Paris, Bibiliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 953 Missal (Paris 1497), Paris Use (incunab.), fol. XXV, 'Pro terra sancta' (=P11).
- 12) London, British Library, C.29.1.8. (Paris 1501), Paris Use (incunab.), fol. XLIII, 'Pro terra sancta' (=P12).
- 13) Paris, Bibiliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 621, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, 'Pro terra sancta preces' on fols 540^v–41 (=P13).
- 14) Paris, Bibiliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 622, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, 'Pro terra sancta' on fol. 342 (=P14).
- 15) Paris, BNF, Nouv. acq. lat. 2649, Paris Use Missal, fourteenth century (1st quarter), integral, fol. 337 (=P15).
- 16) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 831, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral 'Pro terra sancta' on fol. 353^v (=P16).
- 17) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 861, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral 'Pro terra sancta' on fol. 340 (=P17).
- 18) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8885, Paris use Missal, early fourteenth century, owned by duc Jean de Berry, given by him to the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges 1404–07, integral 'Pro Terra sancta' on fols 564^v–65 (=P18).
- 19) Paris, Bibiliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 583, Paris Use Missal, early fifteenth century, integral, 'Pro sancta terra' on fols 387–87^v (=P19).
- 20) Paris, Bibiliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 620, Paris Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, 'Pro terra sancta' on fols 554^v–55 (=P20).

IV.4, to p. 51, footnote 132

- 1) Bruxelles, Bibiliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 444 (6068), Paris Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 200^v.
- 2) London, BL, Add. 17,431, English (?) Cistercian (?) Missal, thirteenth century, (after 1173), later interpolation on fol. 82^v.
- 3) London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 1346–1891, St Denis' Missal, c. 1350, integral, following the Canon, fol. 241^v.
- 4) Le Mans, Mediathèque Louis Aragon, MS B. 243, Le Mans Missal, fourteenth century, fols 79–80^v.
- 5) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8097, Augsburg Missal, 1428, a later interpolation, fols 244–44^v (a particularly elaborate structure which includes three elements: a Pre-Mass, a Clamor and a Post-Mass).
- 6) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 27180, Missal of St Stephan convent, Augsburg, fifteenth century, fol. 5.
- 7) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28181, A Cistercian Missal from Kaisheim, fifteenth century, interpolation on fol. 140^v ('Suffragium pro pace ecclesiastica et temporalis').
- 8) Paris, BNF, MS lat. 1106, Missal of the Abbey of St Laurent, fourteenth century, a later interpolation on fol. 517.

- 9) Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève ms. 90, Missal of Ste Geneviève, thirteenth/fifteenth century, interpolation on fol. 168^v.
- 10) Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève ms. 96, Missal of St-Barbe-en-Auge, end of the twelfth century (before 1173), interpolation, fol. 140^v.
- 11) Philadelphia, Free Library, MS 157, Flemish Missal, c. 1525, fol. 143^v.
- 12) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 279 (A.308), Paris Missal, fol. 338^v.
- 13) London, BL, Add. 34,662, Missal of St-Valery (north France), fourteenth century, fol. 237^v, interpolation, no rubric, beginning 'Et ne nos' (psalm, *Kyrieleyson* and *Pater noster* omitted).
- 14) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 272, Roman Pontifical, fifteenth century, integral, fols 31^v–34 ('Preces pro pace ecclesie').

IV.5.2.1, to p. 56, footnote 153

- 1) London, BL, MS Add. 11,414, Sarum Missal, Lincolnshire peculiarities, integral, fols 201–02^v, fourteenth century (=S1).
- 2) London, BL, MS Add. 16,998, various offices and prayers, fols 57^v–58, integral, after c. 1405–c. 1410, probably London (=S2).
- 3) London, BL, MS Add. 25,588, Sarum Missal, integral, early fifteenth century, owned by a Norwich church, fols 114^v–15^v (=S3).
- 4) London, BL, MS Arundel 109, Sarum Missal, integral, fifteenth century, fols 119^v–20^v (=S4).
- 5) London, BL, C. 35. e. 2, Sarum Missal, London 1555 (print), fols CLXII–CLXIIIv (=S5).
- 6) London, BL, C. 35. k. 5, Sarum Missal, Paris 1513 (print), fols CXLIX–CL (=S6).
- 7) London, BL, C. 41. l. 1, Sarum Missal, London 1520 (print), fols LXXXIII–LXXXIIIv (=S7).
- 8) London, BL, MS Egerton 2677, Sarum Missal, integral, fifteenth-century, fols 127^v–28^v (=S8).
- 9) London, BL, MS Harley 2787, Sarum Missal, St Paul's, London, fourteenth century, fols 107^v–08^v (=S9).
- 10) London, BL, MS Harley 3866, Sarum Missal, Norwich, integral, fifteenth century, fols 146–47^v (=S10).
- 11) London, BL, MS Harley 4919, Sarum Missal, integral, fols 158–60^v, end of fourteenth century, (=S11).
- 12) London, BL, IC 37140; Oxford, Gough Missals 33; (Basel 1489), Sarum Use (incunab.), following the Ordinary of the Mass (=S12).
- 13) London, BL, IB 43955, (Rouen 1492) Sarum Use, (incunab.), integral, following the Ordinary of the Mass (=S13).
- 14) London, BL, IC 43967 (Rouen 1500?), Sarum Use (incunab.), Missal, integral, following the Ordinary of the Mass (=S14).
- 15) London, Guildhall, MS 515, Missal of St Botolph, Aldersgate, mainly Sarum Use, c. 1425, integral, fols 112^v–13^v (=S15).
- 16) Minehead (Somerset), MS Fitzjames Missal, Parish Church of St Michael, integral, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fols 203–05^v (=S16)

- 17) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 705, Sarum Missal, integral, fols 122^v–23, executed in Oxford in 1384 (=S17).
- 18) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, f 61800 (London 1498), Sarum Missal (Incunab.), integral, fols CVII^v–CVIII (=S18).
- 19) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M47, Sarum Missal, c. 1450, integral, fols 119–20 (=S19).
- 20) New York, Public Library, MS No. 63, following the Canon of the Mass, integral, c. 1440 (=S20).
- 21) Oxford, All Souls College, MS 302, Sarum Missal, early fifteenth century, integral, fols 90–90^v, end missing (=S21).
- 22) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Gd. 57, Sarum Missal, London 1500 (print), (=S22).
- 23) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 1, Sarum Missal, St James' of Gawsworth, Cheshire, integral, mid-fifteenth century, fols 193–94 (=S23).
- 24) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 5, Sarum Missal, Diocese of Worcester, fifteenth century, integral, fols 125^v–26^v (=S24).
- 25) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. b. 5, Sarum Missal, fols 162–62^v, St Mary's Adderbury (Oxfordshire), executed about 1385 (=S25).
- 26) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 26 (Venice: Hamman, Johann/London: Egmont, Frederick & Gerard Barrevelt, 1494) (incunab.). (=S26).
- 27) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 26 (Paris 1500), Sarum Use (incunab.) (=S27).
- 28) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 1, Sarum Missal, Diocese of Winchester, early fifteenth century, integral, fols 99–100 (=S28).
- 29) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 3, Sarum Gradual, mid-fifteenth century, integral, fols 132–33, incomplete—page missing after 'eripiens restituas' (=S29).
- 30) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jones 47, Sarum Missal, North(?) England, 1st half fifteenth century, integral, fols 147^v–48 (=S30).
- 31) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 253, Sarum Missal, Pembrokeshire, integral, fols 117^v–18^v, last quarter of fifteenth century (=S31).
- 32) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 302, Sarum Missal, Diocese of Durham, early fifteenth century, probably written for a Benedictine house, integral, fols 119^v–20^v (=S32).
- 33) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A.387^A, Sarum Missal, integral, fols 34^v–36 (=S33).
- 34) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.168, Missal, Canterbury Cathedral, late fifteenth century–early sixteenth century, integral, fols 105–05^v (=S34).
- 35) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. c.2., Sarum Missal, 2nd quarter fifteenth century, integral, fols 125–26 (=S35).
- 36) Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 394, a notebook for the use of a priest in the diocese of York, St Mary, Lapworth (Warwickshire), executed 1398, integral, fols 108^v–10 (=S36).
- 37) Oxford, Keble College, MS 58, late fourteenth century–early fifteenth century, Missal, integral, fols 140^v–41^v (=S37).

- 38) Oxford, Oriel College, MS 75, Missal, Diocese of Worcester, early fifteenth century, integral, fols 148–49^v (=S38).
- 39) Oxford, Pembroke College, MS No. 1, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 126–27 (=S39).
- 40) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 242, Missal, early fifteenth century, fols 129–30 (=S40).
- 41) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 250, Missal, fifteenth century (1430?), fols 157^v–58^v (=S41).
- 42) Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.III.32, Missal, fifteenth century, fols 157^v–58^v (=S42).
- 43) Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library, MS 2, Sarum Missal, early fifteenth century, fols 139^v–41 (=S43).
- 44) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 213, Sarum Missal used in Ireland, fifteenth century beg., fols 106–06^v (=S44).
- 45) London, BL, Add. 59,855, Sarum Missal, c. 1400, probably the Missal bequeathed by John Gower to the Augustinian Priory of St Mary Overy in 1408, fols 133^v–34^v (=S45).
- 46) Bristol, Public Library, MS No. 13, Sarum Missal, early fifteenth century, fols 142–43^v (=S46).
- 47) Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library, Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe MS No. 29, Sarum Missal, secular Use, mid-fourteenth/fifteenth century, probably in use at Shepton Beauchamps, Somerset, fols 114–14^v, ‘Pro pace psalmus cum oratione’ (=S47).
- 48) Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library, Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe MS No. 40, Sarum Missal, mid-fifteenth century, fols 132^v–33 (=S48).
- 49) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 23, a Cistercian portable Psalter, 3rd quarter of the fifteenth century, southeast England, fols 214^v–215, no rubric (S49).

Comments to the Illustrations on Front Cover and in Chapter 1

Front Cover

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525, The Psalter of St Louis, produced between 1253 and 1270, was held by successive members of the Capetian and Valois houses (Louis IX, Queen Jeanne d'Évreux, Charles V received it in 1369, and Charles VI gave it to his daughter Marie de France, nun in Poissy, in 1400). Its illustrations are accompanied by captions in French. Fol. 34. Moses raising his arms while the Israelites fight against the Amalekites.

This illustration depicts the battle between the Israelites and the Amalekites (Exodus 17) on two levels, the supernatural and the mundane, actualised respectively in the liturgical act and through the physical fighting. The scene on the left of the observing subject—the right (hence superior) side of the observed object—represents the liturgical act through the figure of Moses. He sits on top of a hill, raising his arms to heaven in a gesture of prayer, ‘And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed, and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed’ (v. 11). The next scene shows the actual fighting: two groups of armed soldiers clash slightly down below, the advancing soldiers from the left—

representing the Israelites commanded by the imposing figure of Joshua—vanquish the stricken Amalekites on the right, their king (recognized by a distinctive shield and a crown) falling in the front row, prefiguring the future Agag (1 Samuel 15). Moses and his supporters are depicted with the distinct Jewish conical hat, which indicates the priestly—hence Jewish, surprisingly enough—context of this Biblical scene, while the mundane fighters are given contemporary dress, armour, weapons, and heraldics. It is worth noticing that the Israelite and the Amalekite fighters are portrayed in a perfectly identical manner.

The caption reads as follows: ‘En ceste page est comment les gens Moyses se combatent contre leur enemis, et tant con Moyses tent ses mains en haut et ses gens vainquent, et en li soustient ses bras haut’.

Colour Plate 1

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525, fol. 41^v. Joshua and the Israelites go round the city of Jericho with the Ark of Covenant.

This illustration, a part of the sequence describing the taking of Jericho (Joshua 6), depicts the procession of the Israelites from left to right: the priests carrying the Ark of Covenant march first—hence in the first scene on the right—followed by the cavalry, manifestly in good spirits, commanded by Joshua. Here again the artist designated the priests with a Jewish/Biblical hat and dress, and the cavalry with a typical thirteenth-century military apparel.

The caption reads as follows: ‘En ceste page est comment Josué et son peuple font porter entor la citei de Jherico la sainte arche nostre Seigneur’.

Colour Plate 2

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10,525, fol. 42. The encompassing Israelites blow their trumpets and the walls of Jericho come tumbling down.

This illustration shows the climax of the story. Five priests—four of whom wear the ‘Jewish’ hats—blow their trumpets on the left, while the next scene advances the story to the actual capture of the city: the walls fall down in the rear—the front walls with the two open gates (the portculis are already up, indicating surrender) are still intact—and the fight is raging inside the city. The beaten enemy is shown, as usual, on the right side of the scene, the movement of the victorious from left to right. The priests and the fighters—in both camps—are represented as above (see front cover and colour plate 1).

The caption reads as follows: ‘En ceste page est comment li fill Israhel vont a vii boisines et portent la sainte arche entor les murs de Jherico, et comment li mur de la citei cheirent, et comment Josué et son peuple entrerent dedans et gaaingnerent la citei’.

Colour Plate 3

London, BL, Add. 28,962, fol. 78. Prayers for those who enter war against the heathen.

The source of this illustration is the Psalter of Alfons V, king of Aragon and Naples, produced c. 1442. The illustration accompanies a *Clamor contra paganos* anchored on Psalm 78 and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer.

Depicting the moment of victory—the pagans have just been routed and turn to flight—it articulates the belief that Christian and pagan warriors are basically different, in contrast to other portrayals of Holy Wars (in both literary and artistic sources) that assume an essential similarity and portray the antagonists as very much the same under the armor (see front cover and colour plates 1 and 2, above). Antithesis is achieved in this illustration by various means. First, by contrasting location and movement: the charging Christians are allotted the superior upper *dextre*, to the right of the depicted object (the left side from the viewpoint of the looking subject), while the retreating pagans are (literally) thrust out and down in the opposite direction in the lower *senestre*. Second, by the iconic contrasts of power and impotence, mainly the contrasts between the many and the few (the Christians greatly outnumber the pagans), between the aggressive armor-clad Christians and the soft targets of the practically exposed pagans, between the uniform mass of metallic blue behind the resplendent colourful figure of the king in the first line and the disparate, confused palette on the opposite end of the illustration, and, finally, between the disciplined, structured formation of an army commanded by a king and fleeing, leaderless individuals, remnants of a disintegrating enemy. Third, between the familiar and the alien: while banners and heraldic devices formally identify the Christian army, none are to be seen among the pagans. Helmets and armor in the Christian camp are regular, but the shields carried by the pagans are of a fantastic form and manifestly ineffective, and their colours—salmon pink and watered down greenish yellow—a veritable aberration from any heraldic code. It all adds up to a visible contrast between an armoured disciplined power overwhelming a soft, exotic and already broken enemy.

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846 (colour plates 4–12)

This illustrated Psalter, produced in England in the 1170s or 1180s, brings the glossed ‘Gallican’, ‘Roman’, and ‘Hebrew’ versions of the psalms in three parallel columns. It was never finished—its text breaks off at Psalm 98—and the illustrations that accompany the psalms represent two separate enterprises: the first fifty-one psalms were illustrated when the manuscript was produced and in close dependence on the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter, while the later psalms were illuminated after the manuscript migrated to Catalonia, towards the end of the thirteenth century or during the fourteenth. The fifty-two new illustrations were free of the constraint of the Utrecht Psalter tradition.¹⁹⁷ The illustrations provide intriguing evidence on the perception of the psalms by contemporaries, for they represent a distinct approach—through the visual rather than the verbal—to the sentiments and beliefs that were read into the psalms. Examined in the light of this present study, the illustrations in this manuscript testify to the importance of Jerusalem during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries: Jerusalem as an idea open to different interpretations and applications on the three levels defined, traditionally, as

¹⁹⁷ C. R. Dodwell, ‘The Final Copy of the Utrecht Psalter and its Relationship with the Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters (Paris B.N. Lat. 8846 ca. 1170–1190)’, *Scriptorium*, 44 (1990), 21–53.

‘allegorical’, ‘moral’, and ‘anagogical’, and—on the traditional level of the ‘historical’ explication—the real Jerusalem, from the Biblical Jerusalem of David to the Christian Jerusalem of Jesus and the Apostles and well beyond (a history that starts with Constantine the Great and terminates with the contemporary Crusades). The fifty-two later illustrations are particularly intriguing in this regard, for their independence from the Utrecht Psalter tradition makes them, in principle, important witnesses to innovative attitudes to Jerusalem.

Colour Plate 4

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 6^v. Why do the heathen rage? I am ordained king upon my holy hill of Zion. Psalm 2, Sunday Mass Clamor in London.

This psalm narrates the war that humanity—the nations (‘gentes’) and the peoples (‘populi’)—wages against the Lord and his Christ in Jerusalem, Christ’s royal seat. God warns the foes of his Son to submit and to serve, and the Psalmist announces the coming defeat of the enemy. The illustration consists of two scenes of unequal size, left unfinished in that they lack any textual component: the scrolls originally intended to bring quotations from the psalm were left blank. These quotations can be reconstructed, however, by following the parallel illustration in the sibling Psalter of Ms. Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1.

The foes of the Lord were originally perceived in this text as one entity; the two terms used to define it—‘gentes’ and ‘populi’—are synonymous, not disjunctive. Christian exegetes, however, read into this psalm the conflict between the Ecclesia and the Synagoga. Remigius of Auxerre, for example, is quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria* as explicating ‘gentes’ by ‘Romani milites’ and ‘populi’ by ‘Judei’, ‘reges’ as the two Herods together with Pontius Pilatus, and ‘principes’ as referring to the ‘principes sacerdotum’ Caiphaz and Annas.¹⁹⁸ Herod and Pontius Pilatus were mentioned in this connection already by Cassiodorus (quoted, again, in the *Glossa ordinaria*). The present illustration enacts this confrontation.

The first scene (on the right) places this conflict in the specific spatial context of Jerusalem. Christ rules from the top of Mount Zion, with the Ecclesia—symbolized by a building resembling the Holy Sepulchre with its distinctive rotunda—on his left, and the Synagoga—typified by a basilica-like building—to his right. Both buildings are explicitly defined as ‘Synagoga’ and ‘Sancta ecclesia’ in the Cambridge Psalter. The Ecclesia, a group of heavily armed people, faces sternly the Synagoga, whose members—obviously less well-armed (one notices the absence of the distinct shields), all crowned kings and princes—converse energetically and plot among themselves. The two groups are both separated and joined by the figure of Christ, whose words, bearing, and actions determine the situation of each group. The reconstructed missives addressed to the two groups are Nativity tidings, and they are almost identical. The

¹⁹⁸ *Biblia Latina cum Glossa Ordinaria*, Facsimile Reprint of the Editio Princeps Adolph Rausch of Strassburg 1480/81, vol. 2 (Turnhout, 1992), p. 459.

Jews are informed about the royalty of Christ in Jerusalem: ‘Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Syon montem et cetera’ (v. 6), while the emphasis in the proclamation to the Gentiles is on the divinity of Christ: ‘[Dominus dixit] ad me filius meus es tu’. These seemingly discrepant messages motivated the *Glossa ordinaria* to emphasise that the royalty of Christ extends to the Gentiles as well: ‘“predicans”: Non tantum rex super Iudeos sed et super gentes, de quibus probat quia dubium erat’. The two groups react to these tidings in different ways. The Jews plot and scheme against the newly born Christ—hence the specific identifications of the two Herods, Pontius Pilatus, Annas, and Caiphas—but the Gentiles preserve a dignified stance, obviously responding to the call (‘vocatio gentium’). Christ then turns his face back from the Synagoga to look at the Ecclesia, breaking with his right hand the potter’s vessel on the Synagoga side¹⁹⁹ and extending his left hand to the Ecclesia. The Hand of God from above (on the right) blesses the Ecclesia, and the reconstructed quotation in the scroll that extends from that hand reads: ‘Ego hodie genui te. Postula a me et dabo tibi [gentes hereditatem tuam]’ (vv. 7–8). This scene obviously enacts the good tidings to both Jews and Gentiles and their different reactions to the call, God’s rejection of the sinful and unrepentant Synagoga and his adoption of the penitent Gentile Ecclesia as his new ‘hereditas Dei’. These are, in fact, the essentials of the antagonism between Ecclesia and Synagoga.

The second scene—to the left—brings this conflict to its end. Christ directs from above three armed angels who fight from heaven and overpower a group of armed men. The reconstructed inscription immediately adjacent to the figure of Christ reads ‘Qui habitat in celis irridebit eos et cetera’ (v. 4), while the inscription above the fighting angels reads ‘Tunc loqueretur ad eos in ira sua et in furore’ (v. 5). The *Glossa ordinaria* offers, again, an apposite reflection on this passage, quoting Augustine: ‘“Iridebit”: Irrisio dei vis est prescientiae, quam dat deus sanctis, ut videntes nomen Christi futurum in omnibus gentibus, illos inania meditantes intelligant’. The defeat of the enemies of the Lord—predicted in verse 5 and in the closing verses (12–13)—signifies the victory of the Gentile Ecclesia, and it implies, in fact, the identification of the defeated with the Synagoga, the sole adversary pitted against the Ecclesia in this illustration. This identification makes the riddle of the unusual positioning of the Ecclesia on the left of Christ and the Synagoga on his right considerably less disturbing. The artist was practically ‘forced’ into this positioning by his source, the Utrecht Psalter, which did not recognize in the two groups either the Synagoga or the Ecclesia, but once they were identified as such, their positioning in regard to Christ became highly unconventional. The immediate contiguity of the crime committed by the Synagoga and its final punishment could have mitigated, however, that dissonance: crime and punishment were thus shown to be causally and directly connected.

¹⁹⁹ See, in this connection, Lamentations 4.2: ‘Filii Sion . . . quomodo reputati sunt in vasa testea opus manuum figuli’.

Colour Plate 5

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 40^v. Who shall ascend into the Mountain of the Lord, and who shall stand in his holy place? Psalm 23.

This psalm celebrates the Jerusalem pilgrimage—‘Quis ascendit in montem Domini aut quis stabit in loco sancto eius’ (v. 3)—and the largely cognate concept of Christ’s triumphant entry through the city gates as ‘Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in proelio’ (v. 8). While the illustration in the Utrecht Psalter combines both themes, this artist concentrates on the second theme only, though in close dependence on his Carolingian model, in overall structure and in numerous details. Christ is portrayed as the ‘King of Glory’ and ‘Lord mighty in battle . . . Lord of hosts.’ The marginal gloss in the manuscript declares, in explication of ‘In prima sabbati’ in the title of the psalm: ‘. . . mundus conditus in eadem, homo restauratus per resurrectionem Christi. Unde monet victorem cum triumpho suscipere’. He advances towards the city gate accompanied by an armed guard, holding a bannered spear in his right hand and being blessed by God’s hand and the angels above. Three persons welcome him at the gate, and eight others are arranged on the walls and in front of a huge temple.

This twelfth-century illustration differs from its model in two important matters. The group of pilgrims shown within the city walls in the Utrecht Psalter has been much reduced and its role and identity redefined: eight monumental, ceremonious figures are now positioned on and along the city walls, obviously the ‘principes’ twice summoned to open the gates (‘adtollite portas principes vestras’, vv. 7, 9). The introduction of these ‘principes’ into the scene and their seemingly significant role in the unfolding narrative were bound to complicate the reading of that narrative, for traditional exegetes of this psalm offered several interpretations on this subject. The principal exposition proposed in the *Glossa ordinaria*, quoting Augustine and Cassiodorus, relates to the Harrowing of Hell theme and identifies the ‘principes’ as ‘principes tenebrarum’ and the ‘portas’ as ‘portae mortis quae a principe dyabolo positae sunt’.²⁰⁰ Other expositions quoted there—of the moral and the allegorical types—read ‘portas: id est opera per que deus intrat’ and ‘principes: genus electum’, and, quoting Augustine again: ‘hinc iam itur in celum, exclamat iterum propheta, tollite etiam celestes principes portas quas habetis in animis hominum qui adorant militiam celi.’ Read by the light of the first exposition, this illustration would seem to narrate Christ’s triumphal descent into Hell, while the second exposition points to his Ascension and triumphal entry into Heavenly Jerusalem. As both alternatives are equally valid, the choice between them should depend on additional iconic information concerning the nature of the walled city—is it in Heaven, is it in Hell?

Conclusive information of this kind is provided by another item which differs from the Carolingian model—the substantial temple, the only element depicted

²⁰⁰ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 481.

inside the city and, consequently, the best clue to its nature. The Utrecht Psalter temple, a tall building with a pitched tiled roof and a lean-to²⁰¹, its curtains drawn to reveal an altar and a hanging lamp, reappears in our illustration, though with a grander columned facade. But it has acquired in the process two additional architectural elements: a conical rotunda and a square tower on the right of that facade. Another tower appears at the back of the temple, between the lean-to and the city wall, but it can be disregarded, due to its distinct resemblance to the typical wall-towers rather than the front-tower. The conical rotunda represents, most probably, the Holy Sepulchre rotunda and denotes, therefore, the Holy Sepulchre church. The square tower on its right should be identified, consequently, as the twelfth-century belfry of that church. This was, in fact, the view of the Holy Sepulchre that greeted pilgrims in the late twelfth century: a monumental facade and doorway (though in its southern wall rather than its western end—our artist reproduces, nevertheless, the longitudinal plan of his Carolingian model) with the rotunda and the belfry to its right, and the imaginary Carolingian lean-to finally realised in the Calvary chapel to its left. If this identification of the temple as the twelfth-century Holy Sepulchre is correct, there can be no doubt that the city should be recognized as Jerusalem—the earthly city prefiguring Heavenly Jerusalem. The artist's choice between Heaven and Hell, in this case, is quite explicit.

Colour Plate 6

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 93. Save me, o God, by thy name; I shall freely sacrifice unto thee. Psalm 53, Monday Mass Clamor in London.

This psalm, a cry for deliverance in tribulation and a song of praise and gratitude for salvation, has been illustrated—and interpreted—on two registers. The upper register, still largely dominated by the Utrecht Psalter, exhibits types, not real persons, and the unreality of these types is emphasized by their archaic Biblical appearance and by an almost surreal atmosphere (monumental people tower above tall buildings and a lamb is depicted as a puny, miserable lap-dog) as well as by a total focusing on the message (no dallying with meaningless trivia like natural scenery and real proportions). The lower register, in contrast, is entirely original. It is 'historical', presenting a sequence of historical events that add up to a complete story, and the reality of its protagonists is underlined by their realistic depiction. They are true to (thirteenth-century) life—in their cloths, weapons, armor, water-jugs, crowns, and tents, and they are portrayed within nature and in a realistic relationship to their surroundings—persons standing on a mountain are higher than those underneath and those in a tent or a hall lower than either top or ceiling. Both registers form, nevertheless, one coherent narrative that opens on the lower register

²⁰¹ It is a lean-to and not an aisle of a basilica, because it does not extend along the whole length of the building—see a real aisle on fol. 93 below.

in the scene on the right, proceeds to the left, and continues on the upper register from left to right.

Although the text of this psalm is devoid of any historical connotation, its rubric provides one: 'cum venissent Ziphei et dixissent ad Saul nonne David absconditus est apud nos.' The illustration concentrates, accordingly, on the second encounter between Saul and David as narrated in 1 Samuel 26. The first scene portrays David and Abishai entering furtively Saul's magnificent blue tent and observing the sleeping king with Abner ben Ner and his people around him, seizing the king's spear and water-jug, and retreating up the hill, where David's soldiers are waiting for them. The next scene to the left shows David standing on the hill with his men, and the crowned Saul on his throne—accompanied by his council—looking at the direction of David and visibly listening to his words. By expanding the 'history' of this psalm the artist inserted the Psalmist's cry for deliverance into a concrete, real context: David appealed for succor when he was hunted by Saul in the desert, an exile and a proscribed fugitive.

The continued narrative on the upper register is given in a completely different idiom under the strong influence of the Carolingian model. The Utrecht Psalter depicts here two scenes. The first shows armed horsemen attacking up the hill from the left, riding against the Psalmist, who stands before them—armed with an enormous shield and a spear—defending the Temple and crying for succour. He is answered by the blessing hand of God from above. The second scene, on the right, depicts a sacrifice in the Temple: a lamb has been brought by the Psalmist before a blazing outside altar, a priest stands ready to officiate, and another altar within the Temple is seen through the opened curtain, with a chalice and a loaf on it and a lamp suspended from above.

The artist reproduces the Temple scene almost intact: one notable modification is the elimination of the chalice and the loaf of bread from the inner altar, probably because of his attention to 'historical' correctness: as the Biblical sacrifice in the Temple prefigures the Eucharist it cannot exhibit it directly and plainly. Another change consists in the elimination of the Psalmist's spear, though not his giant shield: his passive, merely defensive posture and consequently his need of succour are made, in this way, more obvious. The armed conflict scene on the left, on the other hand, has been substantially altered. It now exhibits a lone rider brandishing a whip, sitting and looking backwards but moving, all the same, toward and against the Psalmist who stands guard in front of the temple and looks backwards towards the blazing altar and God's blessing hand. Sitting on one's mount backwards and not looking where it is going is decidedly silly, possibly insane, two properties that were often associated in Biblical perspective: 'Qui autem fatuus est aperit stultitiam' (Proverbs 13.16, and elsewhere). This rider symbolizes both.

The artist created this figure under the inspiration of the psalm's verses, in the first place. 'Alieni' in 'alieni insurrexerunt adversum me' (v. 5) obviously means 'the

insane', a perfectly good Classical Latin, Biblical as well.²⁰² The rider's senselessness and folly are best seen in his iconic opposition to the 'sapiens', represented here by the Psalmist, an opposition elaborated in several Scriptural passages. Particularly pertinent is Proverbs 17.24: 'In facie prudentis lucet sapientia, oculi stultorum in finibus terrae', exemplified in this illustration by the 'prudens' turning his face to the blazing light on the altar under God's hand while the fool turns his eyes away to the ends of the earth. The interlinear gloss in the manuscript explicates the 'intellectus' in the title of the psalm, indeed, as follows: 'quia vir insipiens non intelliget vel non cognoscet quomodo interit flos'. Even the whip in the rider's right hand is not without meaning, for the Psalmist assures elsewhere 'et flagellum non adpropinquabit tabernaculo tuo' (Psalm 90.10).

Victory in this battle against the enemies is celebrated with a festive sacrifice—'voluntarie sacrificabo tibi' (v. 8)—in the Temple of Jerusalem.

Colour Plate 7

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 103^v. When David set Syria on fire. Psalm 59, Tuesday Mass Clamor in London.

This psalm raises the cry of Israel against its historical enemies and oppressors, a supplication for military victory and retribution. Its title identifies the enemies through the reference to Joab's victories against 'Mesopotamiam Syriac et Syriam Sobal . . . Edom', while its text singles out 'Moab' and Idumeam' (v. 10). Londoners in 1188 needed no commentator to identify for them, under these names, some of Saladin's chief domains. The *Glossa ordinaria*, however, rejects in this case—again—the 'historical' mode and concentrates, instead, on the 'moral' exposition. Quoting Augustine it declares: 'In historiis non legitur quod David converterit Ioab, vel quod in huiusmodi vastationibus aliquid succenderit. Sed superficie historiae relictas, sicut in plerisque aliis sit, ad spiritualem dirigimur intelligentiam, quae ex nominum interpretationibus sumitur.'²⁰³ The marginal glossa in the manuscript is equally emphatic: 'Hoc non historialiter, sed pro significatione dicitur, pro qua solet ab historia recedere'.

The artist chose, nevertheless, to depict two 'histories': the past Biblical history alluded to in the title, and the future 'history' of the End of Time (the anagogical exposition), the earlier prefiguring the later, and both determined by the theme of the final ('in finem', v. 1) eschatological battle and victory. He begins his narrative—left scene on the upper register—with Joab's victory against the enemy, the killing of the defeated foes and the burning and destruction of their city. The scene to the right shows the fall of Satan and the rebellious angels/demons, hurled into the lake of fire

²⁰² As in Ecclesiasticus 33.22: 'vir consilii non desperiet intelligentia, alienus et superbus non pertimescit timorem'), and turning one's back to the Temple illustrates the Psalmists's complaint 'fortes... non proposuerunt Deum ante conspectum suum' (v. 5).

²⁰³ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 526.

and brimstone by fighting angels commanded by the Archangel Michael. This fall could be either the primordial one, prior to the creation of man, or Satan's final defeat in the Day of Judgement (Apocalypse 20.10)—probably the latter, for it conforms better to the overall eschatological framework of this illustration.

The lower register is consecrated to the Last Judgement. God is sitting on his throne, blessing the saved and holding the book of life in his left hand, the elders on either side and ten seraphs under the throne, the Virgin sitting with equal status on his left—as the Virgin enthroned, symbolizing the Church—in the role of a judge. Two groups of nimbed saints and martyrs, some holding palm-leaves, assemble to the left of the judgement throne (see Apocalypse 7.9–17, separated by a red trunk-like partition: those closer to the throne are mostly clergy (one recognizes the episcopal order by several mitres, one cardinal's hat, and one papal tiara) and some monks, St Francis with the stigmata among them, while the group on the far left of the illustration comprises saints and martyrs holding palm-leaves and pertaining to several categories—tonsured persons among them, but also some that seem to be laymen. St Andrew is recognized in this group by his emblem, the cross saltire.

Colour Plate 8

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 121^v. On the former captives: deliver me in thy justice. Psalm 70.

This psalm is a personal cry for help. The Psalmist recalls his youth and hopes to praise God in his senescence, but the title gives this psalm a collective and historical meaning: 'Psalmus filiorum Ionadab et priorum captivorum'. The *Glossa ordinaria*, quoting Augustine and Cassiodorus, identified both groups correctly, the first with the pious sect mentioned in connection with Jeremiah, and the second with the Jewish captives exiled by the Babylonians after the destruction of the first Temple, but it insisted, again, on interpreting this psalm in the 'moral' mode: 'Filii Israel captivi sunt primi et secundi et tertii. Sed non de his sonat psalmus, potius de nobis qui captivamur in lege peccati. . . . Filii Ionadab loco obedientium, priores captivi loco contumacium ponuntur, qui frequenter moniti nolunt corrigi. Hystoria in libro regum.'²⁰⁴ These glosses are reproduced on the margins of the manuscript.

The artist, once again, preferred the 'historia' of the destruction of Jerusalem to the moral/theological exegesis. The visual narrative starts on the left, with the prophet Jeremiah addressing—inspired by God above—the inhabitants of Jerusalem, shaming them by recounting the pious steadfastness of the Rechabites Sons of Ionadab, and prophesying—to their obvious horror—the coming tribulation: 'ecce ego adduco super Iudam et super omnes habitatores Hierusalem universam afflictionem quam locutus sum adversum eos' (Jeremiah 35.18). Cassiodorus' description of the necessary link between forewarning and punishment was adopted by the *Glossa ordinaria* and inserted into the marginal gloss of the manuscript:

²⁰⁴ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 541.

'Iudei pro lege dei contempta decreti sunt primae, secundae et tertiae captivitati, sed ut corrigerentur antequam prima veniret per prophetam pronunciata est, illi vero consueta malitia in obstinatione permanserunt'. In the next scene we observe the realization of that prophecy in detail. The Babylonians breach the gates of Jerusalem, and a procession of captives, their hands tied, is led by an armed guard from the destroyed city on their way to exile and (first) captivity.

Colour Plate 9

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 128^v. O God, remember thy congregation, Mount Zion in which thou hast dwelt. Psalm 73, Wednesday Mass Clamor in London.

In Psalm 73 the Psalmist raises the cry of the entire people in tribulation and laments the desecration of Zion, the destruction of the Temple, and the defiled rites. He uses, throughout, the plural form when talking about the persecuted, never in singular, and his references to Jerusalem and the Temple are explicit and straightforward: one does not need to elicit their meaning by means of subtle allegorical interpretation. This psalm was perceived, accordingly, in a 'historical' perspective, as bearing on the 'third captivity', the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. The *Glossa ordinaria*, quoting Augustine, emphasises its historical significance as the final break between Judaism and Christianity, between the Old and the New Covenant: '... non est enim unctio vel sacerdos, vel propheta, vel templum. Ubi veritas venit vastata sunt omnia pro quibus Christum [Iudei] occiderunt. Plangit Asaph intelligens discernensque terrena a caelestibus, vetus testamentum a novo, ut scias quid ex his eligas'.²⁰⁵ Cassiodorus, quoted in the same source and reproduced to a large extent in the marginal gloss of the manuscript, concurs ('Monet relictis figuris transire ad veritatem'),²⁰⁶ but he is more attentive to the historical specificity of that destruction: 'Describens eversionem Hierusalem irreparabilem. ... Interitum et captivitatem significat quae a Tito et Vespasiano'.²⁰⁷

The structure of this illustration, like that of Psalm 70, derives from—and affirms—the belief that the destruction of Jerusalem was the inevitable sequel to the contumacious refusal of the Jews to heed the warnings and to repent. The scene on the left represents, consequently, Jesus' lament over the doomed city, when he wept over it and prophesied: 'Quia venient dies in te, et circumdabunt te inimici tui vallo ... et coangustabunt te undique; et ad terram prosternent te ... et non relinquent in te lapidem super lapidem' (Luke 19.43–44). Christ is shown descending from Mt Olivet, accompanied by nimbed Apostles; three men listen to him at the gate. The hands of both Christ and the inhabitants of Jerusalem betray their agitation, the piety of the grieving Christ on the one hand, the horror and supplication of his audience on the other.

²⁰⁵ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 546.

²⁰⁶ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 547.

²⁰⁷ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 547.

The next scene depicts the destruction. Two kings, one old and the other young, sit crowned on a throne. They supervise the destruction of the city and the selling of the captives—led out of the city with their hands bound behind their backs—to a group of slavers. It is an orderly transaction: an elderly man standing beside the two kings receives the payment from the hands of a slaver, while a youth holding a staff seems to officiate in some ceremonial function. These are, obviously, Vespasian and Titus, fulfilling the prophecy—leaving no stone on another, and selling the Jews to slavery in the ‘third captivity’ (an intriguing allusion to the popular belief that the captives were sold to slavery in an inversion of the selling of Jesus by Judas—thirty persons for one silver—and that slavery is the normal legal status of the Jews in the Diaspora). The finality of this captivity (third in a series of three, commented in the interlinear *Glossa ordinaria*: ‘In finem: usque in finem seculi’)²⁰⁸ is borne out by the occurrence of the theme of the final rejection of the Synagoga in illuminations to this psalm in several other illustrated Psalters: Christ is shown as striking the Synagoga—either with his right hand or with a stick or a spear—within the decorated U of the first word (‘Ut’).

Colour Plate 10

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 141. O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance, thy holy temple have they defiled. Psalm 78, Thursday Mass Clamor in London.

Like the preceding psalm, Psalm 78 speaks for the entire community, and in a typically ‘historical’ manner. It narrates the conquest of Jerusalem and the desecration of the Temple by the heathen as well as the martyrdom suffered by the faithful, confesses the sins committed, and supplicates for forgiveness and retribution against the enemies of God. The *Glossa ordinaria*—reproduced in the gloss in the manuscript—recognizes this ‘historical’ essence. Quoting Augustine it hesitates between two possible captivities that occurred prior to the Advent of Christ—the Babylonian and the one unleashed by Antiochus,²⁰⁹ but, following Cassiodorus, it comes to a definite conclusion: ‘Prima est conqæstio, et enumerantur quanta tulerit Hierusalem temporibus Antiochi’.²¹⁰

The illustration comprises two scenes of equal size, one above the other. They are not linked together by an evolving narrative or by the allegorical association of a prior *prefiguratio* fulfilled in a later realization. As both depict the ‘second captivity’ under Antiochus, the information they convey is pretty much the same—in subject matter as well as in its location in time and place. They differ, however, in their viewpoints: the upper scene describes that persecution as an individual heroic martyrdom, while the lower scene enacts it on a vaster scale as the martyrdom of the entire community. One can move, therefore, from top to bottom or the other way round with equally good grounds, though the stronger Christian undertones of the

²⁰⁸ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 547.

²⁰⁹ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 557.

²¹⁰ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 557.

upper scene would suggest, perhaps, that the correct movement is from the lower scene upwards.

The upper scene tells the story of the seven ‘Maccabees’ brothers and their mother, who suffered martyrdom at the hands of Antiochus. They are depicted kneeling and praying while two executioners dispatch the elder brother and his mother (telescoping the story—the elder brother died first, the mother was executed last) at the command of the king, who sits on his throne, the crown on his head and his councilors at his side. A group of shocked onlookers observe the martyrdom and converse among themselves. The lower scene portrays the martyrdom of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. A river of blood gushes out of the city gate and flows around it (‘effuderunt sanguinem ipsorum tamquam aquam in circuitu Hierusalem’, v. 3), unresisting passive victims are being massacred by armed soldiers, and corpses are lying all around the city.

Antiochus was traditionally considered as a type of the *Persecutor Ecclesiae* and as the last of the Biblical persecutors, and as such he was usually perceived as prefiguring the final historical persecution directed against the Church. This was highly relevant, of course, in times of eschatological expectations—and the thirteenth century had more than its fair share of these beliefs, particularly the Joachimite expectations that the End of Time will come towards the middle of the century or somewhat later. As Saladin was sometimes identified with the sixth of the seven kings of the Apocalypse, the seventh being the Antichrist himself, Antiochus was an excellent candidate to prefigure Saladin in the eyes of contemporaries of the fall of Latin Jerusalem.

Other encoded messages are transmitted—more subtly—through heraldic means. The colours of the shield carried by one of the slaughtering soldiers—on the right side of the scene—are silver on *sinople*, a regular combination, although the green colour—so profusely used in the soldier’s cuirass and clothes—usually denotes Muslim fighters. Another Knight of the Lion is depicted on the upper left part of the scene in front and against the Holy Sepulchre-like building with its conic dome. His shield is round; and round is not only imperfect in heraldry, it is evil, and it frequently denotes the Muslim. Moreover, his colours—*sable* and *gueules* (the black and the red)—are absolutely evil. They signify Sin, Hell, Paganism, and Death, and their combination (black on red) is quite impossible, for it contradicts the first law of heraldic colour—no *couleur* should be put on or beside another *couleur*. The *demi-lion*, his blazon, is highly irregular and disturbing, for the truncated figure of the *demi-lion* is more common as a crest rather than as a charge on a shield. The artist took great care, it seems, to confer on the persecutors distorted and irregular heraldics, producing a general effect of alienation and dissonance, and suggesting that Antiochus prefigured the later Muslim persecutor of Jerusalem. This illustration further confirms, therefore, the topicality of Psalm 78 in the context of the Holy Land liturgy and crusade in the thirteenth century.

Colour Plate 11

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 147. O God, thine enemies have taken crafty counsel against thy people: Edom, the Ismaelites, Moab, the Hagarenes, Gebal, Ammon, Amalec, the Philistines, Tyre and Assur. Psalm 82, Friday Mass Clamor in London.

Like the preceding psalm, Psalm 82 prays for help against the enemies of Israel, who plot to destroy the Temple and calls for harsh retribution. Traditional exegesis emphasised its eschatological message: the *Glossa ordinaria*, quoting Cassiodorus, defines it as ‘Psalmus de adventu Christi ad iudicium, ubi boni qui hic patiuntur coronabuntur, mali vero qui eis persequuntur torquebantur’, and, following Augustine: ‘Novissima tempora Antichristi designat’.²¹¹ Its topicality for Londoners in 1188 was the result, first, of the detailed catalogue of enemies, evidently identified with the contemporary Muslims: ‘tabernacula Idumeorum et Ismahelitae, Moab et Aggareni, Gebal et Ammon et Amalech, alienigenae [Iuxta Hebr.: ‘Palestina’] cum habitantibus Tyrum, etenim Assur’ (vv. 7–9). The *Glossa ordinaria*—reproduced in the manuscript—in contrast, concentrated on the moral and anagogical interpretation of these names at the expense of their historicity, quoting Cassiodorus—‘Per haec nomina Christi inimicos declarat qui temporibus Antichristi tot malis simulantur, quia sicut isti contra Israel, ita illi contra Christianos tunc bellabunt’, and Augustine (in the interlinear gloss): ‘Incipit inimicos Christi memorare sub nominibus quibusdam gentium, que mystice eis congruunt’.²¹²

The artist adopted, this time, the traditional anagogical interpretation. In the first scene—from left to right—he depicts the martyrdom of a group of people in front of a city gate, observed by the grieving Psalmist on a mountain and bathed by rays of light that issue from the arc of heaven above. Two were already executed, their heads shown with the martyr’s halo, the rest are awaiting their turn, kneeling, among them a crowned king. These are obviously the ‘boni’, and the scene illustrates the persecution ‘adversus sanctos tuos’ (v. 4). The next scene portrays the Resurrection of the Dead and the Last Judgement in the conventional manner: Christ as Judge sits on an arc within a mandorla, with hands raised, displaying the wounds on his hands and right side. Two angels present the Instruments of the Passion (the cross with the title and the three nails, the spear with the crown of thorns) on either side, and two other angels sound the trumpets of the Last Day below. The dead arise from their graves and from the sea (Apocalypse 20.13).

²¹¹ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 561.

²¹² *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 562.

Colour Plate 12

Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 169. Come, let us sing unto the Lord. Psalm 94.

This psalm comprises two parts, and it speaks in two voices: it starts as a song of praise and a call to placate God, raised by the faithful who assure themselves ‘nos populus pascuae eius’ (v. 7), and concludes with God’s response to the Jews—a grim warning to repent, reminder of past offenses and obduration, and the terrible conclusion: ‘iuravi in ira mea si intrabunt in requiem meam’ (v. 11). Traditional exegesis did not denaturalize its meaning although it did explicate it in a Christian perspective.

The artist illustrated it with two scenes. The first on the left depicts Jesus whipping and chasing the traders and the money-changers from the Temple, a purification of the Temple that was later interpreted in a crusading context as applicable to the purification of the city from the abominations of the Muslims. The next scene—on the right—shows a bishop—the mitre on his head and his crozier held beside him—officiating before an adoring and entranced audience. This is probably the way the artist imaged v. 2: ‘in psalmis iubilemus ei,’ and as such it forms a logical sequel to the previous scene: the Temple, originally a ‘house of prayer’ has become a ‘den of thieves’ due to the sinful activity of the money-changers, but it was restored as a ‘house of prayer’ under the Christian dispensation, an authentic church identifiable by an altar and a monstrance on it. The continuous identity between the two scenes is emphasised by their identical architectural background; it creates an image of one encompassing structure, one Temple embracing both scenes. Chasing the unworthy from the Temple was probably meant to refer to the final exclusion of the Jews from salvation (‘quies’) as decreed in the psalm’s closing verses, but if this was the intention it went far beyond Augustine’s very nuanced and moderate opinion on this point as it was quoted in the *Glossa ordinaria*.

Figure 1

Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 8846, fol. 170^v. When the house was built after the captivity: sing ye to the Lord a new canticle. Psalm 95.

This song of praise invites all the nations to give glory to God and to worship him in Jerusalem: ‘tollite hostias et introite in atria eius, adorate Dominum in atrio sancto eius’ (vv. 8–9). The title underlines this reference to the Temple: ‘Quando domus aedificabatur post captivitatem’ (v. 1). The *Glossa ordinaria*, quoting Cassiodorus, explicates this ‘historical’ reference in an allegorical manner, identifying that particular Temple with the one rebuilt by Zorobabel after the return from the Babylonian captivity, but insisting, all the same: ‘per quam reaedificationem intelligitur spiritualis reaedificatio templi . . . de qua spirituali, non illa actuali agit hic psalmus’.²¹³ The real (=spiritual) Temple is the entire human race,

²¹³ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 567.

‘per peccatum a dyabolo subversum est et homo in legem peccati et mortis captivatus, sed per Christum reaedificatur toto orbe et homo a captivitate—ne pereat—liberatur’.²¹⁴ The salvation of humanity through Christ is the authentic restoration of the Temple.

The ‘historical’ restoration is shown in one single scene in a very realistic manner, detailing the various building activities in erecting again the city and the magnificent Temple/church. Three crowned kings—of different ages—stand on the left, conversing and overseeing the building. Representing the spiritual dimension of this scene, they should be identified with the Holy Trinity in its three Persons, as the *Glossa ordinaria* concluded, quoting Jerome and Cassiodorus on the three invocations with which this psalm opens: ‘Ter Domino: ad distinguendam personarum trinitatem, quia laus Christi honor est Trinitatis’.²¹⁵ This psalm was routinely employed in Dedication rites, but it achieved a particular topicality—needless to emphasize, mainly due to its ‘historical’ meaning—in the context of the first Crusade. The liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre were perceived and celebrated in the light of this ‘new canticle’ as a restoration, a new beginning, after centuries of captivity under the Muslim yoke.

²¹⁴ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 567.

²¹⁵ *Glossa ordinaria* (as in note 198), p. 567.

The Holy Land Mass

I. General

The Holy Land Clamor was a complete rite inserted into a break in the routine celebration of the Eucharistic service, an exceptional rite designed to affect exceptional crises. Its insertion so close to the climax of the Eucharistic rite—after the Consecration and before the Fraction and the Communion—further highlighted its extraordinary nature.¹ Exceptional crises called for desperate measures. The Holy Land Mass, in contrast, was inspired by the belief that the transcendental potency and merits generated in the Eucharistic service can be directed—‘harnessed’, so to speak—to specific, particular aims. Votive Masses have been long perceived as intercessory Eucharistic services, transmitting the supplication of the faithful before God, and—at the same time and mainly in a popular perspective—as active, instrumental rites. The cause of the Holy Land was deemed worthy of the same remedy, in the same way that communal and individual crises induced Votive Masses for Peace, in Time of War, For the Removal of Schism, For any Necessity, In Time of Cattle Plague, For Continence, For Those at Sea, For One in Prison or in Captivity, For Fine Weather, and many others.

The Holy Land Mass was celebrated in three principal forms. One could employ for this purpose extant Masses, either ordinary Masses in the regular chronological order or Votive Masses consecrated to a pertinent theme (In Tribulation, For Peace, In Time of War) or to a particularly potent intercessor (Mary, the angels, certain saints). They could be celebrated in various ways, either separately or in more or less complex sequences of Masses. And the cause of the Holy Land could be added to—or even superimposed on—

¹ In striking analogy to the Interruption of Reading [the Torah] in the Synagogal Office on occasions of communal crisis.

the main theme of any given Mass through the addition of three ‘dedicated’ prayers to the regular Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion. And we have, finally, the dedicated Holy Land Mass, entirely dedicated to this cause in the sense that all its components bear directly on this theme. This chapter deals with the first two types—the extant Mass and the triple set of Mass prayers—leaving the third, the dedicated Holy Land Mass, to the following chapter.

II. Masses

II.1 Extant Masses in a New Crusading Context

Eight votive Masses were performed in the cause of the Holy Land in general or for particular crusades. The four Masses of *Spiritus Sanctus*, *Pro intercessione sanctorum*, *Pro tribulatione*, and *Pro quacumque necessitate* were performed immediately after Hattin and independently of any papal initiative, and sequences of Masses, each comprising three weekly votive Masses—either with an integrated Clamor, with additional prayers, or without any addition at all—were introduced in the course of the fourteenth century as Holy Land Masses. The Masses comprised in these sequences were the votive Masses of *Trinity*, the *Angels*, the *Holy Cross*, and *St Mary*.

A weekly *Holy Ghost* Mass was enjoined on all priests in the Cistercian Order already in 1188/89, and it was confirmed by the Cistercian General Chapter in 1190 and again in 1194. The emphatic phrasing of the 1188/89 decree betrays a sense of urgency, explicable in the atmosphere of shock and excitement that followed the defeat of Hattin and accompanied the Third Crusade from inception to end: ‘unusquisque sacerdos qui poterit semel in ebdomada dicat de [Spiritu sancto] nec super hoc excusabitur etiamsi adhuc missas debet pro defunctis. Si negligens apparuerit proclametur.’² And again in 1190, a crucial year for that crusade: ‘Unusquisque sacerdotum in hebdomada semel missam celebrabit de Spiritu Sancto, si poterit, alioquin pro magna negligentia eius conscientiae ascribetur.’³ This was not the first time that the Cistercians celebrated the Holy Ghost Mass as an intercessory Mass. They did this as recently as 1184, when they celebrated it ‘pro domino papa et pro aliis multis,’⁴ and it will be introduced again, in

² Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 122, note 16 (text preserved in Ms. Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 430, fol. 107).

³ Stat. 16, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 122.

⁴ Stat. 18, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 97–98.

similar contexts, by the Cistercian General Chapters of 1194⁵ and 1218.⁶ Outside the Cistercian Order we find it in the resolutions of the Cognac Provincial Council of 1255.⁷

The Pentecostal general message of victory made the Holy Ghost Mass an excellent choice in most crises, but some of its texts were particularly suited to the crisis of Christian Jerusalem. Its Gradual celebrated 'populus quem elegit dominus in hereditatem sibi' (Psalm 32), echoing the theme of *hereditas*, one of the principal ideas developed by the preachers of the crusade, while the Offertory envisioned times when '... a templo tuo, quod est in Jerusalem, tibi offerent reges munera,' quoting Psalm 67, in a celebration of military victory. The extensive use of the Holy Ghost Mass during the first decade after Hattin left its traces on other liturgical forms. Its Collect, *Deus qui corda fidelium*, was inserted in 1194 into all Cistercian Masses (with the exception of the Masses for the Dead), and the new usage persisted until it was abrogated in 1210.⁸ Its Introit exerted an even more lasting influence, for its psalm verse, *Exsurgat deus*, became the common opening versicle of the Holy Land Mass Clamor.⁹

The votive Mass *Pro tribulatione* appears in this context in Sicily at about the same time, in the immediate aftermath of the German Crusade of 1197–98 and during the early preparations for the Fourth Crusade. On 5 January 1199 Innocent III approved a suggestion made by the commissioners he appointed to preach the crusade in Sicily that a Mass *Pro tribulatione*, by then already held locally, be publicly celebrated once a week throughout the whole island of Sicily.¹⁰

Another votive Mass, *Pro quacumque necessitate (Salus populi)*, was pressed into service much later. The Cistercian General Chapter of 1247 ordered—among other liturgical measures—this Mass to be generally celebrated for the sake of numerous ecclesiastical and secular persons 'et pro statu Ecclesiae ... pro bono statu regni Franciae ... et pro omnibus cruce signatis, maxime qui in comitatu domini regis

⁵ 'Pro summo pontifice, pro imperatore, pro regibus Franciae et Angliae, pro episcopis et principibus et aliis fidelibus pro quibus rogati sumus, pro pace terrarum et aliis necessitatibus ecclesiarum ...' (Stat. 9, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 172).

⁶ Stat. 1, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, pp. 484–85.

⁷ '... Pro negotio terre sancte, et domino rege Francie, cruce signatis, quotidie in singulis ecclesiis fiant preces sicut a domino legato quondam extitit ordinatum ...' (c. 30, Mansi, *Consilia*, 23, col. 873). This is probably a reenactment of the measures decreed by the Cognac Council of 1238 (see Hefele-Leclercq, 4.1, p. 83).

⁸ Stat. 44, Canivez, *Statuta*, I, p. 378 ('... et in illa missa collecta de Spiritu Sancto intermittatur').

⁹ The Whitsunday Mass as well as the votive Holy Ghost Mass open with *Spiritus Domini replevit* (Sap. 1:7), followed by *Exsurgat deus et dissipentur*.

¹⁰ *De vestra discretione*, Reg. I, No. 508, in *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. by O. Hageneder, et al., vol. 1 (Graz-Köln, 1964), pp. 741–43; PL, vol. 214, cols 470–71; H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen, 1969), p. 66.

Franciae erunt'.¹¹ In England, similarly, Robert of Winchelsey, archbishop of Canterbury, ordered his suffragans in May 1295 to celebrate two special weekly *Salus populi* Masses (on Wednesdays and on Fridays) with the new Holy Land Clamor inserted in them 'pro terre sancte subsidio et pro statu, necnon et pro statu regis et regni Anglie'.¹²

The *Intercession of the Saints* for the Holy Land is known from a fourteenth-century interpolation to MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Coll. 84–1972, Missal of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, c. 1200, fols 219–19^v, under the rubric 'Pro terra sancta'. As it shares the same handwriting with the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* set on fol. 230^v, their copyist should be dated to sometime after 1308–09, when Clement V established the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* set. Other examples of its application in a general context are the *Contra hereticos et inimicos ecclesie*, a fourteenth-century interpolation in the twelfth-century manuscript Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 910, fol. 106^v, a Collectar and a Gradual according to the use of St Martial, Limoges,¹³ and the *Orationes pro commemoratione sancte Marie et omnium sanctorum et pace ecclesie*, a later (thirteenth-century?) addition to a Jerusalem Missal, MS London, BL, Egerton 2902, fol. 13^v.

A Holy Land sequence of three weekly votive Masses was introduced for the first time by Pope John XXII in 1322, among other measures to promote a limited crusade to defend Armenia and Cyprus. Detailed in his bull *Ad pie matris communis*,¹⁴ it consisted of the three Masses of the Holy Trinity, St Mary, and the Holy Angels, each augmented by a Clamor comprising Psalm 78, four versicles (*Salvos fac servos, Esto, Nihil, Exurge domine*), and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect in a highly distinctive version.¹⁵ The three Masses were to be celebrated (in the above-mentioned order) in turns on a fixed day once a week, the entire sequence repeated again every three weeks. All other Masses celebrated during the week were to include another Clamor, traditionally celebrated Against Persecutors and In time of War, which

¹¹ Stat. 4, Canivez, *Statuta*, II, p. 316.

¹² R. Graham, *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1294–1313* (Oxford, 1952), p. 26. See also n. 142 on p. 53.

¹³ St Martial's name is included in both Collect and Postcommunion. A later hand added in the margin the names of St Benedict and St Valeria.

¹⁴ Letter to the archbishop of Toulouse and his suffragans, 20 December 1322 (*Lettres secrètes et curiales du Pape Jean XXII relatives à la France*, ed by A. Coulon, t. 2 (Paris, 1906), No. 1571, cols 204–05). See also Nos 1572 and 1573 (op. cit. col. 213), as well as Jean XXII, *Lettres communes*, ed. by G. Mollat, vol. 4 (Paris, 1910), Nos 18143–149, p. 346.

¹⁵ 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manus sunt potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice ad populum christianum tuum, nomen sacratissimum invocantem, ut gentes que in sua feritate confidunt potentie tue dextera comprimantur'.

consisted of Psalm 69 (*Deus in adiutorium meum intende*), the same four versicles and the Collect *Hostium*.¹⁶

This saturation campaign did not last long, apparently, since the preparations for the crusade foundered toward the end of 1323 and were not resumed until the accession of Philip VI in 1328. A new Holy Land sequence of three weekly votive Masses, conferring a ten-day indulgence on all penitent participants, was introduced again on 5 December 1331 in a document addressed to Peter de La Palud, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to the French prelates,¹⁷ and again in the bull *Ad liberandam Terram Sanctam* on 26 July 1333, following the final agreement between the Curia and the French Court on the modalities—especially the finances—of the new crusade. While the earlier promulgation was addressed to the French Church, the later was given a European circulation, in accord with the intention to organise the planned crusade as a ‘passagium generale.’¹⁸ The new sequence consisted, again, of the three Masses of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, and St Mary (in this order), but it pleaded the cause of the Holy Land no longer through a Clamor but by means of the three prayers *Deus qui admirabili*, *Sacrificium*, and *Protector noster*, attached, respectively, to the regular Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion.¹⁹ The same sequence with the attached prayers was enjoined by Pope Urban V in 1363 in connection with the crusade planned under King John II,²⁰ and again—though without the attached prayers—by Gregory XI in 1373 as part of the preparations for a new crusade against the Turks.²¹

The two votive Masses of the Holy Trinity and St Mary, Masses of general supplication, were the obvious choice in any new rite dedicated to the cause of the crusade. This is particularly true in regard to St Mary’s Mass, for Marian prayers have been employed in several crusading contexts since the late twelfth century. The following two Masses, however, were certainly chosen on grounds of their specificity. The Holy Angels Mass,

¹⁶ This general wartime prayer acquired a Holy Land resonance quite early, the result of its inclusion as a second prayer in Holy Land Clamors, e.g., in the Chartres liturgy (Sources: Chartres Bibliothèque municipale, 1058 and Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,310), in the Pontifical of Guillaume Durand (*Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, ed. by M. Andrieu, vol. 3, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand*, Studi e Testi 88 (Città del Vaticano, 1940), p. 631), and even in the *Laetatus sum* later diluted form of the Holy Land Clamor (as in Mss. London, BL, Add. 17, 431, and Philadelphia, Free Library, MS 157).

¹⁷ Raynaldus, *Annales*, vol. 24, No. 30 (pp. 478–80).

¹⁸ See the document addressed to the French Church in *Lettres closes et curiales du Pape Jean XXII relatives à la France*, ed. by A. Coulon and S. Clémencet (Paris, 1972), No. 5210, cols 73–79, and the circulation list of the liturgical dispositions in *Lettres communes*, ed. by G. Mollat, vol. 12 (Paris, 1932), No. 61247, p. 217.

¹⁹ Pp. 78–79.

²⁰ *Dolenter referimus*, in Raynaldus, *Annales*, vol. 26, No. 18, pp. 83–84.

²¹ *Dudum multorum fide*, in Raynaldus, *Annales*, vol. 26, No. 5, pp. 220–21.

with its underlying cult of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of the soldiers of God, held an obvious appeal to the knightly class, the first to be called up in any new crusade. The Holy Cross Mass, rich in evocations of earthly Jerusalem—the actual venue of the Passion, the Invention and the Exaltation of the Cross—conveyed an even clearer crusading message. ‘Cruce signati’ and would-be crusaders were obviously the best audience for an Offertory that pleaded ‘Protege, domine, plebem tuam per signum sancte Crucis ab insidiis inimicorum omnium’ or a Communion that supplicated ‘Per signum Crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos, deus noster.’ Even the Spanish victory commemoration of the Triumph of the Holy Cross on July 16 (commemorating the 1212 victory over the Muslims at Las Navas de Tolosa), apparently far removed from the Holy Land context, exhibits a typical crusading fervour in its numerous borrowings from the Masses of the Exaltation of the Cross and the Holy Cross.²²

Direct evidence on the actual practice of these innovations in their entirety is scant. The Provincial Council of Rouen in 1335 complained that the French clergy did not hold the special weekly Masses decreed by the pope (in 1331–33) and insisted that all the measures instituted for the sake of the proposed crusade should be fully carried out,²³ but we have no way of corroborating this evidence against other sources or of evaluating the efficacy of this Council’s work. I have approached the manuscript sources with low expectations, for each of the three forms of these Holy Land Masses (with a Clamor, with additional three prayers, and without any addition at all) was maintained for only short periods of time—several years at the utmost when it was actually performed—and they could not be expected to leave much of a record in the manuscript service books. But the actual evidence is even smaller than expected. I have been able to identify only one such manuscript, MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica No. T.8.11, a thirteenth-century Missal of the Cistercian Abbey of Casamari near Veroli. On fol. 228 it has a *Pro Terra Sancta* triple set added in the fourteenth/fifteenth century, identical to those instituted in 1331–33 and 1363. Another hand specified: ‘Ordinatum est a summo pontifice pro liberatione terre sancte, quod primo die Mercurii dicatur missa de Trinitate, secundo die Mercurii missa de sancta cruce, tertia die Mercurii missa de sancta Maria, cum supradictis collectis, usque ad sex annos. reincipiendo semper a die Mercurii.’²⁴ This sequence of three weekly votive Masses assigned to Wednesdays for a duration of six years reveals something of the fiscal aspect of the crusading liturgy, for grants of the tenth for the crusade were usually made in six-years allocations.²⁵ Liturgy in action was obviously expected to support the financial campaign for the new crusade in addition to its primary role, supplicating for God’s mercy.

²² Apart from the Collect (*Deus qui nos hodierna*), the Secret (*Sacrificium*), and the Postcommunion (*Adest domine deus noster et quos*), all its other components were borrowed from these sources. See the full service in the Zaragoza Missal of 1552, fols CCXII–CCXII^v.

²³ Cap. VII, Mansi, *Concilia*, t. 25, col. 1043.

²⁴ Fol. 229.

²⁵ This was the practice established at Vienne in 1312 and again, by John XXII, in 1333.

II.2 Sets of Three Mass Prayers

II.2.1 General

An overwhelming body of evidence reflects the great popularity of Holy Land triple sets of Mass prayers ‘free’ from particular liturgical contexts and associable, in consequence, with any Mass, any time. Documented for the first time in thirteenth-century sources, triple sets of this type were instituted as local initiatives and never achieved more than a limited expansion, although some of their later witnesses attest to a considerable duration. Proportions changed, however, when the papacy resumed its role of initiating and promoting new crusading rites with the introduction of the Holy Land triple set by Clement V in 1308/9, and the similar initiatives taken by John XXII in 1331–33 and Urban V in 1363. Local practices barely survived during the fourteenth century and disappeared on the threshold of the fifteenth, leaving the triple sets propagated by the Curia as the only Holy Land Mass prayers in existence prior to the era of liturgical consolidation and codification in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

II.2.2 Local Initiatives and Uses

I have been able to identify seven Holy Land Mass sets of the local type (practically eight, for No. 2 is represented by two sub-forms). Their Holy Land specificity is indicated by either rubrics or explicit prayer texts (usually the Collect—*Deus qui admirabili* or *Deus qui ad nostre salutis/Deus qui ad exhibenda*, *Deus qui ad hoc irasceris* in Nos 1, 2.1, 2.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7—but we have also a Secret and a Postcommunion explicitly dedicated to this goal in Nos 3, 6), or both prayers and rubric (Nos 1, 3). When one of these two elements (prayers and rubric) is too general in scope, emphasising resistance to *pagani*, *infideles*, *pacis* [or *crucis*] *inimici*, and the like and the preservation of *Christiani*, *fideles*, *secura libertas*, specific dedication to the cause of the Holy Land can be established by other elements in the same set (as in Nos 2.1, 2.2). As the main topic of the set was usually declared in the Collect, traditional general prayers were adopted for both the Secret and the Postcommunion. But even these recycled prayers were usually selected, nevertheless, from sources contiguous to the crusading experience. Such were the Secret and the Postcommunion borrowed from the votive Masses *Pro iter agentibus* and *Pro navigantibus* (in No. 4), and the Secret and Postcommunion adopted from the votive Masses *Contra persecutores* and *In tempore belli* (in No. 6). Two original Holy Land prayers—a Secret and a Postcommunion—hitherto unknown, appear in No. 3.

Independence in regard to the papal liturgical innovations of the fourteenth century is obvious in sets consisting of prayers entirely different from those of the papal sets (in No. 2.2), and even more so in sets that bring the pre-Clementine version of the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer (in Nos 1) or the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer independent of the version promulgated by John XXII (in Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Independence, in these cases, probably implies anteriority.

The seven sets are as follow:

1)²⁶

Collect: 'Deus qui admirabili . . .' in its original version, independent of the prayer promulgated by John XXII in 1331–33.²⁷

Secret: 'Propitiare, domine, supplicationibus nostris et has populi tui oblationes benignus assume, et ut nullius sit irritum votum et nullius vac[u]a postulatio presta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur.' This is the traditional Secret of the Eighth Sunday after Pentecost,²⁸ on which both Office and Mass commemorate the Dedication of Salomon's Temple and forewarn of its destruction.

Postcommunion: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice ad christianorum benignus imperium, ut gentes que in sua feritate confidunt potencie tue dextera comprimantur.' This Good Fridays prayer appears here in its traditional, pre-Clementine version: it lacks any of the specifics that mark the text of this prayer as it was promulgated by Clement V in his Holy Land set.²⁹

2) This set, known in two strains, consists of two different Holy Land Collects and identical Secrets and Postcommunions.

2.1)³⁰

Collect: 'Deus qui admirabili . . .' in what is essentially version I (marked by the readings 'unigenitus filius tuus dominus noster,' and '[fidelium . . .] institentium.' This is the thirteenth-century text, independent of the version promulgated by John XXII in 1331–33.

Secret: 'Suscipe, domine, quesumus preces et hostias ecclesie tue pro defensione<m> omnium fidelium tuorum, et antiqua<m> brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis pacis inimicis segura tibi serviat christiana libertas.' The sources of this prayer are easily discernible in the Masses *Pro rege et exercitu suo* and *Pro regibus* of the tenth-century Sacramentary of Fulda,³¹ and, probably more directly, in the

²⁶ 1) Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (S11), Sacramentary of Autun, twelfth century second half, later interpolation (fourteenth century?), fols 151^v–52, under the rubric: 'Pro terra sancta'.

²⁷ See above, pp. 50–51.

²⁸ *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Y. Hen, Henry Bradshaw Society, 110 (London, 1995), No. 745 = Had. + Supp. 1148 = Gelasianum 1184 = Gellonense 1229, and see *COr* No. 4684c.

²⁹ See below, pp. 128–30.

³⁰ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1097, late twelfth century, Cistercian Sacramentary, a later interpolation (fifteenth century?), fol. 87^v, 'Contra paganos'.

³¹ *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by G. Richter and A. Schönfelder (Fulda, 1912; repr. H. Bradshaw Soc., 101), respectively Nos 340 and 341, p. 221.

Mass *Pro imperatore* of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Roman Pontificals.³² The liturgist adapted the original text to the specific context of this set by changing ‘pro salute famuli tui *ill.* [suorumque omnium] supplicantis’³³ to ‘pro defensionem omnium fidelium tuorum.’

Postcommunion: ‘Rex omnium seculorum deus, cuius regnum super omnes populos dilatatur, subice, quesumus, gentem paganorum sub pedibus nostris, ut evictis obprobriis tuis semper muniamur auxiliis.’ This is probably an original *contra paganos* text, as we have not found it in any anterior source.

2.2)³⁴

Collect: ‘Deus qui ad exhibenda . . .’ in version II of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis* Office clamor, and, more precisely, in the distinct St Denis strain of this prayer. Its specifics, found also in ms. U of the *Deus qui ad exhibenda* clamor,³⁵ are ‘gentium’ instead of ‘gentilium’ and ‘populus tuus in te confidens’ replacing ‘populus Christianus.’

The Secret *Suscipe* and the Postcommunion *Rex omnium* are practically identical to those of 2.1.³⁶

The later history of this Secret indicates both the duration and the effect that this local usage (maintained in one of the more important ecclesiastical establishments in France) had on the fully articulated *Contra paganos* Masses. Probably original to this *Contra paganos* set, it became integrated into the Ambrosian Mass *Contra paganos* (or *In persecutione paganorum*) as a *Super Syndonem* prayer sometime after 1475.³⁷ Later prints present it in three different versions, in 1505,³⁸ 1522,³⁹ and 1548.⁴⁰ It is also found in the *Pro victoria regum* Mass of the Toledo Use in 1512.⁴¹

³² Andrieu (as in note 16), vol. 1, *Le pontifical romain du XII^e siècle* (Città del Vaticano, 1938), p. 254, and vol. 2, *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIII^e siècle* (Città del Vaticano, 1940), p. 390.

³³ Fulda Sacramentary No. 340. No. 341 obviously derives from this source, with its baffling reading ‘pro salute famulorum tuorum supplicantis’. The Roman Pontifical omits, of course, ‘suorumque omnium’.

³⁴ London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS A. 1346–1891, St Denis’ Missal, c. 1350, integral, fol. 357^v: ‘Contra infideles’.

³⁵ See p. 36.

³⁶ The only deviation in the Secret is ‘serviat tibi’ instead of ‘tibi serviat’ as in the Roman Pontifical, and the only deviation in the Postcommunion is the reading ‘subiace’ instead of ‘subice’.

³⁷ It is still absent from the *Missa pro persecutione paganorum* of the Ambrosian Missal of 1475; London, BL IB 25954, fols CXCIX^v–CC.

³⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, fol. Theta 603, fol. CCXXIV^v: ‘Suscipe, domine, supplicantis ecclesie tue preces et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis etc.’.

3) This set consists of the *Deus qui ammirabili* Collect in version I, and original Secret and Postcommunion, both explicitly dedicated to the liberation of the Holy Land. It is documented in two thirteenth-century and one fourteenth-century manuscripts.⁴²

Collect: 'Deus qui ammirabili . . .', in version I.⁴³

Secret: 'Deus qui in singulari corporis tui hostia totius mundi solvisti delicta, in hac oblatione placatus terram preciosi sanguinis tui aspersione sacratam, expulsa omni sevitia potestatis adverse, catholice restituas libertati.'

Postcommunion: 'Sacris repleti muneribus quesumus, domine deus noster, ut terram presentie⁴⁴ tue dicatam ab hostium tuorum eripias servitute, ut ea reddita te propitiante cultui tuo, obsequia⁴⁵ tibi grata populus tuus in ea devotus impendat.'

4) The process by which this Roman set has been assembled is perfectly transparent. It began as a single *Deus qui ammirabili* prayer interpolated early in the thirteenth century in a twelfth-century manuscript,⁴⁶ without either a rubric or a designation as 'Oratio' or 'Collecta'. At a later date, but still in the same century and most probably in Rome, two additional prayers borrowed from the votive Masses *Pro navigantibus* and *Pro iter agentibus* were added to it and specifically designated as Secret and Postcommunion, the three texts forming, consequently, a complete triple set. While its Collect determines its Holy Land specificity, the message transmitted by the remaining two prayers is perfectly pertinent to this crusading message.

[Collect]: 'Deus qui ammirabili providentia . . .' in primary version I.

Secret: 'Tua, domine, sperantes in te que sumpsimus sacramenta custodiant, et contra adversos tueantur incursus.' MS Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, a thirteenth-

³⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. Fl.c.26., fol. 252^v. This version conforms to that of 1505 up to the closing clause: '. . . miracula, ut hostibus nostris tua virtute compressis, secura tibi serviat catholica fides et christiana libertas'.

⁴⁰ London, BL, Legg 110, fol. 195: 'Suscipe, domine, supplicantis ecclesiae tuae preces, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis pace inimicis, secura tibi serviat christiana libertas'.

⁴¹ London, BL, C.17.b.6, p. CCCXVI: '. . .pro salute famulorum tuorum regum Yspanorum supplicamus, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua etc.'

⁴² See Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, p. 150.

⁴³ The Jerusalem manuscript reads 'inimicorum crucis potenter eripiens'.

⁴⁴ 'prescientie' in MS Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, no. 142.

⁴⁵ The Jerusalem manuscript reads here 'obsequa'.

⁴⁶ Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. lat. 730, a Roman Missal from the Roman Basilica of St-Lawrence-outside-the-Wall, twelfth century, fol. 191.

century Roman/Curial Ritual executed in Italy, brings this prayer as an alternative Secret to its *Missa pro iter agentibus*.⁴⁷

Postcommunion: 'Deus qui transtulisti patres nostros per mare rubrum et transvexisti per aquam nimiam, laudem tui nominis decantantes te supplices deprecamur, ut famulos tuos, repulsis adversitatibus, portu semper optabili cursuque tranquillo tuearis.' The traditional *Pro navigantibus* Collect was adapted to its present crusading goal by the omission of the too restrictive 'hac in navi' after 'precamur ut'.⁴⁸

5) This set⁴⁹ consists of the *Deus qui admirabili* Collect in version I, the Collect *Hostium* of the *Contra persecutores et male agentes* (also *In tempore belli*) as Secret, and the Collect *Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam* of the *De quacumque necessitate* (also *Pro tribulatione*) as Postcommunion prayer. Both prayers have been employed throughout the thirteenth century in various liturgical forms dedicated to the cause of the Holy Land,⁵⁰ and the *Hostium* will be chosen again, in 1322, for the Holy Land sequence of three votive Masses instituted by John XXII.⁵¹

Collect: 'Deus qui admirabili . . .' in a version marked by the reading 'supplices' instead of 'suppliciter' and an omission of 'filius' that results in the reading 'unigenitus tuus.'

Secret: 'Hostium nostrorum quesumus . . .' in a slightly edited version.⁵²

Postcommunion: 'Ineffabilem misericordiam domine . . .', text only partially legible.

6) This set has been preserved in five Gerona manuscripts dating from the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, witnessing to its local character and chronological duration.⁵³

The Collect *Deus qui ad nostre salutis* is an explicit Holy Land prayer, a variant of the *Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis*, closer to its version II than I.⁵⁴ It reads as follows: 'Deus qui ad nostre salutis exercenda misteria terram promissionis elegisti, libera eam ab

⁴⁷ Fol. 235. See *CO*r No. 5950.

⁴⁸ Echternach (Hen's edition, as in note 28), 2078 = Had. + Suppl. 1320 = Gellonense 2805. See *CO*r No. 2132.

⁴⁹ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 825, Sacramentary, first half of the twelfth century, a later interpolation on fol. 17, no rubric. Originally produced in Haute-Auvergne, the manuscript was later transferred to Saint-Benoît de Castres (diocese of Albi) and finally to Saint-Trophime, Arles. The interpolation was probably effected in one of the two later localities.

⁵⁰ See above, pp. 30–31, 46.

⁵¹ See above, p. 50.

⁵² The original 'contumaciam' was replaced with 'audaciam'.

⁵³ See Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, p. 150.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 34–37.

instantia paganorum, ut gentium infidelitate confusa, populus Christianus in te confidens de tue virtutis potentia gloriatur.’

While the earliest witness 3 and the later 2 transmit the traditional, pre-Clementine Secret (*Sacrificium*) and Postcommunion (*Protector*) of the *Contra paganos* Mass, the three later witnesses (1, 4, 5) transmit a contaminated version, inserting ‘et propugnatores tuos’ after the original ‘nos’ in both prayers. The resultant reading in the Secret is ‘ut nos et propugnatores tuos ab omni paganorum et bellorum exuat/ eruat nequitia’ in the Secret, and ‘et a paganorum nos ac propugnatores tuos deffende periculis’ in the Postcommunion.

7) The traditional *Contra paganos* triple set *Deus qui ad hoc irasceris* has been converted into a Holy Land set by interpolating references to Jerusalem and the Holy Land into the traditional Collect. Seven manuscripts,⁵⁵ five from Tortosa and two from Gerona, document the process of creation of this new set in the late twelfth-thirteenth century, from the initial stage of marginal interpolation (Mss. 2, 4) to the final form of integral texts (Mss. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7).

This set opens, consequently, with an interpolated Collect: ‘Deus qui ad hoc irasceris ut subvenias, ad hoc minaris ut parcas, lapsis manum porrige, et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre, ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris super nos et super terram et civitatem sanctam Iherusalem/terram sanctam Hierusalem cognoscimus prevalere, te miserante sentiamus cessare.’ It is followed by a traditional Secret (*Sacrificium* in Mss. 1 and 6, *Oblatis domine placare*⁵⁶ in Mss. 2, 3, 4, 5) and the Postcommunion *Protector* (original version in all manuscripts except 6, which adopted the contaminated version). The manuscript evidence reflects, consequently, a peculiar Catalan usage.

Comments to the following figures appear below at pp. 172–73.

⁵⁵ See Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, pp. 150–51.

⁵⁶ See *COr* No. 3642.

Pater noster qui es in celis
solus dominus omnipotens
et in eis sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat
regnum tuum. Fiat uoluntas tua sicut in celo
et in terra. Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis
hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos
dimittimus debitonibus nostris. Et ne nos indu-
cas in temptatione. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.
Libera nos q's domine ab omib' malis. p-
teritis presens futuris. Et uncedente bi-
co gl'osa semp' iugine di genitric maria. i
braut ap'lis aus. Petri. Paulo. am. A.
dura.

Figure 2: The evolution of the Holy Land Clamor. Source: Pamplona, Archivo general de Navarra, Ms. 3, fol. 63.

ment infunde. que nos gentib; effi-
 ciat lacrimar; mactas diluere pccor;
 atq; optate tibi te largiente in dulce
 te prestat effectū p. oī. confit' paga-
 dū aij ad hoc naceris ut nos.
Dubuenas. ad hoc minaris ut parca-
 lapsis manum porrigat laborantib;
 inaplici miseratione succunt. ut ge-
 tem paganam quā p pccis nrīs sup
 cognoscim' preualere. te misera-
 te sentiam' cessare. f. S a c r a.
Oblatis dñe placare munerib; et inter-
 cedentib; omib; scil' aij. acunctis pa-
 ganor; nos defende pccis f. ad co.
Prorector nr aspice dē. et a paganor;
 nos defende pccis. ut omī p turba-
 tione sub mora libis t' mentib; serua-
 mus. f. oī p salute uiuor; et mortuor;
 scōr; tuor; inuersionib; q's dñe nos

Figure 4: An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 56, fol. 126.

mus pietati. nō adueniam nōrum
 proficiat peccator. & tue miserationis
 semp tribuat solatium. f. ad co.
Gram scī sps dñe q̄s cordibus nris
 clementer infunde. que nos gemitib⁹
 efficiat lacrimarum maculas dilue
 re peccator. atq; optate nob te lar
 gente indulgentie presbee effectū. f.
Deus q' ad missa cont' paganos
 hoc irascere ut subuenias indige
 minaris ut parcas. lapsis manum
 porrige. i laborantibus multiplex
 miseratione succurre. ut gentem pa
 ganam quam pro peccatis nris sup
 nos cognoscimus preualere. te misera
 te sentiamus cessare. f. s a c r a
Oblatis dñe placare muneribus. i
 terredentibus om̄ibus scīs tuis. acue
 et sup. eaz. a. ciuitate scōi ierusalem.

Figure 5: An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 140, fol. 143.

Deus q̄ nō mōtē sēt penitēcia desiccas benedictō anīs
 peccatōz fragilitate nrām benignissime respice. ⁊
 hos tūc quos ciula p̄ferēde uenit capitis nrīs imponi
 teccumino. benedicere p̄tūā pietate dignis: ut q̄ nos cūdem
 esse. ⁊ ob p̄uincas nrē meriti i puluē reuoluos cognoscāmo.
 p̄tōz omniū ueniā ⁊ p̄mā penitētiā ipmilla medic consapi
 meriam. p. d. Post benedictionē anīs. ad aspergēdū ordem. ⁊ ipm. Committitur. hēc anā q̄ in ipm
 sit. Exaudi nos dñe. Saluū mī fac dñs. Gha p̄d. Oskūde nū dñe. vñe exaudi oī. Et da
Concede nū dñe p̄sōia milicie xp̄iāne. mor nū. Dñs alē. Et tūc
 sanctis indūte ieiunys: ut contra spūales nōtias pug
 natū. concēdie mūniam auxilijs. p. d. Immutē. an. Exaudi
 — ad aspergēdū anīs i capitis. —
 Ohomo recognosce quā amīs es ⁊ ierēm ibis. puluis es
 ⁊ i puluē reuērs. Itē age penitēciā thalēbis uiciā cūam.

Cus qui admirabili prudentia cūcta disponis. te sup
 plices exorāmo. ut certā quā uirginitas filijs tuis p̄
 sanguine s̄stāuit. de manibz mūniam. crucis gr̄p
 ens restitūas cultū rano. uota fixet. an ad agēde hē
 rationē instantū misericordit dūgentē. tūc saluē
 etne. p. euntē dñm. n.

Figure 6: A new Holy Land Prayer has come into being. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 132.

has oblationes q̄s tibi offerim⁹ p̄ famlīs tuis
 benigno assūme. ut inā illoꝝ tanta ⁊ potēti
 gra tua dirigas. ⁊ obsequi te comitari dignis
 ut dactu itꝝ solūtare eoz. scdm̄ m̄ie t̄ p̄sidia gūeam⁹.
Sumpta q̄s dñe celestis iacmēta misterij. ad cō.
 et ad p̄spicitē itineris famloꝝ tuoz p̄fi
 ciant. ⁊ eos ad salutaria cōta pducāt. P.
Os q̄ ad hoc. o. p̄o paganus.
 irascens ut subuenias. ad hoc inua
 us ut paucis. lapsis manū porrige. ⁊
 laborantib⁹ multiplici miseratione succ
 re. ut gentē paganā quā p̄ peccas m̄is
 sup̄ nos ⁊ sup̄ t̄ram scām ih̄lm̄ cognō
 cimus p̄ualere. te miserāte sciam⁹ cel
Sacrificiū dñe qđ sacra. ⁊ sacre. P.
 immolam⁹ intende placat⁹. ut nos
 ab oī paganoz ⁊ belloꝝ neq̄ia cūat.

Figure 7: The new Holy Land Prayer has been received. Source: Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 8.

II.2.3 Papal Initiatives: The *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Mass

II.2.3.1 Antecedents. Fourteenth-century liturgists looking for a suitable Holy Land Mass set to accompany the preparations for the new crusade could choose, as we have seen, from several thirteenth-century sets anchored on either the *Deus qui admirabili* or the *Deus qui ad exhibenda*, the two Collects traditionally and specifically associated with the cause of the Holy Land. They turned, instead, in another direction, and anchored the new Holy Land liturgical initiatives on the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect, the Good Friday prayer for the Emperor in the Gregorian Sacramentaries. We have already observed its use as a Holy Land Clamor Collect in London and elsewhere as early as 1188, and our liturgists could have adopted it, indeed, from one of these Clamors. Or, they could have found it in one of the *Contra paganos* Mass sets anchored on this prayer that were already in use by the thirteenth century. The *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect was detached from the Easter liturgy and converted into a *Contra Paganos* prayer relatively late and rather sporadically; it is still absent from the numerous *Contra Paganos* Masses evolved between the eighth and the tenth centuries in support of the frequent missionary and military campaigns conducted by the successors of Charles the Great.⁵⁷ But fourteenth-century liturgists could choose from at least three triple sets anchored on this prayer.

The earliest is the *Contra Paganos* triple set in MS Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana Cod. 299, a late eleventh-century manuscript from Central Italy (=F). Its Secret (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus a bellorum*) and Postcommunion (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus Christiani nominis*) were adapted from a set of two *Orationes in tempore belli* that originated in the *Hadrianum* and *Supplementum Anianense*,⁵⁸ known from numerous Sacramentaries through the eleventh century, either in its original function and form⁵⁹ or in other services and with textual alterations.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ See below, pp. 175–77.

⁵⁸ Respectively Nos 997–98 and 1328–29 in *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, ed. by J. Deshusses, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16, 24, and 28 (Fribourg, 1971–82).

⁵⁹ E.g., Echternach (Hen's edition, as in note 28), Nos 2029–30, c. 895–98; Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1589, Tours, fol. 84^v, ninth century; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fol. 223, Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur, Use of Moissac, eleventh century.

⁶⁰ Most notably in triple sets of *Missa in tempore belli* and with the alteration of 'Omnipotens deus Romani nominis inimicos' to 'Omnipotens deus Christiani nominis inimicos' in the Postcommunion. Here, again, one follows an uninterrupted line of transmission that opens with the *Supplementum Anianense* No. 1336. Typical examples in Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. 1589, Tours, fol. 85, ninth century; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fol. 223^v, Figeac, eleventh century; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9434, fol. 311, Tours, eleventh century. It was not absent from the Office, either; see Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 512, fol. 141^v, Noyon, eleventh century (*Contra infideles tempore belli adversus ecclesiam insurgentes*).

Another set of three Mass prayers anchored on the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect is known from the Sacramentary of St Peter's Basilica, MS Rome, Archivio S. Pietro F 18 (=R), an early thirteenth-century manuscript.⁶¹ Entitled 'Pro imperatore et Christiano exercitu', it comprises the Secret *Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris* and the Postcommunion *Tua domine famulos tuos sperantes*. The same Secret appears in the interpolated *Pro Terra sancta* set in the twelfth-century Autun Sacramentary⁶² and the Postcommunion is practically identical⁶³ to the Secret of a Holy Land set of three Mass-prayers⁶⁴ found in the Missal of another Roman church, that of the Basilica of St Lawrence-outside-the-Wall, preserved in MS Madrid Biblioteca Nacional, 730, fol. 191.

Our third set joins together the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect with the Secret *Sacrificium* and the Postcommunion *Protector*. Its two known strains document its evolution from an original specific Jerusalem service.

The earliest of the two strains is the *Missa contra paganos* of the Holy Sepulchre Missal (=J). It has been preserved in two manuscripts:

- 1) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica No. 477, Jerusalem Missal, dated to c. 1155–60.⁶⁵
- 2) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12,056, Holy Sepulchre Missal, Jerusalem, 1st half of the twelfth century (before 1149), fols 268–68^v.

Its Secret (*Sacrificium*)⁶⁶ originated in a very popular Secret of the *In tempore belli* Mass.⁶⁷ It was converted into a specific *Contra Paganos* Service through the alteration

⁶¹ Although Ebner dated it broadly to the 'twelfth/thirteenth century', it could not have been copied before 1213, for it has an integral *Deus qui admirabili* Clamor (introduced in 1213) on fol. 167.

⁶² See above, p. 104.

⁶³ The Madrid text presents a shorter version of this Secret.

⁶⁴ The triple set was formed when a Secret and a Postcommunion were added to an earlier interpolated *Deus qui admirabili* prayer, which thus became the Collect of this set. See above, pp. 106–07.

⁶⁵ The Calendar of this manuscript dates the Crucifixion to 25 March, together with the Annunciation and Immolatio Ysaiae (fol. 2^v). If it is based on a concrete date—rather than a traditional symmetrical combination of the Annunciation with the Crucifixion—it points to either 1155 or 1160. The next conjunction occurred in 1239.

⁶⁶ 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut ab omni nos exuat paganorum nequitia, et in tuae protectionis securitate constituat'.

⁶⁷ Present in this manuscript on fol. 169 (*Missa in tempore belli*), it derives, ultimately, from both the Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions. See the Gelasian texts in *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. by H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), p. 273; in L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Rome, 1960), pp. 214–15; the *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordine exscarpus*, ed. by C. Coebergh and P. de Puniet, CCCM 47 (Turnhout, 1977), p. 176; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by A. Dumas, CCSL 159 (Turnhout, 1981), Nos 2746, p. 430, 2754, p. 432; *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, ed. by P.

of its original reading 'ut ab omni nos exuat bellorum nequitia' to 'ut ab omni nos exuat paganorum nequitia.' This alteration was either made in Jerusalem⁶⁸ or received from the exemplar of the Jerusalem manuscript and reflecting, consequently, an earlier usage, similar to that of St Martin in Tours.⁶⁹ The Postcommunion of the Jerusalem set (*Protector*)⁷⁰ is even older; it appears for the first time in the so-called Leonine Sacramentary,⁷¹ and it spread via the Gelasian texts of the *In tempore belli* Masses.⁷² Its Jerusalem version diverged from the received texts in that it replaced the general reference to 'enemies' ('ab hostium nos defende periculis') with a specific mention of the 'pagans' ('a paganorum nos defende periculis'). On the whole it is close, once again, to the *Pro paganis* Mass of the Tours use.⁷³

The second strain is known from three sources: 1) an English portable Franciscan Missal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Lat. liturg. f. 26 (=O), fol. 149^v, dated to c. 1255–60; 2) the thirteenth-century (before 1280) Ritual of the Roman Curia, MS Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, No. 100 (=V); and 3) a thirteenth-century monastic Missal from Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, Codex XVIII (19), fol. 186 (=S). It comprises the same three prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu, Sacrificium* and

Saint-Roch, CCSL 159C (Turnhout, 1987), No. 2328, p. 363. The Gregorian line begins with the *Supplementum Anianense* (No. 1333 in Deshusses edition (as in note 58)). See also the ninth-century texts in the Reichenau and St Gall witnesses (No. 2562 in J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 2* (Fribourg, 1979), p. 163), in Echternach (Hen's edition, as in note 28), No. 2034, p. 394; and in the tenth-century Fulda Sacramentary (No. 343 in Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 31), p. 222). See *COR* No. 5217.

⁶⁸ The traditional *Missa in tempore belli* is present in this manuscript with the usual reading 'bellorum'.

⁶⁹ No. 2565 in Deshusses, vol. 2* (as in note 67), p. 164: 'ut ab omni paganorum nos exuat et bellorum nequitia'. It combines 'paganorum . . . et bellorum,' obviously an intermediate stage between the original 'bellorum' and the final 'paganorum'. Another example of the *Sacrificium* Secret in a *Contra Paganos* context is known from the tenth-century Fulda Sacramentary preserved in MS Vatican, Lat. 3806; highly elaborate and inserted in an *Ad comprimendas feritates gentilium* Mass, it is still of the usual indefinite type, devoid of any specific reference to 'pagans': 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus propitius intende, ut per incarnationem atque resurrectionem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ab omni nos exuat bellorum nequitia et in tuae protectionis securitate custodiat' (fol. 306).

⁷⁰ 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et a paganorum nos defende periculis, ut omnibus perturbationibus submotis liberis tibi mentibus serviamus'.

⁷¹ No 444. Reference in L. C. Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Roma, 1956).

⁷² Wilson (as in note 67), p. 276; Mohlberg (as in note 67), p. 217; the Sacramentary of Gellone in Dumas (as in note 67), No. 2749, p. 430; Echternach (Hen's edition, as in note 28), No. 2046; Fulda's Sacramentary in Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 31), No. 342, p. 222. See *COR* No. 6746.

⁷³ No. 2566 in Deshusses, vol. 2* (as in note 67), p. 164.

Protector), but with some notable changes, especially in the Secret and the Postcommunion. While the traditional Secret—even the Jerusalem strain of this set—was predicated on the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and implored ‘ut ab omni nos exuat paganorum nequitia et in tue protectionis securitate nos constituat,’ this strain appeals to God when it rephrases the prayer in the second person singular (‘exuas’, ‘constituas’). Furthermore, in both Secret and Postcommunion the object of God’s mercy is transformed from the first person plural (‘nos’ and ‘serviamus’) to the third person plural (‘propugnatores tuos’ and ‘serviant’), replacing a supplication raised by the very people who confront the pagans with a prayer said for the sake of others (‘propugnatores tuos’).⁷⁴

II.2.3.2 Launching. The extraordinary expansion of this ‘Contra paganos’ Mass was due to Clement v. In 1308 he finalised his plans for a new and limited crusade—an advance action entrusted to the Hospitallers—and promulgated various preparatory measures, some of them liturgical, in the bull *Exsurgat deus*,⁷⁵ whose preamble opens with the Holy Land Clamor’s versicle *Exurgat*⁷⁶ and proceeds with a paraphrase of the opening verse of Psalm 78:⁷⁷ ‘quia venerunt gentes in hereditatem Domini et sanctum eius tabernaculum polluerunt.’ He started his liturgical action even earlier, for in 1307 the Cistercian General Chapter complied with his request that a daily Clamor of the traditional type (Psalm 78 + ‘usitata collecta’) be celebrated ‘pro subsidio Terrae sanctae’ by the entire Order.⁷⁸ In the *Exsurgat deus*, a year later, the pope innovated with a decree that all Masses should be augmented with the *Contra paganos* triple set (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu, Sacrificium, Protector*).⁷⁹ About a year later, in the bull *Exaurientes indesinenter* (issued on 11 July 1309 to a very large

⁷⁴ The new texts were bound to impact back on the traditional sets; a ‘hybrid’ Mass set *Pro imperio et Christiano exercitu* appears in another thirteenth-century Subiaco manuscript—Cod. CXX (123) fols CLIV^v–CLV—combining the traditional Collect (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus*) with the new Secret and Postcommunion. The later Subiaco *Contra paganos* sets executed during the fifteenth century are wholly Clementine.

⁷⁵ The document, though nominally addressed to the Order of the Hospital of St John, was given a very wide circulation. See the complete list of addressees in Clemens v, *Regestum Clementis Papae v*, cura et studio monachorum O.S. Benedicti, vol. 3 (Rome, 1885), pp. 162–65.

⁷⁶ ‘Exsurgat deus et inimici dissipentur ipsius’ (Clemens v, *Regestum*, as in note 75, p. 154), slightly altering the Versicle’s text ‘Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius’.

⁷⁷ ‘Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam polluerunt templum sanctum tuum’ (Psalm 78.1).

⁷⁸ Stat. 7: ‘Petitio domini vicecancellarii domini Papae, qui petit quod in missa conventuali in singulis nostri Ordinis monasteriis quotidie pro subsidio Terra sanctae psalmus ‘Deus venerunt gentes’ cum usitata collecta dicatur, pro domini Papae reverentia, exauditur’ (Canivez, *Statuta*, III, p. 318).

⁷⁹ Clemens v, *Regestum* (as in note 75), p. 161.

number of addressees),⁸⁰ he expressed his disappointment at the inadequate execution of these measures. A recent report revealed, he claimed, that some priests 'se reddunt nimis tepidos et remissos' in discharging this duty. The new bull was entirely devoted to the liturgical aspects of the Hospitallers' planned crusade: it developed at some length the idea that prayers were of great importance for the success of the crusade,⁸¹ referred to the topos of Moses praying during the battle with the Amalekites and thus ensuring victory, reiterated—'districte precipiendo'—the dispositions promulgated in 1308, and transmitted the full texts of the required three prayers. The pope did not determine for how long these dispositions were to be in force, but as his plans called for a preparatory period of several years prior to the departure of the general crusade, a liturgical activity commensurate at least with this period is to be assumed. The prolongation of the preparatory stage beyond the original timetable (the general crusade was eventually scheduled for 1318) apparently resulted in a corresponding extension of the liturgical measures' duration. They were probably officially retained until 1322, when the new weekly Holy Land Mass was introduced by Pope John XXII, for they had not been formally repealed. By that date, however, the propagation of this set as the main *Contra paganos* Mass proved to be so successful that the process continued on its own steam, independently of the Roman Curia, at least until the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1456 Calixtus III redirected the Clementine set against the Turks (the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* to be said in all Masses and the entire set to serve as the core of a special *Missa contra paganos*, both endowed with appropriate indulgences).⁸² This initiative renewed, unquestionably, the fortunes of the Clementine set, though in the specific circumstances of the fifteenth-century confrontation with the Turks.

⁸⁰ Reg. Vat. 56, fol. 198–98^v; Clemens v, *Regestum* (as in note 75), No. 4769, pp. 312–13.

⁸¹ See his succinct formulation: 'Speramus enim dictum negotium posse huiusmodi orationum et precum subsidiis efficaciter adiuvari et non minus ipsum per hec spiritualia, quam temporalia suffragia promoveri, quoniam orationes etsi non aperte, utilius tamen pugnant' (p. 313). Compare Honorius III's proclamation in the same context: 'Adversus hostes visibiles invisibilibus armis, id est, orationibus, dimicare veteribus exemplis instruimur' (Bouquet, RHGF, XIX (1880), p. 639).

⁸² Instructions detailed in his bull *Cum hiis superioribus*, issued on 20.6.1456: 'Vos igitur . . . monemus . . . ut omnes et singuli sacerdotes . . . quatenus cum eos celebrare contingat commemorationem faciant et orationem dicant contra paganos intitulatam, videlicet, Omnipotens sempitene deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates etc. . . . quibus quidem celebrantibus et huius orationem dicentibus . . . centum dies de iniunctis eis peniis . . . relaxamus. . . . Mandamus insuper . . . quatenus . . . omnibus primis diebus dominicis singulorum mensium processiones generales sic faciatis . . . ita tamen quod missa solemnis dicenda in predictis processionibus sit ea que in ecclesia contra paganos per ecclesiam ordinata est. . . . Omnibus . . . vere penitentibus et confessis qui ad predictas processiones convenerint septem annos et totidem quadragenas de vera indulgentia impertimus . . .' (text promulgated by Ulrich, Bishop of Passau, in 18 July, preserved in MS Seitenstetten Stiftsbibliothek, No. 225, fols 102–03). For this special Mass see below, pp. 237–41.

II.2.3.3 Building the Corpus. The propaganda campaign launched by Clement V in 1308/9 concerned Mass, first and foremost, and only marginally the Office.⁸³ It was immediately successful. The pope practically converted all Masses into Holy Land Masses, mobilising liturgy in the cause of the crusade to a degree unknown before. He also turned this liturgy into a firm base for preaching the crusade and the cause of the Holy Land. The Ecumenical Council of Vienne (1311–12) represents the most visible achievement of this crusading endeavour, with Philip IV, Edward II, and other major figures of the knightly class taking the cross in well-publicised ceremonies.⁸⁴ Its further widening impact can be clearly seen among social classes that were usually left out of the crusading enterprise: in the two wayward popular movements of the Crusade of the Poor in 1309 and the Pastoureaux in 1320,⁸⁵ and in the distorted yet powerful crusading streak that runs through the Flagellant movement of the middle of the century.

Its widening impact also can be gauged from the evidence of the manuscript service books produced or updated after 1308/9. A veritable wave of *Contra Paganos* Masses of the form enjoined in 1308/9 appeared almost immediately, and it became the dominant, eventually the only official, *Contra Paganos* votive Mass of the Catholic Church. It lost its distinctive rubric, and with it much of its combative stance towards the non-Christian Others, only when the Second Vatican Council renamed it in 1961 as *Missa pro defensione Ecclesiae*.⁸⁶ I have been able to identify it in 325 liturgical books produced or interpolated during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, and gave up counting on the threshold of the sixteenth century, when the flood of early prints (with their high exponential value) rendered counting practically meaningless. It should be realised, moreover, that the performance of this set was not supported by service-books alone. The survival of separate slips—eventually bound with the manuscripts in which they were found—indicates⁸⁷ that this way of preserving the text and keeping it ready for service (presumably tucked inside Missals and Breviaries) was not uncommon. Most of these small and fragile documents must have disappeared, however, once they were taken out of these protective books.

⁸³ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1268, Winter Part of the Senlis Use Breviary, 2nd part of the fourteenth century at the earliest, fol. 541, interpolation. Matins acquires the Clementine Collect preceded by an Antiphon (*Congregate sunt*) and a versicle (*Exurgat deus*), while Vespers receives the same Collect but with different Antiphon (*Extende domine brachium*) and versicle (*Effunde iram*).

⁸⁴ E. A. R. Brown and N. F. Regaldo, 'La grant feste: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of his Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. by B. Hanawalt and K. Reyerson, Medieval Studies at Minnesota, 6 (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 56–86.

⁸⁵ M. Barber, 'The Pastoureaux of 1320', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), 143–66.

⁸⁶ P. Rado, *Enchiridion Liturgicum*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1966), p. 371.

⁸⁷ For example, B 319, 330.

The remarkable popularity of the Clementine triple set is probably due to the fact that the pope mobilised general, traditional ideas and forms in the cause of the Holy Land crusade. While thirteenth-century Holy Land liturgy depended, mostly, on specific new texts wholly dedicated to that cause, Clement V turned back to the old *Contra paganos* liturgy and to general, non-specific texts. Employing a generic Mass in a specific context and dedicating generic texts to new specific goals meant, virtually, descending from the level of genus to that of species of 'the Other', the Non-Christian. It meant, at the same time, an upward movement from the specific to the generic, for a full comprehension of the species necessitated an adequate cognition of the genus of which it formed part. The pope applied, in fact, a consistently judgmental view of that Other from a purely Christian perspective, a stand authoritatively defined in Thomas Aquinas' discussion of the sin of *Infidelitas*, 'quae opponitur fidei'.⁸⁸ Three well-defined species of the genus *Infidelitas* are distinguished in this passage on grounds of their rejection of the Faith: the pagans or gentiles, the Jews and the heretics, and an additional indeterminate number of species of this genus. This fundamental classification of the species of the genus *Infidel* inspired many of the policies adopted in regard to the groups identified as pagans, Jews or heretics. It determined aims as well as means of action and, above all, endowed these policies with public legitimacy. Modern historians tend, sometimes, to ignore the fact that in a fourteenth-century perspective these groups were perceived as several species of one and the same genus, and they are liable, as a result, to misjudge the centrality and force of this conviction in the period under discussion. It underlies the apparently easy interchanging of policies towards Muslims, pagans, heretics, and Jews, and it is certainly essential for a correct understanding of the Crusade. For seen under this light the Crusade—to the enormous surprise, sometimes even moral outrage and consternation of quite a few modern scholars—emerges as a permanent struggle against the Infidel, and applicable, as such, to all Infidel species, wherever and whenever they are fought, rather than as a uniquely Holy Land institution dedicated to the establishment of Christian rule in Jerusalem, a goal that falls into its correct place among the other specific goals of the generic and ongoing struggle. The Clementine initiative merely translated this fundamental conception into liturgical action.

The methodological implications of this situation for the historian can be summarised under two main headings, identification and contextualization.

⁸⁸ *Summa theologica*, 2–2, q. 10, mainly 5. The fundamental definition there reads as follows: 'Sic ergo dicendum . . . cum enim peccatum infidelitatis consistat in renitendo fidei, hoc potest contingere dupliciter: quia aut renititur fidei nondum susceptae: et talis infidelitas est Paganorum, sive Gentium; aut renititur fidei Christianae susceptae; et hoc vel in figura; et sic est infidelitas Judaeorum: vel in ipsa manifestatione veritatis; et sic est infidelitas hereticorum; unde in generali possunt assignari tres predictae species infidelitatis. Si vero distinguantur infidelitatis species secundum errorem in diversis, quae ad fidem pertinent, tunc non sunt determinatae infidelitatis species; possunt enim errores in infinitum multiplicari . . .' (Roman edition, 1894, p. 97).

The problem of identifying the Clementine text arises because Clement V did not introduce any new text during the first stage of the campaign, from the promulgation of *Exsurgat deus* in 1308 to the *Exaurientes indesinenter* on 11 July 1309. He instructed his addressees to use the traditional *Contra paganos* prayers in performing the new service, thus making it practically impossible to distinguish his set (with the three texts it comprised) from identical sets that were performed in other contexts. This first stage left, therefore, no visible textual trace, and one should assume that this ‘textual invisibility’ extended well beyond 1309, whenever and wherever Holy Land Masses were celebrated according to the original instructions of Clement using the traditional *Contra paganos* texts. An entirely new situation was created, however, as a result of *Exaurientes indesinenter*, which introduced a set of three new prayers that differed from the traditional *Contra paganos* texts. Clementine sets could henceforth be clearly distinguished from the Pre-Clementine sets, and I have been able, indeed, to identify a clear textual tradition commencing in 1309 and carried on through the next two centuries.

Another difficulty encountered by the historian is that of contextualization, i.e., placing this formally generic set in the concrete historical situations of its actual performance and recognising its relevance within such specific contexts. While the Clamor anchored on the *Deus qui admirabili providentia* is easily identifiable as a Holy Land Clamor thanks to its textual specificity, and investigating its relevance in the context of any given historical situation should not pose any real problem, one can never easily determine whether a given Clementine set was celebrated as a Holy Land Mass, a Spanish crusade Mass, or in the framework of a Teutonic campaign in Prussia, unless additional information is available about the specific circumstances of that performance. Clement V himself instituted the same *Contra paganos* set for two separate goals almost simultaneously: the Holy Land crusade in 1308/9 and the Aragonese crusade against the Muslims of Granada in November 1309.⁸⁹ Contextualization—discriminating between different applications in different contexts of one and the same set—depends, therefore, on information derived from outside the liturgical text—mainly in the rubrics—and in extra-liturgical sources, such as historiographical works and archival material.

Rubrics appear to be particularly promising, in principle, for they define the goals as well as the practical modalities of performance, but in practice most of the rubrics have been formulated in general terms too and do not add much, consequently, to our knowledge. We have no choice but to deal with probabilities rather than certainties. The probability that a *Contra Paganos* Mass that originated during the first half of the fourteenth century in any place other than the kingdom of Aragon or Prussia was a Holy Land Mass is infinitely stronger than that of the same Mass in an Aragonese or a Teutonic source, just as the appearance of the same set in Aragon or among the Teutonic Knights most probably indicates the *pagans* of Spain, North Africa, or Lithuania as its target rather than those of the Holy Land. A vast number of texts, however, is not

⁸⁹ In the bull *Sane Christianissimus in Christo* (Raynaldus, *Annales*, ad annum 1309, vol. 23, pp. 445–46.

assignable to specific historical circumstances. Most of our sources allow us only probabilities, not certainties, though probabilities, again, can be either strong, weak, or somewhere in between.

Rubrics formulated in specific terms and in relation to concrete historical situations, in contrast, provide an invaluable information about actual contexts, but they are far fewer than the generic rubrics. And even specific rubrics may not be that specific, after all; for the relevance of a text or of its performance depends on the concrete historical situation that those text and performance were designed to respond to. They certainly responded to concrete circumstances when they were minted, but as a general rule their relevance to that particular situation obviously stood in inverse proportion to the distance—spatial as well as temporal—that separated them from that particular original situation. The further they receded, the more their relevance diminished. They might survive as ‘fossilised’ information, transmitted with the carrier texts, but with no actual relevance to future celebrants. They might also be perceived by these same future celebrants as generic, hence as meaningful and relevant again, thanks to their universal applicability rather than their obsolete specificity. An anti-Turkish Mass which was perfectly attuned to the needs and goals of its Austrian celebrants during the fifteenth century and well into the seventeenth surely lost relevance concurrently with the decline of the Ottoman threat before the threshold of the eighteenth century, but regained it in the new context of the Soviet occupation in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the term ‘Turk’ could be perceived as generic and be decoded in the light of the new circumstances. A parallel evolution can be observed in regard to the semantically contiguous term ‘Sarraceni’, which designated originally only the Muslims but was sometimes perceived and applied as a generic term, applicable to non-Muslims as well as Muslims, in some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources.⁹⁰

Shifts between the generic and the specific took place in the texts themselves, through textual emendations and additions that transformed generic into specific and generated relevance. How long was this relevance maintained depended on the persistence of the circumstances that motivated the adoption of these changes in the first place, and on the subsequent perception of the changed items as either generic or specific.

I have classified my sources, consequently, according to their Holy Land specificity or generic character as determined by their rubrics. Specific Holy Land rubrics, i.e.,

⁹⁰ The author of the early fifteenth-century *Livre des faits du mareschal de Boucicaut*, for example, is entirely unclear on this point of nomenclature. At one time he identifies the Saracens with the non-Turk Muslims in Outremer, for he records his hero’s proposal to Sultan Murad to assist him in fighting the ‘Saracens’ (Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de France, II, Paris 1836, p. 228), only to find them again as Boucicaut’s hapless enemies during his *Reise* in Prussia (pp. 223, 233). Both ‘Turcs’ and ‘Sarrasins’ are frequently and indiscriminately employed in the narrative of the Marshal’s dealings with the Turks, most prominently in the description of the ill-fated Nicopolis Crusade (pp. 236–48). He reserves the term ‘Payens’, on the other hand, to the ancient Greeks, like Socrates and Thales (p. 319).

'Orationes pro terra sancta ad missam', 'Pro terra sancta et pro christianis contra paganos et in ea certantibus', 'Pro passagio terre sancte', 'De/Pro Passagio', 'Pro subsidio terre sancte', 'Pro terra sancta', 'Pro sancta terra', and, the prize rubrics in the present context, 'Iste sunt orationes quas dominus noster papa Clemens precepit dicere pro 'terra sancta' and 'Anno Domini' M.CCC.XI^o Clemens papa in concilio tribuit et concedit cuilibet dice[n]di ad missam vel hanc collectam unum annum indulgentie de iniuncta sibi penitentia pro qualibet vice', have allowed me to identify with complete certainty Holy Land Masses in thirty-eight manuscripts and early prints:⁹¹ eighteen of them are fourteenth-century manuscripts (Group A/1) and twenty are fifteenth/sixteenth-century sources (Group A/2).⁹²

A second group (Group B) comprises 270 sources, untitled or carrying either the rubric 'Contra Paganos' or such synonyms and derivatives as *Ad paganos repellandos*, *Pro imperio/imperatore Christiano* (the closest to the original Good Friday prayer!), *Pro fide Christiana*, *Contra Theucros /Turcos sive paganos*, *Pro Christianis contra paganos*, *Pro subsidio Christianorum contra gentes*, *Missa contra Turcos*, *Contra resistenciam paganorum*, *Contra infideles*, *Contra perfidos*, *Contra paganos et Sarracenos*, and *Contra Sarracenos*. A certain proportion (probably an overwhelming one) of the *Contra Turcos* (or its Humanist synonym *Theucro*) and *Contra Sarracenos* rubrics signify, undoubtedly, sets directed against specific foes, and some of these sets seem to subsume a Holy Land content. An extraordinary combination of a Holy Land rubric with the Clementine *Contra paganos* set reissued in an anti-Turkish initiative by Calixtus III is documented in an interpolated fifteenth-century portable Missal.⁹³ Another reference to the Mass against the Turks established by the same pope in 1456 qualifies it as 'Oratio tempore passagii'.⁹⁴ The ambiguous nature of these rubrics, generic and specific at the same time, demands a careful attention to the particular circumstances of their creation as well as their performance, but for classification purpose I have decided to include them in the generic group (Group B).

Group B consists of two sub-groups. The first comprises eighty-six fourteenth-century manuscripts (Group B/1).⁹⁵ Their relative chronological proximity to Clement V's Holy Land initiative and contemporaneity to group A/1 suggests that at least some, perhaps many, of them were Holy Land Masses or were occasionally performed as such. The second sub-group comprises one hundred and eighty-four fifteenth-century manuscripts, incunabula and early prints (Group B/2)⁹⁶ and on the same premise one would expect a number of them to be Holy Land Masses. The relative hypothetical value of these four

⁹¹ See Sources to this chapter, II.2.3.3, pp. 151–53.

⁹² Respectively Nos 1–16, 100–01 and 17–36.

⁹³ A 33, fol. xxxv: 'Collecta pro terra sancta. Et quocienscumque quis eam in missa recepit habet tociens centum dies indulgentiarum per Calisto papa tercio'.

⁹⁴ Mass No. 28, see below p. 237.

⁹⁵ Nos 1–32, 34–35, 300–10, 314–54. See Sources to this chapter, II.2.3.3, pp. 153–58.

⁹⁶ Nos 33, 36–150, 152–219. See Sources to this chapter, II.2.3.3, pp. 158–67.

groups for the purpose of identifying the Holy Land set is, therefore, as follows: A/1 and A/2 are at the top of the scale, followed by B/1 (in some respects to be studied together with A/1) and, finally, B/2. Textual considerations should be applied, in this context, as a secondary argument only, their contribution subordinate to that of the rubrics, but they should enable us, nonetheless, to trace affinities (manifested through shared specifics) between Holy Land Masses in group A and *Contra paganos* Masses in group B. Such affinities might demonstrate formal similarity and, possibly, identical goals.

Several conclusions can already be advanced on the basis of this classification. First, the ratios of interpolated to integral sources in groups A and B reflect the processes of introduction and reception of the new service. The particularly high ratio of interpolated against integral sources in A/1 (about 3:1) is typical to a period of introduction, with updating of old service-books more prevalent than the production of new and already updated books. Group A/2, with a ratio of about 1:4, reflects the considerable stability and continuity throughout the fifteenth century of a service that has become by then traditional, perhaps even 'fossilised', and did not require much updating. Group B/1 is closer to A/1, with a ratio of interpolated to integral sources of about 5:3, reflecting the similar propagation modalities of these two groups. Group B/2, like A/2, is an already established service, though it was periodically renewed in new initiatives, mainly against the Turks.⁹⁷ It exhibits a ratio of almost 1:1.

The provenance of these sources testifies to the spatial propagation of the new service among the major political/cultural entities of Europe. Both groups contain a sizeable contingent of sources that originated in universal religious orders like the Carthusians, the Carmelites, the Cistercians and the Franciscans. Many of these sources cannot be easily assigned to particular localities, and they reflect the comprehensive character of the pope's initiative as well as the separate, lateral chains of transmission within each order. The great majority of our sources, however, are assignable to a small number of major entities. French provenance in group A/1 outstrips German provenance—its only competitor—at the ratio of 2:1, and it completely dominates group A/2; most of the identifiable sources in this group (fourteen out of twenty) are of French provenance (though printed books, because of their wide circulation, are very difficult to assign spatially). The two sub-groups of B are dominated by German sources; they account for half the sources of B/1 and almost two thirds of B/2. French contribution amounts to a quarter of the total number in B/1 and a little more than a tenth in B/2, and Italian sources represent a tenth of B/1 and less than that in B/2. Spanish sources account for somewhat more than a tenth of B/1 and half that proportion in B/2. These ratios seem to testify to the predominantly French character of the Holy Land set in the fourteenth century, to its overwhelmingly German identity during the fifteenth century, and to a much lesser interest documented in Italy and Spain.

⁹⁷ See the characteristic addition to the Clementine set in B210: 'C dies indulgentie a domino papa Calisto tertio' (fol. CCXLI).

But is this testimony credible? Or, put in another way, can this corpus be taken as a representative sample of all the Clementine *Contra paganos* texts that actually circulated throughout Europe during these two centuries? It is obvious that southern Germany is over-represented, and that this is due—at least partly—to the better state of preservation of the manuscript collections in numerous Austrian monasteries. These monasteries were spared the ravages of war, pillage and dissolution that decimated manuscript collections in other European countries. Any appreciation of the relative weights of the main components of our corpus is bound, therefore, to be biased, to some extent, and to lead to skewed conclusions. Bias, however, can be compensated for, provided that the corpus' composition is fundamentally correct, that it reflects the basically true conditions that governed the evolution of this set. I believe that this is indeed the case.

One notices, in the first place, the modest participation of the Germans in group A; the very high proportion of German sources in the entire corpus obviously failed to be translated into similar proportions in this group, most probably because the interest evinced in the Holy Land Mass in the German zone was weaker than in the French area. Over-representation did not distort or obliterate, in this case, the real lines of difference between the French and the German contingents. Interest, again, governed the impressive reception of the Clementine set of group B among the southern Germans. It was certainly due to the almost permanent relevance of this set in a front-line area, which participated actively in the struggles against both Hussites and Turks. War liturgy against the Infidel was infinitely more relevant to the populations living along the Danube than to those on the Seine or the Thames. The reduction in the relative size of the French participation between B/1 and B/2 is probably due to the reticence—even hostility—exhibited by official France toward the anti-Turkish initiative of Calixtus III and to the manipulative way with which French diplomacy used the Turkish threat in its dealings with the Empire and in Italy (though one must suspect some divergence on this issue between French public opinion and the official policy). The English, furthermore, are conspicuous by their almost total absence—they are represented by only one B/1 manuscript⁹⁸ and three manuscripts in group B/2⁹⁹—but this cannot be attributed to any paucity of English liturgical sources. The English collections are rich enough to warrant the elimination of such a hypothesis *ex silentio*; they are silent because the English preferred another *Contra paganos* set (*Sempiterna trinitas deus, Omnipotens sempiterna deus nostras indignas, Quos celesti domine dono*),¹⁰⁰ a set that did not bear specifically upon the Holy Land, the Turks or any Outremer goal, and they rejected the Clementine set. Mere availability of sources distorts indeed the final picture, but does not invalidate

⁹⁸ B352.

⁹⁹ B 44, 214, 216 (Sarum, York, and Hereford Uses).

¹⁰⁰ Originally a Frankish Gelasian *Contra paganos* triple set, it is documented in the eleventh-century Missal of St Martin in Tours and in the thirteenth-century Missal of Bec. It has become the regular *Contra paganos* triple-set of the Sarum Use since the late fourteenth century. See *COR* No. 3873.

it altogether; duly adjusted and corrected, our corpus seems to reflect, on the whole, the true dimensions of the Clementine set's reception in Europe.

The rubrics convey more evidence than the simple designation of either generic *Contra paganos* or specific Holy Land goal, and in doing so they reflect different attitudes to the Holy Land Mass and to its objectives. Of the eighteen A/1 sources, two refer to the historical origins of this service (*Iste sunt orationes* etc.), six to the cause of the Holy Land in general (*Pro Terra sancta*), six aim at the crusade, the specific aim of the *passagium*, and four call for *subsidium*, either help in general or financial help in particular. The rubrics of A/2, on the other hand, testify to a remarkable restriction of the target envisaged by the later French sources: thirteen of the nineteen sources aim at *subsidium*, probably conceived as financial contribution only, while the actual *passagium* is down to only two sources, and the general *Pro terra sancta* to four. It seems that in the aftermath of Nicopolis (1396) the faithful were no longer exhorted to anything more than providing financial contribution for the sake of the Holy Land, not even in Holy Land Masses.

In contrast to the specific rubrics of A, the generality of B rubrics rendered them applicable to most if not all war situations. Hence the predominant and largely stable position of the traditional rubric *Contra Paganos* in the two sub-groups of B: they account for more than 80% of the rubrics of both B/1 and B/2. They too underwent some evolution, though. The mavericks in B/1 retained the ancient goals of the Good Friday prayer for Empire and Emperor,¹⁰¹ or the prayers for the People¹⁰² and against the Infidels.¹⁰³ Two rubrics in B/1 are already directed against the Turks.¹⁰⁴ Group B/2 addressed new foes through new rubrics, usually by qualifying the generic *Pagani* by adding (*Pagani seu/sive/et...*) *Turchi*,¹⁰⁵ *Saraceni*,¹⁰⁶ *heretici*¹⁰⁷ or by reinforcing it with the addition of the generic *perfidi*¹⁰⁸ and *infideles*.¹⁰⁹

Further information on the reception of the Clementine set and its subsequent evolution is provided by a third group (M) of complete Masses *Pro Terra Sancta* and *Contra Paganos* constructed around this set of prayers. It comprises fifty-five manuscripts and early prints, largely contemporary with the sources listed in groups A

¹⁰¹ B 15, 19.

¹⁰² B304.

¹⁰³ B 322, 330.

¹⁰⁴ Unless they should be reassigned to B/2; both are texts added to fourteenth-century manuscripts (B 319, 337).

¹⁰⁵ B 36, 41, 51, 53, 64, 77, 79, 93, 100, 103, 105, 107, 111, 113, 123, 136, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 186, 197, 210.

¹⁰⁶ B 86, 95.

¹⁰⁷ B171.

¹⁰⁸ B74.

¹⁰⁹ B 68, 78, 116, 125, 187, 196, 204.

and B. They are henceforth listed in an alphabetical order of the Masses' Introits and their variants.¹¹⁰ This group brings the total number of sources comprising our corpus to 364: 38 in A, 270 in B, and 56 in M.

II.2.3.4 The Text. The textual specificity of this service can be established by a comparison of the Clementine text with other Holy Land and *Contra paganos* sets that consist of the same three prayers (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu, Sacrificium* and *Protector*), as well as with the Good Friday prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu*. The specifics thus identified should be subsequently compared with the pre-1309 sources of this set in order to discover its immediate origins, and with the contemporary and the later services of this type. This investigation should allow us to identify the Clementine service against other *Contra paganos* services (earlier, contemporary and later), to measure the extent of its acceptance in liturgical books, and to follow its evolution in time. The text of the *Exaurientes indesinenter* in *Reg. Vat. 56*¹¹¹ is our only access to the Clementine text in the original, Curial stage of its evolution, though as an enregistered copy it was not necessarily identical with the text—or texts—that was/were actually promulgated. Some inconsistency between the Register's copy and the promulgation documents is to be assumed, but it cannot be accurately measured because we do not possess enough promulgation documents. It should be possible to detect such divergences, nevertheless, by identifying textual specifics that are shared by a relatively large and extensive group of sources, on the one hand, but do not derive from either the Register's text or, hypothetically, from the normal process of textual evolution, on the other.¹¹² They could be attributed, therefore, to a hyparchetype very near the original, i.e., one of the promulgation documents.

The Register's text reads as follows:

'Tenores autem dictarum orationum inseri fecimus qui tales sunt.

Missa contra paganos.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia conterantur.

Secreta. Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas.

Post communionem. Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus summoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant.'

¹¹⁰ See Sources to this chapter, II.2.3.3, pp. 167–70.

¹¹¹ Fol. 198^v.

¹¹² Size and geographical dispersal are important factors in evaluating and eliminating this possibility.

The textual specifics of Clement v's service—compared with the traditional prayers of the *Contra paganos* triple set on the one hand, and with the immediate antecedents of the Clementine version, on the other, are, therefore, as found in Table 2.A.

The text that was thus reshaped with these specifics was quite different from its parent(s). For one thing, it is much more focused on the actuality of the crisis and on the instrumentality of the War Mass designed to remedy it. The prayers intercede for determinate 'propugnatores tuos' rather than the indeterminate First Person Plural 'nos' (and consequently read 'serviant' instead of 'serviamus'), they ask for the liberation of these fighters 'ab omnibus perturbationibus' rather than the disappearance of 'omnibus perturbationibus' (a matter of emphasis), they designate as enemies 'pagani' instead of the more ambiguous 'gentes' or the almost abstract general 'bella', and the Clementine liturgist eliminates, finally, the conditional sense implied by the traditional 'intende . . . ut exuas' by replacing 'ut' with the straightforward connective 'et'. He achieved, furthermore, a style more terse, direct and functional by employing the Second Person in addressing God ('exuas' and 'constituas') instead of the decidedly remote Third Person ('exuat' and 'constituat'), by stripping the 'respite' in the Collect from any adverbial appendage, and by replacing the 'ad' with the more active 'in'. The end product is almost pressing in tone, instrumental and goal-directed, and better suited to the specific crisis of the Holy Land crusade.

A synoptical presentation of the textual evolution of this set, based on the Register's version of the text,¹¹³ on the antecedent sources¹¹⁴ and on the post-1309 liturgical sources, reads as follows:

¹¹³ Reg. Vat. 56, fol. 198^v; Clemens v (as in note 75), No. 4769, p. 313.

¹¹⁴ 1) The Good Friday prayer Pro Christianissimo Imperatore (=FRI);

2) L. C. Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense* (Rome, 1956) (=VER.);

3) the Gelasian tradition (=GEL.): H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary* (Oxford, 1894); C. A. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (Roma, 1960); A. Dumas, *Liber Sacramentorum Gellonensis*, CCSL 159 (Turnhout, 1981); P. Saint-Roch, *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis* (*Manuscript B.N. Lat. 816. Le Sacramentaire Gélisien d'Anhouleme*), CCSL 159C (Turnhout, 1987); C. Coebergh and P. de Puniet, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordine excarpus* (*Cod. Paris. BNF, lat. 2296, saec. IX-X*), CCCM 47 (1977).

4) The Gregorian tradition (=GREG.): J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 1 (Fribourg, 1971); vol. 2* (Fribourg, 1979).

5) The Ambrosian tradition (=AMB.): A. Paredi and G. Fassi, *Sacramentarium Bergomense* (*Manoscritto del secolo IX dell Bibl. di S. Alessandro in Colonna in Bergamo*) (Bergamo, 1962).

6) The Mixed or Gelasianised Gregorian sacramentaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries (MIX.): Y. Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 9433) (London, 1997); Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 31); H. A. Wilson, *The Missal of*

Table 2.A: Clement v's Register compared to Traditional *Contra paganos* Prayers

CLEMENT V'S REGISTER	THE GOOD FRIDAY PRAYER; IN TEMPORE BELLI; CONTRA PAGANOS READINGS	ANTECEDENT TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY SOURCES
COLLECT		
1. respice	respice + adverb	F; O; S; V;
2. in	ad	J; O; S; V;
3. gentes paganorum	gentes	J; O; S; V;
4. dextere tue potentia	potentie tue dextera; dextera tue potentie	O
5. conterantur	comprimantur	J; O; R; S; V;
SECRET		
6. et	ut	
7. propugnatores tuos	nos	O; S; V;
8. exuas	exuat	O; S (eruas); V;
9. paganorum	bellorum	J; O; S; V;
10. constituas	constituat	O; S; V;
POSTCOMMUNION		
11. propugnatores tuos		O; S; V;
12. ab omnibus perturbationibus summoti	ut omnibus perturbationibus submotis	O (semoti); S (semoti); V;
13. serviant	serviamus	O; S; V;

Once the Clementine specifics have been determined, we should be able to identify the immediate source—or sources—employed by Clement V. It was obviously the set known from O, S, V. Of the three, O and V present all the Register's specifics but two. Both miss the reading *et* in the Secret, probably the one alteration made by the chancery draftsmen. S and V miss also the reading 'dextere tue potentia' (transmitted correctly in O), but only V gives 'summoti'—identical with the Register's reading—while both O and S have 'semoti'. The Register's version derives, therefore, from the set documented in these three sources, with a slightly stronger affinity, perhaps, to O and V than to S.

Robert of Jumièges (London, 1896) (=R. of Jumièges); BNF, ms. lat. 2293 (= Moissac, eleventh century).

Collect¹¹⁵: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne¹¹⁶ deus in¹¹⁷ cuius¹¹⁸ manu¹¹⁹ sunt¹²⁰ omnium¹²¹
potestates¹²² et¹²³ omnia¹²⁴ iura¹²⁵ regnorum,¹²⁶ respice¹²⁷ in¹²⁸ auxilium¹²⁹

¹¹⁵ Complete accurate transmission in A 1, 3, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 36; B 2, 5, 15, 22, 48, 52, 90, 215, 219, 311, 332, 342; M 20, 38.

¹¹⁶ omnipotens et misericors B112.

¹¹⁷ *Om.* B 100, 169, 328. Lacuna B191. Deus, respice in auxilium christianorum, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, ut M23.

¹¹⁸ in cuius *om.* B25. Lacuna [in cuius—omnium] B318.

¹¹⁹ *Om.* B7. sunt manu B204. manus A 9, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 101; B 27, 28, 39, 57, 94, 196, 301, 329. maiestate B49.

¹²⁰ *Om.* B 94, 146, 160 [supplied by 2nd hand on margin], 207 [supplied by 2nd hand on margin].

¹²¹ *Om.* B160 [omnium supplied by 2nd hand on margin]. omnium potestates *om.* A14. omnium potestates et *om.* B335. omnes A 2, 9, 12, 101; B 6, 20, 26, 27, 35, 58, 75, 126, 127, 131, 203, 301, 305, 308, 331, 334; M 26, 29, 42. omnia B333. omnium gentium potestates B204. Lacuna B191. omnium—et illegible B346. Unchecked B194 [omnium—et omnia].

¹²² potestates et omnia *om.* B 70, 122, 328.

¹²³ et *om.* A 15, 34; B 12, 46, 61, 72, 132, 186–88, 338–40. ac B81; M 55, 56. Lacuna B23.

¹²⁴ *Sic* Greg.; MIX.; AMB.; omnia/omnium *om.* B 12, 43, 54, 152, 210. omnium A 8, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31–35, 100; B 2–4, 8–11, 14, 16–21, 23–26, 29–34, 37–39, 41, 44–47, 49–51, 53, 55, 56, 59, 61–69, 71, 72, 74–76, 81, 84–87, 89, 92–96, 98, 100–02, 104, 105, 107, 110–15, 117, 118, 120, 121, 124, 132, 134, 135, 137–50, 153–57, 160, 163–69, 171–73, 175–89, 193–95, 198–202, 204, 207–09, 211, 216–18, 300, 303, 304, 310, 314–15, 325–27, 329, 330, 336–39, 344, 346, 348, 351, 353; M 2–17, 21–23, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43–51, 53, 56. [FRI.; F; J; O; R]. omniumque A 15, 29; B340. Lacuna (or not checked) in A 22, 24; B 78, 97, 302.

¹²⁵ *Om.* B114 [inserted by second hand], 346. Lacuna B 191, 302; [iura—auxilium] B318.

¹²⁶ iura omnium regnorum B 9, 162, 321, 323. iura regnorum omnium M56. regnorum iura B 4, 64, 71, 113, 160, 353. regnorum sunt B 146, 184.

¹²⁷ *Sic* F; O. respice benignus B 3, 4, 36, 77, 78, 105, 112, 136, 158, 160, 185, 197, 341; M 4–6, 18, 19, [respice ad romanum benignus FRI; GREG.; MIX.; respice ad christianum benignus MIX.; AMB.; respice ad christianorum benignus R]. respice benigne B 70, 162, 321, 323. respice propitius A 9, 12, 13, 35; B 11, 31, 66, 80, 87, 88, 99, 121, 122, 170, 212, 324, 335, 346, 354; M 37, 46. [J]. respice quesumus B101. respice quesumus benignus B 91, 353.

¹²⁸ *Sic* J; O. *om.* B 4, 71, 100, 152, 353. ad A11; B 66, 70, 78, 101, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 162, 165, 195, 212, 216, 305, 306, 308, 321, 323, 347; M 18, 19, 35, 36. [GREG.; MIX: AMB.; F; R]. Lacuna [in] B 23, 191.

¹²⁹ auxilio B83. Christianum benignus imperium B66. Christianorum benignus auxilium B 101, 195; M15. Romanum benignus imperium B 125, 165 (FRI).

christianorum,¹³⁰ ut¹³¹ gentes¹³² paganorum¹³³ que¹³⁴ in¹³⁵ sua¹³⁶ feritate¹³⁷ confidunt¹³⁸
dextere tue potentia¹³⁹ conterantur.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁰ christianorum catholicorum B 10, 213. omnium christianorum B 326, 327.

¹³¹ et A101; B 6, 27, 71, 79, 99, 115, 352, 353. ut et B58. et ut B85. in A10. de M40. Lacuna B 191, 192.

¹³² Sic FRI; gens A 14, 33; B 6, 25, 42, 61 (gentes *emended to* gens), 104, 109, 111, 114 (gentes *emended to* gens), 118, 121, 122, 154, 155, 172–78, 181, 217, 302–04, 314, 315, 335, 344; M 43, 44, 49. paganorum gentes B328. gente M40. Lacuna [ut gentes] B97; [gentes] B23.

¹³³ Sic J; O. paganorum *om.* B 41, 54, 66, 68, 73, 125, 195, 218; M15. paganorum et gentes que B160. paganorum et hereticorum B 10, 36, 77, 129, 136, 158, 197, 213, 319, 320, 341, 353; M48. paganorum atque hereticorum B 163, 339, 340. paganorum seu hereticorum B171. paganorum hereticorum et eis auxiliantium B189. paganorum vel hereticorum et eis adherentium B176; paganorum hereticorum et eis adherentium M 18, 19. paganorum atque husitarum M37. paganorum atque turcorum et eis adherentium B105. paganorum seu turcorum B111. paganorum vel torcorum B103. infidelium [*added to* paganorum] B 138, 140, 145, 207; M47. gentes infidelium B 116, 142, 143, 322. gentes perfidorum B 69, 74; M54. [gens] hereticorum M49. gentes turcarum B 41, 107. *marginal addition:* et hereticorum M 24, 25, 27, 52. *marginal addition:* hereticorum ac sibi adherentium B130. gentes hereticorum, turcorum, paganorum, ac sibi adherentium M36. Lacuna B302 [seu Turcorum].

¹³⁴ qui A 11, 25; B 1, 4, 43, 96 171, 195, 349, 350; M 1, 19, 40. Lacuna B191; [que—feritate] 318.

¹³⁵ de B 13, 86, 94, 191, 198, 310, 349, 350; M 34, 55, 56. Lacuna B192.

¹³⁶ *Om.* B170.

¹³⁷ Sic FRI.; GREG. MIX.; AMB.; F; O; R. feritate et infidelitate B43. ferocitate A 9, 34, 35; B 4, 36, 39, 53, 64 (feritate *erased and corrected by 2nd hand to* ferocitate), 69–71, 73, 77, 78, 97, 99, 100, 105, 113, 117, 123, 125, 128–33, 154, 157–63, 165, 186–89, 193, 197, 206, 208, 306, 307, 316, 317, 319–23, 337–41, 343, 345, 353; M 4, 6, 18, 19, 21–31, 33, 36, 41, 52. pravitate B199. veritate B 74, 112, 155, 172, 190, 200, 346; M37. Lacuna B27.

¹³⁸ confidit A33; B 25, 42, 77, 104, 109, 111, 118, 122, 154, 155, 172–78, 181, 302–04, 314, 315, 335, 344; M 43, 44, 49.

¹³⁹ Sic O. potentia dextere tue B35. dextera potentie tue B 124, 218. dextera tua potentie B 114 [*corrected to* tue], 351. dextera tue potentie A 4–7, 18, 25, 32–34, 101; B 1, 3, 4, 6–9, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 36, 38, 42–44, 49, 51, 53, 54, 60–75, 77, 78, 80–82, 88, 96, 99–106, 108–10, 112–15, 117–19, 121–23, 125–49, 152, 154–56, 158–67, 171–81, 183–89, 191–93, 197, 200, 201, 204–10, 212, 214, 300, 303–10, 314–23, 328, 330, 334, 335, 337, 338–41, 343–45, 348, 353; M 4–6, 16–19, 21–37, 41–56. [J]. dextera tue potentia B 182, 346. dextere tue potentie B 20, 79, 98, 111, 157; potentie tue dextera A 11–14; B 12, 31, 34, 170, 195, 336; M15 [FRI; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.; F; R]. in dextere tua potentia B190. Lacuna [dextere tue potentia] B97; [tue potentia] B302.

¹⁴⁰ conteratur A33; B 25, 42, 104, 109, 118, 122, 154, 155, 172–78, 181, 302–04, 314, 315, 335; M 43, 44. conterantur. Et famulum tuum antistitem nostrum cum omnibus sibi comissos ab omni adversitate custodi. M45. conteratur et famulos etc. [*in the margin:* In principio et in fine misse dicatur. Et famulos tuos papam et antistitem et prelatum nostrum una cum universali ecclesia

Secret¹⁴¹: ‘Sacrificium,¹⁴² domine,¹⁴³ quod¹⁴⁴ immolamus¹⁴⁵ intende,¹⁴⁶ et¹⁴⁷
propugnatores¹⁴⁸ tuos¹⁴⁹ ab¹⁵⁰ omni¹⁵¹ exuas¹⁵² paganorum¹⁵³ nequitia,¹⁵⁴ et¹⁵⁵ in¹⁵⁶ tue¹⁵⁷

catholica ab omni adversitate custodi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus. Per dominum.] B111. comprimantur B 11, 12, 29, 36, 77, 88, 125, 136, 158, 165, 195, 197, 216, 341; M 1, 15. [FRL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.; F; R]. comprimantur A11. comprimatur M49. Lacuna [conterantur] B318. [J; O]. confregantur A2. conterentur B 198, 339, 340. convertantur B 123, 129.

¹⁴¹ Complete accurate transmission in A 4–7, 25, 26; B 53, 66, 98, 184, 215, 324, 333, 354; M 8, 9, 11, 12–14. B133 brings *Protector noster* as Secret. Pre-Clementine Secret B 191, 192, 194 [*Hostes domine populi*]. No Secret in B 342, 347, 349, 350. B73 exchanged most of the Secret (from *propugnatores tuos* to the end) with the corresponding part of the Postcommunion (see there its variants).

¹⁴² *Om.* B52. sacrificium tuum A2; B 60, 210, 219; M46. sacrificium quesumus domine A 12, 13; B 31, 165. sacrificium domine quesumus B 71, 353. sacrificio B 194, 319; M 24, 26, 27, 29. Lacuna [Sacrificium—ab] B302.

¹⁴³ *Om.* B 112, 150. divinum B206.

¹⁴⁴ quod tibi B 34, 36, 77, 88, 110, 115, 125, 134, 136, 158, 165, 189, 197, 213, 217, 341; M49. idem (quod *om.*) B90. Lacuna [Sacrificium domine quod] B97.

¹⁴⁵ immolamo B334. immolatus B149. immolamus domine deus misericors B112.

¹⁴⁶ GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; J; O. *om.* A 19, 22–24, 28, 31, 32; B 82, 91. benignus intende A 12, 13; B30. *marginal addition*: propitiatus (intende) B146. propitiatus intende B 88, 99, 102, 142, 147, 173, 174, 177, 178. propitius intende B175; M3. intende propitius M 4–6. quesumus intende B 128, 306, 307; M33. quesumus propitiatus intende B 135, 137–41, 143–45, 148, 164; M 32, 47. *marginal add.* quesumus propitiatus (intende) B63. *marginal add.* quesumus placatus. B207. intende placatus A11; B 11, 80, 101, 170, 218, M2 [AMB.]; placatus (2nd hand) intende A100; B113. placatus intende B 185, 211, 326, 327. [MIX.; Moissac, 11th]. intende per quod propugnatores A36; B42. Lacuna [intende et] B318.

¹⁴⁷ *Om.* A23; M37. ac M20. per quod B7. ut A 2, 9, 11–13, 18, 19, 33, 35; B 1, 4, 8, 10, 12–14, 16–25, 29–34, 36–39, 41, 42, 44–47, 49, 50, 55, 57, 59, 61–65, 67–72, 74–78, 82, 84–88, 95–97, 100–07, 109–11, 113–15, 117–27, 129–32, 134–50, 154, 155, 157–70, 172–82, 185–89, 193, 197–208, 209, 211, 212, 216, 217, 219, 300, 303–08, 310, 315–17, 319–23, 325–31, 336–41, 344–46, 348, 351, 353; M 2–7, 10, 18, 19, 23–32, 34–36, 40, 41, 43–51, 53, 55. [GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.; J; O].

¹⁴⁸ *Om.* B170. propugnatores B 133, 134. pugnatores B 88, 99. propugnatores fidei catholice B335.

¹⁴⁹ *Om.* B 105, 153, 182, 335, 337. nos A11; B170, [GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.]. tuos eruas ab hereticorum, turcorum, paganorum, ac sibi adherentium nequitia M36. tuos a paganorum defende periculis ut ab omnibus perturbationibus erepti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant (the Postcommunion’s major part) B152.

¹⁵⁰ *Om.* B 126, 127, 130, 131, 305, 308; M23. a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus tribulationibus erepti, liberis tibi mentibus deserviant B54 (the Postcommunion’s text).

protectionis¹⁵⁸ securitate¹⁵⁹ constituas¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵¹ *Om.* B 126, 127, 130, 131, 305, 308; M23. omni neque exuas B60. omnium B341; M24. omnium paganorum nequitia repellas A2; B219. eius B27. infidelium *added on margin* B207. Lacuna [tuos ab omni] B97.

¹⁵² *Om. and supplied by 2nd hand on margin* B157. ab omni paganorum exuas B 3, 25. exuas a M23. exuat A14; B33 [GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.; J]. exutos M46. ut nos ab omni paganorum nequitia eruat A11. ut nos ab omni paganorum et bellorum nequitia exuat B170. eximas alii exuat M56. eruas A 10, 12, 13, 18, 21, 28, 29, 33, 35, 101; B 4, 6, 21, 22, 28, 30–32, 34, 38, 49, 54, 56, 58, 67, 69, 73, 75, 83, 85, 88–90, 92, 93, 95, 99, 103, 106, 110, 116, 119, 121, 133, 155, 159, 161, 168, 169, 173–78, 183, 189, 196, 205, 206, 212, 304–08, 316–21, 325, 326, 332, 337, 345, 352; M 15, 24–31, 35, 37, 39, 40, 45, 52, 55. eruas a paganorum B 126, 127, 130, 131. a paganorum eruas nequitia B 88, 99. erue M54. repellas A2; B219.

¹⁵³ J; O; MIX. [paganorum et bellorum {Moissac 11th}]. *om.* M 4–6. a paganorum B308. nequitia paganorum A 34; B 4, 21, 36, 42, 60, 70, 71, 77, 80, 100, 109, 113, 117, 123, 125, 128, 132, 133, 135, 139, 146, 159–62, 165, 179, 180, 186–88, 193, 307, 316, 317, 321, 323, 337, 338, 343, 345; M 15, 21–31, 33, 35, 52, 55. [O]. nequitia paganorum hereticorum et eis auxiliantium B189. nequitia paganorum et hereticorum B 36, 77, 136, 158, 163, 197, 319, 320, 341, 353. nequitia paganorum atque hereticorum B 129, 339, 340. nequitia paganorum hereticorum et eis adherentium M 18, 19. paganorum atque husitarum M37. nequitia hereticorum M49. nequitia infidelium B142. nequitia peccatorum B112. bellorum B12, [GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB]. *marginal addition:* ab hereticorum ac sibi adherentium B130. infidelium B 116, [addition to paganorum] 137, [addition to paganorum] 138, [addition to paganorum] 140, 143, 322, [addition to paganorum] M47; peccatorum B330. perfidorum B 69, 74; M54. inimicorum B91. turcarum B 41, 107. paganorum et hereticorum B 171, 172, 213; M48. *marginal addition:* et hereticorum M 24, 52. paganorum et turcorum B105. paganorum seu Turcorum B 111, 302. [paganorum] vel infidelium (*in a different hand*) B145. paganorum vel torcorum B103. Lacuna [nequitia—{pa}ganorum] B318.

¹⁵⁴ nequitiam B57. nequitias B111; M10. molestia B310; M34. nequitia scilicet et B171.

¹⁵⁵ *Om.* A9; M46. ut A1; B 69, 110, 164, 214. ac M 4–6. Lacuna B27.

¹⁵⁶ *Om.* A1; B 70, 74, 206, 219. Lacuna B27.

¹⁵⁷ *Om.* B 58, 59, 206. tua A 21; B 16, 19, 97. Lacuna B27.

¹⁵⁸ protectionis tue B112. protectione A 21; M1. protectione et B58. tua protectione custodi B35. et in tua protectionis B343.

¹⁵⁹ GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB. J; O. *om.* B35; M1. securitate protectionis B148. securitate eos B307. securita B115. securitatis protectione B16. securitatem B208. prosperitate A 1–3, 8, 10, 16, 17, 20, 30, 36, 101; B 2, 6, 7, 27, 43, 48, 51, 52, 58, 60, 73, 79, 81, 108, 112, 183, 196, 210, 214, 219, 309, 310, 331, 332, 334; M 34, 42, 46, 56. protectionis tua prosperitate B190, protectionis tue prosperitate B48. potestate A100. asperitate B54. protectione ac prosperitate A 21. protectione et prosperitate B58. Lacuna [securitate] B97.

¹⁶⁰ [O]. te constituas B196. constitue B15. constituat A11; B 33, 170 [GEL.; GREG.; MIX.; AMB.; J]. custodi B35. custodias A 9, 21, 35; B 1, 43, 58, 80, 89, 95, 135, 204, 211, 214, 310, 326, 327; M 1, 16, 17, 34, 38. restituas A100; B 25, 42, 104, 109, 118, 122, 125–27, 130, 131,

Postcommunion¹⁶¹: ‘Protector noster¹⁶² aspice,¹⁶³ deus, et¹⁶⁴ propugnatores¹⁶⁵ tuos¹⁶⁶ a¹⁶⁷ paganorum¹⁶⁸ defende¹⁶⁹ periculis,¹⁷⁰ ut¹⁷¹ ab¹⁷² omnibus¹⁷³ perturbationibus¹⁷⁴

154, 156, 165, 173–75, 177, 181, 208, 303, 305, 306, 308, 314, 315, 335, 344; M36. eos constituas M33. eos restituas B128. conterantur M42.

¹⁶¹ Complete accurate transmission in A 2; B 20, 87, 209, 352. End missing (after periculis) in B17. B133 brings *Sacrificium domine* as Postcommunion. Pre-Clementine Postcommunion B 191, 192, 194 [*Huius domine quesumus virtute*]. No Postcommunion in B 342, 347, 349, 350. B73 exchanged most of the Postcommunion (from *propugnatores tuos* to the end) with the corresponding part of the Secret (see there its variants).

¹⁶² Om. B170. noster omnipotens deus propugnatores B60. Lacuna [Protector noster] B97; [Protector—deus] B318.

¹⁶³ Om. B60. O. aspice deus propugnatores A1. aspice deus et a paganorum nos defende A11 [MIX {R. of Jumièges, 11th; Moissac 11th}; J].

¹⁶⁴ Om. A 1, 10; B 12, 60, 115, 196, 331. et respice propugnatores B155. ut B 1, 7, 42, 111, 302; M 43, 44. ut *corrected to* et M26.

¹⁶⁵ Om. B170. propugna propugnatores M56. propugnatores B 133, 134. pugnatores B99. propugnatores fidei catholice per hac sancta que sumpsimus a cunctis defende B 122, 335. propitiatores M14.

¹⁶⁶ Om. B 122, 170, 189, 335; M40. tuos ab omni eruas paganorum nequitia et in tue protectionis prosperitate constituas (the major part of the Secret) B152. Lacuna [tuos—deserviant] B318.

¹⁶⁷ Om. B 39, 124, 189, 331. et a A1; B196. et a paganorum nos defende A11. ab M36. ab omni eruas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis asperitate constituas B54 (the Secret’s text). ab B 116, 142, 143, 322; M49. ab omnibus B 88, 89. et paganorum B153.

¹⁶⁸ Om. B335. paganorum hereticorum et eis auxiliantium B189. paganorum hereticorum et eis adherentium M 18, 19. paganorum et hereticorum B 10, 36, 77, 129, 136, 158, 213, 319, 320, 341. paganorum atque hereticorum B 163, 339, 340. paganorum et hereticorum B 171, 172, 197; M48. paganorum atque husitarum M37. paganorum et turcorum B105. [paganorum] vel ab infidelium (*in a different hand*) B145. *marginal addition*: ab hereticorum ac sibi adherentium B130. *marginal addition*: [et] hereticorum M 24, 52. paganorum nos B170. hereticorum turcorum paganorum ac sibi adherentium M36. hereticorum M49. infidelium B 116, 142, 322. perfidorum B 69, 74, 86; M54. turcarum B 41, 107. ab omnibus paganorum B 53, 88, 89, 99. ab omni paganorum B35. paganorum seu Turcorum B 111, 302. paganorum vel torcorm B103. cunctis B 122, 335. infidelium B137 [*addition above paganorum*], B143, infidelium [*marginal addition to paganorum*] B 140, 207; M47.

¹⁶⁹ defendi B313. periculis defende B307; M33. tuere B116. Lacuna [defende] B97.

¹⁷⁰ Om. B43. periculo B35.

¹⁷¹ et ut B 128, 307. ut et B 135, 142, 164; M32. et B 62, 63 *and marginal add.* ut (et), 100, 122, 165, 201; M 23, 24, 33. ut omni perturbatione semota M3. ut omni perturbatione submota A11. ut omni perturbatione eorum submota B170. ut per hec sumpta misteria ab B89. Lacuna [ut] B23.

summoti¹⁷⁵ liberis¹⁷⁶ tibi¹⁷⁷ mentibus¹⁷⁸ serviant'.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷² *Om.* A 9. a A 34; B 4, 70, 71, 78, 100, 113, 123, 129, 132, 133, 159–63, 179, 180, 186–88, 193, 316, 317, 319–21, 323, 337–40, 345, 353; M 4–6, 18, 19, 21–31, 35, 41, 52, 55–56. et ab A 10, 21; B 7, 58, 77, 81. et de B343. ne a perturbationibus B4. Lacuna [ab] B312.

¹⁷³ *Om.* A 34; B 4, 39, 70, 71, 78, 100, 113, 123, 129, 132, 133, 159–63, 179, 180, 186–88, 193, 316, 317, 319–21, 323, 337–40, 345, 353; M 4–6, 18, 19, 21–31, 35, 41, 52, 55–56. omni A 12, 13; B 18, 31, 203, 208, 331.

¹⁷⁴ *Om.* B172. ab omni perturbatione A13; B 31, 203. perturbatione B353. turbationibus A16; B 97, 217 [turbatione MIX. {R. of Jumièges, 11th}]. proturbationibus A 9. persecutionibus B335. tribulationibus B54. Lacuna A12.

¹⁷⁵ [O]. submoti A 1, 3–8, 10, 12, 13, 16, 20, 26, 30, 36, 101; B 2–4, 6–8, 15, 23, 24, 27, 31, 34, 49, 51, 52, 57, 58, 63, 66, 79, 86, 97, 98, 102, 108, 116, 119, 134, 135, 137, 138, 140–43, 145–48, 153, 164, 169, 171, 183, 184, 196, 198, 200, 205, 206, 217, 219, 309, 310, 324, 331–34, 354; M 1, 20, 34, 47, 48, 50, 56. somati perturbationibus B69. sublimati A 21. sublati B112. semoti A 2, 9, 17–19, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 100 [marginal corr.]; B 1, 9, 10, 12–14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 28–30, 32, 33, 35, 37–39, 41, 44–48, 50, 55, 56, 59, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 78, 81–85, 88–93, 95, 96, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 110, 113, 114 [corrected to securi], 115, 117, 118, 120, 123, 124, 128, 129, 132, 133, 149–50, 157, 159–63, 166–68, 179, 180, 182, 185–90, 193, 199, 201–03, 212 (se moti), 213–15, 218, 307, 316, 317, 319–23, 325, 328–30, 336–40, 343, 345, 346, 351, 353; M 2, 4–15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27–33, 35, 39–41, 43–45, 51, 52, 55. semoti perturbationibus M54. semotis [2nd hand corrected from securi] B154; M25. erepti B 54, 60, 73, 80, 88, 99, 210; M 16, 17, 42, 46. erepti leti tibi de mentibus B99. imunes M38. liberati B208. liberi B43. remoti B 16, 204, 211, 216, 300, 326, 327, 348; M53. perturbationibus sint securi. Amen. B53. securi A 14, 33, 100; B 25, 36, 42, 53, 77, 104, 105, 109, 111, 114, 121, 122, 125–27, 130, 131, 136, 154–56, 165, 172–78, 181, 197, 302–06, 308, 314, 315, 335, 341, 344; M 23, 36, 37, 49. securis B158. Not checked A 24.

¹⁷⁶ Libera B52. tibi liberis B 159, 161, 316, 317, 319, 320, 345; M 23–31, 52. leti B99.

¹⁷⁷ *Om.* A 34; B 7, 90, 106, 132. semper (tibi *om.*) B29. Lacuna [liberis tibi] B97.

¹⁷⁸ liberis mentibus tibi B 336, 338. libertis tibi mentibus B343. leti tibi de mentibus B99. mente B52. serviant mentibus M53.

¹⁷⁹ [O]. serviamus A11; B 12, 25, 112, 170, 346; M3. servient B328; M10. mentibus deservire mereantur A 8. valeant deservire A 9, 26, 35; B 116, 171. ut omni perturbatione submota liberis tibi mentibus serviamus A11 [VER.; MIX.; AMB.; ut omne perturbatione . . . serviamus GEL.; ut omnibus perturbationibus GREG submotis liberis tibi mentibus serviamus J]. ut omnibus perturbationibus liberi B43. ut ab omni perturbatione submoti liberis tibi mentibus servire mereantur A 12, 13; B31. servire mereantur M56. deserviant A 16, 19, 20–24, 27–34, 36, 100, 101; B 4, 6, 7, 14, 28, 29, 32, 34–36, 42, 44, 51, 54, 56, 60, 62–64, 69–71, 73, 74, 77–81, 83, 86, 88–93, 95, 99, 100, 102–06, 108–10, 113–15, 118, 119, 121–39, 141, 144, 146–48, 154, 156–65, 172–81, 183, 185–89, 193, 197, 198, 200, 201, 204–08, 210, 214, 216, 219, 302, 305–10, 314–17, 319–23, 335, 337–41, 343–45, 353, 354; M 4–6, 8, 13, 16–19, 21–39, 41–44, 46–50, 52, 54, 55. deserviat B 155, 303. serviant. Et famulum tuum antistitem nostrum etc. M45. deserviant. Et famulos [in the margin: In principio et in fine misse dicatur. Et famulos tuos papam et antistitem

II.2.3.5 The History of the Clementine Set. The textual history of the Clementine set unfolded in two principal stages. The first, a sort of prehistory, comprises the early creation and circulation of the three prayers that formed parts of several traditional sets, primarily the Good Friday prayer for the Roman Empire and the sets *In tempore belli* and *Contra paganos*. It also includes the later combination of these prayers—originally introduced in Jerusalem and subsequently in Rome—into a new *Contra paganos* triple set with its peculiar textual specifics. This accumulated body of prayers underlies the two separate launches of the Holy Land set by Clement V, in 1308 and in 1309, the first in an undefined, implied way, the second with an explicit reference to the Jerusalem-Roman text. The Clementine text of 1309 thus became the authorised version. The pope's initiative marks the end of the Pre-Clementine stage and opens the second stage, that of the widespread distribution of the Clementine set, which extends from 1309 to the first decades of the sixteenth century and is remarkably well documented. It evolved under several formative forces, in the first place the usual interaction between historical challenge and liturgical response, but also the perpetual tension between the will to preserve authoritative texts, on the one hand, and the processing nature of the very means of preservation—transmission through copyists and editors—that are totally dependent on personal skill and artisanal technology and hence highly liable to transform (almost by definition) the copied text, on the other hand. The textual history of this set bears, therefore, on more than mere textual evolution; it testifies simultaneously to the evolution of the rite which this text underpins, and—on another level—to that of the society that activated both processes.

Textual diversification became inevitable by the modalities of the set's promulgation. It was initiated by a large number of bulls opening separate lines of transmission down to the lowest levels of the ecclesiastical national hierarchies as well as the lateral supra-national hierarchies of the religious orders. Even small textual changes (let alone more substantial ones) which emerged in these networks were bound to impact on entire groups of sources.¹⁸⁰ Such changes could occur in one of the earliest links of the many chains that stretched throughout Europe, i.e., in the numerous copies of the papal bull as it was actually expedited (distinct from its Register's version), or in the publication

et prelatum nostrum una cum universali ecclesia catholica ab omni adversitate custodi, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus. Per dominum.] B111. deserviant. *Marginal addition:* Et famulos tuos N. papam ac antistitem nostrum una cum universali ecclesia catholica ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum etc. B 140, 207. deserviant. Per dominum. Et famulos tuos N. papam ac antistitem nostrum una cum universali ecclesia ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum. B142. deserviant. Per dominum. Et famulos tuos papam ac antistitem nostrum una cum universali ecclesia catholica ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum. B 143, 145. deserviant B304. serviatur A14; B331. deservatur B117. respiciant B43. *om* [liberis tibi mentibus serviant] B53. Lacuna B 23, 27.

¹⁸⁰ The proverbial butterfly in Madagascar, to a certain extent.

documents down the line¹⁸¹—they were all potential sources of variance. Diversity was further compounded by the muddled directives that the Curia issued concerning the prayers' texts during the set's first year, from the promulgation of *Exsurgat deus* to the publication of *Exaurientes indesinenter*. During that time and even later Pre-Clementine texts circulated legitimately together with Clementine texts. The Good Friday prayer for the Roman Empire—perceived (rightly) as a *Contra paganos* prayer—was always an integral part of any war liturgy against the Infidel, and continued to exert its own influence. All these texts continued therefore to be performed and to impact reciprocally during some two centuries after 1309. This situation resulted, inevitably, in a remarkable diversity; *not a single source among the three hundred and sixty-four manuscripts and early prints I have examined has preserved the whole service completely and accurately in the version recorded in the Register*, and only a limited number of these sources—eighteen A, several of them of French provenance,¹⁸² twenty-four B and eight M sources—have preserved either one or two of its three prayers in the Register's version.¹⁸³ Of the Collect's twenty nine words, moreover, only two ('Omnipotens' and 'deus') were retained throughout the entire corpus without any alteration, while the remaining twenty seven words were altered and transmitted in no less than ninety-five different readings.

Collation of the entire corpus provided us with a complete list of the different readings in all three prayers. It became clear, at this stage, that it was impossible to construct a stemma on the basis of 'significant errors' in the accepted sense of 'readings of secondary origin.'¹⁸⁴ With more than one origin assumed *ex hypothesi*, there is no justification for eliminating 'omnium iura regnorum' in favour of 'omnia iura regnorum', 'dextera tue potentie' for 'dextere tue potentia', and 'comprimantur' is surely as good as 'conterantur'; all these alternative readings to the Register's version derive from Pre-Clementine origins, and, furthermore, being fully in agreement with the sense of this set they were easily and correctly interchangeable.

¹⁸¹ One gets a good idea of the size of this group from the circulation list prefixed to the bull: '... archiepiscopis et episcopis, ... electis, abbatibus, prioribus, decanis, prepositis, archidiaconis, archipresbyteris aliisque ecclesiarum prelatis et rectoribus ceterisque personis ecclesiasticis in sacerdotio constitutis, religiosis et secularibus... Cisterciens., Cluniacens., sancti Benedicti, sancti Augustini et aliorum ordinum ...' (p. 312).

¹⁸² From Auxerre, Compiègne, Grenoble, Hauterive, Le Mans, Paris, Rheims, Saintes. The only non-French member in this group comes from Trier (B52).

¹⁸³ The Collect in eleven A (Nos 1, 3, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 36), twelve B (Nos 2, 5, 15, 22, 48, 52, 90, 215, 219, 332, 342), and two M (No. 20, 38) sources, the Secret in six A (Nos 4, 5, 6, 7, 25, 26), eight B (Nos 53, 66, 98, 184, 215, 324, 333, 354) and six M (8, 9, 11, 12–14) sources, the Postcommunion in one A (No. 2) and four B (Nos 20, 87, 209, 352) sources. Only two sources, A 26 and B215, have two accurate prayers (the Collect and the Secret).

¹⁸⁴ M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 32 n. 3.

Errors as 'real' mistakes, due to simple miscopying, should be, in principle, more useful for stemmatic purposes. The change of 'feritate' in the Collect to 'veritate' was obviously committed by a German copyist used to the soft sound of the consonant *v* in German pronunciation,¹⁸⁵ and the whole passage thus acquired a remarkable and quite unexpected air of relativism, a whiff, almost, of tolerance: 'gentes paganorum que in sua veritate confidunt.' It appears in eight sources, seven of which were produced in southern German scriptoria.¹⁸⁶ Another error, 'manus' replacing 'manu' in the Collect, marks fifteen sources of predominantly French provenance.¹⁸⁷ An egregious howler of this magnitude cannot be attributed to any known Gallic propensity to confuse the Ablative with the Nominative of the Fourth Declension, and must have arisen, consequently, from an error in the transmission of a local use, probably the Paris Use. Another error of this type is the omission of the verb 'intende' in the Secret; it renders the entire prayer meaningless and marks the Paris usage in the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Likewise, the omission of 'ab omni' in the Secret in six Klosterneuburg manuscripts¹⁸⁹ is unusual and consistent enough to serve as a common significant error denoting the Klosterneuburg usage. These miscopying errors differentiate distinct affinity groups (such as the Paris and the Klosterneuburg Uses), but they do not amount to much, after all; their contribution to a stemmatic reorganisation of the entire corpus is negligible.

If significant errors are largely useless in this regard, significant profiles, i.e., configurations (the texts as sequences of words) peculiar to groups of sources, should provide us with the principal means for defining affinity groups, exposing their filiations and leading to the construction of a serviceable stemma (within the limitations characteristic of an open recension and derivation from more than one origin). The sheer size of this corpus and its extraordinary diversity required a computerised data processing.¹⁹⁰ three hundred and sixty two texts of the Collect were thus classified in a

¹⁸⁵ See a similar instance in Dedicated Mass No. 28, MS M1: *Turci seu pagani voluerunt defastare omnem Christianitatem*, below, p. 238.

¹⁸⁶ Salzburg (B 155, 172), Klagenfurt (M37), Seckau (B112), Wilhering (B190), Benedikt-beuern (B200), probably also B74. The eighth, B346 from Cava de' Tirreni, is possibly of German provenance.

¹⁸⁷ Bazas (B196), Chartres (B57), Girone (B27), Limoges (A 9), Paris (A 22, 28, 29, 31, 32), Rheims (B54), Saint-Maur-des-Fossés (B28). The sources from Lisbon (A101) and Toledo (B329) are probably of French origin as well. See affinity group No. XIV, below.

¹⁸⁸ Eight of its nine sources bring the Paris Use (Nos A 19, 22, 23, 24, 28, 31, 32; B91). The provenance of B82 is still undetermined. The long duration of this error makes sense only if one takes into account the high proportion of early prints among these sources; intelligent copyists would have eliminated this error much quicker.

¹⁸⁹ Nos B 126, 127, 130, 131, 305, 308. See affinity-group No. x, below.

¹⁹⁰ I am grateful to the staff of the Hebrew University Computer Unit, Social Sciences, Mt Scopus, for their assistance in reducing this enormous mass into a manageable system. The method adopted

profile identity table—yielding the exact identification of all the configurations and of the sources that embody each of them—and in a variability matrix, in which the sources were graded on a proximity scale. Once the profiles were identified I was able to extract the significant readings that differentiated each profile from all the others, and then looked for similarly differentiating readings in the Secret and the Postcommunion prayers.¹⁹¹ I have discovered, in this way, the significant readings of all three prayers—the Secret's and the Postcommunion's in addition to the Collect's peculiar configuration—of each affinity group. The variability matrix enabled me, subsequently, to construct clusters of sources, with the 'pure profile' group of sources at their core and other sources converging on it in a cluster, with the more similar sources—easily identified by their higher variability index and their sharing of the significant readings—positioned closer and tighter than the others. The final stage in this classification consists of the application of the usual criteria of type, provenance and chronology. It should provide us with a final checking—does the result arrived at during the previous stages of our inquiry make sense?—and, by the same token, it should serve as a prelude to interpretation; the historical role of any affinity group can be evaluated only against the backdrop of historical reality.

A simple illustration of this method might be useful at this point. In this survey of profiles I have identified a Collect profile characterised by three peculiar readings: 'omnium iura', 'propitius' and 'potentie tue dextera'. It appears in two manuscripts, A13 and B31. The Secret and the Postcommunion of these manuscripts contributed seven additional significant readings: 'Sacrificium quesumus domine', 'ut' and 'eruas' in the Secret, 'omni', 'perturbatione', 'submoti' and 'servire mereantur' in the Postcommunion. These ten readings constitute, therefore, this group's significant readings, its peculiar markers. My next move consisted in extracting from the variability matrix four manuscripts graded 0.98 in relation to manuscripts A13 and B31 (I have not used scores below 0.98): A12; B 34, 87, 170. Only one, A12, passed the test of the ten significant readings with flying colours (ten out of ten), and joined A13 and B31 to form together this particular affinity group (No. XV), a cluster of manuscripts with two core manuscripts and one manuscript in an outer layer. The next—and final—stage consisted of a conventional examination using criteria of type, chronology and provenance. All three sources proved to be Cistercian Missal manuscripts, two fourteenth-century manuscripts from Pontarlier and one fifteenth-century manuscript from Paris: they testify, consequently, to a rather limited French Cistercian manuscript tradition bearing on the Mass practice of this Order during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. One can argue that this conclusion could have been arrived at simply and directly on grounds of

owes much to that developed in J. Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, 1994).

¹⁹¹ The ideal would have been, of course, a computerized processing of the entire triple set; but even partial results—based on the Collect alone—give a valid picture of the whole.

these conventional criteria alone, without the need to invest time and labour in a computerised drudgery, and, undoubtedly, there is a lot of truth in this criticism. We must bear in mind, though, that this particular affinity group is relatively easy to spot and identify in the conventional way because it involves a very small number of manuscripts whose type, provenance and chronology are perfectly known; the whole can be easily grasped and interpreted. But how are we to deal with a larger—let alone very large—number of manuscripts of unknown provenance and doubtful chronology? The usual criteria in themselves would be of little help in such a case, but this method proved to be infinitely quicker and much more useful in processing this huge body of data.

My initial survey of the Collect versions resulted in no fewer than one hundred and eighty three profiles, a striking indication of the diversity of the Clementine sources. Most of these profiles, however, represent single sources or carry slight, insignificant textual changes, and are, for this reason, quite useless for the purpose of identifying the main affinity groups. Their temporary elimination narrowed the field to twenty-five affinity groups, which I have classified on two levels, according to their general or specific character. On the first level we find five affinity groups of considerable diffusion, with a relatively small number of textual alterations, mainly of a general, unattributable character. The remaining twenty groups belong to the second level; they are characterised by a more restricted distribution (sometimes strictly local), and by a larger number of textual alterations of usually particular and almost idiosyncratic nature. This was the time to ‘resurrect’ the out-liers, the single-source profiles having no strong association with any other profile, for their complete elimination was liable to distort the whole picture of the actual performance of this set. Singles are naturally overshadowed by groups, let alone large groups, but their sheer number reduces the odds between the two categories, the singles and the groups. They should be taken account of in the aggregate.

The place of honour among the first level groups belongs to profile No. I, a mirror copy of the Register’s version of the Collect. It has been preserved in twenty-two sources,¹⁹² nine of which are explicit Holy Land sets, and at least eight date from the fourteenth century. Most of these sources are French, from the ecclesiastical Provinces of Besançon, Bourges, Sens, and Reims, with a small representation from across the Rhine: Trier, Heiligenkreuz, and Fürstenberg. The Cistercians are particularly visible in this list. The Secret and Postcommunion texts of these sources, however, differ substantially from the Register’s version, bringing ‘ut’, ‘eruas’, ‘repellas’ (an Arras peculiarity), ‘prosperitate’ and ‘custodias’ in the Secret, ‘submoti’, ‘semoti’ and ‘deserviant’ in the Postcommunion. One is struck by the relatively small number of sources carrying the ‘pure’ Clementine Collect, on the one hand, and by the absence of even one ‘pure’ Clementine complete set from among them, on the other hand. The process of diversification, obviously, started right at the source—in the Roman Curia promulgation documents or in the next level of transmission—and kept pace with the set’s propagation. It is much more visible in the texts

¹⁹² Affinity group No. I: A 1, 3, 17, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 30; B 5, 15, 22, 48, 52, 90, 215, 219, 332, 342; M 20, 38.

of the Secret and the Postcommunion than the Collect, whose resistance to change seems to have been greater, quite in line with the prevalent emphasis on the Collect of the set at the expense of its other two prayers.

One sub-group based on this Clementine profile is recognised by the reading 'prosperitate' (instead of 'securitate') in the Secret, and—to a lesser degree—by 'submoti' in the Postcommunion. The earliest members of this sub-group are, again, mainly French, but the fifteenth-century witnesses from Graz and York testify to its later wider diffusion.¹⁹³

Four groups in this first level (Nos II–V) comprise the greater part of our sources. Although their profiles retain the main contours of the Clementine set—and as such they are squarely placed within the Clementine tradition—they also testify to the wide-spread and, again, almost immediate 'resurrection' of several Pre-Clementine elements that replace Clementine forms (as known from the Register's version). The Collect's 'omnia iura' was thus replaced by the Pre-Clementine 'omnium iura' in thirty-nine sources,¹⁹⁴ thirty-five of which¹⁹⁵ replace also the Postcommunion's 'summoti' with 'semoti'. Further thirty-two proximate sources—the closest sources in the cluster that envelops this core—are defined by these two readings.¹⁹⁶ This profile is mainly French¹⁹⁷ and Italian¹⁹⁸ (the two contingents represent more than half the total number of sources), and it came into being very early, for both readings are already found in the 1315 Holy Land set from Neuberg. Most of the extant sources in this group, however, were produced during the fifteenth century.

A similar return to the Pre-Clementine forms and in an identical time frame appears in the mainly German sources in groups III–V. The Collect's 'dextere tue potentia' was thus changed into 'dextera tue potentie' in thirty-five sources.¹⁹⁹ Profile No. IV combines the significant readings of profiles Nos II and III—'omnium iura' as well as 'dextera tue

¹⁹³ This sub-group comprises the following sources, 'pure' profile sources as well as proximate (variability index 0.98 and above): A 1, 3, 10, 16, 17, 20, 21, 30; B 2, 60, 108, 196, 214, 309, 331, 332. A36 probably belongs to this sub-group too, though it also shares a striking variant ('per quod' in the Secret) with B 7, 42.

¹⁹⁴ Affinity group No. II; A 16, 19, 23, 100; B 2, 18, 30, 33, 37, 45, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59, 76, 84, 89, 92, 93, 95, 120, 150, 168, 202, 211, 525; M 2, 3, 7–14, 39.

¹⁹⁵ The odd four are A16, B 2, 211, and M3.

¹⁹⁶ A 18, 23, 28; B 14, 19, 21, 26, 29, 38, 41, 44, 46, 62, 67, 85, 107, 110, 124, 149, 166, 167, 179, 180, 182, 199, 201, 218, 329, 330, 336, 351; M51.

¹⁹⁷ Nineteen of the 'pure' profile sources and five of the proximates.

¹⁹⁸ Twelve of the 'pure' profile sources, and eight of the proximates.

¹⁹⁹ Affinity group No. III, 'Pure' profile sources: A 4–7; B 60, 82, 106, 108, 119, 205, 214, 309. Proximate sources: B 1, 7, 54, 61, 80, 128, 132, 152, 159, 161, 191, 206, 210, 307, 316, 317, 334, 343, 345; M 30, 33, 52, 54.

potentie.' It has been preserved in forty three 'pure profile' sources²⁰⁰ and twenty eight proximate sources,²⁰¹ mostly generic *Contra paganos* sets (with only one Holy Land set!) from the fifteenth century. Almost all of them carry also 'ut' in place of 'et' in their Secret.²⁰² Here again we enter German territory; at least fifty-five sources in this group are of German provenance. A third Pre-Clementine element—'respite benignus'—was resurrected in group V, an obvious offshoot of No. IV. Its spread, however, was relatively minute; it appears in only four fourteenth and fifteenth century German sources.²⁰³ The real magnitude of the return to the Pre-Clementine form can best be appreciated in the aggregate numbers and proportions: two hundred and forty-two sources—more than two thirds of the entire corpus—have the Pre-Clementine 'dextera tue potentie' (in this form and in a few variations), and about the same number—and the same proportion—prefer the Pre-Clementine 'ut' to the Clementine 'et'.

Twenty affinity groups reflect the continuous transformation of the Clementine set on the second level, with the emergence of local variants under the challenge of new needs and the incorporation in the set's texts of inadvertent errors as well as conscious alterations. Such local variants are known from Augsburg,²⁰⁴ Fecamp,²⁰⁵ Gerona,²⁰⁶ Klosterneuburg,²⁰⁷ Melk,²⁰⁸ Paris,²⁰⁹ Passau, Lambach, Mondsee,²¹⁰ Passau/Sankt

²⁰⁰ A18; B 8, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 38, 44, 51, 62, 63, 67, 102, 110, 134, 135, 137, 139, 141, 144, 147–149, 156, 164, 166, 167, 179, 180, 183, 201, 209, 300, 330, 348; M 16, 17, 50, 51, 53.

²⁰¹ B 49, 64, 65, 68, 72, 75, 96, 114, 115, 117, 138, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 185, 193, 200, 208, 310; M 5, 35, 41, 45–48.

²⁰² With the exception of B 51, 183; M 16, 17.

²⁰³ Three 'pure' profile sources—B 3, 185 and M5—and one proximate, B112.

²⁰⁴ Affinity group No. VI, Sources M 4–6 (Collect: 'omnium', 'respite benignus', 'ferocitate', dextera tue potentie'; Secret: 'intende propitius', *om.* 'paganorum', 'ac'; Postcommunion: *om.* 'ab omnibus', 'semoti', 'deserviant').

²⁰⁵ Affinity group No. VII, Sources: B 34, 336 (Collect: 'omnium', 'potentie tue dextera'; Postcommunion: 'submoti').

²⁰⁶ Affinity group No. VIII, Sources B 349, 350 (Collect: 'qui de sua').

²⁰⁷ Affinity group No. IX, Sources B 126, 305, 308 (Collect: 'omnes potestates', 'ad auxilium'; Secret: *om.* 'ab omni', 'eruas', 'restituas'; Postcommunion: 'securi', 'deserviant').

²⁰⁸ Affinity groups Nos X, Sources B 142, 143 (Collect: 'gentes infidelium'; Postcommunion: 'ab', 'infidelium', 'submoti'), and XI, Sources B 63, 137–45, 147, 148, 164; M47 (Collect: 'omnium', 'paganorum et infidelium', 'dextera tue potentie'; Secret: 'Quesumus propitius intende'; Postcommunion 'submoti':).

²⁰⁹ Affinity group No. XIII, Sources A 19, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 32; B 57, 196, 329 (Collect: 'manus', 'omnium'; Secret: *om.* 'intende'; Postcommunion: 'semoti', 'deserviant').

²¹⁰ Affinity group No. XII, Sources A34; B 100, 113, 117, 132, 186–88, 193, 337, 338; M 21–23 (Collect: *om.* 'et', 'omnium', 'ferocitate', 'dextera tue potentie'; Secret: 'nequitia paganorum'; Postcommunion: 'a', *om.* 'omnibus', 'semoti', 'deserviant').

Florian,²¹¹ Pontarlier,²¹² Salzburg and Salzburg/Seckau,²¹³ Sankt Lambrecht,²¹⁴ Sankt Paul im Lavanttal,²¹⁵ Regensburg,²¹⁶ Tarazona²¹⁷ and various (mainly French) localities.²¹⁸

To conclude: it is obvious that the extraordinary diversification of the Clementine set on both levels was the result of a continuous and widespread liturgical practice. This set was not a fossil, a frozen relic kept in some forgotten corner of European liturgical heritage, but a rite that never lost its appeal for most of the Church, a text that remained topical thanks, precisely, to the very changes it underwent during the two centuries under discussion. And much more than other types of transmitted texts—literary, theological or jurisprudential—the fate of liturgical texts depends, first and foremost, on their

²¹¹ Affinity groups Nos XV, Sources: B 133, 159, 161, 316, 317, 345; M 24, 25, 27–31, 52 (Collect: ‘ferocitate’, ‘dextera tue potentie’; Secret: ‘eruas’; Postcommunion: *om.* ‘ab omnibus’, ‘tibi liberis’, ‘deserviant’), No. XVI, Sources B 36, 158, 197, 341 (Collect: ‘respice benignus’, ‘paganorum et hereticorum’, ‘ferocitate’, ‘dextera tue potentie’, ‘comprimantur’; Secret: ‘quod tibi’, ‘nequitia paganorum et hereticorum’; Postcommunion: ‘paganorum et hereticorum’, ‘deserviant’), and No. XVII, Sources B 117, 123, 128, 133, 159, 161, 193, 307, 316, 317, 337, 343, 345; M 22–28, 30, 31, 33, 52 (Collect: ‘ferocitate’, ‘dextera tue potentie’; Secret: ‘nequitia paganorum’; Postcommunion: ‘semoti’, ‘deserviant’). The Passau Use is strongly marked by the use of ‘ferocitate’ in place of ‘feritate’ in the Collect. In addition to the above groups see also Sources: B 53, 64, 69, 100, 113, 132, 163, 186–89, 206, 208, 338; M 4, 6, 21, 41.

²¹² Affinity group No. XIV, Sources: A 12, 13; B31 (Collect: ‘omnium’, ‘respice propitius’, ‘potentie tue dextera’; Secret: ‘Sacrificium quesumus domine’, ‘eruas’; Postcommunion: ‘omni’, ‘perturbatione’, ‘submoti’, ‘liberis tibi mentibus servire mereantur’).

²¹³ Affinity group No. XVIII, Sources: B 154, 155, 172 (Collect: ‘gens’, ‘veritate’, ‘confidit’, ‘conteratur’; Postcommunion: ‘securi’), probably derived from No. XIX, Sources: A 33; B 25, 104, 118, 154, 155, 172, 173, 175–177, 178, 181, 303, 304, 314, 315; M 43, 44 (Collect: ‘gens’, ‘confidit’, ‘omnium’, ‘dextera tue potentie’, ‘conteratur’; Secret: ‘restituas’; Postcommunion: ‘securi’). No. XX is almost identical, but it did not return to ‘omnium’ in the Collect (Sources B 42, 109, 174).

²¹⁴ Affinity group No. XXI, Sources: B 41, 107 (Collect: ‘omnium’, ‘gentes turcarum’; Secret: ‘turcarum’; Postcommunion: ‘turcarum’, ‘semoti’).

²¹⁵ Affinity group No. XXII, Sources: B 162, 321, 323 (Collect: ‘iura omnium’; Secret: ‘nequitia paganorum’; Postcommunion: *om.* ‘ab omnibus’, ‘semoti’, ‘deserviant’).

²¹⁶ Affinity group No. XXIII, Sources: M 18, 19. (Collect: ‘respice benignus’, *om.* ‘in’, ‘paganorum hereticorum et eis adherentium’, ‘ferocitate’, ‘dextera tue potentie’; Secret: ‘nequitia paganorum et eis adherentium’; Postcommunion: ‘paganorum hereticorum et eis adherentium’, ‘a’, *om.* ‘omnibus’, ‘semoti’, ‘deserviant’).

²¹⁷ Affinity group No. XXIV, Sources: B 211, 326, 327 (Collect: ‘omnium’, ‘omnium christianorum’; Secret: ‘placatus intende’, ‘eruas’, ‘custodias’; Postcommunion: ‘remoti’).

²¹⁸ Affinity group No. XXV, Sources: A 2; B 26, 35, 58, 203, 331, 334 (Collect: ‘omnes potestates’).

celebration; on how and when they are actually performed. Hence the extraordinary susceptibility to change of all the rites that are focused on temporary realities, on the actual conditions of life as experienced by the society of the faithful as a whole and by each one of them as an individual; the Clementine set participated wholly in the nature and qualities of this genre of liturgy.

We have already observed how the Clementine set was transformed—from the very outset—under the influence of the Pre-Clementine texts. Force of habit was, undoubtedly, the main agent for this, but conscious choice played its part as well. Habit underlies the massive return to ‘*omnium iura*’ and ‘*dextera tue potentie*’, and it can also be seen behind the insertion of three adjectives—in an adverbial sense—into the invocations of the Collect and the Secret; ‘*benignus*’ (also ‘*benigne*’), ‘*propitius*’, ‘*propitiatus*’ and ‘*placatus*’. People long accustomed in their prayers to qualify and enhance the verbs ‘*respice*’ and ‘*intende*’ could not but feel the loss of these adjectives; liturgical epithets, especially in invocations, die hard. They were, therefore, ‘*resurrected*’. But the return of these adjectives involved a change of meaning; the reamplified invocations in a sense ‘*manipulated*’ and ‘*guided*’ God toward—and communicated to the celebrating congregation the hope and assurance about—the divine ‘*benignitas*’, ‘*propitiatio*’ and ‘*placatio*’, those dispositions which should eventually conduce to the desired end. The same idea motivated the return to the Pre-Clementine ‘*ut*’ in the Secret: restoring, by the same token, the implied conditionality which this Mass was designed to manipulate in favour of the fighting ‘*propugnatores*’. Other Pre-Clementine relapses are ‘*comprimantur*’ in the Collect,²¹⁹ ‘*constituat*’ in the Secret, and ‘*serviamus*’ in the Postcommunion.

Another agent of change consisted of the will to remould and retarget the set, to redefine its message. Replacing ‘*securitate*’ in the Secret with ‘*prosperitate*’ had the effect of diminishing the text’s military colouring and of redirecting it to a less precise goal. The distribution area of this change consists—not surprisingly—of mainly France and Rhenish and northern Germany, all safely remote from eastern alarms. Most of the rephrasing was designed, nevertheless, to achieve a sharper, more emphatic message of war. This led to the widespread change of the Clementine ‘*feritas*’ (in the Collect) into the fiercer ‘*ferocitas*’ in a great number of southern German sets, of ‘*constituas*’ (in the Secret) into ‘*custodias*’ in mainly French and northern German texts as well as ‘*restituas*’ in the southern German scriptoria, ‘*summoti*’ (in the Postcommunion) into three different terms—‘*erepti*’ in mainly northern German sources, the feeble ‘*remoti*’ in a small disparate group and the sturdier ‘*securi*’ in southern Germany. In this context one notices, finally, the replacement of ‘*serviant*’ by the much more emphatic ‘*deserviant*’ in no less than two hundred sources (about four sevenths of the entire corpus).

²¹⁹ ‘*Comprimantur*’ was preferred to ‘*conterantur*’ perhaps because it was better known from its use in the vernacular languages.

Textual changes, finally, rendered this set more specific and topical, made it almost custom-made to fit particular war situations. This aim was achieved by changing the Collect's plural—and hence general—'gentes . . . conterantur' into the singular and particular 'gens . . . conteratur' mainly in the Salzburg and the Seckau sources, and by grafting additional references to foes into the prayers' texts. Most of these are generic, and while we can be sure that contemporaries had no difficulty in decoding the generic into the specific, we are left—at best—with only clues and hypotheses as to the true identities of the enemies so designated. This is the case with the reference to the heretics in the sets practised in several southern German churches, possibly a legacy of the fifteenth-century crusades against the Hussites, with the targeting on the infidels mainly in Melk, and, above all, with the designation of the Turks in Klosterneuburg, Salzburg/Seckau, and Sankt Lambrecht.²²⁰ And a French ambassador to Rome found himself quoting a Clementine phrase in a solemn address concerning the Turkish menace that turned, appropriately enough, into a veritable prayer.²²¹ One final transformation should be noted here; an additional prayer for the pope, the archbishop, bishop and the entire Church was added to the Collects and the Postcommunions of the sets that were performed in Salzburg, Salzburg/Seckau and Melk, yet another indication of the extraordinary interest taken in this set and its active performance throughout the ecclesiastical Province of Salzburg during the fifteenth century.

II.2.4 Papal Initiatives: The *Deus qui admirabili* Mass. The last Holy Land triple set was introduced by Pope John XXII in 1331–33.²²² He anchored it on the *Deus qui admirabili* prayer, to which he added the Secret *Sacrificium* and the Postcommunion *Protector noster*. All three prayers present distinct readings that diverge from their original sources in the Collect performed since Innocent III and in the Clementine set. The texts of the newly edited prayers are known in their 'pristine' versions, through the promulgation bull as well as the registration documents of 1331 and 1333. The textual specifics of these prayers are as found in Table 2.B.

²²⁰ As late as the seventeenth century the Clementine set appears in MS Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 162, fol. 73, as a *Pro subsidio Christianorum contra Turcos*, with the necessary textual adaptations: 'ut gentes turcorum que in sua feritate etc.' in the Collect, 'a turcorum defende periculis etc.' in both Secret and Postcommunion.

²²¹ ' . . . ut barbarorum gens illa que in sua ferocitate confidit dextere tue potentia conteratur, illo cooperante altissimo deo qui te suum in terris constituit vicarium, et qui vivit, vincit et regnat per infinita seculorum secula, amen'. (*Oratio reverendissimorum ac nobilissimorum oratorum Christianissimi Francorum regis ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum dominum Innocentium papam VIII in publico consistorio habita die XI Februarii anno M.CCCC.LXXXV*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2 Q, 6 54 (15)). There was more than a hint of shameless flattery—not to say blasphemy—in addressing this prayer to the pope, in the first place, and only subsidiarily to God.

²²² See above, pp. 50–51.

Table 2.B: John XXII’s Set compared to Pre-Clementine and Clementine Versions

JOHN XXII’S SET	COMMON VERSION (PRE-CLEMENTINE AND CLEMENTINE)
COLLECT	
1. unigenitus tuus	unigenitus filius tuus
2. eripias	eripiens
3. et eam in Christiana religione tuo nomini servire concedas	restituas cultui christiano vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne
SECRET	
4. ab hostium malignitate custodias	ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia
5. conserves	constituas
POSTCOMMUNION	
6. fideles	propugnatores
7. ab hostium	a paganorum
8. ab omni perturbatione	ab omnibus perturbationibus
9. libera tibi mente deserviant	liberis tibi mentibus serviant

These specifics have allowed us to identify the set instituted by John XXII in seventeen manuscripts and three early prints.²²³

The mainly French context of the preparations for the new crusade is born out by the predominance of the French sources in this list; nine manuscripts²²⁴ and two prints. Two of the French manuscripts date from 1358 and 1359,²²⁵ and they obviously transmit the set introduced by John XXII in 1331/3 rather than its later reintroduction by Urban V in 1363. One manuscript indicates an English practice,²²⁶ and three—possibly four—are of Italian provenance.²²⁷ Only five manuscripts are interpolated,²²⁸ witnesses to the first stage of introduction, while the rest reflect the subsequent incorporation of this set into regular liturgical books. This particular Collect was said as a *Pro recuperatione Terrae Sanctae Oratio* in a daily post-Compline procession practised by the Franciscans in the

²²³ See Sources for this chapter, II.2.4, pp. 170–72.

²²⁴ A, C, E, F, G, L, M, N, S.

²²⁵ Respectively N and L. Manuscript N enjoys the further distinction of a rubric that links the introduction of this set by John XXII to the taking of the Cross by Philip VI (in October 1333).

²²⁶ H.

²²⁷ B, O, R, V.

²²⁸ A, B, F, M, R.

Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, according to two seventeenth-century sources.²²⁹

The texts of the three prayers are as follows:

Collect.²³⁰ ‘Deus qui admirabili²³¹ providentia²³² cuncta disponis, te suppliciter²³³ exoramus²³⁴ ut terram,²³⁵ quam unigenitus tuus proprio sanguine consecravit,²³⁶ de manibus inimicorum crucis²³⁷ eripias²³⁸ et²³⁹ eam in²⁴⁰ Christiana religione tuo nomini²⁴¹ servire²⁴² concedas’.²⁴³

Secret.²⁴⁴ ‘Sacrificium, domine,²⁴⁵ quod immolamus intende,²⁴⁶ ac²⁴⁷ propugnatores tuos²⁴⁸ ab hostium²⁴⁹ malignantate custodias²⁵⁰ et²⁵¹ in²⁵² tue protectionis securitate conserves’.²⁵³

²²⁹ *Ordo processionis quae quotidie post Completorium fit Ierosolymis per Ecclesiam . . . S . . . Sepulchri* (Venice, 1623), p. 45; *Processiones quae fiunt quotidie a PP. Franciscanes ad SS. Nascentis Christi praesepe in Bethlehem . . .* (Antwerpen, 1670), p. 9.

²³⁰ Complete accurate transmission in B, C, F, G, N, O, T.

²³¹ ammirabili R.

²³² providentia tua D.

²³³ supplices S, Z, Pr.2.

²³⁴ exoramus om. L.

²³⁵ in terra E.

²³⁶ sacravit V.

²³⁷ crucis om. Pr.2. crucis christi Z.

²³⁸ inimicorum eripias crucis V.

²³⁹ ut H.

²⁴⁰ in om. A, Pr.1.

²⁴¹ tuo nomine R.

²⁴² religione in dei nomine conservare H, Pr.3.

²⁴³ concedis M.

²⁴⁴ Complete accurate transmission in B, F, G, H, N, T, Pr.3.

²⁴⁵ Domine quesumus E.

²⁴⁶ impende Pr.2. suscipe C. propicius respice Z.

²⁴⁷ hac O; et Raynaldus, *Annales*, C, S, Z, Pr.2; ut V.

²⁴⁸ tuos om. V.

²⁴⁹ hostium crucis christi Z.

²⁵⁰ custodi S.

²⁵¹ et ad terram sanctam recuperandam in tue D.

²⁵² in om. L.

²⁵³ conservet R. constituas V. custodi S.

Postcommunion.²⁵⁴ ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et fideles²⁵⁵ tuos²⁵⁶ ab hostium²⁵⁷ defende periculis, ut²⁵⁸ ab omni perturbatione²⁵⁹ semoti²⁶⁰ libera²⁶¹ tibi mente²⁶² deserviant’.²⁶³

Collation of the versions promulgated in the two official documents with the manuscripts’ data brings out a fairly stable text.²⁶⁴ It was not immune from the usual scribal inaccuracies, omissions and additions, but these do not amount to much. While some manuscripts transmit the original text better than the others—mainly B, N, and T, which have preserved all three prayers completely and accurately—the set, on the whole, has not undergone any substantial alteration.

In contrast to the essentially generic set instituted by Clement v in 1309, this set was devised as a forthright Holy Land service. The generic *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* Collect was replaced by the traditional Holy Land Collect *Deus qui admirabili*, and several textual changes further enhanced these texts’ specificity, crusading message, and sense of urgency. Such were the effects of the replacement of ‘pagani’ by ‘hostes’ and of ‘propugnatores’ by ‘fideles’,²⁶⁵ antithetical relations defined in reference to God, the Cross, and the Faith. This opposition is already expressed in the ‘inimici crucis’ of the Collect, and it was further explicated in Z (twice) through the expansion of ‘hostium’ to ‘hostium crucis Christi.’ A sharper effect was achieved by exchanging ‘iniquitas’ [*paganorum*] for the much more cutting ‘malignitas’ [*hostium*], the replacement of the adverbial ‘eripiens’ by the directly active ‘eripias’, and by raising a clear call for the liberation of the Holy Land—‘[*Terram*] in Christiana religione tuo nomini servire concedas’—in place of the traditional request in the Collect for the salvation of the praying community. The explicit rubrics announce clearly this Holy

²⁵⁴ Complete accurate transmission in B, E, F, H, N, T.

²⁵⁵ filios O.

²⁵⁶ tuos in terre sancte recuperatione pugnantes ab hostium D.

²⁵⁷ hostium crucis christi Z.

²⁵⁸ et ut Pr.2.

²⁵⁹ turbatione C.

²⁶⁰ remoti V, Pr.3. servati *Register*.

²⁶¹ libere R. liberi G.

²⁶² mente tibi G, Z.

²⁶³ serviant L, S. deserviat G.

²⁶⁴ The only significant variant that separates the two official versions is ‘semoti’—‘servati’ in the Postcommunion, but the almost unanimous support by the manuscripts as well as the early prints of the first reading suggests that the Register’s reading ‘servati’ was not included in any text promulgated by the Curia.

²⁶⁵ ‘Fideles Crucis’ was, of course, one of the current synonyms for ‘crusaders’.

Land message.²⁶⁶ The Dominican D, finally, added to both the Secret and the Postcommunion further explicit references to the recuperation of the Holy Land and to the faithful who fight for it.

Sources to Chapter 2

II.2.2, to p. 106, footnote 42

- 1) Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 143, Sacramentary of Caromb, end of thirteenth century, integral, fol. 146, under the rubric 'Missa pro terra sancta'.
- 2) Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 142, Missal of Caromb, fourteenth century, integral, fol. 205^v, under the rubric 'Missa pro terra sancta'.
- 3) Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, MS 2 (Zz V 19), Franciscan Missal, Padova, thirteenth century 2nd half, interpolated, fol. II (at end of ms.), under the rubric 'Missa devota ad recuperandam terram sanctam'.

II.2.2, to p. 108, footnote 53

- 1) Archivo Capitular, MS 20,c,14 (15) (HMML 30,922), Gerona Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fol. 298, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 2) Archivo Capitular, MS 20,d,3 (14) (HMML 30,926), Gerona Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fol. 380^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 3) Archivo del Seminario Episcopal, MS 6, (HMML 31,038), thirteenth-century Gerona Sacramentary, originally in the Colegiata San Felix, Gerona, integral, fol. 303, 'Contra paganos missa'.
- 4) Archivo del Seminario Episcopal, MS 7 (HMML 31,039), Gerona Missal, fourteenth century, originally in the Colegiata San Felix, Gerona, integral, fols 95–95^v, 'Contra paganos missa'.
- 5) Archivo del Seminario Episcopal, MS 9 (HMML 31,041), Gerona Missal, fifteenth century, originally in the Colegiata San Felix, Gerona, integral, fol. 381, 'Missa contra paganos'.

II.2.2, to p. 108, footnote 55

- 1) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 13 (HMML 30,587), Gregorian Sacramentary, thirteenth century, fol. 132, 'Missa contra paganos', integral ('et super terram sanctam Hierusalem').
- 2) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 56 (HMML 30,629), Sacramentary, end of the twelfth century, fol. 126, 'Missa contra paganos', marginal interpolation 'et super terram ac civitatem sanctam Hierusalem'.

²⁶⁶ Only three rubrics—in G, O, and Z—omit the term 'Terra sancta'. All the others incorporate it, as in 'Pro Terra sancta' (E, L, R, S, T, V, Pr.1, Pr.2), 'Pro recuperatione Terre sancte' (D, H), 'Pro passaggio terre sancte' (C), or 'Pro passaggio ultramarino terre Sancte' (N).

- 3) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 82 (HMML 30,653), Sacramentary, thirteenth century, fol. 201, 'Missa contra paganos', integral ('et super terram ac civitatem sanctam Hierusalem').
- 4) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 140 (HMML 30,709), Gregorian Sacramentary, thirteenth century, fol. 143, 'Missa contra paganos', marginal interpolation ('et super terram ac civitatem sanctam Hierusalem').
- 5) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 259 (HMML 30,827), Tortosa Missal, fourteenth century, fols 406–06^v, 'Missa contra paganos', integral ('et super terram ac civitatem sanctam Hierusalem').
- 6) Gerona, Archivo Capitular, MS 20,d,3 (14) (HMML 30,926), Gerona Missal, fifteenth century (?), integral, fols 380^v–81, 'Item alia contra paganos'.
- 7) Gerona, Archivo del Seminario Episcopal, MS 6 (HMML 31,038), thirteenth-century Gerona Sacramentary, originally in the Colegiata San Felix, Gerona, integral, fol. 303^v, 'alia'.

II.2.3.3, to p. 124, footnote 91

Group A/1

- 1) Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 161, Missal of Saint-Corneille de Compiègne, fourteenth century, fol. 206^v, interpolation, 'Orationes pro terra sancta ad missam'.
- 2) Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 49 (94), Missal of Mont-Saint-Éloi, thirteenth century, fol. 142^r, interpolation, 'Pro terra sancta et pro christianis contra paganos et in ea certantibus'.
- 3) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Coll. MS 84–1972, Missal of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, c. 1200, fol. 230, interpolation in a fourteenth-century hand, 'Iste sunt orationes quas dominus Papa Clemens precepit dicere pro Terra Sancta'.
- 4) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 99, Missal, thirteenth/fourteenth century, fol. 221, interpolation, 'De Passagio'.
- 5) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 101, Missal, end of the thirteenth century, fol. 119^v, interpolation prior to 1395, 'De Passagio'.
- 6) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 102, Missal, 1309, Heilsbronn (?), fol. 91^v, 'Pro Passagio'.
- 7) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 104, Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 115^v, interpolation, 'Pro Passagio'.
- 8) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 203, Missal of Paris, fourteenth century, fols [D] 29^v–30, interpolation, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.
- 9) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 836, Missal of Limoges, 1359 (or 1459?), fols 281–81^v, 'Pro terra sancta'.
- 10) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,316, Missal of Auxerre, fourteenth century, fol. 280, 'Pro passagio sancte terre'.
- 11) Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. lat. ms. 1689, Missal of the Hospitallers of Autun, fourteenth century, fol. 291, integral, 'Pro terra sancta'. This set is, for obvious reasons, strongly marked by the Pre-Clementine specifics of the original Holy Land triple set.
- 12) Pontarlier, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 9 (19), Cistercian Missal, thirteenth century, fol. 170^v, a fourteenth century interpolation, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

13) Pontarlier, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 12 (22), Cistercian Missal, Abbey of Mont-Sainte-Marie, thirteenth century, fol. 152^v, interpolation of fourteenth century, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

14) Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, cod. 1907 (B II 1), eleventh century, fol. 191^v, interpolation, 'Oratio pro passagio terre sancte'.

15) Rouen Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 279 (A.308), Missal of Paris, first half of the fourteenth century, fol. 338, (Secret and Postcommunion illegible), 'Iste sunt orationes quas dominus noster papa Clemens precepit dicere pro terra sancta'.

16) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossiano MS 1165, Carthusian Missal, late fourteenth century, fol. 247, interpolation, 'Pro terra sancta'.

100) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Nr. 1289 (Alte Sign. 42/72 fo) Cistercian Missal, Cistercian Abbey of Neuberg, 1315, fol. 327. Integral, 'Pro Sancta terra'.

101) Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional, Codex Alcobacensis CLXXI/26, Cistercian Missal, fourteenth century, fols 329–29^v, integral, 'Anno domini Mo.CCCo.XIo. Clemens papa tribuit et concedit cuilibet dice[n]di ad missam vel hanc collectam unum annum indulgentie de iniuncta sibi penitentia pro qualibet vice'.

Group A/2

17) Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 52, Missal of Auxerre, fol. 314, fifteenth century, probably executed for Jean Baillet, Bishop of Auxerre 1471–1513, 'Pro passagio sancte terre'.

18) Carmelite Missal, Venice 1574 (Print), p. 253, 'Pro subsidio terrae sanctae'.

19) London, BL, C.29.1.8; Paris, BNF, Vélins 2897; Paris Use 1501 (Print), fol. XXXI, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

20) London, BL, IA. 41,362 (Paris 1490), Saintes Use (incunab.), fol. XXIII^v, 'Missa pro subsidio terre [sic]'.

21) Mans. Mediathèque Louis Aragon, ms. B. 243, Missal of Mans, fourteenth century, fol. 79, fifteenth-century interpolation, 'Pro subsidio sancte terre'.

22) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6Q 3.24,25, Paris Use 1481 (Incunab.) fol. CCXXI, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

23) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 560 (also New York Pierpont Morgan Library f. 1449) Paris Use 1489 (Incunab.), fol. 231^v, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

24) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Inc. 953, Paris Use 1497 (Incunab.), fol. XXVI^v, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

25) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1078A, Missal, Carmelite Use, Venice 1500, fol. CLXXI, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

26) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51, Cistercian Missal, fifteenth century, fols 302–02^v, interpolation, 'Pro terra sancta'.

27) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 1165A Paris Use 1505 (Print), fol. XXX, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

28) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 410, Paris Use, fifteenth century second half, fols 388–88^v, 'Pro subsidio terre sancte'.

- 29) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 412, Paris Use, fifteenth century, fols 404–04^v, ‘Pro subsidio terre sancte’.
- 30) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 425, Carthusian Missal, 1492, fol. 299 (LXXI), ‘Pro terra sancta’.
- 31) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17,315, Paris Use, after 1481, fol. 357^v, ‘Pro subsidio terre sancte’.
- 32) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 233 (C.120), Plenar Missal according to the Use of Paris, fifteenth century, fol. 336, ‘Pro subsidio terre sancte’.
- 33) Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 407, portable Missal, fourteenth–fifteenth century, fifteenth century (post 1455/58) fol. XXX^v, interpolation, ‘Collecta pro terra sancta. Et quocienscumque quis eam in missa recepit habet tociens centum dies indulgentiarum per Calisto papa Tercio.’
- 34) Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 264, Lambach Missal, fifteenth century, fols 2–2^v, interpolation, ‘Oratio tempore passagii centum dies indulgentiarum’.
- 35) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 65, Limoges Missal, c. 1490, fols 389–89^v, integral, ‘Pro terra sancta’.
- 36) Aachen, Domarchiv, Ms. 18 (IV), Missal, Winter part, fifteenth century, fols 212–12^v, integral, ‘De terra sancta’.

II.2.3.3, to p. 124, footnote 95

Group B/1 (nos 1–32, 34–35, 300–10, 314–54)

- 1) Budapest, Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. m. ae 91, Missale Soproniense, 1363, fol. 157^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 2) Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, ms. 444 (6068), Paris Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 199^v–200, interpolation, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 3) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 100, Missal, thirteenth century, fol. 137, interpolation, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 4) Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 103, 1323, fol. 91^v, interpolation, ‘Sequitur collecta contra paganos legenda in missa’.
- 5) Freiburg, Kantons-und Universitätsbibliothek, MS L 305, Cistercian Missal, Hauterive, early fourteenth century, interpolation, ‘Contra paganos’ (Leisibach Katal. p. 146).
- 6) Lisbon, Codex Alcobacensis CLIV/163, thirteenth-century Missal according to the Use of the Cistercians of France, fol. 271, fourteenth-century interpolation, no rubric.
- 7) London, BL, MS Add. 11,862, Roman Missal, twelfth century, Monastery of St Mary De Parco, near Louvain, fol. 1^v, later interpolation, no rubric.
- 8) London, BL, MS Add. 16,393, Roman Missal, [Augustinian?] Hermits, Germany, fourteenth century, integral, fols 284–84^v: ‘Contra paganos’.
- 9) London, BL, MS Add. 16,905, The Sainte Chapelle Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 373, fourteenth/fifteenth-century interpolation, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 10) London, BL, MS Add. 21,973, Roman Pontifical, Italy, fourteenth century, fol. 113^v, interpolation, no rubric.

- 11) London, BL, MS Egerton 2902, Sacramentary of a monastery connected with Jerusalem, early thirteenth century, fols 131–31^v, fourteenth-century interpolation of the Clementine Collect facing a pre-Clementine 'Missa contra paganos' (*Deus qui ad hoc irasceris* + *Sacrificium domine* + *Protector noster*).
- 12) London, BL, MS Egerton 3511, Missal of the Abbey of St Pietro, Benevento, twelfth century, fol. 4^v, a fourteenth-century interpolation, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 13) London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS A. 1346–1891, Missal of St Denis, c. 1350, fol. 2, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 14) London, BL, Add. 36,616, Roman Missal, Franciscan, early fourteenth century, fols 355^v–56, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 15) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6915, Missal from Fürstenfeld, fourteenth century, fol. 259^v, integral, 'Pro Imperio Christiano'.
- 16) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8710, Franciscan Missal, Munich, fourteenth century, fols 327–27^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 17) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8711, Franciscan small handbook Missal, Munich, fourteenth century, fols 57^v–58, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 18) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10,072, Roman Missal, Bologna, 1374, fols 331^v–32, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 19) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10,076, a Missal, copied by a Worms cleric, thirteenth-fourteenth century, fol. 199^v, 'Pro imperatore'.
- 20) Vich, Museo Episcopale, Cod. 72 (HMML 31,256), Missal, fourteenth century, fol. L^v, fourteenth-century interpolation 'Contra paganos'.
- 21) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23,267, Missal, fourteenth century, fols 348–48^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 22) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS G.16, Roman Use Missal, second half of the fourteenth century, fol. 275, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 23) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.379, Missal of Farfa, eleventh/twelfth century, fol. 268, later interpolation, no rubric.
- 24) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.713, Roman Use Missal probably written and illuminated for cardinal Jacopo de'Stefaneschi c. 1330, fols 113^v–14, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 25) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 354, Monastic Missal, Diocese of Salzburg or Würzburg, twelfth century (between 1131 and 1173), fol. 119^v, Interpolation of the fourteenth/fifteenth century, 'Contra paganos'.
- 26) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 385, Genoese Augustinian and Franciscan Missal, late fourteenth century, fol. 291^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 27) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1102, Sacramentary of Girone, last quarter of the twelfth century, fol. 100, interpolation, no rubric. Incomplete, right-hand side margins lacking.
- 28) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12,060, Missal of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, fourteenth century, fol. 164^v, 'Contra paganos'.

- 29) Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Genevieve, ms. 94, Missal of Saint-Lo, Rouen, fourteenth century, fol. 426^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 30) Philadelphia, The Library Company, MS 11, Roman Missal written for the Franciscans of Saronno Borgo, north of Milan, fourteenth century, fol. 237^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 31) Pontarlier, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 10 (20), Cistercian Missal, thirteenth century, fol. 160^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 32) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 219, Missal of Rheims, thirteenth century, fol. 170^v, a later interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 34) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 205 (Y 46), Breviary of Fecamp, second half of the thirteenth century, fols 216–16^v, fourteenth-century interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 35) Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 870, Cistercian Missal, thirteenth century, fol. 161, later interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 300) Bregenz, Mehrerau Klosterarchiv, Codex V.134, Roman Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 208^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 301) Gerona, Archivo del Seminario Episcopal, Ms. 5 (HMML 31,061), Gerona Sacramentary of the Colegiata San Felix, eleventh/twelfth century, fol. 125^v, no rubric, a fourteenth-century interpolation, Collect only.
- 302) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 197 (Alte sign. 40/56 fo.), Salzburg Missal, Chorherrenstift Seckau, marginal interpolations on fols 214^v–15 (the 1325 portion of the Ms.), in the Votive Masses section, no rubric.
- 303) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 269 (Alte sign. 37/33), Dominican Missal (c. 1300), fourteenth-century interpolation on fol. 9^v, no rubric.
- 304) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 281 (Alte sign. 39/63), Salzburg Missal, Chorherrenstift Seckau, interpolation on the thirteenth-century portion of the Ms on folio 12^v, 'Pro populo christiano'.
- 305) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Choharrenstift, MS 71, Missal of Klosterneuburg, 1330, fols 201–01^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 306) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Choharrenstift, MS 605, Missal of Klosterneuburg, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fol. 186, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 307) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Choharrenstift, MS 609, Missal of Klosterneuburg, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fol. 146, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 308) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Choharrenstift, MS 956, Klosterneuburg Missal, fourteenth century, fol. CXIX, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 309) Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan-und Dombibliothek, Hs. 5 der Erzbishöfliche Priesterseminar, fol. 1, interpolation (fourteenth century ?), 'Contra paganos'.
- 310) Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan-und Dombibliothek, Hs. Gross St Martin 4, Missal fourteenth/fifteenth century, fol. LXV^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 314) Salzburg, Sankt Peter Erzabtei, Cod. a.VI.26, Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 112, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 315) Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.II.238, Missal, thirteenth/fourteenth century, front pastedown, interpolation, no rubric.

- 316) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.204, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 141^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 317) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.221A, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 132^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 318) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.221A, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 353^v, interpolation, mostly illegible, no rubric.
- 319) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, a slip attached to fol. a, 'Contra turcos'.
- 320) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 3^v interpolation, no rubric.
- 321) Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 62/3, Missal (German?), fourteenth century, fols 132^v–33, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 322) Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 119/3, Missal (German?), fourteenth century, fol. 92, interpolation, 'Contra infideles'.
- 323) Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 151/6, Missal (German?), fourteenth century, pastedown front, interpolation, no rubric.
- 324) Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 160, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 216^v, appended slip, no rubric.
- 325) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell' Abbazia, MS CXXXIII (137), Monastic Missal, fourteenth century, fol. [C.] taken from another manuscript, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 326) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 80 (HMML 32,659), Tarazona Missal, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fol. 362^v, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 327) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 125 (HMML 32,704), Tarazona Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 246, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 328) Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, MS 35–13 (HMML 33,457), Roman Missal, thirteenth century, fols 296^v–97, interpolation, no rubric.
- 329) Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, MS 52–9 (HMML 33,649), Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 268^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 330) Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo, MS 52–12 (HMML 33,651), Missal, thirteenth century, fol. 140, a slip attached, 'Pro victoria contra infideles'.
- 331) Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa, MS 34 (HMML 30,607), Gregorian Sacramentary, end of the twelfth–early thirteenth century, fol. 88^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 332) Trier, Bistumsarchiv MS 409, Trier Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fols 253–53^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 333) Vallbona de las Monjas, MS 13 (HMML 30,558), Cistercian Sacramentary, thirteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1, no rubric.
- 334) Vich, Museo Episcopal, MS 73 (HMML 31,263), small Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fols XCII–XCII^a, 'Contra paganos'.
- 335) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1798, Salzburg Missal, fourteenth century, subsequently in a Franciscan church, fol. 232^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.

- 336) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1809, Franciscan Missal, Olmüz fourteenth/fifteenth century, fol. 170^v–71, marginal interpolation, no rubric
- 337) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1839, Passau Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 255, interpolation, 'Contra turcos'.
- 338) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1892, Passau Missal probably copied for Mondsee Monastery, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. a, 'Pro paganis'.
- 339) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1913, Salzburg Missal copied for the use of Mondsee Monastery, fourteenth century second use, integral, fols 165–66, 'Contra paganos'.
- 340) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 3641, Mondsee Missal, second half of the fourteenth century, integral, fols 136–36^v, 'Pro Paganis et Hereticis'.
- 341) Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 21, Passau Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 225^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 342) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 218 (C.124), Plenar Missal of St Mary Church, St Anne's Chapel, Rheims, the thirteenth-century portion of the manuscript, interpolation, last fol., 'Missa contra paganos', Collect only.
- 343) Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. m. ae 214, Missale Posoniense, fourteenth century, fol. 532^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 344) Sankt Pölten, Bischöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek, Cod. 2 (HMML 6245), Missal, fols 308–08^v, integral 'Contra paganos' at the end of the fourteenth-century part of the MS.
- 345) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. XI.395 (HMML 2610), Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 286^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 346) Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca della SS. Trinità, Cod. 38, Monastic Missal, late twelfth century, fol. 121^v–23, interpolation on bottom margins, no rubric.
- 347) Gerona, Archivo Capitular, Cod. 20,d,3 (14) (HMML 30,926), Gerona Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 380^v, interpolation on bottom margin, no rubric, Collect only.
- 348) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 118 (Msc. 635) (4 N. 118) (HMML) 48,357), Roman Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 276, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 349) Gerona, Archivo Capitular, Cod. 20,d,8 (94) (HMML 30,931), Pontifical, fourteenth century, fols CCCIV^v–CCCV, integral, no rubric, Collect only.
- 350) Gerona, Archivo Capitular, Cod. 20,d,8 (94) (HMML 30,931), Pontifical, fourteenth century, fol. 27^v, interpolation, no rubric, Collect only.
- 351) Holkham Hall, Wells (Norfolk), MS 35, Roman Missal, Verona(?), fourteenth century, fols 265–65^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 352) London, Westminster Abbey, MS 37, Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton, 1386, fol. 323^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 353) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1804 (HMML 15,127), Gmünd Missal, fourteenth century, fol. CXXIII, integral, 'Contra paganos et hereticos'.
- 354) Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. IX, 9 (HMML 2785), Passau Missal, fourteenth century, fols 222^v–23, integral, 'Pro subsidio Xpianorum contra gentes'.

II.2.3.3, to p. 124, footnote 96Group B/2 (Nos 33, 36–150, 152–219)

- 33) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 234, fol. 159^v, interpolation, 'Myissa contra paganos'.
- 36) Budapest, Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, MS K 461 (olim Latin Codex 40 27), Passau Use, Augustinian Regular Canons, c. 1420–30, interpolation, fol. 327^v, 'Contra turcos sive paganos'.
- 37) London, BL, Add. 15,120, Roman Missal, Bergamo, fifteenth century, fol. 270^v, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 38) London, BL, Add. 15,287, Roman Missal, Italy, early fifteenth century, fol. 287, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 39) Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. m. ae 361, 1418, travelling monks of Monte Cassino, fol. 81, 'Contra paganos'.
- 40) Freiburg, Franziskanerkloster, Cod. 7, Lausanne Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation on fol. 342^v (quoted from J. Leisibach, *Die liturgischen Handschriften des Kantons Freiburg*, in *Iter Helveticum*, ed. by P. Ladner, II (Freiburg 1977), No. 32, p. 106).
- 41) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 239, fol. 460^v, interpolation, fifteenth century, 'Missa contra turcos'.
- 42) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 474, Missal of Seckau, fol. 345^v, interpolation, fifteenth century, no rubric.
- 43) London, BL, MS Add. 24,680, Missal of the Benedictine Abbey of St Martin, Weingarten, thirteenth century, fol. 113^v, later interpolation, 'Pro fide Christiana'.
- 44) London, BL, MS Add. 37,519, Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 278^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 45) London, BL, IA.24,234, Missal (Venice 1498), Roman Use (incunb.), fol. CCXXIII^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 46) London, BL, IA.24,573, Missal (Venice, 1493–98), Roman Use (incunab.), fol. CCLVIII^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 47) London, BL, IA.26,454, Missal (Milan 1480), Roman Use (incunab.), Sforza ownership, fol. D3, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 48) London, BL, IB 1388, Missal (Paris 1487), Cistercian Use (incunab.), fol. t1, 'Contra paganos'.
- 49) London, BL, IB 6740, Brixen Use (Augsburg 1493), (incunab.), fol. CCXVI^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 50) London, BL, IB 7930, Missal (Nuremberg 1491), Augustinian Hermits' Use (incunab.), fols X.v^v–Xvi, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 51) London, BL, IB 8660; Paris, BNF, Vélins 256; Missal (Speyer 1495–96?), Carthusian Use (Incunab.), fol. CCXLI, 'Contra theucros sive paganos'.
- 52) London, BL, IB 37,138, Missal (Basel 1488?), Trier Use (incunab.), fol. CCLXVIII, 'Pro Xpianis contra paganos'.
- 53) London, BL, IB 41,819, Missal (Lyons 1495), Uzes Use (incunab.), fols LVIII^v–LIX (numbering from Sanctoriale), 'Missa contra Turcos'.

- 54) London, BL, IC 236, Breslau Missal 1481, (Incunab.), no pagination [fol. 216^v], 'Contra paganos'.
- 55) London, BL, IC 10,932; Paris, BNF, Rés. B 824 (incunab.), Missal (Magdeburg 1486), Brandenburg, Halberstadt, Magdeburg, Verden Use, fol. LXXXIII^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 56) London, BL, IC 43,975, Missal (Rouen 1499), Rouen Use, (incunab.), Votive Masses section, fols Ciii–Ciii^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 57) London, Oratory, MS 12,549, Missal of Chartres, early fifteenth century, fol. 102^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 58) London, Oratory, MS 12,584, Missal written in France for the use of Jean d'Etampes, bishop of Nevers, 1446–61, fol. 205^v, 'Contra resistenciam paganorum'.
- 59) Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 5138, Lyons Missal, fifteenth century, integral 'Missa contra paganos', fol. 334.
- 60) Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS 1034 (HMML 30,126), Hildesheim Missal, fifteenth century, front pastedown, interpolation, no rubric.
- 61) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3311, Roman Missal 1450, Attel, fols 267–67^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 62) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5875, Missal, fifteenth century, Ebersbach, fols 249^v–50, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 63) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5902, Missal, fifteenth century, Ebersbach, fol. 338, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 64) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5912, Missal, 1466, Ebersbach, fols 183^v–84, integral, 'Contra turcos' (2nd hand emendation to 'Pro paganis').
- 65) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6016, Missal, 1467, Ebersbach, fols 88^v–89, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 66) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7903, Cistercian Missal from Kaisheim, fifteenth century, fol. 130^v, interpolation, no rubric.
- 67) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8080, Missal, from the Franciscan convent of Kelheim, fifteenth century, fol. 237, 'Contra paganos'.
- 68) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8097, Augsburg Missal, 1428, fol. 241^v, interpolation, 'Contra infideles'.
- 69) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11,003, Roman Missal from Passau, fol. 368, no rubric.
- 70) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14,623, Missal, St Emmeram, fifteenth century, fol. 286, integral, 'Pro paganis'.
- 71) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23,052, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 260^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 72) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23,054, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 356, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 73) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23,274, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 149, integral, 'Contra paganos'.

- 74) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23,276, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 321^v, integral, 'Contra perfidos'.
- 75) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.450, Missal of the Carthusian Monastery of Porta Coeli, Valencia, c. 1468, fol. 172^v, later interpolation, no rubric.
- 76) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.937, Missal, Use of the Lateran Canons of Santa Maria Bianca de Caserto, Milan, c. 1413 or second quarter of fifteenth century, fol. 259: 'Missa contra paganos et ceteros infideles', integral.
- 77) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 20617; Paris, BNF, Vélins 231; Missal, (Augsburg 1493–94), Passau Use (incunab.), fol. CCLIII^v, 'Contra turcos sive paganos'.
- 78) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 39,228, Regensburg Use (Bamberg 1500), fol. CCCXXXI, 'Contra paganos'.
- 79) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6Q 1.21 (Speyer 1495–96?), Carthusian Missal (incunab.), fol. CCXLI, 'Contra theucros sive paganos'.
- 80) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273, Missal (Nuremberg 1499), Augustinian, Teutonic Knights Use, (Incunab.), fol. CCXLII, 'Contra paganos'.
- 81) Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 619, Missal, fifteenth century, integral 'Contra paganos', fol. 212.
- 82) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 853, Roman Missal, end of fifteenth /sixteenth century, 'Contra paganos', integral, fols 337^v–38.
- 83) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 859, Paris Missal, fifteenth century, 'Contra paganos', integral, fol. 391^v.
- 84) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 871, Missal of Bordeaux, fifteenth century, fol. 338^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 85) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 872, Missal of Poitiers, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 261^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 86) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 14,283, Missal of Remiremont, 1st half of fifteenth century, fol. 147^v, 'Contra paganos et sarracenos'.
- 87) Paris, BNF, Rés. B 1350, Missal of Bezançon, 1485, integral, 'Alia Missa contra paganos', fol. Yii verso.
- 88) Paris, BNF, Rés. B 1495, Prague Missal, 1498, 'Contra paganos', fol. CLXV^v.
- 89) Paris, BNF, Vélins 790, Missal of Chartres, 1482, 'Contra paganos', fol. CIII^v.
- 90) Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 97, Paris Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 305, a late interpolation, no rubric.
- 91) Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 2643, fourteenth century, Paris Missal, adapted in the fifteenth century to the Use of Saint-Rieul of Senlis, fifteenth-century interpolation on fol. 191, no rubric.
- 92) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 219 (C.125), Missal of Rheims, early thirteenth century, fol. 160, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 93) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 224, Missal of Rheims, a fifteenth-century interpolation, fol. 262, 'Missa pro fidelibus introducta contra turcos'.

- 94) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 235 (C.136), fifteenth century, Plenar Missal of Tours, fol. 235, 'Contra paganos' (Secret: *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut*, Postcommunion: *Sacris muneribus susceptis*).
- 95) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 301 (Y.58), Missal of Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, 1485, fols 297^v–98, 'Contra Sarracenos'.
- 96) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Ottob. lat. 314, Benedictine Votive Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation on fol. 79^v: 'Contra paganos'.
- 97) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vatic. lat. 6095, Venitian Votive Missal, fourteenth century, a fifteenth-century (?) interpolation on fol. 1^v: 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 98) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1854, Cistercian, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 172^v: 'Contra paganos'.
- 99) Vienna, ÖNB, MS Ser. n. 3618, fifteenth century, Bohemia, fol. 61^v, no rubric.
- 100) Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 692, Missal, fifteenth century, inregal, fols 154–54^v, 'Contra insidias Thurcorum. CL d[Jerum] indulgentia'.
- 101) Götting, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 79, Miscellaneous Collection, thirteenth century, fol. 1, fifteenth-century interpolation, no rubric.
- 102) Götting, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 431, Miscellaneous Collection, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 9, 'Contra paganos'.
- 103) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 74, Salzburg Missal, Chorherrenstift Seckau, before 1477, fols 345–45^v, 'Contra torcos vel paganos'.
- 104) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 109, Salzburg Missal, fifteenth century 2nd half, integral, fols 250–50^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 105) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 112, Salzburg Missal, Chorherrenstift Seckau, fifteenth century 2nd half, interpolation, fol. 263^v, 'Contra Turcos'.
- 106) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 131, Salzburg Missal, Chorherrenstift Seckau, fifteenth century 2nd half (acquired in 1482), integral, fol. 124^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 107) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 364, Missal of the Benedictine Abbey of St Lambrecht, fifteenth century 1st half, interpolation fol. 460^v, 'Missa contra turcos'.
- 108) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 420, Dominican Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 269^v, no rubric.
- 109) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 474, Salzburg Missal of Chorherrenstift Seckau, late thirteenth century, interpolation, fol. 344^v, no rubric.
- 110) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 587, Cistercian Missal, Neuberg? 1498, integral, fols 72^v–73, 'Contra paganos'.
- 111) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 716, Salzburg Missal, Use of Chorherrenstift Seckau, fifteenth century 1st half, interpolation, fol. 2^v, 'Contra paganos et turcos'.
- 112) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 785, Salzburg Missal, Use of Chorherrenstift Seckau, fourteenth century 2nd half, interpolation, fol. 1^v, 'Contra paganos, indulgentiam C. d.'.
- 113) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1003, Dominican Missal, the Dominican Convent of Wiener Neustadt, second half of fourteenth century, an interpolation dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, fol. 150^v, 'Contra Turcos'.

- 114) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1317, Salzburg Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 14, 'Contra paganos'.
- 115) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1525, Cistercian Missal, fifteenth century 2nd half, interpolation, fol. 145, 'Contra Paganos'.
- 116) Heiligenkreuz Stiftsbibliothek, MS 124, Cistercian Missal, thirteenth–fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 124, 'Contra infideles'.
- 117) Heiligenkreuz Stiftsbibliothek, MS 136, Cistercian Missal, fourteenth–fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. XIII, 'Contra paganos de qua C dies dominicalium'.
- 118) Herzogenburg, MS 108 (HMML 3262), Dominican (?) Missal, fourteenth–fifteenth century, front pastedown, no rubric.
- 119) Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 15, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 221^v–22, 'Contra paganos'.
- 120) Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 43, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 335, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 121) Klagenfurt, Kärnter Landesarchiv, GV 6/35, Sacramentary, twelfth–fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 3^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 122) Klagenfurt, Kärnter Landesarchiv, GV 8/15, Passau Missal, 1448, owned by Gurk bishops since 1448, interpolation, fol. 300, 'Contra paganos'.
- 123) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 74, Klosterneuburg Missal, c. 1380, interpolation on fol. 355^v in mid-fifteenth century hand, 'Contra Thurcos'.
- 124) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 75, Passau Missal, Vienna, c. 1477, written for a chapel in Kritzendorf, integral, fol. 253^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 125) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 77, Passau Missal, Vienna, c. 1480, for use in the church of Korneuburg, integral, fol. 243, 'Contra infideles. Officium ut supra Pro tribulatione'.
- 126) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 78, Klosterneuburg Missal, c. 1440, fol. 312^v in an addition to the ms., written c. 1450, 'Contra paganos'.
- 127) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 611, Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 307^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 128) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 613, Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 166, 'Contra paganos'.
- 129) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 614, Klosterneuburg Missal, fourteenth–fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 451^v, no rubric.
- 130) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 617, Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 249–49^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 131) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 960, Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 223^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 132) Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 193, Lambach Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 124^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 133) Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 13, Missal, fifteenth-century portion, fols 197^v–98, integral, 'Contra paganos'.

- 134) Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 14, Missal, 1496, integral, fol. 107^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 135) Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek, MS 51, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 301–01^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 136) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 74, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 251–51^v, 'Contra Tyrcoſ sive paganos'.
- 137) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 353, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 313^v–14, 'Contra paganos'.
- 138) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 456, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols CCXXX–CCXXX^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 139) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 565, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpol, fol. CXXXIII, 'Contra paganos'.
- 140) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 747, Missal written in Melk 1450, integral, fol. 366^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 141) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 820, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 44, 'Contra paganos'.
- 142) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 925, Missal 'Pro via', 1495, integral, fol. 77^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 143) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 938, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 174, 'Contra paganos'.
- 144) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1049, Roman Missal Melk Use, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 170^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 145) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1052, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 266^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 146) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1057, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 226, 'Contra paganos'. At the end of the manuscript (fol. 248^v) the Melk (?) prayer *Et famulos tuos—adversitate custodi*.
- 147) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1697, Roman Missal, fifteenth-sixteenth century, integral, fol. 136^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 148) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1784, Roman Missal, fifteenth century (in 1464 in Melk), integral, fol. 334^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 149) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.374, Roman Missal, Genoa Calendar, written in Italy and illuminated in Ghent before 1431, integral, fol. 170, 'Contra paganos'.
- 150) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.518, Roman Missal, written and illuminated in Ferrara, for use in the church of San Francesco, 1463, integral, fol. 257^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 152) New York, The Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, MS 3, German Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 273, 'Contra paganos'.
- 153) Reun, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 206, Reun Use, integral, fol. 287, 'Contra paganos'.
- 154) Salzburg, Museum Carolino-Augustaeum, MS 858, Missal, 1446, integral, fol. CXIII, 'Contra paganos'.
- 155) Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.III.12, Salzburg Use Missal, 1476, integral, fols 244–44^v, 'Contra thurcos vel paganos'.

- 156) Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.III.23, Zagreb Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. CCLXXIII^v, 'Pro Christianorum auxilio contra paganos'.
- 157) Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.III.99, Salzburg Use Missal, fourteenth century, fifteenth-century interpolation, fol. 240^v 9last folio), 'Contra paganos seu thurcos'.
- 158) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.9, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. CCXXXVII^v, 'Contra turcos sive paganos'.
- 159) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.205, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 4, 'Contra paganos'.
- 160) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.385, Passau Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. CL^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 161) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.397, Passau Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 85^v, 'Contra turcos'.
- 162) Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 49/3, Missal (German?), fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 147, 'Contra ferocitate turcorum'.
- 163) Sankt Pölten, MS 51, Bischöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek, Missal of the Collegiate Church of St Hippolit, 1420, interpolation, fol. 320, 'Contra paganos'.
- 164) Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 119, Monastic Missal, 1493, integral, fol. 74, no rubric.
- 165) Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 247, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. CCLXVIII, 'Contra paganos'.
- 166) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS XLIII (45), Monastic Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 325–25^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 167) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS XLV (47), Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 327, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 168) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS LXXXIII (85), Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 21^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 169) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, MS CCXLV (250), Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 195^v–96, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 170) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 135 (HMML 32,714), Roman Missal, 1374, a fifteenth-century interpolation, fol. 161^v, 'Contra paganos', Pre-Clementine Secret and Post-communion.
- 171) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 92, Passau Missal, 1st half of the fifteenth century, interpolation inside of back binding, 'Contra paganos et hereticos'.
- 172) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 109, Salzburg Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 177, 'Contra paganos'.
- 173) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 126, Salzburg Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fols 121^v–22, 'Contra paganos'.
- 174) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 177, Salzburg Missal, thirteenth century, fifteenth-century interpolation, fols 123^v–24, 'Contra paganos'.
- 175) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 270, Salzburg Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 115–15^v, 'Contra paganos'.

- 176) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 272, Salzburg Missal, c. 1480, integral, fols 117^v–18, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 177) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 301, Salzburg Missal, c. 1480, integral, fol. 121^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 178) Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 301, Salzburg Missal, c. 1480, integral, fol. 127^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 179) Vienna, Dominikaner Kloster, MS 415, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 486–86^v, ‘Pro pugnatoribus’.
- 180) Vienna, Dominikaner Kloster, MS 416, Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 502–02^v, ‘Pro pugnatoribus ecclesie’.
- 181) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1782, Missal for Brixen, Salzburg c. 1490, integral, fol. 230, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 182) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1797, Roman Missal, Mondsee, 1472, integral, fol. 42^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 183) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1803, Roman Missal, Charterhouse in Bohemia or in adjacent areas, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 223^v, no rubric. Blank spaces left after ‘paganorum’ in all three prayers for further specification.
- 184) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1854, Cistercian Abbot Missal, Reun, 1415, interpolation, fol. 172^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 185) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1871, Mondsee Missal (or German), fifteenth century 2nd half, integral to the second portion of the manuscript, fols 89^v–89, ‘Missa contra paganos’.
- 186) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1899, Mondsee Missal, dependent parochial chapel of St Udalric, 1453, interpolation, fol. 1, ‘Contra turcos’.
- 187) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 3649, Mondsee Missal, mid-fifteenth century, interpolation, fols P.VIII–P.VIII^v, ‘Pro paganis vel infidelibus’.
- 188) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 3795, Mondsee Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1, no rubric.
- 189) Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, MS IX,8, Passau Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 211, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 190) Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, MS IX,117, Missal, fourteenth century, fifteenth–sixteenth-century interpolation, fols 345–45^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 191) Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 25–29 (HMML 31,722), Zaragoza Missal, the last quarter of the fourteenth century, fol. 102, an integral Pre-Clementine ‘Contra paganos’ set with a marginal addition of the Clementine Collect.
- 192) Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 31-22 (HMML 31,730), Zaragoza Missal, 1422, an integral Pre-Clementine ‘Contra paganos’ set with a marginal addition of the Clementine Collect, fol. 31.
- 193) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 398, Missal, thirteenth century, interpolation, fol. 190^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 194) London, BL, C.52.c.14, Zaragoza Missal 1552, (Print), fol. CLXXIII^v, ‘Contra paganos’ (Secret and Postcommunion Pre-Clementine).

- 195) London, BL, C.62.d.8, Braga Missal, 1512, fol. I viiv, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 196) London, BL, C.107.f.15, Bazas Missal, 1503, fol. XV^v, 'Missa ad postulandam victoriam contra infideles'.
- 197) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mason O.81, Passau Missal, 1522, fol. 330, 'Contra turcos sive paganos'.
- 198) Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale ms. 43, Missal of Rennes, fifteenth century, fol. 229^v, 'Ad paganos repellandos'.
- 199) London, BL, Add. 30,038, Missal, Spain, fifteenth century, fols 293–93^v, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 200) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4548, Missal, Benediktbeuern, early fifteenth century, fol. 280^v, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 201) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 11,339, Missal, Polling, 15, fols 213^v–14, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 202) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 934/331 (Incunab.), Roman Missal, Venice 1483, pp. D3–D3^v, 'Missa contra pagannos'.
- 203) London, BL, Add. 40,148, Breviary, Augustinian Hermits, fifteenth century late, fol. 385, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 204) Barcelona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Cod. 116 (HMML 30,385), fifteenth century, fol. CXXIII^v, integral, 'Contra infideles'.
- 205) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 108 (Msc. 33) (HMML 48,347), Brixen Missal, 1470, fol. 213^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 206) Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Cod. I.20, Missal, fifteenth century, fol. CCLIV^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 207) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 826 (HMML 1653), Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 121, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 208) Lambach, Cod. cart. 156 (HMML 573) Missal 1506, fol. 177, integral, 'Contra paganorum perfidiam'.
- 209) Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monasterio, Cod. 780 (HMML 30,061), Mixed Missal, Carthusian, fifteenth century, fol. CLXVI, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 210) Münster, Bistumsarchiv, Diözesanbibliothek, GV Hs. 297 (HMML 39,700), Missal, St Mauritius, Enniger, 1481, fol. CCXLI, integral, 'Collecta pro defensione ecclesie contra Turchos'. At the end: 'C dies indulgentie a domino papa Calisto tertio.'
- 211) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 92 (HMML 32,671), Tarazona Missal, 1374 (according to Janini) or mid thirteenth century (according to Saxer; as his analysis bears upon the Missal's content rather than the 'carrying' manuscript, this dating should be accepted for the model employed in producing this manuscripts), fol. 439^v, interpolation, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 212) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 92 (HMML 32,671), Tarazona Missal, 1374, fol. 454^v, interpolation, 'Contra paganos'.
- 213) Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral, Cod. 98 (HMML 32,677), Roman Missal copied in Rome, 1470/71, fol. 31, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.

- 214) London, BL, Add. 43,380, York Use Missal, early fifteenth century, fol. 220, interpolation, no rubric.
- 215) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 876, Missal of Grenoble, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 393^v, 'Contra paganos' (+ Readings from Matthew 12.46–50).
- 216) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. B.c.6, Hereford Use Missal, 1502, unnumbered, integral, 'Oratio dicenda contra paganos'.
- 217) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 229 (HMML 6830), Cistercian Missal, fourteenth/ fifteenth century, fol. 146^v, integral, 'Contra paganos'.
- 218) Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library, Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe Ms. No. 41, Missal, written in France during the second half of the fifteenth century, Lyons Use, given before 1489 for use in the Holy Cross Chapel at Nantua, integral, fols 307^v–08, 'Contra paganos'.
- 219) Arras, Bibl. mun., ms. 405 (875), a thirteenth-century manuscript, a later interpolation on front-page, 'Contra paganos'.

II.2.3.3, to p. 128, footnote 110

- 1) (*Congregati sunt inimici*), London, BL, IB 39,833, Langres Missal, 1491, fol. CCVII, and C.132 H. 43, Langres Missal, 1517, fol. LLVI^v, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 2) (*Dominus fortitudo plebis*), London, BL, C.36.l.11, Missal of Sevilla, 1507, fols CCXXIII^v–CCXXIII^v, 'Missa contra paganos' (Clementine Secret and Postcommunion).
- 3) (*Exurge quare obdormis*), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. E 1 d. 26, Braga Missal, 1558, fol. CCXXXV^v, 'Contra paganos'.
- 4) (*Iudica domine nocentes*), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4102, Cistercian Missal from the library of the Augustinian Hl. Kreuz Church, Augsburg, fifteenth century, fols 414–15, 'Missa contra infideles'.
- 5) Oxford, Antiq. c. G. 1510, *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie*, Augsburg 1510, fols CCXIII^v–CCXIV, 'Contra paganos et infideles'.
- 6) Paris, BNF, Rés. B. 1444, Augsburg Use, Augsburg 1496, fols CCXXVI^v–CCXXVII, 'Contra paganos et infideles'.
- 7) (*Liberator meus de gentibus*), London, BL, C.52.d.12, Monte Cassino, 1507, fols 284A–B, 'Missa contra paganos'; Oxford, Arch. B.f.10, Monte Cassino, 1515, fol. 289A., 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 8) (*Omnia que fecisti*), Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 91, Anchin Missal, first half of sixteenth century, fols 142–43^v, 'Missa pro fide contra Turcum et exercitum eius'.
- 9) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 48,317, Lyons Missal, 1487, fols CCCXIV^v–CCCXV^v, 'Missa pro fide contra Turcum et exercitum eius'.
- 10) Paris, BNF, ms. lat., 871, Bordeaux Missal, second half of fifteenth century, fols 351^v–52^v, integral, 'Missa contra paganos'.
- 11) Paris, BNF, Rés. 27,883, *Missa pro fide contra turcum et exercitum eius*, Lyons, M. Huss, c. 1480–82, fols 1–3^v.
- 12) Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 28 (33), Lyons Missal, fols 241^v–42, 'Missa pro fide contra Turcum'.

- 13) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 385, Rouen Missal, c. 1454, fols 371–72, integral, ‘Missa pro fide contra Turcum et exercitum eius’.
- 14) London, BL, C. 52. h. 8, Narbonne Missal, Narbonne 1528, fols CCLVIII^v–CCLIX, ‘Missa pro fidelitate contra paganos’.
- 15) London, BL, C. 52. c. 7, Cluniac Order, Paris 1510, fols LXXXI^v–LXXXII^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 16) London, BL, C. 36. l. 9, Würzburg Missal, Würzburg 1509, fols CCLX^v–CCLXVI, ‘Contra hereticos aut Turcos’.
- 17) Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Würzburg Missal, Würzburg 1481, fol. CCCXXIII, ‘Contra hereticos aut Turchos’.
- 18) (*Reminiscere miserationum tuarum*), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 39228, Regensburg Missal, 1500, fols CCCXXXI^v–CCCXXXII, ‘Officium contra Thurcos et hereticos’.
- 19) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 4. Q. 2. 4, Regensburg Use, 1485, fol. 320, ‘Missa contra Thurcos et hereticos’.
- 20) (*Salus populi ego sum*), Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 61 (56), fourteenth-century interpolation on fols 263–63^v, ‘Missa pro terra sancta’.
- 21) Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 164, Lambach Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 304^v, ‘Contra paganos vel hereticos’.
- 22) Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 316, Lambach Missal (Passau), fifteenth century, integral, fol. 217^v, ‘Contra paganos vel hereticos’.
- 23) Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 360, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation (back pastedown), ‘Anno domini scilicet 1456 Turci seu pagani voluerunt defastare omnem Christianitatem tempore Calixti pape Contra quos apostolicus mandavit legi missam in hac forma’.
- 24) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.205A, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 2^v, ‘Officium contra turcos vel paganos’.
- 25) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.389, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation dated to 1466, fol. 11, ‘Officium contra Turcum’.
- 26) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.391, interpolation, fol. LXVII, ‘Officium contra Turcum’.
- 27) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. d^v, ‘Officium contra Turcum’.
- 28) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fourth folio from the end, ‘Officium pro Turcis’.
- 29) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.393, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1, ‘Missa contra Turcum’.
- 30) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.394, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1, ‘Officium contra Turcum’.
- 31) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS XI.397, Passau Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 87, ‘Officium contra Turcum’.
- 32) Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 245, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 43–43^v, ‘Missa contra paganos’.
- 33) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 72, fifteenth century Missal, col. 388, ‘Missa contra paganos’.

- 34) London, BL, L. 17. b. 10, Halberstadt 1520, fols CXLII^v–CXLIII, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 35) Paris, BNF, Vélins 218, Eichstädt 1486, fol. CCXLV, ‘Officium Calixti papa quarti contra turcos et Christiani nominis inimicos’.
- 36) Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 612, Klosterneuburg Missal, 1476, integral, fols 252–52^v, ‘Contra hereticos’.
- 37) Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, MS 23, Roman Missal, 1476, integral, fols 204^v–05^v, ‘Contra infideles seu turcos’.
- 38) Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 233 (223), Missal of Saint-Aubert of Cambrai, fifteenth century, fols 476–77, ‘Missa de paganis’.
- 39) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 219, Rheims Missal, early thirteenth century, interpolation on fol. 160, ‘Missa contra turcos et paganos’.
- 40) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 872, Missal of Poitiers, fifteenth century, interpolation fol. 261^v, ‘Missa contra paganos’.
- 41) London, BL, IB. 6727 and Paris, BNF, Rés. B 28,984, Freising Missal, 1492, fol. CCLXIII, ‘Contra theucros, hereticos, paganos aut quoscumque infideles’.
- 42) London, BL, IB 8116, Hildesheim Missal, Nürnberg 1499, fols CCLXXIII^v–CCLXXIII, ‘Contra infestationem paganorum’.
- 43) London, British Library C. 41. g. 4, Salzburg Missal, 1510, fols CCLXII–CCLXII^v, ‘Contra paganos vel pro congregatione’.
- 44) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Antiq. c. I. 1507. 1, Salzburg Missal, 1507, fols CCCXX^v–CCCXXI, ‘Contra paganos vel pro congregatione’.
- 45) Salzburg, Sankt Peter Erzabtei, MS b.X.6, Ordo processionis contra Turcos, 1526 (1519), integral, fols 1–12.
- 46) (*Sicut oculi servorum*), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 283, Lübeck Dominican Missal, 1502, fols 221–21^v, ‘Missa contra oppugnatores Christianorum’.
- 47) (*Salus populi ego sum*), Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 1050, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 282^v–83, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 48) Lilienfeld Stiftsbibliothek, MS 18, Missal, 1494, integral, fols 243^v–44^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 49) Sankt Pölten, Bishöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek, MS 52, Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 4^v, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 50) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4553, Roman Missal from Benediktbeuren, 2nd half of the fifteenth century, fols 127^v–28, integral.
- 51) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21,582, Missal, fols 256–56^v, interpolation after 1460, ‘Contra paganos’.
- 52) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. XI.395, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 17, interpolation, ‘Missa contra turcum’.
- 53) Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 106 (Msc. 22) (HMML 48,345), Missal, fifteenth century, fol. CLXXXIII, ‘Missa contra Turchos. Omnia sicut in missa Pro Pace preter orationes’.
- 54) (*Reminiscere*) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14450, St Emmeram, Regensburg Use Missal, fourteenth century, fols 191–91, interpol., no title.

55) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. latinus 10,084, Votive Missal of Nuns living under the Augustinian Rule, Triefenstein, Diocese of Würzburg, fols 95–99, integral, ‘Contra Turcos’.

56) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Palat. latinus 446, German provenance, fol. 254, integral, ‘Officium integrale contra perfidos persecutores fidei Christi Turcos et alios imitatores dampnati Machumeti’.

II.2.4, to p. 147, footnote 223

1) Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 9 (S 11), twelfth-century Sacramentary of Autun, fol. 173^v, late interpolation, the Collect only, no rubric. (=A).

2) Caen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 704, Missal of Sées, fifteenth century, fol. 204, ‘Pro passagio sancte terre’, integral. (=C).

3) London, BL, Egerton 3036, Missal of the monastery of Fonte Buono, Diocese of Arezzo, the parent house of the cenobitical branch of the Camaldolese Order, written in 1240, fol. 393, interpolation, no rubric (=B).

4) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 65, Limoges Missal, c. 1490, fol. 389^v, integral, ‘Pro terra sancta’ (=S).

5) London, Oratory, MS 12,584, Missal written in France for the use of Jean d’Etampes, bishop of Nevers in 1446–61, fol. 312^v, ‘Pro terra sancta’, integral. (=E).

6) Narbonne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1 (1674), Missal of Narbonne, 1358, fols 90–90^v, ‘Missa pro passagio ultramarino terre sancte quam edidit Iohannes papa XXIIus quando concessit domino Phillipo regi Francorum crucem’, integral. (=N).

7) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 371, Roman Use Missal, Diocese of Venice (?), second half of the fifteenth century, fol. 263, ‘Missa pro terra sancta’, integral. (=V).

8) Oxford, University College, MS 78A, Hereford Use, St Dubricius’ Whitchurch (Monmouthshire), early fifteenth century, fol. 215, ‘Oratio dicenda pro recuperacione terre sancte’, integral. (=H).

9) Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 595 (123 C.T.L.), Missal and Breviary of Chalons-sur-Marne, early fourteenth century, fol. 38^v, the Collect only, interpolated, no rubric (=M).

10) Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 425 (220), Carthusian Missal, 1492, fol. 299 (LXXI), ‘Ad passagium maris’, integral. (=Z).

11) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 836, Missal of Limoges, 1359, fol. 281^v, ‘Alia pro terra sancta’, integral. (=L).

12) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 878, Missal of Glandèves and Embrun, written between 1425 and c.1445 for Jean de Boniface, bishop of Glandèves (1425–c.1427) who gave it to the church of Marseilles, fols 321–21^v, ‘Missa pro sancto passagio’, integral. (=G).

13) Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, Cod. T 8. 11, first half of the thirteenth century, Cistercian Abbey of Casamari near Veroli, fourteenth-fifteenth-century interpolation on fol. 228, ‘Pro Terra sancta’ (=R).

14) Subiaco, Biblioteca dell’Abbazia, Cod. XLV (47), Roman Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 334^v, ‘Missa contra paganos’, integral (=O).

15) Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 107 (III, 57), Carthusian Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 206^v, 'Pro terra sancta ultramarina', integral. (=T).

16) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vatic. lat. 3807, Dominican Votive Missal, sixteenth century, fols 148^v–49^v, 'Pro recuperatione terre sancte', integral (=D).

17) London, BL, C.52.c.7., Missal of the Cluniac Order, Paris 1510, fol. LXXXII^v, 'Pro terra sancta' (=Pr.1). Only the cues of the Secret and the Postcommunion are given; for their texts the reader is referred to the 1309 set.

18) London, BL, C. 35. I. 6, Carthusian Use Missal, Lyons 1517, fol. CLXVIII, 'Pro terra sancta' (=Pr.2).

19) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. B.c.6, Hereford Use Missal, 1502, unnumbered, integral, 'Oratio dicenda pro recuperatione terre sancte' (=Pr.3).

20) Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 143, Sacramentary of Caromb, end of thirteenth century, fol. 179, no rubric, interpolation (=F).

Sigla

A	No. 1
B	No. 3
C	No. 2
D	No. 16
E	No. 5
F	No. 20
G	No. 12
H	No. 8
L	No. 11
M	No. 9
N	No. 6
O	No. 14
R	No. 13
S	No. 4
T	No. 15
V	No. 7
Z	No. 10
Pr.1.	No. 17
Pr.2.	No. 18
Pr.3.	No. 19

Comments to the Illustrations in Chapter 2

Figure 2

Pamplona, Archivo general de Navarra, Ms. 3, fol. 63. The evolution of the Holy Land Clamor.

The evolutionary history of the Holy Land Clamor is visible in this thirteenth-century Missal. Its first phase is represented by the insertion of a Clamor consisting of Psalm 78, three versicles (*Exurgat, Salvum fac populum*, and *Dominus vobiscum*) and the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu* prayer, on the upper right margins, adjacent to the Canon of the Mass. It was a favourite place for inserting interpolated Clamors, and for good practical reasons: a Clamor was said, after all, during the Canon. The second stage in the evolution of this Clamor consists of the later addition of the prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne deus edificator et custos Iherusalem civitatis superne*, a typical Dedication prayer, following the first interpolation; the Clamor comprises, now, two prayers. The third—and final—stage can be seen in the substantial interpolation at the bottom of the page, entitled *Preces pro ecclesia sancta*. Instituted by Pope John XXII in 1328, this Clamor comprised Psalm 121, five versicles (*Domine salvos fac reges, Salvum fac populum, F[iat pax], Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum*), and two prayers (*Ecclesie tue, Hostium nostrorum*). This was the last and final phase in the evolution of the Holy Land Clamor.

Figure 3

Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 10, fol. 100^v. The traditional *Contra Paganos* Prayer.

This French Plenar Votive Missal, produced c. 1055 in Avignon and brought to Tortosa by Bishop Geoffrey about the middle of the twelfth century, presents the traditional Carolingian *Contra Paganos* Collect as follows (original spelling and punctuation, abbreviations expanded): ‘Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris. ut subvenias; ad hoc minaris ut parcas; lassis manum porrige. et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre. ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris super nos cognoscimus prevalere; te miserante agnoscamus cessare. Per.’

Figure 4

Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 56, fol. 126. An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer.

The same Collect *Contra Paganos* in a twelfth-century Sacramentary exhibits a slightly different text (original spelling and punctuation, abbreviations expanded): ‘Deus qui ad hoc irasceris ut subvenias. ad hoc minaris ut parcas; lapsis manum porrige. et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre; ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris super [nos] cognoscimus prevalere. te miserante sentiamus cessare. Per.’ A later hand erased the word ‘nos’—still partly visible—and added an insertion mark (‘/’) as well as a corresponding insertion mark on the right side margin with the words ‘et super terram. ac civitatem sanctam iherusalem’.

Figure 5

Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 140, fol. 143. An interpolated *Contra Paganos* Prayer.

The interpolation in No. 2 was not an isolated case, for the same interpolation—in the same original text and without erasing the word ‘nos’—is exhibited by this thirteenth-century Gregorian Sacramentary.

Figure 6

Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 132. A new Holy Land Prayer has come into being.

The interpolated Holy Land text has finally become integrated into the text in a version that combines both ‘nos’ and the interpolation, in this thirteenth-century Gregorian Sacramentary (original spelling and punctuation, abbreviations expanded): ‘Deus qui ad hoc irascaris ut subvenias. ad hoc minaris ut parcas; lapsis manum porrige. et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre; ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris super nos et super terram sanctam iherusalem cognoscimus prevalere; te miserante senciamus cessare. Per.’

Figure 7

Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, Ms. 13, fol. 8. The new Holy Land Prayer has been received.

The same manuscript carries another Holy Land interpolation on the bottom part of fol. 8, one of the folios left blank before the Calendar on fol. 13; first folios of manuscripts were commonly used for inserting later additions and supplements. In this case we have the text of the Holy Land Collect instituted by Pope Innocent III. It reads as follows (original spelling and punctuation, abbreviations expanded): ‘[D]eus qui admirabili providentia cuncta disponis. te supplices exoramus; ut terram quam unigenitus filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit. de manibus inimicorum crucis eripiens restituas cultui Christiano. vota fidelium ad eiusdem liberationem instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne. Per eundem dominum nostrum.’

The Dedicated War Mass

I. Typology and Evolution

I.1 From Generic to Dedicated War Masses

The dedicated War Mass, the final stage in the evolution of war liturgy from the generic to the specific, aims—exclusively and in its entirety—at specific war goals. Like the triple sets Against the Infidel it is dedicated to the struggle against the *Infidel* in his different manifestations—the Muslim persecutor and occupier of the Holy Land and Outremer, the Turk, the non-Christian in general, and the heretic. It innovates, however, by mobilising to this struggle the entire Mass rather than its three core prayers.

It originated, ultimately, in the triple War Mass set, the most elementary form of a Eucharistic service dedicated to this goal. Eminently practicable, that set appeared quite early and was constantly enriched with supplementary or alternative prayers, usually Collects, and with proper Prefaces. Each of the five triple sets *In tempore belli* contained in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, for example, already comprised no fewer than three Collects,¹ and the *Supplementum Anianense* to the Gregorian Sacramentary exhibited

¹ 1) *Deus qui conteris bella + Deus regnorum omnium + Deus cuius regnum est omnium* (*The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. by H. A. Wilson (Oxford, 1894), pp. 272–73; L. C. Mohlberg, *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (*Sacramentarium Gelasianum*) (Rome, 1960), pp. 214–15); 2) *Contere quesumus domine hostes + Hostium nostrorum quesumus domine elide + Omnipotens deus Romani nominis* (Wilson, pp. 273–74, Mohlberg, p. 215); 3) *Deus qui regnis omnibus + Propitiare domine in te + Deus qui sub tuae maiestatis* (Wilson, p. 274, Mohlberg, pp. 215–16); 4) *Deus qui providentia tua + Deus servientium tibi + Deus cuius*

three sets, two with two Collects² and one with three,³ as well as three proper wartime Prefaces.⁴ The very early Leonine Preface *VD aeternae deus. Agnoscimus enim domine deus*⁵ was incorporated into the *In tempore belli* sets of numerous Sacramentaries, among others the Sacramentary of Angoulême,⁶ the *Liber excarpus*,⁷ the *Liber Gellonensis*,⁸ the Autun Sacramentary,⁹ the ninth-century additions to the Gregorian Sacramentary,¹⁰ and the Ambrosian Sacramentary of Bergamo.¹¹ The war triple set appeared also in the pre-conquest English Sacramentary known as *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*,¹² while the twelfth-century Sacramentary of Figeac (Use of Moissac), offered no fewer than three war sets, each one comprising four prayers (Collect, Secret, Preface, Postcommunion) and frequently more than just one Collect.¹³ The Clementine set, finally, enjoyed an exceptional popularity since the first decades of the fourteenth century. To all intents and purposes, the triple war set never disappeared from liturgy; it

regnum (Wilson, p. 275, Mohlberg, p. 216); 5) *Deus in te sperantium + Deus et temporalis vitae + Omnipotens sempiternae deus miserere supplicum* (Wilson, pp. 275–76, Mohlberg, p. 217).

² J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, vol. 1 (Fribourg, 1971), Nos 1335–36 (*Hostium nostrorum quesumus domine elide + Omnipotens deus Christiani nominis*), p. 442, and Nos 1339–40 (*Deus qui providentia tua + Deus qui servientium*), p. 443.

³ Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 2), Nos 1330–32 (*Deus regnorum omnium + Deus cuius regnum + Deus qui conteris*), pp. 441–42.

⁴ Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 2), Nos 1727–29, pp. 571–72 (*Te toto corde, Qui subiectas tibi, Sub cuius potestatis*).

⁵ See No. 24 in *Corpus praefationum*, ed. by E. Moeller, CCSL 161A (Turnhout, 1980), pp. 10–11, and CCSL 161 B (Turnhout, 1980), pp. 12–14.

⁶ *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis*, CCSL, 159C (Turnhout, 1987), ed. by P. Saint-Roch, No. 2329, p. 363.

⁷ *Liber sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordine exscarpus*, ed. by C. Coebergh and P. de Puniet, CCCM 47 (Turnhout, 1977), p. 177.

⁸ *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by A. Dumas, CCSL 159 (Turnhout, 1981), No. 2747, p. 430.

⁹ *Liber sacramentorum Augustodunensis*, ed. by O. Heimig, CCSL 159B (Turnhout, 1984), No. 1777, pp. 218–19.

¹⁰ *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*, ed. by J. Deshusses, vol. 2* (Fribourg, 1979), No. 2539, p. 162.

¹¹ *Sacramentarium Bergomense*, ed. by A. Paredi and G. Fassi (Bergamo, 1962), p. 325.

¹² *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. by H. A. Wilson (London, 1896), p. 268. It consists of the Collect *Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris*, the Secret *Sacrificium*, and the Postcommunion *Protector*.

¹³ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fols 223–224: 1) *Deus regnorum omnium (+ Deus cuius regnum + Deus qui conteris)*; 2) *Hostium nostrorum quesumus domine elide (+ Omnipotens deus Christiani nominis)*; 3) *Deus qui providentia tua (+ Deus servientium tibi)*.

was continually performed in ever-changing circumstances, just like the triple sets that were dedicated to other spheres of activity, sets that have accompanied and disburdened life's course as it is actually experienced by individuals and by society at large. The *Orationes* section has always been an important serviceable section of any Missal.

The early war sets were still largely generic, but particular needs demanded specificity, leading to changes in the rubrics of the sets and in their contents. General rubrics were thus replaced by much more focused titles, and prayers were either rephrased or entirely substituted by new, specific prayers. The proliferation of these new sets reflects their relevance to contemporaries. The eighth-century *Gellonensis* already includes an original set of *Missa in projectione hostium euntibus in proelium*,¹⁴ the Gelasian Sacramentary of Angoulême contains a *Missa pro rege in die belli contra paganos* with an explicit reference to the king's name,¹⁵ and the ninth-century Gregorian Sacramentaries contain no fewer than three war sets—*Missa pro paganis*, *Contra paganos*, and *Missa pro imminenti prosecutione barbarica*.¹⁶ The tenth-century Sacramentary of Fulda offered three sets—*Missa cotidiana pro rege*, *Missa pro rege et exercitu eius*, and *Missa pro regibus*, all three referring explicitly to the king, his spouse and children as well as the people and the army.¹⁷ It also contained a *Missa ad comprimendas gentium feritates* set.¹⁸ Another characteristic example can be seen in the already cited twelfth-century Sacramentary of Figeac, with its two sets of *Missa pro invasione paganorum* and *Missa pro paganis*,¹⁹ the Collect of the first set referring explicitly to 'gentem Normannorum quam pro peccatis nostris super nos cognoscimus prevalere'.

On the threshold of the tenth century, consequently, a fairly large corpus of both generic and specific war sets was easily accessible to combatants. Both types were heavily concentrated in the Mass of the Faithful part of Mass, with three proper prayers: the Secret, the Preface, and the Postcommunion. Their presence in the Fore-Mass was comparatively weaker, consisting of only one prayer, the Collect. The same preference is evident in other

¹⁴ *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Dumas (as in note 8), Nos 2750–257, pp. 431–33.

¹⁵ Saint-Roch (as in note 6): Nos 2307–10, pp. 358–59 (Collect: *Sempiterna trinitas*; Secret: *Omnipotens sempiterne deus nostras*; Preface: *VD aeternae deus. Omnipotentiam tuam humili*; Postcommunion: *Quos celesti domine*).

¹⁶ Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 10): 1) Nos 2564–66, p. 164; 2) Nos 2567–69, pp. 164–65; 3) Nos 2570–74, p. 165.

¹⁷ *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by G. Richter and A. Schönfelder (Fulda, 1912): No. 336, p. 218; No. 340, p. 221; No. 341, pp. 221–22.

¹⁸ *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17): No. 345, pp. 223–24 (Collect: *Deus qui providentia tua*; Secret: *Deus qui servientium*; Preface: *VD aeternae deus. Agnoscimus enim domine deus*; Postcommunion: *Protege domine famulos*).

¹⁹ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fol. 211^v (a triple set: *Parce domine parce, Sacrificia domine tibi, and Vitia cordis humani*), and the enlarged set (Collect: *Domine deus qui ad hoc irascereis*; Secret: *Sacrificium*; Preface: *VD aeternae deus. Et clementiam tuam*; Postcommunion: *Protector*).

related liturgical practices, such as the Holy Land Mass Clamor and the general *Benedictio in tempore belli*, both firmly located in the Mass of the Faithful. It translates a clear emphasis on the predominantly 'doing' nature of Mass in its second part—the Mass of the Faithful—against the mainly communicative aspect of its first part, the Mass of the Word.²⁰ If Mass as a whole presents two complementary aspects—a vertical movement, 'the outgoing of man to God', and a horizontal movement, the sharing between 'members of the worshipping community'²¹—its first part should be seen as mainly horizontal and communicative and its second part as predominantly vertical and 'real'. The Actio of the Eucharist, real and therefore potentially instrumental, has therefore the capacity of being activated for combatants in general and for crusaders in particular; hence the war liturgist's marked preference for this part of Mass. Nevertheless, while the instrumental-vertical approach—exemplified to perfection in the topos of Moses—is central to the liturgy of war and crusade, it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the communicative-horizontal elements in these practices. The extraordinary cumulating of Collects in single Masses—usually three and sometimes even more—offered the celebrant a choice between the proposed texts, but it also enabled him to keep all or some of them in an 'amplified' service, to submerge the 'carrier' Collect with several superimposed Collects, and to offset its message with a new one. The implant of one Collect on another simply associated two messages of equal force (in principle) and resulted in a confused overall signal, but a large number of implanted Collects had a much better chance of redirecting the entire Mass toward the new, superimposed goal. One senses a new and ever-growing emphasis on the communicative aspect of the war liturgy alongside its instrumental aspect, but, in the final analysis, a Mass carrying the war set was bound to transmit at best an ambiguous message.

The dedicated Mass against the *Infidel*, in contrast, aimed at clear-cut, specific objectives. The Fore-Mass, usually neglected by the earlier war sets, was radically transformed. The greater part of its pieces—the Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, Sequence, Tract, and the Gospel (leading to the sermon that usually dealt with its theme)—were carefully chosen for their relevance to the Mass's specific aim. A similar transformation took place in the Mass of the Faithful. While the Ordinary remained practically immune to change, the Offertory, Secret, Preface, Communion, and Postcommunion were all open to alterations. Seen from another angle, the topicality of the new Mass resulted from a new perception of the *anamnesis* essence of the Eucharist, the Sacrifice of Christ that was enacted in the Ordinary as well as the Proper elements of the Temporal and the Sanctoral on different levels of sanctified time that were constantly leading up—and back again—to the central and original Eucharistic sacrifice. The dedicated Mass added another level by integrating the self-sacrifice of the crusading

²⁰ For the two conceptions of the Mass as 'saying' and 'doing' see G. Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945), pp. 12–15.

²¹ J. D. Crichton, 'The Theology of Worship', in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. by C. Jones, et alii (London, 1978), p. 19.

propugnatores with the original Sacrifice and with the figures and events of both the Temporal and the Sanctoral. Later-day crusaders were thus perceived in the figures of Christ purifying the Temple, of Judas Maccabeus routing the infidel, and numerous other fighting and self-sacrificing saints and martyrs, as well as illustrious faithful such as Constantine and Heraclius. From the perspective of relevance and topicality, consequently, the new dedicated Mass represented a vast improvement on the triple set, on both levels of instrumentality and communication.

I.2 Identifying the Specific Masses

Identifying the various types of the dedicated Mass against the Infidel raises the same problems we have already encountered in regard to the Clementine set, although the specificity of this Mass should have rendered this task easier.²²

More than half the rubrics of the forty-five dedicated Masses we have examined are generic, hence of only limited use for the purpose of identification: twenty rubrics are designated as *Contra paganos*,²³ one *Contra infideles*,²⁴ one *Pro victoria Christianorum*,²⁵ another *Contra oppugnatores Christianorum*,²⁶ and three *Contra hereticos*.²⁷ Only ten are specific: two *Pro Terra Sancta*²⁸ and eight *Contra Turchos*.²⁹ Ten rubrics, composites of both generic and specific designations,³⁰ were probably perceived as either one or the other according to need and circumstances. The easy shifts between generic and specific and within each of these categories can best be observed in the Mass against the Turks that Calixtus III promulgated in 1456.³¹ It was alternately designated as ‘Contra Thurcos’, ‘Contra Turchos vel paganos’, ‘Contra Thurcos et Christiani nominis inimicos’, ‘Contra paganos’, ‘Contra infideles’, ‘Contra hereticos’, and ‘Contra

²² See above, pp. 121–23 for a detailed discussion of this problem.

²³ Nos 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 28/A, 31, 33, 34, 36.

²⁴ No. 12.

²⁵ No. 5.

²⁶ No. 38.

²⁷ Nos 5/A, 23, 28/D.

²⁸ Nos 21, 27.

²⁹ Nos 2, 16, 26, 28, 28/C, 35, 37, 38.

³⁰ Nos 8 (‘Contra paganos vel Hussitas’), 9 (‘Contra paganos et infideles’), 19 (‘Contra hereticos aut Thurcos’), 22 (‘Contra Thurcos et hereticos’; ‘Contra paganos et hereticos’; also ‘Contra paganos’), 28/B (‘Contra Turcos et Christiani nominis inimicos’), 28/E (‘Contra hereticos et paganos’), 29 (‘Contra infideles seu Turcos’), 30 (‘Contra Turcos et paganos’; ‘Contra paganos’), 32 (‘Contra Theucros, hereticos, paganos aut quoscumque infideles’).

³¹ No. 28 with its strains (see above), and to a lesser extent No. 30.

hereticos et paganos'. Some of these rubrics reflect, undoubtedly, the evolution of this Mass in time and its changing appellations against new enemies, particularly evident in the evolving strains of No. 28,³² but most of them testify to the ease with which contemporaries recognised their foes—the Turks in this case—under different names, a facility modern historians no longer possess. And they testify, at the same time, to the fundamental identity contemporaries recognised between these different species of the same genus, the *Infidel* under its various guises. The liturgist, in this case, followed in the footsteps of the theologian.

Content analysis is another way of tackling the problem of identification, but it raises at least two methodological problems. First, only four variable Mass pieces bear a direct topical message: the triple prayer set (Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion), and the Sequence.³³ All the other variable pieces are Scriptural and, therefore, capable of only indirect topicality. And when these four pieces are generic or simply untopical, as is the case in all our Masses—thirty-one Masses (almost three-quarters of the total!) adopted the Clementine set³⁴ and the remaining thirteen other generic sets—the only explicit piece left is the Sequence. There are, however, very few Sequences in our Masses: only two, both of them anti-Turkish and, fortunately, highly informative.³⁵ The historian is practically left with no Mass texts carrying a direct topical message.

Second, although the rest of the variable Mass pieces consist of Scripture texts chosen for their relevance to the Mass's main theme, this relevance can be perceived only indirectly, through mediating Biblical figures and events and on grounds of allegorical interpretation and similes. As such they are open to more than one identification or topical reference and, consequently, do not carry unequivocal and directly comprehensible ideas and sentiments. And when they do transmit a pretty straightforward message, such as 'Petite et dabitur' or 'Miserere nostri deus omnium', they preach and pray on a universal, almost banal, level with no obvious specificity.

Although content analysis is incapable of delivering positive identifications, it can contribute probable identifications in at least two ways, intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsically, Scripture was always interpreted according to traditional hermeneutics, and it is the case that this method allows more than one identification on all four levels of meaning—literal, typological, moral, and anagogical—and within each of these levels. It does not produce, nevertheless, an infinite number of interpretations. Authors and exegetes

³² No. 28/A is alternately designated 'Contra Turcos' and 'Contra paganos', 28/B 'Contra Turcos et Christiani nominis inimicos', 28/C 'Contra Turcos', 28/D 'Contra hereticos', 28/E 'Contra hereticos et paganos'.

³³ The Preface too should belong to this group, but it is completely ignored by our liturgists.

³⁴ Nos 1–3, 7, 9, 14, 16–19, 22, 23, 25–27, 28, 28?A, 28/B, 28/C, 29–39. The essentially generic nature of these prayers is maintained even when the term 'pagani' is replaced by 'heretici' (28/E) or supplemented by 'heretici, Turci, ac sibi adherentes' (28/D).

³⁵ 'Christi sponsa atque decora' (No. 31) and 'Orbis Christe dominator' (No. 1).

usually concentrated on the particular interpretations they considered the most significant in any given situation, and modern students should be able, in principle, to recognise their emphases. They produced such emphases by means of unequivocal rubrics and texts that imposed their specific meaning on other polysemic components, through the accumulation of particular components to the extent that they coloured the entire complex (in our case the whole Mass) of which they formed parts, and, finally, through the perceived correspondence—and hence relevance—of that complex to a given historical situation. Detection of emphases produced in the first way is quite simple and certain, of those that depend on the second more demanding and leading to only probable results, and emphases directed at contingent relevance much more elusive though not impossible. The theme of the city of Jerusalem, one of the best-known examples of the four-fold hermeneutics, could be perceived—in principle—on all four levels, but in practice only one or two were emphasised in any given situation, and any emphasis was always seen in a ‘real life’ context, in its relevance to the reality in which it was offered. Jerusalem—and by extension the Holy Land—was thus typologically interpreted as the Church and its particular manifestations in historical time, morally as the soul of each individual believer, anagogically as the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Last Days and its historical manifestations in eschatological contexts, and on the literal level in the context of the crusade to liberate Earthly Jerusalem and the Holy Land. All four dimensions co-exist, in principle, in any allegorical interpretation of the Biblical texts on Jerusalem, but one of these dimensions was usually singled out to dominate and overshadow the others. In our case, therefore, content analysis consists in recognising the crusading threads that run through the four levels of our Mass texts and in evaluating the relative weight of the crusading component within the Mass’s overall ensemble of meanings. Extrinsic contemporary information—declaring explicitly what is what—facilitates considerably this quest. And Biblical texts that have been known traditionally to serve and promote crusading goals should be recognised as such without having to prove anew that contemporaries perceived them in this light. Psalm 78, for example, has been a conspicuous and stable element in various crusading rites for a very long time; there is no need, therefore, to demonstrate again its crusading connotation in a fifteenth-century Mass against the Infidel.

Another line of research open before the historian consists in establishing formal affinities between Masses and in recognising, consequently, ties of kinship. We have adopted the working hypothesis that new rites were usually based on old ones, and that they borrowed their variable pieces from already established Masses dedicated to goals identical—or fairly close—to theirs. The author of a new Mass against the Turks, for example, was apt to adopt prayers and Biblical texts from another Mass against the Turks, or from a Mass dedicated either to the Liberation of the Holy Land or to war against the Pagans, or, finally, from Masses considered relevant in a more general way, such as the Masses *In tribulatione*, *In tempore belli*, *Pro pace*, and the like. Some new Masses might be completely original, of course, and others might comprise only few and insignificant borrowed pieces. They stand out as mavericks, completely uncharacteristic of our corpus of Masses as a whole: a formal analysis of this corpus brings out a system

of distinct affinities between individual Masses, of chains of kinship and sometimes whole clusters that are defined on the basis of their identical—or highly similar—configurations. The individual links in these chains appear to be largely contemporary, representative of several generations at the utmost, for two thirds of them have the Clementine set at their core and are, therefore, later than the first decade of the fourteenth century, probably much later than that. These cores were probably adopted only after the Clementine sets became popular and well established. This contemporaneity makes any attempt to establish chronological precedence among these Masses or to trace evolutionary lines highly hypothetical, though worthwhile, all the same, for even horizontally designed kinships advance our knowledge of the entire group. Vertical lines of kinship are much more interesting, of course, for they might indicate how the particular Masses against the Infidel actually evolved in time.

We have adopted, therefore, a line of research that consists of the following steps. First, the entire corpus of the dedicated Masses against the Infidel in its various species, forty-nine in all, has been arranged in an alphabetical order according to the Masses' Introits. Each of the Mass formularies was edited, dated, and geographically assigned. See section II below, 'Dedicated War Masses against the Infidel: Formularies and Texts'.³⁶

Second, these Masses were analysed and classified into categories positively identified on the basis of their rubrics and contents (*Pro terra Sancta*, *Contra Turchos*, *Contra Hussitas*, *Contra Paganos*, *Contra Hereticos*), and into particular chains and clusters of Mass forms based on the identity or similarity of their configurations, leading to a final classification of the dedicated war Mass against the Infidel.

I.3 Classification

I.3.1 Holy Land Masses

Two Masses, Nos 21 and 27, are positively identified as Holy Land Masses by reason of their explicit rubrics. Their content, though not explicit enough to establish this identification on its own, is decidedly corroborative.

No. 21 (*Reminiscere*), entitled *Missa pro tribulatione Ierusalem*, was interpolated into a twelfth-century German (?) Missal, probably in the course of the thirteenth century. Though incomplete, the extant pieces are in line with the goal enunciated in the rubric. The Epistle calls for the salvation of Israel and the liberation of Jerusalem, and the Gospel explicates the apocalyptic message implied by the rubric. 'Tribulation' is seen here as much more than a temporary crisis; it acquires an apocalyptic meaning through its association with the Gospel's prophecy that 'Erunt enim dies illi *tribulationes* tales quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae' (v. 19). The Alleluia Verse was selected from Psalm 78, that typical *Liberation of Jerusalem* text. The entire Mass was

³⁶ Below, pp. 195ff.

probably constructed around the traditional *Pro paganis* set (*Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris—Sacrificium—Protector*), but the loss of both Secret and Postcommunion makes any reconstruction of this core largely conjectural. On the whole, however, it seems to present an original configuration, highly independent of any known previous source. A later (and fuller) version of this Mass appears in No. 24, a Camaldolese *Missa contra paganos* from 1503 (*Reminiscere*). That Mass is very similar to No. 21; they share the same Introit, Epistle, and Alleluia Verse, and both employ pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* prayers.

No. 27, a fourteenth-century interpolated *Missa Pro Terra Sancta (Salus populi)* preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript Missal of Clermont, presents a much more elaborate structure—eleven components—and dates from the fourteenth century, for it has the Clementine set as its core. Its content is both generic and specific: while the generic wartime Introit, Epistle, Alleluia Verse, Tract, Gospel, Offertory, and Communion are applicable to any war crisis, the Clementine set—if it was perceived in its original Holy Land meaning—and the Gradual with its Verse (both chosen from Psalm 78) conform to the Holy Land goal specified in the rubric.

Seven later War Masses exhibit marks of affinity with No. 27. No. 1, a *Contra Paganos* Mass from Langres documented between 1491 and 1517 (*Congregati sunt*) is close to No. 27 in both configuration (core + 3 Scriptural items) and content (see below, pp. 195–98, 235–36). The other six form a cluster of *Salus populi* War Masses that reflect the later evolution of this Holy Land Mass concomitantly with the changing frontlines of Christian Europe. No. 31, a fifteenth-century interpolation in the Missal of Poitiers, is still largely generic (*Missa contra paganos*). So are the rubrics of Nos 33—a Hildesheim Missal of 1499—and 36—a Mainz Missal from 1507—(respectively *Contra infestationem paganorum* and *Missa contra paganos*). But these Masses also adopt substantial portions from the Mass against the Turks that Calixtus III instituted in 1456, an indication of their predominantly anti-Turkish goal. This is probably true of the Güssing text in No. 38 (*Si iniquitates*) as well. Nos 32 (*Salus populi*), 35 (*Salus populi*), and 38 (*Si iniquitates*) are not only much more elaborately structured but also specifically directed against the Turks. These German sources reflect, consequently, the true extent of the mobilisation of ritual against this enemy in the ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Erlangen, Freising, Hildesheim, Mainz, Salzburg, and Strassburg toward the end of the fifteenth century and during the first two decades of the sixteenth.

Seven War Masses can be identified on grounds of their contents alone as Holy Land Masses with a reasonable degree of probability, some of them in their actual forms, others in a (reconstructed) earlier stage of their evolution. Probability rather than certainty, for their generic rubrics and largely indeterminate texts do not allow for more than that.

No. 1, a *Missa contra paganos* affiliated to the Holy Land Mass of No. 27, transmits a Holy Land message not only in the items it shares with it but also in three additional pieces. Its Introit (*Congregati sunt*) is known from several liturgical sources as a Crusading liturgical text, while the Epistle (Ecclesiasticus 36.1–18), prays for God's help against the enemies and cries 'miserere civitatis sanctificationis tuae Hierusalem

civitati requiei tuae. Reple Sion inenarrabilibus verbis tuis'. The Offertory, finally, emphasises the Holy Land content in Moses' prayer from Exodus 32.11–14,³⁷ an obscure allusion unless seen in a crusading context. The Sequence, on the other hand, is specifically targeted against the Turks. Composed probably after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, it was inserted into this Holy Land Mass some time during the second half of the century and transformed it into an anti-Turkish crusading Mass.

No. 5, a Mass *Pro victoria Christianorum* preserved in a fourteenth-century Salzburg Missal (*Esto michi in dominum*), is structured around a triple set known from another (early) fourteenth-century manuscript, a Carthusian Missal of a Bohemian provenance. The Collect in that set (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pro consolatione Thobie*) appears also in a fifteenth-century Franciscan Missal from Olmütz. It highlights the role of the Archangel Raphael, guardian angel of pilgrims and crusaders and a popular figure in Holy Land crusade liturgy particularly through Guillaume Durand's Pontifical (*De benedictione et impositione crucis proficiscentium in subsidium terre sancte*). Both rubric and Gospel, furthermore, evoke a situation of war against Gentile, non-Christian enemies, and the Alleluia Verse is identical to that of No. 27. All this suggests an original Holy Land Crusade Mass. Both its Secret (*Presentis sacrificii oblatione*) and Postcommunion (*Sumpsimus domine redemptionis*), however, are specifically directed against the heretics. We witness, in this case, the transformation of a Holy Land Mass into an anti-heretical Mass that occurred quite early, perhaps in the thirteenth-century context of the anti-Cathar crusade, and at any rate prior to the production of our Bohemian Missal. No. 5/A, in an Augsburg Missal from 1428 (*Esto michi in dominum*), closely affiliated to No. 5 and probable an offshoot of it, already carries an anti-heretical rubric (*Missa pro his qui pugnant contra hereticos*); 'heretics' at that time and place could only have denoted the Hussites. The crusading colouring of the Collect corresponded well to the crusading dimension of the struggle against these new heretics.

No. 6, a *Pro bello contra paganos* Mass (*Exurge quare obdormis*) preserved in a late fifteenth-century Missal from Sées and a 1489 Missal from Le Mans, is built around the triple set anchored on the Collect *Omnipoens sempiterne deus Christiani nominis* (with the Secret *Huius domine quesumus virtute* and the Postcommunion *Vivificet*). This set was traditionally performed either *In tempore belli* or *Contra paganos*, and the composite rubric defines this Mass as a combination of these two targets in one War Mass. Analysis of its largely original Scriptural configuration discloses further levels of meaning. One observes, in the first place, the substantial borrowing of pieces from the Sexagesima Sunday (Introit + Psalm, Gradual + Verse) with their explicit supplication for liberation in time of war from the 'gentes', and their deeper and universal message of deliverance from utter annihilation prefigured in the Flood and the miraculous salvation of Noah. Further examination of both the core prayers and the Scriptural configuration

³⁷ '... parce ire anime tue, memento Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob quibus iurasti dare terram fluentem lac et mel'.

brings out characteristics of the Holy Land crusade. The Collect, originally generic, has acquired specific Holy Land connotations by the thirteenth century; the Epistle (Jeremiah 22.3–5) promises that a righteous Israel will be rewarded by Davidic kings sitting on David's throne and ascending to the Temple of Jerusalem with their people, with horses, chariots and servants; the Alleluia Verse asks for succour 'nequam dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum' through Psalm 78, the typical Holy Land Psalm, and the Offertory, finally, stresses that psalms are sung to God 'qui habitat in Syon'. This Mass addresses its texts, consequently, on different levels. It plays on all four hermeneutic chords, but the literal sense clearly dominates: it fights the pagans in a Holy Land crusading context.

Similar polysemy is exhibited by No. 14, a Monte-Cassino early sixteenth-century *Missa contra paganos* (*Liberator meus*). Structured around the Clementine set—indicating a composition date of the fourteenth century at the earliest—with a largely original Scriptural configuration, it is a supplication in time of war coloured by apocalyptic beliefs that centre on Jerusalem and the Temple. The considerable borrowing from Psalms 67, 78, and 82—all three closely associated with the Holy Land Clamor—and the adoption of the Clementine set—if it was understood in its original sense—indicate a Holy Land crusading context.

No. 19, a Würzburg Use Mass *Contra hereticos aut thurcos* (*Omnia que fecisti*) documented since 1481 is, apparently, another Holy Land Mass transformed through a changed rubric, with its content still conveying some of the original crusading message. Built around the Clementine set, its Epistle (Jeremiah 42.7–?) recounts the prophet's admonition to the army commanders to remain in the Holy Land and not to fear the king of Babylon, 'quia vobiscum sum ego ut salvos faciam vos'. This is the Epistle of the traditional *Missa in tempore belli*, and as such it was obviously applicable to any war situation, but it is reasonable to assume that it acquired additional topicality when read in a Holy Land Mass. The Gospel, as in No. 14, introduces a clear apocalyptic theme by linking the desecration of Jerusalem and the Temple with the Last Tribulations and the Second Coming. The Offertory, as in No. 6, speaks about psalms sung to God 'qui habitat in Syon'.

No. 20, finally, an Ambrosian *Missa pro persecutione paganorum* from 1475 (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es mestorum*), seems to refer to the situation of the Holy Land after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. The Super Syndonem prayer refers explicitly to the persecuting Saracens,³⁸ while the Preface alludes to the liberation of the Israelites from slavery and their transfer 'in terram promissionis', and asks for the return of the Christians held in 'paganorum laqueis'. Concern for the fate of the captives held in Muslim hands after Hattin was a common theme in a large number of thirteenth-century sources, liturgical—Clamors, mainly—and others.

³⁸ The reference in this piece to the Hungarians survives, probably, from an earlier, original version.

1.3.2 Masses against the Turks

1.3.2.1. Our corpus of anti-Turkish Masses is particularly rich, reflecting the sense of crisis and urgency that liturgists translated into ritual during the second half of the fifteenth century as well as the process of continuous adaptation and readaptation of existing war-Masses, a process that started sometime in the thirteenth century: War Masses targeted on the Holy Land were transformed into anti-heretical Masses, only to be redirected, again, against the Turks. Sources produced during the initial and the intermediate stages of this process had, consequently, less chance of survival than those that were produced during its final stage. Eight original anti-Turkish War Masses and another five converted Masses (originally dedicated to the Holy Land, anti-heretical crusades or the *Pro pace* Mass) were produced between 1453/4 and the first decades of the sixteenth century.

1.3.2.2 The Original Masses

1) No. 37, the earliest *Missa contra Turcos* (*Salvator noster*) was composed by Bernard, Bishop of Kotor, in 1453/54, immediately after the fall of Constantinople and the demise of the Byzantine Empire. It was officially confirmed and endowed with an indulgence of three hundred days by Pope Paul II in 1470, and two sources witness to its propagation in German areas towards the end of the century. Although highly original in his choice and conflation of texts, the author relied on two main sources of texts, on the traditional war liturgy (e.g., the second Gospel Reading) and on Holy Land crusading rites (mainly in the Gradual verses). His originality could best be appreciated by measuring the extent of this Mass's dedication to its declared goal, the war against the Turks. He even edited Scriptural texts for this purpose: the Prophet Joel's cry 'Parce domine populo tuo et ne des hereditatem tuam in obprobrium ut dominantur eis nationes'³⁹ is rendered in the Introit as 'Ne unquam dominantur nobis barbare nationes'; 'Exsurgat . . . et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius' becomes 'Exurgat . . . et fugiant qui nos persecuntur a facie crucis Christi' (Psalm 67.2, the Introit's Psalm); and 'allide virtutem eorum in virtute tua' (Judith 9.11) is transformed into the more explicit 'Allide potentiam Theucrorum in virtute tua' (third Gradual verse). No less striking—and topical—is the author's choice of III Corinthians 1.3–11 for the first Epistle: the Apostle's words 'non enim volumus ignorare vos fratres de tribulatione nostra quae facta est in Asia' were highly apposite. Furthermore, the Secret prays 'ab iminenti Theucrorum rabie liberemur', and the Prosa describes in thirty-nine stanzas the sacrilegious horrors of the Turkish subjugation of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire, as well as the threat the Turks pose to the West in general and the papacy in particular, and supplicates: 'Tu ex alto mitte manum/ hunc rebellem hunc profanum/ canem Turcum profuga' (Stanza 34).

2) Three years later, on 20 June 1456, Pope Calixtus III promulgated in the bull *Cum hiis superioribus* the official Mass *Contra Turcos* (No. 28) (*Salus populi*). It was

³⁹ Joel 2.17.

transmitted down the ecclesiastical hierarchy during the next months; its propagation throughout the Province of Salzburg, for example, was initiated in the beginning of October. A fairly large number of sources, manuscripts and early prints, testify to a considerable diffusion in the German areas during the next five decades and beyond 1500, and no fewer than five strains (28/A–28/E) document the evolution of this Mass in actual practice. The complete silence of the French sources is probably due to the opposition of the French authorities to the proposed crusade and the interdiction they imposed on publishing the papal bulls, but the concomitant absence of the Italians is still an open problem.

No. 28 depends to a considerable extent on the Holy Land Mass of No. 27. Both share six pieces (the Clementine core, Introit, Gospel, and Offertory), though it should be noted that the three Scripture texts are of a generic nature and open, therefore, to different applications. The predominant sentiment in this Mass is one of supplication for peace and deliverance rather than a call for military victory. Two strains present a much more sharpened set of prayers. No. 28/D from Klosterneuburg, 1476, expands its Clementine set in such a way that it targets more enemies, not only the pagans in general but also the heretics, the Turks, and those who associate with them, and No. 28/E from Sankt Pölten has these prayers rephrased against ‘gens hereticorum’ (although its rubric still combines heretics with pagans).

Two later Masses with generic rubrics stand in obvious affiliation to No. 28, and they too should be classified as anti-Turkish. No. 33, a Mass *Contra infestationem paganorum* (*Salus populi*) preserved in the Hildesheim Missal of 1499, shares with No. 28 five Scripture pieces in addition to the Clementine set, and No. 36, *Missa contra paganos* (*Salus populi*), a sixteenth-century interpolation in the Mainz Missal of 1507, has both the Clementine core and six Scripture texts in common with No. 28.

3) Pope Sixtus IV promulgated No. 16, *Missa contra Turcum* (*Omnia que fecisti*), in close proximity to the Turkish occupation of Otranto in 21 August 1480, hence towards the end of that year or during the early months of 1481.⁴⁰ Unlike the Mass promulgated by Calixtus III in 1456 this Mass is known exclusively from French sources, whose number indicates a fairly large distribution. At its core we find the Clementine set, but its Scriptural configuration seems to be original. It supplicates God to protect his warriors, the new Maccabees, in a typical crusading service directed specifically against ‘the Turk and his army’.

Two later French Masses—Nos 17 (*Omnia que fecisti*) and 18 (*Omnia que fecisti*)—are so closely affiliated to this Mass that despite their generic rubrics they should be considered as its offsprings. No. 17, a *Missa pro fidelibus contra paganos* from Narbonne (1528), adds to their common inventory—Clementine core and Scriptural configuration—two items (Alleluia Verse and Tract with two Verses) without altering,

⁴⁰ See, in this context, P. J. Cole, ‘Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 51, Pope Sixtus IV and the Fall of Otranto (August 1480)’, in *A Distinct Voice, Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle*, ed. by J. Brown and W. P. Stoneman (Notre-Dame, 1997), pp. 103–20.

however, its overall message. No. 18, a Cluniac *Contra paganos* from Paris (1510), though an almost identical twin of both Nos 16 and 17, diverges from them in that it replaces the original Introit's Psalm with a new one that refers to Jerusalem and Mount Sion, and in adding a second Alleluia Verse as well as a new Tract with Verse, both based on Psalm 78, the traditional Holy Land crusading Psalm. Thus, while it retains the overall anti-pagan message as it was applied against the Turks in the parent source, it laces that message with explicit Jerusalemite texts.

4) No. 38, our latest fifteenth-century datable *Missa contra Turcos* (*Si iniquitates*), is an elaborate liturgical event with the Mass at its climax, preceded by an ante-Mass that includes a procession, and followed by an after-Mass and a public declaration in the vernacular on the indulgences granted to the participants. It was instituted between 1486 and 1493, probably in Mainz, and our sources testify to its celebration in Mainz, Güssing and Strassburg.

Its Scriptural configuration seems to be original, with some affinities, nevertheless, to the two Holy Land Masses of Nos 27 and 31 (four shared items with each).⁴¹ The prayer sections of the three parts (ante-Mass, Mass, and after-Mass) are composite, joining together Marian prayers with prayers adopted from five different Votive Masses: *Pro remissione peccatorum*, *Pro invasione paganorum*, *Pro rege*, *Pro pace*, and *Pro evitanda mortalitate*, and producing a composite structure that is unique to this Mass. The entire liturgical event transmits a rather diffuse message. Although the rubrics point to the Turks as the principle enemy and target, its texts address also pagans, infidels and enemies in general and offer supplication for other causes, general and specific (e.g., in time of plague and for royalty).

5) No. 26, a *Contra Turcos* Mass (*Reminiscere*) preserved in two fifteenth-century sources, both of a German provenance, stands on its own. It is not affiliated to other *Contra Turcos* Masses in any clear way, nor is it completely original, for all its texts—with the sole exception of the Communion—appear in other Masses of this type. Structured around the Clementine core, its Scriptural configuration derives, ultimately, from the traditional *In tempore belli* Mass, directly or through other specific Masses. The entire Mass breathes an air of bellicosity, a typical War Mass.

6) A Freising War Mass documented in two close versions, No. 32 (*Salus populi*), in a Freising Missal from 1492, and No. 32/A (*Salus populi*), in a Weißenstephan Missal copied after 1460, consists of the Clementine core and a largely original Scriptural configuration. Its content is generic, as is the rubric of No. 32/A: *Contra paganos*. But the rubric given to No. 32 is much more comprehensive and, at the same time, specific in designating the Turks as the first enemy in line: *Contra Theucros, hereticos, paganos aut quoscumque infideles*.

7) No. 30, designated alternately as *Missa de paganis* and *Missa contra Turcos et paganos* (*Salus populi*), is documented in Northern France (Cambrai, Noyon, and

⁴¹ See above, pp. 235–36, 250–51, 268–72.

Rheims) between the late fifteenth century and 1541. Built around the Clementine core, it does not depend on any one source but exhibits, nevertheless, some affinities to the Mass against the Turks instituted by Calixtus III in 1456 and to the later one promulgated by Sixtus IV in 1480/81 and known mainly from French sources.

8) Nos 34 and 35 bring the same Mass, though No. 35 is a much more elaborate liturgical event. Entitled *Contra paganos vel pro congregatione* in No. 34 (*Salus populi*), and specifically—*Contra Turcos*—in No. 35 (*Salus populi*), it has been preserved in several early sixteenth-century sources (between 1507 and 1526) from Salzburg and Passau.

The Mass consists of the Clementine core and a Scriptural configuration that shows some affinity with Nos 29 and 31 (three shared items). Its largely undifferentiated character was considerably sharpened as well as enlarged in a liturgical event that took place in Salzburg on two different occasions, in 1519 and on 25 September 1526. It comprised three main parts, an ante-Mass, Mass, and after-Mass. The ante-Mass consisted of a general procession with litany and especially selected five versicles and prayers. Its Mass—basically identical to that of No. 34—has been enlarged and enriched through the addition of *preces* (thirty-nine versicles and five prayers) after the Elevation, and the quintuplication of the core prayers. To the original Clementine set the Salzburg liturgist added four sets adopted from the following Masses (in this order and preceding the Clementine prayers): *The Fourth Sunday in Lent* (*Letare Jerusalem*, Statio in The Holy Cross in Jerusalem), *Ad Gratiam sancti Spiritus postulandam*, *Pro tribulatione*, and *Pro pace*. The Secrets of these five sets were repeated in the *preces*. The after-Mass contained an antiphon, six versicles, one hymn, and the Recessional's responsories.

Despite its composite structure, this event escapes the confusion that reigned in the similarly structured No. 38. It is clearly focused on the Turks, and its various components highlight different aspects of the struggle against this enemy, bellicosity as well as search for peace, direct anti-Turkish diatribes and Holy Land crusading themes subsumed in the same struggle. The fifth versicle of the ante-Mass, for example, supplicates—'Ut Turcos et tue sanctissime fidei hostes perdere, enervare, et dissipare digneris', while the unmistakable Jerusalemite content of the prayers set of the *Letare Jerusalem* Sunday (the first among the five in each of the three prayers!) receives an explicitly literal affirmation in the fourth after-Mass versicle: 'V. Unam petimus a Domino, hanc requirimus.' R. 'Ut inhabitare possimus ubi Christus nasci dignatus est omnibus diebus vite nostre' .⁴²

1.3.2.3 The Converted Masses

The converted Masses provide us with telling examples of the process by which a Holy Land Mass developed into an anti-heretical service, and again into an anti-Turkish War Mass. We have already observed how two Holy Land War Masses, Nos 1 and 19, were transformed into anti-Turkish services through the addition of an appropriate

⁴² Rephrasing Psalm 26.4.

Sequence in the first, and superimposing a new rubric on the second. Two Masses (Nos 22 and 23, 29) seem to document the entire process, from its beginning in Holy Land Mass through an anti-heretical service to double-barrelled Masses trained at both heretics—or pagans—and Turks.⁴³

1) No. 29 is a *Contra infideles seu Turcos* Mass (*Salus populi*) preserved in a Roman Missal from 1476. Its Holy Land origins are still (just) traceable in the three Scriptural items (Introit, Alleluia Verse, Communion) that this Mass received from No. 27, either directly or via No. 31, and then passed on to the later Salzburg/Passau Mass of Nos 34 and 35. The core prayers, although essentially Clementine, have been altered in such a way that they became anti-Hussitic: all three prayers add the Hussites to the original designation of the pagans as the enemies targeted in this service.⁴⁴

2) Another Holy Land Mass, No. 21, underlies the almost twin services of No. 23, *Missa contra hereticos (Reminiscere)* preserved in the fourteenth-century Missal of Sankt-Emmeram, Regensburg, and No. 22 (*Reminiscere*), directed alternately against pagans, heretics, and Turks in sources coming from Bamberg and Regensburg between 1485 and 1518. The transformation of these Masses was achieved by changing their rubrics and, most notably, by altering their prayers. The Clementine core of No. 23 was thus re-targeted on the *perfidii*,⁴⁵ and No. 22 on a larger crowd comprising *pagani, heretici et eis adherentes*.⁴⁶ In this case the rubric seems to have responded to changing circumstances more quickly than the prayer; while it already addressed the new enemy, the Turk, the three prayers were still setting their sights on the old foes, the heretics.

3) No. 2, a *Missa contra Turchos (Da pacem)* preserved in a fifteenth-century Einsiedeln Missal, consists of the Clementine set implanted in a *Pro pace* Mass. A certain dissonance—and at best some confusion—were bound to result from the fusion of these two liturgical components, one essentially combative and the other largely pacifist. Both could be perceived—and probably frequently were—in terms of the just war and the heavenly ordained peace.

⁴³ On the idea of the Holy Land crusade in the Burgundian Court and on its later embodiment in anti-Turkish projects, see J. Richard, 'La Bourgogne des Valois, l'idée de croisade et la défense de l'Europe', in *Le Banquet du Faisan, 1454: l'Occident face au défi de l'Empire ottoman*, ed. by M.-T. Caron and D. Clauzel (Arras, 1979), pp. 15–27; J. Guéret-Laferté, 'Le livre et la croisade', *ibid.*, pp. 107–14; and R. Mantran, 'Conclusion', *ibid.*, pp. 29–30. See also J. Harris, 'Publicising the Crusade: English Bishops and the Jubilee Indulgence of 1455', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 23–37.

⁴⁴ 'gentes paganorum atque husitarum' (Collect), 'paganorum et husitarum nequitia' (Secret), 'a paganorum atque husitarum defende periculis' (Postcommunion).

⁴⁵ 'gentes perfidorum' (Collect), 'ab omni erue perfidorum nequitia' (Secret), 'a perfidorum defende periculis' (Postcommunion).

⁴⁶ 'gentes paganorum, hereticorum et eis adherentium' (Collect), 'nequitia paganorum, hereticorum et eis adherentium' (Postcommunion).

I.4 Masses against the Heretics

Our inquiry has already yielded nine War Masses against heretics. Most of them express this quality in their rubrics,⁴⁷ some in their texts.⁴⁸ And it has provided us with an example of the mobilisation of an anti-Turkish War Mass against heretics—a movement in a contrary direction to the one described above—in No. 28/D, a *Contra hereticos* Mass from Klosterneuburg (1476) and in No. 28/E, an *Officium contra hereticos et paganos* from Sankt Pölten. The prayers contained in these two strains of the 1456 Mass have been altered accordingly.

An early fifteenth-century War Mass against the Hussites appears as one of the earliest forms of the *Iudica domine nocentes* cluster consisting of Nos 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12. We are dealing, in this case, with an essentially generic War Mass, probably one of the earliest in our corpus, which became differentiated in the specific context of the Hussitic Crusade without losing, however, its predominantly generic character. All five forms exhibit almost the same Scriptural configuration—Introit, Epistle (with the exception of Nos 10, 11), Gradual, Alleluia Verse, Gospel (again with the exception of Nos 10, 11), Offertory, and Communion—and differ mainly in their core prayers.

No. 12, a *Contra infideles* Mass (*Iudica domine nocentes*) preserved in the Insderdorf Missal (1437), seems to be the earliest member of this cluster. Its core prayers are the *In tempore belli* Collect with the Pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* Secret and a Postcommunion ‘corrected’, subsequently, to the Clementine form. No. 8, an early fifteenth-century *Missa contra paganos vel Hussitas* (*Iudica domine nocentes*) from Augsburg, is built around an original and very bellicose triple set, consisting of two Collects (one of them the traditional Collect of the Third Sunday after Easter, *Deus qui errantibus*, with its exhortation to make a choice between ‘quae huic inimica sunt nomini et ea quae sunt apta’) together with a Secret and a Postcommunion of an eleventh-century *Contra paganos* set (*Hostia quesumus domine tue maiestati oblata, Reprime quesumus omnipotens deus gentem*). No. 9 is still transmitting the same message in Augsburg towards the end of the century, although this service is now entitled *Missa contra infideles/paganos* and is built around the Clementine set. But at the same time, different tunes are heard in Constance (No. 10, *Contra paganos Christiani nominis inimicos*, 1485, *Iudica domine nocentes*) and Strassburg (No. 11, *Contra paganos et Christiani nominis inimicos*, 1493, *Iudica domine nocentes*). Their core prayers are still combative, preserving an old *Contra paganos* set, but the two Readings sound a distinct irenic note and call for moral rearmament and religious regeneration in a struggle that is conceived in purely spiritual terms. The Epistle (II Corinthians 6.14–7.1, while insisting on the fundamental distinction between Christians and Infidels—‘quae. . . conventio Christi ad Belial aut quae pars fidei cum infidele’—exhorts the faithful, nevertheless,

⁴⁷ Nos 5/A, 19, 21, 22, 23, 32.

⁴⁸ No. 28/D, 28/E, 29.

‘mundemus nos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, perficientes sanctificationem in timore Dei’. The Gospel (Matthew 5.21–6.4) is even more explicit: one should placate the enemy, not kill him, yield to him rather than oppose him, ‘ego autem dico vobis non resistere malo . . . diligite inimicos vestros . . . et orate pro persequentibus’. A curious choice for a service that is, on the whole, a typical War Mass (see also No. 2, above).

1.5 Generic Unassigned Masses

At this point in our inquiry we are left with seven generic War Masses unaccounted for, most of them entitled *Contra paganos*. We have not been able to assign them, on grounds of their rubric, contents, or distinct formal affinity, to any specific historical goal. They remain generic and unassigned, although as dedicated Masses they could not be perceived by their performers as anything but specific. Dedicated Masses are specific by definition; their relevance to particular circumstances is their only rationale, the real reason for their creation and performance. Contemporary performers had no difficulty in perceiving this topicality through generic rubrics and contents; they could grasp the link between the sign and the signified easily and almost unconsciously, because these links formed part of their common intellectual heritage. But no modern historian is equipped with these sensitive, almost congenital, antennae; we admit our inability to penetrate the specific meaning(s) of the following Masses.

1) No. 3, *Missa contra paganos (Dominus fortitudo plebis)* preserved in a Sevilla Missal from 1507, is built around a Clementine core, though the Collect comprises also an old *Pro regibus* and *Pro Imperatore* prayer. Its Scriptural configuration is original, and it transmits—together with the core prayers—a clear message of war against the infidel.

2) No. 4, *Pro rege nostro contra paganos (Dominus fortitudo plebis)* contained in the Teutonic Missal from 1499, is constructed around the *Pro imperatore/rege* set. Its Scriptural configuration is essentially original, with only a (possibly) weak affinity to No. 28 and its strains (two shared items). The rubric is the only element in this Mass that refers to pagans; the entire Mass transmits a purely imperial and royal message, concentrating on the divine sanction of secular rule and the ruler’s military function (in the Secret).

3) No. 7, a *Contra paganos* Mass (*Exurge quare obdormis*) preserved in four sources from Braga, Langheim (Cistercian), and Venice (Carmelites) between 1496 and 1612, is structured around the Clementine core and exhibits an original Scriptural configuration which comprises also a Tract and an Alleluia Verse for Easter Time, items not too common in this type of Masses. It transmits a general combative message. The geographical spread and the chronological duration of its sources indicate a considerable circulation, to be explained, perhaps, by the mainly Regular character (Cistercian and Carmelite) of this service.

4) No. 13, *Missa contra insultum paganorum (Iudica me deus)*, has been preserved in a Narbonne Missal of 1528. It is highly original: at its core we find a triple set anchored

on the Collect *Domine deus qui ad hoc irascaris* of the ninth-century Gregorian Sacramentaries, and both Secret and Postcommunion were borrowed from the pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* set. The Scriptural configuration has no clear affinity with any other Mass. It transmits a general message of war against the pagans.

5) No. 15, *Missa contra paganos (Miserere omnium domine)* from a Bezançon Missal dated 1485, is structured around an unusual and probably original set of prayers specifically directed against the pagans (in the Collect and the Postcommunion), and the enemies of peace and of the 'Christiana Libertas' (in the Secret). Its Scriptural configuration has some affinity (three shared items) with No. 14 (a Holy Land Mass) and No. 26 (an anti-Turkish Mass), a probable indication of its sources.

6) No. 25, a *Contra paganos* Mass (*Reminiscere*) found in a fifteenth-century Salzburg Missal of Vorau Use, was probably structured around the Clementine core (only the Collect is given). Its Scriptural configuration does not relate closely to any one Mass.

7) No. 39, *Missa contra oppugnatores Christianorum (Sicut oculi servorum)* preserved in a Lübeck Dominican Missal from 1502, is built around the Clementine core. Its Scriptural configuration is original, with no clear affinity to any one source. The overall message of military urgency proclaimed in the rubric is fully expressed in the Clementine triple set and in four Scriptural items (Epistle, Gospel, Offertory, and Communion).

Table 3.A: The Dedicated Masses

NUMBER	CHRONOLOGY	HOLY LAND	AGAINST THE TURKS	AGAINST THE PAGANS	AFFINITY
1) (Langres)	1491, 1517	Intr. Epis. Off.	Prose	rubric	
2) Einsiedeln	15 th		rubric		
3) (Sevilla)	1507	Trac.		rubric + content	
4) (Teutonic)	1499			rubric	
5) Augsburg	14 th			Against heretics	5/A
5/A) Augsburg	1428			Against heretics	5
6) Le Mans, Sées	1489	Coll. Epis. Grad. Allel. Off.		rubric + content	
7) Diversi	1496–1612	Grad.		rubric + content	
8) Augsburg	Early 15 th	Grad. Trac.		rubric + content	9, 10, 11, 12
9) Augsburg	15th 1496–1510	Grad.		rubric + content	8, 10, 11, 12
10) Constance	1485	Grad.		rubric + content	8, 9, 11, 12

NUMBER	CHRONOLOGY	HOLY LAND	AGAINST THE TURKS	AGAINST THE PAGANS	AFFINITY
11) Strassburg	1493	Grad.		rubric + content	8, 9, 10, 12
12) Insderdorf	1437			rubric + content	8, 9, 10, 11
13) Narbonne	1528			rubric + content	
14) Monte Cassino	1507, 1515	Grad. Trac. Gosp.		rubric + content	
15) Bezancon	1485	Grad.		rubric + content	
16) Diversi	Sixtus IV 1480, 1480–16 th	Grad.	rubric	content	17, 18
16/a)	Sixtus IV 1480, 1480–16 th		procession of No. 13)		
17) Narbonne	1528			rubric + content	16, 18
18) Cluny Paris	1510	Intr. Grad. Trac.		rubric + content	16, 17
19) Würzburg	1481, 1509	Intr. Epis. Gosp. Off.	rubric	content	
20) Milan	1475	Syn. Pref.		rubric + content	
21) Germany?	13 th ?	rubric + Epis. Allel. Gosp.			24
22) Bamberg, Regensburg	1485–1518		rubric	rubric + content	23
23) Regensburg	14 th		rubric	Against heretics	22
24) Camaldol.	1503	Allel.		rubric + content	21
25) Vorau	15 th			rubric+ content	
26) Germany, Würzburg	15 th		rubric		
27)	14 th	rubric + Epis.			31, 33, 35, 38
28)	Calixtus III, 20.6.1456		rubric + content		27, 28/A- E, 33, 36
28/A) Divers	Calixtus III, 1481–1520			rubric + content	As in 28
28/B) Eichstädt	Calixtus III, 1486	Epis.	rubric + content		As in 28

NUMBER	CHRONOLOGY	HOLY LAND	AGAINST THE TURKS	AGAINST THE PAGANS	AFFINITY
28/C) Divers	Calixtus III, 15 th		rubric + content		As in 28
28/D) Klosterneuburg	Calixtus III, 1476		rubric + content		As in 28
28/E) St. Pölten	15 th			rubric + content (and heretics)	As in 28
29) Klagenfurt	1476		rubric + content		
30) Divers			rubric	rubric + content	
31) Poitiers	15 th			rubric + content	27, 35, 38
32) Freising	1492	Allel.	rubric	rubric + content	32/A
32/A)	Post 1460			rubric + content	32
33) Hildesheim	1499			rubric + content	28, 36
34) Salzburg, Passau	1507–1522			rubric + content	35.
35) Salzburg	1519, 1526		rubric + content		31, 34
36) Mainz	16 th			rubric + content	28, 28/A-E, 33
37) Teuton.	Bernard. Bp. Kotor. c. 1453, 1499		rubric + content (Epis. Grad. Prose Sec.)		
38) Erlangen, Strassburg	ep. Mainz, Sigism., 15th, 1508	Grad. Trac.	rubric + content		
39) Lübeck	1502			rubric + content	

II. Dedicated War Masses against the Infidel: Formularies and Texts

1)

Sources: London, BL, IB 39,833, fols ccvi^v–ccvii^v, Langres Missal 1491; C.132.H.43, Langres Missal 1517, *Memorie communes* section, fols xxx^v–xxxI^v.
Rubric: *Missa contra Paganos*.

Introit: ‘Congregati sunt inimici nostri et gloriantur in virtute sua, contere fortitudinem eorum, domine, et disperge illos, ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu, deus noster’.

Psalm: ‘Disperge illos in virtute tua, et destrue eos, protector noster domine’.⁴⁹

This Introit (with this Psalm) is known from the early fifteenth-century Sarum Processional of Winchester (?) as a *Pro Terra Sancta* Responsory in the *Pro Pace* Procession,⁵⁰ and again—with minor changes—as an opening Responsory in the *Preces in tempore belli et succursu Terrae Sanctae* of the 1558 Braga Missal.⁵¹

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum qui in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia comprimantur’.⁵²

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium—prophete tui fideles inveniantur’.⁵³

An invocation of God’s help against enemies that culminates with the supplication: ‘. . . miserere civitati sanctificationis tuae Hierusalem, civitati requiei tuae. Reple Sion inenarrabilibus verbis tuis et gloria tua populum tuum. Da testimonium . . . et suscita preces quas locuti sunt in nomine tuo prophetae priores. Da mercedem sustentibus te ut prophetae tui fideles inveniantur’.

Gradual: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et respice super servos tuos’.⁵⁴

Verse: ‘Domine deus virtutum, exaudi preces servorum tuorum’.⁵⁵

Alleluia Verse: ‘Contere, domine, brachium peccatoris et maligni, exurge ut non prevaleat homo, deus meus, pone illos ut rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.⁵⁶

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum peccata’.⁵⁷

Prose:

1. ‘Orbis Christe dominator/ ac regnorum moderator/ cuncta regens entia.
2. Laudis nostre preconium/ nunc attende rex omnium/ paterna clementia.
3. Teter Turcer vas Satahne/ Machometi secte vane/ cultor et ydolatra.
4. In hos dies insectatur/ tuos greges et predatur/ perditione tetra.
5. Summe deus summa divinitas/ quem lactavit matris virginitas/ deiice superbum.
6. Quem replevit Sathane falsitas/ vas horrendum fera crudelitas/ pseudo tam acerbum.

⁴⁹ Psalm 58.12; change of ‘meus’.

⁵⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 637, fols 165–65^v.

⁵¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. E.1.d.26, p. CCXLVII^v.

⁵² The Clementine Collect.

⁵³ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–18.

⁵⁴ Psalm 83.10 + Psalm 89.16.

⁵⁵ Psalm 83.9; change of ‘precem meam’. Gradual + Verse of 5th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁵⁶ Psalm 9.15 + Psalm 9.1 + Psalm 82.14.

⁵⁷ Psalm 102.10; ‘Domine’ added. Tract of Ash Wednesday.

7. O Maria regina celorum/ O Michael iactor telorum/ cesor Luciferi.
8. Huius canis trucidis seviciam/ comprimite necnon potentiam/ tam leonis feri.
9. Heu vineam Domini vastavit/ ferus aper quam deus plantavit/ fideles plangite.
10. Sepem tulit atque propagines/ hic sanctorum trivit ymages/ sancti succurrite.⁵⁸
11. Confidete cuncti credentes in deum/ superavit quondam David Ihebuseum/ atque Philisteos.
12. Justus Ezecias Assirios trivit/ prece Machabeus Grecos deterruit/ Iesus Chananeos.
13. Et si tuam deus iram meruimus/ miserere pie delectis ovibus/ da venie rorem.
14. In gentes et regna que te non noverunt/ et que nomen tuum non invocaverunt/ effunde furorem.⁵⁹
15. Ergo rege tuos fideles Christe/ qui sunt decertantes crucis agoniste/ data victoria.
16. Hoste superato da pace gaudere/ da nube detecta faciem videre/ in celi gloria. Amen’.

Gospel: ‘Aderant quidam in ipso tempore nuntiantes—omnes similiter peribitis’.⁶⁰

One should repent in the face of death and defeat, for ‘si non paenitentiam egeritis omnes similiter peribitis’.

Offertory: ‘Precatus est Moyses in conspectu Domini Dei sui et dixit, quare, domine, irasceris in populo tuo, parce ire anime tue, memento Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob, quibus iurasti dare terram fluentem lac et mel, et placatus factus est dominus de malignitate quam dixit facere populo suo’.⁶¹

This adaptation of Exodus 32.11–14 emphasizes the Holy Land content of Moses’ prayer.⁶²

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tua protectione custodias’.⁶³

⁵⁸ For stanzas 9–10, see Psalm 79.9, 14, and Isaiah 5.5.

⁵⁹ Psalm 78.6 in the Psalterium Romanum: ‘Effunde iram tuam in gentes quae te non noverunt et in regna quae non invocaverunt nomen tuum’. The Iuxta Hebr. version reads here ‘furorem tuum’.

⁶⁰ Luke 13.1–5.

⁶¹ Offertory of Thursday, 2nd Week in Lent; 12th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁶² ‘Moses autem orabat Dominum Deum suum dicens, cur domine irascitur furor tuus contra populum tuum . . . quiescat ira tua . . . recordare Abraham Isaac et Israhel servorum tuorum quibus iurasti per temet ipsum dicens . . . universam terram hanc de qua locutus sum dabo semini vestro . . . placatusque est dominus ne faceret malum quod locutus fuerat adversus populum suum’. Of the two promises included in the Covenant—a great nation to eternity and the Promised Land—the liturgist omitted the first (though this promise was traditionally interpreted in reference to the Church; see Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 16:21) and retained only the second, further empassizing it by adding the depiction of the Holy Land as ‘fluentem lac et mel’.

⁶³ The Clementine Secret.

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite, quia accipietis et fiet vobis’.⁶⁴

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus submoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.⁶⁵

Identification: Structured around the Clementine core and with Introit, Epistle, and Offertory specifically bearing on the Holy Land, this service seems to have been originally dedicated to this cause. The Gradual, Alleluia Verse, Tract, Gospel, and Communion are general enough to apply to any goal. The Prose, however, is specifically targeted at the Turks: it laments the atrocities they have committed against Christianity and calls for God’s succour and protection for the crusaders (‘crucis agonistae’). It was probably inserted into an existing Holy Land Mass, transforming it, in the process, into an anti-Turkish Mass. Its Scriptural configuration betrays some affinity with Nos 27 (three shared items), 21, 24, 29, 31, 34, 38, 35 (only two). Transmitted in two Langres sources dated to 1491 and 1517.

2)

Sources: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 106 (Msc. 22) (HMML 48,345), Missal, fifteenth century, fol. CLXXXIII, integral.

Rubric: *Missa contra Turchos*. ‘Omnia ut in Missa pro pace preter orationes’.

Introit: [‘Da pacem’].

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potencie conterantur’.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod ymmolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus remoti liberis tibi serviant mentibus’.

Identification: Only the Clementine core is specified. The rubric determines the anti-Turkish goal of this Mass and its *De Pace* Mass form. Provenance Einsiedeln, fifteenth century.

3)

Sources: London, BL, C.36.1.11, Missal of Sevilla, 1507, fols CCXXIII^v–CCXXIII^v.

Rubric: *Missa contra Paganos*.

⁶⁴ Mark 11.24; several changes.

⁶⁵ The Clementine Postcommunion.

Introit: ‘Dominus fortitudo plebis sue, et protector salvationum Christi sui est, saluum fac populum tuum, domine, et benedic hereditati tue, et rege eos usque in seculum’.⁶⁶

Psalm: ‘Ad te, domine, clamabo, deus meus ne sileas a me, nequando taceas a me, et assimilabor descendentibus in lacum’.⁶⁷

Collect:

1. ‘Deus qui conteris bella, et impugnatores in te sperantium potentia tue defensionis expungas, auxiliare implorantibus misericordiam tuam, ut omnium gentium feritate compressa indefessa te gratiarum actione laudemus’.⁶⁸
2. ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia conterantur’.⁶⁹

Epistle: ‘[De cetero] Fratres, confortamini in domino—orantes omni tempore in spiritu’.⁷⁰

Exhortation to fight God’s battle against the Devil. The imagery is military and combative throughout.⁷¹

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.⁷²

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.⁷³

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine, refugium factus es nobis a generatione et progenie’.⁷⁴

⁶⁶ Psalm 27.8–9.

⁶⁷ Psalm 27.1. Introit + Psalm of 6th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁶⁸ Collect of *Missa In tempore belli*: ed. by Wilson (as in note 1), p. 272, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), p. 214; Angoulême Sacramentary, ed. by Saint-Roch (as in note 6), No. 2325; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No. 1332; Ninth-century Gregorians, in Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 10), No. 2536 (Postcommunion), No. 2545 (Collect); *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Y. Hen, Henry Bradshaw Society, 110 (London, 1995), No. 1332; in the Bergamo Sacramentary, ed. by Paredi-Fassi (as in note 11), (Super Syndonem), p. 324; *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 343; Figeac Sacramentary, Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 2293, fol. 223^v.

⁶⁹ The Clementine Collect.

⁷⁰ Ephesians 6.10–18.

⁷¹ ‘induite vos arma Dei . . . conluctatio adversus principes et potestates adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum . . . accipite armaturam Dei ut possitis resistere in die malo . . . state ergo succincti lumbos vestros in veritate, et inducti lorica iustitiae et calciati pede . . . in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere, et galeam salutis adsumite, et gladium spiritus . . .’.

⁷² Psalm 82.19–20.

⁷³ Psalm 82.14; Gradual and Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

⁷⁴ Psalm 89.1 Alleluia Verse of 13th Sunday after Pentecost.

Tract: 'Qui confidunt in domino sicut mons Syon, non commovebitur in eternum qui habitat in Ierusalem'.⁷⁵

Verse: 'Montes in circuitu eius, et dominus in circuitu populi sui, ex hoc nunc et usque in seculum'.⁷⁶

Gospel: 'Cum vespere esset factum—in celis et dimittet vobis peccata vestra'.⁷⁷

The power of prayer: 'omnia quaecumque orantes petitis credite quia accipietis et veniet vobis'.

Offertory: 'Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina, confundantur omnes qui cogitant servis tuis mala'.⁷⁸

Secret: 'Sacrificium domine quod immolamus—securitate constituas'.⁷⁹

Communion: 'Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei, avertantur retrorsum et erubescant valde velociter'.⁸⁰

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice deus—mentibus serviant'.⁸¹

Identification: Constructed around a Clementine core, this Mass transmits a clear message of war in general and against the infidel in particular. The one item with specific Holy Land bearing is the Tract with its Verse. The Scriptural configuration is mostly original (peculiar Alleluia Verse and Gospel), with a very weak affinity to Nos 6 and 8 (two shared items).

4)

Sources: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273, Teutonic Missal, 1499, fols CCXLI^v–CCXLII.

Rubric: *Pro rege nostro contra paganos.*

Introit: 'Dominus fortitudo plebis'.⁸²

Collect:

1. 'Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani maxime protector imperii, da servo tuo regi nostro triumphum virtutis tue scienter excolere, ut qui tua constitutione est princeps, tuo munere semper sit potens'.⁸³

⁷⁵ Psalm 124.1.

⁷⁶ Psalm 124.2. Tract + Verse of 4th Sunday in Lent, Statio St Cross in Jerusalem; Dedication of a Church.

⁷⁷ Mark 11.19–25.

⁷⁸ Based on Psalm 69.2, 3, 4; Offertory of Thursday, 4th Week in Lent.

⁷⁹ The Clementine Secret.

⁸⁰ Psalm 6.11.

⁸¹ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁸² Psalm 27.8.

⁸³ *A Pro regibus and Pro imperatore* Mass's Collect: the Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), No. 1505; The Autun Sacramentary, ed. by Heimig (as in note 9), No. 1774; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Dumas (as in note 8), No. 2624; Deshusses, *Le*

2. 'Rege, quesumus, domine, famulum tuum regem nostrum, et gratie tue dona in eo multiplica, ut ab omnibus liber offensis, et temporalibus non destituatur auxiliis et sempiternis gaudeat institutis'.

Originally an ordinary Votive Mass's Postcommunion,⁸⁴ it has been transformed here into a 'royal' prayer through the addition of 'regem nostrum'.

Epistle:

1. 'Subiecti estote'.⁸⁵

Submission to secular authority ('sive regi . . . sive ducibus ') willed by God.

2. 'Obsecro vos'.⁸⁶

Love of God confirmed in obedience.

Gradual: 'Salvum fac populum tuum, domine, et benedic hereditati tue'.⁸⁷

Verse: 'Ad te, domine, clamavi, deus meus, ne sileas a me, et ero similis descendentibus in lacum'.⁸⁸

Alleluia Verse: 'Domine, in virtute tua letabitur rex, et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer'.⁸⁹

Gospel: 'Abeuntes Pharisei'.⁹⁰

The duty of the Christian towards the secular authority—'reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris Caesari'.

Offertory: 'Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superbiorum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine'.⁹¹

Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense) (as in note 2), No. 1266; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2089; *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 341; The twelfth-century Roman Pontifical (*Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, ed. by M. Andrieu, Studi e Testi 88, vol. 1, *Le pontifical romain du XII^e siècle* (Città del Vaticano, 1938)), xxxv,17 (p. 254); the thirteenth-century Roman Pontifical (*Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, ed. by M. Andrieu, vol. 2, *Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIII^e siècle* (Città del Vaticano, 1940)), xv,18 (p. 384); Durand's Pontifical (*Le Pontifical romain au moyen-âge*, ed. by M. Andrieu, vol. 3, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand* (Città del Vaticano, 1940)), l,xxv,21 (p. 430), xxvi,19 (p. 441), Appendix, ii, 10 (pp. 672–73).

⁸⁴ Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 10), No 2463; Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. by Wilson, as in note 1; ed. by Mohlberg, as in note 1), No. 77; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Dumas (as in note 8), No. 258; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2142;

⁸⁵ I Peter 2.13–?.

⁸⁶ II Corinthians 2.8 (?).

⁸⁷ Psalm 27.9.

⁸⁸ Psalm 27.1. Gradual + Verse of Wednesday, 2nd week in Lent.

⁸⁹ Psalm 20.1. Alleluia Verse of 5th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁹⁰ Matthew 22.15–[21?]. Gospel of the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost.

⁹¹ Psalm 17.28, 32. Offertory of Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; Mass *In tempore belli*.

Secret:

1. 'Suscipe, domine, preces et hostias ecclesie tue pro salute famuli tui regis nostri supplicantis, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui miracula operare, ut superatis inimicis pacis securi tibi serviat libertate'.⁹²
2. 'Suscipe, domine, munus oblatum, et famulum tuum regem nostrum ab omnibus quas meretur adversitatibus redde securum, ut tranquillitate percepta de omnium visibilium hostium insidiis liberatus, devota tibi mente deserviat'.

Communion: 'Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie'.⁹³

The royalty of God.

Postcommunion:

1. 'Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regis evangelium Christianorum imperium dilatasti, pretende famulo tuo regi nostro arma celestia, ut pax ecclesiarum nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum'.⁹⁴
2. 'Subiectum tibi famulum regem nostrum quesumus, domine, propitiatio celestis amplifcet, ut presentis vite periculis exuatur et donis perpetuis firmetur'.

Identification: Constructed around the triple set *Pro imperatore/rege* (*Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani—Suscipe—Deus qui ad predicandum*), this Mass transmits a purely imperial and royal message on the divine sanction of secular rule and refers explicitly (in the Secret) to the ruler's military function. Its rubric notwithstanding, it does not mention specifically either the pagans or the Holy Land. Its Epistle, Alleluia Verse, Gospel, and Communion are particular to it; the only affinities

⁹² *A Pro regibus/rege et exercitu eius/Pro imperatore* Mass's prayer; the Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), No. 1507; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No. 1267; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Dumas (as in note 8), No. 2626; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2091 (Collect, slight changes); *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), Nos 340, 341 (Secret, slight changes); the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), xxxv, 19 (p. 254, Secret); the thirteenth-century Roman Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), xv, 21 (p. 390, Secret); Durand's Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), I, xxv, 39 (Secret, p. 433), I, xxvi, 31 (Secret, p. 444), Appendix, II, 11 (Secret, p. 673).

⁹³ Psalm 23.10.

⁹⁴ Postcommunion of the *Missa pro regibus* and *Pro imperatore*: the Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), No. 1509; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No 1269; *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. by Dumas (as in note 8), No. 2628; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2093; *Fulda Sacramentary*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 341; the twelfth-century Roman Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), xxxv, 20 (p. 254); The thirteenth-century Roman Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), xv, 22 (p. 390); Durand's Pontifical, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), I, xxv, 40 (p. 433), I, xxvi, 32 (p. 444).

suggested by its Scriptural configuration are to Nos 28, 28/A, 28/B, 28/C, 28/D, 28/E, 36 (two shared items). Its only source is a Teutonic Missal from 1499.

5)

Sources: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palatinus 1798, Salzburg Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fols 225–25^v, mainly full texts.

Rubric: *Pro victoria Christianorum.*

Introit: ‘Esto michi in dominum protectorem et in locum refugii ut salvum me facias, quoniam firmamentum meum et refugium meum es tu, et propter nomen tuum dux michi eris’.⁹⁵

Psalm: ‘In te domine speravi non confundar’.⁹⁶

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pro consolatione Thobie senioris angelum tuum filio suo Thobie tutorem et peregrinationis sue fidelem comitem deputare voluisti, maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus quatenus eundem sanctum angelum tuum mittere digneris cum fidelibus tuis ad exterminandum Christiane fidei pestiferos turbatores, ut eius defensione muniti gloriosam contra ipsos victoriam [*marginal addition: pro exaltatione katholice*] religionis misericorditer valeant optinere’.

The same Collect is known from an untitled triple set preserved in a batch of *Contra infideles* sets in an early fourteenth-century Bohemian Carthusian Missal,⁹⁷ and from a fifteenth-century interpolated Collect in a Franciscan Missal from Olmütz entitled: *Hec missa pro defendis hereticis adversariis ecclesie et pro victoria fidelium obtinenda*,⁹⁸ obviously in the context of the crusade against the Hussites. The figure of the Archangel Raphael, guardian angel of the pilgrims, has been well known in Holy Land crusade liturgy particularly through Guillaume Durand’s *De benedictione et impositione crucis proficiscentium in subsidium terre sancte*,⁹⁹ and it reappears in the fifteenth-century crusade against the Turks, in the *Votum transeuntibus contra turcos*.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Mainly Psalm 70.3.

⁹⁶ Psalm 70.1.

⁹⁷ Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1803 (HMML 15,121), fol. 239^v.

⁹⁸ MS Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 1809 (HMML 15,127), fol. 171.

⁹⁹ The prayer for the crusader on receiving the Cross: ‘. . . Mitte ei, domine, angelum tuum Raphaellem, qui Tobie comes fuit in itinere suo eiusque patrem a corporis cecitate liberavit, ut in eundo et redeundo sit ei defensor contra omnes visibiles et invisibiles hostis insidias et omnem mentis et corporis ab eo cecitatem repellat’ (II, XXX, ed. by Andrieu (as in note 83), p. 543).

¹⁰⁰ Kremsmüster Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 225 (HMML 213), fol. 347, in the prayer *Domine Ihesu Christe fili Dei vivi*.

Epistle: ‘Videns Iudas exercitum Lisie—et collaudent te in ympnis qui noverunt nomen sanctum tuum’.¹⁰¹

Supplication for military victory over the Gentile enemies of Israel.

Gradual: ‘Angelis suis mandavit de te ut custodiant te in omnibus viis tuis’.

Verse: ‘In manibus portabunt te, ne umquam offendas ad lapidem pedem tuum’.¹⁰²

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis domine’.¹⁰³

The same Alleluia Verse appears also in the Holy Land Mass of No. 27.

Gospel: ‘Ecce ego mitto’.¹⁰⁴

Offertory: ‘Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis ut non moveantur vestigia mea, inclina aurem tuam et exaudi verba mea, mirifica misericordias tuas qui salvos facis sperantes in te, domine’.¹⁰⁵

Secret: ‘Presentis sacrificii oblatione placatus, clementissime pater, armis tue potentie protegere digneris famulos tuos, qui contra hereticam pravitatem arma orthodoxe tue fidei susceperunt’.

The same Secret is known from an untitled triple set preserved in a batch of *Contra infideles* sets in an early fourteenth-century Bohemian Missal.¹⁰⁶ It is specifically directed against heretics.

Communion: ‘Tu mandasti mandata tua custodiri nimis, utinam dirigantur vie mee ad custodiendas iustificationes tuas’.¹⁰⁷

Postcommunion: ‘Sumpsimus, domine, redemptionis nostre pignus eternum misericordiam tuam humiliter deprecantes, ut sua virtute hereticorum potentiam conterat, quatenus propugnatorum [*marginal addition:* tuorum] brachio devicti, ad sanctam matrem catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam et veritatis tue redeant unitatem’.

The same Postcommunion is known from an untitled triple set preserved in a batch of *Contra infideles* sets in an early fourteenth-century Bohemian Missal.¹⁰⁸ It is specifically directed against heretics.

Identification: This dedicated *Contra hereticos* Mass is structured around a *Contra Infideles* triple set known from an early Bohemian Carthusian Missal. The content of the Collect and the affinity with No. 27 in the Alleluia + Alleluia Verse (shared also with other Masses) suggest a crusading context, originally directed to the Holy Land and subsequently turned against heretics; both Secret and Postcommunion are

¹⁰¹ I Maccabees 4.30–33.

¹⁰² Psalm 90.11 + Psalm 90.12.

¹⁰³ Psalm 84.8.

¹⁰⁴ Luke 24.49–?

¹⁰⁵ Psalm 16.5–7.

¹⁰⁶ See above Note 97, fols 239^v–240.

¹⁰⁷ Psalm 118.4–5.

¹⁰⁸ See above Note 97, fol. 240.

specifically directed against heretics. Its Scriptural configuration is highly original; the only item it shares with other *Contra Paganos* Masses is the Alleluia Verse. Its only source, a fourteenth-century Salzburg Missal, is close enough to 5/A) to warrant the hypothesis that they represent two stages in the evolution of the same Mass. The manuscript sources indicate a provenance in Bohemia, Moravia, and South Germany, and an introduction well before the Hussite crusades.

5/A)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8097, Augsburg Cathedral Missal, 1428, fol. 243^v, interpolation.

Rubric: *Missa pro hiis qui pugnant contra hereticos.*

Introit: Identical to No. 5.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens et misericors deus qui consolatione Thobie senioris angelum tuum filio suo Thobie peregrinationis sue fidelem comitem deputare voluisti, maiestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus quatenus eundem sanctum angelum tuum mittere digneris cum tuis fidelibus exterminandum Christiane religionis perfidos turbatores, ut tua defensione muniti gloriosam contra ipsos victoriam pro exaltatione Katholice fidei valeant obtinere’.

Very close to No. 5.

Epistle: Identical to No. 5.

Gradual: Identical to No. 5.

Alleluia: ‘Letatus sum in hiis que dicta sunt mihi, in domum domini ibimus’.¹⁰⁹

Alleluia Verse: ‘Stantes erant pedes nostri in atriis tuis, Iherusalem’.¹¹⁰

Psalm 121 has been substituted to Psalm 78 in the Holy Land Clamor since the early decades of the fourteenth century. It carries obvious Holy Land connotations.

Gospel: Identical to No. 5.

Offertory: Identical to No. 5.

Secret: ‘Presentis sacrificii oblatione placatus, clementissime pater, armis tue potentie protegere digneris famulos tuos, qui contra hereticam pravitatem armam [*sic*] orthodoxe tue fidei susceperunt’.

Substantially close to No. 5.

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, qui orantes petitis credite quia accipietis ut fiet vobis’.¹¹¹

Postcommunion: ‘Sumpsimus, domine, redemptionis nostre pignus eternum misericordiam tuam humiliter deprecantes, ut virtute hereticorum potentiam conterat,

¹⁰⁹ Psalm 121.1.

¹¹⁰ Psalm 121.2.

¹¹¹ Mark 11.24. Several alterations.

quatenus propugnatorum tuorum brachio devicti ad sanctam matrem catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam et veritatis tue redeant unitatem’.

Substantially identical to No. 5.

Identification: This militant Mass against the heretics is very close to No. 5; they differ only in the Alleluia + Alleluia Verse as well as the Communion, and their core prayers are practically identical. They obviously belong together, but it is impossible to determine which of the two represents an earlier stage in the evolution of this Mass.

6)

Sources: Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. No. 123, Missal of Sées, second half of the fifteenth century, fols 145^v–146; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 12,7003, Le Mans 1489, fols DXX–DXX^v.

Rubric: *Pro bello contra paganos*.

Introit: ‘Exurge, quare obdormis, domine, exurge et ne repellas in finem, quare faciem tuam avertis, oblivisceris tribulationem nostram, adhesit in terra venter noster, exurge, domine, adiuva nos et libera nos’.¹¹²

Psalm: ‘Deus, auribus nostris audivimus, patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis’.¹¹³

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus, Christiani nominis inimicos, quesumus, tue comprime gloria maiestatis, ut populus tuus fidei integritate letetur, et serena tranquillitate semper exultet’.

Originally a general *In tempore belli* Mass Collect,¹¹⁴ and more particularly a *Contra paganos* Collect in both Mass and Clamor,¹¹⁵ by the thirteenth century it has already acquired a specific Holy Land connotation as a Collect in the Carthusian Holy Land Mass Clamor.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Psalm 43.23–26.

¹¹³ Psalm 43.2. Introit + Psalm of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹¹⁴ The Gelasian Sacramentary (‘Romani nominis’), ed. by Wilson (as in note 1), p. 273, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), p. 215; The Autun Sacramentary, ed. by Heiming (as in note 9), No. 1781 (‘Romani nominis’); The Angoulême Sacramentaries, ed. by Saint-Roch (as in note 6), No. 2333 (‘Romani nominis’); Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No. 1336; *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 342; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur, Use of Moissac, fol. 223v; ms. lat. 9434, eleventh-century Sacramentary of St. Martin of Tours, fol. 311.

¹¹⁵ Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 512, a ninth-century Collection of prayers from Noyon, fol. 141^v; London, BL, MS Harley 863 (the Leofric Psalter), an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical written between 1046 and 1072, given to Exeter Cathedral between 1173 and 1220, fol. 113^v; The eleventh-century Sacramentary of Nevers, ed. 1969.

¹¹⁶ Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1067, a Carthusian Diurnal from Montrieux, fol. 118.

Epistle: ‘Hec dicit dominus deus: Facite iudicium et iustitia, et liberate vi oppressum—et ascendentes currus et equos, ipsi et servi et populi eorum, ait dominus omnipotens’.¹¹⁷

If justice is done, Davidic kings sitting on David’s throne will ascend to the Temple of Jerusalem with their horses, chariots, servants, and people.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.¹¹⁸

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.¹¹⁹

Alleluia Verse: ‘Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequam dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’.¹²⁰

Gospel: ‘Dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Nolite solliciti esse anime quid manducetis—Verumtamen quaerite regnum Dei, et hec omnia adiciuntur vobis’.¹²¹

God is to be trusted fully and unreservedly.

Offertory: ‘Sperent in te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum, domine, quoniam non derelinquis quaerentes te, psallite domino qui habitat in Syon, quoniam non est oblitus orationes pauperum’.¹²²

Secret: ‘Huius nos, domine, quesumus, virtute misterii et a nostris mundemur occultis et ab inimicorum liberemur insidiis’.¹²³

The Secret of the *In tempore belli* Mass anchored on the *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus Christiani nominis* Collect.

Communion: ‘Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei, avertantur retrorsum et erubescant valde velociter’.¹²⁴

Postcommunion: ‘Vivificet nos quesumus, domine, participatio tui sancta misterii, et pariter expiationem nobis tribuat et munimen’.¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ Jeremiah 22.3–5.

¹¹⁸ Psalm 82.19–20.

¹¹⁹ Psalm 82.14 Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹²⁰ Psalm 78.9–10.

¹²¹ Matthew 6.25–33.

¹²² Psalm 9.11–13. Offertory of Tuesday in Passion Week; 3rd Sunday after Pentecost.

¹²³ Incipit slightly changed from the source (‘Huius domine quesumus virtute’) in The Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. by Wilson (as in note 1), p. 274, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), p. 215; The Autun Sacramentary, ed. by Heimig (as in note 9), No. 1782; The Angoulême Sacramentary, ed. by Saint-Roch (as in note 6), No. 2334; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No. 1337; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2038; *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 344; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur, Use of Moissac, 11th century, fol. 223^v.

¹²⁴ Psalm 6.11.

¹²⁵ Postcommunion of the 12th Sunday after Pentecost; Postcommunion of the traditional *In tempore belli* Mass anchored on the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus Christiani nominis* Collect. The

Identification: This War Mass *Pro bello contra paganos* is built around the traditional *In tempore belli/Contra paganos/Contra infideles* Mass anchored on either the *Hostium* or the *Omnipotens sempiterne deus Christiani nominis* Collect (with *Huius domine quesumus virtute* and *Vivificet*), and its rubric declares this double target. Several items, however, transmit a Holy Land message (mainly the Collect and the Epistle, possibly also the Gradual, Alleluia Verse, and Offertory). The configuration of this Mass is highly original: it exhibits possible affinities with Nos 3, 7, and 21 (two shared items with each). The evidence on this Mass comes from Northwestern France (the area of Le Mans and Sées) and is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.

7)

Sources: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. E 1 d. 26, Braga Missal, 1558, fol. CCXXXV^v (=B); The Carmelite Missal, Venice 1574, p. 273 (=C); Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Lit. 15, Cistercian Gradual from Kloster Langheim, 1496; Msc. Lit. 16, Cistercian Gradual from Kloster Langheim, 1612.¹²⁶

Rubric: *Contra Paganos*.

Introit: ‘Exurge, quare obdormis, domine, exurge et ne repellas in finem, quare faciem tuam avertis, oblivisceris tribulationem nostram, adhesit in terra venter noster, exurge, domine, adiuva nos et libera nos’.¹²⁷

Psalm: ‘Deus, auribus nostris audivimus, patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis’.¹²⁸

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum quae in sua feritate confidunt dexteræ tuæ potentia conterantur’.¹²⁹

Epistle: ‘Oravit Mardocheus—ora canentium domine deus noster’.¹³⁰

Mordecai’s prayer: ‘quia volunt nos inimici perdere et hereditatem tuam delere’.

Gelasian Sacramentary, ed. by Wilson (as in note 1), p. 274, ed. by Mohlberg (as in note 1), p. 215; The Autun Sacramentary, ed. by Heiming (as in note 9), No. 1783; The Angoulême Sacramentary, ed. by Saint-Roch (as in note 6), No. 2335; Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien (Supplementum Anianense)* (as in note 2), No. 1338; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2040; *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi X*, ed. by Richter and Schönfelder (as in note 17), No. 344; Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur, Use of Moissac, 11th c., fol. 223^v.

¹²⁶ The two Bamberg Graduals contain the Introit, the Alleluia Verse, the Offertory, and the Communion.

¹²⁷ Psalm 43.23–25.

¹²⁸ Psalm 43.2. Introit + Psalm of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹²⁹ The Clementine Collect. Sic B.

¹³⁰ Esther 13.8–[?]. Epistle of Wednesday, 2nd Week in Lent.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.¹³¹

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.¹³²

Alleluia Verse: ‘Excita, domine, potentiam tuam et veni ut salvos facias nos’.¹³³

Tract: ‘Ne claudas ora canentium te, domine, deus noster’.¹³⁴

Verse: ‘Et converte luctum nostrum in gaudium, ut viventes laudemus nomen tuum’.¹³⁵

Alleluia Verse in tempore Resurrectionis:

1. ‘Angelus Domini descendit de coelo, et accedens revolvit lapidem et sedebat super eum’.¹³⁶

2. ‘Excita, domine, potentiam tuam et veni; ut salvos facias nos’.¹³⁷

Gospel: ‘Quis vestrum habebit amicum—bonum petentibus se’.¹³⁸

Prayers are answered: ‘petite et dabitur vos’.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum—preter te domine’.¹³⁹

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus propitius intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tuae protectionis securitate constituas’.¹⁴⁰

Communion: ‘In salutari tuo animam meam—adiuva me domine deus meus’.¹⁴¹

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut omni perturbatione semota liberis tibi mentibus serviamus’.¹⁴²

Identification: This Mass, built around an essentially Clementine core, shares some Scriptural items with Nos 6, 15, and 30 (two items with each). Its Epistle is original, and the same Scriptural text has provided also its Tract + Verse. It transmits a general *Contra paganos* message, with no specific content. The geographical spread of the evidence concerning this Mass is considerable, probably by reason of its Regular character (Carmelites and Cistercians). Its chronological range extends from 1496 to 1612.

¹³¹ Psalm 82.19–20.

¹³² Psalm 82.14. Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹³³ Psalm 79.3.

¹³⁴ Esther 13.17. The final verse of Mordecai’s prayer.

¹³⁵ Esther 13.17. The final verse of Mordecai’s prayer.

¹³⁶ Matthew 28.2.

¹³⁷ Psalm 79.3. Gradual and Gradual Verse of Ember Saturday in December.

¹³⁸ Luke 11.5–[?]. Gospel of the Rogation Days.

¹³⁹ Psalm 17.28, 32.

¹⁴⁰ The Clementine Secret. Sic B.

¹⁴¹ Psalm 118.81, 84, 86. Communion of 21st Sunday after Pentecost.

¹⁴² Essentially the Clementine Postcommunion. Sic B.

8)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3903, Augsburg Cathedral Missal, early fifteenth century, fol. 131–31^v; Clm 8097, Augsburg Cathedral Missal, 1428, interpolation, fol. 243.

Rubric: *Missa contra Paganos vel Hussitas.*

Introit: ‘Iudica, domine, nocentes me, expugna impugnantes me, apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in adiutorium meum, domine virtus salutis mee’.¹⁴³

Psalm: ‘Effunde frameam et conclude adversus eos qui me persecuntur’.¹⁴⁴

Collect:

1. ‘Deus pater orphanorum iudex quoque viduarum, lacrimas ecclesie tue miseratus intende ipsamque tua misericorditer eripiat maiestas, quam nulla terrena defendit potestas’. Or.¹⁴⁵

2. ‘Deus qui errantibus [ut in viam possint redire iustitiae veritatis tuae lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui Christiana professione censentur et illa respuere quae huic inimica sunt nomini, et ea quae sunt apta sectari.]’

The traditional Collect of the Third Sunday after Easter, highlighting—appropriately enough in the Hussitic context—the choice Christians are called to make between ‘quae huic inimica sunt nomini, et ea quae sunt apta’.

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium et respice—ut enarrent magnalia tua domine deus noster’.¹⁴⁶

This shortened reading—in comparison with the Epistle in No. I—omits the call to liberate Jerusalem.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quod nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.¹⁴⁷

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.¹⁴⁸

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine deus salutis mee, in die clamavi et nocte coram te’.¹⁴⁹

Tract: ‘Qui confidunt in domino sicut mons Syon, non commovebitur in eternum qui habitat in Iherusalem’.¹⁵⁰

Verse: ‘Montes in circuitu eius et dominus in circuitu populi sui, ex hoc nunc et in seculum’.¹⁵¹

¹⁴³ Psalm 34.1–2.

¹⁴⁴ Psalm 34.3. Introit + Psalm of Monday in Holy Week.

¹⁴⁵ Only in Clm 3903.

¹⁴⁶ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–13.

¹⁴⁷ Psalm 82.19–20.

¹⁴⁸ Psalm 82.14. Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹⁴⁹ Psalm 87.2. Alleluia Verse of 12th Sunday after Pentecost.

¹⁵⁰ Psalm 124.1.

¹⁵¹ Psalm 124.2. Tract + Verse of 4th Sunday in Lent (Statio St Cross in Jerusalem); Dedication of a Church. Tract + verse only in Clm 3903.

Gospel: ‘D.I.d.s. parabolam hanc. Quoniam oportet semper orare et non desistere, dicens. Iudex quidam erat—inveniet fidem super terram’.¹⁵²

Offertory: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, domine, ad te confugi, doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia deus meus es tu’.¹⁵³

Secret: ‘Suscipe, domine, preces ecclesie tue cum oblationibus hostiarum, et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis pacis inimicis secunda tibi serviat Christiana libertas’.¹⁵⁴

Communio: ‘Domine deus meus, in te speravi, libera me ab omnibus persequentibus me et eripe me’.¹⁵⁵

Postcommunio: ‘Deprime, quesumus, omnipotens deus, iura tyrannorum tibi adversantibus, ut discant te fore protectorem ecclesie tuo precioso sanguine redempte’.

Identification: Constructed around original core prayers, the Scriptural configuration of this Mass has unmistakable affinities with Nos 12 (seven items) and 9 (six items) but also with Nos 10 and 11 (four shared items). Less obvious affinities link it to Nos 3, 14, 15, 21, 24, and 25 (two items). Specifically directed *Contra paganos vel Hussitas*, it transmits a general message of war against the enemies of the Church. Two items have a traditional Holy Land content—the Gradual and the Tract, but the Epistle appears here in the short version, lacking the passage on Jerusalem. This Mass is transmitted in two early fifteenth-century manuscripts from Augsburg.

9)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4102, Cistercian Missal from the library of the Augustinian Hl. Kreuz Church, Augsburg, fifteenth century, fols 414–15;¹⁵⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Antiq. c. G. 1510, *Missale secundum ritum Augustensis ecclesie*, Augsburg 1510, fols CCXIII^v–CCXIV (=A2); Paris, BNF, Rés. B. 1444, Augsburg Use, Augsburg 1496, fols CCXXVI^v–CCXXVII (=A1)

Rubric: *Missa contra infideles*;¹⁵⁷ *Contra paganos et infideles*.¹⁵⁸

Introit: ‘Iudica domine nocentes—virtus salutis mee’.¹⁵⁹

Psalm: ‘Effunde frameam et—me persequuntur’.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵² Luke 18.2–8.

¹⁵³ Psalm 142.9–10. Offertory of Monday in Holy Week.

¹⁵⁴ *COr* No. 5746.

¹⁵⁵ Psalm 7.2. Communion of Ember Saturday, 1st Week in Lent.

¹⁵⁶ Heneceforth cited as Clm 4102.

¹⁵⁷ Clm 4102.

¹⁵⁸ A1; A2.

¹⁵⁹ Psalm 34:1–2.

¹⁶⁰ Psalm 34.3. Introit of Monday in Holy Week.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice benignus in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua ferocitate¹⁶¹ confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur’.¹⁶²

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium—mirabilia tua domine deus noster’.¹⁶³

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quod—omnem terram’.¹⁶⁴

Verse. ‘Deus meus pone—faciem venti’.¹⁶⁵

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine deus salutis mee, in die clamavi et nocte coram te’.¹⁶⁶

Gospel: ‘D.I.d.s. parabolam hanc: Quoniam oportet semper orare—inveniet fidem in terra’.¹⁶⁷

Offertory: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me, domine’.¹⁶⁸

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende propitius, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas nequitia, ac in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.¹⁶⁹

Communion: ‘Domine deus meus, in te speravi, libera me ex omnibus persequentibus me et eripe me’.¹⁷⁰

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut a perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.¹⁷¹

Identification: This Mass, a *Contra paganos/infideles* service structured around the Clementine core, is most closely related to No. 8 and 12 (6 shared items), 10 and 11 (5 items). It stands in less obvious affinity to Nos 14, 15, 21, 24, 25, and 26 (two shared items). Its three Augsburg sources date from the fifteenth century, 1496 and 1510.

10)

Sources: London, BL, IC 37,568, Constance 1485.

Rubric: *Contra paganos Christiani nominis inimicos*.

Introit: ‘Iudica, domine, nocentes me, expugna impugnantes me, apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in adiutorium meum, domine virtus salutis mee’.¹⁷²

¹⁶¹ feritate A2.

¹⁶² The Clementine Collect.

¹⁶³ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–[?].

¹⁶⁴ Psalm 82.19–20.

¹⁶⁵ Psalm 82.14. Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹⁶⁶ Psalm 87.2. Alleluia Verse of the 12th Sunday after Pentecost.

¹⁶⁷ Luke 18.2–8.

¹⁶⁸ Psalm 58.2. Offertory of Wednesday in Passion Week.

¹⁶⁹ The Clementine Secret.

¹⁷⁰ Psalm 7.2. Ember Saturday, 1st Week in Lent.

¹⁷¹ The Clementine Postcommunion.

¹⁷² Psalm 34.1–2.

Psalm: ‘Effunde frameam et conclude adversus eos qui me persequuntur’.¹⁷³

Collect: ‘Deus qui sordes peccatorum nostrorum districte percutis gladio paganorum Christiani nominis inimicorum, preces ecclesie tue miseratus intende, et concede, ut eorum potestatem tibi serviens evadamus quorum feritatem te contemnendo incurrimus’.¹⁷⁴

Epistle: ‘Nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus—sanctificationem in timore Dei’.¹⁷⁵

Depiction of the fundamental difference between Christians and infidels—‘quae . . . conventio Christi ad Belial aut quae pars fideli cum infidele?’—and a call to purification and sanctification.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.¹⁷⁶

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.¹⁷⁷

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine deus salutis mee, in die clamavi et nocte coram te’.¹⁷⁸

Gospel: ‘Audistis quod dictum est antiquis’.¹⁷⁹

One should placate an enemy, not kill him; yield to him rather than oppose him: ‘ego autem dico vobis, non resistere malo . . . diligite inimicos vestros . . . et orate pro persequentibus’.

Offertory: ‘Eripe me, domine, de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me, domine’.¹⁸⁰

Secret: ‘Hostia quesumus, domine, tue maiestati oblata Christiani nominis inimicos deprimat, nosque imperpetue pacis securitate custodiat’.¹⁸¹

Communion: ‘Domine deus meus, in te speravi, libera me de omnibus persequentibus me et eripe me’.¹⁸²

¹⁷³ Psalm 34.3. Introit + Psalm Of Monday in Holy Week.

¹⁷⁴ Collect of a *Contra paganos* Mass documented from late eleventh-century sources in Italy and Basle: Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Cod. 299, fol. 209; A. Hänggi and P. LaDominer, *Missale Basileense saec. XI (Codex Gressly)* (Freiburg, 1994), No. 556, p. 429. Our text gives the pagans the additional epithet of ‘Christiani nominis inimicorum’.

¹⁷⁵ II Corinthians 6.14–7.1.

¹⁷⁶ Psalm 82.19–20.

¹⁷⁷ Psalm 82.14. Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

¹⁷⁸ Psalm 87.2. Alleluia Verse of 12th Sunday after Pentecost.

¹⁷⁹ Matthew 5.21–[6.4]. The complete reading is given in the Strassburg Missal (see below).

¹⁸⁰ Psalm 58.2 iuxta LXX. When cited by a short Incipit only it can be confused with the Offertory based on Psalm 142.9, and it probably is, occasionally. Wednesday in Passion Week.

¹⁸¹ The eleventh-century *Contra paganos* Secret. See above, note 174. This text reads ‘imperpetue’ against ‘in perpetuae pacis securitate’ in the earlier sources and in the Strassburg Missal.

¹⁸² Psalm 7.2. Ember Saturday, 1st Week in Lent.

Postcommunion: ‘Reprime quesumus, omnipotens deus, gentem in sua feritate confidentem, ut eorum feritati non subiaceant quos tanta misteria reparant, atque tui nominis sit gloria pax Christianitati concessa’.¹⁸³

Identification: This Mass, with a *Contra paganos* set of prayers at its core, stands in a very close relation to Nos 11 (six shared Scriptural items), 9 (five items), 8 and 12 (four items). While the items borrowed from earlier sources and from the current Augsburg use are typical to the common *Contra paganos* tradition, the two Readings sound a distinct eirenic note, directed inwards rather than against the infidels and calling for moral rearmament and religious regeneration in a struggle that is conceived as spiritual, not physical, a fight that is not aimed against any specific infidel. Transmitted in a source of a Constance provenance, dated to 1485.

11)

Sources: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 79,770, Strassburg 1493.

Rubric: *Contra paganos et Christiani nominis inimicos.*

Introit: Identical to No. 10.

Collect: ‘Deus qui sordes peccatorum nostrorum districte percutis gladio paganorum et Christiani nominis inimicorum, preces ecclesie tue miseratus intende, et concede ut eorum potestatem tibi serviendo evadamus quorum feritatem te contemnendo incurrimus’.¹⁸⁴

Very close to No. 10.

Epistle: ‘Fratres. Nolite esse prudentes apud vosmet ipsos—sed vincere in bono malum’.¹⁸⁵

Christians should not fight evil with evil but with goodness: ‘mihi vindictam, ego retribuam dicit dominus . . . noli vinci a malo sed vince in bono’.

Gradual: Identical to No. 10.

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 10.

Gospel: Identical to No. 10.

Offertory: Identical to No. 10.

Secret: Identical to No. 10.

Communion: Identical to No. 10.

Postcommunion: Identical to No. 10.

Identification: This service is almost an identical twin of No. 10. It has the same distinctive core prayers, and shares with it nine items. Its original Epistle sounds,

¹⁸³ The eleventh-century *Contra paganos* Postcommunion. See above, note 174. The Florence Postcommunion is in fol. 209^v, and it reads ‘Deprime’ instead of ‘Reprime’, also ‘et pax’.

¹⁸⁴ Addition of ‘et’ before ‘Christiani nominis’ and an (excellent) alteration of ‘serviens’ to ‘serviendo’.

¹⁸⁵ Romans 12.16–21.

furthermore, the same peculiar eirenic note. Distinct affinities connect it also to Nos 9 (five Scriptural items), 8 and 12 (four). This Sraassburg Missal dates from 1493.

12)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 7550, Insderdorf Missal, 1437, fol. 127, integral.

Rubric: *Contra infidels.*

Introit: 'Iudica domine nocentes'.¹⁸⁶

Collect: 'Deus qui conteris bella et inpugnatores in te sperantium potentia tue defensionis expungas, auxiliare implorantibus misericordiam tuam, ut omni feritate compressa indefessa te gratiarum actione laudemus'.¹⁸⁷

Epistle: 'Miserere nostri deus omnium'.¹⁸⁸

Gradual: 'Sciant gentes'.¹⁸⁹

Alleluia Verse: 'Domine deus salutis'.¹⁹⁰

Gospel: 'I.i.t. dixit Ihesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc. Quoniam oportet semper orare—putas inveniet fidem super terram'.¹⁹¹

Offertory: 'Eripe me de inimicis'.¹⁹²

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod ymolamus intende, ~~ut ab omni nos exuat bellorum nequitia~~ ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas nequitia paganorum, et in tue protectionis securitate constituat'.¹⁹³

Communion: 'Domine deus meus, in te'.¹⁹⁴

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et ~~ab hostium nos~~ et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omni perturbatione sumoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant'.¹⁹⁵

Identification: This War Mass *contra infideles* is built around a Pre-Clementine core; its Collect has been adopted from *In tempore belli* Mass, and both its Secret and Postcommunion are pre-Clementine prayers subsequently 'corrected' to a Clementine form. The Scriptural configuration is strongly related to Nos 8 (seven shared

¹⁸⁶ Psalm 43.23–25. Monday in Holy Week.

¹⁸⁷ Collect of the *In tempore belli* Mass.

¹⁸⁸ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–18 or 10.

¹⁸⁹ Psalm 82.19–20. Sexagesima Sunday.

¹⁹⁰ Psalm 87.2. 12th Sunday after Pentecost.

¹⁹¹ Luke 18.2–8.

¹⁹² Psalm 142.9–10. Monday in Holy Week.

¹⁹³ Pre-Clementine Secret 'corrected' to Clementine form.

¹⁹⁴ Psalm 7.2. Ember Saturday, 1st Week in Lent.

¹⁹⁵ A Pre-Clementine text 'corrected' to Clementine form.

items), 9 (six items), 10 and 11 (four items). Weaker affinities (two shared items) connect it to a fairly large number of other Masses: Nos 3, 14, 15, 21, 24, 25, and 26. This is probably the source for the cluster of Nos 8, 9, 10, 11. Its source, an Insderdorf Missal, is dated to 1437.

13)

Sources: London, BL, C. 52. h. 8, Narbonne 1528, fols CCLIX^v—CCLX.

Rubric: *Missa contra insultum paganorum.*

Introit: ‘Iudica me, deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta, ab homine iniquo et doloso eripe me, quia tu es deus meus et fortitudo mea’.¹⁹⁶

Psalm: ‘Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam, ipsa me deduxerunt et adduxerunt in montem sanctum tuum et in tabernacula tua’.¹⁹⁷

Collect: ‘Domine deus qui ad hoc irascaris ut subvenias, ad hoc minaris ut parcas, lapsis manum porrige, et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre, ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris cognoscimus prevalere te miserante sentiamus cessare’.¹⁹⁸

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium et respice—mirabilia tua domine deus noster’.¹⁹⁹
A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies, in its shorter version, omitting the reference to the liberation of Jerusalem.

Gradual: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, domine, doce me facere voluntatem tuam’.²⁰⁰

Verse: ‘Liberator meus, domine, de gentibus iracundis, ab insurgentibus in me exaltabis me, a viro iniquo eripe me’.²⁰¹

Alleluia Verse: ‘Qui timent Dominum sperent in eo, adiutor eorum et protector eorum est’.²⁰²

Tract: ‘Commovisti, domine, terram, et conturbasti eam’.²⁰³

Verse: ‘Sana contritiones eius, quia commota est terra’.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁶ Psalm 42.1–2.

¹⁹⁷ Psalm 42.3. Introit + Psalm of Passion Sunday.

¹⁹⁸ This Collect of the *Pro paganis* triple set originated in the Gregorian Sacramentaries of the ninth century (No. 2564 in Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien*; as in note 10) and was maintained in later service books (e.g., in the Anglo-Saxon Missal, ed. H. Wilson (*Contra paganos*), p. 268; the Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur (Use of Moissac, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fols 22^v–223).

¹⁹⁹ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–10.

²⁰⁰ Psalm 142.9–10.

²⁰¹ Psalm 17.48–49 (slight textual changes). Gradual + Verse of Passion Sunday.

²⁰² Psalm 113.19 (11). Alleluia Verse of 22nd Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁰³ Psalm 59.4.

²⁰⁴ Psalm 59.4.

Verse: ‘Ut fugiant a facie arcus et liberentur electi tui’.²⁰⁵

Gospel: ‘In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Impossibile est ut non veniant scandala—et obediet vobis’.²⁰⁶

Faith works miracles (‘si haberetis fidem sicut granum sinapis . . .’).

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superbiorum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine’.²⁰⁷

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende placatus, ut ab omni nos exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.²⁰⁸

Communion: ‘Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei, avertantur retrorsum, et erubescant valde velociter’.²⁰⁹

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et a paganorum nos defende periculis, ut omni perturbatione submota liberis tibi mentibus serviamus’.²¹⁰

Identification: This is a highly original service. It is structured around a traditional triple set *Pro paganis* anchored on the Collect *Domine deus qui ad hoc irascaris*, and both Secret and Postcommunion have been retained in their pre-Clementine forms. Three Scriptural items—the Epistle, the Offertory, and the Communion—are shared with other *Contra paganos* Masses, but this Mass has no clear affinity with any of them (two is the maximum number of shared items). The Introit, Gradual, and Gospel are completely original. With the possible exception of the Introit Psalm’s reference to Jerusalem, this Mass transmits a message that is applicable to any pagan enemy. This Missal dates from 1528.

14)

Sources: London, BL, C.52.d.12, Monte Cassino, 1507, fols 284A–B; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. B.f.10, Monte Cassino, 1515, fol. 289A.

Rubric: *Missa contra paganos*.

Introit: ‘Liberator meus de gentibus iracundis, et ab insurgentibus in me exaltabis me, a viro iniquo eripies me, domine’.²¹¹

²⁰⁵ Psalm 59.6. Tract with two verses of Sexagesima Sunday.

²⁰⁶ Luke 17.1–6.

²⁰⁷ Psalm 17.28, 32. Offertory of Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

²⁰⁸ A predominantly Pre-Clementine version of the Masses *In tempore belli*; *Contra paganos*.

²⁰⁹ Psalm 6.11.

²¹⁰ The Secret of the *Pro paganis* set cited above. The Postcommunion’s text—No. 2566 (2541) in Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 10) and the above-cited sources—is obviously that of the pre-Clementine Postcommunion. See above, pp. 129–30.

²¹¹ Psalm 17.48–49.

Psalm: ‘Diligam te, domine, fortitudo mea, dominus firmamentum meum et refugium meum et liberator meus’.²¹²

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu—dextere tue potentia conterantur’.²¹³

Epistle:

1. ‘Oravit Hester ad dominum dicens—canentium te domine deus noster’.²¹⁴
Israel sinned and was punished, but now the pagans ‘volunt tua mutare promissa et delere hereditatem tuam . . .’.
2. ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium et respice—ut enarrent mirabilia tua domine deus noster’.²¹⁵

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies. This is the shorter version, omitting the explicit reference to the liberation of Jerusalem.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.²¹⁶

Verse: ‘Deus meus. pone illos ut rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti, ut fugiant a facie arcus, ut liberentur dilecti tui’.²¹⁷

Alleluia Verse:

1. ‘Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius’.²¹⁸
2. ‘Sicut deficit fumus deficiant, et sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic pereant pagani a facie Dei’.²¹⁹

Tract: ‘Usquequo, domine, irasceris in finem, accendetur velut ignis zelus tuus’.²²⁰

Verse:

1. ‘Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non noverunt, et in regna que nomen tuum non invocaverunt’.²²¹
2. ‘Ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum qui effusus est, introeat in conspectu tuo gemitus compeditorum’.²²²

²¹² Psalm 17.2–3. Introit + Psalm of Wednesday in Passion Week.

²¹³ The Clementine Collect.

²¹⁴ Esther 14.3–9 (slight changes). A possible confusion with the similar prayer in 13.8–17 (‘Mardocheus autem deprecatus est—et non claudas ora te canentium’).

²¹⁵ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–10.

²¹⁶ Psalm 82.19–20.

²¹⁷ Psalm 82.14 + 59.6. Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

²¹⁸ Psalm 67.2.

²¹⁹ Psalm 67.3. A happy alteration of ‘peccatores’ to ‘pagani’.

²²⁰ Psalm 78.5.

²²¹ Psalm 78.6.

²²² Psalm 78.10–11.

Gospel: 'In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Quum audieritis prelia—in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras'.²²³

The coming wars and commotions—related to the destruction of the Temple—constitute the apocalyptic time of trial for the true Christians.

Offertory: 'Iudica, domine, nocentes nos, expugna impugnantes nos, apprehende arma et scutum et exurge in adiutorium nobis, deus noster'.²²⁴

Secret: 'Sacrificium domine quod immolamus—securitate constituias'.²²⁵

Communion: 'Erue nos, domine, in mirabilibus tuis, et da gloriam nomini tuo'.²²⁶

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster—mentibus deserviant'.²²⁷

Identification: This Mass is structured around the Clementine triple set. Its Scriptural configuration is largely original—only the Gradual and the Readings are shared with other Masses of this type. The dominant tone is one of militant exhortation, tinged with apocalyptic expectations in relation to events in Jerusalem. The generous borrowing from Psalms 67, 78, and 82, all three closely associated with the Holy Land Clamor, and the adoption of the Clementine set for the core prayers, suggest that this Mass evolved within—or under the impact of—a Holy Land crusading context. A slight affinity with Nos 15 and 26 (two Scriptural items). The two Monte-Cassino sources date from 1507 and 1515.

15)

Sources: Paris, BNF, Rés. B 1350, Bezançon 1485, fols yii–yii verso.

Rubric: *Missa contra paganos*.

Introit: 'Misereris omnium, domine, et nichil odisti eorum que fecisti, dissimularis peccata hominum propter penitentiam et parcens illis, quia tu es dominus deus noster'.²²⁸

Psalm: 'Miserere mei, Deus, quia conculcavit me homo, tota die impugnans tribulavit me'.²²⁹

Collect: 'Ecclesiam tuam quesumus, domine, proprio sanguine filii tui redemptam perpetuis defende presidiiis, ne persecutionibus vallata paganorum perturbetur, sed tibi dulcissimo Domino omni tempore famuletur'.

Epistle: 'Miserere nostri deus omnium—ut enarrent mirabilia tua domine deus noster'.²³⁰

²²³ Luke 21.9–19.

²²⁴ Psalm 34.1–2.

²²⁵ The Clementine Secret.

²²⁶ Daniel 3.43.

²²⁷ The Clementine Postcommunion.

²²⁸ Wisdom of Solomon 11.24, 25, 24.

²²⁹ Psalm 55.2.

²³⁰ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–10. The short version.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes—omnem terram’.

Verse: ‘Deus meus pone—venti’.²³¹

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine, exaudi orationem meam et clamor meus ad te veniat’.²³²

Gospel: ‘In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Cum audieritis—possidebitis animas vestras’.²³³

The coming wars and commotions—in relation to the destruction of the Temple—constitute the apocalyptic time of trial for the true Christians.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superborum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine’.²³⁴

Secret: ‘Suscipe domine, quesumus, preces et hostias ecclesie tue pro defensione omnium fidelium tuorum, et antiqua brachii tui operare miracula, ut superatis pacis inimicis secura tibi serviat Christiana libertas’.

Communion: ‘Inclina aurem tuam, accelera ut eruas nos’.²³⁵

Postcommunion: ‘Rex omnium seculorum deus, cuius regnum super omnes populos dilatatur, subice, quesumus, gentem paganorum sub pedibus nostris, ut cunctis obprobriis abiectis tuis semper muniamur auxiliis’.

Identification: Structured around an unusual and probably original *Contra paganos* triple set of prayers explicitly directed against the pagans, this Mass contains one item (which it shares with numerous Masses of this type) that could possibly be interpreted in a Holy Land context—the Gradual. All the other items are of a general *Contra paganos* character. There is no obvious affinity with other Masses of this type; the closest relation is with Nos 14 and 26 (three shared Scriptural items). The single source—from Bezançon—dates from 1485.

16)

Sources: Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 91, Anchin Missal, first half of sixteenth century, fols 142–43^v (=D); London, BL, IA 42,171, *Eximii doctoris beati Gregorii pape Trentenarius unacum quibusdam novis missis*, Lyons 1500, fols CXXXI^v–CXXXII (=G); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10,015, French Evangeliar, sixteenth–seventeenth century, fol. 197 (=M); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 48,317, Lyons Missal, 1487, fols CCCXIV^v–CCCXV^v, (=L1); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mason O. 87, Lyons Missal 1510, fols CXC–CXC^v (=L2); IC. 19. 16. Th, Utrecht Missal, 1507, fols XXXVI^v–XXXVII (Votive Masses section), (=U); Paris,

²³¹ Psalm 82.19–20 + verse Psalm 82.14; Gradual + Verse of Sexagesima Sunday.

²³² Psalm 101.2.

²³³ Luke 21.9–19.

²³⁴ Psalm 17.28, 32. Offertory of Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

²³⁵ Psalm 30.3.

BNF, ms. lat. 871, Bordeaux Missal, second half of the fifteenth century, fols 351^v–52^v, integral (=B); Rés. 27,883, *Missa pro fide contra turcum et exercitum eius*, Lyons, M. Huss, c. 1480–82, fols 1–3^v (=H); Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 28 (33), Lyons Missal, fols 241^v–42 (=L3); Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 385, Rouen Missal, late fourteenth century, fols 371–72, integral (=R).²³⁶

Rubric: *Missa pro fide contra Turcum et exercitum eius ordinata per dominum nostrum Sixtum quartum pontificem maximum;*²³⁷ *Missa pro fide contra turcum et exercitum eius;*²³⁸ *Missa contra Turcum et exercitum eius;*²³⁹ *Missa pro fide contra Turcum;*²⁴⁰ *Missa contra Turcum seu paganos.*²⁴¹

Introit: ‘Omnia que fecisti nobis, domine, in vero iudicio fecisti, quia peccavimus tibi et mandatis tuis non obedivimus, sed da gloriam nomini tuo et fac nobiscum secundum multitudinem misericordie tue’.²⁴²

Psalm: ‘Beati immaculati in via qui ambulant in lege Domini’.²⁴³

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia conterantur’.²⁴⁴

Epistle: ‘Dixerunt unus quisque ad proximum suum—nisi tu adiuves nos, domine deus noster’.²⁴⁵

The Maccabees and their army exhort each other ‘erigamus deiectionem populi nostri et pugnemus pro populo nostro’, and pray for God’s help against the

²³⁶ Sigla:

B = Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 871

D = Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 91

G = Gregorii Trentenarius

L1 = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 48317

L2 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mason O. 87

M = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10015

R = Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale. ms. 385

U = Oxford, Bodleian Library, IC. 19. 16. Th

²³⁷ D.

²³⁸ H.

²³⁹ B (*om. et*); G; L 1–2; R.

²⁴⁰ L3.

²⁴¹ M, U.

²⁴² Daniel 3.31, 29, 43; Jeremiah 14.20.

²⁴³ Psalm 118:1. Introit + Psalm of Thursday in Passion Week; 20th Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁴⁴ The Clementine Collect.

²⁴⁵ 1 Maccabees 3.43–53.

sacrilegious ‘nationes’. The reading portion omits all the references to Jerusalem and its desecration by the gentiles (‘et Hierusalem non habitabatur sed erat sicut desertum . . . et sanctum conculcabatur . . .’ etc.).

Gradual: ‘Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’.²⁴⁶

Verse: ‘Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter honorem nominis tui, domine, libera nos’.²⁴⁷

Alleluia Verse: ‘Domine deus meus, in te speravi, salvum me fac, ex omnibus persequentibus me libera me’.²⁴⁸

Gospel: ‘Sublevatis Ihesus oculis in celum dixit—ut sint unum sicut et nos’.²⁴⁹

Christ’s intercessory prayer—‘serva eos in nomine tuo’.

Offertory: ‘Si ambulavero in medio tribulationis vivificabis me, domine, et super iram inimicorum meorum extendisti manum tuam, et salvum me fecit dextera tua’.²⁵⁰

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.²⁵¹

Communion: ‘In salutari tuo anima mea, et in verbum tuum speravi, quando facies de persequentibus me iudicium, iniqui persecuti sunt me, adjuva me, domine deus meus’.²⁵²

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.²⁵³

Identification: This anti-Turkish Mass was established by Sixtus IV in c. 1480. At its core we find the Clementine triple set, all three prayers in fairly accurate versions. It has close affinities with Nos 17 (seven shared Scriptural items) and 18 (six items). It shares with Nos 17 and 18 the Epistle, the Gradual, the Alleluia Verse, the Gospel, the Offertory, and the Communion and, secondarily, with 30 (it shares with all three the Offertory and the Communion). The absence of a Tract might suggest an immediate response to the fall of Otranto in 21 August 1480 and in close association with the proposed crusade against the Turks rather than a Mass designed for a long

²⁴⁶ Psalm 78.9–10.

²⁴⁷ Psalm 78.9. Gradual + Verse of Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent; Thursday, 2nd Week in Lent; 4th Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁴⁸ Psalm 7.2. Alleluia Verse of the Sunday within the Octave of Corpus Christi.

²⁴⁹ John 17.1–11.

²⁵⁰ Psalm 137.7. Offertory of Thursday, 3rd Week in Lent.

²⁵¹ The Clementine Secret.

²⁵² Psalm 118.81, 84, 86. Communion of 21st Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁵³ The exact Clementine Postcommunion is given in G, H, L. Variants: ‘servient’ (B), ‘deserviant’ (D, R).

duration. It supplicates God to protect his warriors, the new Maccabees, though it does not refer to Jerusalem. This is a typical crusading service directed specifically at 'the Turk and his army'. The Procession associated with this Mass is given below (No. 16/a). The chronological range of our evidence concerning this Mass extends from 1480/2 to the end of the sixteenth century,

16/a)

Procession linked to No. 16 according to H.

Resp. 'Aperi oculos—animas nostras.

V. Afflige opprimentes—partem tuam. Sed tu'.

V. 'Exurgat deus—inimici eius'.

R. 'Et fugiant—facie eius'.

Oremus 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt—conterantur'.²⁵⁴

17)

Sources: London, BL, C. 52. h. 8, Narbonne Missal, Narbonne 1528, fols CCLVIII^v–CCLIX.

Rubric: *Missa pro fidelibus contra paganos.*

Introit: Identical to No. 16.

Collect: Identical to No. 16.

Epistle: Identical to No. 16.

Gradual: Identical to No. 16.

Alleluia Verse:

1. 'Domine deus meus, in te speravi, salvum me fac, ex omnibus persequentibus me libera me'.²⁵⁵

2. 'Qui timent Dominum sperent in eo, adiutor et protector eorum est'.²⁵⁶

Tract: 'Commovisti, domine, terram, et conturbasti eam'.²⁵⁷

Verse:

1. 'Sana contritiones eius, quia commota est terra'.²⁵⁸

2. 'Ut fugiant a facie arcus, ut liberentur electi tui'.²⁵⁹

Gospel: 'Sublevatis Ihesus oculis in celum dixit—et ego ad te venio'.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁴ The Clementine Collect.

²⁵⁵ Psalm 7.2. Alleluia Verse of the Sunday within the Octave of Corpus Christi.

²⁵⁶ Psalm 113.19 (11). Alleluia Verse of the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁵⁷ Psalm 59.4.

²⁵⁸ Psalm 59.4.

²⁵⁹ Psalm 59.6. Tract + 2 Verses of Sexagesima Sunday.

²⁶⁰ John 17.1–11.

Christ's intercessory prayer, though without its final entreaty 'serva eos in nomine tuo'.

Offertory: Identical to No. 16.

Secret: Identical to No. 16.

Communion: Identical to No. 16.

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propitiatores [propugnatores] tuos a paganorum defende periculis—mentibus serviant'.²⁶¹

Identification: This Mass looks like the younger twin of Nos 16 (seven shared Scriptural items) and 18 (six items); to their common physiognomy it adds a second Alleluia Verse, and a Tract + two Verses (as in No. 13). It should be identified, consequently, as an anti-Turkish Mass. The Narbonne source dates from 1528.

18)

Sources: London, BL, C. 52. C. 7, Cluniac Order, Paris 1510, fols LXXXI^v–LXXXII^v.

Rubric: *Contra paganos*.

Introit: 'Omnia que fecisti nobis, domine, in vero iudicio fecisti, quia peccavimus tibi et mandatis tuis non obedivimus, sed da gloriam nomini tuo et fac nobiscum secundum multitudinem misericordie tue'.²⁶²

Psalm: 'Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis in civitate Dei nostri, in monte sancto eius'.²⁶³

Collect: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu—tue dextera comprimantur'.²⁶⁴

Epistle: Identical to No. 16.

Gradual: Identical to No. 16.

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 16.

Alleluia Verse tempore pasce: 'Subiecit populos nobis, et gentes sub pedibus nostris'.²⁶⁵

Tract: 'Deus, venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam'.²⁶⁶

Verse: 'Adiuvā nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter honorem nominis tui, domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum'.²⁶⁷

Gospel: Identical to No. 16.

²⁶¹ The Clementine Postcommunion.

²⁶² Daniel 3.31, 29, 43; Jeremiah 14.20.

²⁶³ Psalm 47.2; The Introit (minus the Psalm) of Thursday in Passion Week; 20th Sunday after Pentecost.

²⁶⁴ The Clementine Collect.

²⁶⁵ Psalm 46.4.

²⁶⁶ Psalm 78.1.

²⁶⁷ Psalm 78.9; unlike with the Gradual Verse, here the entire Verse is quoted.

Offertory: Identical to No. 16.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende—et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.²⁶⁸

Communion: Identical to No. 16.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos—liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.²⁶⁹

Identification: This Mass is an almost identical twin of both Nos 16 and 17 (six Scriptural items shared). It diverges from them in having a new text (referring to Jerusalem and Mount Sion) in place of the Introit’s original Psalm, and adding a second Alleluia Verse as well as a new Tract + Verse based on Psalm 78, the traditional Jerusalem Crusading Psalm. While it maintains the overall general message (applicable to the specific Turkish target) of the parent sources, it laces those generalities with some very explicit Jerusalemite texts. The French Cluniac source dates from 1510.

19)

Sources: London, BL, C. 36. l. 9, Würzburg Missal, Würzburg 1509, fols CCLX^v–CCLXVI; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Würzburg Missal, Würzburg 1481, fol. CCCXXIII.

Rubric: *Contra hereticos aut thurcos.*

Introit: ‘Omnia que fecisti nobis—secundum multitudinem misericordie tue’.

Psalm ‘Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis in civitate Dei nostri, in monte sancto eius’.²⁷⁰

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu—dextera tue potentie conterantur’.²⁷¹

Epistle: ‘Factum est verbum Domini ad Iheremiam. Vocavitque—et habitare vos faciam in terra vestra, ait dominus omnipotens’.²⁷²

Gradual: ‘Adiutor in opportunitatibus in tribulatione, sperent in te qui noverunt te, quoniam non derelinquis querentes te, domine’.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ The Clementine Secret.

²⁶⁹ The Clementine Postcommunion.

²⁷⁰ Daniel 3.31, 29, 43; Jeremiah 14.20 [+ Psalm 118.1]. Both sources omit the Introit’s Psalm. I have restored it on the hypothesis that it was identical with the Introit’s Psalm of No. 13, and with that of the *Missa devota tempore guerre* . . . (see below, p. 226) that seems to depend on this source.

²⁷¹ The Clementine Collect.

²⁷² Jeremiah 42.7–[?]. Epistle of the *Missa In tempore belli*.

²⁷³ Psalm 9.10–11.

Verse: 'Quoniam non in finem oblivio erit pauperum, patientia pauperum non peribit in eternum, exurge, domine, non prevaleat homo'.²⁷⁴

Alleluia Verse: 'Ostende nobis misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis'.²⁷⁵

Gospel: 'Sedente Iesu super Monte Oliveti accenserunt—qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit'.²⁷⁶

Jesus's apocalyptic prophecy, linking the desecration of Jerusalem and the Temple with the Last Tribulations and the Second Coming was already encountered in this context in No. 14 (Luke 21.9–19). The 1509 ed. replaces it with Luke 6.12–23 on the choice of the Apostles and their mission.

Offertory: 'Sperant in te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum, domine, quoniam non derelinquis querentes te, psallite domino qui habitat in Syon, quoniam non est oblitus orationem pauperum'.²⁷⁷

Secret: 'Sacrificium domine quod immolamus intende—protectionis securitate custodias'.²⁷⁸

Communion: 'Inclina aurem tuam, accelera ut eruas nos'.²⁷⁹

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus erepti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant'.²⁸⁰

Identification: This Mass, structured around a Clementine core, stands at a considerable distance from No. 18, notwithstanding their common Introit. Its Scriptural configuration, furthermore, does not stand in any clear affinity with other Masses. It transmits a strong Jerusalemite message through the Epistle, Gospel and Offertory, although its rubric specifies the Turks and the heretics as its target. It might represent the source employed by Sixtus IV, a Holy Land Mass that was converted into a *Contra Turcas* Mass. The author of the *Missa devota tempore guerre vel pro nimis pressuris*, interpolated into MS Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, No. 102, fol. 382^v, borrowed from this source some of its distinctive items—Gradual + Verse, Alleluia Verse, and Communion—together with the Introit [+ Psalm]. These two Würzburg sources date from 1481 and 1509.

20)

Sources: London, BL, IB 25,954, Ambrosian Use Missal, Milan 1475, fols CXCIX^v–CC.

²⁷⁴ Psalm 9.19–20. Gradual and Verse of Septuagesima Sunday.

²⁷⁵ Psalm 84.8.

²⁷⁶ Matthew 24.3–13. Gospel of the *Commune plurimorum martyrorum*.

²⁷⁷ Based on Psalm 9.11–13. Offertory of Tuesday in Passion Week; 3rd Sunday after Pentecost. Omitted in the 1481 ed.

²⁷⁸ The Clementine Secret.

²⁷⁹ Psalm 30.3.

²⁸⁰ The Clementine Postcommunion. In the printed edition of 1509. 'serviant'.

Rubric: *Missa pro persecutione paganorum.*

Introit: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es mestorum consolatio et tribulantium fortitudo, respice familiam tuam paganorum insidiis deceptam, ut que nostro adiutorio privatur tue defensionis brachio roboretur’.

Super syndonem: ‘Miserere iam, domine, miserere populo tuo flenti atque gementi nimis, ut qui Sarracinorum iaculis seu Ungrorum sagittis sine fine percutimur, de eorum manibus per intercessionem omnium sanctorum tuorum quotidie liberemur’.

Super oblatis: ‘Has tibi, domine, offerimus oblationes pro captivorum nostrorum liberatione, ut qui diu pro nostris offensibus laceramur, pro salute unigeniti filii tui a cunctis malis imminetibus eruamur’.

Preface: ‘Eterne deus. Qui filios Israel nimia servitute, per fidelissimum tuum Moysen ducem liberare dignatus es, et per varia signa atque portenta eos in terram promissionis transtulisti, tribue supplicibus tuis misericors paganorum laqueis detentis aditum revertendi, ut restituti in ecclesia tua sancta tibi deo omnipotenti referant laudes et gratias sine fine dicentes. Sanctus’.

Postcommunion: ‘Repleti, domine, celestibus alimentis humiliter exoramus, ut qui infinita paganorum multitudine aggravamur per hac sacrosancta remedia tueamur’.

Identification: This Ambrosian Mass is a complete maverick; it stands alone, with no real relation to other Masses of this type. The association of Saracens with Hungarians in the Super Syndonem prayer derives, probably, from the insertion of an actual foe into an old text that still preserved the designation of the Hungarians as enemies of the Faith, obviously prior to their conversion in the eleventh century. The Preface, on the other hand, seems to reflect the common reaction to the fall of Christian Jerusalem in 1187.

21)

Sources: London, BL, Add. 17,355, a late twelfth-century Missal, perhaps written in Germany, a thirteenth-century interpolation on fols 195–95^v (incomplete).

Rubric: *Missa pro tribulatione Ierusalem.*

Introit: ‘Reminiscere [miserationum tuarum, domine, et misericordie tuarum que a seculo sunt, ne umquam dominantur nobis inimici nostri, libera nos deus Israel ex omnibus angustiis nostris].’²⁸¹

Psalm: ‘Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam’.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Psalm 24.6, 3, 22.

²⁸² Psalm 24.1–2. Introit + Psalm completed according to the Introit + Psalm of the second Sunday in Lent. The same Introit was used in Ember Wednesday, 1st Week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione; In tempore belli*.

Collect: ‘Deus qui ad hoc irasceris ut subvenias, ad hoc mineris ut parcas, lapsis manus porrige et laborantibus multiplici miseratione succurre, ut gentem paganam quam pro peccatis nostris super nos cognoscimus prevalere te miserante sentiamus cessare’.²⁸³

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri, deus omnium, et respice’.²⁸⁴

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes’.²⁸⁵

Alleluia Verse: ‘Propitius [esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’].²⁸⁶

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum [peccata nostra fecit nobis, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuit nobis]’.²⁸⁷

Gospel: ‘Cum egrederetur Ihesus de templo—in parentes in morte’ (incomplete?).²⁸⁸
The destruction of Jerusalem opens the apocalyptic time of Tribulation.

Identification: Though incomplete, this is an unmistakable Jerusalem War Mass, by rubric and content alike. The Epistle calls for the salvation of Israel and the liberation of Jerusalem, and the Gospel explicates the apocalyptic message hinted in the rubric *De tribulatione Ierusalem*. That ‘tribulation’ is seen here as much more than a concrete historical misfortune, it acquires a distinct apocalyptic meaning by its association with the Gospel’s prophecy that ‘Erunt enim dies illi *tribulationes* tales quales non fuerunt ab initio creaturae’ (v. 19). The entire Mass seems to be structured around the traditional *Pro paganis* set of *Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris—Sacrificium—Protector*, though the loss of both Secret and Postcommunion does not permit certain conclusions. The Alleluia Verse was selected from Psalm 78. Probably composed in the thirteenth century—a date implied by the codicological data—this Mass seems to be the earliest dedicated Mass of the Jerusalem Crusade, and if this is the case its affinities with several later Masses should be reconsidered under the assumption that they form stemmatic relations. Such a relationship can be posited with the later *Reminiscere Contra paganos* Masses (Nos 22, 24), but it was probably true in regard to single items as well, e.g., the Introit (Nos 22, 23, 24, 25,

²⁸³ The pre-Clementine Collect of the *Pro paganis* triple set that originated in the Gregorian Sacramentaries of the ninth century (No. 2564 in Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien* (as in note 10)) and was maintained in later service books (e.g., in the Anglo-Saxon Missal, ed. by Wilson (*Contra paganos*) (as in note 198), p. 268; the Sacramentary of Figeac, Saint-Sauveur (Use of Moissac, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fols 22^v–223).

²⁸⁴ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–[?].

²⁸⁵ Psalm 82.19–[20]. Gradual of Sexagesima Sunday. Conflated from several versions (see, in particular, the Iuxta Hebraeos and the Ambrosian variant ‘sciant’ instead of the more common ‘cognoscant’)

²⁸⁶ Psalm 78.9–[10].

²⁸⁷ Psalm 102.10.

²⁸⁸ Mark 13.1–[12?].

26), the Epistle (shared also by Nos 1, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 26, 27, 36), the Gradual (adopted by Nos 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 25, 44, 46), and the Tract (shared by Nos 1, 22, 27, 31, 33, 38).

22)

Sources: London, BL, IC. 2638, Bamberg Missal 1490, fol. CCLXXVI^v (=B1); C. 52. h. 6, Bamberg Missal 1506, fols CLVIII–CLVIII^v (=B2); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 39228, Regensburg Missal, 1500, fols CCCXXXI^v–CCCII (=R2); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 4. Q. 2. 4, Regensburg Use, 1485, fol. 320 (=R1); Auct. 4. Q. 2. 7, Regensburg Use, 1518, fols CCCXLVI–CCCXLVII (=R3);.

Rubric: *Missa contra Thurcos et hereticos*;²⁸⁹ *Contra paganos et hereticos*;²⁹⁰ *Contra paganos*.²⁹¹

Introit: ‘Reminiscere’²⁹² miserationum tuarum, domine, et misericordie tue que a seculo sunt, ne unquam dominantur nobis inimici nostri, libera nos, deus Israel, ex omnibus angustiis nostris’.²⁹³

Psalm: ‘Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido non erubescam’.²⁹⁴

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice benignus ad auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum, hereticorum et eis adherentium, qui in sua ferocitate confidunt, dextera tue potentie conterantur’.²⁹⁵

Epistle: ‘Clamaverunt filii Israel—nostram evenisse credamus’.²⁹⁶

Includes prayers for forgiveness, penitence and salvation.

Gradual: ‘Exurge, domine, fer opem nobis, et libera nos propter nomen tuum’.²⁹⁷

Verse: ‘Deus, auribus nostris audivimus, patres nostri annuntiaverunt nobis opus quod operatus es in diebus eorum et in diebus antiquis’.²⁹⁸

²⁸⁹ R 1, 3.

²⁹⁰ B 1, 2.

²⁹¹ R2.

²⁹² Meminiscere B1.

²⁹³ Psalm 24.6, 3, 22.

²⁹⁴ R 1, 2. Psalm 24.1–2. Introit + Psalm of Ember Wednesday, 1st Week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione*; *In tempore belli*.

²⁹⁵ The Clementine Collect adapted to the particular goal of this Mass. R 1–3: paganorum vel/et hereticorum B 1, 2.

²⁹⁶ Judith 7.18–8.27.

²⁹⁷ Psalm 43.26.

²⁹⁸ Psalm 43.2. Gradual + Verse of Tuesday, 4th Week in Lent.

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis’.²⁹⁹

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis’.³⁰⁰

Gospel: ‘Petite et dabitur vobis—spiritum petentibus se’.³⁰¹

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: ‘Deus, tu convertens vivificabis nos, et plebs tua letabitur in te, ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam et salutare tuum da nobis’.³⁰²

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas nequitia paganorum, hereticorum et eis adherentium, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.³⁰³

Communion: ‘Tu, domine, servabis nos, et custodies nos a generatione hac in eternum’.³⁰⁴

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum, hereticorum et eis adherentium defende periculis, ut a perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.³⁰⁵

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, this Southern German Mass shares with No. 21 the Introit and the Tract + Verse. Its strongest affinity is with No. 23 (6 Scriptural items). Weak affinities link it also to Nos 27 (three shared items), 31, 33, and 38 (two shared items). It is directed specifically against the Turks, and in general at infidels and heretics. The earliest evidence concerning this service dates from 1485, the latest from 1518.

23)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14,450, Missal of Sankt Emmeram, Regensburg, fourteenth century, fols 191–92.

Rubric: *Missa contra hereticos*.

Introit: Identical to No. 22.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes perfidorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur’.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁹ Psalm 84.8.

³⁰⁰ Psalm 102.10. In R1, 2.

³⁰¹ Luke 11.9–13.

³⁰² Psalm 84.7. Offertory of 2nd Sunday of Advent; Ember Friday in December.

³⁰³ The Clementine Secret adapted to the particular goal of this Mass. R 1, 2.

³⁰⁴ Psalm 11.8. Communion of Friday, 2nd Week in Lent.

³⁰⁵ The Clementine Postcommunion adapted to the particular goal of this Mass. R 1–3.

³⁰⁶ The Clementine Collect.

Epistle: Identical to No. 22.

Gradual: ‘Exsurge, domine, non prevaleat homo, iudicentur gentes in conspectu tuo’.³⁰⁷

Verse: ‘In convertendo inimicum meum retrorsum infirmabuntur, et perient a facie tua’.³⁰⁸

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 22.

Gospel: Identical to No. 22.

Offertory: Identical to No. 22.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni erue perfidorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.³⁰⁹

Communion: Identical to No. 22.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a perfidorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus semoti perturbationibus liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.³¹⁰

Identification: Built around the Clementine core, this *Contra hereticos* Mass is identical with No. 22 except that it does not have a Tract, and it presents a different Gradual. The absence of a Tract might indicate an earlier stage in this Mass’s evolution, and the different Graduals—both beginning with *Exurge domine*—could have resulted from different expansion of the same cue.

24)

Sources: London, BL, C. 24. f. 8, Camaldolese Missal, 1503, pp. 157A–57B.

Rubric: *Missa contra paganos*.

Introit: ‘Reminiscere miserationum tuarum, domine, et misericordie tuque a seculo sunt, ne umquam dominantur nobis inimici nostri, libera nos, deus Israel, ex omnibus angustiis nostris’.³¹¹

Psalm: ‘Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam’.³¹²

Collect: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et a paganorum nos defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus summoti liberis tibi mentibus serviamus’.³¹³

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri deus omnium—mirabilia tua domine deus noster’.³¹⁴

³⁰⁷ Psalm 9.20.

³⁰⁸ Psalm 9.4. Gradual + Verse of Tuesday, 4th Week in Lent.

³⁰⁹ A Clementine Secret.

³¹⁰ An essentially Clementine Postcommunion.

³¹¹ Psalm 24.6, 3, 22.

³¹² Psalm 24.1–2. Introit + Psalm of Ember Wednesday in the first week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione*; *In tempore belli*.

³¹³ A pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* Postcommunion contaminated by the Clementine version.

³¹⁴ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–10.

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies. This is the shorter version, omitting the explicit reference to the liberation of Jerusalem.

Gradual: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et respice super servos tuos'.³¹⁵

Verse: 'Domine deus virtutum, exaudi preces servorum tuorum'.³¹⁶

Alleluia Verse: 'Propitius esto peccatis nostris, domine, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum'.³¹⁷

Gospel: 'In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc: Quoniam oportet semper orare et non deficere'.³¹⁸

Offertory: 'Deus, in adiutorium meum intende, domine, ad adjuvandum me festina, confundantur omnes qui cogitant servis tuis mala'.³¹⁹

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut ab omni nos exuat paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate custodiat'.³²⁰

Communion: 'Dicite pusillanimes, confortamini et nolite timere, ecce deus noster veniet et salvabit nos'.³²¹

Postcommunion: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.³²²

Identification: The affinity of this Camaldolese Mass to No. 21 is brought out in their common sharing of the Introit, Epistle, Alleluia Verse, and in their adoption of traditional, pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* prayers. It presents also weaker affinities (only two shared items) with Nos 1, the pair 8, 9, and with 12, 25, 39, and 26. Employing the Postcommunion as a Collect and vice versa is unusual, but not absurd; unlike the Secret, both prayers (in their present versions) are not exclusively proper to either the Collect or the Postcommunion stages of the Eucharistic service and can, consequently, be freely interchanged. This source dates from 1503.

³¹⁵ Psalm 83.10; 89.16.

³¹⁶ Psalm 83.9. Change of 'exaudi precem tuam'. Gradual + Psalm of 5th Sunday after Pentecost.

³¹⁷ Psalm 78.9–10.

³¹⁸ Luke 18.2–[8].

³¹⁹ Psalm 69.2; Daniel 3.44.

³²⁰ A pre-Clementine *In tempore belli* and *Contra paganos* Secret contaminated by the Clementine version.

³²¹ Isaiah 35.4. Communion of 3rd Sunday in Advent.

³²² A pre-Clementine *Contra paganos* Collect contaminated by the Clementine version.

25)

Sources: Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 271, Salzburg Missal Vorau Use, fifteenth century, integral, partly full texts and partly cues with references to folio numbers, fols 221–22.

Rubric: *Contra paganos*.

Introit: ‘Reminiscere miserationum tuarum, domine, et misericordie tuque a seculo sunt, ne umquam dominantur nobis inimici nostri, libera nos, deus Israel, ex omnibus angustiis nostris’.³²³

Psalm: ‘Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam’.³²⁴

Collect: ‘Omnipotens’ (reference to fol. LXXV).

Epistle: ‘Benedictus deus’ (reference to fol. XCIX).³²⁵

Gradual: ‘Tribulationes cordis mei dilatate sunt, de necessitatibus meis eripe me, domine’.³²⁶

Verse: ‘Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte omnia peccata mea’.³²⁷

Alleluia Verse: ‘Eripe’ (reference to fol. XLVI).³²⁸

Gospel: ‘In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis parabolam hanc: Quoniam oportet semper orare et non deficere—cito faciet vindictam illorum’.³²⁹

Offertory: ‘Domine, in auxilium meum respice, confundantur et revereantur qui querunt animam meam ut auferant eam’.³³⁰

Communion: ‘Domine deus meus, in te speravi, libera me ab omnibus persequentibus me et eripe me’.³³¹

Identification: Probably built around the Clementine set (only the Collect is designated), this *Contra paganos* Mass does not depend on any one source. Its Gradual and Offertory are original, and it shares only two items with No. 24 (Introit and Gospel) and Nos 8, 9, 12 (Gospel and Communion). The only evidence for it is a Salzburg Missal, Vorau Use, from the fifteenth century.

³²³ Psalm 24.6, 3, 22.

³²⁴ Psalm 24.1–2. Introit + Psalm of Ember Wednesday in the first week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione*; *In tempore belli*.

³²⁵ II Corinthians 1.3–11 (?).

³²⁶ Psalterium Romanum 24.17.

³²⁷ Psalterium Romanum 24.18.

³²⁸ Psalm 58.2(?).

³²⁹ Luke 18.2–8.

³³⁰ Psalm 70.12 + 39.15.

³³¹ Psalm 7.2.

26)

Sources: Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Palatinus latinus 446, German provenance, fol. 254, fifteenth century (=P); Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vaticanus latinus 10,084, Votive Missal of Nuns of the Augustinian Rule: Triefenstein, Diocese of Würzburg, late fifteenth century, fols 95–99, integral (=Aug).

Rubric: *Officium integrale contra perfidos persecutores fidei Christi Thurcos et alios imitatores dampnati Machumeti*.³³² *Contra turcos*.³³³

Introit: 'Reminiscere miserationum tuarum—angustiis nostris'.³³⁴

Psalm: 'Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam'.³³⁵

Collect: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates ac omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que de sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.³³⁶

Epistle: 'Miserere nostri, deus omnium, et respice—ut enarrent mirabilia tua domine deus noster'.³³⁷

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies.

Gradual: 'Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram'.

Verse: 'Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti'.³³⁸

Alleluia Verse: 'Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me'.³³⁹

vel Tractus in XLma: 'Commovisti domine terram meam et conturbasti eam'.

[Verse]: 'Sana contritiones eius quia commota est'.

[Verse]: 'Ut fugiant a facie arcus et liberentur dilecti tui'.³⁴⁰

³³² P.

³³³ Aug.

³³⁴ Psalm 24.6, 3, 22

³³⁵ Sic P. Aug gives a shorter version: 'Ad te, domine, levavi animam'. Psalm 24.1–2 Ember Wednesday in the first week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione*; *In tempore belli*. P terminates with 'Gloria patri'; Aug with 'Gloria in excelsis dicitur Dominus'.

³³⁶ A Clementine Collect. Sic Aug; P transmits some variants, but both agree against almost all other sources in replacing 'et' with 'ac'.

³³⁷ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–10.

³³⁸ Psalm 82.19–20 + verse Psalm 82.14. Sexagesima Sunday.

³³⁹ Psalm 58.2. 9th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*. P inserts 'tu solus altissimus super omnem terram' between 'inimicis meis' and '[deus] meus'—an obvious copyist's error.

³⁴⁰ Only in P, with two textual variants: 'terram meam' and 'dilecti'. Psalm 59.4, 6. Tract with two Verses of Sexagesima Sunday.

Prose: 'Nulla sequentia'.³⁴¹

Gospel: 'I.i.d.I.d.d. Cum audieritis prelia—possidebitis animas vestras'.³⁴²

The coming wars and commotions are the apocalyptic time of trial for the true Christians.

'Credo dicitur'.³⁴³

Offertory: 'Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superbiorum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine'.³⁴⁴

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod ymmolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas nequitia paganorum, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas'.³⁴⁵

Communion: 'Letabimur in salutari tuo, et in nomine domini Dei nostri magnificabimur'.³⁴⁶

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut a perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant'.³⁴⁷

Identification: A *Contra Turcos* Mass, built around the Clementine triple set, with no clear affinity to any Mass, but with weak affinities to a large number (three shared Scriptural items with Nos 14, 15, 21, 30, 36; two shared items with nos 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 24, 25, 27, 28, 33). The Tract in P appears also in Nos 13 and 17. The Communion is its only original piece. Preserved in two fifteenth-century manuscripts, both of German provenance.

27)

Sources: Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 61 (56), fourteenth century, interpolation on fols 263–63^v.

Rubric: *Missa pro Terra Sancta*

Introit: 'Salus populi ego sum, dicit dominus, de quacumque tribulatione clamaverunt ad me exaudiam eos et ero illorum dominus inperpetuum'.³⁴⁸

Psalm: 'Attendite, popule meus, legem meam'.³⁴⁹

³⁴¹ Only in Aug.

³⁴² Luke 21.9–19.

³⁴³ Only in Aug.

³⁴⁴ Psalm 17.28, 32. Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

³⁴⁵ Clementine Secret as in Aug. P contains several variants: '... et propugnatores tuos ab omni eximas alii exuat paganorum nequitia et in tue protectionis prosperitate constituas'.

³⁴⁶ Psalm 19.6.

³⁴⁷ Clementine Postcommunion as in Aug. P reads '... et propugna propugnatores a paganorum defende periculis ut a perturbationibus submoti liberis tibi mentibus servire mereantur'.

³⁴⁸ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

³⁴⁹ Psalm 77.1. The Introit + Psalm to the *Pro quacumque tribulatione* Mass; Thursday, 3rd Week in Lent; 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus—dextere tue potentia conterantur’.³⁵⁰

Epistle: ‘Miserere nostri, deus omnium, et respice nos’.³⁵¹

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies.

Gradual: ‘Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’.³⁵²

Verse: ‘Adiuva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter honorem nominis tui, domine, libera nos’.³⁵³

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis, domine, manum tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis’.³⁵⁴

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum’.³⁵⁵

Gospel: ‘Petite et dabitur vobis’.³⁵⁶

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superborum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine’.³⁵⁷

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ac propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.³⁵⁸

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite quia accipietis et fiet vobis’.³⁵⁹

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus submoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.³⁶⁰

Identification: Structured around the Clementine triple set, this fourteenth-century Holy Land Mass from France has some affinity with numerous Masses; none of its items is peculiar to it alone. It is linked primarily with Nos 31, 33, 35, 38 (four Scriptural items) and Nos 1, 32, 36 (three items).

³⁵⁰ A perfect Clementine Collect.

³⁵¹ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–[?].

³⁵² Psalm 78.9–10.

³⁵³ Psalm 78.9. Gradual + Verse of Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent; Thursday, 2nd Week in Lent; 4th Sunday after Pentecost.

³⁵⁴ Psalm 84.8.

³⁵⁵ Psalm 102.10.

³⁵⁶ Luke 11.9[–13].

³⁵⁷ Psalm 17.28, 32. Offertory of Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

³⁵⁸ The Clementine Secret.

³⁵⁹ Mark 11.24.

³⁶⁰ The Clementine Postcommunion.

28)

Sources: Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 431, Misc. Coll., thirteenth century, interpolation added to an interpolated Clementine triple set, fol. 9, basic, cues only with references to folio numbers (=G); Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 134, fifteenth century, 2nd hand addition following Calixtus III's Bull *Cum hiis superioribus*, fol. 4^v, basic, cues only (=K1); MS 150, fifteenth century, Melk Breviary, integral, fols 230^v–31, basic, cues with references to source Masses (=K2); Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 164, Lambach Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fol. 304^v, partly full texts and partly cues with references to folio numbers (=L1); MS 264, Lambach Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation added to an interpolated Clementine triple set (*Oratio tempore passagii*), fol. 2^v, full texts, no rubric (=L2); MS 316, Lambach Missal (Passau), fifteenth century, integral, fol. 217^v, partly full texts and partly cues with references to folio numbers (=L3); Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 18, Missal, 1494, integral, partly cues with folio references and partly full texts, fols 243^v–44^v (=N); Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 353, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 2, cues only with references to folio numbers (=M1); MS 360, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation (back pastedown), partly full texts and partly cues (=M2); MS 456, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. a, cues only with references to folio numbers (=M3); MS 826, Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 176, basic, cues only with references to folio numbers (=M5); MS 1050, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 282^v–83, mainly cues with references to folio numbers (=M6); MS 1057, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 248^v, cues only with references to folio numbers (=M4); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4553, Roman Missal, Benediktbeuren, fifteenth century 2nd half, integral, fols 127^v–28 (=U1); Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, MS III.205A, Sankt Florian Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 2^v, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses (=F1); MS XI.389, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation dated to 1466, fol. 11, partly full texts and partly cues with later references to folio numbers (=F2);³⁶¹ MS XI.391, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. LXVII, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses (=F3); MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. d^v, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses, later references to folio numbers (=F4); MS XI.392, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fourth folio before the last folio, full texts, (=F5); MS XI.393, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses (=F6); MS XI.394, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth

³⁶¹ Following the Postcommunion: 'Durante bello Calixtus papa concedit omnibus sacerdotibus hanc missam legentibus C dies indulgentiarum. Anno Mo CCCCo LXVI apud Chriessemvemburcha morantibus'.

century, interpolation, fol. 1, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses (=F7); MS XI.395, Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, fol. 17, partly full texts and partly cues (=F9); MS XI.397, Passau Use Missal, fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 87, partly full texts and partly cues with references to source Masses (=F8); Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 245, Roman Missal, fifteenth century, integral, fols 43–43^v, partly full texts and partly cues with references to folio numbers (=S); Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palatinus 3649, Mondsee Missal, mid fifteenth century, integral, fol. S^v, partly full texts, partly cues, references to source Masses, omits the Clementine triple set (=V).

Rubric: *Officium contra turcos*;³⁶² *Officium contra turcos vel paganos*;³⁶³ *Missa contra turcos*;³⁶⁴ *Missa contra turcos vel paganos*;³⁶⁵ *Officium contra turcum*;³⁶⁶ *Missa contra turcum*;³⁶⁷ *Officium pro turcis*;³⁶⁸ *Contra paganos*;³⁶⁹ *Contra paganos vel hereticos (?)*;³⁷⁰ *Missa contra paganos*;³⁷¹ *Anno Domini scilicet 1456 Turci seu pagani voluerunt defastare omnem Christianitatem tempore Calixti pape Contra quos apostolicus mandavit legi missam in hac forma*;³⁷² *Missa contra infidels*.³⁷³

Introit: ‘Salus populi ego sum, dicit dominus, de quacumque tribulatione clamaverint ad me exaudiam eos, et ero illorum dominus imperpetuum’.³⁷⁴

Psalm: ‘Attendite, popule meus, legem meam, et inclinate aurem tuam in verbum oris mei’.³⁷⁵

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium’³⁷⁶ potestates et³⁷⁷

³⁶² G.

³⁶³ F1.

³⁶⁴ K2.

³⁶⁵ F6, K1.

³⁶⁶ F 3, 4, 6–8.

³⁶⁷ F9.

³⁶⁸ F5.

³⁶⁹ M6, N, U1.

³⁷⁰ L 1, 3.

³⁷¹ M 1, 3, 5, S.

³⁷² M2.

³⁷³ M3, V.

³⁷⁴ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

³⁷⁵ F 1, 3, 4, 6–8, K2 Psalm 77.1. Reference to Thursday, 3rd week in Lent. The Introit + Psalm to the Masses *Pro quacumque tribulatione*, Thursday, 3rd week in Lent, and the 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

³⁷⁶ omnes F 3, 6.

³⁷⁷ Om. L2.

omnium³⁷⁸ iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum,³⁷⁹ ut gentes paganorum³⁸⁰ que in sua feritate³⁸¹ confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.³⁸²

Epistle: 'Orationem faciebant sacerdotes dum offerent sacrificium pro populo Israel, Ionatha incohante, ceteris autem respondentibus et dicentibus: Benefaciat vobis deus et meminerit testamenti sui quod ad Abraham, et Ysaac, et Iacob locutus est servorum suorum fidelium, et det vobis cor omnibus ut colatis eum, et faciatis eius voluntatem. Et aperiatur cor vestrum in lege sua et in preceptis suis, et faciat pacem. Exaudiat orationem vestram, et reconcilietur vobis, nec vos deserat in tempore malo dominus deus vester'.³⁸³

The prayer of the sacrificing priests for the liberation and the salvation of Israel against the gentiles.

Gradual: 'Salvum fac populum tuum, domine, et benedic hereditati tue'.

Verse: 'Ad te, domine, clamabo, deus meus, ne sileas a me, et ero similis descendentibus in lacum'.³⁸⁴

Alleluia Verse: 'Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me'.³⁸⁵

Gospel: One of the two—

A) 'Petite et accipietis'.³⁸⁶

B) 'Petite et dabitur vobis—quantomagis pater vester de celo dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se'.³⁸⁷

³⁷⁸ omnia F 1–7, 9.

³⁷⁹ respice in auxilium Christianorum in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum ut M2.

³⁸⁰ et hereticorum N *marginal addition*: F 1, 2, 4, 9; *interlinear addition*: infidelium M6.

³⁸¹ G S. ferocitate F 1–9, L 1–3, M2.

³⁸² The Clementine Collect.

³⁸³ II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5. Ember Saturday; 1st week in Lent Third Reading; *Pro pace*. Full text in F 2, 5, L2, M2. Reference to Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent, Third Lesson, in F 1, 6, 7, K2; First Reading F4. Reference to the *Missa pro pace* in V.

³⁸⁴ Psalm 27.9, 27.1. Gradual + Verse of Wednesday, 2nd week in Lent. Reference to Wednesday, 2nd week in Lent in F 1, 3, 4, 6–8, K2.

³⁸⁵ Psalm 58.2. *In tempore belli*. Reference to the 7th Sunday after Pentecost in F 3, 4, 8. Reference to the 9th Sunday after Pentecost K2.

³⁸⁶ John 16.24–(?) Cue only in F1, S; cue and specific reference to John in K2, M2; cue and reference to *Pro salute vivorum* F 3, 7, 8, L5.

³⁸⁷ Luke 11.9–13. Cues only in F 6, 9, G, K1, L 1, 3, M1, 4, N2; full text and explicit reference in F5, L2, N; cue and reference to the *Salus populi* Mass F2; cue and reference to *Pro peccatis* Mass V.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem saluum facies, domine,³⁸⁸ et oculos superborum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine’.³⁸⁹

Secret: ‘Sacrificium,³⁹⁰ domine, quod immolamus³⁹¹ intende, ut³⁹² propugnatores tuos ab omni³⁹³ exuas³⁹⁴ paganorum³⁹⁵ nequitia,³⁹⁶ et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.³⁹⁷

Communion: ‘Redime nos, deus israel, ex omnibus angustiis meis’.³⁹⁸

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et³⁹⁹ propugnatores tuos a paganorum⁴⁰⁰ defende periculis, ut⁴⁰¹ ab⁴⁰² omnibus⁴⁰³ perturbationibus submoti⁴⁰⁴ liberis tibi mentibus⁴⁰⁵ deserviant’.⁴⁰⁶

Identification: The original form of this Mass is known from a fairly large number of manuscripts and early prints, all of them German. It was initiated by Calixtus III in the Bull *Cum hiis superioribus* on 20 June 1456 and transmitted down the ecclesiastical hierarchy during the next months; its reception throughout the diocese of Salzburg, for example, was initiated in the beginning of October. It received from the preceding No. 27 six items: the Introit, the Clementine triple set, the Gospel, and the Offertory. Its Scriptural configuration manifests close affinities with the later Nos

³⁸⁸ saluum facies populum humilem domine M2.

³⁸⁹ Psalm 17.28, 32. Offertory of Friday, 4th week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*. Reference to Friday, 4th week in Lent in F 1, 3–5, K2.

³⁹⁰ sacrificio F 1, 3, 5, 6.

³⁹¹ propitiatus [intende] 2nd hand interpolation in G. quesumus propitiatus intende M6, S.

³⁹² G, L2, M2, U1. et F9, L 1, 3.

³⁹³ ab omni om. M2.

³⁹⁴ eruas F 1–9.

³⁹⁵ Interlinear addition: infidelium M6; paganorum et hereticorum N.

³⁹⁶ G. nequitia paganorum F 1–9, L 1–3. exuas a nequitia paganorum M2. Marginal addition: et hereticorum F 1, 9.

³⁹⁷ The Clementine Secret.

³⁹⁸ Psalm 24.22, Communion of Tuesday in Holy Week. Reference to Tuesday in Holy Week in F 3, 4, 8, K2.

³⁹⁹ Interlinear upper correction: et F3.

⁴⁰⁰ et hereticorum F9, N, marginal addition F1; interlinear addition: infidelium M6.

⁴⁰¹ et F1.

⁴⁰² G, U1. a F 1–9, L 1–3, M2.

⁴⁰³ Om. F 1–9, L 1–3, M2.

⁴⁰⁴ semoti F 1, 3–9, L 1–3, S. semotis F2. securi M2.

⁴⁰⁵ G, L 1, 3. liberis mentibus tibi L2. tibi liberis mentibus F1–9, M2.

⁴⁰⁶ The Clementine Postcommunion.

36 (five shared items) and 33 (four shared items). The distinctive components of this Mass—Introit, Clementine triple set, Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia Verse, Offertory, and Communion—remain stable in the forms transmitted in Nos 28/A, 28/B, 28/C, and 28/D 28/E (28/D deviates in the Epistle, 28/E in the Offertory). The following strains testify to the evolution of the original form in the course of its propagation and through actual practice:

1. The Clementine prayers were expanded in No. 28/D (Klosterneuburg, 1476) in order to target more enemies (to the generic pagans are joined the heretics, the Turks, and those who associate with them). The Epistle designated in the same manuscript (Esther 14.3–9) is different from that transmitted in all the other forms (II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5). The Clementine set was converted to a purely anti-heretical goal in 28/E.
2. The numerous sources that transmit the original form of No. 28 testify to two alternative Gospel Lessons, resulting probably from different expansion of the cue ‘Petite’: Luke 11.9–10 (the ‘true’ Lesson, for this is the Lesson given in No. 27) and John 16.24. The first alternative was followed by Nos 28/A, 28/B, and 28/D, the second by 28/C.
3. The original form had an Alleluia Verse but lacked a Tract. This was a characteristic feature of an immediate liturgical response to a crisis outside the Penitential season from Septuagesima to the end of Holy Week. This Mass was introduced, indeed, on 20 June 1456, and its effective propagation was carried out during the next months, well before the end of the year. A Tract was required, however, due to the continued pertinence of this Mass in the following year and, moreover, during the next decades, and three different Tracts appear, consequently, in 28/A, 28/B, and 28/C (two alternatives); only 28/D did not insert a Tract.

28/A)

Sources: Klosterneuburg, MS 72, fifteenth century, Missal, col. 388 (=K); London, BL, C. 13. C. 2 and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 156ff/20616, Benedictine Missal, Bamberg 1481, fols CLIX^v–CLX (=B); IB 8657, Bursfeld Missal, 1498, fols CLIII^v–CLIII (=U); L. 17. b. 10, Halberstadt 1520, fols CXLII^v–CXLIII (=H); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 5912, dated 1466, interpolation on fols 183^v–84, attached to an integral triple set *Contra Turcos/ Pro paganis* (=M);

Rubric: *Contra paganos; Contra turcos.*

Introit: Identical to No. 28.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que de⁴⁰⁷ sua

⁴⁰⁷ B, H, U. in K.

feritate⁴⁰⁸ confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.⁴⁰⁹

Epistle: 'Orationem faciebant sacerdotes [—tu es deus noster'.]⁴¹⁰

The prayer of the sacrificing priests for the liberation and the salvation of Israel against the gentiles.

Gradual: Identical to No. 28.

Alleluia Verse: 'Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me'.⁴¹¹

Tract: 'Ad te levavi oculos meos'.⁴¹²

Verse: 'Ecce sicut oculi servorum in manibus dominorum suorum'.

Verse: 'Et sicut oculi ancille in manibus domine sue'.

Verse: 'Ita oculi nostri ad Dominum deum nostrum donec misereatur nostri'.

Verse: 'Miserere nobis, domine, miserere nobis'.⁴¹³

Gospel: 'Petite et dabitur vobis—petentibus se'.⁴¹⁴

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: Identical to No. 28.

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus quesumus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas nequitia paganorum,⁴¹⁵ et in tue protectionis securitate⁴¹⁶ eos constituas'.⁴¹⁷

Communion: Identical to No. 28.

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum periculis defende, et ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant'.⁴¹⁸

Identification: See Identification to No. 28.

28/B)

Sources: Paris, BNF, Vélins 218, Eichstädt 1486, fol. CCXLV.

Rubric: *Officium Calixti papa quarti contra turcos et Christiani nominis inimicos*

⁴⁰⁸ B, H, U. ferocitate K.

⁴⁰⁹ The Clementine Collect.

⁴¹⁰ II Maccabees 1.23–[27]. K refers explicitly to Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent. B, H, and M refer to *Pro pace*.

⁴¹¹ Psalm 58.2. Alleluia Verse of the 9th Sunday after Pentecost; *Missa In tempore belli*.

⁴¹² Psalm 122.1.

⁴¹³ Psalm 122.2.

⁴¹⁴ Luke 11.9–13. K specifies 'quod habetur intra officium de pace'.

⁴¹⁵ paganorum molestia B, H, U.

⁴¹⁶ prosperitate custodias B, H, U.

⁴¹⁷ The Clementine Secret.

⁴¹⁸ The Clementine Postcommunion.

Introit: Identical to No. 28.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu—dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁴¹⁹

Epistle: ‘Orationem faciebant sacerdotes’.⁴²⁰

The prayer of the sacrificing priests for the liberation and the salvation of Israel against the gentiles.

Gradual: Identical to No. 28.

Alleluia Verse: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me’.⁴²¹

Tract: ‘De necessitatibus meis eripe me, domine, vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte omnia peccata mea’.⁴²²

Verse:

1. ‘Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam, neque iridebunt me inimici mei’.⁴²³
2. ‘Etenim universi qui te expectant non confundentur, confundantur omnes facientes vana’.⁴²⁴

Gospel: ‘In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Petite et dabitur vobis—et pulsanti aperiretur’.⁴²⁵

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: Identical to No. 28.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas nequitia paganorum, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁴²⁶

Communion: Identical to No. 28.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut a perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁴²⁷

Identification: See Identification to No. 28.

⁴¹⁹ The Clementine Collect.

⁴²⁰ II Maccabees 1.23–[27?]. Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent.

⁴²¹ Psalm 58.2. Alleluia Verse of the 9th—the seventh in K—Sunday after Pentecost; *Missa In tempore belli*.

⁴²² Psalm 24.17–18.

⁴²³ Psalm 24.1–3.

⁴²⁴ Psalm 24.3–4. Tract + 2 Verses of Ember Wednesday in the first week of Lent.

⁴²⁵ Luke 11.9–10.

⁴²⁶ The Clementine Secret.

⁴²⁷ The Clementine Postcommunion.

28/C)

Sources: Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 49/3, Missal and Gradual (German?), fifteenth century, interpolation, front pastedown, basic, cues with references to source Masses.

Rubric: *Missa contra Turcos*.

Introit: 'Salus populi ego sum'.⁴²⁸

Collect: 'Collecta ponitur in fine libri'. Fol. 147: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et iura omnium regnorum, respice benigne ad auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua ferocitate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.⁴²⁹

Epistle: 'Orationem faciebant sacerdotes'.⁴³⁰

Gradual: 'Salvum fac populum tuum domine'.⁴³¹

Alleluia Verse: 'Eripe me de inimicis meis'.⁴³²

Tract: 'Qui confidunt'.⁴³³

Or 'Laudate dominum omnes gentes'.⁴³⁴

Gospel: 'Petite et accipietis'.⁴³⁵

Offertory: 'Populum humilem salvum fac'.⁴³⁶

Communion: 'Redime nos, deus Ysrael'.⁴³⁷

Finita missa dicantur Psalmi Exurgat deus et dissipentur gentes etc. (Psalm 67),

Deus venerunt gentes etc. (Psalm 78), *Deus quis similis tibi* etc. (Psalm 82).

Identification: See Identification to No. 28.

28/D)

Sources: Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift, MS 612, Klosterneuburg Missal, 1476, integral, fols 252–52^v, full texts.

Rubric: *Contra Hereticos*.

Introit: Identical to No. 28.

⁴²⁸ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2; reference to Thursday, 3rd week in Lent.

⁴²⁹ The Clementine Collect.

⁴³⁰ II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5; reference to Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent.

⁴³¹ Psalm 27.1; reference to Sabbath before *Reminiscere*.

⁴³² Psalm 58.2; reference to the 7th Sunday after Trinity Sunday(?).

⁴³³ Psalm 124.1–[?]; reference to the Fourth Sunday in Lent.

⁴³⁴ Psalm 116.1–[?]; reference to Sabbath after *Reminiscere*.

⁴³⁵ John 16.24–[?]; reference to the Fifth Sunday after Easter.

⁴³⁶ Psalm 17.28, 32; reference to Friday, 4th week in Lent.

⁴³⁷ Psalm 25.11; reference to Tuesday in Holy Week.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice ad auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes hereticorum, turcorum, paganorum ac sibi adherentium, que in sua ferocitate confidunt, dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁴³⁸

Epistle: ‘Oravit Hester’.⁴³⁹

Israel sinned and was punished, but now the pagans ‘volunt tua mutare promissa et delere hereditatem tuam . . .’.

Gradual: ‘Salvum fac populum tuum, domine deus meus, sperantem in te, et benedic hereditati tue’.

Verse: ‘Ad te clamavi deus—descendentibus in lacum’.⁴⁴⁰

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 28.

Gospel: ‘Petite et dabitur vobis—spiritum bonum petentibus se’.⁴⁴¹

Offertory: Identical to No. 28.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod ymolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos eruas ab hereticorum, turcorum, paganorum ac sibi adherentium nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate restituas’.⁴⁴²

Communion: Identical to No. 28.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos ab hereticorum, turcorum, paganorum ac sibi adherentium defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus securi liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁴⁴³

Identification: See Identification to No. 28.

28/E)

Sources: Sankt Pölten, Bishöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek, MS 52, Missal, fourteenth century, interpolation, full texts, fol. 4^v.

Rubric: *Officium contra hereticos et paganos*.

Introit: ‘Salus populi ego sum, dicit dominus, de quaquumque tribulatione clamaverint ad me exaudias [*sic*] eos et ero illorum dominus inperpetuum’.⁴⁴⁴

Psalm: ‘Attendite, popule meus, legem meam, inclinate aure[s] ves[tras] in verbum oris mei’.⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁸ Clementine Collect.

⁴³⁹ Esther 14.3–9.

⁴⁴⁰ Psalm 27.9, verse Psalm 27.1.

⁴⁴¹ Luke 11.9–13.

⁴⁴² Clementine Secret.

⁴⁴³ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁴⁴⁴ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

⁴⁴⁵ Psalm 77.1.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gens hereticorum que in sua feritate confidit dextera tue potentie comprimatur’.⁴⁴⁶

Epistle: ‘Orationem faciebant sacerdotes dum offerent sacrificium populo Israel, Ionatha incohante, ceteris autem respondentibus et dicentibus: Benefaciat nobis deus et meminerit testamenti sui quod ad Abraham, et Ysaac, et Iacob locutus est servorum suorum fidelium, ut det nobis cor omnibus ut colatis eum, et faciatis eius voluntatem. Adapperiat nobis, domine, cor nostrum in lege sua in preceptis suis, et faciat pacem. Exaudiat orationes vestras, et reconciliet vobis, nec vos deserat in tempore malo, dominus deus meus’.⁴⁴⁷

Gradual: Identical to No. 28.

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 28.

Gospel: ‘Petite et dabitur vobis—de celo dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se’.⁴⁴⁸

Offertory: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, domine, ad te confugi, doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia deus meus es tu’.⁴⁴⁹

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod tibi immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas nequitia hereticorum, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁴⁵⁰

Communion: Identical to No. 28.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos ab hereticorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus securi liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁴⁵¹

Identification: See Identification to No. 28.

29)

Sources: Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek, MS 23, Roman Missal, 1476, integral, fols 204^v–05^v, full texts.

Rubric: *Contra infideles seu turcos*.

Introit: ‘Salus populi—dominus imperpetuum’.

Psaln: ‘Adtendite popule meus—verba oris mei’.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁶ The Clementine Collect.

⁴⁴⁷ II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5. Several variations, mainly changes from third to first person.

⁴⁴⁸ Luke 11.9–13.

⁴⁴⁹ Psalm 142.9–10. Offertory of Monday in Holy Week.

⁴⁵⁰ The Clementine Secret.

⁴⁵¹ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁴⁵² Psalm 36.39, 19 + Psalm 77.1. Ember Wednesday in the first week of Lent; 2nd Sunday in Lent; *Pro tribulatione; In tempore belli*.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice propitius in auxilium cristianorum, ut gentes paganorum atque husitarum, que in sua veritate confidunt, dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁴⁵³

Epistle: ‘Orationem faciebant sacerdotes—nec vobis deserat in tempore malo dominus deus noster’.⁴⁵⁴

Gradual: ‘Letatus sum in hiis que dicta sunt michi in domum Domini ibimus’.

Verse: ‘Fiat pax in virtute tua et habundantia in turribus tuis’.⁴⁵⁵

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis’.⁴⁵⁶

Gospel: ‘Quis vestrum habebit amicum—quantomagis pater vester de celo dabit spiritum bonum petentibus se’.⁴⁵⁷

Offertory: ‘Precatus est Moyses in conspectu Domini Dei sui et dixit, quare, domine, irasceris in populo tuo, parce ire anime tue, memento Abraham, Ysaac, et Iacob quibus iurasti dare terram fluentem lac et mel, et placatus factus est dominus de malignitate quam dixit facere populo suo’.⁴⁵⁸

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod ymolamus intende, propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas paganorum atque husitarum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁴⁵⁹

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite quod accipietis et fiet vobis’.⁴⁶⁰

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum atque husitarum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus securi liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁴⁶¹

Identification: This Mass, built around a Clementine set rephrased to apply to the Hussites and directed generally against Infidels and the Turks, is relatively original. While it shares with No. 27 three items (the Introit, Alleluia Verse, and Communion), with the Mass instituted by Calixtus III in 1456 two items (the Introit and Epistle), and with both the Clementine set (as a source of its particular anti-Hussitic adaptation), its Gradual is original. Its closest affinities (three shared Scriptural items) are with Nos 31, 34, and 35. It has been preserved in a Roman Missal from 1476.

⁴⁵³ Basically the Clementine Collect.

⁴⁵⁴ II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5. Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent; *Pro pace*.

⁴⁵⁵ Psalm 121.1 + verse Psalm 121.7.

⁴⁵⁶ Psalm 84.8.

⁴⁵⁷ Luke 11.9–13. Rogation Days.

⁴⁵⁸ A free adaptation of Exodus 32.11–14.

⁴⁵⁹ Basically the Clementine Secret.

⁴⁶⁰ Mark 11.24.

⁴⁶¹ Basically a Clementine Postcommunion.

30)

Sources: Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 233 (223), Missal of Saint-Aubert of Cambrai, the fifteenth century part of this Ms., fols 476–77 (=C); London, BL, 1484 g. 7, Noyon 1541 (=N); Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 219, Rheims Missal, early thirteenth century, interpolation on fol. 160 (=R).

Rubric: *Missa de paganis*;⁴⁶² *Missa contra Turcos et paganos*.

Introit: ‘Salus populi ego sum, dicit Dominus, de quacunque tribulatione clamaverint ad me exaudiam eos, et ero illorum dominus in perpetuum’.⁴⁶³

Psalm: ‘Attendite, popule meus, legem meam, inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei’.⁴⁶⁴

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium⁴⁶⁵ iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia conterantur’.⁴⁶⁶

Epistle:

1. ‘Locutus est Jheremias dicens. Misericordie Domini multe quia non sumus—quia ego sum dominus deus tuus’.⁴⁶⁷

2. ‘Fratres. Imitatores mei estote’.⁴⁶⁸

The enemies of the Cross are doomed to destruction, ‘nostra autem conversatio in celis est’.

Gradual: ‘Sciant gentes quoniam nomen tibi deus, tu solus altissimus super omnem terram’.⁴⁶⁹

Verse: ‘Deus meus, pone illos ut rotam, et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti’.⁴⁷⁰

Alleluia Verse:

1. ‘Timebunt gentes nomen tuum, domine, et omnes reges terre gloriam tuam’.

2. ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me’.⁴⁷¹

Tract: ‘De necessitatibus meis eripe me, domine, vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum, et dimitte omnia peccata mea’.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶² C.

⁴⁶³ Based loosely on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

⁴⁶⁴ Psalm 77.1. Introit + Psalm of the Masses *Pro quacunque tribulatione*; Thursday, 3rd week in Lent; 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁶⁵ *omnia* C.

⁴⁶⁶ The Clementine Collect.

⁴⁶⁷ Lamentations 3.22–[?]. R refers to the Epistle of Thursday, 2nd week in Lent.

⁴⁶⁸ Philippians 3.17–[4.3]. Epistle of the 23rd Sunday after Pentecost. The only Epistle in C.

⁴⁶⁹ Psalm 82.19–20.

⁴⁷⁰ Psalm 82.14 + 59.6.

⁴⁷¹ Psalm 58.2. Alleluia Verse of the 9th Sunday after Pentecost. The only verse in C.

⁴⁷² Psalm 24.17–18. Omitted in C.

Verse:

1. 'Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam, deus meus, in te confido, non erubescam, neque irridebunt me inimici mei'.⁴⁷³
2. 'Etenim universi qui te expectant non confundentur, confundantur omnes facientes vana'.⁴⁷⁴

Gospel: 'In istis temporibus dixit Iesus discipulis suis: Cum audieritis prelia et seditiones nolite terri'.⁴⁷⁵

The coming wars and commotions are the apocalyptic time of trial for the true Christians.

Offertory: 'Si ambulavero in medio tribulationis vivificabis me, domine, et super iram inimicorum meorum extendisti manum tuam, et salvum me fecit dextera tua'.⁴⁷⁶

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas'.⁴⁷⁷

Communion: 'In salutari tuo anima mea, et in verbum tuum speravi, quando facies de persequentibus me iudicium, iniqui persecuti sunt me, adiuva me, dominus deus meus'.⁴⁷⁸

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti'⁴⁷⁹ liberis tibi mentibus deserviant'.⁴⁸⁰

Identification: This Mass is built around the Clementine triple set. Its Scriptural configuration is similar (in certain items) to the Mass against the Turks instituted by Calixtus III and its strains (28/A, 28/B, 33, 36) as well as Nos 26 and 32; and there is a striking affinity between its Offertory and Communion and those of 16, 17, and 18. Of a distinct warlike and crusading character, it is directed against 'pagans' in general and against the Turks in particular. Two of the three sources that transmit it are texts interpolated in thirteenth-century manuscripts, perhaps during the second half of the fifteenth century. All three testify to diffusion in Northern France (Cambrai, Noyon, and Rheims). Their latest date: 1541.

⁴⁷³ Psalm 24.1–3.

⁴⁷⁴ Psalm 24.3–4. Tract + 2 Verses of Ember Wednesday. Both Verses in N.

⁴⁷⁵ Luke 21.9–19.

⁴⁷⁶ Psalm 137.7. Offertory of 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁷⁷ The Clementine Secret.

⁴⁷⁸ Psalm 118.81, 84, 86.

⁴⁷⁹ imunes C.

⁴⁸⁰ The Clementine Postcommunion.

31)

Sources: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 872, Missal of Poitiers, fifteenth century, interpolation fol. 261^v.

Rubric: *Missa contra paganos*.

Introit: ‘Salus populi ego sum, dicit dominus, de quacumque tribulatione clamaverunt ad me exaudiam eos, et ero illorum dominus imperpetuum’.⁴⁸¹

Psalm: ‘Attendite, popule meus, legem meam, inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei’.⁴⁸²

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum de gente (*sic*) paganorum qui in sua feritate confidunt dextere tue potentia conterantur’.⁴⁸³

Epistle: ‘Fratres. Spiritus adiuvat infirmitatem nostram—postulat pro sanctis’.⁴⁸⁴

The Spirit intercedes for the faithful, as it intercedes for the Saints.

Gradual: ‘Oculi omnium in te sperant, domine, et tu das illis escam in tempore opportuno’.⁴⁸⁵

Verse: ‘Aperis tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione’.⁴⁸⁶

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis’.⁴⁸⁷

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum peccata nostra’.⁴⁸⁸

Gospel: ‘Sublevatis Ihesus oculis in celum—et ego in eis’.⁴⁸⁹

Christ’s intercessory prayer—‘serva eos in nomine tuo’.

Offertory: ‘Sicut in holocaustum arietum et thaurorum et sicut in milibus agnorum pingentium, sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie ut placeat tibi, quia non est confusio confidentibus in te, domine’.⁴⁹⁰

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni cruas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁴⁹¹

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite quia accipietis et fiet vobis’.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸¹ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

⁴⁸² Psalm 77.1. The Introit + Psalm to the Masses *Pro quacumque tribulatione*; Thursday, 3rd week in Lent; 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁸³ The Clementine Collect.

⁴⁸⁴ Romans 8.26–27.

⁴⁸⁵ Psalm 103.27.

⁴⁸⁶ Psalm 103.28. Gradual + Verse in Thursday, 3rd Week in Lent; Corpus Christi Feast.

⁴⁸⁷ Psalm 84.8.

⁴⁸⁸ Psalm 102.10.

⁴⁸⁹ John 17.1–26.

⁴⁹⁰ Daniel 3.40. Offertory of 7th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁹¹ The Clementine Secret.

⁴⁹² Mark 11.24.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.⁴⁹³

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, the Scriptural configuration of this Mass is close to Nos 27, 35, 38 (four shared Scriptural items), and 34 (three items). The Epistle and the Gradual are original to this Mass. Directed against pagans in general, its warlike character depends on its Clementine prayers rather than its other texts, which are of a more general supplicatory nature. This Mass has been transmitted in an interpolated fifteenth-century missal of Poitiers.

32)

Sources: London, BL, IB. 6727 and Paris, BNF, Rés. B 28,984, Freising Missal, 1492, fol. CCLXIII.

Rubric: *Contra Theucros, hereticos, paganos aut quoscumque infideles.*

Introit: ‘Salus populi—in perpetuum’.⁴⁹⁴

Psalm: ‘Attendite popule—oris mei’.⁴⁹⁵

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua ferocitate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁴⁹⁶

Epistle: ‘Domine deus rex omnipotens—canentium te domine deus noster’.⁴⁹⁷

Israel sinned and was punished, but now ‘volunt nos inimici perdere et hereditatem tuam delere . . .’.

Prayer for salvation.

Gradual: ‘Liberasti nos, domine, ex affligentibus nos, et eos qui nos oderunt confundisti’.⁴⁹⁸

Verse: ‘In deo laudabimur tota die, et nomini tuo confitebimur in secula’.⁴⁹⁹

Alleluia Verse: ‘Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’.⁵⁰⁰

Tract: ‘Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis’.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹³ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁴⁹⁴ Loosely based on Psalm 36.39; 19.2.

⁴⁹⁵ Psalm 77.1. The Introit + Psalm to the Masses *Pro quacumque tribulatione*; Thursday, 3rd week in Lent; 19th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁴⁹⁶ The Clementine Collect.

⁴⁹⁷ Esther 13.9–17.

⁴⁹⁸ Psalm 43.8.

⁴⁹⁹ Psalm 43.9. Gradual + Verse of 23rd Sunday after Pentecost; 24th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁵⁰⁰ Psalm 78.9–10.

⁵⁰¹ Psalm 102.10.

Verse:

1. 'Domine, ne memineris iniquitatum nostrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordie tue, quia pauperes facti sumus nimis'.⁵⁰²
2. 'Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum'.⁵⁰³

Gospel: 'Petite et dabitur vobis—petentibus se'.⁵⁰⁴

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: 'Si ambulavero in medio tribulationis vivificabis me, domine, et super iram inimicorum meorum extends manum tuam, et salvum me fecit dextera tua'.⁵⁰⁵

Secret: 'Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores nostros ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas'.⁵⁰⁶

Communion: 'Memento verbi tui servo tuo, domine, in quo michi spem dedisti, hec me consolata est in humilitate mea'.⁵⁰⁷

Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut a perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant'.⁵⁰⁸

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, this Mass is quite original; four of its items (Epistle, Gradual, Tract, and Communion) are not shared by any other Mass of this type. It has a slight affinity (two shared Scriptural items) with Nos 27, 28 (with its strains), 33, and 35. No. 32/A follows it faithfully, on the whole. Directed against Turks, pagans, heretics, and all infidels, it is documented in the Freising Missal of 1492.

32/A)

Sources: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 21,582, fols 256–56^v, Missal according to the Use of the Monastery of Weihenstephan, text added after 1460.

Rubric: *Contra paganos*.

Introit: Identical to No. 32.

Collect: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur'.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰² Psalm 78.8.

⁵⁰³ Psalm 78.9. Tract + 2 Verses of Ash Wednesday.

⁵⁰⁴ Luke 11.9–13.

⁵⁰⁵ Psalm 137.7. Offertory of Thursday, 3rd Week in Lent.

⁵⁰⁶ The Clementine Secret.

⁵⁰⁷ Psalm 118.49–50.

⁵⁰⁸ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁵⁰⁹ The Clementine Collect.

Epistle: ‘Oravit Hester’.⁵¹⁰

Israel sinned and was punished, but now the pagans ‘volunt tua mutare promissa et delere hereditatem tuam . . .’.

Gradual: ‘Liberasti nos, domine, ex affligentibus nos, et eos qui nos oderunt confundisti’.⁵¹¹

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 32.

Gospel: Identical to No. 32.

Offertory: Identical to No. 32.

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁵¹²

Communion: Identical to No. 32.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant’.⁵¹³

Identification: Essentially identical to No. 32 (six Scriptural items shared), though the Epistle is different (identical to Nos 28/D, 33, 36) and certain items are missing (e.g., the Tract) or of a simpler structure.

33)

Sources: London, BL, IB 8116, Hildesheim Missal, Nürnberg 1499, fols CCLXXIII^v–CCLXXIII.

Rubric: *Contra infestationem paganorum*.

Introit: ‘Salus populi—imperpetuum’.

Psalm: ‘Attendite popule meus—verba oris mei’.⁵¹⁴

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnes potestates et omnia iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁵¹⁵

Epistle: ‘Oravit Hester ad dominum—canentium te domine deus noster’.⁵¹⁶

Israel sinned and was punished, but now the pagans ‘volunt tua mutare promissa et delere hereditatem tuam . . .’.

⁵¹⁰ Esther 14.3[–9].

⁵¹¹ Psalm 43.8. Gradual of 23rd Sunday after Pentecost; 24th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁵¹² The Clementine Secret.

⁵¹³ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁵¹⁴ Psalm 77.1.

⁵¹⁵ A Clementine Collect.

⁵¹⁶ Esther 14.3–9.

Gradual: ‘Adiutor in opportunitatibus, in tribulatione, sperent in te qui noverunt te, quoniam non derelinquis querentes te, domine’.⁵¹⁷

Verse: ‘Quoniam non in finem oblivio erit pauperis, patientia pauperum non peribit in eternum, exurge, domine, non prevaleat homo’.⁵¹⁸

Alleluia Verse: ‘Eripe me de inimicis meis, deus meus, et ab insurgentibus in me libera me’.⁵¹⁹

Tract: ‘Domine non secundum—retribuas nobis’.

Verse: ‘Domine ne memineris—facti sumus nimis’.

Verse: ‘Adiuva me deus salutaris—propter nomen tuum’.⁵²⁰

Gospel: ‘Petite et dabitur vobis—spiritum petentibus se’.⁵²¹

Prayers are answered.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superbiorum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus preter te, domine’.⁵²²

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, et propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis prosperitate conterantur’.⁵²³

Communion: ‘Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei, avertantur retrorsum, et erubescant valde velociter’.⁵²⁴

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster, aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus erepti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁵²⁵

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, this Mass has an obvious affinity to the Mass against the Turks instituted by Calixtus III (five Scriptural items shared with the strains of No. 28 and with No. 36), and a weaker one with Nos 27 and 32/A (three items), 13, 26, 30, 31, 35, and 36 (two items). Directed against the pagans, it is documented in the Hildesheim Missal of 1499.

⁵¹⁷ Psalm 9.10–11.

⁵¹⁸ Psalm 9.19–20.

⁵¹⁹ Psalm 58.2.

⁵²⁰ Psalm 102.10.

⁵²¹ Luke 11.9–13.

⁵²² Psalm 17.28, 32.

⁵²³ The Clementine Secret, notwithstanding the amazing error at its end; the copyist’s eye obviously strayed to the final word of the Collect.

⁵²⁴ Psalm 6.11. Communion of Ember Friday, 1st Week of Lent.

⁵²⁵ The Clementine Postcommunion.

34)

Sources: London, British Library C. 41. g. 4, Salzburg Missal, 1510, fols CCLXII–CCLXII^v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Antiq. c. I. 1507. 1, Salzburg Missal, 1507, fols CCCXX^v–CCCXXI; Mason O. 81, Passau Missal, 1522, fols 351–51^v.

Rubric: *Contra paganos vel pro congregatione.*

Introit: ‘Salus populi ego sum, dicit dominus, de quacumque tribulatione clamaverint ad me exaudiam eos, et ero illorum dominus in perpetuum’.

Psalm: ‘Attendite popule meus legem meam—oris mei’.⁵²⁶

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gens paganorum que in sua feritate confidit dextera tue potentie conteratur’.⁵²⁷

Epistle: ‘Fratres. Non regnet peccatum—sub gratia’.⁵²⁸

The faithful should present themselves to God as the arms of justice, not of iniquity.

Gradual: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et respice super servos tuos’.⁵²⁹

Verse: ‘Domine deus virtutum, exaudi preces servorum tuorum’.⁵³⁰

Alleluia Verse: ‘Ostende nobis, domine, misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis’.⁵³¹

Gospel: ‘Respicens Iesus in discipulos—et ego in ipsis’.⁵³²

Christ’s intercessory prayer.

Offertory: ‘Sperent in te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum, domine, quoniam non derelinquis querescentes te, psallite domino qui habitat in Syon, quoniam non est oblitus orationem pauperum’.⁵³³

Secret: ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁵³⁴

Communion: ‘Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite quia accipietis et fiet vobis’.⁵³⁵

⁵²⁶ Psalm 77.1.

⁵²⁷ The Clementine Collect.

⁵²⁸ Romans 6.2–14.

⁵²⁹ Psalm 83.10; 89.16.

⁵³⁰ Psalm 83.9.

⁵³¹ Psalm 84.8.

⁵³² John 17.11–26; various days in the 4th Week after Easter.

⁵³³ Based on Psalm 9.11–13. Offertory of Tuesday in Passion Week; 3rd Sunday after Pentecost.

⁵³⁴ The Clementine Secret.

⁵³⁵ Mark 11.24.

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster, aspice, deus, ut propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁵³⁶

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, this Mass against the pagans and ‘For the Congregation’ is almost an identical twin of No. 35; it shares with it seven items (Introit, Epistle, Alleluia Verse, Gradual, Gospel, Offertory, and Communion) in addition to the Clementine triple set, and differs from it only in not having a Tract. Some Scriptural items are shared with Nos 29 and 31 (three each). Its sources, from Salzburg and Passau, date from 1507 to 1522.

35)

Sources: Salzburg, Sankt Peter Erzabtei, MS b.X.6, Ordo processionis contra Turcos, post 1526 (1519), integral, full texts, fols 1–12.

Rubric: ‘Ordo processionis contra Turcos Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo decimo nono; Item Anno 1526 VII Kal. Octobris Processio communis habita fuit de Gummo(?) ad Parrochiam cum Officio per Plebanni etc. tempore Leonis pape X’.

A) General procession with lighted candles to the Parochial Church; Litany; when they come to ‘Ut regibus etc’. the Choir should pause and the officiating priest should say before the High Altar five Versicles:

1. V. ‘Ut regibus et principibus christianis pacem et veram concordiam donare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos’.
2. V. ‘Ut regibus et principibus christianis vitam, pacem et concordiam conservare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos’.
3. V. ‘Ut regibus et principibus christianis iustam victoriam concedere digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos’.
4. V. ‘Ut propugnatores tuos dirigere et prosperare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos’.
5. V. ‘Ut Turcos et tue sanctissime fidei hostes perdere, enervare, et dissipare digneris. R. Te rogamus, audi nos’.

The Choir resumes the Litany; after ‘Kyrieleyson—sed libera’ should be said:

1. V. ‘Domine, exaudi orationem meam. R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat’.
2. V. ‘Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo’.
3. Oratio. ‘Quesumus, domine, pater omnipotens eterne deus, ut gloriosissima virgine Maria, et beatis Petro et Paulo, Rudberto et Virgilio, ceterisque patronis nostris, omnibus denique sanctis et electis tuis intercedentibus, istam tuam defendis familiam, plebemque christianam ab omni protegas adversitate, et tibi toto corde prostratam ab hostium propitius tuearis insidiis’.

⁵³⁶ The Clementine Postcommunion.

4. Hymnus. 'Veni creator spiritus' + V. 'Emitte spiritum tuum, et creabuntur. R. Et renovabis faciem terre'.
5. Oratio. 'Notiones nostras quesumus, domine, aspirando preveni, et adiuvando proseguere, ut cuncta nostra oratio et operatio a te semper incipiat, et per te incepta finiatur. Qui vivis'. Or
6. Collecta. 'Deus qui corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta facere, et de eius semper consolatione gaudere. Per'.

B) Mass

Introit: Identical to No. 34.

Collect:

1. 'Concede quesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui ex merito nostre actionis affligimur, tue gratie consolatione respiremus'.⁵³⁷
2. 'Deus cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum, purifica per infusionem sancti spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri, ut te perfecte diligere et digne laudare mereamur'.⁵³⁸
3. 'Deus qui contritorum non despicias gemitum et merentium non spernis affectum, adesto precibus nostris quas tibi pro tribulatione nostra effundimus, deprecationem clementer exaudi, ut quicquid contra nos diabولية atque humane moliuntur adversitates ad nihilum redigatur, et consilio tue pietatis allidatur, quatinus nullis adversitatibus lesi sed de omni tribulatione et angustia erepti in ecclesia tua tibi gratias referamus'.⁵³⁹
4. 'Deus, a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest, pacem, ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita et hostium sublata formidine tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla'.⁵⁴⁰
5. 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice in auxilium Christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur. Et famulum tuum antistitem nostrum cum omnibus sibi commissos ab omni adversitate custodi'.⁵⁴¹

Epistle: Identical to No. 34.

Gradual: Identical to No. 34.

Alleluia Verse: Identical to No. 34.

Tract in Septuagesima: 'Domine, non secundum peccata que fecimus nos, neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis'.

⁵³⁷ Collect of the 4th Sunday in Lent, Station in the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

⁵³⁸ Collect of the Mass *Ad gratiam Sancti Spiritus postulandam*.

⁵³⁹ Collect of the Mass *Pro tribulationibus* (with some changes).

⁵⁴⁰ Collect of the Mass *Pro pace*, *COR* No. 1088.

⁵⁴¹ The Clementine Collect.

Verse: ‘Domine, ne memineris iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordie tue, quia pauperes facti sumus nimis’.

Verse: ‘Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, domine, libera nos et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum’.⁵⁴²

Gospel: ‘I. i. tempore. Respiciens Ihesus in discipulos suos dixit. Pater sancte, serva eos in nomine tuo—Non rogo ut tollas eos de mundo sed ut serves eos a malo’.⁵⁴³

Christ’s intercessory prayer.

Offertory: Identical to No. 34.

Secret:

1. ‘Sacrificiis presentibus, domine, quesumus intende placatus, et ut devotioni nostre proficiant et saluti’.⁵⁴⁴
2. ‘Hec oblatio, domine, quesumus cordis nostri maculas emundet, ut sancti spiritus digna efficiatur habitatio’.⁵⁴⁵
3. ‘Deus qui tribulatos corde sanas et mestificatos actu letificas, ad hanc propitius hostiam dignanter attende quam tibi pro nostra offerimus liberatione, tu et hanc benignus accipe et nostra sana discrimina, tribulationum attende miseriam et angustiarumstrarum submove pressuram, ut exuti omnibus que patimur malis in tuis semper mereamur exultare iustitiis’.⁵⁴⁶
4. ‘Deus qui credentes in te populos nullis sinis concuti terroribus, dignare preces et hostias dicat tibi plebis suscipere, ut pax a tua pietate concessa Christianorum fines ab omni hoste faciat esse securos’.⁵⁴⁷
5. ‘Sacrificium, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni eruas paganorum nequitia, et in tue protectionis securitate constituas’.⁵⁴⁸

Preces (39 versicles + 5 Prayers after the Elevation, before the Agnus Dei):

A) 39 Versicles

1. ‘Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis. R. Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis’.⁵⁴⁹
2. ‘Nec respicias peccata nostra, domine. R. Sed fidem ecclesie tue’.
3. ‘Memento, domine, in beneplacito populum tuum. R. Visita nos in salutari tuo’.⁵⁵⁰
4. ‘Averte a nobis indignationem tuam. R. Et procul sit a nobis furor tuus’.

⁵⁴² Psalm 102.10 + verse Psalm 78.8 + verse Psalm 78.9; Ash Wednesday.

⁵⁴³ John 17.11–15; various days in the Fourth Week after Easter.

⁵⁴⁴ Secret of the 4th Sunday in Lent, Station in the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

⁵⁴⁵ Secret of the Mass *Ad gratiam Sancti Spiritus postulandam*.

⁵⁴⁶ Secret of the Mass *Pro tribulationibus*.

⁵⁴⁷ Secret of the Mass *Pro pace*.

⁵⁴⁸ The Clementine Secret.

⁵⁴⁹ See Psalm 102.10.

⁵⁵⁰ See Psalm 105.4.

5. 'Exaudi quesumus, domine, supplicum preces. R. Et confitentium tibi parce peccatis'.
6. 'Peccavimus cum patribus nostris. R. Iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus'.⁵⁵¹
7. 'Exaltasti propterea dexteram deprimentium nos. R. Letificasti omnes inimicos nostros'.⁵⁵²
8. 'Exaudi, domine, orationes nostras. R. Et reconciliare nobis'.
9. 'Fiat misericordia tua, domine, super nos. R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te'.⁵⁵³
10. 'Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis. R. Venite gentes, adorate dominum'.
11. 'Date magnificentiam deo nostro. R. Dei enim perfecta sunt opera'.⁵⁵⁴
12. 'Magnificate dominum meum. R. Et exaltemus nomen eius in idipsum'.⁵⁵⁵
13. 'Benedictus dominus deus noster. R. Qui dedit pacem in diebus nostris'.
14. 'Perpetua nos, domine, pace custodi. R. Quos per signum sancte crucis redimere dignatus es'.
15. 'Exurge, Christe, adiuva nos. R. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum'.
16. 'Dirige, domine, gressus nostros. R. Ad defensionem populi tui'.
17. 'Aperi, domine, manum tuam super nos. R. Et reple nos benedictione tua'.
18. 'Mitte nobis, domine, auxilium de sancto. R. Et de celo tuere nos'.⁵⁵⁶
19. 'Domine deus virtutum, converte nos. R. Et ostende faciem tuam et salvi erimus'.⁵⁵⁷
20. 'Salvum fac populum tuum, domine. R. Et benedic hereditati tue'.⁵⁵⁸
21. 'Effunde iram tuam in gentes que te non noverunt. R. Et in regna que nomen tuum non invocaverunt'.⁵⁵⁹
22. 'Hostium nostrorum elide superbiam. R. Et eorum contumaciam dextere tue virtute prosterne'.
23. 'Ad nihilum redige inimicos nostros. R. Gentes que non noverunt nomen tuum'.
24. 'Disperde eos, domine, de terra viventium. R. Et nomen eorum non memoretur amplius'.
25. 'Contere, domine, caput principum. R. Qui dicunt non est deus preter nos'.⁵⁶⁰
26. 'Expugna impugnantes te, domine. R. Et redde retributionem superbis'.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵¹ See Psalm 105.6.

⁵⁵² See Psalm 88.43.

⁵⁵³ See Psalm 32.22.

⁵⁵⁴ See Deuteronomy 32.3-4.

⁵⁵⁵ See Psalm 33.4.

⁵⁵⁶ See Psalm 19.3.

⁵⁵⁷ See Psalm 79.8, 20.

⁵⁵⁸ See Psalm 27.9.

⁵⁵⁹ See Psalm 78.6.

⁵⁶⁰ See Ecclesiasticus 36.12.

27. 'Erige, quesumus, brachium sanctum tuum. R. Super eos qui gloriantur in superbia sua'.⁵⁶²
28. 'Innova signa, immuta mirabilia. R. Glorifica manum et brachium dexterum tuum'.⁵⁶³
29. 'Gloriemur, domine, in virtute tua. R. Et repleatur terra laude tua'.⁵⁶⁴
30. 'Dirige nos in semitam rectam. R. Ut sciant omnes quia tu es deus solus'.⁵⁶⁵
31. 'Non nobis, domine, non nobis. R. Sed nomini tuo da gloriam'.⁵⁶⁶
32. 'Sanctus deus. R. Miserere nobis'.
33. 'Sanctus deus fortis. R. Exaudi nos'.
34. 'Sanctus deus fortis et immortalis. R. Adiuva nos'.
35. 'Ihesus Christus vivit. R. Amen'.
36. 'Ihesus Christus regnat. R. Amen'.
37. 'Ihesus Christus vivit et imperat. R. Amen'.
38. 'Domine, exaudi orationem meam. R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat'.⁵⁶⁷
39. 'Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo'.

B) 5 Orationes (= the 5 Secret prayers)

Communion: 'Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes petitis credite quia accipietis'.⁵⁶⁸

Postcommunion:

1. 'Da nobis quesumus, misericors deus, ut sancta quibus incessanter explemur sinceris tractemus obsequiis et fidei mente semper firmamus'.⁵⁶⁹
2. 'Concede quesumus, omnipotens deus, spiritum sanctum nos votis promoveri sedulis, quatenus eius gratia et ab omnibus liberemur tentationibus et peccatorum nostrorum indulgentiam mereamur accipere'.⁵⁷⁰
3. 'Dimitte, domine, peccata nostra, et tribue nobis misericordiam tuam quam precamur, ut humilitatem nostram attendas, vincula solvas, delicta deleas, tribulationem inspicias, adversitatem repellas, effectumque petitionis nostre largiens supplices tuos clementer exaudias'.⁵⁷¹

⁵⁶¹ See Psalm 34.1; 93.2.

⁵⁶² See Judith 9, 11; Psalm 88.11.

⁵⁶³ See Ecclesiasticus 36.6.

⁵⁶⁴ See Psalm 105.47.

⁵⁶⁵ See II Maccabees 1.27; Psalm 26.11.

⁵⁶⁶ See Psalm 113.1.

⁵⁶⁷ See Psalm 101.2.

⁵⁶⁸ Mark 11.24.

⁵⁶⁹ Postcommunion of the 4th Sunday in Lent, Station in the Holy Cross in Jerusalem.

⁵⁷⁰ Postcommunion of the Mass *Ad gratiam Sancti Spiritus postulandam*.

⁵⁷¹ Postcommunion of the Mass *Pro tribulationibus*.

4. 'Deus auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est, protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos, ut qui in defensione tua confidimus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus'.⁵⁷²
5. 'Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti liberis tibi mentibus serviant. Et famulum tum antistitem nostrum etc'.⁵⁷³

After-Mass (Antiphon + 7 Versicles + 1 Prayer + Dispersal Responsories):

1. 'Te deum laudamus'
2. Or: Antiphon: 'Da pacem, domine, in diebus nostris, quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi deus noster'.
3. 'Protector noster, aspice, deus. R. Et respice in faciem Christi tui'.
4. 'Exaudi nos, domine, quoniam benigna est misericordia tua. R. Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice in nos'.
5. 'Unam petimus a domino, hanc requirimus. R. Ut inhabitare possimus ubi Christus nasci dignatus est omnibus diebus vite nostre'.⁵⁷⁴
6. 'Domine, exaudi orationem meam. R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat'.
7. 'Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo'.

Oratio: 'Deus celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum, qui tua incommutabili virtute deiecta erigis et inveterata renovas, omniaque in integrum redire facis a quo sumpsere principium, prebe fidelibus tuis indulgentiam placatus et pacem, ut omnium peccatis tua remissione deletis, quod denuntiaturum est in terrorem et ultione transeat in prosperitatem et salutem'.

Recessional, the Canons singing the Responsory: 'Beatus Rudbertus quasi vas auri' and the monks of Sankt Peter the Responsory: 'Tu es Petrus'.

Identification: Built around the Clementine triple set, this Mass against the Turks is almost an identical twin of No. 34; it shares with it seven Scriptural items in addition to the Clementine triple set, and differs from it in having a Tract. Four Scriptural items are shared with No. 31, three with Nos 27, 29, and 38. It is documented in Salzburg, 1519 and 1526.

36)

Sources: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vet. DL. c. 21, Mainz Missal, 1507, a much later interpolation on p. CCXCIII.

Rubric: *Missa contra paganos.*

Introit: 'Salus populi'.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² Postcommunion of the Mass *Pro pace*, *COR* No. 1110.

⁵⁷³ The Clementine Postcommunion.

⁵⁷⁴ See Psalm 26.4.

[Collect: 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu']⁵⁷⁶

Epistle:

1. 'Miserere nostri deus omnium'.⁵⁷⁷

A prayer to God to defend his people from their enemies.

2. 'Oravit Hester'.⁵⁷⁸

Israel sinned and was punished, but now the pagans 'volunt tua mutare promissa et delere hereditatem tuam . . . '.

Gradual: 'Salvum fac populum'.⁵⁷⁹

Alleluia Verse: 'Eripe me'.⁵⁸⁰

Gospel: 'Habete fidem'.⁵⁸¹

Prayer works miracles.

Offertory: 'Populum humilem'.⁵⁸²

[Secret: 'Sacrificium domine quod immolamus']⁵⁸³

Communion: 'Redime me'.⁵⁸⁴

[Postcommunion: 'Protector noster aspice deus']⁵⁸⁵

Identification: This Mass *Contra paganos* was created by the addition of the necessary Scriptural items to the Clementine triple set which formed an integral part of the Mainz Missal of 1507. It has a marked affinity with the Mass against the Turks instituted by Calixtus III (six Scriptural items shared with No. 28 and its strains and with No. 33), and a lesser affinity with Nos 26 and 27 (three items).

37)

Sources: London, BL, MS Add. 6417, c. 1453, fols 32–37^v (=B); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12,262, Reitenbach (Monastery of S. Maria), 2nd half of the fifteenth century, fols 209–10^v (=M); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 273, Teutonic Order Missal, 1499, fols CCXLII–CCXLIII^v (=T).

⁵⁷⁵ Psalm 77.1.

⁵⁷⁶ The Clementine Collect.(?)

⁵⁷⁷ Ecclesiasticus 36.1–[?]. Epistle of Ember Saturday, 1st week in Lent [—'mirabilia tua, domine deus noster'; the shorter version].

⁵⁷⁸ Esther 14.3–[?].

⁵⁷⁹ Psalm 27.9.

⁵⁸⁰ Psalm 58.2. Alleluia Verse of the 9th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁵⁸¹ Mark 11.22–25.

⁵⁸² Psalm 17.28, 32.

⁵⁸³ The Clementine Secret (?).

⁵⁸⁴ Psalm 25.11.

⁵⁸⁵ The Clementine Postcommunion (?).

Rubric: *Missa ad postulandum divinum suffragium contra imminentem rabiam*⁵⁸⁶
*perfidorum Turcorum . . . composuit Bernardus electus Catharcn;*⁵⁸⁷ *Contra*
*Turcos.*⁵⁸⁸

Introit: ‘Salvator noster aspice, deus, et respice in fidem ecclesie tue, neque despicias voces⁵⁸⁹ fidelium tuorum qui colunt nomen sanctum tuum.⁵⁹⁰ Ne unquam dominantur nobis barbare nationes. Exurge, Christe, et esto in adiutorium nostrum’.⁵⁹¹

Psalm: ‘Exurgat⁵⁹² deus et dissipentur inimici eius, et fugiant qui nos persecuntur⁵⁹³ a facie crucis Christi.⁵⁹⁴ Gloria patri et filio et spiritu sancto etc’.⁵⁹⁵

Collect: ‘Ecclesie tue quesumus, domine, orationes intende, atque hostilem inimicorum potentiam dextera tue maiestatis prosterne’.⁵⁹⁶

Epistle:

1. ‘Benedictus deus et pater Domini nostri Ihesu Christi—per multos gratie agantur pro nobis’.⁵⁹⁷

God consoles ‘nos in omni tribulatione nostra . . . non enim volumus ignorare vos fratres de tribulatione nostra quae facta est in Asia’.

2. ‘De cetero fratres confortamini—spiritus quod est verbum Dei’.⁵⁹⁸ Exhortation to fight God’s battle against the Devil. The imagery is military and combative.

3. ‘Fratres scimus autem quoniam diligentibus—a caritate Dei que est in Christo Ihesu domino nostro’.⁵⁹⁹

God’s eternal purpose in favour of the predestined to Salvation.

Gradual: ‘Domine, refugium factus es nobis ab omni generatione et progenie.’⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁸⁶ rabiem M.

⁵⁸⁷ ‘composuit—Catharcn’. B. Colophon in B, fol. 37^v: ‘Orate pro Bernardo electo Catharen. Qui devote composuit’. Colophon in M: ‘Hec missa confirmata est per sanctissimum dominum nostrum dominum Paulum divina providentia papam secundum anno 1470. Et unusquisque habeat trecentos dies indulgentie de missa et circumstantes totius’.

⁵⁸⁸ T.

⁵⁸⁹ preces T.

⁵⁹⁰ qui—tuum *om.* T.

⁵⁹¹ Based on Psalm 83.10 + Psalm 101.18 + Joel 2.17 + Psalm 34.2.

⁵⁹² Exurgat B.

⁵⁹³ persequentur T.

⁵⁹⁴ Christi *om.* M, T.

⁵⁹⁵ Based on Psalm 67.2.

⁵⁹⁶ atque inimicorum potentia tue maiestatis virtute prosterne T.

⁵⁹⁷ *Om.* T. II Corinthians 1.3–11

⁵⁹⁸ *Om.* M. Ephesians 6.10–17

⁵⁹⁹ *Om.* M, T. Romans 8.28–39.

⁶⁰⁰ Psalm 89.1.

Verse:

1. 'Domine qui conteris bella ab initio, eleva brachium tuum super gentes que cogitant servis tuis mala, et dextera tua glorificetur in nobis'.⁶⁰¹
2. 'Contere fortitudinem illorum, domine, et disperge illos, ut cognoscant quia non est alius qui pugnet pro nobis nisi tu, deus noster'.⁶⁰²
3. 'Allide potentiam Theucrorum⁶⁰³ in virtute tua, cadat robur ipsorum in iracundia tua'.⁶⁰⁴
4. 'Exaudi, domine, orationem meam et ostende te nobis in tempore⁶⁰⁵ tribulationis, et luctum nostrum in gaudium converte'.⁶⁰⁶

Alleluia Verse: 'Apprehende arma et scutum et afflige opprimentibus⁶⁰⁷ nos, domine, et contumaciam⁶⁰⁸ facientes in superbia prosterne, deus salutaris⁶⁰⁹ noster'.⁶¹⁰

Prose:

'Christi sponsa atque⁶¹¹ decora⁶¹²/ funde preces et exora/ sancta Dei ecclesia.
 Salvatorem deprecare/ ut te velit liberare/ a Turcorum rabia.⁶¹³
 Congregati sunt potentes/ terras nostras invadentes/ in⁶¹⁴ furore et gladio.
 Subiugare iam ceperunt/ et Bizantium tenuerunt/ magna cum potentia.
 Sacras edes prophanarunt/ templa Christi depredarunt/ tamquam canes rabidi.
 Sacerdotium extinxerunt/ vasa sacra rapuerunt/ sine reverentia.
 Sanctos Christi exhumarunt/ beata ossa demembrarunt/ proiciendo canibus.
 Fidem Christi ibi colentes/ occiderunt vel vendentes⁶¹⁵/ dederunt exilio.⁶¹⁶

⁶⁰¹ The response with the refrain of a Responsory in a *Pro Terra Sancta* Sarum procession.

⁶⁰² A partial and decapitated text of a Responsory in a *Pro Terra sancta* Sarum procession.

⁶⁰³ Thurcorum T; inimicorum et infidelium M.

⁶⁰⁴ Based on the verse of the Responsory 'Domine deus qui conteris' cited above. The original version of this Versicle reads: 'Allide virtutem illorum in virtute tua, cadat virtus illorum in iracundia tua'.

⁶⁰⁵ die T.

⁶⁰⁶ Based on Esther 13.17.

⁶⁰⁷ opprimentes M. opprime affligentes T.

⁶⁰⁸ contumeliam M, T.

⁶⁰⁹ salvator M.

⁶¹⁰ Psalm 34.2.

⁶¹¹ et M, T.

⁶¹² Sponsa Christi et T.

⁶¹³ rabie M, T.

⁶¹⁴ in *om.* T.

⁶¹⁵ et vendentur M.

⁶¹⁶ occiderunt/ et videntes deriserunt/ mittentes exilio. T.

Deflorarunt inter aras/ et vestales⁶¹⁷ deo caras/ et pudicas virgines.
 Parietes ubi Christus/ cum Dei⁶¹⁸ matre⁶¹⁹ erat depictus⁶²⁰/ delerunt continuo.
 Deturparunt sanctos omnes/ et campanas et ambores/ dederunt silentio.
 Subverterunt cultum Dei⁶²¹/ canes isti omnesque⁶²² rei/ facti sunt in omnibus.
 Surgunt rursus prepotenter/ dominando indesinenter⁶²³/ quasi totam Greetiam.⁶²⁴
 Iam invadunt iam affligunt/ Christianos iam constringunt/ servire ydolatrie.
 Congregantur in furore/ ut dimicent cum terrore⁶²⁵/ contra Christum dominum.
 Urbem sanctam comminantur⁶²⁶/ Petri sedem detestantur/ et Christi vicarium.
 Loca⁶²⁷ et regna Christianorum/ potestates populorum/ debellare ambiunt.
 Iam nunc clama iam nunc ora/ deprecare sine mora/ sancta Dei ecclesia.
 Tempus instat vigil esto/ supplicare corde mesto/ redemptorem omnium.
 Qui te lavit a peccatis/ et redemit cum renatis/ suo precioso⁶²⁸ sanguine.
 Qui inferni portas fregit/ et peccatum iam subegit/ ut te salvam faceret.
 Qui in Petri petra⁶²⁹ dura⁶³⁰/ te fundavit permansura⁶³¹/ ipsi soli supplica.
 Perturbari et procellare/ quamvis⁶³² possis recordare/ quod numquam deficies.
 Vestis Christi etsi sortita/ neque scissa nec⁶³³ partita/ fuit inconsutilis.⁶³⁴
 Qui hereticos prostravit/ et scismaticos dampnavit/ vult quod sis perpetua.
 Muros tuos fortes fecit/ scutum arma in te proiecit/ sanctorum martirio.
 Si fidelis et devota/ supplicabis mente tota/ Christus te exaudiet.
 Non vult mortem peccatorum/ sed reatus miserorum/ dellet penitentia.⁶³⁵

⁶¹⁷ vastarunt T.

⁶¹⁸ sua T.

⁶¹⁹ cum Maria M.

⁶²⁰ pictus T.

⁶²¹ 'continuo' in place of 'cultum Dei' in T.

⁶²² o quam M.

⁶²³ dimicando incessanter T.

⁶²⁴ Greetiam T.

⁶²⁵ nec dimittent intrare T.

⁶²⁶ Tibi Christo comminentur T.

⁶²⁷ Tota T.

⁶²⁸ caro T.

⁶²⁹ ut te—petra *om.* M.

⁶³⁰ durus M.

⁶³¹ permansurus M. petram duram . . . permansuram T.

⁶³² Perscrutare et propellare/ quantum T.

⁶³³ neque M.

⁶³⁴ Vestis Christi sic sortita/ neque fossa nec irrepertita/ fuit inconsutilis. T.

Omnes qui in eum credunt/ et ab idolis recedunt/ filii erunt libere.
 Quoquot vero Machumetum/ iam sectantur in despectum⁶³⁶/ dabit exterminio.
 Ihesu bone Ihesu pie/ preces nostras in hac die/ quas effundo⁶³⁷ exaudi.
 Tu qui vales tu qui potes/ adversantes⁶³⁸ nobis hostes/ tu conterre et⁶³⁹ comprime.
 Vide ecclesiam profanatam/ fidem tuam⁶⁴⁰ conculcatam/ nisi desursum adiuves.
 Tu ex alto mitte manum/ hunc rebellem hunc prophanum/ canem Turcum profuga.
 Dominator es cunctorum/ terre maris rex celorum/ tua est potentia.
 Sine te nichil valemus/ ne resistere possemus/ sine tuo suffragio.
 Ergo exaudi nos clementer/ Yhesu pie et potenter/ inimicos destrue.
 Tu nos rege nos deffende/ nos conserva ad⁶⁴¹ nos intende/ hostes nostros procul
 tende/ et da nobis victoriam.⁶⁴²
 Post labores⁶⁴³ consolare/ nosque tecum⁶⁴⁴ fac regnare/ et nos omnes numerare/ in
 celesti gloria. Amen'.

Gospel:

1. 'Undecimi discipuli abierunt in Galileam—usque ad consummationem
 seculi'.⁶⁴⁵
 The Apostles receive their commission with the promise 'et ecce ego vobiscum sum
 . . . usque ad consummationem seculi'.
2. 'Sedente Yhesu super montem Oliveti accesserunt ad eum—usque in finem hic
 salvus erit'.⁶⁴⁶

Jesus' apocalyptic prophecy on the Last Tribulations and the Second Coming, but
 'qui autem permanserit usque in finem hic salvus erit'.

Offertory: 'Congregate sunt gentes in multitudine ut dimicent contra nos, domine deus,
 ad te sunt oculi nostri ne pereamus, tu scis que cogitant in nos et quomodo

⁶³⁵ sed reatus delet horum/ vere penitentium. T.

⁶³⁶ iam sectantur indiscretum T.

⁶³⁷ effundimus M.

⁶³⁸ Tu qui potes tu qui vales/ adversarios T.

⁶³⁹ Om. T.

⁶⁴⁰ totam M.

⁶⁴¹ Om. T.

⁶⁴² hostes procul retrude/ et nobis des victoriam T.

⁶⁴³ Tu labore T.

⁶⁴⁴ Om. T.

⁶⁴⁵ Matthew 28.16–20.

⁶⁴⁶ Om. M, T. Matthew 24.3–13, Gospel of Missa *In tempore belli*.

poterimus substinere⁶⁴⁷ ante potentiam illarum nisi tu adiuves nos. Sed tu, domine, ostende⁶⁴⁸ brachium tuum, et libera animas nostras'.⁶⁴⁹

Secret: 'Omnipotens et misericors deus qui ex habundantia celestis potentie omnibus mundi regnis dominaris omniumque potestatum colla solus domas et principum, exaudi obsecrationem⁶⁵⁰ ecclesie sancte⁶⁵¹ tue et praesta ut sicut in filii tui Domini nostri Yhesu Christi passione a diaboli⁶⁵² servitute⁶⁵³ redempti sumus, ita eius auxilio et protectione ab iminenti Theucrorum⁶⁵⁴ rabie liberemur'.

Communion: 'Domine rex omnipotens, in ditioe tua cuncta sunt posita et non est qui tue possit resistere voluntati, libera nos propter nomen tuum, domine deus creator celi et terre, respice ad humilitatem nostram'.⁶⁵⁵

Postcommunion: 'Parce, domine, parce populo Christiano et quem preciosi⁶⁵⁶ corporis et sanguinis tui communione⁶⁵⁷ participem effecisti, contra adversantia⁶⁵⁸ inimicorum omnium tua semper protectione tuearis'.

Identification: Bernard, Bishop of Kotor (in Montenegro), composed this original *Contra Turcos* Mass c. 1453/54, under the immediate impact of the fall of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire.⁶⁵⁹ It was later confirmed by Paul II—in 1470—according to the colophon of M, adopted by the Teutonic Order and included in the Order's Missal of 1499. This Mass is highly original. It shares only the Readings with other (mostly later) Masses of this type: the Epistle with No. 3, one Gospel Reading with No. 19, and another with the traditional Gospel of the *Missa in tempore belli*. The Verses of the Gradual point to another source, for three of these

⁶⁴⁷ resistere M. subsistere T.

⁶⁴⁸ extende M, T.

⁶⁴⁹ Based on Isaiah 29.7, 8 + Psalm 122.2 + I Maccabees 3.52–52.

⁶⁵⁰ obsecrationes M.

⁶⁵¹ sancte ecclesie M.

⁶⁵² dyabolica M, T.

⁶⁵³ potestate M.

⁶⁵⁴ [in]fidelium M. Thurcorum T.

⁶⁵⁵ Based on Esther 13.9 + Judith 6.15.

⁶⁵⁶ preciosa T.

⁶⁵⁷ precioso sanguine et corporis tui communione M.

⁶⁵⁸ adversaria M.

⁶⁵⁹ The author is named in the colophon '[episcopus] electus'. He was appointed by Nicholas V (according to Farlatus) on 7 January 1453, and by 25 March 1454 enjoyed full episcopal rights; he was presumably consecrated before that date. See D. Farlatus, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. VI (Venice, 1819), fols 466–68. Gams (*Series episcoporum*) dates the beginning of his episcopate to 7 January 1454, and Eubel (*Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, ed. altera (Regensburg, 1914), p. 122) to 21 November 1453.

Verses were adopted from *Pro Terra sancta* procession Responsories documented in the Sarum Use. The *Contra Turcos* specificity of this Mass is expressed in the third Verse of the Gradual, the Prose, and the Secret, and is strongly alluded to in the Introit and in the Epistle. The content is militant and combative.

38)

Sources: Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 478, fifteenth century, Benedictional + Ritual, on the book's binding (=E); Güssing, Franziskanerkloster, MS 1/43, Missal, fourteenth century, marginal interpolation on fols 248–48^v, Mass only, basic (=G); London, BL, C. 52. g. 8, Missale speciale, Strassburg Use, 1508, fols CLI–CLI^v (=S).

Rubric: *Missa que instituta est ab episcopo Maguntinensi contra infideles et contra Thurcos et quique interfuerint huic officio impartitur ab episcopo Maguntinensi indulgentiam 40 dierum scilicet si confessi et contriti;*⁶⁶⁰ *Missa contra [Turcos?]*⁶⁶¹ *Forma misse pro pace et contra Thurcos regis Maximiliani.*⁶⁶²

Ante-Mass Office:

- a) Primo cantetur⁶⁶³ flexis genuis⁶⁶⁴ Antiphona⁶⁶⁵ 'Cognoscimus, domine, quia peccavimus, veniam petimus quam non meremur, manum tuam porrige lapsis, qui latroni confitenti paradisi ianuas aperuisti'.⁶⁶⁶ Versus: 'Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis'.⁶⁶⁷
- b) Oratio:
 1. 'Exaudi quesumus, domine, supplicum preces et confitentium tibi, parce peccatis ut pariter nobis indulgentiam tribuas benignus et pacem'.⁶⁶⁸
 2. 'Deus qui peccantium animas non vis perire sed culpas, contine quam meremur iram, et quam precamur effunde super nos clementiam tuam, ut de merore gaudium tue misericordie consequamur'.⁶⁶⁹
- c) Deinde legantur septem psalmi poenitentiales⁶⁷⁰ et cum letania fiat circuitus ecclesie.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁰ E.

⁶⁶¹ G.

⁶⁶² S. The rubric dates this service between 1486—when Maximilian was elected as king—and 1493, his election as Emperor.

⁶⁶³ canitur S.

⁶⁶⁴ flexis genuis *om.* S.

⁶⁶⁵ Responsorium S.

⁶⁶⁶ S gives only the cue, 'Cognoscimus'.

⁶⁶⁷ Peccata–nobis. *om.* S.

⁶⁶⁸ Collect of the *Missa pro remissione peccatorum*. The only prayer in E.

⁶⁶⁹ The only prayer in S.

d) Post hoc in choro⁶⁷² cantetur Antiphona ‘Alma redemptoris mater que per via celi porta manens et stella maris, succurre cadenti, surgere qui curat populo, tu que genuisti natura mirante tuum sanctum genitorem, Virgo prius ac posterius, Gabrielis ab ore sumens illud Ave, peccatorum miserere’. Versus: ‘Ora pro nobis, beata virgo Maria’.

Oremus. ‘Beate et gloriose semperque virginis Dei genitricis Marie nos quesumus, domine, merita prosequantur et tuam nobis indulgentiam semper implorent. Per eundem Dominum’.⁶⁷³

Mass:

Introit: ‘Si iniquitates observaveris, domine, homine qui sustinebit, quia apud te propitiatio est, deus Israel’.⁶⁷⁴

Psalm: ‘De profundis clamavi ad te, domine, domine exaudi vocem meam’.⁶⁷⁵

Collect:⁶⁷⁶

1. ‘Parce, domine, parce peccatis nostris, et quamvis incessabiliter delinquentibus continua pena debeatur presta, quesumus, ut quod ad perpetuum meremur exitium transeat ad correctionis auxilium’.⁶⁷⁷
2. ‘Quesumus, omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui gloriose virginis et matris Marie corpus et animam ut dignum filii tui habitaculum effici mereretur cooperante spiritu sancto preparasti, da ut cuius commemorationem letamur, eius pia intercessione ab instantibus mali(?) et a morte perpetua liberemur’.
3. ‘Quesumus, omnipotens sempiterne deus, ut famulus tuus rex noster qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula, virtutum etiam omnium a te percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus et vitiorum monstra devitare et ad te, qui via, veritas, et vita es, gratosus valeat pervenire’.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁰ *Om. E.*

⁶⁷¹ *fiat—ecclesie om. E.*

⁶⁷² *hoc in choro cantetur om. E.*

⁶⁷³ *mater—Dominum om. S; it refers instead to ‘cum versus et collecte de beata virgine’.*

⁶⁷⁴ *Observaveris—Israel om. E.*

⁶⁷⁵ *Psalm 129.3 + 1 Introit + Psalm of the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost.*

⁶⁷⁶ *E does not bring the full texts of these Collects. It refers to them as follows: ‘Collecte Parce domine cum collectam pro rege sub una conclusione. Alie tres collecte ultime, una de beata virgine, 2a pro pace, 3a Deus qui non mortem sed penitentiam’.*

⁶⁷⁷ *The first part of a Collect of Missa pro invasione paganorum; Sacramentary of Figeac, Use of Moissac, Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2293, fol. 211^v. The full original version continues after ‘auxilium’ and terminates with ‘agnoscamus cessare’.*

⁶⁷⁸ *Collect of a Missa pro rege, COr No. 4880b. Omission of ‘et hostes superare’ between ‘devitare’ and ‘et ad te’.*

4. 'Deus, a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam quam mundus non potest dare, pacem, ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis debita, et hostium sublata fortitudine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla'.⁶⁷⁹
5. 'Deus qui non mortem sed penitentiam desideras peccatorum, populum tuum, quesumus, ad te converte propitius, ut dum tibi devotus extiterit iracundie tue ab eo flagella amoveas'.⁶⁸⁰

Epistle:

E: 'Theremie prophete. Si iniquitates mee'⁶⁸¹ responderunt'.⁶⁸²

S: 'Locutus est'.⁶⁸³

Gradual:⁶⁸⁴ 'Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum'.⁶⁸⁵

Verse: 'Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter honorem nominis tui, domine, libera nos'.⁶⁸⁶

Alleluia Verse: 'Ostende nobis, domine, manum tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis'.⁶⁸⁷

'Deus iudex, iustus, fortis et patiens numquid irascetur per singulos dies'.⁶⁸⁸

Tract: 'Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis'.⁶⁸⁹

Verse:

1. 'Domine, ne memineris iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum, cito anticipent nos misericordie tue, quia pauperes facti sumus nimis'.⁶⁹⁰

2. 'Aduva nos, deus salutaris noster, et propter gloriam nominis tui, domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum'.⁶⁹¹

Gospel: 'Habete fidem Dei—dimittet vobis peccata vestra'.⁶⁹²

⁶⁷⁹ Collect of the traditional *Missa pro pace*. Hadr. + Suppl. No.1343; Gelasianum No. 1472; Gellonense No. 2764; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2051, COr No. 1088.

⁶⁸⁰ Collect of a *Missa pro evitanda mortalitate*.

⁶⁸¹ Sic. Originally 'nostrae'.

⁶⁸² Jeremiah 14.7.

⁶⁸³ Probably Lamentations 3.22–[?] as in No. 25.

⁶⁸⁴ Only S.

⁶⁸⁵ Psalm 78.9–10.

⁶⁸⁶ Psalm 78.9. Gradual + Verse of Ember Saturday; 1st week in Lent; Thursday; 2nd Week in Lent; 4th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁶⁸⁷ Psalm 84.8. Only S.

⁶⁸⁸ Psalm 7.12. Only G.

⁶⁸⁹ Psalm 102.10. facias—nobis *om*. E. It also omits all the Tract Verses.

⁶⁹⁰ Psalm 78.8.

⁶⁹¹ Psalm 78.9.

Prayer works miracles.

Offertory: 'Sicut in holocaustum arietum et thaurorum, et sicut in milibus agnorum pingium, sic fiat sacrificium nostrum in conspectu tuo hodie ut placeat tibi, quia non est confusio confidentibus in te, domine'.⁶⁹³

Secret:

1. 'Hostias tibi, domine, placationis offerimus, ut et delicta nostra miseratus absolvas et nutantia corda tu dirigas'.⁶⁹⁴
2. 'Tua nobis, domine, propitiatione, et beate Marie semper virginis intercessione, ad perpetuam atque presentem hec oblatio proficiat prosperitatem et pacem'.⁶⁹⁵
3. 'Munera quesumus, domine, oblata sanctifica, ut et nobis unigeniti tui corpus et sanguis fiant, et regi ad obtinendam anime corporisque salutem et peragendum iniunctum officium te largiente usquequaquam proficiant'.
4. 'Deus qui credentes in te populos nullis sinis concuti terroribus, dignare preces et hostias dicte tibi plebis suscipere, ut pax tua pietate concessa Christianorum fines ab omni hoste faciat esse securos'.⁶⁹⁶
5. 'Subveniat nobis sacrificii presentis oblatio, quesumus, ab horrore pestilentie absolvas et ab totius eripias perditionis incursu'.⁶⁹⁷

Communion: 'Amen dico vobis, quicquid orantes'.⁶⁹⁸

After-Mass:

- a) Finita missa procedatur ad altare Virginis Marie et cantetur 'Salve regina' cum versiculo et collecta desuper.
- b) Postmodum Antiphona 'Da pacem. domine. in diebus nostris'.⁶⁹⁹
- c) Oratio super Antiphona 'Da pacem'. Oremus. 'Largire quesumus, domine, fidelibus tuis indulgentiam placatus et pacem, ut pariter ab omnibus mudentur offensis et segura tibi mente deserviant. Per Christum dominum nostrum'.⁷⁰⁰
- d) 'Hiis finite fiat publicatio vulgaris quod omnibus et singulis qui confessi interfuerint huic officio impartitur indulgentiam ut supra ab episcopo Maguntinensi'.

⁶⁹² Mark 11.22–25; 'Amen dico vobis quicumque dixerit' (Mark 11.23) in E.

⁶⁹³ Daniel 3.40; arietum—domine *om.* E.

⁶⁹⁴ Secret of Ember Wednesday, 1st week in Lent, station at St Mary Major.

⁶⁹⁵ Secret of the Votive Mass of BVM. after the Octave of the Epiphany.

⁶⁹⁶ Secret of a traditional *Missa pro pace*. Hadr. Suppl. No. 1344; Gelasianum No. 1475; Gellonense No. 2766; *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, ed. by Hen (as in note 68), No. 2052.

⁶⁹⁷ Secret of a *Missa pro evitanda mortalitate*.

⁶⁹⁸ Mark 11.24. S breaks off after the Secret. G provides the Communion; all items from the Communion on are supplied by E.

⁶⁹⁹ The Introit to the *Missa pro pace*.

⁷⁰⁰ Collect of 20th Sunday after Pentecost, *COR* N. 3237.

Identification: This Mass, defined in our sources (from Mainz and from Strassburg) as *Contra Thurcos* as well as *Contra infideles* (E) and *Pro pace* (S), was probably instituted between 1486 and 1493. This time corresponds in Mainz to the first years of the pontificate of Archbishop Berthold von Henneberg (1484–1504). The entire liturgical event at the core of which we find this Mass consisted of three parts: an Ante-Mass with 1 Antiphon, 2 Prayers, the seven Penitential Psalms, a Litany and a procession, a final Antiphon with prayer; the Mass, with 5 Collects and 5 Secrets; After-Mass with 2 Antiphons, 2 prayers, and a public declaration in the vernacular concerning the indulgence earned by those who partook in the Mass. The Scriptural configuration is highly original, with some affinity, though, to Nos 27 and 31 (four shared items).

The prayer sections of all three parts are composite, created by joining together Marian prayers with prayers adopted from five different Votive Masses (*Pro remissione peccatorum*, *Pro invasione paganorum*, *Pro rege*, *Pro pace*, and *Pro evitanda mortalitate*). This composite structure of the prayer sections is unique to this particular Mass.

The whole liturgical event transmits a rather diffuse message. While the Turks are specifically singled out in the rubrics as the principle enemy, the proceedings cover also pagans, infidels and enemies in general, and offer supplication for other causes, general as well as specific (e.g., in time of plague and for royalty).

39)

Sources: Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS Laud misc. 283, Lübeck Dominican Missal, 1502, fols 221–21^v.

Rubric: *Missa contra oppugnatores Christianorum*.

Introit: ‘Sicut oculi servorum in manibus dominorum suorum, ita oculi nostri ad dominum deum nostrum donec misereatur nostri, miserere nobis, domine, miserere nobis’.

Psalm: ‘Ad te levavi oculos meos, qui habitas in celis’.⁷⁰¹

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates et omnium iura regnorum, respice propitius in auxilium christianorum, ut gentes paganorum que in sua feritate confidunt dextera tue potentie conterantur’.⁷⁰²

Epistle: ‘Audivit princeps exercitus Syrie quod congregavit Iudas—pro animabus et legibus nostris, dominus conteret eos ante faciem nostram’.⁷⁰³

Judas exhorts his small army to trust in God—‘facile est concludi multos in manus paucorum . . . quia non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli, sed de caelo fortitudo est’.

⁷⁰¹ Psalm 122.1 Introit + Verse of Monday, 1st Week in Lent; 3rd Sunday in Lent.

⁷⁰² The Clementine Collect.

⁷⁰³ I Maccabees 3.13–22.

Gradual: ‘Respice, domine, in testamentum tuum, et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliviscaris in finem’.

Verse: ‘Exurge, domine, et iudice causam tuam, memor esto obprobrii servorum tuorum’.⁷⁰⁴

Alleluia Verse: ‘Propitius esto, domine, peccatis nostris, nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum’.⁷⁰⁵

Gospel: ‘D.I.d.s. Quoniam oportet semper orare—cito faciet vindictam illorum’.⁷⁰⁶
God will avenge quickly the saints who pray to him.

Offertory: ‘Populum humilem salvum facies, domine, et oculos superborum humiliabis, quoniam quis deus propter te, domine’.⁷⁰⁷

Secret: ‘Sacrificium tuum, domine, quod immolamus intende, ut propugnatores tuos ab omni exuas paganorum nequitia, in tue protectionis prosperitate constituas’.⁷⁰⁸

Communion: ‘Inclina aurem tuam, accelera ut eruas nos’.⁷⁰⁹

Postcommunion: ‘Protector noster aspice, deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum defende periculis, ut ab omnibus tribulationibus erepti liberis tibi mentibus deserviant’.⁷¹⁰

Identification: This Mass is structured around the Clementine core. Its Scriptural configuraion is original, with possible affinities to Nos 15 (common Offertory and Communion), 24 (common Alleluia Verse and Gospel), and the Mass against the Turks instituted by Calixtus III (in the Offertory). The overall message of military urgency proclaimed in the rubric is fully expressed in the Clementine triple set and in the Epistle, the Gospel, the Offertory, and the Communion. Its only source, a Dominican Missal from Lübeck, dates from 1502.

⁷⁰⁴ Gradual + Verse of Thursday, 4th Week in Lent; 13th Sunday after Pentecost.

⁷⁰⁵ Psalm 78.9–10.

⁷⁰⁶ Luke 18.2–8.

⁷⁰⁷ Psalm 17.28, 32. Friday, 4th Week in Lent; 8th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

⁷⁰⁸ The Clementine Secret.

⁷⁰⁹ Psalm 30.3. Communion of 7th Sunday after Pentecost; *In tempore belli*.

⁷¹⁰ The Clementine Postcommunion.

The Gregorian Trental

I. Sources and Antecedents

I.1 General

Research on the English Trental of St Gregory started with the pioneering works of Hesbert¹ and Pfaff.² Students of this typically English phenomenon appreciated quite early that it belongs to the genre of apotropaic usages and liturgical and semi-liturgical rites designed to ward off calamities of all sorts in this life and, even more so, in the next, a genre that was highly popular throughout late medieval Europe. This Trental should be studied, therefore, in its relations to similar Continental rites, for a correct appreciation of the English Trental of St Gregory as a Holy Land rite depends on an accurate description and analysis of both the ties that linked it with its origins and of that Trental's distinct identity. This comparative study is still a desideratum.

It was necessary, therefore, to begin this study with a survey of the late medieval trentals (clusters of thirty Masses distinct from the post-mortem trentals of Requiem Masses) and the sets of Masses attributed to St Gregory, as a preparatory stage leading

¹ R. J. Hesbert, 'Les Trentains Gregoriens sous forme de cycles liturgiques', *Revue Bénédictine*, 81 (1971), 108–22.

² R. Pfaff, 'The English Devotion of St. Gregory's Trental', *Speculum*, 49 (1974), 75–90. See also J. Chiffolleau, *La comptabilité de l'au-delà; Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320—vers 1480)* (Roma, 1980), pp. 325–28; P. J. Cole, 'Purgatory and Crusade in St. Gregory's Trental', *The International History Review*, 17 (1995), 713–25; and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars; Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 293–94, 370–75.

up to the detailed examination of the Holy Land content in the English Trental of St Gregory. This preliminary survey allowed me to uncover a fairly large body of evidence, mostly anterior—hence a potential model—to the first datable sources of the English Trental, and to posit the main lines of investigation for my more circumscribed study of the English Trental of St Gregory.

1.2 The Continental Sets of Masses

This survey produced four trentals, two unattributed sets of five and eight Masses, and nine sets of Masses attributed to St Gregory. They are as follows.

A) *Siquis*, a set of thirty Masses to be celebrated in thirty days by ‘siquis positus in aliquo necessitatis articulo . . . liberabitur sine mora’, documented in German sources from 1336 through the late fifteenth century.³ A particular order of Masses is common to this set, though several of its manuscripts present different variants.⁴

B) *Advenit*, an untitled trental documented in a fourteenth-century German source,⁵ comprising thirty different Masses.⁶

C) *Aegidius*, a trental of ten feasts, each celebrated three times.⁷ Attributed to St Giles, who is said to have celebrated it for Charlemagne,⁸ it is documented in two Sankt

³ See Sources to this chapter, 1.2., p. 325.

⁴ 1) 4th Advent Sunday; 2) Christmas; 3) Epiphany; 4) Septuagesima Sunday; 5) Palm Sunday; 6) Easter; 7) Ascension; 8) Pentecost; 9) Trinity; 10) Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 11) Mary; 12) Angels; 13) Apostles; 14) Martyrs; 15) Confessors; 16) Virgins; 17) All Saints; 18) Congregations of all Saints/Faithful; 19) *Pro salute vivorum*; 20) *Pro peccatis*; 21) for the souls of all Apostles/Apostolics/Christians; 22) for the souls of all bishops; 23) for the souls of all abbots; 24) for the souls of all monks; 25) for the souls of all clerics/priests (*sacerdotes*); 26) for the souls of all nuns; 27) for the souls of all kings; 28) for the souls of all laymen; 29) for the souls of all widows/and orphans; 30) for the souls of all the faithful dead.

⁵ Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 332 (HMML 28,354) Missal, fourteenth century, fols 5^v–43^v.

⁶ 1) Advent; 2) Christmas; 3) Epiphany; 4) Septuagesima Sunday; 5) Palm Sunday; 6) Easter; 7) Ascension; 8) Pentecost; 9) Trinity; 10) Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 11) Incarnation; 12) Assumption of BVM; 13) Nativity of BMV; 14) Purification of BVM; 15) Office of BVM (Common of the BVM); 16) Angels; 17) Evangelists; 18) Apostles; 19) Martyrs; 20) Confessors; 21) [Virgins]; 22) All Saints; 23) *pro consecratione*; 24) *pro salute vivorum*; 25) *pro peccatis*; 26) The Innocents; 27) St Paul’s Conversion; 28) St Mary Magdalen; 29) xi Thousand Virgins; 30) for all the faithful dead.

⁷ 1) Christmas; 2) Circumcision; 3) Epiphany; 4) Purification; 5) Annunciation; 6) Easter; 7) Ascension; 8) Pentecost; 9) Assumption; 10) Nativity of BMV.

⁸ Iacobus de Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, Cap. CXXX, ed. by Th. Graesse (3rd ed., Dresden and Leipzig, 1890), p. 584.

Lambrecht Missals as early as 1336.⁹ A later English version of this trental, known from a St Alban manuscript, presents a somewhat different list of Masses.¹⁰

D) *On trouve*, a trental based on six feasts, each celebrated five times,¹¹ prefaced by the Golden Legend's story of the tormented soul trapped in ice and saved thanks to a trental said by a bishop.¹² It is documented in a single sixteenth-century French source.¹³

E) *Nota*, a special Mass¹⁴ said five times 'devote et sine intermissione', each time with a particular prayer and meditation, reminding God of His Passion.¹⁵ The prologue attributes it to 'quedam anima' that asked a priest to celebrate it in order to liberate it from Purgatory. The text guarantees immediate liberation, even in cases where punishment was decreed until the end of time. It has been preserved in two fifteenth-century Klosterneuburg manuscripts.¹⁶

F) *Quicumque*, a set of eight Masses, each celebrated with a variable number of candles and alms, fifty in all, liberation promised on the eighth day. The eight Masses

⁹ Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, No. 393 (HMML 26,569), 1358, fols 349–49^v; No. 395 (Alte Signatur 40/42 fo) (HMML 26,565), 1336, fol. 14.

¹⁰ 1) Annunciation; 2) Christmas; 3) John the Evangelist; 4) Epiphany; 5) H. Cross; 6) Easter; 7) Ascension; 8) Pentecost; 9) Trinity; 10) Nativity of BVM. See Pfaff (as in note 2), pp. 81–82. Pfaff had some difficulty in accepting *Aegidius* as a prelude to the English Trental of St Gregory because of the comparatively late date of the St Alban manuscript, but this argument does not apply, of course, to the earlier Sankt Lambrecht version of *Aegidius* (and its list of Masses is certainly much closer to that of the English Trental of St Gregory).

¹¹ 1) Christmas; 2) The Holy Cross; 3) Easter; 4) Nativity of BVM; 5) Annunciation; 6) Assumption.

¹² 'On trouve en la legende doree ung miracle de la legende du jour des ames . . .' (= Cap. CXIII, *De commemoratione animarum*, ed. by Th. Graesse (as in note 8), p. 731.

¹³ Paris, BNF, ms. français 2375, fols 12–12^v.

¹⁴ Intr. *In nomine domini omne genu flectatur*; + Psalm *Domine exaudi*; Coll. *Omnipotens deus qui humano generi*; Epist. *Fratres hoc enim sentite*; Grad. *Christus factus est* + V. *Propter quod deus*; Alleluia V. *Dicite in gentibus*; Tract. *Sepe expugnaverunt* + V. *Dicat nunc Israel* + V. *Etenim non potuerunt* + V. *Prolongaverunt iniquitatem*; Passio s. Matheum, Marcum, Lucam, Johannem; Off. *Inproperium expectavit*; Sec. *Grata tibi sit domine*; Com. *Pater si non potest*; Compl. *Largire sensibus nostris*.

¹⁵ 1) *Per captivitatem innocentem*; 2) *Per iudicium quam innocenter sustinuit*; 3) *Per pedum confixionem*; 4) *Per vulnus cordis, mortem et passionem*; 5) *Per sepulturam*.

¹⁶ Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Choherrenstift, MS 616 (HMML 5605), Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, interpol., fol. 161^v; MS 617 (HMML 5602), Klosterneuburg Missal, fifteenth century, interpol., fols 269–69^v).

follow an order that is very close to that of the week's votive Masses.¹⁷ This set is known from two Sankt Lambrecht Missals, dated 1335 and 1358.¹⁸

G) *De missis*, a trental attributed to St Gregory, transmitted—in slightly different versions—in several manuscripts, mainly of French provenance.¹⁹ Its prologue refers to Gregory's *Dialogues*, and in its extended version it details the performance modalities of the Trental and cites a confirmation with indulgence issued by a 'Pope Innocent' as well as an inscription to that effect examined by 'trustworthy pilgrims' in either 1278 or 1378. The Trental had to be celebrated 'continuando' in thirty days,²⁰ seven Collects preceding each Mass,²¹ with certain daily liturgical duties to be performed by the celebrating priest.

H) *Les messes*, a set of forty one Masses entitled *Les messes de saint Gregoire* and preserved in a sixteenth-century French manuscript,²² is based on six votive Masses, each celebrated in a number of times that corresponds to its numerological value.²³

I) *Du temps*, a set of forty Masses preserved in a sixteenth-century French manuscript,²⁴ is based on nine votive Masses arranged in three groups according to the number of performances given to each Mass.²⁵ A prologue narrates how St Gregory received this set in a vision from his tormented parents, how he celebrated it and was assured by them—in a subsequent vision—that they have been released from their punishment and that the same set will prove beneficial for all.

¹⁷ 1) Trinity; 2) Angels; 3) John the Baptist; 4) Apostles; 5) Patriarchs and Prophets; 6) Holy Cross; 7) Mary; 8) Holy Ghost.

¹⁸ Graz MSS (as in note 9), No. 393, fol. 349^v, and No. 395, fol. 14.

¹⁹ See Sources to this chapter, I.2., p. 325.

²⁰ 1) 1st Sunday in Advent; 2) Christmas; 3) St Stephen; 4) John the Evangelist; 5) Innocents; 6) Epiphany; 7) Octave of Epiphany; 8) Purification; 9) Sunday in Septuagesima; 10) 1st Sunday in Quadragesima; 11) 2nd Sunday in Quadragesima; 12) 4th Sunday in Quadragesima; 13) Annunciation; 14) Palm Sunday; 15) *Cena Domini*; 16) Easter; 17) Ascension; 18) Pentecost; 19) Trinity; 20) 1st Sunday after Pentecost; 21) 2nd Sunday after Pentecost; 22) John the Baptist; 23) Peter and Paul; 24) Mary Magdalen; 25) St Laurence; 26) Assumption; 27) Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 28) St Michael; 29) All Saints; 30) St Gregory.

²¹ The Mass's Collect and those of the Holy Ghost, BVM, Gregory, Angels, The Dead, All Saints.

²² Paris, BNF, ms. français 2375, fol. 11^v.

²³ 1) Trinity (3 times); 2) Wounds (5); 3) Holy Ghost (7); 4) Mary (5); 5) Angels (9); 6) Apostles (12).

²⁴ Paris, BNF, ms. français 2375, fols 10^v–11.

²⁵ Christmas, Passion, Easter, and Pentecost four times each; Trinity, Mary, the Angels, and Requiem three times; and the Apostles twelve times.

J) *Ancienement*, a set of thirteen Masses to be said in thirteen days, the ‘plus grans festes et sollempnite[s] de l’an’.²⁶ It has been preserved in two manuscripts: a Pannonian Cistercian Missal dated 1373,²⁷ and a sixteenth-century French manuscript.²⁸ The Pannonian set is attributed to a certain Pope Clement, while the French prologue narrates how St Gregory revealed it in a vision to ‘ung moult saige homme’, who passed the information to Charlemagne.

K) *Docuit*, a set of seven Masses preserved in a German Cistercian Missal,²⁹ to be celebrated on seven consecutive days.³⁰ The prologue attributes its institution to St Gregory, who is said to who have received it from an angel, and claims its efficacy in obtaining anything asked for ‘iuste’.

L) *Quinque*, a set of five Masses³¹ preserved in a fifteenth-century German Cistercian Missal,³² to be said ‘sine intermissione’. The celebrating priest is to keep also twelve Fridays of strict fasting.³³ The short rubric attributes it to St Gregory, who is said to have instituted it ‘sicut Dominus sibi indicavit’.

M) *Iste sunt*, a set of seven votive Masses³⁴ celebrated in seven consecutive days³⁵ and reinforced by the Mass *Pro martiribus*. Attributed to St Gregory, it is aimed ‘contra

²⁶ 1) Advent; 2) Christmas; 3) Epiphany; 4) Septuagesima; 5) Palm Sunday; 6) Easter; 7) Ascension; 8) Pentecost; 9) Trinity; 10) Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 11) Mary; 12) the Angels; 13) All Saints. The earlier Cistercian list is slightly different: it omits the Exaltation of the Cross and brings in the Apostles.

²⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. liturg. 3, fol. 210 (received from Pfaff (as in note 2), p. 80).

²⁸ Paris, BNF, ms. français 2375, fols 11–11^v.

²⁹ Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 99 (HMML 4643), Cistercian Missal, thirteenth century, interpolation, fol. 1^v.

³⁰ 1) Annunciation; 2) Christmas; 3) Epiphany; 4) Easter; 5) Ascension; 6) Pentecost; 7) Assumption.

³¹ 1) Corpus Christi; 2) On Christ’s Blood (Wounds); 3) On the Holy Cross (Tuesday in Holy Week); 4) On Christ’s Name (Wednesday in Holy Week); 5) On the Death of Christ (Thursday in Holy week).

³² Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 951 (Alte Signatur 38/37 4o) (HMML 27,007), Cistercian Abbey of Neuberg, 2nd half of the fifteenth century, fols 78^v–79.

³³ A list of the principal twelve Fridays attributed to ‘Pope Clement’ is given in MS Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 4291, fol. 328.

³⁴ Ms. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus latinus 6080, an interpolation in an eleventh-century Missal, fol. 173^v: ‘Iste sunt misse ordinate a beato Gregorio papa’.

³⁵ This set follows, to some extent, the common weekly series of votive Masses: Sunday, the Holy Trinity; Monday, the Angels; Tuesday, All the Apostles; Wednesday, For Sinners or For the People; Thursday, the Holy Ghost; Friday, the Holy Cross; Saturday, the Virgin Mary.

omnes adversitates et tribulationes' and is to be said 'a devoto sacerdote et honesto viro et bono'.

N) *Dyt synt misse*, a set of forty-three Masses, known from a Low-German text contained in a fifteenth-century Miscellanea.³⁶ It consists of seven votive Masses celebrated several times according to the numerical property of each Mass,³⁷ revealed by the Holy Ghost to St Gregory.

Four traits mark these trentals and sets of Masses. One notices, first, their almost universal applicability. Although their prime function is to liberate souls from the torments of Purgatory, most of them also attend to the more mundane needs of life on earth. While *On trouve*, *Nota*, *Quicumque*, *Du temps*, and *Ancienement* target the afterlife, the popular *Siquis* and *De missis*, as well as *Quinque*, are generic, covering all the crises that the faithful face on both sides of the Great Divide.³⁸ *Docuit* cares for life on earth, with the sole proviso that the request be rightful ('juste'), and so does *Iste sunt*. *Aegidius* should probably be classed with the last group of sets, for the *Golden Legend's* tradition has the saint praying for Charlemagne during his lifetime, without any specific reference to Purgatory.

This comprehensive attitude looms large in the original texts of these sets, texts designed to supplement the ordinary pieces of the celebrated Masses. The Secret³⁹ of *Quinque* presents an extreme example—though certainly not untypical—of this attitude:

Auxilientur nobis quesumus, domine Christe Ihesu, venerabiles passiones tue, et defende nos ab omni periculo, tribulatione et angustia, ab omni scandalo et inmunditia, a morbis malis et insania, et a morte subitanea et improvisa, ab omni persecutione inimicorum meorum, visibilium et invisibilium. . . .

³⁶ Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 79 (Latin 76), fol. 188: 'Dyt synt misse de de hilge Geest haven gegeven de guden sente Gregorio'.

³⁷ Trinity (3), Holy Wounds (5), Gifts of the Holy Ghost (7), the Choirs of the Holy Angels (9), the Four Holy Patriarchs (4), the Twelve Apostles (12), Virgin Mary (3).

³⁸ The list of the cases covered by this Trental expands from one version to another, from the rather limited 'Siquis positus in aliquo necessitatis articulo' (Graz MSS [as in note 9], Nos 393 and 395), 'pro qualicumque necessitate' (Wilhering Cod. IX,9), and '... in qualibet tribulatione. . .' (Sankt Florian MS XI.395), to '... pro qualicumque necessitate aut tribulatione' (Graz MS 554), '... qua[li]cumque necessitate aut tribulatione aut infirmitate. . .' (Sankt Pölten Cod. 2), and, finally, the ultimate comprehensive list: '... pro. . . quacumque tribulatione aut necessitate aut infirmitate sive pro mortuorum animas liberanda vel pro captivitate vel pro aliqua prosperitate alicuius rei vel pro acquirenda amicitia. . .' (Graz MS 951). *De missis* went the other way; essentially dedicated to liberating souls from Purgatory, it also proved powerful in earthly matters, and its Masses are presented as '... multum virtuose et magne auctoritatis ad subveniendum et consolandum siquis fuerit in aliqua tribulatione et necessitate' (Oratory MS 12,584; Oxford MS Lat. lit. d.8 (slight changes); Vienna Cod. Palat. 4291 (slight changes).

³⁹ The Secret is the principal prayer in this set, dedicated as it is to the idea of the Passion.

An identical approach underlies the prayers that were said in the daily rites attached to *De missis*. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus mestorum consolator laborantium fortitudo* offers ‘preces de quacunque tribulatione clamantium, ut omnes sibi in suis necessitatibus misericordiam tuam gaudeant affuisse’.⁴⁰ Another prayer, *Ihesu Nazarene respice ad tribulationes meas*, entreats ‘ut exaudias me de tribulatione pro qua te invoco . . . michi concedas quod a te peto’.⁴¹ And the third prayer comprised in this set, *Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem*,⁴² supplicates ‘libera me . . . ab omnibus immunditiis mentis et corporis, et ab universis malis et periculis, preteritis, presentibus et futuris’. One remarks, with some surprise,⁴³ the complete absence from these texts of any explicit reference to either Purgatory or the torments suffered therein; they are certainly alluded to in the ‘pericula . . . futura’, but the complete texts, particularly the detailed ones, seem to emphasise present rather than future ‘neccesitates et tribulationes’.

Second, most of these sets claim some kind of historical authentication. Some rubrics refer succinctly in this connection to either a known historical personality or to an unnamed person, a ‘certain’ bishop, a priest, a ‘very learned person’. Others authenticate their sets by recounting in detail how these sets were revealed, promulgated, and tested in a triumphant first ‘test case’. These stories are highly functional and should be appreciated, therefore, as an integral part of the entire set. Far from being trivial anecdotes tacked on to the ‘serious stuff’, they were intended to function as testimonials to the new medicine, whose novelty, obscure (i.e., popular) origins, and unclear status in the eyes of the ecclesiastical establishment obliged its practitioners to invest it with an appropriate respectability.

The ‘historical’ rubric emphasised the divine (certainly the supernatural) character of the revelation in which the set originated. God Himself, angels, saints, and souls of the dead appeared to the living in visions and dreams and revealed to them new sets of Masses, whose novelty—always an awkward problem in the traditional, profoundly conservative context of liturgical practice—was thus acknowledged and transcended in the blaze of its supernatural origins. The choice of St Gregory as the favourite mediator

⁴⁰ MSS Lons-les Saunier, 10, fol. 70^v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. d.8. fol. 332^v; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 4291, fol. 327^v (‘preces supplicium de quacunque tribulatione ad te clamaverint ut omnes in suis necessitatibus tuam misericordiam gaudeant affuisse’).

⁴¹ MSS Lons-les Saunier (‘. . . de tribulatione seu pro intentione pro qua . . . ita veraciter accipiam que peto per te’); Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 4291 (‘. . . de tribulatione seu pro intentione pro qua . . . ita veraciter accipiam quisquid peto per te’).

⁴² Oxford, Bodleian Library (as in note 40).

⁴³ So did Hesbert; see Hesbert (as in note 1), p. 112. His solution—that these prayers concern the relatives of the departed and not the dead commemorated in this Trental—does not really answer the question, for one fails to see how and why these relatives have come to replace that dead (in a rite explicitly dedicated to him) as the intended object for God’s mercy.

in a good number of these scenes, usually on the receiving end⁴⁴ but sometimes as transmitter,⁴⁵ is highly significant in this regard. He was certainly the natural choice for the learned, for those acquainted with the legendary intercessory powers he manifested in the redemption of Trajan⁴⁶ from everlasting damnation and in liberating one of his monks from the pains of Purgatory—by instructing his abbot to say, precisely, a trental. He was even more widely known as a liturgist, closely involved with the liturgy of the Mass and particularly famous during the fourteenth century for his miraculous testimony to the reality of the Mass as the Passion in the Mass of St Gregory, and for the liturgical and semi-liturgical practices that were attached to the theme of the Man of Sorrows.⁴⁷ As one of the Four Doctors of the Latin Church he shared in their authority on matters of faith and morals. And he was, after all, a pope: Keeper of the Keys of St Peter, exercising his powers in heaven and on earth, dispensing indulgences from the unlimited Treasury of Grace, initiating new rites, judging, authorising, confirming. He was the clearly obvious choice.

Other popes too played similar parts in acts of authentication. Pope Leo institutes a series of seven St Sophia Masses during his exile from Rome,⁴⁸ an unspecified Pope Boniface receives the Mass of the Five Wounds from the Archangel Raphael,⁴⁹ and Pope Innocent (again, unspecified) approves the Gregorian *De missis* and endowes it with the appropriate indulgence according to the report of trustworthy pilgrims (on their return from Rome, presumably). The papacy was, manifestly, the perfect source of liturgical legitimisation. Yet popes were joined in this by emperors, mainly by Charlemagne. If the *Aegidius* conjures in the minds of the informed the ghost of a sinful emperor saved thanks to the intercession of this saint,⁵⁰ his image in the other rubrics is that of the collaborating Christian emperor, taking over from the pope and adding the authority of the supreme secular ruler to that of the Vicar of St Peter. The *Ancienement* relates how St Gregory revealed the set to a 'learned man' who taught it, in his turn, to Charlemagne,

⁴⁴ *De missis, Les messes, Du temps, Docuit, Quinque, Dyt synt misse.*

⁴⁵ *Ancienement, Iste sunt.*

⁴⁶ See the explicit reference to the Trajan legend in connection with the English Trental of St Gregory, T70, below

⁴⁷ M. Camille, 'The Gregorian Definition Revisited: Writing and the Medieval Image', in *L'image: fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, Actes du 6^e International Workshop on Medieval Societies, Centre Ettore Majorane, Erice, 1992 (Paris, 1996), pp. 89–107, esp. pp. 95–97; Duffy (as in note 2), pp. 238–43.

⁴⁸ Graz MS, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 1525 (HMML 26,449), fols 145–68.

⁴⁹ Duffy (as in note 2), pp. 243, 293.

⁵⁰ 'Hec sunt misse sancti Egidii celebrate pro Karulo rege'. See p. 276 above.

just as St Leo is said to have taught Charlemagne both the set of St Sophia Masses⁵¹ and the *Crux Christi* devotion with the attached *Letter to Charlemagne*.⁵²

Third, these sets of Masses share a distinct *modus operandi*.⁵³ They all consist of sequences of Masses celebrated in the course of variable yet generally short spans of time.⁵⁴ Most of these Masses were selected from the Missal and were celebrated in their regular form. Only few sets introduce original or otherwise marginal Masses.⁵⁵ Greater diversity appears, however, in regard to the number of times each Mass was celebrated: in some sets the Masses were celebrated only once, and such sets comprise up to thirty Masses. Others consist of multiples of smaller groups of Masses.⁵⁶ At least two of them (*Les messes* and *Dyt synt*) have multipliers that are not arbitrary; they express in numerical values the essential nature of each Mass. Trinity is thus expressed by the number three, Christ's Wounds by the number five, the Holy Ghost seven, the angels nine, and the Apostles by twelve, etc. Further enrichment of the actual celebration of the sets was achieved by the introduction of a varying scale of candles ('dumb praying', to use Duffy's terminology)⁵⁷ and alms giving in *Quicumque*, *Siquis* (during the St Mary Mass),⁵⁸ *On trouve*,⁵⁹ and by the addition of a special prayer and strictly defined meditations in *Nota*. Only one set—*De missis*—included instructions that specified the procedures the celebrant was required to follow in order to prepare himself for his task. He was expected to be 'existentem in gratia quantum in ipso est',⁶⁰ or—put another way—'semper habere deum pre oculis, die ac nocte orando' and firmly believe 'quod obtinebit petitionem suam'.⁶¹ Before celebrating the daily Mass he was to say the seven Penitential Psalms, the *De tribulatione* Litany, the special prayers proper to this service,

⁵¹ See p. 282 above.

⁵² Duffy (as in note 2), pp. 273–79. Another couple signalled by Duffy in this context—Silvester and Constantine—evokes the same type of cooperation between the two supreme authorities in Christendom.

⁵³ See analytical table, Sources to this chapter, I.2, Table 4.B, pp. 326–30.

⁵⁴ *Siquis* and *De missis* 30 days; *Ancienement* 13 days; *Quicumque* 8 days; *Docuit* and *Iste sunt* 7 days.

⁵⁵ *Quinque*, *Nota*.

⁵⁶ *Aegidius* comprises 10 feast Masses x 3; *On trouve* 6x5; *Nota* 1x5; *Les messes* 6 x a variable number; *Dyt synt* 7 x a variable number, *Du temps* 9 x a variable number.

⁵⁷ Duffy (as in note 2), pp. 361–62.

⁵⁸ MS Graz 554, fol. 57v: 'Post missam da septem elemosinas, et infra missam fac ardere septem candelas usque ad finem totius misse'.

⁵⁹ Fol. 12v: 'Et a chacune messes V candelles en l'honneur des V plays. . . '.

⁶⁰ MS Lons-les-Saunier, 10, fol. 70.

⁶¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library (as in note 40), fols 332, 332v.

and seven Mass Collects.⁶² The twelve Fridays of strict fast enjoined on the celebrant in *Quinque* cannot be interpreted as a measure of spiritual preparation, for they extend far beyond the limits of the actual celebration of this set; they should be seen, therefore, as an additional penitential element superimposed on the set's five Masses.

One appreciates, finally, that these series of Masses are structured on two principles of organisation, thematic and chronological, and, furthermore, that the chronological principle not infrequently underlies the thematic series. The two 'pure' types share the same Masses, selected because of their particular status and potency: 'ipse misse sunt maximi meriti' declares the prologue to *De missis*, while the *Ancienement* directs the celebrant to 'l'office de . . . plus grans festes et sollemnites de l'an', emphasising the pleasure that God takes in them, the real source of their intercessory power. But they differ in their ordering. The thematic structures consist of distinct groups that are defined on thematic criteria, mainly feasts dedicated to Christ, Marian feasts, suffrages, and various Masses for the Dead. Chronological organisation, on the other hand, derives from—and reflects—the chronological nexus that unites these different Masses into a comprehensive liturgical cycle coterminous with the calendar year.⁶³ Such trentals—skeletal structures that present a unity essentially identical to that of the complete whole—transform thirty days into a virtual whole year of liturgical performance. Most thematic structures employ this principle in the internal organisation of some of their groups, particularly the group of Masses dedicated to Christ (which retraces the main events of his work on earth from beginning to end), and also (to a lesser extent, though) in the Marian Masses.

The majority of the trentals and sets I have studied are, however, thematic.⁶⁴ *Siquis*, a typical example of this class, comprises three groups. Ten Masses commemorate the mystery of Salvation through Christ in a chronological order that opens with Christmas and terminates with the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September). A group of eight suffrage Masses that rely on the merits of a hierarchy of intercessors comprises Masses chosen from the Common of the Saints, beginning with Mary and going on to the angels, the Apostles, etc. Two directly intercessory Masses—*Pro salute vivorum* and *Pro peccatis*—close this group. A final group of ten different Masses for the Dead is organised in an order that corresponds to the commonly perceived constitution of the Christian society. Most of the variants of *Si quis* occur, naturally enough, in this group: its changing constitution reflects different views on the right social order. Hierarchically organised, it is headed by the ecclesiastical orders (popes, bishops, abbots, monks, nuns, and clerics). They are followed by the secular society, viewed, though, through extremely narrow religious lenses (kings, the laity in general, benefactors of the Church,

⁶² See above, pp. 283–84.

⁶³ Observed and analyzed in Hesbert (as in note 1), pp. 114, 117, at the expense, though, of the thematic principle.

⁶⁴ See Table, Sources to this chapter, I.2, Table 4.B, pp. 326–30.

widows, and orphans). The list concludes with a universal *Pro animabus omnium defunctorum*. The 'social' group functions, obviously, on two levels. It aims at complete comprehensiveness: every possible suppliant for deliverance from the pains of Purgatory will surely find his place in one of the compartments offered therein. It also provides a sort of corporate succour, by integrating the individual applicant into a community In Tribulation. Popes and bishops, just like widows and orphans, have been traditionally seen as particularly dear to God and having, therefore, some claim on his mercy, but they are depicted here, in the same breath, as being themselves in need of his succour. The collective cry for deliverance is certainly intended to embrace the individual supplication, to transcend it and secure its fulfilment in the fold of the *Ecclesia Triumphans*. The same thematic principle also governs, on the whole, the structures of *Les messes*, *Du temps*, and *Ancienement*. Feasts consecrated to Christ form the entire series of *Quinque*, while *Quicumque*, finally, consists of eight Masses representing different types of votive Masses and following—roughly—the weekly Office order.

Astonishingly enough, the role of Mary in this scheme appears as rather limited: only one feast against a substantial number of feasts dedicated to Christ, a striking anomaly amidst the deep Marian devotion so characteristic of the last medieval centuries. Other thematic structures, indeed, exhibit a stronger Marian element. *Advenit* has cancelled nine of the ten Masses for the Dead, retaining only the last general Mass of this type, and used five of the nine places thus freed to establish a Marian group of feasts, which were celebrated in an order inconsistent with any chronological principle. The other four were allotted to four Saints' Masses. A similar tendency marks *De missis*³: while the group of Christ's feasts has been augmented to fourteen (arranged, roughly, in the usual chronological order), it is followed by a Marian group of the saint's principal feasts (with no discernible thematic or chronological order). *Docuit*, on the other hand, combines five feasts of Christ with two Marian Masses. An even more pronounced Marian element is obvious in *On trouve*, which organises its thirty Masses in two groups: fifteen Masses based on three feasts dedicated to Christ, and fifteen on three Marian feasts.

Only two trentals present chronological sequences. *Aegidius* consists of ten Masses, each celebrated three times, starting on Christmas and proceeding in a correct order through the main feasts of the year—Christ's as well as Mary's in a roughly equal proportion—to its conclusion in the Nativity of Mary. *De missis*¹ shows an exemplary preoccupation with chronological exactitude: thirty different Masses chosen from the Proper of Time and from the Sanctoral—with fixed as well as fluctuating dates—are meticulously arranged, from the First Sunday in Advent to the Feast of All Saints (1 November). The only exception to this beautiful order is the thirtieth Mass, dedicated to St Gregory (3 September); to be explained, probably, by the idea that a St Gregory Trental should conclude with the Mass dedicated to this saint even if its date does not fit this place.⁶⁵ Despite one notable and well-intentioned glitch⁶⁶—moving the Annuncia-

⁶⁵ It should have been placed between the Assumption and the Exaltation of the Cross, i.e., in the twenty-seventh place.

tion to a place between the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary so as to form a Marian triad (Nos. 26–28)—*De missis*² maintains the same careful order. It concludes, appropriately enough, with the Feast of the Archangel Michael, Receiver of the souls of the dead, and on the right date, too: 29 September.

II. The English Scene

II.1 The English Trental of St Gregory

II.1.1 Sources

Three types of primary sources are relevant to this study: liturgical service-books, wills, and literary works. All three reflect an ideal Trental, for they portray it in a normative perspective, the Trental as it should be performed. Wills approach the reality of the performed rite much closer, for they deal—by their very nature—with the practicalities involved in realising the testators' ideas and intentions, but their perception of the Trental is, nonetheless, largely normative, for they record ideas and intentions rather than their actual performance. Surprisingly enough, the literary sources too exhibit a marked interest in the *modus operandi* of the Gregorian Trental. As 'histories', they were designed to tell a story, to transmit the dramatic narrative that opens with the encounter between the pope and his tortured mother and culminates in the glorious vision of her liberated soul. But the story acquired its deep meaning—its real *raison d'être* for the audience—with the introduction of the Trental, the rite revealed from on high (or, better still, from the very abyss) and universally ordained by the pope; it clearly mediates between the two dramatic poles of the miserable opening and the triumphal apotheosis, and it confers on the whole a meaningful unity. Several narrative and stylistic strategies highlight the centrality of the rite to the story. Such are the insistence on the divine origin of the ritual as a solution to the apparently insoluble problem of how to absolve sinners from their just punishments, the extremely detailed description of the actual correct celebration of the rite—a clear indication of its importance for the dramatic unfolding of the entire story, and, finally, the presentation of this rite as a narrative climax. This idea underlies the particular subplot about the struggle that the pious pope, determined to perform this rite in its entirety, wages against the Devil, who makes use of all his infernal stratagems and satellites in order to frustrate his intention.⁶⁷ It is also implied in the story's fundamental confrontation between cruel—though just—punishment and charitable deliverance through ritual. Ritual becomes, in this way, the story's linchpin. It combines—dramatically and ideologically—two different commit-

⁶⁶ See the judicious explanation in *Hesbert*, pp. 113–14.

⁶⁷ E.g., in T4.

ments: filial piety and an almost Pelagian belief in the efficacy of ritual in empowering the individual over his (just) fate.⁶⁸ The dramatic power of the Trental's liturgical instructions—perceived as rather dreary and unimpressive in modern eyes—was, in fact, highly appreciated by the authors (and, presumably, by their audience too) of these literary works, so much so that these instructions were versified and added, as a separate piece, to the main poem.⁶⁹ The whole story thus became an effective vehicle of edification, meditation, pure entertainment, and any mixture of the three.

Three traits mark the liturgical texts of the English Trental of St Gregory against the Continental trentals: a peculiar 'historical' rubric, original prayers, and a mode of performance designed to cover the entire liturgical year. All three are present in most sources, but their specificity permits a positive identification on grounds of less than three; the prayers and the mode of performance—separately and together—suffice for this purpose. I have been able to identify the English Trental of St Gregory in eighty liturgical sources, manuscripts as well as early prints.⁷⁰

Our next body of primary sources consists of 148 wills which stipulate the Trental of St Gregory for the souls of the dead, arranged in two distinct groups, A and B.⁷¹ The chronological implications of this corpus as to the beginnings of the Trental are not as clear and simple as one would have wished, for registration of wills did not become a general norm in England before the late fourteenth century. Wills cannot tell us much, therefore, on the Trental prior to this period. Although it seems to have originated in the time span already covered by wills, caution is surely warranted. The information they provide on numerous aspects of the actual celebration of the Trental, on the other hand, is of the utmost interest and importance.

Group A consists of seventy-one wills⁷² extracted from thirteen collections of wills.⁷³ Most of these collections are selective in different ways: some are governed by principles of selection inherent in the original process of the medieval registration of wills, such as the social status of the testators and their domicile; others follow modern editorial criteria, usually with a view to illustrate either the typical or the exceptional. The spatial and the temporal framework of these seventy-one wills is very extensive—too extensive, in fact: it derives from eleven English counties and extends from the late fourteenth century to the first decades of the sixteenth. This is a sample, at best, but

⁶⁸ For a completely different view of the psychological grounds of the Late Medieval accumulation of intercessionary practices see J. Chiffolleau, 'Analyse d'un rituel flamboyant; Paris, mai—août 1412', in J. Chiffolleau, et alii, *Riti e rituali nelle società medievali* (Spoleto 1994), pp. 215–45.

⁶⁹ The *Appendix*.

⁷⁰ See Sources to this chapter, II.1.1, pp. 330–34.

⁷¹ See Sources to this chapter, II.1.1, pp. 335–45.

⁷² Nos 1–70 in the Table of Wills, see Sources to this chapter, II.1.1, pp. 336–39.

⁷³ See Sources to this chapter, II.1.1, p. 335.

because it was formed in an unmethodical and haphazard way (I had to use the available rather than the preferable), and in view of its extensive chronological and spatial dimensions—manifestly disproportionate to its size—group A cannot be considered a representative sample of the entire population of testators in these eleven counties—let alone in England as a whole—during that time span. Furthermore, it is clearly a biased sample, for closer inspection brings out its unmistakable bias toward the English nobility and the affluent London burghers. And therein lies its usefulness for our study: in concentrating on the high-fliers it provides data on social groups that are completely absent from group B. It depicts, in fact, a surprisingly colourful picture of mainly noble and wealthy testators. At its first range we find the aristocracy: Earls and Countesses⁷⁴ as well as knights, Lords and Ladies,⁷⁵ a Baron of the Exchequer,⁷⁶ Dames and Gentlemen.⁷⁷ The ecclesiastical Order follows with an archbishop at its head,⁷⁸ but it turns out to be a rather lowly group, comprising a small number of Canons,⁷⁹ rectors,⁸⁰ and vicars.⁸¹ Lower down the social hierarchy, the wills of the wealthy London burghers who invested in a Trental of St Gregory read like the Yellow Pages of that city. They include a goldsmith,⁸² cloth merchants,⁸³ a skinner,⁸⁴ a brewer,⁸⁵ a pouchmaker,⁸⁶ a baker,⁸⁷ a butcher,⁸⁸ a fruiterer,⁸⁹ a wine-merchant,⁹⁰ a carpenter,⁹¹ a wool-merchant,⁹² and a

⁷⁴ W 10, 23, 29, 34.

⁷⁵ W 4, 8, 13, 16, 19, 22, 30, 35, 38–40.

⁷⁶ W45.

⁷⁷ W 44, 49, 55.

⁷⁸ W26.

⁷⁹ W 14, 21.

⁸⁰ W 32, 67.

⁸¹ W 41, 48.

⁸² W1.

⁸³ W 2, 37.

⁸⁴ W3.

⁸⁵ W5.

⁸⁶ W6.

⁸⁷ W7.

⁸⁸ W9.

⁸⁹ W11.

⁹⁰ W15.

⁹¹ W18.

⁹² W33.

grocer.⁹³ One solitary farmer ('husbandman')⁹⁴ represents the rural population in this pious crowd, a clear demonstration of the extent of this sample's bias.

Group B consists of seventy-nine wills⁹⁵ excerpted from the register of all the wills proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Sudbury (Suffolk) between 1439 and 1461. It is strictly local, limited in time (twenty-three years, although some of the earlier wills were drafted before 1439), and circumscribed to testators of relatively low status and holding modest possessions: knights, clergy, and holders of 'bona notabilia' over £10 or 'bona notabilia' of more than £5 in more than one archdeaconry of the same diocese were expected to prove their wills in the bishop's court, while holders of properties situated in several dioceses had to apply for this purpose to the archbishop's court. And, finally, the nobility and the wealthy (merchants and manorial lords) tended to prove their wills in higher courts, for various reasons, such as status or expectation of greater validity.⁹⁶ The seventy-nine wills in this group include, indeed, only two manorial lords,⁹⁷ seven merchants and artisans/merchants (a tanner,⁹⁸ a weaver,⁹⁹ a saddler,¹⁰⁰ a mercer,¹⁰¹ a carpenter,¹⁰² a woolman¹⁰³ and one unspecified artisan/merchant owning a 'schoppe'¹⁰⁴), and—again—one solitary 'husbandman';¹⁰⁵ all the rest seem to be modest rural landowners and country-town burghers holding relatively low-value properties which fall, therefore, under the testamentary competence of the archdeacon's court. This group is of the utmost interest for our purpose, for it is based on a complete population of testators in a well-defined, relatively small area, during a short span of time. It allows, therefore, quantitative evaluations of the relative importance of the Trental—entirely inapposite with the biased sample of group A—and it illuminates precisely those segments of society practically left out of that sample.

⁹³ W54.

⁹⁴ W51.

⁹⁵ Nos 101–79 in the Table of Wills, see Sources to this chapter, I.1.1, pp. 340–45.

⁹⁶ See P. Northeast, *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury 1439–1474, Wills from the Register 'Baldwyne'*, Part I: 1439–1461 (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

⁹⁷ W 119, 153.

⁹⁸ W123.

⁹⁹ W125.

¹⁰⁰ W142.

¹⁰¹ W148.

¹⁰² W151.

¹⁰³ W177.

¹⁰⁴ W106.

¹⁰⁵ W116.

The literary corpus associated with this Trental, our third body of evidence, is quite impressive. Its main texts are easily accessible in good editions, and on the whole they have been adequately studied.¹⁰⁶ It is particularly interesting as a record of transformation, of the translation of the ‘high’ Latin liturgy of the officiating priest into the ‘low’ English of his congregation on the one hand, and the opening-up of a ritual practice considered efficacious *ex opere operato* and applied by a specialist, so much so that it has become more accessible to—and usable by—the non-specialist laity. The Trental also functioned, consequently, as a channel of information about the plight of the Holy Land and means of action to achieve its liberation, alongside its parallel role of liberating the souls of the dead, both goals based on the original function of each of its thirty Masses as a purely Eucharistic rite.

II.1.2 Early Evolution

The Trental of St Gregory appears for the first time in the will of Alice Ippegrave, widow of a London goldsmith, in 1370–71.¹⁰⁷ During the next fifteen years we notice at least seven other testators, mostly worthy London burghers.¹⁰⁸ Our first literary evidence comes with *The Pope Trental*, a verse tale in Southern English dialect preserved in a manuscript dated to c. 1382.¹⁰⁹ And the earliest dated liturgical manuscripts of the Trental are two Sarum Missals, T38 from 1384, and T64, dated to c. 1388.

It probably circulated for some time outside the official liturgical books, on separate slips and quires,¹¹⁰ in miscellanies of all sorts (mainly theological and liturgical), before it was accepted by the ecclesiastical establishment and entered—though marginally—into the authorised liturgical books. This stage was largely terminated by 1382/84, and by that date the Trental was already complete, presenting the form that differentiated it from other trentals. Its ‘prehistory’, prior to c. 1382, left only few traces, mainly three fourteenth-century miscellanies. T8 and T32—though clearly dedicated to the liberation of individual souls from Purgatory—are still based on a prayer exclusively dedicated to the liberation of the Holy Land. It has not yet been enlarged so as to include both acts of liberation—of the Holy Land as well as the individual—in one request.¹¹¹ Together with T4 and the somewhat later French rubric to T19, these manuscripts transmit an essentially identical Trental. While the earliest version (preserved in the first two

¹⁰⁶ See Sources to this chapter, I.1.1, pp. 345–46.

¹⁰⁷ W1.

¹⁰⁸ Nos 2–8.

¹⁰⁹ Pfaff (as in note 2), p. 78.

¹¹⁰ Something like T18, a collection of the complete ten Masses with their special prayers, designed for use by priests celebrating this Trental.

¹¹¹ This vindicates Pfaff’s conjecture that a Holy Land service lies at the origins of this Trental. See Pfaff (as in note 2), p. 86.

manuscripts) does not name the pope concerned, the other two refer to Pope Leo, though T4 already notes that it is attributed to St Gregory.¹¹² The French language of three of these four sources seems to indicate origins and practice in a socio-cultural milieu still employing Anglo-Norman, i.e., the nobility and the high bourgeoisie, or simply Continental roots.

Four other manuscript Missals—T7 (from 1397), T36, T60 (from 1398), and T61—received this Trental before the end of the century. Five of the early six are Sarum Use Missals, and three of them definitely hail from the two Central England counties of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire: T38 was copied in All Souls College, Oxford; T60 comes from Lapworth (Warwickshire); and T64 (c. 1388) belonged to the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwickshire and Worcestershire. T36 from Exeter (Dorset) is the only manuscript of southern provenance in this group. Conjoined with the London wills and *The Pope Trental*, these sources demonstrate the implantation of the Trental in the south as well. The six wills documented between 1385 and 1400 originated, once again, in London and Oxfordshire, but also in Yorkshire.¹¹³ By the end of the century, consequently, the first, formative period of the Trental was over, and both its Mass and Office components were practically complete. T38 from 1384 (our earliest Missal), for example, already stipulates that a particular triple prayer set of the Trental is to be said in addition to the ordinary prayers of the thirty Masses, and that the Trental Collect is to be added to both the daily Mass and to a daily *Commendatio animarum*.

The trickle became a veritable flood during the fifteenth century and the first two decades of the sixteenth. Sixty-four manuscripts and early prints of Missals and Mass services representing the three English Uses and containing this Trental were produced during the course of this century. Thirty-eight of them are Sarum Use sources,¹¹⁴ eight York Use sources,¹¹⁵ five of Hereford Use,¹¹⁶ three are unidentified,¹¹⁷ and ten are miscellanies and foreign—Scottish, French, and Dutch—Missals.¹¹⁸ They indicate, therefore, a very wide distribution in England but also abroad, with positive identifications in Cheshire, Durham, Herefordshire, London, Monmouthshire, Norwich, Pembrokeshire, Somerset, Sussex, Yorkshire, and Worcestershire, as well as the Low Countries, Paris, and Langres. The list of 134 wills¹¹⁹ that were registered during the same period (they finally

¹¹² 'Hic incipit trentale quod dicitur trentale sancti gregorii pape, bonum quidem pro amicis dicendum ut testatur per Leonem papam quod celebravit pro matre sua que fuit in purgatorio'.

¹¹³ Nos 9–14.

¹¹⁴ T 2, 3, 6, 16, 17, 18–21, 24, 26–28, 31, 37, 39, 40, 42–44, 46, 47, 49–52, 54–57, 62, 63, 65, 73, 74, 77, 78.

¹¹⁵ T 5, 10, 14, 25, 48, 59, 79, 80.

¹¹⁶ T 9, 15, 23, 45, 66.

¹¹⁷ T 29, 33, 71.

¹¹⁸ T 22, 30, 41, 53, 58, 67–69, 72, 75.

¹¹⁹ W 15–70, 100–77.

disappeared around 1531, for obvious reasons), adds to the above-mentioned counties Bedfordshire, Kent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, and Staffordshire, reinforcing the overall impression that the Trental attained a considerable measure of distribution during that period.

II.1.3 Actual Practice: The Suffolk Case (Group B)

A better knowledge of the reality of the celebrated Trental depends on a correct appreciation of the sources, mainly the wills, on taking account of their strengths and weaknesses. Their main weakness—not always visible, on first view, to eyes habituated to the universality of the will in the modern world—consists in the partial, incomplete nature of this type of documentation when taken as evidence for medieval society as a whole. As Northeast reminds us, only about a third of the population—a distinct minority—made wills.¹²⁰ Two-thirds of the population inhabited the dark side—at least as far as wills are concerned—of late medieval England. Another weakness concerns the Trental in particular: wills, by their very nature, record the testators' wish that Trentals should be instituted after their demise, but they teach us nothing about Trentals (or other pious works) initiated through filial—or parental—piety, independent of any will. And I know of no compelling argument against the assumption that Trentals instituted through filial piety were at least as numerous as those provided for in wills. They are not as well documented, obviously,¹²¹ but this does not impugn my hypothesis. The literary works give the main role to the son, after all; his is the active part in this drama of liberation. The liturgical rubrics, likewise, highlight the initiative of the living in favour of the dead.¹²² Another limitation of this particular group of wills inheres in its obvious compactness, chronological as well as territorial. The reality glimpsed behind them is flash-lighted, seen through rapid shutters, and it appears, therefore—misleadingly, to my mind—as remarkably static, its dynamic dimension entirely hidden. The best way to

¹²⁰ Northeast (as in note 96), p. xxxvii.

¹²¹ A certain proportion of such arrangements were probably never documented: the initiator was there, after all, to keep a watchful eye on the contracting priest, and the pecuniary terms agreed between them certainly assured faithful execution. When they were documented, the records were probably ephemeral (unless they were registered with some ecclesiastical institution). A methodical examination of the surveys that were made of the revenues held by the Chantries (on their abolition) for the purpose of celebrating Trentals, and their comparison with the relevant locally registered wills, might yield interesting information on Trentals instituted in this way.

¹²² They could hardly do otherwise, of course, and testators were certainly not excluded from the putative audience thus addressed, but they obviously and specifically target the children and parents of the dead. One would have expected rubrics to emphasise personal self-interest rather than filial piety if Trentals were instituted solely—or predominantly—through wills.

correct this distorted view is, obviously, to combine this one snapshot with others, so as to seize the movement and grasp the transformation of that reality in time.

The geographic framework to the reality of the Trental in this case—and it is a test-case with implications for the history of the Trental in other parts of the country—is the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, i.e., the western part of the county of Suffolk. A predominantly rural area with just a smattering of urban life in several market-towns (Bury St Edmunds is within this territory but, as a ‘peculiar jurisdiction’ it lay outside the Archdeacon’s jurisdiction and is absent, therefore, from his register), by the close of the fourteenth century it enjoyed a certain prosperity based on agriculture, industries (mainly the cotton industry), and commerce, and it was densely populated by a relatively large number of small freemen. These modestly affluent landholders account, as we have seen above, for the overwhelming majority of the testators in group B. Between 1439 and 1461, 1479 wills were registered in the Archdeacon’s court and entered into the ‘Baldwyne’ Register. Of these wills, 567 are ‘empty’ in the sense that they do not contain any information about stipulated dispositions (being probates only, copies of already registered wills, struck-outs etc.), leaving 930 ‘full’—i.e., informative—wills.

In the Trental, the public was offered a set of extraordinary liturgical measures that supplemented the ordinary, universal liturgy for the Dead. Every Christian could count, in principle, on a supportive system of ordinary liturgical acts bearing on his demise, commencing with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and unfolding through the various rites of death, burial, and commemoration (on the appointed times of the Seventh Day, the Thirtieth, and the Anniversary Day). But individuals could—and did in great numbers—add to them extraordinary liturgical measures, initiated and paid for privately. They could be either perpetual—especially chantries endowed ‘in perpetuity’—or relatively short-term, temporary measures. The three short-term forms that are relevant to this study are the hiring of a chaplain—‘annualer’—to say Mass for the Dead for the sake of particular dead during a stipulated period (usually one year, though longer periods—up to the very exceptional twenty years—are recorded in group B), paying the parish chaplain to include particular names in the Sunday Mass bede-prayers for the dead (Sangred or Certain, median duration of three years in group B, but four of the testators in that group endow a Certain in perpetuity), and contracting with either individual priests or religious houses to perform a trental, i.e., a cluster of thirty Masses for the Dead said consecutively—sometimes simultaneously by several clerics—immediately after the testator’s death or burial. An impressive range of *Bona opera* of all sorts—from the purely religious (funding church fabric and the acquisition of ritual objects, contributing to religious houses and financing crusades and pilgrimage) to the typically charitable (alms to the needy) and the social (building bridges and paving roads, paying part of the King’s tax imposed on the community)—were perceived in the same light, as means to quicken and ease the soul’s journey through the purifying flames of Purgatory.

Genuine spiritual distress and authentic *angst* on facing death was obviously the prime motive for investing heavily in these means of salvation. But testators could not have been entirely indifferent to more worldly considerations, such as the wish to

comply with social conventions, to preserve social standing and status, and always to keep up with one's peers in public displays of piety. Both the supplementary liturgies and the *Bona opera* I have detailed above were done openly and publicly, leaving a positive image of the deceased (and his family), a combined projection of piety, status, and affluence. The more spectacular extravaganzas of this sort seem to have been designed primarily with this aim in view, and one cannot rule out the possibility that at least some of these were not intended to be executed at all, that their inclusion in wills was meant to impress fellow parishioners by the declared intent rather than its full execution. Richard Suttone of Oxborough left 1000d—note the use of the grandiose number, fit for an archbishop, in place of the more humdrum £4 3s 4d—to pay for the impossible number of 1000 Masses to be said immediately after death or as soon as it can be done;¹²³ was it ever done? An even greater quandary was faced by the executors of Andrew Grene of Fornham All Saints, who left in 1460 the princely sum of 40s to pay one hundred chaplains for one hundred Masses that were to be celebrated on one day, as soon after his death as these one hundred chaplains could be provided;¹²⁴ obviously another case of impracticable fantasy. These were, however, the exception rather than the rule. The overwhelming majority of the testators in group B exhibit an eminently practical attitude on preparing their passage after death. They multiply Masses, prayers, and other means of salvation, combine them together in different combinations, entrust them to numerous and different agents, and predetermine speed and duration, as so many ways to broaden and diversify a safety net that they endeavour to make as real and effective as possible.

Almost half (426 or 46%) of the Sudbury full wills stipulated either one of these extraordinary liturgical services or a combination of them in twos or threes.¹²⁵ The temporary chantry (a yearlong celebration of Requiem Masses) was by far the more popular of the three—with 275 wills, or 57% of the total number of extraordinary services stipulated—as well as the more expensive, more than ten times the investment required for any of the the other services (see Table 4.A). The traditional trental of Requiem Masses comes in second place, with ninety-four wills, i.e., 20% of the total, closely followed by the Trental of St Gregory, present in seventy-nine wills or 16.5%. Both are priced at 10s, a modest sum compared with 8 Marks, the median price of the temporary chantry. The Certain trails far behind with only thirty-one wills, or 6.5% of the total, and at a low price—4s 4d—although by the end of the full duration of three years (the Certain's median, though not its mode) the price-tag will rise to 13s.

¹²³ Will No. 489 from 1451.

¹²⁴ Will No. 1279.

¹²⁵ Fifty-three services were combined in twos and threes.

Table 4.A: The Extraordinary Short-Term Services in Group B

SERVICE	NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL OF EXTRAORDINARY SERVICES (479) AND OF 'FULL' WILLS (930)	DURATION (MEDIAN)	PAYMENT PER SERVICE (MEDIAN)
Temporary Chantry (Annualer)	275 (57%; 29.5%)	1 year (also mode = 1 year)	8 Mark (£5 6s 8d)
Requiem Trentals	94 (20%; 10%)	immediately	10s (also Mode and practically arithmetical mean)
Trental of St Gregory	79 (16.5%; 8.5%)	immediately and 1 year	10s (also Mode and practically arithmetical mean)
Certain/Sangred	31 (6.5%; 3.3%)	3 years (mode = 1 year)	4s 4d (also Mode and practically arithmetical mean)

Some sixty years after its first recorded appearance in a London will the Trental of St Gregory has become, consequently, an integral part of the safety net spread out by our Suffolk testators. Its wide geographic distribution—seventy-nine wills that originate in fifty-one parishes of the Sudbury Archdeaconry (see map)¹²⁶—attests to a remarkable expansion in a predominantly rural area and in a relatively short period of time. It is clear, nevertheless, that our Sudbury testators do not consider the Trental of St Gregory as a substitute for the temporary chantry. They tend to equate it with the traditional trental—hence the identical price—and to supplement the temporary chantry with either the one or the other, showing marked preference, though, for the traditional trental: temporary chantries are paired with a trental in thirty-one wills against fourteen wills that combine it with a Trental. We have found only one will combining trental with Trental.¹²⁷ there was obviously no advantage in combining services of basically similar nature.

A striking characteristic common to both Trental and trental, however, is the predominant role entrusted to the friars in their execution:¹²⁸ forty-seven (81%) contractors of the Trental and fifty-six (95%) contractors of trentals, probably an effort on the part

¹²⁶ See also the Distribution List of Trental Stipulations by Suffolk Parishes and by Year, in Sources to this chapter, II.1.3, p. 346.

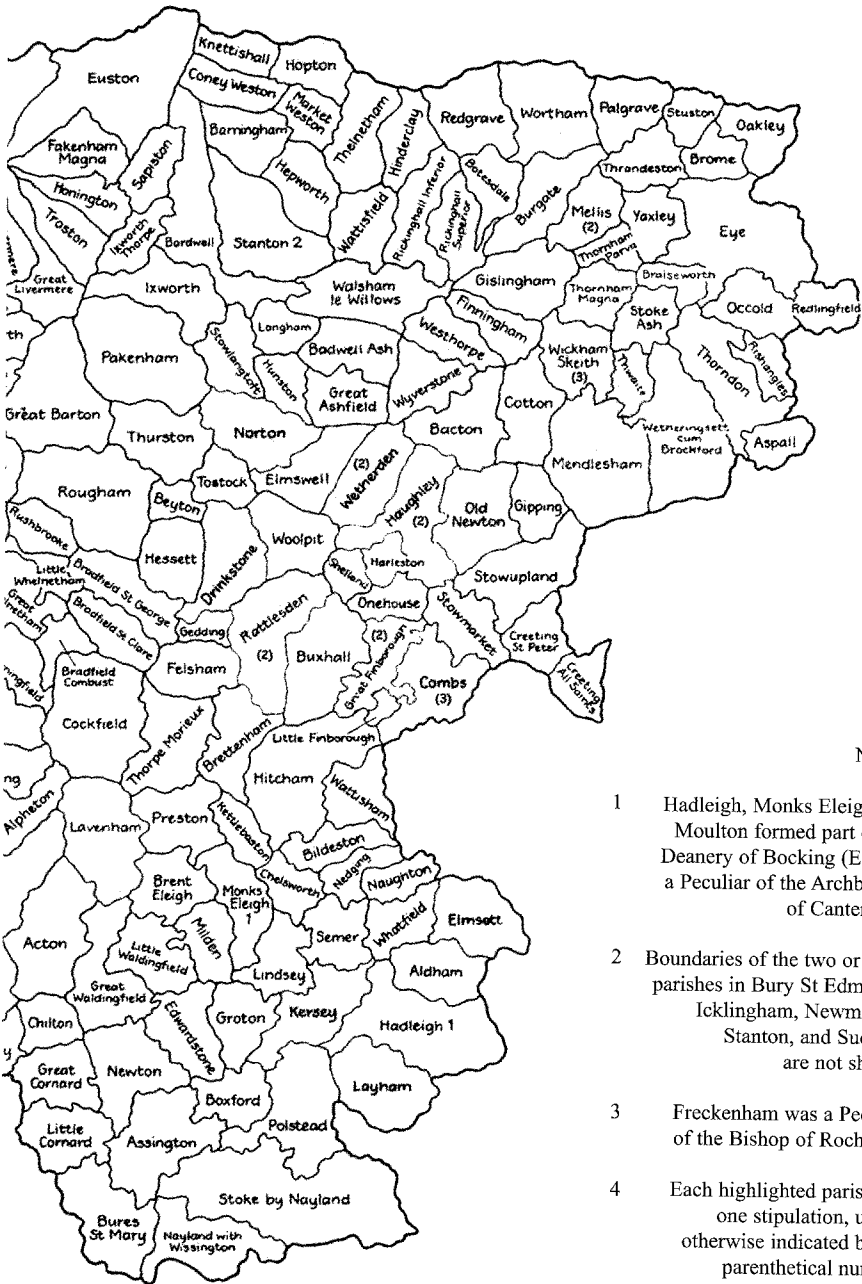
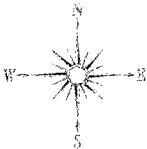
¹²⁷ Will No. 1058.

¹²⁸ See Table 4.D, Sources to this chapter, II.1.3, p. 346.



Map 1: The parishes of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, highlighting in grey the distribution list of Gregorian Trental stipulations

Reproduced with permission of the Suffolk Record Office.



Notes:

- 1 Hadleigh, Monks Eleigh and Moulton formed part of the Deanery of Bocking (Essex), a Peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 2 Boundaries of the two or more parishes in Bury St Edmunds, Icklingham, Newmarket, Stanton, and Sudbury are not shown.
- 3 Freckenham was a Peculiar of the Bishop of Rochester.
- 4 Each highlighted parish has one stipulation, unless otherwise indicated by the parenthetical number.

of the testators to enlist the meritorious mediation of the friars in addition to that of the secular priests already commissioned to celebrate the temporary chantries.

The Suffolk testators turned to all four orders: the Franciscans in the first place, but also the Dominicans, Carmelites and Austin Friars. They showed particular preference—in both Trental and trentals—for the Franciscan house of Babwell (outside the north gate of Bury St Edmunds), which gained some fame and notoriety during its long-standing conflict with the Abbey and through its siding with the rebellious townspeople and their supporters in the countryside. Its unmistakable popularity among testators—33% (Trental) and 46% (trentals)—reflects well this prestige in the Suffolk countryside. One singularity of the Trental should be noted here: while trentals are totally entrusted to religious houses, a meaningful proportion of Trentals is contracted to individuals, both secular priests (15.5%) and friars (19%). Some of these are probably due to private arrangements with relatives and protégés, an eminently good policy in matters of trust and for the preservation of family resources. On the whole, however, this tendency can be seen as an effort to assure a tighter control over the execution of the Trental. Observing and controlling the actual celebration was obviously easier on a local, open, and person to person level than over against a relatively remote, cloistered, and powerful community.

The pecuniary dispositions in these wills highlight the extent to which the Trental was perceived as a commodity, negotiable and subject to quantified actions such as pricing, counting and accounting, multiplying and halving,¹²⁹ contracting, assigning to particular beneficiaries,¹³⁰ bargaining, paying in kind,¹³¹ and negotiating. ‘Pauper’ describes, with biting sarcasm, negotiations on the endowment of a Trental as manifestly simoniac:

But covenant-makyng makyth oftyen symonye that schulde ellys nout ben symonye, as zif the zeure aske, ‘What is it worth [to synge so many messys]?’ and [the prest] answer ‘Twenty schillyngis’ or ‘Ten schillyngis’ or ellys ‘A noble’; or the preste answerith and seith ‘No lesse than twenty schillyngis’, or ‘Ten schillyngis’, and thus barganyyn and brockyn aboutyn syngynge of the messe, that may not ben sold or bout, as men do aboutyn byng and sellyng of an horse or of a cow and a calf, and so thei fallyn bothin in cursyd symonye.¹³²

¹²⁹ Half a Trental is worth half the usual price, of course. See W125.

¹³⁰ Walter Coket endowed in 1462 two Trentals, one for his mother (literally following in Gregory’s footsteps) and one for himself (W178). W102 established three Trentals, each of them dedicated to a particular soul in need.

¹³¹ John Bettys invested in a Trental malt at the required value (W143 from 1452), while John Bradford gave two oxen to the Abbey of Sallay to cover all funerary expenses, a Trental included (W46 from 1495).

¹³² P. Heath Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, EETS, 275, 280 (London, 1976, 1980), p. 186. ‘Pauper’ resuscitates—appropriately enough—Richard Poore’s explicit condemnation of the venality of Masses: ‘Praeterea venalitem Missarum districte inhibentes, precipimus, ne pro annualibus vel tricennalibus Missarum faciendis, laici vel alii aliquid dare, vel legare in testamentis cogantur, et ne super his aliqua pactio vel actio nova, vel aliqua specie palliata a

While the priced wills in group B record an almost invariable price of 10s per Trental, group A is much more diversified, starting with prices as low as 6s 8d (half a Mark) and climbing to a maximum of £10 (15M), with a median price of 15s. Closer examination of this group brings out two distinct sub-groups, roughly equal in size: the first consists of twenty-one Trentals estimated at prices lower than £1, fifteen of which are priced at 10s; the second sub-group comprises nineteen Trentals with prices ranging from £1 to £10 and a median price of £6 13s 4d (10 Marks). One will in group A refers to Trental-style Masses rather than Trentals—one thousand Masses of this type were endowed by an archbishop of York¹³³—and it should be excluded, therefore, from our present discussion. The difference between Group B taken with the first sub-group of group A on the one hand and the second sub-group of group A on the other hand cannot be explained on grounds of progressive overpricing in time, for all three are contemporary; the earliest two Trentals of the second sub-group, in fact, are W8 from 1383 priced at £10 and W14, dated 1396 and contracted at £6 13s 4d (10 Marks). Group B conforms perfectly, therefore, to the first subgroup of group A, and they should be considered together as one type of Trental, cheaply and regularly assessed at 10s, while the much more expensive Trentals of the second sub-group of group A represent another type.

All our sources point, indeed, to two types of Trental: the one consists of thirty Masses said on the ten main feasts of the year or in another manner, and as such it is easily assimilable to the traditional trental (in mode of celebration and in price), while the other—designated the Great Trental over against the (simple) Trental—requires a yearlong liturgical activity comprising the distinct Mass of the Trental of St Gregory as well as various Office elements and is assimilable, in turn, to the yearlong chantry (in mode of celebration and in price). The fact that three of the wills in the second sub-group of group A are specifically designated as ‘Great Trentals’¹³⁴ while that designation is totally absent from the wills of the first sub-group and from group B as a whole does not constitute a definitive proof of this distinction, of course, but it corroborates strongly the distinction implicit in the wills’ pecuniary dispositions.

II.2 Form

II.2.1 General

A typical Trental in a Missal consists of two principal elements: a rubric and special prayers that were to be said together with the ordinary prayers of the ten feasts on which

sacerdotibus vel aliis fiat mediatoribus. . .’ (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 22, col. 111). Further prohibitions were issued during the thirteenth century (Mansi, *Concilia*, vol. 23, cols 327, 419, 476, 900, 968), but by the close of the fourteenth century this struggle has been long since lost.

¹³³ W26 in 1421.

¹³⁴ W28 (1423), W62 (1512–13), and W65 (1517–18).

the Trental is superimposed. Full rubrics contain a title, a 'historical' testimonial, and performance instructions, but a considerable number of rubrics omit either one or two of these elements.

II.2.2 Rubric—Testimonial

Almost half our rubrics comprise only titles and modes of operation, with no testimonial.¹³⁵ They are, for the most part, late rather than early, in Missals rather than private manuals or miscellanies, and they testify to the final acceptance of the Trental, recognised at last as a legitimate rite: received into the Missal (though in a marginal position) it no longer needed a testimonial, and lengthy legends were, in any event, inappropriate in a Missal. When they do appear in rubrics, testimonials usually serve to introduce the performance instructions: how a pope was able to deliver his mother from Purgatory after she appeared to him in a vision, confessed her sins, and disclosed to him the Trental as a universal means of liberating souls from the torments of Purgatory. By 1408 the irate author of *Dives* protested strongly—'They leyyn on Sent Gregory, for hys moodyr was a wol holy woman, as we fyndyn in hys lyf'—and attempted to put the record straight on what Gregory really did, quoting chapter and verse about the way Gregory actually liberated his monk from Purgatory.¹³⁶ To no avail, though: the story of the pope's mother became canonical. The testimonials usually attribute the Trental's institution to Gregory the Great, but other popes are also mentioned—Leo, Romanus, a certain Famelius, Innocent—not necessarily in competition with the Gregorian attribution, for some of these legends distinguish between the Trental's original institution by Gregory and its subsequent 'testing' and promulgation by another pope. Many sources do not identify the pope at all and refer, instead, to an unspecified 'apostolicus', and the late French Trental of Gregory makes a young Roman priest the hero of the story.¹³⁷ Other sources lack names because entire rubrics or parts of them were blacked out by zealous sixteenth-century reformers, who extended the Henrician *damnatio memoriae* of the very term 'papa' to other 'popish' matters.¹³⁸

One of the more elaborate of the 'historical' testimonials is *Quidam papa Leo fuit Rome*, preserved in the fourteenth-century miscellany of T4.¹³⁹ It describes with barely

¹³⁵ This is the case with T 3, 18, 19, 23, 25, 27, 30, 33, 36, 48, 52, 58, 59, 67, 70 (references to Pope Leo and to Gregorius' liberation of Trajan), 72; *Hic incipit* (Hereford Use) in T 9, 15, 21, 45, 66; and *Siquis trigintale* (Sarum Use) in T 12, 16, 17, 20, 29, 39, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 73, 74.

¹³⁶ Barnum (as in note 132), p. 189.

¹³⁷ T68.

¹³⁸ This kind of damage was inflicted on T 6, 16, 22, 24, 28, 31, 38, 56 (rather half-heartedly, except for the word 'purgatorii'), 57, 64, 66.

¹³⁹ Inc. 'Hic incipit trentale quod dicitur trentale sancti Gregorii pape, bonum quidem pro amicis dicendum, ut testatur per Leonem papam quod celebravit. . .', Exp. '... Ac et omnes pro

hidden glee the mother's sins (adultery and infanticide, twice), expands on her saintly yet false reputation, and, unique among the other versions of this story transmitted in the liturgical sources, adds an entire section on the stratagems the Devil employed to prevent Pope Leo from performing the Trental in its entirety. The pope persevered, however, and, after one failure completed the whole Trental and accomplished his vow. A similar story is given in the fifteenth-century Trental poem published by R. Jordan.¹⁴⁰

Four other narrative testimonials are known from numerous sources. *Quidam papa erat*¹⁴¹ appears in four different variants and in six sources (most of them quite early),¹⁴² presenting a lively and dramatic plot—combining descriptive narrative with dialogues—that is practically identical to that of the early (1370–80) poem *Sent Gregorys Trentalle*.¹⁴³ *Quedam mulier*¹⁴⁴ is known from five fifteenth/sixteenth-century York Missals.¹⁴⁵ A French version of the same story, *Une apostol fu ja*,¹⁴⁶ either the original source or a later translation of the York story, is found in two fourteenth-century miscellanies.¹⁴⁷ A third testimonial, *Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus*,¹⁴⁸ referring to an unnamed pope, appeared towards the end of the fourteenth century and was considerably popular with later sources.¹⁴⁹ A shorter version¹⁵⁰ of it is given in T22.

quibus misse predictae fuerint celebrare more predicto a penis solventur sine dubio'. See the text in Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, p. 347.

¹⁴⁰ R. Jordan, 'Das Trentalle Gregorii in der Handschrift Harley 3810', *Englische Studien*, 40 (1909) 351–71.

¹⁴¹ Inc. 'Hinc incipit miraculum trigintalis sancti Gregorii pape. Quidam papa quondam erat nomine Romanus qui habebat matrem. . .', Exp. ' . . . tali modo celebrantur, salvi erunt ab omnibus periculis animarum me ipsa testante'. See the variants' texts in Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, pp. 348–50.

¹⁴² T 7, 38, 53, 61, 71, 79.

¹⁴³ F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS 15 (London, 1866), pp. 114–22.

¹⁴⁴ Inc. 'Quedam mulier in omnibus devotissima. . .', Exp. 'Et sic ab oculis eius evanuit'. See the text in Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, pp. 350–51.

¹⁴⁵ T 5, 10, 13, 14, 80.

¹⁴⁶ Inc. 'Une apostol fu ja qi out une mere qe mult fu tenu prode femme. . .', Exp. ' . . . E tant tot envanit des veu od les anges qe la menerent'. See P. Meyer, 'Manuscripts français de Cambridge (FF.6.15)', *Romania*, 15 (1886), 282–83.

¹⁴⁷ T8 and T32.

¹⁴⁸ Inc. 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus pro liberatione anime matris. . .', Exp. ' . . . ut sequitur eidem explanante. . .'. See the text in Sources to this chapter, II.2.2, p. 351.

¹⁴⁹ It has been preserved in T 2, 26, 28 (referring to Innocent), 37, 40, 43, 51, 54–56, 60, 62, 63, 65, 76–78.

¹⁵⁰ 'Ordo trigintalis cuiusdam apostolici viri pro liberatione anime matris sue a penis purgatorii talis est'.

Trentalis sancti Gregorii pape,¹⁵¹ finally, an extremely short reference to the story of Gregory and his mother, appears in the rubric of the late fifteenth-century T24.

II.2.3 Rubric—Structure

II.2.3.1. Thirty Masses based on ten feasts—three Masses celebrated during the Octave of each feast and ‘enhanced’ by three special prayers, a Collect, a Secret, and a Postcommunion—constitute the Trental’s backbone and its most visible component. In their ensemble they were perceived as the ‘ten chief feasts of the year’,¹⁵² or ‘the grete festis of the yer’, as they are characterised in *Dives and Pauper* from c. 1408.¹⁵³ A closer look shows it to be a combined thematic set of two almost equal groups of Masses, one dedicated to Christ (six Masses) and the other to Mary (four Masses). They are chronologically arranged in an order that follows the yearly liturgical cycle and covers most of the year. This order combines the two groups but does not efface their distinct specificity. A schedule attached to the will of Hugh Brown (1501), detailing the various components of the Trental, refers, as a matter of course though slightly incorrectly, to these two groups as being in complete equality: ‘First, he must sey or sing of the fyve festis of our lord Jesus Christ, and after, fyve festis of our blissed lady. . .’.¹⁵⁴ The schedule continues to list the six feasts of Christ and the four Marian feasts, preconception about the equality between the two groups prevailing over the mere fact that they were not actually of equal size. The French Trental of St Gregory follows an essentially thematic sequence of six feasts celebrated five times and organised in two groups—three (actually four) feasts of Christ (Christmas, Passion Sunday and Palm Sunday taken as one feast, Easter) and three Marian feasts (Conception, Nativity, and Assumption). This type of thirty Masses based on five times six Masses has already been observed in the French *On trouve* (see p. 285 above).

Our sources organise their Trental in two chronological sequences. They are already recorded in the ‘first generation’ manuscripts.¹⁵⁵ The most popular, documented as early as 1384 and in other six ‘first generation’ manuscripts,¹⁵⁶ arranges its feasts as follows: 1) Christmas; 2) Epiphany; 3) Purification; 4) Annunciation; 5) Easter; 6) Ascension; 7) Pentecost; 8) Trinity; 9) Assumption; 10) Nativity of BVM. About eight months of the

¹⁵¹ ‘Trentalis sancti Gregorii [pape . . . per] visionem . . . pro anima matris sue hoc per eodem modo dicende sunt misse [etc.]’.

¹⁵² See Furnivall (as in note 143), p. 119; R. K. Root, ‘Poems from the Garrett Ms’, *Englische Studien*, 41 (1909–10), 360.

¹⁵³ Barnum (as in note 132), p. 188.

¹⁵⁴ W54, p. 126. The required order of Masses is the regular mix of six Christ’s Masses and four Marian.

¹⁵⁵ See Table in Sources to this chapter, II.2.3.1, Table 4.E, p. 352.

¹⁵⁶ T 38, 60, 22, 26, 36, 37, 61.

year are, consequently, covered, from 25 December to 8 September, leaving most of September, the months of October, November, and the greater part of December uncovered. It has been transmitted in no fewer than forty-two fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources, for the most part Sarum Use liturgical books,¹⁵⁷ in literary sources¹⁵⁸ and in the already mentioned will of Hugh Brown. The obvious predominance of this style might have something to do with the popular origins of the Trental. Coming from below, it seems to have harked back to the Anglo-Saxon Christmas style, while the Annunciation style—a later import into England—was more typical of the ecclesiastical elite.

The Annunciation style governs the three other sequences. A sequence of this type that appeared for the first time in 1397,¹⁵⁹ in other two 'first generation' manuscripts¹⁶⁰ and in one fifteenth-century manuscript,¹⁶¹ organised its Masses as follows: 1) Annunciation; 2) Easter; 3) Ascension; 4) Pentecost; 5) Trinity; 6) Assumption; 7) Nativity of BVM; 8) Christmas; 9) Epiphany; 10) Purification. It is a strikingly Marian year, commencing and terminating with Marian feasts, and, spreading its feasts between 25 March and 2 February, it leaves less than two months uncovered (February less one day and the greater part of March). The other Annunciation style sequence is documented in nine sources, several of them of the York Use: three 'first generation' manuscripts¹⁶² and six later sources.¹⁶³ This sequence—1) Annunciation; 2) Christmas; 3) Epiphany; 4) Purification; 5) Easter; 6) Ascension; 7) Pentecost; 8) Trinity; 9) Assumption; 10) Nativity of BVM—is obviously impossible to implement in a chronological order. The third

¹⁵⁷ T 2, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79. T33 transmits an essentially identical order (omitting the Annunciation and adding *Corpus Christi*), while T78 celebrates the Purification feast before Epiphany. T79—although of York Use—formally insists on the Christmas Style at the end of the Text: 'Memorandum quod incipiendum est celebrare tricenarias infra Octabas nativitatis domini et sic celebrande sunt misse' and proceeds to detail the formulary of the Christmas Mass for the purpose of celebrating the Trental (fol. 182^v). Testators and other beneficiaries had to wait, therefore, for quite a long time—up to a year, in theory—before the sequence was started, and another year before it was finished; hardly enticing for people intent on quick deliverance.

¹⁵⁸ Furnivall (as in note 143), p. 118; Jordan (as in note 140), pp. 357–58; Root (as in note 152), pp. 367–68; W. B. D. D. Turnbull, *The Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations and other Fragments of Early Poetry hitherto Unedited* (Edinburgh, 1843), p. 80.

¹⁵⁹ T7.

¹⁶⁰ T 4, 24.

¹⁶¹ T53.

¹⁶² T 8, 10, 32.

¹⁶³ T 5, 13, 14, 48, 70, 80.

Annunciation style sequence, known from a fifteenth-century Langres Missal,¹⁶⁴ is very similar to the previous sequence (and probably derives from it): 1) Annunciation; 2) Christmas; 3) Purification; 4) Passion; 5) Easter; 6) Ascension; 7) Pentecost; 8) Trinity; 9) Assumption; 10) Nativity of BVM. Moving the Annunciation from its correct chronological position to the first place—preceding Christmas—left only nine feasts in the right chronological sequence, between 25 December and 8 September, as in most of the Sarum Use documents. This should have been of no consequence, of course, when—and if—the Trental was performed outside the normal chronological sequence of the yearly cycle of feasts, and this seems to be the case, indeed, with T69.

The Trental's structure, particularly in its Christmas-style form (Sarum Use), corresponds closely to that of the French *Aegidius*. Both trentals are based on a chronological sequence of ten feast Masses, each performed three times, with an almost identical choice of Masses: nine out of ten are identical, the odd one being the Circumcision in *Aegidius* and the Trinity in the English trental. They present, again, the same ratio between feasts of Christ and Marian feasts, six of the former against four of the later. As the *Aegidius* is documented in the Continent during the first decades of the fourteenth century, long before the earliest reference to the English trental, and as it was known in England (though our evidence for this is rather late), it is highly probable that the *Aegidius* served as source and model—structurally, at least—to the English Trental.

II.2.3.2. The 'simple' Trental consisted of these thirty Masses, said either in the Octaves of the designated feasts throughout the year or disconnected from these feasts and 'telescoped' into a much shorter time. The Great Trental, in contrast, supplemented the thirty Masses with a daily, yearlong series of both Mass and Office observances. Less visible than the thirty Masses, the interest of the Office component of the Trental for the testator was of considerable significance. It was mostly performed by the priest (or a number of priests) hired to perform the complete Trental, but some of its Office obligations could be—were even expected to be—assured by the executor himself. Definitely established by the end of the fourteenth century, according to the testimony of the 'first generation' manuscripts, the Office complement did not change in any substantial way during the next century and until it was rooted out in the sixteenth century. Like the traditional trental of thirty Masses for the Dead the Great trental was very flexible; and unlike the funerary rites that were tied to specific dates (the seventh day after the funeral, the thirtieth, and the yearly commemoration) it could be activated practically immediately, at any time, even before the testator gave up the ghost.¹⁶⁵ This

¹⁶⁴ T69. Similar ideas govern a sequence of eighty-eight Masses to be performed 'as soon as can be arranged', eight Masses in honour of each of the following: Incarnation, Christmas, Circumcision, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Conception of BVM, her Nativity, and her Assumption. This sequence was endowed in a Sudbury will dated 1449 (Northeast, as in note 96, No. 546).

¹⁶⁵ 'As ssonne it is perceyved that I shall depart to the mercy of God and so lying abyding his mercy and grace, being alyve', W44 from 1493.

quality was of considerable importance for quite a few testators. Many of them instructed their executors to have their Trentals celebrated immediately—or as soon as possible—after their death. The usual formulae are precise: ‘quam cito poterit fieri’,¹⁶⁶ ‘within one month’,¹⁶⁷ ‘as soon after my death as they can be hired’,¹⁶⁸ ‘to begyn ymdiatly after my depertyng’,¹⁶⁹ ‘immediately after my burial’,¹⁷⁰ ‘within three days after my decease’,¹⁷¹ ‘die sepulturae meae vel citius si poterit’,¹⁷² ‘in crastino obitus mei’.¹⁷³ Some testators did not hide their mounting panic. Isabelle Salvayn directed in 1429 that the Trental be celebrated ‘quam cito poterit fieri, et cum magna festinacia’,¹⁷⁴ and the same formula recurs in the will of Elizabeth, Lady Latimer, in 1480: ‘incontinent after me decease in all goodly haste possible’.¹⁷⁵ A yearlong daily observance was perfectly suitable for this sort of demand, and it covered, furthermore, the periods left completely exposed in two of the three sequences of thirty feast Masses.

The Office part of this complex consisted primarily of a daily performance of the Office of the Dead—The Vespers (*Placebo*) and the Vigils of the Dead (*Dirige*)—with a Commendation of the Soul. The most popular usage, transmitted in numerous (mainly Sarum) sources,¹⁷⁶ comprised a Vigil of the Secular Use, with nine psalms, antiphons, and lessons, but during Eastertide only three lessons were said and the Commendation was repeated three times. Each of the three components—Vespers, Vigil, and Commendation—received a special prayer that was recited as their first prayer. To this group belong also T56, although it does not specify the content of its Vigil, and T55, which reverts to the Ordinal during Eastertide. Another form, equally documented since the fourteenth century, added to the Vigils the seven Penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, and the Litany on the Dead.¹⁷⁷ T30 (the first set) reduces the number of psalms and lessons to seven.

Additional observances accrued to this Office during the fifteenth century, most of them designed to prepare the priest for the performance of the Trental. The fourteenth-

¹⁶⁶ W46. See also W145.

¹⁶⁷ W20; ‘infra mensem post decessum meum’ Nos 25; also Nos 14, 26, 63.

¹⁶⁸ W32.

¹⁶⁹ W68; also Nos 32; 53.

¹⁷⁰ W42.

¹⁷¹ W48.

¹⁷² W19.

¹⁷³ W45.

¹⁷⁴ W31.

¹⁷⁵ W40.

¹⁷⁶ ‘First generation’ manuscripts: T 38, 61. Later sources: T 12, 16, 17, 20, 39, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 71, 73, 74.

¹⁷⁷ T 4, 24, 30 (The second set of instructions), 33.

century T24 already imposed on the priest a daily confession (or according to need), but T30 (the second set of instructions) went one better and directed him to say daily on sunrise Psalm 129 (*De profundis*), The Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, the prayer *Inclina deus* as well as the Trental's special prayer, and to fast twice a week—on Wednesday and Friday. T18 lays down a different schedule of fasts, mainly in connection with the thirty Masses, and Brown's will (No. 54) imposes even tougher standards: a strict fast—bread and water—and the wearing of a hair shirt on every Friday and vigil and on each of the thirty feasts, as well as giving alms to the poor on each fast to the value of 4d.

The Mass part consisted, usually, of the Mass of the day celebrated by the designated priest, with the special Trental's Collect.¹⁷⁸ Several sources—among them one fourteenth-century manuscript—allow the executor to say it in place of the priest,¹⁷⁹ some direct that it be said before the daily Mass,¹⁸⁰ and at least one will¹⁸¹ locates it after the daily Mass, preceded by Psalm 129 (*De profundis*) and followed by the prayer *Fidelium*.¹⁸² At least one early source moved the single special prayer to the ante-Mass, where it was said with Psalm *Iudica* in genuflection, its place taken by the three special prayers usually inserted into the thirty Masses.¹⁸³ Three special prayers were henceforth added to the daily Mass in several fourteenth and fifteenth-century sources.¹⁸⁴ Another addition was made already during the late fourteenth century, when the *Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi secundum Iohannem* was read together with the prayer *Deus qui manus tuas* after the daily Mass.¹⁸⁵

The wills—with their better grasp of the reality of the performed rite—corroborate the testimony of the liturgical service-books: practice followed prescription, and in some cases even went beyond it, e.g., in associating the Trental with a Requiem Mass.¹⁸⁶ Several wills testify to the joint celebration of this Mass with the Trental, either

¹⁷⁸ 'First generation' manuscripts: T 38, 61. Later sources: T 9, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20, 39, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 55, 71, 73, 74.

¹⁷⁹ T 5, 19, 32, 53, 56, 66.

¹⁸⁰ T 54, 59.

¹⁸¹ W54.

¹⁸² See *CO*r No. 2684.

¹⁸³ T24.

¹⁸⁴ T 4, 7, 13–15, 18, 30 (the third set), 48.

¹⁸⁵ T 10, 24, 31, 35, 70.

¹⁸⁶ Apart from the often mentioned W54, see also W32 from 1431, which instructed the executors of John Hertylpole, rector, to arrange for two sets, one for a year and the other for four years, these sets comprising a twice-weekly Requiem with the Trental's special prayers, an Intercession for the Dead, the Trental's thirty feasts, the Office of the Dead thrice weekly, and the daily Mass with the attached special Trental's Mass. See also Nos 35, 42.

weekly¹⁸⁷ or on two days per week, on Mondays and Fridays, each Requiem comprising the three special prayers of the Trental.¹⁸⁸ By 1489–90, William Copley asked, indeed, for ‘Missam de Requiem cum trentale S. Gregorii’.¹⁸⁹ The literary works reflect this reality of the Trental as it was actually performed. The *Dives* reports, in c. 1408, that ‘som prestis hot yn to fastyn bred and watyr and to weryn the hayre every day whan they schul syngyn any of the messys for the soulys. . . Also they seyn that they mystyn hau a special oryson’.¹⁹⁰ And the versified *Trental* treats the operative aspects of the Trental extensively and in great detail in an appendix that follows the happy apotheosis of the mother. It transmits a full-blown set of Office and Mass observances—Commendation, Office of the Death with the seven Penitential Psalms, the daily Mass and the thirty feasts with the special prayers—a veritable liturgical rubric in verse.¹⁹¹

Testators obviously hoped and wished that the designated priest should ‘synge and pray a trentall of Seynt Gregory with all the fastynges and observances therto belongyng’, according to the will of John Leynham, knight, from 1479–80.¹⁹² But it was not a simple matter, and the testators were fully aware of it. They expected these priests to be ‘honest’,¹⁹³ ‘devout’,¹⁹⁴ and ‘discreet’,¹⁹⁵ ‘ydoneos’,¹⁹⁶ and ‘the most fitting people that can be found’,¹⁹⁷ as well as ‘sufficientes’,¹⁹⁸ but the enormous load of a faithful performance of the Trental—especially the Great Trental—made them look for ‘an honest chaplain’¹⁹⁹ to be reminded, as a last resort, that he will eventually answer before God.²⁰⁰

The Trental—particularly the Great Trental—represented, undoubtedly, a major undertaking, a remarkable commitment and investment of resources of different kinds and on various levels, stretching from the inner spiritual life of the individual to his

¹⁸⁷ W54.

¹⁸⁸ W32.

¹⁸⁹ W45.

¹⁹⁰ Barnum (as in note 132), p. 188.

¹⁹¹ Furnivall (as in note 143), pp. 121–22. Its *Appendix* version (F. J. Furnivall, ‘The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms’, EETS, 117 (London, 1901), p. 748), further adds the fifteen Gradual Psalms and the Litany on the Dead.

¹⁹² W39.

¹⁹³ W164.

¹⁹⁴ W62.

¹⁹⁵ W65.

¹⁹⁶ W14. See also W 119, 138, 146.

¹⁹⁷ W10.

¹⁹⁸ W28.

¹⁹⁹ W 23, 32, 61, 70.

²⁰⁰ W33A.

social interaction with fellow Christians, in a community of belief that united the deceased with their living and with future descendants. Its corporate character—which the wills express time and again by sharing and allotting the expected merits to relatives, friends, patrons, and ‘all Christians’—is perceived not only as a source of potency but also as justifying the comprehensiveness of the liturgical means employed in order to liberate one soul from punishment. One version of the versified *Trental* emphasises this corporate aspect by narrating how Gregory mobilised the prayers of the entire community of Rome (monks, clerks, and pilgrims) and joined them to his own prayers in order to save his mother: he was instituting, at the same time, this new universal means of deliverance. The appendix to the Harley MS. version states it unambiguously: ‘Sone, on thyng of charite I the rede/ Do it as well for the qvyk as for the dede/ Syng it as wele for V as for one/ Ffor it may saue the sawles euerechone’.²⁰¹ This sense of comprehensiveness underlies the choice of the entire liturgical year as a temporal framework. The year of the *Trental* is not simply exchangeable with a Purgatory year, they are not equal values; and cancelling the one with the other would have been deemed utterly foolish in a society long used to better bargains, to profits of hundreds and thousands of Purgatory years²⁰² earned by means of single prayers. The year of the *Trental* was, rather, a temporal framework for expressing the plenitude of the liturgical performance, setting boundaries so wide that they enclose the fullness of the liturgical deed.

A whole year was, consequently, the rule. Most of our sources, in particular all the liturgical and the literary works, agree on this point. And the greater part of the wills concur, many specifying unambiguously ‘for one whole year’ (and similar expressions),²⁰³ ‘pro magno trigintali unius anni quod trigintale sancti Gregorii vocatur’,²⁰⁴ or ‘at stated times’,²⁰⁵ ‘at the appropriate feasts for a year’.²⁰⁶ ‘Pauper’, that censorious critic of the *Trental*, used the yearlong duration of the *Trental* as an argument against it. He reminded his interlocutor that the true miracle of the liberation of Gregory’s sinful monk was achieved in seven days, and concludes: ‘for betyr it is for to delyveryn a soule out of pyne withynne sevene dayys, or thretty dayys than so to latyn hym langouryn in pyne al the yer whan he myte ben halpyn withynne thretty dayys, and so wolds every man or woman that is in bodely dishese and in presoun, and he wer no good frend that lete his frend lyn in presoun al the yer whan he myghte han hym out withyn sevene dayys or withynne thretty dayys’.²⁰⁷ He was in no doubt, apparently, that the *Trental* was

²⁰¹ Jordan (as in note 140), p. 366.

²⁰² Compare the really bullish highs of 32,755 and 40,000 years quoted in Duffy (as in note 2), pp. 239, 287.

²⁰³ W 12, 23, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 37, 42, 43, 54, 61, 64, 70, 127, 148, 166, 173.

²⁰⁴ W62.

²⁰⁵ W7.

²⁰⁶ W152.

²⁰⁷ Barnum (as in note 132), p. 189.

indeed celebrated throughout the whole year, but the idea that the liberating powers of the Trental should better be concentrated in order to achieve quicker results was quite reasonable, and it resulted in the ‘telescoping’ of the ‘simple’ Trental into shorter periods, and as close as possible to the moment of death.

This practice is documented in five sources (between 1411 and 1518/19). They indicate that the Trental sometimes replaced the traditional trental of thirty Requiem Masses, an innovation that corresponded to the tendency to associate Requiem Masses with the Trental, either as two separate rites or in a more integrated mode.²⁰⁸ William de Roos in 1411 and Andrew Ellys in 1518–19 ordered that the Trental be said on their burial day (‘or even earlier’, for Ellys),²⁰⁹ and Joan Devyn in 1483, like John Thorpe in 1514, asked for the Trental to be celebrated during the thirty days period after burial (Devyn) and death (Thorpe).²¹⁰ Despite the differences between these four cases—celebration of the Trental on one day or in thirty days, following death or after burial—all four are certainly perceived in the traditional way as trentals performed in immediate proximity to either death or burial. Henry Bowet, archbishop of York, left essentially similar instructions in 1421. He asked for a thousand Masses to be celebrated ‘more trentalis sancti Gregorii . . . infra mensem a die obitus mei’.²¹¹ An archbishop should be taken at his word: these are not so many Trentals but Masses celebrated ‘more trentalis S. Gregorii’, meaning, presumably, Masses ‘reinforced’ by the Gregorian Trental’s special prayers, perhaps even with the additional Office components, but expected, nevertheless, to function similarly to the traditional *post-mortem* trental. And one thousand Masses, for that matter, could hardly be organised in trentals. Several wills ordering immediate or ‘as soon as possible’ and ‘with all possible haste’ performance of Trentals positively identified as ‘simple’—due to their low price—obviously belong to this category.²¹² Joan Devyn’s will,²¹³ finally, should be seen as an incontrovertible proof that both types of the Trental of St Gregory coexisted, for it provides for both: one to be solemnly celebrated in the church of Henley immediately after death and ‘until my trental day’; the other to be ‘performed in the said chapel . . . for a whole year’.

The Trental of St Gregory was, consequently, sometimes celebrated as a ‘simple’ Trental, similar to the traditional, immediate *post-mortem* trental,²¹⁴ and sometimes as a

²⁰⁸ See pp. 306–07 above.

²⁰⁹ W 19, 66.

²¹⁰ W 42, 63.

²¹¹ W26.

²¹² W 108, 116, 154.

²¹³ See W42.

²¹⁴ On this point I part company—for some of the way, at least—with Pfaff, who suggested that ‘St Gregory’s Trental may have been as often celebrated in the breach of its elaborate rules as in their observance’ (Pfaff (as in note 2), p. 89). We are dealing not with a deviation from the

Great Trental, according to the canonical form of performance as a yearlong observance prescribed in the Missals. Economic considerations certainly played their part in preferring one or the other: the evidence of group B wills of the lower strata of the wealthy highlights the cheap price of the 'simple' Trental and its relatively limited attractiveness against the traditional trental which requires identical investment but offers immediate and rapid cure, and against the temporary chantry, much more expensive but considered, apparently, to be more powerful. The Trental became more attractive when it adopted the modes of celebration of these two traditional services: the 'simple' Trental was thus rolled back to the immediate post-mortem time, and the Great Trental offered practically the same cure that was promised by the temporary chantry and at the same price range but with the added potency of the ten main feasts and the Gregorian testimonial. The Trental as an immediate post-mortem service is reflected in the seemingly impossible sequence of feasts in the Trental of the York Use: impossible to perform in the correct chronological sequence,²¹⁵ it presented no problem at all if celebrated during a single month or on one day. Such usage could also throw light on the peculiar constitution of the manuscript of T18, written as a set of the ten major feasts with the special Trental prayers inserted into each of them. Its only possible use in a liturgical setting was, obviously, in a consecutive, uninterrupted performance of the ten formularies.

II.3 The Special Prayers

II.3.1 Typology and General Characteristics

Although 'Pauper' objected to the Trental on several grounds—simony, gullibility, futility, and perversion of the regular rite—he reserved the charge of innovation—not only unauthorised but also condemned—for the Trental's special prayer. All the other components of the Trental were quite conventional, from the regular feast Mass to the Vigil of the Dead and the attached ascetic practices; it was their assemblage together in one structured sequence that represented something entirely new. The special prayer, in contrast, was in itself entirely new: 'Also they seyn that they mustyn hau a special oryson that is nout of the messe booc ne approuyd of holy chirche but oftyn reprouyd or ellys, as they seyn, the messys ben nout or lytil to profyt of the soulys'.²¹⁶ He was not aware, apparently, that by the time he penned his attack this particular prayer had already been received into numerous Missals. But his appreciation of its innovative character and centrality to the Trental was both correct and pertinent. The new prayer carried its explicit message and goals into any observance to which it was attached,

prescribed rule but with two types of Trental, and with two modes of celebrating one of the two (the 'simple' Trental).

²¹⁵ See pp. 303–04 above.

²¹⁶ Barnum (as in note 132), p. 188.

determined the specificity of the whole rite, and it was regarded as the main guarantee of the benefits expected from the entire performance. The *Trental* assures its hearers:

The preste moste say in his masse/ A nobull orysonn hit ys holds/ The colette that fyrst y
of tolde. . . . Ther ys an-other of Great Renoun/ That to the sowls ys wonthur swete/
Menne calle hit the 'secrete'. . . . A-nothur oryson he moste say/ That yn the boke fynde
he may/ The 'post comen' men don hit calle/ That helpeth sowles out of thralle.²¹⁷

Recited in conjunction with the Mass's other prayers, these special prayers directed the saving power generated in the Sacrament to their own goals and the deliverance of particular souls from thrall. But they could also be recited outside the sacramental *Actio* presided by the officiating priest, for they were available to the laity, to be said in an act of private, unordained devotion. A private collection of this type declares, in fact, that the Trental is 'good for the soule helthe'.²¹⁸ Priest and laity co-operated thus in the same enterprise, reciting the prayers they perceived to be the most important element in the whole rite, without which it was but 'nout or lytil of profyt of the soulys'.

Our sources document two types of special prayers: single prayers attached to either Mass or Office; and triplets of Mass prayers integrated into the thirty feast Masses of the Trental's yearly sequence. Historically, the single prayer probably came first. 'Pauper' speaks, indeed, about 'a special oryson', not a triplet, and some rubrics have preserved the memory of a single prayer. The Trental obviously evolved along two parallel lines of amplification: one leading from a single commitment to the cause of the Holy Land to a double commitment, combining the causes of the Holy Land as well as the individual sinner; the other saw the evolution from a single prayer to a triple set of Mass prayers. The single-goal stage in the Trental's evolution is reflected in the single prayer 'Deus qui es nostre redemptionis', a supplication to liberate the Holy Land with no reference to the liberation of souls from Purgatory; it antedates, consequently, the fusion of these two goals in one text. It has survived in both Latin and French (see p. 322 below), and the early dating of its two Anglo-Norman sources (T8 and T32, both 'early generation' manuscripts), demonstrates the antecedence of this prayer. The bulk of the prayers, however, reflect later stages in their evolution. They were already aimed, by then, at two objectives, the liberation of the Holy Land from subjection to the pagans and the deliverance of designated souls from Purgatory. Another innovation, already well established in the 'first generation' manuscripts, was the triple Mass set. The growing popularity of the Trental in its Mass aspect clearly motivated practitioners to imprint its specific goals on the chosen feast Mass more completely and meaningfully through the addition of appropriate Secret and Postcommunion prayers as well. Both single prayers and triple sets, however, were derived from a common textual base. It was small enough to assure substantial homogeneity and stable enough to maintain the Trental through almost two centuries of intensive practice.

²¹⁷ Furnivall (as in note 143), p. 122.

²¹⁸ T35.

Practice resulted, naturally, in a fair amount of textual variations, but scribal alterations of the conventional kind did not amount to much fundamental change. Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the Trental's textual transmission consists of the frequent exchange of the prayers' invocations. It was probably due to the constant moving of the same (or almost the same) Collects between different components of the Trental; one clearly needed to distinguish between practically identical texts serving different observances, and the various invocations functioned as useful tags, as easily recognisable means of identification. Indeed, most of these alterations are encountered in Collects, the prayer more frequently pressed into service outside the feast's Mass, only a limited number in Secrets, and hardly any at all in Postcommunions. The same text opened, consequently, with different invocations: 'Deus qui es nostra redemptio', 'Deus qui est summa redemptionis', 'Deus qui es summa spes', 'Deus qui summa spes', and so on.²¹⁹ Clearly, we are dealing here not with copyists' errors but with intentional alterations.

II.3.2 The Texts

The triple set prayers make up two distinct categories: the primary triple set in its different variants, and the more marginal sets.

II.3.2.1. The texts of the primary triple set are as follows.²²⁰

Collect:²²¹ 'Deus summa spes nostre redemptionis, qui in terra promissionis ante²²² omnes terras nasci elegisti²²³ et mortem ibidem sustinuisti,²²⁴ libera propitius animam famuli tui²²⁵ N.²²⁶ de manibus demonum,²²⁷ et eandem terram²²⁸ de potestate paganorum,²²⁹ ut

²¹⁹ A second hand in T30, for example, inserted an interlinear new invocation 'qui es summa nostre redemptionis' above the original 'summa spes nostre redemptionis'. The prayer's text remained virtually unchanged.

²²⁰ Sources checked: T 1–7, 9–11, 12, 16, 18–21, 23–28, 31, 33, 36–40, 42–44, 46–52, 54, 58–66, 70, 71, 73, 76–80.

²²¹ Exact transmission in T 2, 6, 20, 37, 46, 49, 51, 54, 62, 73. See *COr* No. 2190.

²²² super T64.

²²³ voluisti T23.

²²⁴ et mortem ibidem sustinuisti *om.* T26; mortemque ibidem sustinuisti T80; mortemque ibidem sponte sustinuisti T38; mortem in cruce sustinuisti T4; mortem tuam ibidem constituisti T11.

²²⁵ animas famuli tui famulorum famularumque tuarum T 1, 31, 33; animas famuli tui et famule tue T 9, 58; tui et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum T79.

²²⁶ N. *om.* T 78, 79.

²²⁷ demonum et de penis purgatoriis et T 9, 23, 66.

²²⁸ terram celeriter de T 9, 23, 60, 66.

²²⁹ potestate tenebrarum T11.

populus²³⁰ qui in te non credit²³¹ per virtutem tuam emendationem habeat,²³² et illis²³³ omnibus²³⁴ qui in te confidunt²³⁵ per tuam magnam succurre pietatem'.²³⁶

Secret. ²³⁷ "Omnipotens et misericors deus²³⁸ redemptor animarum²³⁹ salvandarum et pretium redemptionis totius²⁴⁰ generis humani,²⁴¹ miserere clementer²⁴² anime famuli tui²⁴³ N.²⁴⁴ et²⁴⁵ quicquid in eo²⁴⁶ vitiorum²⁴⁷ diabolo fallente²⁴⁸ contraxit,²⁴⁹ tu pius et misericors abluas indulgendo, et terram²⁵⁰ quam sanguine tuo²⁵¹ proprio²⁵² dedicasti de

²³⁰ populus tuus qui T 11, 21.

²³¹ credidit et per T24; ut populi qui in te non credunt T 3, 42, 44, 61, 79.

²³² habeant T 3, 42, 44, 61, 79.

²³³ illi T52.

²³⁴ omnibus *om.* T 26, 28, 33, 43, 52, 58, 63, 65, 76, 77, 79.

²³⁵ credunt T77; te nunc [?] confidit T79.

²³⁶ pro tua magna pietate succurre T 1, 3, 5, 7, 9–12, 16, 18, 21, 24, 25, 27, 31, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 60, 61, 64, 66, 70, 71, 80; pro tua magna succurre potentia T19; pro tua magna succurre pietate et per tuam potentiam a penis perpetuis liberantur T59; per tuam succurre potentiam T4; potestatem T 52, 58; per tuam magnam succurre potentiam T79.

²³⁷ Exact transmission in T 2, 6, 28, 37, 40, 51, 54, 62, 78. See *COr* No. 4065.

²³⁸ Omnipotens sempiterne deus T 12, 80.

²³⁹ animarum omnium salvandarum T38; redemptio omniu fidelium s[alvandarum?] T70.

²⁴⁰ totius *om.* T 12, 16, 21, 24, 33, 39, 76. et pretium redemptionis nostre et totius generis humani T59.

²⁴¹ humani generis T77.

²⁴² clemens T25,

²⁴³ famuli^e tui^e T77; animabus famuli tui famulorum famularumque tuarum T 1, 31, 33. famuli tui anime famule tue et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum T59; animam famuli tui vel famule tue T 4, 9, 58.

²⁴⁴ N. *om.* T79.

²⁴⁵ et *om.* T78; ut T77.

²⁴⁶ in eo *om.* T 5, 7, 9–11, 18, 21, 24, 25, 33, 36, 48, 59, 60, 66, 70, 79, 80.

²⁴⁷ vitiorum *om.* T76.

²⁴⁸ fallente diabolo T 76, 79; fallente diabolo vitiorum contraxit T77; fallente diabolo et propria iniquitate contraxit T 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 16, 18, 20, 21, 24, 25, 31, 33, 36, 38, 39, 44, 46, 48, 49, 58–61, 73, 78, 80; diabolo et propria iniquitate seu/atque fragillitate contraxit T 42, 47, 50, 70, 71.

²⁴⁹ contraxerint T 1, 33.

²⁵⁰ et terram quam Ihesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster sanguine proprio dedicavit de manibus T 1, 5, 7, 11, 27, 36, 59, 64; et terram quam Ihesus Christus filius tuus sanguine proprio dedicavit T 4, 33, 58 (ditavit); et terram quam dominus noster Ihesus Christus filius tuus proprio sanguine dedicavit T79; et terram quam Ihesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster sanguine proprio ditavit T21; et terram quam tu Ihesu Christe dominus noster proprio sanguine dedicasti T9.

²⁵¹ tuo *om.* T 10, 24, 25, 80.

manibus inimicorum crucis²⁵³ eripias,²⁵⁴ vota²⁵⁵ filiorum²⁵⁶ Israhel²⁵⁷ ad eius liberationem²⁵⁸ instantium²⁵⁹ in viam²⁶⁰ salutis eterne²⁶¹ misericorditer dirigendo.”

Postcommunion:²⁶² ‘Deus cuius misericordie non est numerus, cui soli competit medicinam prestare post mortem, qui es vita viventium, spes morientium²⁶³ et salus omnium in te sperantium,²⁶⁴ qui terram²⁶⁵ hereditatis tue per peccata filiorum Esau²⁶⁶ pollutam precioso sanguine tuo consecrare dignatus es, tu²⁶⁷ animam famuli tui²⁶⁸ N.²⁶⁹ per virtutem huius sacramenti²⁷⁰ a²⁷¹ peccatis omnibus exuas,²⁷² et a penis²⁷³ quas pro hiis

²⁵² proprio *om.* T44. quam proprio sanguine dedicasti T38; proprie T63.

²⁵³ crucis Christi T 9, 26, 60, 63, 65; crucis tue T52; sancte crucis eripiens restituas cultui Christiano vota filiorum T19; inimicorum tuorum eripias T36; inimicorum per virtutem sancte crucis eripias T 5, 10, 25, 48, 59, 80.

²⁵⁴ eripiens T76.

²⁵⁵ et vota T79.

²⁵⁶ fidelium T 7, 18, 58, 63.

²⁵⁷ Israhel *om.* T 7, 18.

²⁵⁸ ad liberationem eius T79.

²⁵⁹ instantium misericorditer dirigendo in viam salutis eterne T19; instantia salutis eterne misericorditer accendas T11.

²⁶⁰ in vitam T 39, 79; in manu T 4 10.

²⁶¹ viam *om.* T77.

²⁶² T3 has not been checked. No Postcommunio in T1. Exact transmission in T 2, 6, 16, 27, 28, 40, 51, 62, 63, 65. See *COr* No. 1175.

²⁶³ spes morientium *om.* T 43, 47.

²⁶⁴ sperantium et credentium hereditatis tue T24; credentium qui T 36, 77, 79.

²⁶⁵ terram tuam a peccata filiorum T52; terram tuam peccatis filiorum T64.

²⁶⁶ filiorum Esau *om.* T33.

²⁶⁷ tu *om.* T77.

²⁶⁸ famuli^e tui^e T77; animas famuli tui famulorum famularumque tuarum T 31, 33; animas famuli tui et famule tue N. T9; animam famuli et famule tue et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum T59.

²⁶⁹ N. *om.* T 78, 79.

²⁷⁰ sacramenti et a T26; per huius sacramenti virtutem T 19, 77; per huius virtutem sacramenti T80; per huius virtutem sacramenti quod sumpsimus T79.

²⁷¹ et a T 11, 36.

²⁷² eruas T78.

²⁷³ penis omnibus T52; penis quas pro hiis digne meruerunt sustinere benigne eripias T9; penis quas pro eis digne meruit sufferere benigne eripias et T21; penis quas meremur eripias T79.

meretur²⁷⁴ eripias, et²⁷⁵ populum incredulum ac²⁷⁶ rebellem per gratiam tuam²⁷⁷ facias²⁷⁸ peculiarem, et²⁷⁹ illis²⁸⁰ qui in tua²⁸¹ misericordia confidunt²⁸² manum auxilii tui²⁸³ piissime largiendo'.²⁸⁴

The primary set has also been transmitted in several variants, denoted by the following invocations: 1) 'Deus qui es summa spes nostre redemptionis',²⁸⁵ 2) 'Deus qui es summa nostre redemptionis',²⁸⁶ 3) 'Deus qui summa spes',²⁸⁷ and 4) 'Deus summa spes'; 5) 'Deus qui es nostra redemptio',²⁸⁸ 6) 'Deus qui es vera nostra redemptio',²⁸⁹ and 7) 'Deus summa nostre redemptionis'.²⁹⁰

Nos 1–4 form a clearly separate cluster, for they share the same Secret ('Omnipotens et misericors deus') and Postcommunion ('Deus cuius misericordie'). No. 4, mainly of Sarum Use and already documented in two of the earliest manuscripts of the 'first generation' (T38 and T60), represents the most popular version of this set. The Secret of the Trental, however, much as it is based on the prayer of the Holy Land Clamor, does

²⁷⁴ meretur benignus eripias T 7, 33, 37, 38, 42, 54, 60, 66, 70.

²⁷⁵ ac T79.

²⁷⁶ incredulum ac *om.* T64; atque T77; et T 78, 79.

²⁷⁷ per gratiam tuam *om.* T 43, 78.

²⁷⁸ facias tibi T 4, 5, 10, 25, 48, 52, 59, 80; facis T79.

²⁷⁹ et *om.* T 77, 79.

²⁸⁰ et illisque omnibus T76; illisque omnibus T 79, 80; et omnibus illis/illis omnibus T 5, 9–12, 18–21, 25, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 46–50, 60, 61, 64, 66, 70, 71, 73.

²⁸¹ tua *om* T79; tua misericordia *om.* T21; tua magna misericordia T77; tua pietate vel misericordia T 5, 10, 25, 48; tua pietate et misericordia T80; tua misericordia pietate T18.

²⁸² peculiarem illis omnibus qui in te confidunt T24.

²⁸³ tui conferas piissime T38.

²⁸⁴ largiendo porrigas T60; piissime porrigendo T21.

²⁸⁵ Preserved in T54. T77 (transformed into No. 1 through the insertion of 'spes' by a second hand).

²⁸⁶ Preserved in T 1, 27, 58, 77 (transformed into No. 1 through the insertion of 'spes' by a second hand).

²⁸⁷ T20, Secret's invocation 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus redemptor animarum'.

²⁸⁸ T 4, 5, 7, 9–11, 18, 21, 23, 25, 36, 48, 59, 60, 64, 66, 70, 80. T11 belongs to this group. Its singular structure—three unspecified prayers ('Oratio', 'alia Oratio') arranged in such a way that the Secret comes first, the Postcommunion second and the Collect third—results, probably, from the printer's negligence; its third prayer, however, opens with 'Deus qui es nostra redemptio', and its first prayer (the Secret) brings two of the readings which characterize the Secret of this group.

²⁸⁹ T33.

²⁹⁰ T 76, 79.

not depend on its Sarum form but on either a Continental source or on the York Clamor, for it terminates with 'in viam salutis eterne' rather than with 'in viam pacis eterne' as in the Sarum Clamor.²⁹¹

Another variant of the primary set appears in Nos 5–6. It is certainly one of the earliest, for it is found in several 'first generation' manuscripts²⁹² and stands closer to the single prayer 'Deus qui es nostre redemptionis' and its Anglo-Norman versions in T8 and T32. Most of No. 5 sources open the Secret with the invocation 'Omnipotens sempiterne deus redemptor animarum', though some have the more usual 'Omnipotens et misericors'.²⁹³ Three Secret readings are peculiar to this variant: almost all omit 'in eo',²⁹⁴ a majority of them expands 'diabolo fallente' to 'fallente diabolo et propria iniquitate',²⁹⁵ and a smaller yet significant number²⁹⁶ amplify 'terram' in three ways, the more popular of which reads 'et terram quam Ihesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster sanguine proprio dedicavit'. One observes, finally, the adoption of this variant in liturgical service-books of the two minor Uses. The Trental of the Hereford Use²⁹⁷ is recognizable by two peculiar Collect readings, 'demonum et de penis purgatorii' and 'celeriter', while the Trental of the York Use²⁹⁸ has its own distinct readings: 'de manibus inimicorum per virtutem sancte crucis eripias' in the Secret and 'facias tibi peculiarem' in the Postcommunion. Evidence of actual practice of this variant can be found in literary references to its peculiar Collect and the Secret.²⁹⁹

II.3.2.2. A single and comparatively early source³⁰⁰ attributes its three prayers to 'modus Romane ecclesie'. At its core we find the primary set in its No. 5 variant,³⁰¹ though considerably amplified through the addition of Marian supplications to the three prayers. The entire set has been redirected, in fact, and while its twin targets remain the same, it highlights the intercessory role of Mary and the Saints rather than Christ's Passion in the Holy Land.

²⁹¹ See above, p. 65, for the significance of this marker.

²⁹² T 4, 7 (from 1397), 36, 60 (from 1398), 64 (from 1388).

²⁹³ T 4, 11, 33, 59, 60, 66.

²⁹⁴ Seventeen of the nineteen sources.

²⁹⁵ Fifteen of the nineteen.

²⁹⁶ Eleven of the nineteen.

²⁹⁷ T 9, 23, 60, 66.

²⁹⁸ T 4, 5, 10, 25, 48, 59, 80.

²⁹⁹ Furnivall (as in note 143), pp. 119, 122; *Appendix* (as in note 191), p. 748; T34 fols 112, 112v. The 'Deus qui es vera nostra redemptio' has also been translated: 'God, ur verrey Redempciun/ Ur sothfast soules savaciun . . .' (Horstmann, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms.*, EETS, 98 (London, 1892), pp. 260–68, p. 265; Root (as in note 152), p. 368).

³⁰⁰ T10.

³⁰¹ Similar to No. 5 sources its Secret lacks the 'in eo' and adds 'propriaque fragilitate'.

Collect: ‘Deus clemens omnipotens nostri redemptionis summa finalis, qui in terra promissionis ante omnes terras de virgine gloriosa mater tua Maria domina nostra honoranda nasci elegisti, et pro liberatione nostrarum animarum de penis inferni eternalibus mortem crucis diram et probrosam ibidem sustinere voluisti, eiusdem gloriose virginis et matris tue Marie domine nostre honorande precibus almis exoratis omniumque sanctorum tuorum meritis placatus, libera propitius animam famuli tui N. de manibus demonum et ab omni vexatione penarum, et eandem terram de potestate paganorum, ut populus qui in te non credit per virtutem tue clementie emendationem habeat, et illis omnibus qui in te confidunt pro tua magna pietate succurre’.

Secret: ‘Omnipotens et misericors deus Ihesu fili virginis dulcissime, animarum salvandarum redemptor piissime et pretium totius generis humani, intercedente gloriosa virgine et matre tua Maria domina nostra honoranda cum omnibus sanctis tuis, miserere clementer anime famuli tui N. et quicquid vitiorum fallente diabolo propriaque fragilitate consentiente illusor contraxit, tu pius et misericors deus abluas indulgendo, et terram quam sanguine tuo proprio dedicasti de manibus inimicorum istorum eripias miserando, vota que populi tui ad instantiam te suppliciter orantis in viam salutis eterne misericorditer perficias dirigendo’.

Postcommunion: ‘Mundi salvator Ihesu fili virginis dulcissime clemens potens deus piissime, cuius misericordie non est numerus, cui soli competit medicinam post mortem prestare, qui es vita viventium et salus omnium in te sperantium, qui terram sanctam per peccata filiorum Esau polluta[m] sanguine tuo proprio consecrare dignatus es, tu animam famuli tui N. per preces et merita gloriose virginis et matris tue Marie domine nostre honorande omniumque sanctorum tuorum, et per virtutem huius sacramenti quod tue pro eis optulimus maiestati, ab omnibus peccatis clementer absolveras, et ab omni vexatione penarum potens eripias, populumque incredulum ac veritati rebellem ad vere fidei cognitionem committas, et illis omnibus qui in te confidunt piissime succurre digneris’.

II.3.2.3. This set has been preserved in T53, a fifteenth-century English collection of private devotions, fol. 92. Its Collect is a heavily edited version of the primary prayer, but both Secret and a Postcommunion are typical prayers for the Dead, without the slightest reference to the fate of the Holy Land. The Secret ‘Deus cui proprium est misereri’ is similar to some prayers for the Dead, but identical to none known to me. The original Postcommunion, written by the same hand that copied the Collect and the Secret and indicated by its cue only—‘Inclina domine etc.’—could have been one of several Office prayers for the Dead (*COR* Nos 3108–17). At a later stage another Postcommunion prayer—‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus cui numquam sine spe’—was added in a different hand. It is identical to a prayer for the Dead (‘Pro familiaribus’) transmitted in T55 from Durham (fol. 261) and to a prayer in the Hereford Missal of 1502 (*COR* No. 3809). This triple set is probably the result of adding two prayers to what was originally an Office single prayer.

Collect: ‘Omnipotens sempiterne Deus nostra existens redemptio, qui in terra promissionis super omnia alia loca nasci dignatus es et mortem passus es, presta, quesumus, eam propitius[?] de manibus paganorum liberare digneris, ut [et] animam

famuli tui N. ab omni pena confines, et [ut] populum in te non credentem per virtutem tuam emendationem habeat, et omnibus habentibus in te fiduciam per tuam misericordiam [et] gratiam, in presenti et in futuro seculo, gloriam sempiternam consequantur. Amen’.

Secret: ‘Deus, cui proprium est misereri et preces exaudire, propitiare animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum, et, te miserante, a peccatorum vinculis absoluti ad eterna beatitudinis requiem peren[n]em mereantur’.

Postcommunion: ‘Inclina dne etc’.

‘Omnipotens sempiterne Deus cui numquam sine spe misericordie supplicatur, propitiare anime famuli tui N. et animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum, ut qui de hac vita in tui nomine confessione decesserunt sanctorum tuorum numero facias aggregari. Per Christum’.

II.3.2.4. The following set is known from four sources: a fourteenth-century Paris Use Missal (T75) and a fifteenth-century Missal from Langres (T69); a St Andrew Use Missal, written by Sybald, parson of Arbuthnott in 1492 (T67);³⁰² and a French manuscript collection of prayers and devotions dated to 1558 (T68). They obviously attest to a French tradition originally rooted in the English Trental. They prescribe different liturgical functions: T68 brings the three prayers as ante-Mass prayers, while T 75, 67, and 69 employ them as Mass prayers. The rubric and the text of T75 are of particular interest, because they tell us something about the creation of this set as an endowment (‘fundatio’) established by a certain ‘dominus’ Jean le Duc—member of the Grande Confrerie de Notre Dame in the parochial church of St Magdalen—for the spiritual benefit of the officiating priest and ‘all the faithful’—an unusual arrangement in that it does not profit directly the actual founder of the ‘fundatio’. The Collect of this set has clearly evolved from the English primary prayer, but both Secret and Post-communion are entirely original; the relatively early dating of the manuscript indicates, therefore, a remarkably early extension of this Trental to the Continent.

Collect: ‘Deus qui es summa redemptionis nostre³⁰³ gratia,³⁰⁴ qui in terra³⁰⁵ promissionis ante omnes terras nasci³⁰⁶ elegisti mortemque ibidem sustinere voluisti, libera propitius³⁰⁷ animam famuli^e tui^e et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum³⁰⁸ de manibus³⁰⁹

³⁰² *COr* No. 2130.

³⁰³ summa nostre T75.

³⁰⁴ Deus summa nostrae redemptionis qui terram repromissionis ante omnes terras elegisti, ibique nasci voluisti et mortem sustinuisti T67.

³⁰⁵ terram T75.

³⁰⁶ nascere T 67, 69.

³⁰⁷ propitius *om.* T67.

³⁰⁸ animam famuli tui sacerdotis et amias omnium fidelium T75.

³⁰⁹ ignibus T 68, 75.

demonum,³¹⁰ et eandem terram de potestate paganorum liberare digneris,³¹¹ ut populus qui in te non credit³¹² per virtutem tuam emendationem habeat,³¹³ et illis³¹⁴ qui in te confidunt per tuam magnam³¹⁵ potestatem succurre'.³¹⁶

Secret: 'Deus qui sanctam tuam³¹⁷ terram filii tui³¹⁸ nativitate et passione gloriosa decorasti, nosque per sanguinem eiusdem³¹⁹ redimere voluisti, concede propicius ut animam³²⁰ famuli^e tui^e et animas famulorum famularumqueque tuarum³²¹ de³²² dyaboli potestate³²³ liberare digneris, eandem terram sanctam liberare et redimere non differas,³²⁴

³¹⁰ daemonum inimicorum tuorum T67.

³¹¹ liberare digneris *om.* T 67, 68, 75.

³¹² non *om.* T69.

³¹³ per tuam virtutem emendetur T67.

³¹⁴ his qui T67.

³¹⁵ magnam *om.* T75.

³¹⁶ per tuam magnam succurre misericordiam T67; succurrere digneris T68.

³¹⁷ tuam *om.* T 68, 75.

³¹⁸ tui *om.* T68.

³¹⁹ eius sanguinem T75.

³²⁰ Deus qui terram Israel gloriosa Filii tui nativitate decorasti et ipsam per passionem et sanguinem eiusdem redemisti, animam T67.

³²¹ animam famuli tui sacerdotis et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum T75.

³²² tuarum a T67.

³²³ compede T67; compendio T75; de dyaboli se fraude liberare digneris T69.

³²⁴ digneris terramque sanctam jam redimere non deseras T67; terram sanctam liberam redimere non deseras T68; terram sanctam liberam redimere non differas T75.

et eorum corda—quorum incredulitas tenebrosa³²⁵ mirabiliter³²⁶ confligit³²⁷—presens³²⁸ oblatio tua benignissima pietate dissolvat, et spem salutis habentibus dispensator indesinenter assistat'.³²⁹

Postcommunion: 'Deus ac redemptor noster,³³⁰ qui in terra fertilissima lacte et melle affluente³³¹ nasci et mori voluisti, libera propitius³³² animam famuli^e tui^e et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum³³³ de laqueis³³⁴ inimicorum et³³⁵ eandem terram³³⁶ de subjectione³³⁷ paganorum, et increduli populi tui³³⁸ fidei virtute illuminante³³⁹ recte viventes³⁴⁰ tua potentia auxilientur'.³⁴¹

II.3.3

The single prayers that were attached to the Trental's Masses or incorporated in its Office part were either the Collects of the triple sets³⁴² (usually the popular 'Deus summa spes') or prayers circulating independently. The Trental ordained in the will of Hugh Brown,³⁴³ for example, designated two different Collects for three different liturgical observances: 'Deus summa spes' to each of the thirty Masses; and 'Deus qui es nostra redemptio' to be said in the daily Mass and following it. T56, likewise, offers a

³²⁵ que tenebrosa incredulitas T75.

³²⁶ miserabiliter T69.

³²⁷ constringit T67; contigit T68; confligit T75.

³²⁸ haec praesens T67.

³²⁹ spemque salutis habentibus manus tua defensatrix indesinenter assistat T67; assistas T 69, 75.

³³⁰ Redemptor noster deus qui T67; Redemptor noster qui T75.

³³¹ lacte et melle ditata et affluente T67; fluente T68.

³³² propitius T69; propitius *om.* T67.

³³³ animam famuli tui sacerdotis et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum T75.

³³⁴ laqueis daemonum inimicorum tuorum et eandem T67.

³³⁵ et *om.* T75.

³³⁶ terram sanctam T75.

³³⁷ suppressione T69.

³³⁸ tui *om.* T 68, 75.

³³⁹ illuminentur T67; illuminati T75.

³⁴⁰ vivendi T68.

³⁴¹ et ratione viventes tua magna potentia semper auxilientur T67; auxilietur T68; auxiliantur T75.

³⁴² Identical Collects in T 5, 20, 30, 38, 45, 50, 66, 71, etc. Two Collects—a single and within a triple set—in T 4, 24, 52, 54, 56, etc.

³⁴³ W54.

complete triple set and a single different Collect to be said before Mass. When three prayers rather than one were attached, entire triple sets—Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion—were adopted.³⁴⁴ I have been able to identify twelve single prayers, eight of which are indicated by their cues—their invocations—only: 1) ‘Deus cuius misericordie’;³⁴⁵ 2) ‘Deus qui es summa nostra’;³⁴⁶ 3) ‘Deus qui es summa spes’;³⁴⁷ 4) ‘Deus qui in terra promissionis’;³⁴⁸ 5) ‘Deus qui summa spes’;³⁴⁹ 6) ‘Deus summa nostra redemptio’;³⁵⁰ 7) ‘Deus summa spes’;³⁵¹ 8) ‘Deus summe nostre redemptionis’.³⁵² As we shall presently see, identical invocations do not imply, necessarily, identical texts, but even on the assumption that five of these—Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, and possibly 8³⁵³—are identical with prayers that open with the same invocations,³⁵⁴ one is still left with cues to three unidentified texts (Nos. 2, 4, 6). The texts of the remaining four single prayers—Nos. 9–12—in contrast, have been preserved, and prove to be independent of any triple-set Collect. They are as follow.

9) The cue ‘Deus qui es nostra redemptio’—an invocation we have already encountered in one of the two versions of the primary set—is given in three liturgical sources and in one testament.³⁵⁵ Only T59, however, has preserved the text of this prayer, which proves to be significantly different from the primary set’s Collect with the same cue discussed above:

Hec oratio dicatur stando et genuflectando ante missam. Deus qui es nostra redemptio, qui terram promissionis super omnes terras honorasti, nasci dignatus es et mortem pati, libera propitius animam famuli tui et animam famule tue et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum de manibus demonum, et tuam progeniem de manu paganorum, et populus qui in te non credit tua virtute corrigatur, et eis qui in te fiduciam habent tua potentia succurras.

Three of these four liturgical sources are of the York Use, the fourth a Hereford Use.

³⁴⁴ T 13–15, 30, 45, 48.

³⁴⁵ W32.

³⁴⁶ W 32, 34.

³⁴⁷ T55.

³⁴⁸ W35.

³⁴⁹ T20.

³⁵⁰ T53.

³⁵¹ T 30, 50, 56, 71, 72. W54.

³⁵² W30.

³⁵³ If it is identical with “Deus summa nostre redemptionis” of T76 (variant No. 7 of the primary text, above).

³⁵⁴ See above, pp. 311–12, 320.

³⁵⁵ T 5, 9, 10. W54.

10) The text of ‘Deus qui es nostre redemptionis’ has been transmitted in three liturgical sources. The following base text is that of T52, collated with T 24, 54:

Deus qui es nostre redemptionis pretium, quique terram promissionis super omnes terras nosti,³⁵⁶ specialiter et peculiariter elegisti morteque tua preciosa³⁵⁷ illam sanctificare dignatus es, libera eam³⁵⁸ quesumus velociter de manibus paganorum ac aliorum infidelium, et ut eam Christiane fidei cultoribus dextera tue potentie misericorditer restituas³⁵⁹ populumque non credentem ad veram³⁶⁰ fidem converte, omnes qui in te credunt magna eis succurre virtute ut liberati ab omnibus periculis atque inimicorum suorum insidiis tecum sine fine in celestibus valeant congaudere.

This is probably the earliest form of the Trental’s prayer. It has been translated into Anglo-Norman quite early, for the two manuscripts that transmit the translated version, T8 and T32 (both exhibit an essentially identical version), belong to the ‘first generation’ sources. The text of T32 is as follows:

Ceste oreysoun serra dit checun jur de cely ke dirra les messes ou de cely ke les fet chanter. Deus qui es nostre redempciun ke la terre de promissium sur totes terres eleustes e nestre . . . nastes e mort suffrites deliverez(?) la prochainement de la meyn al’ diable e de la meyn a paienne gent e le pople ke en tey ne creyent par ta vertue amende seyent e ceus ke unt en tey conffiance succure les par ta grant puissance amen.

11) ‘Deus qui es redemptio nostra’ is the cue of a single prayer preserved in one source, T56:

Ista oratio sequens debet dici ab illo qui facit cantari vel a presbytero qui cantat trigintale quolibet die per annum, genuflectendo, ante missam. Deus qui es redemptio nostra, qui terram promissionis super omnes terras honorasti, dignatus es etiam mortem pati, libera animas famulorum tuorum de manibus demonum, et tuam progeniem de manibus paganorum, et populus qui in te non credit tua virtute collidatur, et eos qui in te fiduciam habent tua potentia succurrantur.

It has obviously evolved—through the usual process of error and correction—from No. 9 (above).

12) ‘Omnipotens sempiterne deus nostra existens’ designates a prayer found in two sources, T30 and T53. The following base-text is that of T30 (fol. 85^v):

Omnipotens sempiterne deus nostra existens redemptio, qui in terra promissionis super omnia alia loca nasci dignatus es et mortem passus es, presta quesumus ut eam

³⁵⁶ nasci T54; nosti *om.* T24.

³⁵⁷ speciosa T24.

³⁵⁸ eam animam quesumus T24.

³⁵⁹ restitue T24.

³⁶⁰ bonam T24.

propitius³⁶¹ de manibus paganorum liberare digneris et³⁶² animam famuli tui ab omni pena conserves³⁶³ et populum in te non credentem per virtutem tuam³⁶⁴ corrigere digneris, et omnibus in te fidutiam [habentibus] per tuam potentiam³⁶⁵ in presenti gratiam et in futuro seculo gloriam sempiternam largieris.

II.4 Conclusions

An interesting perspective on the typical aspects of the English Trental against the Continental parallel tradition is provided by the French version of the English Trental. It is a fascinating experiment in transplanting a specific rite into a different context, and the result is similar to its model in some respects and entirely dissimilar in others. On crossing the Channel and taking root in France the Trental shed some components, added new ones, and those it retained were considerably transformed and reinterpreted.

The Langres Use Trental (T69) abolished the testimonial and any reference to St Gregory (similar to the Paris triple set of T75), but it maintained the York Use structure of thirty Masses based on ten feasts, a sequence celebrated in thirty days rather than during the entire year (again, a trait already found in the York Use). About a century later we find that T68 too—while retaining the ‘historical’ testimonial—expurgated from it Gregory’s name and made its hero an unnamed Roman priest. It also retained the overall sequence of thirty Masses but endowed it with the mystical significance of the thirty silver, and structured it on a strictly thematic principle—the two separate life cycles of Christ and Mary—so much so that it became impossible to celebrate this Trental in a chronological sequence. The Christ cycle presented an easy sequence, but the Marian cycle—the feasts of the Conception of BVM (8 December), her Nativity (8 September), and Assumption (15 August)—represented a logical life cycle but one which was chronologically impracticable. It adopts, therefore, the mode of the ‘simple’ Trental³⁶⁶—a continuous thirty days celebration—rather than that of the Great Trental. The French Trental departed from its English source in exchanging the organising principle of three times ten with that of five times six, and it added to its Masses supplementary observances charged with mystical significance: two massive candles³⁶⁷ were to be lighted on the altar during each of the fifteen Masses of Christ, and seven

³⁶¹ propinque T53.

³⁶² ut T53.

³⁶³ confines T53.

³⁶⁴ tuam emendationem habeat et T53.

³⁶⁵ misericordiam T53.

³⁶⁶ The mother instructs her son: ‘Chantez trente messes bien et devotement et soint dictes tous les iours sans cesser continuellement iusque a la fin’ (fols 1^v–2).

³⁶⁷ They were supposed to last during the entire Mass.

candles, corresponding to the Seven Joys of the Virgin, were to be offered during her fifteen Masses. Like the English Great Trental, it ordains a daily (extensive)³⁶⁸ Office, consisting of the seven Penitential Psalms with Litany and the Vigils of the Dead. Both French Trentals, finally, transmit a triple set that has preserved the English hallmark of the special prayers dedicated to the twin aims of the deliverance of the individual soul and the liberation of the Holy Land.

It is clear, by now, that some of the typical traits of the English Trental of St Gregory correspond to those of the Continental trentals and strongly suggest some kind of affinity. Both are applicable to earthly as well as to supernatural needs,³⁶⁹ and both show a tendency to evoke 'historical' testimonials. They also share several components of their modes of operation (mainly repeated Masses organised in thematic and chronological sequences). Certain features, common to the Trental and the Continental *Aegidius*, suggest an even closer relation between them, one of direct borrowing and imitation.

The shared traits are, however, greatly outweighed by the English Trental's original characteristics, which place it in a category apart, mainly its simultaneous targeting of two objectives, the liberation of the Holy Land and the deliverance of souls from Purgatory. Far from being simply juxtaposed aims, they form an integrated double-edged project of liberation that is based on a perfect analogy between the two crises, on the one hand, and between the intended solutions, on the other hand. The basic antithetical relationship of subjection versus liberation determines two specific relations—one bearing on the individual Christian and the other on the Holy Land, perceived as subjected to evil oppression and striving after liberation and salvation. The symmetrical analogy between these two relationships extends from the states—and processes—of subjection and liberation to the actors involved in each of them: the individual Christian is thus assimilable to the Holy Land in terms of a deterministic conception of crime and punishment but also of liberation/salvation through unmerited Grace, while the enslaving pagans/Muslims are seen not only as analogous to the demons but literally as devilish and demonic. Operating on the two levels of the individual soul and the all-Christian commitment to the Holy Land, the Trental achieves a mutual enhancement and support to both aims, a remarkable integration that is completely absent from the Continental trentals. Another typical characteristic of the English Trental consists in the special prayers; it is entirely unknown on the Continent, and it further explicates this double project on several fronts. For the Trental's prayer functions both as sacramental means and as a devotional and communicative medium, and its simultaneous transmission through the Latin of the celebrating priest and the

³⁶⁸ 'estant a genoux a terre, quelque heure du iour' (fol. 2^v).

³⁶⁹ See, for example, the postscript to T79 on fol. 182^v: 'Quicumque simili modo pro defunctis tales tricenarias fecerit celebrare, animas quas habet caras a penis poterit liberare. Et qui pro seipsis adhuc viventibus similiter fecerint, gratiam et misericordiam a deo consequantur et ab angustiis seculi gratiose liberabuntur quod nobis et vobis prestet. . . '.

English of the devout laity highlights the popular and corporate nature of the English Trental. Comprehensiveness, again, underlies the characteristic English emphasis on the yearlong duration of the Great Trental. While the Continental trental—like the ‘simple’ English Trental in its ‘telescoped’ mode—prefers the instant, short-term remedy, the Great Trental and the ‘simple’ Trental in its yearlong mode commit their practitioners to the plenitude of the complete liturgical cycle. Praying daily for the deliverance of the soul and the liberation of the Holy Land, in Office and in Mass, by priest and laity, in Latin and English, three hundred and sixty five days each year, and with a special emphasis on the most holy feasts, the English Great Trental of St Gregory (and to a lesser extent the ‘simple’ Trental as well) provided, undoubtedly, a remarkable platform for advocating the cause of the Holy Land.

Sources to Chapter 4

I.2. to p. 276, footnote 3

- 1) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek. No. 393 (HMML 26,569), Benedictine Missal according to the Use of Sankt Lambrecht Monastery, 1358, fols 348^v–49.
- 2) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek. No. 395 (Alte Signatur 40/42 fo) (HMML 26,565), Benedictine Missal according to the Use of Sankt Lambrecht Monastery, 1336, fols 13–13^v.
- 3) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek. No. 554 (Alte Signatur 38/51 fo) (HMML 26,680), Cistercian Abbey of Neuberg(?) Missal, end of the fifteenth century, integral, fols 44–67^v.
- 4) Graz, Universitätsbibliothek. No. 951 (Alte Signatur 38/37 4o) (HMML 27,007), Cistercian Abbey of Neuberg, 2nd half of the fifteenth century, fols 79^v–80^v.
- 5) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 29,310(17), fourteenth/fifteenth century?, fol. 1.
- 6) Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. XI.395 (HMML 2610), Passau Use Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fols 16^v–17.
- 7) Sankt Pölten, Bischöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek, Cod. 2 (HMML 6245), Missal, thirteenth-century interpolation, fols 2–2^v.
- 8) Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. IX, 9 (HMML 2785), Passau Missal, fourteenth century, integral, fols 219^v–22.
- 9) Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 229 (HMML 6830), Cistercian Missal, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fols 93^v–113^v.

I.2. to p. 278, footnote 19

- 1) London, The Oratory, MS 12,584, Missal written in France for Jean d’Etampes, bishop of Nevers, in 1446–61, integral, fols vii–viii.
- 2) London, BL, IA 42,171, *Gregorii Trentenarius*, Lyon 1500 (almost identical to the version of St Nizier, below).
- 3) Lons-les-Saunier, Archives departementales du Jura, MS 10, Missal, Use of the Abbey of Saint-Claude, fourteenth century, order of Masses slightly different from above, fols 70–72^v.

- 4) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Liturg.d.8, Missal of St Peter Cathedral, Maguelonne (Montpellier), First half of fifteenth century, fols 332–33.
- 5) Poitiers, Bibliothèque de la Ville, W29, Missal of the Abbey of St Nizier, Lyons, fifteenth century (received from Hesbert (as in note 1), pp. 114–16).
- 6) Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Palat. 4291 (HMML 17,471), fifteenth century, fols 327^v–28. Two versions of this trental have been meticulously studied by Hesbert.

L.2, Table 4.B, to p. 283, footnote 53

Table 4.B: The Order of the Masses in the Continental Sets
(‘idem’ refers to the left)

	SIQUIS ³⁷⁰	SIQUIS ³⁷¹	SIQUIS ³⁷²	SIQUIS ³⁷³	SIQUIS ³⁷⁴
1	Advent 1 st Sunday	idem	idem	idem	Christmas
2	Christmas	idem	idem	idem	Epiphany
3	Epiphany	idem	idem	idem	Septuagesima
4	Septuagesima Sunday	idem	idem	idem	Palm Sunday
5	Palm Sunday	idem	idem	idem	Easter
6	Easter	idem	idem	idem	Ascension
7	Ascension	idem	idem	idem	Pentecost
8	Pentecost	idem	idem	idem	Trinity
9	Trinity	idem	idem	idem	Exaltation of the Cross
10	Exaltation of the Cross	idem	idem	idem	Mary
11	Mary	idem	idem	idem	Angels
12	Angels	idem	idem	idem	Apostles
13	Apostles	idem	idem	idem	Martyrs
14	Martyrs	idem	idem	idem	Confessors
15	Confessors	idem	idem	idem	Virgins
16	Virgins	idem	idem	idem	All Saints
17	All Saints	idem	idem	idem	All Congregations
18	All Orders of the Church	idem	idem	idem	pro salute vivorum
19	pro salute vivorum	idem	idem	idem	pro peccatis
20	pro peccatis	idem	idem	idem	de apostolic[c]is

³⁷⁰ Mss. Graz, Nos 393 and 395; Sankt Florian XI.395.

³⁷¹ MS Wilhering, IX, 9.

³⁷² Mss. Graz, No. 554; Munich, 29,310; Sankt Pölten, 2.

³⁷³ MS Graz, No. 951.

³⁷⁴ MS Zwettl, 229.

	SIQUIS³⁷⁰	SIQUIS³⁷¹	SIQUIS³⁷²	SIQUIS³⁷³	SIQUIS³⁷⁴
21	pro animabus apostolicorum	idem	idem	idem	pro familiaribus
22	pro animabus episcoporum	idem	idem	idem	pro animabus omnium apostolicorum
23	pro animabus abbatum	idem	idem	idem	pro animabus omnium episcoporum
24	pro animabus monachorum	idem	idem	idem	Pro animabus abbatum et monachorum
25	pro animabus clericorum	idem	idem	pro animabus sanctimonialium	pro animabus omnium clericorum
26	pro animabus regum	idem	pro animabus monialium	pro animabus clericorum	pro animabus omnium sanctimonialium
27	pro animabus laicorum	pro viduis	pro animabus regum	pro animabus laicorum	pro animabus omnium regum et laicorum
28	pro animabus viduarum	pro laicorum	pro animabus laicorum	pro animabus viduarum	pro animabus virginum et viduarum
29	pro animabus orphanorum	idem	pro animabus viduarum et orphanorum	pro animabus orphanorum	pro animabus omnium benefactorum
30	pro animabus omnium defunctorum	idem	idem	idem	idem

	ADVENT³⁷⁵	AEGIDIUS³⁷⁶	ON TROUVE³⁷⁷	QUICUMQUE³⁷⁸	DE MISSIS³⁷⁹
1	Advent 1 st Sunday	Christmas	Christmas	Trinity	Advent 1 st Sunday
2	Christmas	Christmas	Christmas	Angels	Christmas
3	Epiphany	Christmas	Christmas	John the Baptist	St Stephen
4	Septuagesima Sunday	Circumcision	Christmas	Apostles	John the Evangelist
5	Palm Sunday	Circumcision	Christmas	Patriarchs, Prophets	Innocents
6	Easter	Circumcision	Holy Cross	Holy Cross	Epiphany
7	Ascension	Epiphany	Holy Cross	Mary	Octave of Epiphany

³⁷⁵ MS Innsbruck, 332.

³⁷⁶ Mss. Graz, 393 and 395.

³⁷⁷ MS Paris, 2375.

³⁷⁸ Mss. Graz, 393 and 395.

³⁷⁹ Mss. Oratory, 12,584; Oxford, Lat. liturg.; Vienna, 4291.

	ADVENT ³⁷⁵	AEGIDIUS ³⁷⁶	ON TROUVE ³⁷⁷	QUICUMQUE ³⁷⁸	DE MISSIS ³⁷⁹
8	Pentecost	Epiphany	Holy Cross	Holy Ghost	Purification
9	Trinity	Epiphany	Holy Cross		Septuagesima Sunday
10	Exaltation of the Cross	Purificatio domini	Holy Cross		Quadragesima 1st Sunday
11	Incarnation	Purificatio domini	Easter		Quadragesima 2nd Sunday
12	Assumption	Purificatio domini	Easter		Quadragesima 4th Sunday
13	Nativity BVM	Annunciation	Easter		Annunciation
14	Purification BVM	Annunciation	Easter		Palm Sunday
15	BVM (Common)	Annunciation	Easter		Cena domini
16	Angels	Easter	Nativity BVM		Easter
17	Evangelists	Easter	Nativity BVM		Ascension
18	Apostles	Easter	Nativity BVM		Pentecost
19	Martyrs	Ascension	Nativity BVM		Trinity
20	Confessors	Ascension	Nativity BVM		1st Sunday after Pentecost
21	Nativity BVM	Ascension	Annunciation		2nd Sunday after Pentecost
22	All Saints	Pentecost	Annunciation		John the Baptist
23	pro Consecratione	Pentecost	Annunciation		Peter and Paul
24	pro salute vivorum	Pentecost	Annunciation		Mary Magdalen
25	pro peccatis	Assumption	Annunciation		St Laurence
26	de innocentibus	Assumption	Assumption		Assumption
27	Conversio Pauli	Assumption	Assumption		Holy Cross
28	Mary Magdalen	Nativity BVM	Assumption		St Michael
29	11 Thousand Virgins	Nativity BVM	Assumption		All Saints
30	pro omnibus defunctis	Nativity BVM	Assumption		St Gregory

	DE MISSIS ³⁸⁰	DE MISSIS ³⁸¹	LES MESSES ³⁸²	DU TEMPS ³⁸³
1	idem	Trinity	Trinity	Christmas
2	idem	Advent	Trinity	Christmas
3	Idem	Christmas	Trinity	Christmas
4	idem	Circumcision	Wounds	Christmas
5	idem	Epiphany	Wounds	Passion Sunday
6	idem	Transfiguration	Wounds	Passion Sunday
7	idem	Passion Sunday	Wounds	Passion Sunday
8	Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany	Palm Sunday	Wounds	Passion Sunday
9	Purification	Easter	Holy Ghost	Easter
10	Septuagesima Sunday	Ascension	Holy Ghost	Easter
11	Quadragesima 1 st Sunday	Corpus Christi	Holy Ghost	Easter
12	Quadragesima 2 nd Sunday	Invention of the Cross	Holy Ghost	Easter
13	Quadragesima 4th Sunday	Exaltation of the Cross	Holy Ghost	Pentecost
14	idem	Pentecost	Holy Ghost	Pentecost
15	idem	Annunciation BVM	Holy Ghost	Pentecost
16	idem	Conception BVM	Mary	Pentecost
17	idem	Nativity BVM	Mary	Trinity
18	idem	Purification BVM	Mary	Trinity
19	idem	Assumption BVM	Mary	Trinity
20	20th Sunday after Pentecost	Angels	Mary	Mary
21	24th Sunday after Pentecost	John the Baptist	Angels	Mary
22	idem	Apostles	Angels	Mary
23	idem	Martyrs	Angels	Angels
24	idem	Innocents	Angels	Angels
25	idem	Confessors and Bishops	Angels	Angels
26	idem	Confessors and Doctors	Angels	Requiem
27	Annunciation BVM	Virgins	Angels	Requiem
28	Nativity BVM	All saints	Angels	Requiem
29	Holy Cross	Patron of church	Angels	Apostles x 12
30	St Michael	Deceased	Apostles x 12	

³⁸⁰ MS Lons-les-Saunier.

³⁸¹ St Nizier' Missal (following Hesbert; as in note 1); London, BL, IA 42171 (slight changes in Nos 25, 26).

³⁸² MS Paris, 2375.

³⁸³ MS Paris, 2375.

	ANCIENEMENT ³⁸⁴	DOCUIT ³⁸⁵	QUINQUE ³⁸⁶	ISTE SUNT ³⁸⁷	DYT SYNT ³⁸⁸
1	1 st Sunday in Advent	Annunciation	Corpus Christi	Trinity	Trinity x 3
2	Christmas	Christmas	De sanguine domini	Angels	Holy Wounds x 5
3	Epiphany	Epiphany	De sancta cruce	All Apostles	Gifts of Holy Ghost x 7
4	Septuagesima Sunday	Easter	De nomine domini	For Sinners or People	Choirs of Angels x 9
5	Palm Sunday	Ascension	De morte domini	Holy Ghost	Four Patriarchs x 4
6	Easter	Pentecost		Holy Cross	Twelve Apostles x 12
7	Ascension	Assumption		Virgin Mary	Virgin Mary x 3
8	Pentecost				
9	Trinity				
10	Holy Cross				
11	Mary				
12	Angels				
13	All Saints				

II.1.1, to p. 287, footnote 70

1) Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS 426 (15074), Missal of Augustinian Hermits, 1448, fol. 334, sixteenth-century interpolation: 'Sanctus Gregorius PP. ordinavit has subscriptas xxx. missas dicendas' (=T1).

2) Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 146/196, Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century, fols 346–46^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T2).

3) Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 3, Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century, fols 185^v–86: 'pro Trentale' (=T3).

4) Cambridge, St John's College, MS 127, Miscellanea, fourteenth century, fol. 113: 'Hic incipit trentale quod dicitur sancti gregorii pape . . .' (=T4).

5) Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 33, York Use Missal, York Cathedral, fifteenth century, fol. 287: 'Quaedam mulier in omnibus devotissima' (=T5).

6) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 250, Sarum Use Missal, early fifteenth century (1430?), fols 348^v–49, rubric erased (=T6).

7) Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.ii.31, English Missal, 1397, fol. 245: 'Hic incipit miraculum trigintalis sancti Gregorii pape . . .' (=T7).

³⁸⁴ MS Paris, 2375.

³⁸⁵ MS Heiligenkreuz, 99.

³⁸⁶ MS Graz, 951.

³⁸⁷ MS Vatic. Lat. 6080.

³⁸⁸ MS Strasbourg 79.

- 8) Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ff. vi.15, a collection of theological tracts, fourteenth century, 2nd half, fols 249^v–50^v, French prologue and prayers (=T8).
- 9) Downside Abbey, MS 48243 (Clifton 2), Missal, Herefordshire, early fifteenth century, fols 130^v–32: 'Hic incipit regula de trentali quod canonizatum est per Gregorium papam . . .' (=T9).
- 10) Dublin, Trinity College, MS 83, York Use Missal, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fols 175–76, set No. 1: 'Quedam mulier in omnibus devotissima . . .' + *Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi secundum Iohannem*; fol. 176, set No. 2: *Alie orationes de Trentale modo Romane ecclesie* (=T10).
- 11) London, BL, 1484.g.7, Noyon 1541, p. xxxvi^v: 'Pro amico tuo mediante gratia dei liberando. . .' (=T11).
- 12) London, BL, C.35.e.2, Sarum Use, 1555, pp. cxxv–cxxxv^v: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuit . . .' (=T12).
- 13) London, BL, C.35.e.6, York 1533, practically identical³⁸⁹ to T14 (=T13).
- 14) London, BL, C.35.e.9, York 1517, unpaginated, eleventh page from the end: 'Modus celebrandi trentale pro anima alicuius . . .' (=T14).
- 15) London, BL, C.35.i.4, Hereford 1502, p. N: 'Hic incipit triennale quod canonizatum fuit per beatum Gregorium papam . . .' (=T15).
- 16) London, BL, C.35.k.5, Sarum Use Missal 1513, pp. Li^v–Lii: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T16).
- 17) London, BL, IB. 43,955, Sarum 1492, unpaginated, fourth page from the end: 'Si quis trigintale sancti gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T17).
- 18) London, BL, MS Add. 16,998, Officia et preces secundum usum Sarum, early fifteenth century, fols 9^v–34 (=T18).
- 19) London, BL, MS Add. 25,588, Sarum Use Missal, Norwich (?), early fifteenth century, fol. 246: 'Ceo est la trental que seynt Leo apostoile de Rome chaunta pur lalme sa miere . . .' (=T19).
- 20) London, BL, MS Add. 29,884, Sarum Use, miscellaneous services for Mass, fifteenth century, fols 67^v–68^v: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T20).
- 21) London, BL, MS Add. 37,519, Sarum Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 327, a fifteenth-century addition: 'Hic incipit trentale sancti Gregori i. . .' (=T21).
- 22) London, BL, MS Add. 37,787, Prayers and meditations, c. 1400, Worcestershire, fols 146^v–47: 'Ordo trigintalis cuiusdam apostolici . . .' (=T22).
- 23) London, BL, MS Add. 39,675, Hereford Use Missal, fourteenth century, fol. 184^v, a later addition, Collect only (=T23).
- 24) London, BL, MS Add. 40,740, Manual, Sarum Use, late fourteenth century, 2nd hand addition on last page, fol. 52^v: 'Trentalis sancti Gregorii pape . . .' (+ *Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi + Deus qui manus tuas et pedes*) (=T24).
- 25) London, BL, MS Add. 43,380, York Use Missal, early fifteenth century, fols 216^v–17 (=T25).
- 26) London, BL, MS Add. 59,855, Sarum Use Missal, c. 1400, in 1408 in the Augustinian Priory of St Mary Overy, London, fol. 274^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T26)

³⁸⁹ With two errors, though, that mar the correct text transmitted in the earlier T14: 'quem credidit esse matrem' replaces 'quam [etc.]' and 'incrudelem' comes in place of 'incredulum'.

- 27) London, BL, MS Add. 59,856, Sarum Use Missal, Church of St Mary, Horsham (Sussex), 1st half of the fifteenth century, fols 110^v–11 (=T27).
- 28) London, BL, MS Arundel 109, Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century, fols 262–62^v: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod papa Innocentius pro liberatione anime matris sue . . .’ (=T28).
- 29) London, BL, MS Egerton 2139, English Missal, early fifteenth century, interpolation on fol. 19: ‘Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .’ (=T29).
- 30) London, BL, MS Harley 3810 (I), Literary Miscellany of early fifteenth century bound up with another fifteenth-century manuscript containing the Trental, fols 75^v–86^v: ‘Sciendum vero est quod sequenti modo debet trentale quod dicitur sancti Gregorii celebrare . . .’ (=T30).
- 31) London, BL, MS Harley 3866, Sarum Use, Norwich, fifteenth century, fols 311^v–12: ‘Ordo trigintalis quem sanctus Gregorius papa pro liberatione anime matris sue . . .’ + *Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christ + Deus qui manus tuas* (=T31).
- 32) London, BL, MS Royal 8.C.IV, Miscellany, thirteenth-fourteenth century, fol. 114^v: ‘Un apostoyle fu iadys en Rome e out une mere . . .’ (=T32).
- 33) London, Guildhall, MS 515, Missal of St Botolph Aldersgate, c. 1425, fols 246^v–247: ‘Qui voluerit animam salvam facere amici celebrare xxx missas faciat . . .’ (=T33).
- 34) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 306, Composite, fifteenth-sixteenth century, fols 110–14: ‘Here folowth Sent Gregors Trentall’ (=T34).
- 35) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 559, Private collection of prayers, fols 88–89: ‘This seynt Gregories trental good for the soule helthe’ (=T35).
- 36) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 24, Sarum Use Missal, Exeter Cathedral, c. 1250, fourteenth-century interpolation, fol. 233^v: ‘Hec sunt festa in quibus iste orationes subsequentes dicantur. . .’ (=T36).
- 37) Minehead, Parish Church of St. Michael, MS Fitzjames Missal, Sarum Use, fourteenth/fifteenth century, fols 466–470^v: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .’ (=T37).
- 38) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 705, Sarum Use Missal, copied in Oxford in 1384, fols 275–75^v: ‘Trigintale sic incipit. [Erat Rome] quondam . . . quidam . . . qui habebat matrem . . .’ (=T38).
- 39) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, f. 61,800, Sarum Use Missal, London 1498, pp. CCLXXII^v–CCLXXIII: ‘Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .’ (=T39).
- 40) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.47, Sarum Use Missal, c. 1450, fol. 271: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus pro liberatione anime matris sue . . .’ (=T40).
- 41) New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.113, Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, 2nd half of the thirteenth century, fifteenth-century interpolation, fols 206–06^v (=T41).
- 42) New York, Public Library, MS 63, Sarum Use Missal, St Stephen’s Chapel, London, c. 1440, not numbered, toward the end of the Ms: ‘Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .’ (=T42).
- 43) Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library, MS 2, Sarum Use Missal, early fifteenth century, fol. 309: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus pro liberatione anime matris sue . . .’ (=T43).
- 44) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. B. c. 5, Sarum Use Missal, 1492, pp. 440–41: ‘Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii . . .’ (=T44).

- 45) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch.B. c. 6, Hereford Use, 1502, p. Ni: 'Hic incipit triennale quod canonizatum fuit per beatum Gregorium papam . . .' (=T45).
- 46) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch.Gd.57, Sarum Use Missal, London 1500, pp. CCXLI–CCXLI^v: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T46).
- 47) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 26, Sarum Use Missal, Venice/London 1494, pp. 322^v–23: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T47).
- 48) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 21, York Use Missal, 1509, pp. ciiii–ciii^v: 'Modus celebrandi trentale pro anima alicuius . . .' (=T48).
- 49) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 26, Sarum Use Missal, Paris 1500, pp. XLVIII^v–XLIX: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T49).
- 50) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Missals 33, Sarum Use Missal, Basle 1488(?), pp. CCLX^v–CCLXI: 'Si quis trigintale sancti Gregorii celebrare disposuerit . . .' (=T50).
- 51) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 1, Sarum Use Missal, St James' of Gawsworth, Cheshire, mid fifteenth century, fol. 429: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T51).
- 52) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Jones 47, Sarum Use Missal, North (?) England, fifteenth century, fols 362–62^v (=T52).
- 53) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 17, collection of private devotions, English, fifteenth century, fols 39–39^v, 92: 'Quidam erat papa cuius mater . . .' (=T53).
- 54) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 253, Sarum Use Missal, Carew Family (Pembrokeshire), 1st half of the fifteenth century, fols 262–62^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T54).
- 55) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 302, Sarum Use Missal, Diocese of Durham, early fifteenth century, probably written for a Benedictine house, fols 263–63^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T55).
- 56) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. c. 2, Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century 2nd quarter, fols 259–59^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus' (=T56).
- 57) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson liturg. e. 41, Sarum Use Missal, Diocese of Durham (?), fifteenth century, fol. 150, interpolation, rubric erased (=T57).
- 58) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poet. 225, English Lives of Saints, early fifteenth century, fol. 115^v: 'Iste sunt XXXta misse que sequuntur' (=T58).
- 59) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood empt. 20, York Use, a notebook for the use of a priest in the Diocese of York, about 1471–72, fols 29–30: 'Trentale beati Gregorii videlicet infra istarum festorum . . .' (=T59).
- 60) Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 394, Sarum Use Missal, St Mary, Lapworth (Warwickshire), 1398, two sets: fol. 102 and fol. 244^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus' (=T60).
- 61) Oxford, Keble College, MS 58, Sarum Use Missal, late fourteenth–early fifteenth century, fols 254–55: 'Trentale sic incipit. Erat Rome quidam papa nomine Gregorius . . .' (=T61).
- 62) Oxford, Oriel College, MS 75, Sarum Use Missal, Diocese of Worcester, early fifteenth century, fols 317–17^v: 'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .' (=T62).

- 63) Oxford, Pembroke College, MS 1, fifteenth century, fols 268^v–69: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .’ (=T63).
- 64) Oxford, Trinity College, MS 8, Sarum Missal, in the fifteenth century property of [Richard] Beauchamp de Abergavenny, c. 1388, fol. 288, interpolation, rubric erased (=T64).
- 65) Oxford, Trinity College, MS 94 Sarum Use Missal, fifteenth century, fol. 287^v: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .’ (=T65).
- 66) Oxford, University College, MS 78A, Hereford Use Missal, Monmouthshire, fifteenth century, fol. 220: ‘Hic incipit trentale quod canonizatum fuit per beatum Gregorium papam . . .’ (=T66).
- 67) Paisley, Renfrew District Museum and Art Gallery, MS Missal, Use of St Andrews (Scotland), 1492, ed. by A. P. Forbes, *Liber Ecclesie Beati Terrenani de Arbuthnott* (Bruntisland, 1864), p. 475 (=T67).
- 68) Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2097, a collection of devotions, 1558, fol. 1: ‘Sensuit lordonnance du trentin monseigneur saint Gregoire’ (=T68).
- 69) Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 234 (C. 167), Missal, Use of Langres, fifteenth century, fol. 150^v: ‘Sensuient trentes messes . . .’ (=T69).
- 70) Spalding (Lincolnshire), Gentlemen’s Society, MS M.J.ii, English Missal, mid fifteenth century, fol. 102: ‘Ordo tricenalis per dominum Leonem papam . . .’, preceded by *Passio Domini nostri ihesu Christi secundum Iohannem* and the prayer *Deus qui manus tuas*, (=T70).
- 71) Ushaw (Durham), St Cuthbert College, MS 8, Psalter and Manual, early fifteenth century, fols 181^v–83: ‘Trigintale sic incipit. Erat quondam Rome quidam papa nomine Gregorius qui habebat matrem . . .’ (=T71).
- 72) Winchester College, MS 48, Book of Hours, written in England, early fifteenth century, interpolation, fol. 95^v (=T72).
- 73) London, BL, C.41.1.1, Sarum Missal, 1520, p. xxxiii, ‘Siquis trigintale sancti Gregorii . . .’ (=T73).
- 74) London, BL, IC. 43,967, Sarum Missal, Paris (?) 1500, pp. ccxiii^v–ccxiii, ‘Siquis trigintale sancti Gregorii . . .’ (=T74).
- 75) Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 861, Paris Use Missal, the fourteenth-century portion of the manuscript, fols 438–38^v, ‘Pro fundatione domini Johannis le Duc’ (=T75).
- 76) Bristol, Public Library, Ms. No. 13, Sarum Missal, early fifteenth century, fols 312–12^v: ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .’ (=T76).
- 77) Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library, Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe Ms. No. 29, Sarum Missal, Secular Use, mid fourteenth–fifteenth century, probably in use at Shepton Beauchamp, Somerset, fols 233^v–34, ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus . . .’ (=T77).
- 78) Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library, Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe Ms. No. 40, Sarum Missal, mid fifteenth century, fols 300^v–01, ‘Ordo trigintalis quod quidem [*sic*] apostolicus . . .’ (=T78).
- 79) York, York Minster Library, Ms. XVI.O.9, Breviary and Missal, York Use, mid fourteenth–fifteenth century, fols 181^v–82^v, ‘Quidam apostolus Rome habuit matrem . . .’ (=T79).
- 80) York, York Minster Library, Ms. Add. 30, Missal, York Use, mid fifteenth century, fols 221^v–22, ‘Quedam mulier in omnibus devotissima . . .’ (=T80).

II.1.1, to p. 287, footnote 71

The sources principally used in compiling the following table are as follows:

- 1) *Bedfordshire Wills 1480–1519*, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 45, ed. and tr. by P. L. Bell (Bedford, 1966) (= *Bd*).
- 2) *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688*, Part II, ed. by R. R. Sharpe (London, 1890) (= *Ln*).
- 3) *Lincoln Wills Registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln*, vol. 1, Lincoln Record Society, 5, ed. by C. W. Foster (Hereford, 1914) (= *Lin*).
- 4) *Sede vacante Wills; A Calendar of Wills Proved before the Commissary of the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church, Canterbury, during Vacancies in the Primacy*, Kent Archeological Society, Records Branch, III, ed. by Eveleigh Woodruff (Canterbury, 1914) (= *Cnt*).
- 5) *Some Oxfordshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1392–1500*, Oxfordshire Record Society, 39, ed. by J. R. H. Weaver and A. Beardwood (Oxford, 1958) (= *Ox*).
- 6) *Somerset Medieval Wills (1383–1500)*, Somerset Record Society, 16, ed. and tr. by F. W. Weaver (London, 1901) (= *So*).
- 7) *Testamenta Eboracensia, or Wills Registered at York*, Part I, Surtees Society, 4 (London, 1836); Part II, Surtees Society, 30 (London, 1855); Part III, *A Selection of Wills from the Registry of York*, Surtees Society, 45 (London, 1864); Part IV, Surtees Society, 53 (London, 1868); Part V, Surtees Society, 79 (London, 1884) (= *Yr*).
- 8) *Testamenta vetusta*, ed. by N. H. Nicolas, vol. 1 (London, 1826) (= *Nic*).
- 9) *The Register of Edmund Stafford (1395–1419)*, ed. by F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1886) (= *St*).
- 10) *The Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. 3: *Norwich sede vacante 1499*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Oxford, 2000) (= *Nor*).
- 11) *Transcripts of Sussex Wills*, transcribed and ed. by R. G. Rice and W. H. Godfrey, Sussex Record Society, vols 41–43, 45 (Lewes, 1937–41) (= *Sx*).
- 12) *Wills and Inventories [Durham Registry]*, Part I, Surtees Society, 2 (London, 1835) (= *Du*).
- 13) *Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury*, Camden Society, Old Series, 4, ed. by S. Tymms (London, 1850) (= *Bur*).
- 14) *Wills of the Archdeaconery of Sudbury 1439–1474, Wills from the Register 'Baldwyne'*, Part I: 1439–1461, Suffolk Record Society, XLIV, ed. by P. Northeast (Woodbridge, 2001) (= *Sud*).

Table 4.C: St Gregory Trental in Wills

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
1	1370-71	Alice Ippegrave	London	Widow of goldsmith			1		Ln p. 137
2	1372	Walter Bachiler	London	Draper		6s 8d	1	Self	Ln p. 158
3	1373	Roger Cavendish	London	Skinner			5		Ln pp. 59-60
4	1374	Thomas		Lord of Poynings	within 1 year after death		10		Nic p. 93
5	1380	John Orleaux	London	Brewer		20s	2	self wife others	Ln pp. 216-17
6	1381	Eva Wendelynburgh	London	Widow of pouch-maker			1		Ln p. 223
7	1383	John de Guldeford	London	Paneter	at stated times		1		Ln p. 234
8	1383	Maurice Wyth	Somerset	Sir	within 1 month after death	£10	1		Pf p. 88
9	1385	Hugh Mason	London	Butcher		10s. each	2	self	Pf p. 89
10	1385	Hugh		Earl of Stafford	within 1 year after death		50	father mother wife self benefactors all Christians	Nic p. 118
11	1386	Thomas Atte Naps	London	Frutour			1		Ln p. 255
12	1390-1	John Foxton	London		4 years		4		Ln p. 286
13	1395	Robert Bardolf	Oxfordshire	Knight		40s.	4	self 5 others all Christians	Ox p. 8
14	1396	Walter de Bruge	Yorkshire	Canon	1 year	10 M	6	self father mother 2 benefactors all Christians	Yk 1 p. 207
15	1400	Johanna Maykyn	London	Widow of vintner			1	self	Ln p. 343
16	1404	Eleanor Arundel	Sussex	Lady			5		Sx III p. 141

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
17	1407	Thomas Woth	Somer-set			60s	3		So p. 28
18	1410-1	John Mendeham	London	Carpenter			1		Ln p. 388
19	1411	William	York-shire	Lord Roos	on day of burial or as soon	£40	20	self	Yr I p. 359
20	1413	Edward Curteys	Somer-set		within 1 month		1	self	So p. 65
21	1413	William Ekerdon	Reg. of Ed. Staf-ford	Canon and rector		10 M	1	self	St p. 403
22	1414	Beatrice	York-shire	Lady Roos	within 1 year	£10	30		Yr I p. 376
23	1414	Elizabeth		Countess Salisbury	for 1 year	£12	2	self all Christians	Nic p. 184
24	1416	John Horewode	Somer-set					self relatives	So p. 75
25	1418	William Neel	Sussex		within 1 month after death		12	self	Sx iv p. 428
26	1421	Henry Bowet	York-shire	Arch-bishop	within 1 month after death	£20	1000	self parents all Christians	Yr I p. 399
27	1423	Henry Frenssh	Sussex			20s.		self	Sx II p. 347
28	1423	Robert Hylle	Somer-set		1 year	2 M	2	those wronged	So p. 404
29	1423	Lucy		Countess Kent	every year		8	self	Nic p. 206
30	1426	John Bigod	York-shire	Knight	2 yearly	14 M	2	self	Yr I p. 411
31	1429	Isabella Salvayn	York-shire		magna festinacia		1	self	Yr I p. 418
32	1431	John Hartylpol	Somer-set	Rector	soon after death		2		So p. 135
33	1437	John Bacon	London	Wool-monger	each year			self father mother brother others	Ln p. 482

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
33A	1442	Richard Fawkener	Sussex			4 M	1	himself	Sx IV p. 372
34	1446	Matilda	York- shire	Countess Cam- bridge	each year		3	self husband parents	Yr II p. 120
35	1453	Gervase Cleyfton	York- shire	Knight	1 year	7 M	1	self	Du p. 170
36	1470	John Poulet	Somer- set		soon after death		1	self	So p. 220
37	1473	Thomas Wellys	London	Draper	for 1 whole year				Ln p. 571
38	1478	Anne Say		Lady				3 dead husbands	Nic p. 348
39	1479–80	John Leynham	London	Knight			1		Ln p. 578
40	1480	Elizabeth		Lady Latimer	immediately after death in all haste		1		Nic p. 361
41	1480	William Lambert	York- shire	Vicar		40s	4		Yr III p. 254
42	1483	Joan Devyn	Oxford- shire		between burial and trental day + a whole year		2 types	self, husband, parents, friends	Ox pp 33–34
43	1489–90	William Copley	York- shire		1 year		2x1	self	Yr IV p. 48
44	1493	Jane Stonar	Oxford- shire	Dame	immediately on burial	£15	30	self	Ox p. 50
45	1494–5	Brian Roucliffe	York- shire	Baron of Ex- chequer	immediately on death	6d. for each cele- bration	1x n.	self and others	Yr IV p. 103
46	1495	John Bradford	York- shire			2 Oxen	1	self	Yr IV p. 109
47	1498	Thomas Webb	Somer- set			10s	1	self	So p. 368
48	1499	Richard Holcott	Oxford- shire	Vicar	beginning 3rd day after death	50s	5	self	Ox p. 65
49	1499	Thomas Sengylton	Staf- ford- shire	Gentle- man		10s	4	self kindred friends benefactors	Nor p. 36
50	1499	Robert Snowman of Briston	Norfolk			10s	1	self	Nor pp. 39–40

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
51	1499	John Goldsmyth	Norfolk	Husband-man		10s	1	self	Nor p. 47
52	1499	Andrew Horsecroft	Norfolk			10s	1	self, benefactors	Nor p. 69
53	1500	William Paxford	Oxfordshire		immediately on death		1	self, all Christians	Ox p. 70
54	1501	Hugh Brown	Canterbury	London grocer			1		Cnt p. 125
55	1502	William Barst	Bury St Edmunds	Gentleman		10s	1	self	Bu p. 94
56	1502	Richard Best	Taunton		every year for 3 years				Pf p. 88
57	1503	John Studdley	Bedfordshire			10s.	1		Bd p. 1
58	1504	Elizabeth Byconyll	Somerset		within a month				Pf p. 89
59	1508	Thomas Tremayll	Somerset			12 M.	1		Pf p. 88
60	1509	John Watton	Yorkshire			10s.	1		Yr v p. 10
61	1510	Thomas Geffraye	Sussex		1 year	£10	1		Sx iii p. 75
62	1512-3	Agnes Thetcher	Sussex		1 year	£10	1		Sx iii p. 111
63	1514	John Thorpe	Lincolnshire		daily Mass in 30 days	11s.		self, all Christians	Lin p. 64
64	1516	Richard Culpeper	Somerset		within 1 year 3 years after death	£10	1	self, wife	Sx I p. 39
65	1517-18	William Jourdayn	Sussex		probably immediately	40s.	1	self, all Christians	Sx iv p. 356
66	1518-9	Andrew Ellys	Sussex		at burial + mother's mynde		2	self + mother	Sx iii p. 132
67	1520-1	Ralph Babington	Yorkshire	rector		12s 4d	1		Yr v p. 125
68	1523	Alis Smythe	Somerset		immediately after death	£10		self	Sx i p. 147
69	1529	Unnamed	Somerset		1 year	£10			Pf p. 88
70	1531	William Byspyn	Sussex		1 year	£10	1	self wife children friends all Christians	Sx iv p. 70

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
101	23 Sep 1430	William Dormowr of Wickham Skeith	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 705
102	30 Nov 1435	Cecily Ydeyne of Burwell, Cams	Sud- bury			10s; 10s; 10s	1; 1; 1	self; 2 other persons	Sud No. 1475
103	26 March 1438	Margaret Perpontes of Westhorpe	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 5
104	29 Dec 1438	Richard Brightewell of Gazeley	Sud- bury			10s	1	self friends	Sud No. 303
105	13 March 1439	Alice Chambyrlayn of Poslingford	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 113
106	23 Aug 1439	John Howlete of Mendlesham	Sud- bury	Artisan (Schoppe)	quam cito po- terant		1		Sud No. 2
107	6 Sep 1439	Walter Cobbe of Long Melford	Sud- bury			10s	1	self, benefactors	Sud No. 88
108	22 Sep 1439	John Bertlot of Wickham Skeith	Sud- bury		as soon as possible after death	10s	1		Sud No. 24
109	23 Sep 1439	William Dormowr of Wickham Skeirh	Sud- bury			20s; 10s	1;1		Sud No. 87; Sud No. 706
110	26 Sep 1439	John Cowe of Wickham Skeith	Sud- bury			20s	2		Sud No. 22
111	2 Oct 1439	John Elton of Haughley	Sud- bury				1	self, all Christians	Sud No. 18
112	7 Oct 1439	Roger Osteler of Shelland	Sud- bury				1	self, parents, benefactors, all Christians	Sud No. 21
113	2 Nov 1439	William Otley of Little Saxham	Sud- bury					self	Sud No. 34

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
114	9 Nov 1439	John Perkyrell of Wetherden	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 33
115	31 Jan 1439/40	Adam Onge of Barning- ham	Sud- bury			10s	1	self, parents, friends	Sud No. 124
116	20 Apr 1440	John Payn- tour of Bur- well, Cambs.	Sud- bury	Husband- man	as soon as possible		1		Sud No. 150
117	20 June 1440	John Ladysman of Great Finborough	Sud- bury			10s; 10s	1; 1	self, wives, parents, all dead Christians	Sud No. 129
118	13 Aug 1440	John Watlok of Clark	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 112
119	23 Dec 1440	Thomas Gatte of Great Livermere	Sud- bury	Lord of manor	2 years after death		8		Sud No. 180
120	26 March 1441	John Astlot of Sudbury	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 127
121	30 Apr 1441	Robert Parker of Lidgate	Sud- bury			40s	1		Sud No. 114
122	7 Aug 1441	John Hocket of Long Melford	Sud- bury			6s 8d; 10s	2	self	Sud No. 122
123	29 Nov 1441	John Wareyn of Nayland	Sud- bury	Tanner		20 s	2		Sud No. 108
124	10 Aug 1442	John Regewyn of Sudbury	Sud- bury			20s	2	self	Sud No. 258
125	6 Nov 1442	John Lorkyn of Long Melford	Sud- bury	Weaver		5s	1/2	self	Sud No. 300
126	24 Apr 1443	Roger Bulney of Long Melford	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 195
127	4 Nov 1444	Richard Cheryaunt of Sudbury	Sud- bury		for 1 year		1		Sud No. 276
128	1 Jan 1444/5	Thomas Catelene of Burwell, Cambs	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 284

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
129	12 Apr 1445	John Bonde of Fornham St Martin	Sudbury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 359
130	30 Aug 1445	Matilda Hayne of Sudbury	Sudbury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 421
131	31 Aug 1445	Richard Aniys of Wetheringsett	Sudbury			10s	1		Sud No. 345
132	12 Feb 1446/7	Rose Waryn of Kersey	Sudbury			10s	1		Sud No. 390
133	12 March 1446/7	John Bole of Wetherden	Sudbury				1	self	Sud No. 394
134	31 March 1447	Ralph Farewell of Ashley, Cambs	Sudbury		Trental for a year in due form (Gregorian?)		1	self	
135	13 Oct 1447	John Plante of Great Finborough	Sudbury				3	self, benefactors, all dead Christians	Sud No. 538
136	11 Dec 1447	Walter Mannyng of Norton	Sudbury			10s	1	self, benefactors	Sud No. 373
137	24 May 1448	John Rampoly of Rickinghall Superior	Sudbury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 679
138	10 July 1448	John Wale of Thornham Magna	Sudbury				1		Sud No. 788
139	5 Nov 1449	John Elmswell of Thwaite	Sudbury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 658
140	1 Feb 1451	Richrad Cullyng of Cokyngle, hamlet of Eye	Sudbury				2		Sud No. 479
141	4 July 1451	John Dobyll of Layham	Sudbury				2	self, benefactors	Sud No. 639
142	4 Jan 1451/2	William Musket of Sudbury	Sudbury	Saddler		10s	1	self	Sud No. 632

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
143	6 Aug 1452	John Bettys of Harleston	Sud-bury			Malt (10s)	1	self	Sud No. 497
144	22 Sept 1452	John Adgor of Combs	Sud-bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 609
145	10 Oct 1452	John Hucton of Hawkedon	Sud-bury		all possible haste after death		1	self	Sud No. 735
146	?1453	John Wykham of Great Horringer	Sud-bury			10s; 10s	1; 1	self; self, wife, all for whom am bound	Sud No. 722
147	22 June 1453	Geoffrey Chapman of Haughley	Sud-bury			10s; 10s	2	self	Sud No. 775
148	?1454	John Preytese of Clare	Sud-bury		for a whole year	9 M	1	self, benefactors	Sud No. 1010
149	30 March 1454	John Freet of Sudbury	Sud-bury	Mercer		10s	1	self, for whom am bound	Sud No. 758
150	15 May 1454	Rose Hunger of Mellis	Sud-bury			10s	1	self, friends	Sud No. 798
151	2 Aug 1454	Robert Hose of Botesdale in Redgrave	Sud-bury			10s	1		Sud No. 981
152	29 Aug 1454	Richard Munyng of Badwell Ash	Sud-bury		at appropriate feasts for a year (i.e., Trental)		1		Sud No. 842
153	19 Feb 1454/5	John Brown of Sudbury	Sud-bury	Carpenter		10s	1	self	Sud No. 1132
154	10 Oct 1455	John Cogeshall of Hundon	Sud-bury		all possible haste after death	10s	1		Sud No. 1216
155	29 Nov 1455	Margaret wife of John Bekke of Cambs	Sud-bury	Lady of a manor		10s	1	self, all Christians	Sud No. 877
156	31 Jan 1456/7	John Carteer of Mellis	Sud-bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1097

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
157	11 March 1456/7	Alice Norman of Barrow	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 890
158	12 Aug 1457	John Jenowr of ?Old Newton	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 908
159	29 Sep 1457	Henry Folkys of Kedington	Sud- bury				1	self	Sud No.12 13
160	3 Dec 1457	Robert Tye of Lavenham	Sud- bury			10s	1	self, for whom am bound	Sud No. 1243
161	?1458	Alice widow of Matthew Hardy of Rattlesden	Sud- bury			10s			Sud No. 1032
162	6 Jan 1457/8	Robert Belamy of Boxted	Sud- bury			10s	1	self, wife	Sud No. 1006
163	16 Jan 1457/8	Simon Danown of Sudbury	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 1058
164	11 Apr 1458	Thomas Colman of Wortham	Sud- bury			20s	2		Sud No. 1076
165	24 Apr 1458	Thomas Tyso of Drinkestone	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1054
166	10 May 1458	John Frost of Ousden	Sud- bury		for a whole year	10s	1	self	Sud No. 1285
167	30 June 1458	John Gruggeman of Bamham	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1078
168	20 July 1458	John Rogyn of Rattlesden	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 1031
169	3 Aug 1459	Marion Potter of Clare	Sud- bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1218
170	17 Aug 1459	John Scoot of Hopton	Sud- bury			10s	1	self, benefactors	Sud No. 1292
171	4 Oct 1459	Robert Fowre of Cavendish	Sud- bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 1375

	DATE	NAME	REGISTRATION	STATUS	TIME	PRICE	NUMBER OF TRENTALS	BENEFICIARIES	SOURCE
172	8 Oct 1459	John Robhod of Walsham	Sud-bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1272
173	20 June 1460	John Fabbe of Burwell, Cambs	Sud-bury		for a whole year		1	self, wife, all parents	Sud No. 1265
174	5 Nov 1460	John Wode of Cowlinge	Sud-bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1386
175	1461	Thomas More of Fornham St Martin	Sud-bury			10s	1		Sud No. 1356
176	2 Oct 1461	John Omfrey of Combs	Sud-bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 1392
177	12 Dec 1461	William Bunne of Elmsett	Sud-bury			10s	1	self	Sud No. 1427
178	15 Feb 1461/2	Henry Awnselme of Wyverstone	Sud-bury			20s	2	self; mother	Sud No. 1402
179	30 March 1462	Walter Coket of Ingham	Sud-bury	Woolman		20s; 10s	2; 1	self	Sud No. 1441

II.1.1, to p. 290, footnote 106

See the bibliographical references in *Pfaff*, pp. 77–79. I have mainly used the following:

- 1) P. Heath Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, EETS, 275, 280 (London, 1976, 1980) (=Dives).
- 2) F. J. Furnivall, 'The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms', EETS, 117 (London, 1901), p. 748 (=Appendix).
- 3) Idem, *Political, Religious and Love Poems*, EETS, 15 (London, 1866) (=Furnivall).
- 4) C. Horstmann, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon Ms.*, EETS, 98 (London, 1892), pp. 260–68 (=Horstmann).
- 5) R. Jordan, 'Das Trentalle Gregorii in der Handschrift Harley 3810', *Englische Studien*, 40 (1909), pp. 351–71 (=Jordan).
- 6) R. K. Root, 'Poems from the Garrett Ms', *Englische Studien*, 41 (1909–10), 360–79.
- 7) W. B. D. D. Turnbull, *The Visions of Tundale, together with Metrical Moralizations and other Fragments of Early Poetry hitherto Unedited* (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 77–82. The Gregorian story influenced other legends, e.g., 'The Awntyrs of Arthure at the terne Wathelyne', in which Guenevre's dead mother implores her to say thirty Masses for the salvation of her soul; see H.

Newstead, 'Arthurian Legends', in A. E. Hartung, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, vol. 1, 1967, p. 61.

II.1.3, to p. 295, footnote 126

Distribution List of Trental Stipulations by Suffolk Parishes and by Year

1) Badwell Ash ('54); 2) Barnham ('58); 3) Barningham ('40); 4) Barrow ('57); 5) Botesdale ('54); 6) Boxted ('58); 7) Cavendish ('59); 8) Clare ('40, '54, '59); 9) Cokyngle, hamlet of Eye ('51); 10) Combs ('52, '55, '61); 11) Cowlinge ('60); 12) Drinkstone ('58); 13) Elmsett ('61); 14) Fornham St Martin ('45, '61); 15) Gazeley ('38); 16) Great Finborough ('40, '47); 17) Great Horringer ('53); 18) Great Livermere ('40); 19) Harleston ('52); 20) Haughley ('39, '53); 21) Hawkedon ('52); 22) Hopton ('59); 23) Hundon ('55); 24) Ingham ('62); 25) Kedington ('57); 26) Kersey ('47); 27) Lavenham ('57); 28) Layham ('51); 29) Lidgate ('41); 30) Little Saxham ('39, '41); 31) Long Melford ('39, '42, '43); 32) Mellis ('54, '57); 33) Mendlesham ('39); 34) Nayland ('41); 35) Norton ('47); 36) Old Newton ('57); 37) Ousden ('58); 38) Poslingford ('39); 39) Rattlesden ('58x2); 40) Rickinghall Superior ('48); 41) Shelland ('39); 42) Sudbury ('41, '42, '44, '45, '52x2, '55, '58); 43) Thornham Magna ('48); 44) Thwaite ('49); 45) Walsham Le Willows ('59); 46) Westhorpe ('38); 47) Wetherden ('39, '47); 48) Wetheringsett ('49); 49) Wickham Skeith, ('30, '39x2); 50) Wortham ('58); 51) Wyverstone ('62).

II.1.3, to p. 295, footnote 128

Table 4.D: Distribution of Designated Contractors

CONTRACTOR	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ST GREGORY TRENTAL CONTRACTORS (TOTAL 58)	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF REQUIEM TRENTAL CONTRACTORS (TOTAL 59)
Secular priest	9 (15.5%)	1 (2%)
Friar	11 (19%)	
Babwell (Franciscans)	19 (33%)	27 (46%)
Others (Franciscans)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
Sudbury (Dominicans)	5 (9%)	7 (12%)
Thetford (Dominicans)	4 (7%)	8 (13.5%)
Ipswich (Dominicans)	1 (2%)	
Ipswich (Carmelites)	2 (3%)	
Cambridge (Carmelites)		2 (3%)
Norwich (Carmelites)		2 (3%)
Clare (Austin Friars)	2 (3%)	5 (8.5%)
Orford (Austin Friars)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
Colchester (Austin Friars)		2 (3%)
Others	2 (3%)	2 (3%)

II.2.2, to p. 301, footnote 139

‘Hic incipit trentale quod dicitur Trentale sancti Gregorii pape, bonum quidem pro amicis dicendum, ut testatur per Leonem papam quod celebravit pro matre sua que fuit in purgatorio. Hic inde miraculum.

Quidam papa Leo fuit Rome quondam, qui habuit matrem que reputabatur sanctissime vite apud Deum et populum. Que infortunium contigit, quod impregnabatur secreto, quasi nullo sciente. Que igitur voluit secretum suum celare infantemque premit, et hoc idem scelus iterato perpetravit. Ac tamen papa, et omnes qui eam noverant, care dilexerunt eam propter eius bona opera que operabatur. Qua decedente, papa et ceteri qui eam noverant sperabant bene quod anima eius salva esset sine dubio a tormentis. Quadam die post eius decessum, cum papa pro anima eius missam celebraret, accidit obscuritas pergrandis acsi esset nox obscurissima, et cum papa respexisset vidit turpiorem creaturam quam numquam ante videret, et ait: O creatura horribilis, adiuro te per Deum vivum, ut dicas mihi que es. Que, dolorosa et misera voce respondens, ait: Fili karissime, mater tua sum. Et adiurans ait: Putavimus te sanctam mulierem fuisse et cum gaudio coronari. Tunc ipsa sibi narravit qualem vitam duxit in seculo, et quantam penam paciebatur in purgatorio, quod numquam anima maiorem aut dolorem sustinuit. Et misertus est ei papa, et quesivit si per alicuius adiutorium posset salvari. Que respondens ait: Fili, si celebrarentur pro me xxx misse a peccatis et tormentis salva essem. Et interrogavit papa quales misse sibi proficerent. Que respondens ait: Tres de annunciatione dominica [etc.] . . . Tunc concessit ei papa devote ipsas missas celebrare, necnon precepit ei ex parte Dei, quod, predictis missis complete celebratis, ostenderet se ei. Qui, cum celebraret xxx missas et missam tricessimam celebraturus in capella sua se prepararet, inimicus totius humani generis, ille hostis antiqu[u]s semper pietatis operibus invidens, ignem in palatio papae accendit, quapropter factus est tumultus et ululatus multus in civitate. Quod cum audiret, surrexit ab oratione tremefactus, et de suo pio proposito diminutus. Postea, igne extincto tumultuque omni cedato, cum papa previderet ut de missis iuxta ordinem sibi ostensum celebrandis impeditus esset, compunctus corde vehementer doluit.

Quid plura? Ne anima sue matris diu in tormentis permaneret ipsas idem xxx missas in sequenti anno celebravit. Cum autem ultimam missam celebraturus se prepararet, ut prius apparuerunt fulgura et tonitrua grandea, et tanta obscuritas, et tempestas aeris acsi tota palatia concremata corruisset. Et cum omnes ministri eius perteriti hinc et inde fugerent, papa solus constanter immobilis omnino sustinuit et tanquam pius filius pro anima matris sue cum diabolo pugnaturus, altare Dei aggreditur ac intrepidus viriliter incepit se sacris induere vestimentis. Tenebre et nubes evanuerunt, sol vero resplenduit clarissime, et facta est tranquillitas magna, et convenerunt. Cum vero in fine misse Psalmum *De profundis* et orationem Dominicam pro anima matris sue diceret, circumfulsit eum tanta claritas, per quam totus mundus possit illuminari. Ad quam prospiciens, vidit duos angelos descendentes animam matris sue inter se ducentes. Pro cuius pulchritudinem admirans, putabat eam fore reginam celi, et cadens protinus in terram dixit: Regina celi et terre, miserere mei, et succurre anime matris mee. Et illa respondit: fili karissime, non sum regina celi, sed ego sum anima matris tue. Et benedicta sit hora in qua concepisti te. Ecce nunc a peccatis, pro quibus prius me in tormentis vidisti, illam quietam liberavit me Deus per illas sacras missas quas pro me celebrasti. Ac et omnes, pro quibus misse predictae fuerint celebrate more supradicto, a penis solventur sine dubio. Et predictae misse debent dici [etc.] . . .’ (T4).

II.2.2, to p. 301, footnote 141

Variant A³⁹⁰

Trigintalis sic incipit. Erat quondam Rome quidam papa nomine Gregorius³⁹¹ qui habebat matrem, quam super omnia diligebat et maxime pro bonitate sua. Contigit autem per infortunium quod dicta mulier pregnaret,³⁹² que, timore filii sui et pudore populi perterita, appropinquante termino partus partum extinxit. Similiter autem et postea ut prius ei³⁹³ evenit, nemine autem sciente. Contigit autem³⁹⁴ dicta muliere in infirmitate moreretur, [papa]³⁹⁵ vero et omnis populus de ea gratulabantur, quia bonam et salvam eam esse credebant. Post hec vero, dum dominus papa missam celebraret, vidit iuxta se quandam obscuritatem ut magis nox videretur quam dies, et in eadem quandam miserimam creaturam aspexit, et dixit: Creatura, coniuro te per Dominum³⁹⁶ ut quid sis mihi edicas. Cui illa: O dilectissime,³⁹⁷ ego sum mater tua. Ad quam papa admirans ait: Et³⁹⁸ nos autem³⁹⁹ sperabamus te bonam mulierem et in maximo gaudio permansuram. Quare sic est quod nunc tali pena frueris? Et illa enarrans ei omnia que per eam fiebant in hoc seculo et ideo penam patiebatur, et flam[m]a per dentes eius exhibat. Tunc papa, dolore mentis motus, dixit: Potestne aliquid, o mater mea, te ex hac pena alienare? Cui illa: Si quis trigintale missarum pro me celebraret, scilicet. . . .

. . . Et dixit filius quod libenter pro matre sua hoc fecerit,⁴⁰⁰ et precipiens ei quod eodem tempore in anno futuro ei alias appareret. Appropinquante autem die quem⁴⁰¹ papa statuit et ipse divina celebrans, vidit magnam lucem et in ea duos angelos descendere, et unam pulcherimam dominam inter eos descendentem. Ille autem perteritus, putabat eam esse reginam celi, cecidit ad pedes eius, dicens: O regina celi, miserere anime matris mee. At illa respondit: O fili mi karissime, ego sum mater tua, benedicatur hora qua te portavi, quia de tali forma—quam in me alias vidisti—tuis missis et orationibus talem nunc me Deus liberavit.⁴⁰² Et omnes pro quibus triginta⁴⁰³ misse celebrabuntur eo modo quo pro me fecisti salvi erunt'. (T 38, 61, 71).

³⁹⁰ The following text is based mainly on T38; different readings in T71 are noted.

³⁹¹ The first three lines in T38 have been largely erased; I have restored them from T 61, 71.

³⁹² *sic* T 38, 61; *pregnaretur* T71.

³⁹³ *ibi* T71.

³⁹⁴ *autem* ut dicta T71.

³⁹⁵ Erased. Only one lonely 'papa' in T38 escaped the erasers' wrath.

³⁹⁶ *Deum* T71.

³⁹⁷ *O fili dilectissime* T71.

³⁹⁸ *Om.* T71.

³⁹⁹ *Om.* T71.

⁴⁰⁰ *faceret* T71.

⁴⁰¹ *quod* T71.

⁴⁰² *talem me nunc fecit Deus* T71.

⁴⁰³ *quibus dicte misse* T71.

Variant B ‘Hic incipit miraculum Trigintalis sancti Gregorii pape.

Quidam papa quondam erat, nomine Romanus. qui habebat matrem nobilissimam, ita quod ab omnibus honorabatur et reputabatur omnium mulierum sanctissima. Contigit autem illam occasione diabolica quod in vite ad ultimum decidit, ita quod concepit et peperit, sed ipsa intimans quod sine fame lesione diu vivere non potuit, et quia filium suum, ne populo offendere, noluit, proprium partum occidit et in occultum condivit. Item simili modo alias peccavit, succedente tempore diem suum clausit extremum, de predictis peccatis non confessa. Dictus vero papa quadam die missam celebravit, quodam umbra obscuritatis in effigiem mulieris sibi apparuit, qui dixit: Adiuro te in nomine sancte Trinitatis ut dicas que es, et quare divinum impedis officium. At illa dolenter referebat: Fili karissime, ego sum mater tua. Et retulit sibi peccatum perpetratum ut prenotatum est. Propter quod tantum supplicium patior, quod vix potero sustinere. Unde predictus papa perteritus ac misericordia motus quesivit quod si ei aliquo modo possit subvenire. At illa respondit: Etiam, si unum Tricenale pro anima mea celebraretur a penis quibus crucior divina providentia liberaretur [*sic*]. Et predictum Tricennale continet triginta missas, videlicet tres de annunciatione beate Marie . . . [etc.].

Tunc igitur predictus papa pro anima matris sue, eodem modo predicto, missas celebravit, ita quod anno revoluto eodem die—dum divino fungeretur officio—apparuit ei tanta claritas in effigiem mulieris ut sibi videbatur quod esset celi regina, et vidit duos angelos eam ducentes, et procidit ad pedes eius adorantem eam et dicentem: Dulcissima domina celi et terreque regina, qui Ihesum Christum dominum salvatorem nostrum portare meruisti, peto a te misericordiam pro anima matris mee que manet in penis immensis. At illa dixit: Karissime fili, mater tua ego sum. Benedicta sit illa hora in qua te portavi. Scias me de tali, sicut alias me vidisti, per tuas condignas missas Deus me fecit talem quam nunc me specularis. Et scias revera, quod omnes pro quibus tot misse tali modo celebrantur salvi erunt ab omnibus periculis animarum, me ipsa testante (T7).

Variant C

Quidam erat papa, cuius mater in omnibus et ab omnibus devotissima putabatur, que secrete concepit et peperit, et post partu—ante Baptismum—infantem proprium necavit, iniquitatem suam celando. Iterum peperit, et iterum necavit. Non multum vero post, contigit ipsam infirmari et mortua est. Unde omnes noticiam eius habentes de salute anime eius desperabant [*sic*!]. Postea autem, cum dictus papa missam suam quadam die celebraret, talis obscuritas de per circuitum obumbravit ut quasi nox esset, in qua videbit [*sic*] horribilissimam creaturam, quam divina potentia coniuravit ut sibi doceret quid esset et cuius conditionis. Que respondens, ait: Ego sum mater tua miserima. Papa stupens ait: Heu, mater mea, ego credidi te sanctissimam inter sanctos Dei cum gaudio collocatam. Tunc misera illa mater omnia secreta, ut predictum est, in ordine narravit. Unde ad presens sic torqueor quod a pedibus usque ad pectus ordeo, et flamma inextinguibilis in me inveniet [?]. Papa matri sue compatiens, petiit super quod ei valere potuisset. Et illa ait: Si quis vellet pro mea anima unum Tricenale sub forma sequenti celebrare, mihi valeret. Ut hec est, scilicet, iii missas de annunciatione beate Marie . . . [etc.].

Papa autem, cum veneratione parenta[le?] dictum Tricenale pro anima eius admisit, sub conditione quod statum, anno revoluto, sibi ostenderet. Post annum elapsam, cum papa ad missam stetisset, vidit circa eum inimerabile [inimitabile?] lumen, unde multum admirabatur, in quo vidit duos angelos descendentes et inter eos pulcherissimam dominam deducentes, quam papa credebatur matrem esse misericordie, et genuflexo pedes eius cupiebat osculari, et dixit: Regina misericordie, miserere anime matris mee. Et illa respondit: O fili carissime, ego sum mater tua, benedicta ut [sit] hora qua te portavi, quia precibus tuis salva sum. Ut scias quod per quibuscumque iste misse modo prefato celebrantur, ab omni pena esse liberandos, etc. (T53).

Variant D

Quidam apostolus Rome habuit matrem suam, videlicet que venerabilis habebatur apud populum, filium suum, et apud omnes homines, eo quod castissime vixit—ut hominibus apparuit—et sanctissime se habebat in orationibus. Accidit ut hec pregnans fuit, et peperit secreto, et partum suum suffocavit, credens se delictum suum celare apud apostolum filium suum. Que postea, super hoc peccato non confessa, mortua est. Et quadam die, celebrante domino apostolico missam suam, apparuit ei retro apostolum quedam horribilissima creatura cum fetore intollerabili, et circa eam nubes obscurissima, ut potius nox videtur quam dies. Cui adversus, apostolus dixit ei: Coniuro te, miserabilis creatura, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti ut dicas mihi quis et qualis es, et quid hic tu facis. Que respondens: Fili, ego sum mater tua. Et admirans apostolus dixit: Nos sperabamus te fuisse nobilissimam mulierem vite sanctissime, et te nunc fore in magnis gaudiis. Et ipsa enarravit vitam suam, et dixit: Quia non confessa fui vitam meam totam, sed celavi propter timorem confessionis tue et indignationis totius populi—apud quos ego habebam melior quam fui—ideo, fili, tormenta et pene gravissime mihi sine intermissione infliguntur. Et apostolus ad eam dolenter dixit: Numquid aliquis in hoc mundo tibi subvenire potest? Que respondens dixit, quod si quis pro me celebraret unam tricenariam missarum salva ero. Et tricenaria talis debet esse, videlicet. . . .

Tunc apostolus, filius mulieris predictae, dixit matri suae quod libenter missas celebraret et orationem diceret quolibet die assignato, et precepit ei quod eodem die in annum se monstraret ei. Celebrante ergo dominus papa eodem die ad annum, vidit duos angelos inter se portantes quedam [*sic*] dominam pulcherrimam et claritate maxima, ita ut videretur totus mundus illuminari ex ea claritate. Qui credens eam fore reginam celi Mariam cecidit in terra, flexis genibus, dominam illam adorans et ipsam lacrimabiliter deprecabatur pro salute anime matris suae. Cui domina illa respondit: Fili, ego sum mater tua, quam tu prius vidisti captivam et miserabilem penis implicatam proprio [*sic*] peccata mea. Fili, benedicatur hora qua te generavi et peperit, quia per tuas missas et orationes de miserabilibus penis liberata salva facta sum, et de ita nigra et teterima creatura quam me vidisti, nunc per misericordiam Dei et tuas missas facta sum pulchra et illuminata, ut vides. Et recesserunt angeli eam reportantes, benedicentes et laudantes Deum (T79).

II.2.2, to p. 301, footnote 144

‘Quedam mulier in omnibus devotissima a cunctis tenebatur, secrete concepit, secrete⁴⁰⁴ peperit. Que iniquitatem suam⁴⁰⁵ celans, statim post partum puerum iugulavit. Iterum concepit et peperit, quem etiam secrete⁴⁰⁶ iugulavit. Tandem morbo superveniente mortua fuit. Omnes enim notitiam habentes de salute eius sperabant. Sed cum papa Famelius, filius eius, quadam die pro anima eius⁴⁰⁷ missam devote celebrasset, obscuritas eum per circuitum ut nox obumbravit, in qua horribilem vidit creaturam, quam in virtute sanguinis Christi coniuravit⁴⁰⁸ ut sibi diceret quis et cuius esset conditionis. Que sic adiurata ait: Mater tua sum. Papa stupefactus ait: Heu me. mater.

⁴⁰⁴ secreteque T10; sedreteque quod peperit T80.

⁴⁰⁵ iniquitatem omnia celans T80.

⁴⁰⁶ secrete *om.* T10.

⁴⁰⁷ eius devote missam T 10, 80.

⁴⁰⁸ adiuravit T 10, 80.

Ego credidi te sanctissimam et Dei electam fuisse. Et respondit: Non,⁴⁰⁹ et causam—ut predictum⁴¹⁰ est—per ordinem sibi narravit, Insuperque ait: Ecce quomodo torqueor. Et vidit igneas flammās a planta pedis usque ad pectus. Et petiit ab ea si quid ei succurrere posset. Et illa: Si quis voluerit pro anima mea sub forma sequenti unum trigentale⁴¹¹ celebrare, salva ero. Videlicet. . . .

Papa vero hoc admisit sub conditione ut anno revoluto revelaret sibi⁴¹² statum suum, quod illa concessit et sic⁴¹³ evanuit. Post anni vero revolutionem, cum papa ad missam staret, circa eum lumen apparuit ineffabile. Quo viso stupefactus vidit duos angelos de celo descendentes et⁴¹⁴ inter eos pulcherrimam dominam ducentes, quam⁴¹⁵ credidit esse matrem misericordie, et genuflexo osculari pedes eius cupiebat, et dixit: Regina misericordie, miserere anime matris mee. Que respondit: O fili karissime, ego sum mater tua, precibus tuis salvata. Benedicta sit illa hora qua te generavi. Et sic ab oculis eius evanuit' (T 5, 10, 13, and 14 have the second paragraph only).

II.2.2, to p. 301, footnote 148

'Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus⁴¹⁶ pro liberatione anime matris sue a penis purgatorii celebravit vel⁴¹⁷ celebrare⁴¹⁸ fecit.⁴¹⁹ Predicta matre⁴²⁰ per visionem⁴²¹ in spiritu⁴²² sibi apparente et penas suas sibi⁴²³ revelante, ipsiusque⁴²⁴ adiutorium implorante,⁴²⁵ necnon⁴²⁶ modum ut sequitur eidem⁴²⁷ explanante, videlicet. . .' (T 2, 26, 28, 31, 37, 40, 43, 51, 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 76, 77, 78).

⁴⁰⁹ Non *om.* T10.

⁴¹⁰ dictum T 10, 80.

⁴¹¹ unum trentale T 10, 80.

⁴¹² ei T 13, 14.

⁴¹³ et statim evanuit T 13, 14.

⁴¹⁴ et *om.* T 13, 14.

⁴¹⁵ quem T13.

⁴¹⁶ trigintalis quem sanctus gregorius papa pro T31.

⁴¹⁷ et T 31, 54.

⁴¹⁸ celebrari T 28, 37, 40, 55, 56, 63.

⁴¹⁹ fecit celebrare T77; celebrare constituit T31.

⁴²⁰ matre sua T40.

⁴²¹ per invisionem T62.

⁴²² spiritu sancto T31.

⁴²³ sibi *om.* T76.

⁴²⁴ ipsius quidem T28.

⁴²⁵ ipsiusque adiutorium implorante *om.* T40.

⁴²⁶ necnon et modum T77; in modum T54.

⁴²⁷ eidem *om.* T77; ei T56; idem T37.

II.2.3.1, to p. 302, footnote 155

Table 4.E: Chronological Sequences (Distribution by Liturgical Sources)

T 2, 9, 12, 15–22, 26, 28–31, 34–40, 42–44, 46, 47, 49–51, 54, 55, 58–63, 65, 66, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79	T 33	T 4, 7, 24, 53	T 5, 8, 10, 13, 14, 32, 48, 70, 80	T 69
Christmas	Christmas	Annunciation	Annunciation	Annunciation
Epiphany	Epiphany	Easter	Christmas	Christmas
Purification	Purification	Ascension	Epiphany	Purification
Annunciation	Easter	Pentecost	Purification	Passion
Easter	Ascension	Trinity	Easter	Easter
Ascension	Pentecost	Assumption	Ascension	Ascension
Pentecost	Trinity	Nativity BVM	Pentecost	Pentecost
Trinity	Corpus Christi	Christmas	Trinity	Trinity
Assumption	Assumption	Epiphany	Assumption	Assumption
Nativity BVM	Nativity BVM	Purification	Nativity BVM	Nativity BMV

The Holy Land Bidding Prayers

I. Typology

The Bidding Prayers (*prières du prône* in French) are a series of intercessionary vernacular prayers that were said in the parish church in the Sunday (and High Feasts) Masses, immediately after the sermon and before the Offertory, closing the Mass's first part, the Liturgy of the Word, and opening its second part, the Liturgy of the Faithful. A carefully graded series of supplications, it projected a comprehensive image of the Church as a corporate community that assembled the living with the dead and generated a sense of solidarity that joined together individuals, classes, and communities in a providentially structured society. A typical fourteenth-century set from Provins comprised no fewer than twenty-three specific prayers for peace, the entire ecclesiastical order (particular supplications for the pope, the patriarchs, cardinals, archbishops and bishops, priests, clerics, and monks), the fruits of the earth, lay rulers and the king of France in particular, the merchants (as befits a trade centre like Provins) and the donors of the Eucharistic bread, all pilgrims (men and women), pregnant women, those in state of Grace and those in Sin, the prisoners of the Lord (i.e., in Purgatory), those who work the land, and the benefactors of the local church as well as the souls of the dead who repose in its cemetery.¹ A York set² paints an essentially similar society, though it includes also the Mayor and Corporation of York, 'those who duly pay tithe' and the 'sea-faring people'. It depicts an entire society, a distant mirror

¹ N. Bériou, et alii, *Prier au Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 1991), pp. 71–72.

² T. F. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass Book . . . according to the Use of York* (London, 1879), pp. 68–69.

image of the one evoked in the Good Friday Collects, more detailed and better adapted to the specific needs of the later Church and its different constituents, individuals, and communities. It expresses, nevertheless, a similar sense of human and Christian solidarity.

The Bidding Prayers tended to multiply with time, to address more issues in a more specific manner. To some extent they continued and 'rounded-up' the sermon that preceded them, and, furthermore, called for the active participation of the laity (invited to say the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation and to perform various devotional acts during these Prayers). They were further augmented by indulgences, psalms, versicles, and Latin prayers received from various sources. The whole evolved into an elaborate and structured service within Mass, apparently in answer to popular demand and compensating, in this 'open', accessible, and relevant rite, for the largely 'close' character of most of the Mass components. For Mass, on the whole, was celebrated beyond the Screen, out of sight, hearing, and frequently also beyond the understanding of the common faithful who 'participated' in it only nominally, more often than not through the mediation of the celebrating priest. Literally relegated to the margins of the service books, the documentary survival of the Bidding Prayers proved to be much more precarious than that of other components of the Mass. The surviving material allows us, nevertheless, to identify and study this type of 'oratio fidelium' during the Late Middle Ages.³

Bidding Prayers are relevant to this study to the extent that they adopt the cause of the Holy Land among their other goals and incorporate the Holy Land in their perception of the Christian world. Studied under this angle the Bidding Prayers provide new

³ The best comprehensive survey of these sources—39 complete texts, 21 texts given partially or in *testimonia*—is J. B. Molin, 'L'Oratio communis fidelium au Moyen Ages en Occident du x^e au xv^e siècle', *Miscellanea liturgica in onore . . . Giacomo Lercaro*, II (Rome, 1967), pp. 313–468. See also the concise yet excellent introduction to this subject in Bériou (as in note 1), pp. 71–73, and the remarks of Eamon Duffy (*The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London, 1992)) on the English Bidding Prayers, particularly pp. 124–25. I have also used the following works as sources of texts: N. Bériou, 'La prédication en béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1272–1273', *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), 105–229; H. D. Coxe, *Forms of Bidding Prayer* (Oxford, 1840); A. Franquesa, 'El ritual Tarraconense', *Scripta et documenta*, 10, (Montserrat, 1958), 249–98; L. Guibert, 'Oraisons en langue vulgaire dans un recueil liturgique des xiv^e et xv^e siècles', *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1891), 348–53; W. G. Henderson, *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society Publications, 63 (Edinburgh, 1875); L. Le Grand, 'La prière des malades dans les hôpitaux de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem', *BECh*, 57 (1986), 327–38; J. B. Molin, 'L'Oratio fidelium': ses survivances (Un ancien texte français des 'Prière du Prône': Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1347)', *EL*, 73 (1959), 310–17, with rich bibliography; Simmons (as in note 2); K. V. Sinclair, 'Anglo-Norman Bidding Prayers from Ramsey Abbey', *Medieval Studies*, 42 (1980), 454–62; idem, 'La règle du Temple et la version templière de l'"Oratio communis fidelium"', *Revue Mabillon*, 69 (1997), 177–82.

information on the fortunes of the Holy Land idea in Europe and on its relative position in the hierarchically structured world that they portray. And they are almost unique in being aimed specifically at the laity: they advertise the cause of the Holy Land in an ‘open’ service designed to be comprehended by the laity assembled in church. We have studied twenty-two sets of Bidding Prayers that contain Holy Land prayers of this kind,⁴ a list that is far from being exhaustive: some items signalled by Molin are practically out of reach, and further research will surely unearth new prayers.

II. The Holy Land Prayers

The three earliest sets of Holy Land vernacular prayers come from the crusading Orders: the daily Prayers of the Sick said after Compline in the hospitals of the Hospitallers⁵ and in the daily Chapter of the Templars (Paris Use).⁶ They are not strictly Bidding Prayers, for they were not said during Mass, but their supplication ‘por le saint reame de Jerusalem’ and for the crusaders fighting in its defence—raised daily in numerous houses scattered throughout Europe—should certainly be seen as a prototype of the Bidding Prayer on this very same subject. A subtle change transformed the early version of the Hospitallers’ Prayer of the Sick from a call on the crusaders to come and defend the Holy Land of Jerusalem—‘Sires leur doint force et pooir, et bone volonté de venire secorre la saint terre de Jherusalem’ into the later exhortation to reconquer it: ‘que Dieu leur doint pais et concorde ensemble, et force et poeir, et bone volonté de venir conquere la sainte terre de Jherusalem’. Liberation was, indeed, the main thrust of the Holy Land Bidding prayer.

The first datable instance of this prayer is B5: it was said in Paris on 26 March 1273, and two other early testimonies, B6 from Amiens and B4 from Ramsey Abbey, were composed at about the same time. We have no similar evidence prior to these dates, and although an *argumentum ex silentio* is at best temporary and inconclusive, the late sixties and the early seventies of the thirteenth century did see a renewed interest in the Holy Land and some crusading fervour. Aragonese crusaders departed for the Holy Land in 1269, St Louis went on his last crusade in 1270, Lord Edward fulfilled his vow in 1270–72, and Pope Gregory X consecrated to this cause his entire pontificate, from 1272 to 1276, the Council of Lyons (1274) representing the high watermark of this activity. Introducing the Holy Land prayer into the Bidding Prayers should be seen, therefore, as yet another expression of the renewed commitment to the Holy Land. The geographical distribution of these prayers supports this hypothesis, for our Bidding Prayers sources retrace the map of the crusading Europe of the seventies, consisting of

⁴ See Sources to this chapter, I.1., p. 359.

⁵ B1 and B2.

⁶ B3.

France,⁷ the kingdom of Aragon,⁸ and England.⁹ The German Empire, laid low by the combined efforts of the papacy and the Angevins (Conradin was executed in 1268), is markedly absent from this list, as is Italy. Once received into the Bidding Prayers, however, the specific prayers for the Holy Land outlasted their immediate original topicality, and their call for the liberation of the Holy Land became an integral part of the permanent supplication of the Church. It was raised in completely different churches, from a remote Catalan village church to the cathedrals of York, Salisbury, London, Paris, and Tarrazona, from the Beguinage in Paris to the Hôtel-Dieu in Amiens, the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey, and the Franciscans of Argenton-sur-Creuse. This was, indeed, the Universal Church in prayer throughout the last two medieval centuries and well into the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

The rank of this prayer in the complete series can give us more than a clue as to how the idea it expressed was ranked by contemporaries, certainly in relation to the other components of the Bidding prayers. Some sources allot it a fairly important position, but not exceedingly so: the thirteenth-century B5 and B6 place it in the 8th position, and even lower ranks are assigned in B7 (12th) and B14 (10th and 11th). Most manuscripts, however, advance the Holy Land prayer to one of the first places in the series, between the second and the fifth.¹⁰ It usually follows the prayers for peace, for the pope and the cardinals, not infrequently immediately after the pope and before the other ecclesiastical orders (lower than patriarchs and cardinals) and preceding the entire secular society. These sources have elevated the idea of the liberated Holy Land to the small group of all-Christian values and abstract ideas (like peace, the state of the Church) and semi-abstract institutions (the pope and the cardinals, patriarchs), well above the other ecclesiastical institutions and the entire lay society. Of the two groups that constitute this hierarchy and build it up in a graded series—concrete, particular entities at the bottom and abstract, all-Christian ideas at the top—the Holy Land has been clearly assigned to the group at the top.

It is the explicit texts, however, to which we should listen. Recited in the vernacular and immediately understood by the entire community, with no need of a priest to mediate and interpret, the texts have the first claim on our attention.

One notes, first, their concern with the land rather than its inhabitants or the crusaders. Only one source (B14) consecrates its two prayers to ‘*tous les champions de sainte église, c’est assavoir pour les chevalliers de la sainte terre d’outre mer, qui sont deffenseurs contre les Sarrazins et mescréans pour le peuple chrétien*’, and asks that they be granted ‘*grâce de eux fermes tenir en vraye foy, et persévérer iusques en la fin*’ if—

⁷ B 5–7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 17.

⁸ B 18, 20, 22.

⁹ B 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21.

¹⁰ Second place: B 9, 12, 17, 22; third place: B 13, 16, 19, 20; fourth place: B 4, 18; fifth place: B10.

'par aucune fortune'—they are made prisoners by their enemies. It is unique among the Bidding Prayers in its evocation of the actual reality of the wars conducted by the crusaders during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries in the Holy Land and elsewhere—by the knights of St John, in the first place—'pour le peuple chrétien'. But, this source apart, the supplications are made for the land, which is routinely designated as 'Terre seinte' and 'Holi lond'.

Epithets, however, endow the basic idea of 'sanctity' with additional levels of meaning. In B20 and B22 this sanctity appears as a combination of the 'Promised Land' of the Old Testament with the Passion and the Resurrection of the New Testament, the two Testaments united in and through the city of Jerusalem, the earthly scene of the Promise as well as the Passion. For B4 the land appears as 'Terra quam dominus suo sanguine dedicavit', its sanctity proceeding from the Passion alone, which is perceived as an act of dedication similar to that of a church. Emphasis on the Cross in the affective and cognitive context of the Passion characterises the English sources, in accord with the popular devotion to the Cross so typical to late medieval England. Their calls for the liberation of the Cross from the hands of the heathen and its return into the hands of the Christians who will honour it with their prayers¹¹ evoke various associations of ideas that are centred on the Cross as the main symbolic and material relic of the Passion. These range from the correspondence between the Holy Land and the Cross—both simultaneously and indivisibly sanctified, possessed by Christians and subsequently lost to the heathen—and the correspondence between their ritual importance: possession of both was seen as an enhancement of the right cult and their loss a serious impediment to it. Memories of the loss of the True Cross on the battlefield of Hattin and awareness of the current liturgy of the Cross as it was practised for—and by—crusaders further emphasised the role of the Cross in this context. On a closely related level, some sources depict the struggle over the Holy Land in terms of supernatural entities, of the struggle between pagans and Christians or, better, between paganism and 'la sente crestienté',¹² with the obvious corollary that this land belongs to—and is the concern of—the whole of Christendom. Other qualifying epithets reflect the geographical and the political reality of the crusading settlement in the East. The common term 'sainte terre d'outremer' denotes the full extent of this settlement, well beyond the limits of the Biblical Holy Land, and the even more extended designation in B7 of 'terre d'Outremer et de Constantinople' makes the wide geographical expanse of this 'land' even clearer.

Passing from these premises to the prayer's operational segment, its *dispositio*, the listener is in for a few surprises. In the first place, the Holy Land prayer is quite unlike most of the other Bidding prayers in that it calls for a change of the existing state of affairs instead of its preservation and continued functioning. All the Bidding Prayers' intercessions that designate specific groups ask, in fact, for the conservation of the state

¹¹ B 8, 9, 13, 15, 21.

¹² B 4, 6, 7.

of the world as it is. This is clearly the message diffused through the intercessions for the pope, the king and his family, all pilgrims, pregnant women, merchants—practically all the orders and groups that are specifically designated. Even the more dynamic intercessions, those for peace and for the state of the Church, aim at conserving rather than converting, at effecting the present state of affairs incrementally (more peace, more of the right state of the Church), rather than radically. The only other radical transformation asked for in these prayers is the deliverance of souls from bondage to sin and into a state of Grace.

The same correspondence between the three parallel pairs of Holy Land/soul, bondage to pagans/sin, and deliverance to freedom/state of Grace, underlies another popular liturgical practice, the English Trental of St Gregory. Both rites, the Trental and the Holy Land Bidding Prayer, obviously display a popular perception of the Holy Land that was closely related to the personal concerns of the individual Christian, to his preoccupation with the salvation of his soul. One arrives, in this context, at clear-cut dichotomies identical to those expressed in relation to the struggle over the Holy Land. One of the more unexpected results of this was the very precocious recognition of—almost resignation to—the loss of the Holy Land. All our sources recognise this loss, even those Holy Land Bidding Prayers said some twenty years before the fall of Acre in 1291. Christians were still holding scattered foot-holds in the Biblical Holy Land and throughout the Latin Outremer, but the faithful in Europe were already coming to terms with the final loss of the Holy Land (meaning Jerusalem and the True Cross, obviously) and supplicating God ‘por la Terre seinte, ke Deus la delivere de la paene gent et mette la sente crestiente’¹³ and, similarly, ‘pour la sainte tere d’oultre-mer, que Diex le reenge es mains des crestiens’.¹⁴ Before long the situation on the ground fully corresponded to its image in the Bidding Prayers, but one realises—with some surprise—that the battle for the Holy Land had already been lost in Europe’s churches, at least among the laity, whose voice is heard in these prayers, well before the last defenders of Acre retreated into their ships. Later texts were quite right, of course, to recognise the loss of the Holy Land and to supplicate ‘pour la sainte terre d’oultre mer, qui est entre les mains des sarrazins et mescréans’¹⁵, or ‘per la terra sancta de promissio; e per la ciutat sancta de hierusalem. . . . Que nostre senyor Déu la vulla traure de poder d’infidels; e la vulla tornar en poder de christians’.¹⁶ The English sources emphasise here, again, the deliverance of the Holy Cross rather than that of the Holy Land, as in B8, which prays ‘for the Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendeth it out of hedne mennys honde into Christenmennys honde’, or in B9:

¹³ B4.

¹⁴ B6.

¹⁵ B12.

¹⁶ B22.

Ye shall praie also speciali for the holi lond and for the holy crosse upon the whych owr Saviour Christ Jhesus suffered peyn and passyon for owr redempcion, that he be his myzth and mercy brynge it owt of the hondish of the hazthyn men into the roull governaunce and worship of Kristen men. . . .

The actual liberation of the Holy Land, finally, is left to God. To some extent this is typical of the genre: a prayer, by its very nature, should breathe and proclaim absolute reliance on God. Reliance, however, does not necessarily exclude the faithful from participating actively in a divinely ordained plan, and other Holy Land liturgies were designed, indeed, to combine the two in an appropriate manner. Not so the Holy Land Bidding Prayer. And in avoiding any exhortation of the faithful to act it renounced the very idea of liberation through action. This withdrawal can be observed in the style as well as the content of these prayers.

One prayer (B12) asked that the liberation be accomplished ‘tost et hastivement’, echoing a sentiment already known from several Trental’s prayers, but on the whole one encounters a very measured, not to say lukewarm attitude. B9 even manages to combine impatience with resignation: ‘when his wyll is and the soner for praier’. The same prudence governs the requests made concerning the manner of liberation. B6, for example, suggests that it will be accomplished ‘en tel maniere que ses cors en soit servis e honeuré e sainte crestienté en soit essauche’. B12 adopted almost the same attitude: ‘en telle manière que son glorieux nom y puisse estre franchement servi et honoré et sa digne loy exaucée’, and so did B18: ‘en forma e en manera que son [nom sia] loat de la part de là, axí com de la part de sà e milor’. B16 felt safer behind a convoluted diplomatic pronouncement: ‘Nous prierons pour la sainte terre d’oultre mer; que Dieu y mette tel conseil qu’il scet que mestier en est’. And B14, the only bellicose of the lot, asks for the defenders of the Holy Land nothing more than ‘que dieu leur doint grâce de mettre les dis meseréans en la sainte foy chrétienne’. These prayers do not call for a crusade, nor do they exhort the faithful to do anything but pray. The cause of the Holy Land has become in the bidding prayers a matter of pure liturgy, no longer an issue of active military service under the Cross.

Sources to Chapter 5

I.1, to p. 355, footnote 4

The following list of Holy Land Bidding Prayers—arranged chronologically—comprises also three Holy Land sets—B 1–3—that are not strictly Bidding Prayers (they were said after Compline and in the morning Chapter). They are included in this list on the assumption that they might have inspired the insertion of the Holy Land prayers into the regular Bidding Prayers sets.

1) Prayer of the Sick in the Acre Hospital of the Hospitallers (‘palais des malades’), after Compline, thirteenth century, in French: ‘Sires leur doint force et pooir, et bone volonté de venire secorre la saint terre de Jherusalem’. Source: Le Grand (as in note 3) (=B1).

- 2) Prayer of the Sick in the Acre Hospital of the Hospitallers ('palais des malades'), after Compline, a later version c. 1305, in French: '... que Dieu leur doint pais et concorde ensemble, et force et poeir, et bone volonté de venir conquere la sainte terre de Jherusalem'. Source: Le Grand (as in note 3) (=B2).
- 3) Prayer in the Paris House of the Templars, twelfth-thirteenth century, in French, no. 3: 'Et por le saint reame de Jerusalem'. Source: Sinclair, 'La règle du Temple' (as in note 3) (=B3).
- 4) Ramsey Abbey, c. 1272–74, in Anglo-Norman. no. 4: 'por la Terre seinte, ke Deus la delivre de la paene gent et mette la sente crestiente'. Source: Sinclair, 'Anglo-Norman Bidding Prayers' (as in note 3) (=B4).
- 5) Paris, Notes taken from a sermon given in the Beguinage of Paris by Egidius de Aurelianis O.P., 26 March 1273. no. 8: 'Pro terra quam dominus suo sanguine dedicavit'. Source: Bériou (as in note 3), pp. 139–41 (=B5).
- 6) Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 196, Pontifical, Use of Amiens, and Collection of prayers in the Picard dialect in use at the Hôtel-Dieu d'Amiens, written between 1270 and 1278, fols 100–96. no. 8: 'Si prions pour la sainte tere d'oultre-mer, que Diex le rengen es mains des crestiens, en tel maniere que ses cors en soit servis e honneur e sainte crestienté en soit essauche'. Source: E. Coycyque, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, t. 19 (Paris, 1893), pp. 84–85 (=B6).
- 7) Collegiale of Saint-Quiriac de Provins, Missal, a fourteenth-century interpolation, in French. no. 12: 'Priez pour la sainte terre d'Outremer et de Constantinople; que Dieu la rende à la chréstiété'. Sources: Bériou (as in note 1), Molin (as in note 3), p. 359 (=B7).
- 8) Worcester Diocese, form used on holidays, 1349, in English: '...for the Patriarch of Jerusalem, for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendeth it out of hedne mennys honde into Christenmennys honde'. Sources: Coxe (as in note 3), pp. 11–25, Molin (as in note 3), p. 364 (=B8).
- 9) London Diocese c. 1360, in English, no. 2: 'Ye shall praie also speciali for the holi lond and for the holy crosse upon the whych ovr Saviour Christ Jhs suffered peyn and passyon for ovr redempcion, that he be his myzth and mercy brynge it owt of the hondish of the hazthyn men into the roull governaunce and worship of Kristen men, when his wyll is and the soner for praier'. Sources: Henderson (as in note 3), p. 223*, Molin (as in note 3), pp. 369–73 (=B9).
- 10) Church of Saint-Pierre-du-Queyroix, Limoges, 1379, a Latin list of Bidding Prayers and a later list (fifteenth century) of a Prônier in Langue d'Oc, no. 5: 'Et per la Terre Sainte d'oultre mar que Nre Sr la meste entre las mas deux Creystians'. Sources: Guibert (as in note 3), Molin (as in note 3), p. 374 (=B10).
- 11) Sarum Use Missal, c. 1400, in English. Sources: Henderson (as in note 3), p. 220*–21*, Molin (as in note 3), pp. 379–82 (=B11).
- 12) Paris Prônier, 1405, in French, no. 2: 'Nous prions pour la sainte terre d'oultre mer, qui est entre les mains des sarrazins et mescréans. Que diex la rende ès mains des chrestiens tost et hastivement, en telle manière que son glorieux nom y puisse estre franchement servi et honouré et sa digne loy exaucée'. Source: Molin (as in note 3), p. 385 (=B12).
- 13) York Manual, 1440–45, in English, no. 3: '... for the pattriark of ierusalem and specially for the holy crose, that god was done opon, that god for hys mercy bringe itt oute of hethen men handes into cristen menes kepyng'. Source: Simmons (as in note 2), pp. 68–73 (=B13).

14) Miscellany, probably Paris Use, before 1449(?), in French, no. 10: 'Après nous prierons pour tous les champions de sainte église. C'est assavoir pour les chevalliers de la sainte terre d'oultre mer, qui sont deffenseurs contre les sarrazins et mescréans, pour le peuple chrétien; que dieu leur doint grâce de mettre les dis mescréans en la sainte foy chrétienne. no. 11. 'Et se par aucune fortune ilz sont prins ou retenus en leurs mains, que nostre seigneur ihesucrist leur doint grâce de eux fermes tenir en vraye foy, et persévérer iusques en la fin'. Source: Molin (as in note 3), pp. 414–15 (=B14).

15) Caxton's *Liber Festivalis*, 1483, in English: 'Also ye shal pray for the holy lande, and for the holy crosse that Jhesu Crist deyed on for redemcion of mannys sowl, that it may come into the power of Cristen men, the more to be honoured for our prayers'. Source: Coxe (as in note 3), pp. 29–40 (=B15).

16) Book of Hours, Meaux, 1475, in French, no. 3: 'Nous prierons pour la sainte terre d'oultre mer; que Dieu y mette tel conseil qu'il scet que mestier en est'. Source: Molin 'Oratio fidelium' (as in note 3) (=B16).

17) Bourges Use Breviary of the Franciscans of Argenton-sur-Creuse 1493, in French, no. 2: 'Pour la sainte terre d'oultre mer'. Source: Molin (as in note 3), p. 441 (=B17; Ms. Chateauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, No. 3, fol. 16).

18) Church of a Catalan village close to Montserrat, fifteenth century, in Catalan, no. 4: 'Encara més pregarem nostre senyor Déu per la sancta terra de Iherusalem hon nostre senyor Déu volch penre mort y paciò [per nos]. [Preguarem] nostre senyor Deus que la vulla retornar en [poder] de christians en forma e en manera que son [nom sia] loat de la part de là, axí com de la part de sà e milor'. Sources: Franquesa (as in note 3), pp. 294–95, Molin (as in note 3), pp. 406–07 (=B18).

19) Salisbury Processional, fifteenth century, in English, no. 3: 'For the holy land that God hit deliver oute of hethen handes'. Source: Henderson (as in note 3), p. 225* (=B19).

20) Barcelona Diocese, 1501, in Catalan, no. 3: Trad. 'Et ensuite prions pour la sainte terre promise, et pour la cité de Jérusalem, en laquelle Notre Seigneur Dieu Jésus-Christ a voulu subir passion et mort pour notre rédemption; que Notre Seigneur Dieu la veuille enlever au pouvoir des infidèles et la veuille faire passer au pouvoir des chrétiens, pour que son saint nom y soit loué mieux qu'il l'est maintenant'. Source: Molin (as in note 3), pp. 445–46 (=B20).

21) York Use Manual, 1509, in English: '... And specially for the holy crosse that god was done upon that god for his merci bringe it out of hethen mannes handes into cristen mennes kepyng'. Sources: Coxe (as in note 3), pp. 40–41, Simmons (as in note 2), p. 75 (=B21).

22) Tarrazona, 1530, in Catalan, no. 2: 'E més pregarem per la terra sancta de promissió; e per la ciutat sancta de hierusalem en la qual nostre senyor Déu Iesuchrist volgué pendre passió e mort per la redemptió nostra. Que nostre senyor Déu la vulla traure de poder d'infidels; e la vulla tornar en poder de christians; perquè lo seu sanct nom hi sia lohat millor que no és ora'. Source: Franquesa (as in note 3), p. 282 (=B22).

Postface

Five types of Holy Land liturgy have been explored in this study. Three Clamors, eight converted Masses, ten triple Mass sets, forty-five dedicated War Masses, the English Trental of St Gregory in its numerous versions, and twenty-two Bidding Prayers have been identified, described, and analysed, their lines of evolution traced, and their texts edited (in most cases for the first time). A new corpus of primary sources has been opened to research, made more accessible to students of the crusade in particular and to historians of the idea of the Holy Land in general. The hitherto *terra incognita*—the Holy Land liturgy in Office and Mass—has been rendered, hopefully, much more familiar and hospitable as a result of this voyage of discovery.

Some of the main traits of this corpus are noteworthy for the light they throw on the Holy Land liturgy as a distinct field of activity, but also by reason of their relevance to the phenomenon of the crusade.

One notes, first, the comprehensive character of this corpus. Far from being esoteric or marginal, circumscribed to particular services, certain social groups, and limited periods of time, this liturgy comprises both Office and Mass, cloister and church. It involves clerics as well as laity, in Latin and in the vernacular, and its time frame comprises single liturgical moments as well as the entire liturgical year.

Second, the liturgical usages mapped in this study represent an active practice carried on during three centuries. They do not constitute a fossilised archaic tradition. Holy Land liturgy appears to have thrived—quite understandably, in fact—in inverse proportions to the fortunes of the Holy Land crusade. Defeat generated creativity: the Holy Land Clamor appeared for the first time in the immediate aftermath of Hattin in the late twelfth century, the Holy Land Bidding Prayers were not known prior to the late thirteenth century, the Papal triple Mass sets were launched in the early fourteenth century, and the St Gregory Trental appeared toward the end of that century. They were all actively performed throughout the entire period. One of the more convincing testimonies

to this prolonged practice can be seen in their textual history: many of the alterations found in their texts are clearly due to frequent recitation in service rather than to 'normal' copyists' errors.

Third, this body of evidence—with the exception of the English Trental of St Gregory—is remarkably widespread. Clamors, triple sets, Masses, and Bidding Prayers are documented from all over Europe. Certain variations characterised particular regions and larger political/cultural entities, commitment and mobilisation varied according to circumstances and in time, but, on the whole, this corpus bears the unmistakable stamp of a pan-Christian enterprise.

Fourth, the Holy Land liturgy is intimately associated with cognate rites. It does not stand alone, a *sui generis* service with an identity defined in exclusive terms against all other liturgical forms. This was the almost inevitable result of the usual process of liturgical creation, in which rites evolved out of other rites and were constructed with borrowed building blocks. Holy Land Clamors derived, indeed, from other Clamors (mainly *Contra invasores Ecclesie*), Holy Land Masses from generic War Masses, Holy Land prayers were inserted into comprehensive sets of Bidding Prayers, and the St Gregory Trentals emerged from the Continental trental. Due recognition of this 'law of conservation of liturgical matter' is important for any valid reconstruction of the history of each rite, for retracing its genetics. It should also prepare us to the polysemy of a corpus that was usually targeting more than one goal, in answer to more than one challenge. One dimension of this quality appears in the constant shifts between generic and specific aims, when the Infidel is specifically seen as Muslim, Turk, or Hussite, and when specific designations acquire generic value. Another polysemic dimension is that of the analogous association, as in the joining together of prayers focused on liberation from oppression—Jerusalem from the hands of the heathen and the souls of the dead from the devils in Purgatory—or on peace—the peace of Jerusalem together with the peace of Christianity or of the realm. Combining and sharing different values and goals is typical of this liturgy, and it certainly contributed considerably to its remarkable durability, but the same quality would probably be discovered in the larger arena of the general history of the crusade: the Holy Land crusade should be studied in this large, true context of similar and related ideas and events.

Fifth, and finally, one faces the question of effectiveness: how successful was this liturgy in implanting its values and aims on late medieval society? N. Bériou notes the role of the vernacular Bidding Prayers in moulding the basic religious beliefs of the laity, and illustrates it with some of the answers Jeanne D'Arc gave during her process.¹ They echoed the Bidding Prayers' definitions she heard in her childhood, distant yet faithful echoes of the catechetical schooling that was imparted through these prayers. But this example of the impact of the recited word—striking and valid as it is—should not delimit and reduce the communicative value of the rite in its entirety, a complex

¹ N. Bériou, *Prier au Moyen Age* (Turnhout, 1991), p. 73.

comprising different communicative channels, to the spoken word alone. The intelligibility of a rite depends on both cognition and sensation: on understanding the spoken word, on seeing the unfolding ritual act in forms, movement, colours, and light, on hearing the tolling bells, the spoken word, and the sung melody, on sensing the environing space and the closeness of fellow-worshippers in prostration, genuflection, kiss of peace, and other physical actions, on smelling incense and smoking candles, on tasting the Eucharist. Full understanding of the spoken word is but one element in this meaningful cognitive as well as perceptive experience.

Even when attention is focused on the spoken word alone, it is obvious that its intelligibility does not depend exclusively or entirely on knowledge of the language in which it is said: one can comprehend the gist of a prayer said in a foreign language provided other means of identification and understanding are at hand, as G. Bauer remarked in his discussion of the German medieval prayer.² This study demonstrates, furthermore, that the Holy Land message was transmitted in the vernacular—it was, hence, open to all—as well as in Latin, the language of the educated minority (that was, after all, steadily growing in the period under discussion). A substantial number of the faithful were well equipped to observe and understand the proceedings and the texts they comprised, and most of them probably did. Salimbene of Adam, who visited the Franciscans of Provins in 1248, while France was mobilising for the crusade of Louis IX, noted—in regard to two Joachimite friars—that:

et cum diceretur per totam Franciam in missa conventuali qualibet die per totum annum psalmus ‘Deus venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam etc.’, ipsi similiter deridebant dicentes, ‘Oportet impleri scripturam que dicit ‘Opposui tibi nubem, ne transeat oratio’, nam rex Francie capietur et Gallici debellabuntur et pestilentia multos consumet.’ Et facti sunt isti duo exosi fratribus de Francia, qui dicebant quod in precedenti passagio fuerant ista completa.³

There is no reason to believe that these French Franciscans were in any way exceptional in their attention to—and understanding of—what was actually said in the Clamor or to the exact circumstances of its celebration. The Tegernsee audience of the *Ludus de Antichristo*, similarly, probably recognised the Psalmist’s words as they were recited by the envoys of the king of Jerusalem in their appeal to the emperor to defend Jerusalem against the king of Babylon: ‘Defensor ecclesie nostri miserere/ quos volunt inimici domini delere/ Venerunt gentes in dei hereditatem/ obsidione tenent sanctam civitatem/ Locum in quo sancti eius pedes steterunt/ ritu spurcissimo contaminare querunt’.⁴ But did they recognise these words as a direct Scriptural quotation or through the mediating Clamor?

² G. Bauer, ‘Gebetsanrufungen des deutschen Mittelalters’, in *An die Gottheit: Bittgedichte aus zwei Jahrtausenden*, ed. by T. Stammer (Mannheim, 1993), pp. 103–32.

³ *Cronica*, ed. by G. Scalia, vol. 1 (Bari, 1966), p. 340.

⁴ Verses 129–34 in W. Meyer’s edition (Berlin, 1905).

Any attempt to evaluate the communicative effect of this liturgical corpus—worthwhile, given the characteristics noted above—should embrace also non-liturgical sources, and is, by definition, beyond the scope of the present study. I believe that this has now been made more feasible than before.

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Indices

Index of Manuscripts

(Items in bold formatting contain descriptions of manuscripts, items in brackets the manuscripts' sigla in this book.)

Aachen, Domarchiv, MS 18 (IV)	131–36, 138, 142, 153 [A36]
Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 692	131–36, 143, 144, 161 [B100]
Albi, Bibiliothèque municipale, MS 5	44, 49, 76 [L]
Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 123	206
Amiens, Bibliothèque municipale	
MS 161	131–36, 151 [A1]
MS 162	146
MS 196	355, 356, 360 [B6]
Arles, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 4	57, 70, 71 [A]
Arras, Bibliothèque municipale	
MS 49 (94)	131–36, 138, 144, 151 [A2]
MS 405 (875)	131–36, 138, 141, 167 [B219]
Assisi, Friary of San Damiano, “Breviary of St Clare”	42–44, 74 , 75 [A]
Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9 (S 11)	104, 116, 170 [A]
Auxerre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 52	131–36, 138, 141, 142, 152 [A17]
Avignon, Bibiliothèque municipale	
MS 100	46 , 49, 65 [V]
MS 139 (56)	44, 49, 75–76 [A]
MS 142	106, 150
MS 143	
a) 106, 150	
b) 147–49, 171 [F]	

Avranches, Bibiliothèque municipale

- MS 41 40, **73** [A]
 MS 43 131–36, **166** [B198]

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek

- MS Lit. 4 40, **73** [B]
 MS Lit. 11 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, **70**, **71** [B]
 MS Lit. 15 **208**
 MS Lit. 16 **208**

Barcelona, Archivo Capitular de la Catedral, MS 116 131–36, **166** [B204]Basel, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS B XI 14 30, 32, 33, 34, 36, **70**, **72** [E]Bregenz, Mehrerau Klosterarchiv, MS V.134 131–36, 143, **155** [B300]

Bristol, Public Library, MS No. 13

- a) 62, 63, **80** [S46]
 b) 301, 303, 312–15, 321, **334**, 352 [T76]

Bruxelles, Bibiliothèque royale de Belgique

- MS 390 (9216) 45
 MS 426 (15074) 312–14, **330** [T1]
 MS 444 (6068)
 a) 51, **77**
 b) 131–36, 138, 142, **153** [B2]

Budapest, Bibliotheca Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, MS K 461

- (olim Latin Codex 4o 27) 131–36, 144, **158** [B36]

Budapest, Bibl. Nat. Hung., Nyelvemlékek I 40, **72**, **74** [P]

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

- Cod. lat. m. ae 91 131–36, 142, **153** [B1]
 Cod. lat. m. ae 214 131–36, 142, 144, **157** [B343]
 Cod. lat. m. ae 361 131–36, **158** [B39]

Caen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 704 147–150, **170**, **171** [C]

Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 233 (223)

- a) 131–36, 138, 141, **169** [M38]
 b) **248**–49 [C]

Cambridge, FitzWilliam Museum

- McClean Coll. 35 27, **69**
 McClean Coll. 41 41–43, **74**, **75** [K]
 McClean Coll. 51 187
 McClean Coll. 58 27, **69**
 McClean Coll. 84–1972
 a) 100
 b) 131–36, 138, 141, 142, **151** [A3]

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 146/196 .. 301, 302, 312–15, 351, **330**, 352 [T2]Cambridge, Newnham College, MS 3 312–314, **330** [T3]Cambridge, St John's College, MS 127 ... 286, 290, 291, 300–01, 312–15, **330**, 347, 352 [T4]

Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 33

- a) **64**–66 [Y1]
 b) 301, 303, 306, 312–15, 316, 320, 321, **330**, 350–51, 352 [T5]

Cambridge, Trinity College

MS 24260–61, **80** [S40]

MS 250

a) 62, **80** [S41]b) 312–15, **330**, 352 [T6]

MS R.17.1 83–84

Cambridge, Cambridge University Library

MS Ff.ii.31 291, 301, 303, 306, 312–15, 316, **330**, 349, 352 [T7]MS Ff. vi.15 290, 301, 316, 322, **331**, 352 [T8]Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 90 (L.106) 41–43, **74**, **75** [M]Cava dei Tirreni, Biblioteca della SS. Trinità, MS 38 131–36, 139, **157** [B346]

Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale

MS 502 71

MS 509 71

MS 1058 30, 31–33, 35, **70**, **71**, 101 [C1]Chateauroux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 3 356, 359, **361** [B17]

Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 61 (56)

a) 44–45, 49, **76** [C]b) 131–36, 141, **168**, 183, **235**–36, [M20]

Darmstadt, Hessische Landes-und Hochschulbibliothek

MS 85741–43, **74** [D]MS 88542–44, **74** [C]MS 891 40, **73** [L]MS 2772 **68**MS 318331, 32, 33, 35, **70**, **71** [D]

Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 91

a) 131–36, 142, **167** [M8]b) **220**–222 [D]Downside Abbey, MS 48243 (Clifton 2) 312–15, 316, 321, **331**, 352 [T9]Dublin, Trinity College, MS 83 301, 303, 306, 312–15, 316, 321, **331**, 350–51, 352 [T10]Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.III.3259, 60, **80** [S42]

Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek

MS 106 (Msc. 22)

a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M53]b) 190, 193, **198**MS 118 (Msc. 635) (4 N. 118) 131–36, 143, **157** [B348]

Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek

MS 99 131–36, 138, 142, **151** [A4]MS 100 131–36, 143, **153** [B3]MS 101 131–36, 138, 142, **151** [A5]MS 102 131–36, 138, 142, **151** [A6]MS 103 131–36, **153** [B4]MS 104 131–36, 138, 142, **151** [A7]MS 478 195, **268**–272 [E]Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, MS I.20 131–36, 142, 144, **166** [B206]

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 29912, 115, 213, 214 [F]

- Freiburg, Franziskanerkloster, MS 7 131–36, **158** [B40]
- Freiburg, Kantons-und Universitätsbibliothek, MS L 305 131–36, 138, 141, **153** [B5]
- Geneve, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, MS lat. 144 30, 32, 34, 36, **70, 72** [F]
- Gerona, Archivo Capitular
- MS 20,c,14 (15) 108, **150**
- MS 20,d,3 (14)
- a) 41–43, **74, 75** [G]
- b) 108, **150**
- c) 108, **151**
- d) 131–32, **157** [B347]
- MS 20,d,8 (94)
- a) 131–32, 143, **157** [B349]
- b) 131–32, 143, **157** [B350]
- Gerona, Archivo del Seminario Episcopal
- MS 5 131–32, **155** [B301]
- MS 6
- a) 108, **150**
- b) 108, **151**
- MS 7 108, **150**
- MS 9 108, **150**
- Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek
- MS 79 131–36, **161** [B101]
- MS 431
- a) 131–36, 143, **161** [B102]
- b) **237–41** [G]
- Graz, Universitätsbibliothek
- MS 74 127, 131–36, **161** [B103]
- MS 109 131–36, 144, **161** [B104]
- MS 112 127, 131–36, **161** [B105]
- MS 131 131–36, 142, **161** [B106]
- MS 197 (Alte sign. 40/56 fo.) 131–36, **155** [B302]
- MS 239 127, 131–36, 142, 144, **158** [B41]
- MS 269 (Alte sign. 37/33) 131–36, 144, **155** [B303]
- MS 281 (Alte sign. 39/63) 127, 131–36, 137, 144, **155** [B304]
- MS 364 127, 131–36, 142, 144, **161** [B107]
- MS 393 277, 278, **325**, 326, 327–28
- MS 395 277, 278, **325**, 326, 327–28
- MS 420 131–36, 142, **161** [B108]
- MS 474
- a) 42, 43, **74, 75** [S]
- b) 131–36, 142, 144, **158** [B42]
- c) 131–36, 144, **161** [B109]
- MS 554 283, **325**, 326
- MS 587 131–36, 142, **161** [B110]
- MS 703 41, 42, 43, **74, 75** [H]
- MS 716 127, 131–36, 137, **161** [B111]

- MS 785 131–36, 139, 143, **161** [B112]
 MS 951 279, **325**, 326, 330
 MS 1003 127, 131–36, 143, 144, **161** [B113]
 MS 1289 131–36, 142, **152** [A100]
 MS 1317 131–36, 143, **162** [B114]
 MS 1525
 a) 131–36, 143, **162** [B115]
 b) 282
 Güssing, Franziskanerkloster, MS 1/43 268 [G]
 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 21 131–36, 144, **157** [B341]
 MS 51 131–36, 138, 141, **152** [A26]
 MS 124 127, 131–36, **162** [B116]
 MS 136 131–32, 143, 144, **162** [B117]
 Herzogenburg, MS 108 131–36, 144, **162** [B118]
 Holkham Hall, Wells, MS 35 131–36, 142, **157** [B351]
 Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek
 MS 15 131–36, 142, **162** [B119]
 MS 43 131–36, 142, **162** [B120]
 MS 332 **276**, 327
 MS 407 124, 131–36, 144, **153** [A33]
 Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, MS 2 (Zz V 19) 106, **150**
 Klagenfurt, Bischöfliche Bibliothek
 MS XXIX.d.9 40, 73, **74** [F]
 Klagenfurt, Kärntner Landesarchiv
 MS GV 6/35 131–36, **162** [B121]
 MS GV 8/15 131–36, **162** [B122]
 Klagenfurt, Studienbibliothek
 MS 23
 a) 131–36, 139, **169** [M37]
 b) 195, **246–247**
 Klosterneuburg, Augustiner Chorherrenstift
 MS 71 131–36, 139, 143, **155** [B305]
 MS 72
 a) 131–36, 142, 144, **168** [M33]
 b) 241–42
 MS 74 127, 131–36, 144, **162** [B123]
 MS 75 131–36, 142, **162** [B124]
 MS 77 127, 131–36, **162** [B125]
 MS 78 131–36, 139, 143, **162** [B126]
 MS 80 27, **70**
 MS 597 30–33, 35, 36, **70**, **72** [Klo]
 MS 605 131–36, **155** [B306]
 MS 609 131–36, 142, 144, **155** [B307]
 MS 611 131–36, 139, **162** [B127]

- MS 612
 a) 131–36, **169** [M36]
 b) 179, 180, 187, 191, 195, 203, 241, **244–45**
- MS 613 131–36, 142, 144, **162** [B128]
 MS 614 131–36, **162** [B129]
 MS 616 **277**
 MS 617
 a) 131–36, 139, **162** [B130]
 b) **277**
- MS 956 131–36, 143, **155** [B308]
 MS 960 131–36, 139, **162** [B131]
- Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek
 MS 5 der Erzbischöfliche Priesterseminar 131–36, 142, **155** [B309]
 MS 4 Gross St Martin 131–36, 143, **155** [B310]
- Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 134 **237–41** [K1]
 MS 150 **237–41** [K2]
 MS 225 203
- Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 156 131–36, 143, 144, **166** [B203]
 MS 164
 a) 131–36, 143, 144, **168** [M21]
 b) **237–41**
- MS 193 131–36, 142, 144, **162** [B132]
 MS 264
 a) 131–36, 143, **153** [A34]
 b) **237–41**
- MS 316
 a) 131–36, 143, 144, **168** [M22]
 b) **237–41**
- Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 13 131–36, 144, **162** [B133]
 MS 14 131–36, 143, **163** [B134]
 MS 18
 a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M48]
 b) **237–41** [N]
- Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek
 MS 51 131–36, 143, **163** [B135]
 MS 125 30–33, 35, 36, **71** [Z]
- Lisbon, Biblioteca nacional
 Codex Alcobacensis CLIV/163 131–36, **153** [B6]
 Codex Alcobacensis CLXXI/26 131–36, 139, **152** [A101]
- Liverpool, The University of Liverpool Library
 Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe MS 29
 a) 62, 63, **80** [S47]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **334**, 351, 352 [T77]

- Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe MS 40
 a) 61, 62, **80** [S48]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **334** [T78]
 Liverpool Cathedral Radcliffe MS 41 131–36, 142, **167** [B218]
 London, British Library
 Add. 6417 **262**–68 [B]
 Add. 11,414 58, **78** [S1]
 Add. 11,862 131–36, 142, **153** [B7]
 Add. 15,120 131–36, 142, **158** [B37]
 Add. 15,287 131–36, 142, 143, **158** [B38]
 Add. 15,419 31–33, 35–36, **70**, **71** [O]
 Add. 16,393 131–36, 143, **153** [B8]
 Add. 16,905 131–36, **153** [B9]
 Add. 16,998
 a) 56–57, **78** [S2];
 b) 290, 306, 310, 312–15, **331**, 352 [T18]
 Add. 17,355
 a) 30–33, 35, **70**, **71** [L]
 b) 227–29
 Add. 17,431 77, 101
 Add. 21,973 131–36, **153** [B10]
 Add. 24,680 131–37, **158** [B43]
 Add. 25,588
 a) 58–59, **78** [S3]
 b) 290, 291, 300, 303, 306, 312–15, **331**, 352 [T19]
 Add. 26,655 41–43, **74**, **75** [E]
 Add. 28,962 15, **70**, 81–82
 Add. 29,884 291, 300, 303, 305, 306, 312–15, 320, 321, **331**, 352 [T20]
 Add. 30,038 131–36, 142, **166** [B199]
 Add. 34,662 30–33, 35, **71**, **72** [Y]
 Add. 36,616 131–36, 142, 143, **154** [B14]
 Add. 37,519
 a) 126, 131–36, 142, 143, **158** [B44]
 b) 291, 300, 312–15, **331** 352 [T21]
 Add. 37,787 291, 300–02, **331** 352 [T22]
 Add. 39,675 291, 300, 312–13, 315, 316, **331** [T23]
 Add. 40,148 131–36, 144, **166** [B203]
 Add. 40,740 291, 300–03, 305–06, 312–15, 320, 322, **331**, 352 [T24]
 Add. 43,380
 a) 126, 131–36, 142, **167** [B214]
 b) 291, 300, 312–16, **331** [T25]
 Add. 59,855
 a) 61–62, **80** [S45]
 b) 291, 301, 302, 312–15, **331**, 351, 352 [T26]
 Add. 59,856 291, 300, 312–15, **332** [T27]

- Arundel 109
 a) 59, 60, **78** [S4]
 b) 291, 300, 301, 303, 312–15, **332**, 351, 352 [T28]
- Egerton 2139 291, 300, 303, **332**, 352 [T29]
 Egerton 2677 59, 60, **78** [S8]
 Egerton 2902 100, **154**
 Egerton 3036 147–50, **170** [B]
 Egerton 3511 131–36, **154** [B12]
 Harley 863 206
 Harley 2787 60–61, **78** [S9]
 Harley 3810 (I) 300, 303, 305, 306, 312–15, 320, 321, 322–23, **332**, 352 [T30]
 Harley 3866
 a) 59–60, **78** [S10]
 b) 291, 300, 303, 306, 312–15, **332**, 351, 352 [T31]
- Harley 4919 58–59, **78** [S11]
 Royal 8.C.IV 290–91, 301, 311, 316, 322, **332**, 352 [T32]
- London, Guildhall, MS 515
 a) 59–60, **78** [S15]
 b) 291, 300, 303, 312–16, **332**, 352 [T33]
- London, Lambeth Palace
 MS 65
 a) 131–36, **153** [A35]
 b) 147–50, **170** [S]
- MS 193 41–44, **74**, **75** [B]
 MS 213 58, **80** [S44]
 MS 306 303, 316, **332**, 352 [T34]
 MS 474 28
 MS 559 311, 303, 306, **332**, 352 [T35]
- London, Oratory
 MS 12,549 131–36, 139, 143, **159** [B57]
 MS 12,584
 a) 131–36, 144, **159** [B58]
 b) 280, **325**
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 MS A. 1346–1891
 a) 36, **77** [Q]
 b) 105–06
 c) 131–36, **154** [B13]
 MS L. 404–1916 41–43, **74**, **75** [L]
 MS Reid 65 50
- London, Westminster Abbey MS 37 126, 131–36, 138, **157** [B352]
- Lons-les-Saunier, Archives départementales du Jura, MS 10 281, 283, **325**, 329
- Lyons, Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 5122 47, **76** [P1]
 MS 5138 131–36, 142, **159** [B59]

- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS lat. 730
 a) 40, **73**, **74** [D]
 b) 106–07, 116
- Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS No. 24
 a) 42, 43, **75** [J]
 b) 291, 300, 302, 312–16, **332**, 352 [T36]
- Mans (Le), Mediathèque Louis Aragon, MS B. 243
 a) 51, **77**
 b) 131–36, 138, 141, 142, **152** [A21]
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek,
 MS 74 127, 131–36, **163** [B136]
 MS 353
 a) 131–36, 143, **163** [B137]
 b) 237–40 [M1]
 MS 360
 a) 131–36, 143, 144, **168** [M23]
 b) 237–40 [M2]
 MS 456
 a) 131–36, 143, **163** [B138]
 b) 237–40 [M3]
 MS 565 131–36, 143, **163** [B139]
 MS 747 131–37, 143, **163** [B140]
 MS 820 131–36, 143, **163** [B141]
 MS 826
 a) 131–37, **166** [B207]
 b) 237–40 [M5]
 MS 925 131–37, 143, **163** [B142]
 MS 938 131–37, 143, **163** [B143]
 MS 1049 131–36, 143, **163** [B144]
 MS 1050
 a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M47]
 b) 237–40 [M6]
 MS 1052 131–37, 143, **163** [B145]
 MS 1057
 a) 131–36, 143, **163** [B146]
 b) 237–40 [M4]
 MS 1697 131–36, 143, **163** [B147]
 MS 1784 131–36, 143, **163** [B148]
- Milan, Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. Triv. 388 38, 40, **74** [S]
- Minehead, MS Fitzjames Missal
 a) 60, 61, **78** [S16]
 b) 291, 301, 302, 312–15, **332**, 351, 352 [T37]
- Monte Cassino, Protomonastero, MS CXXVII 40, **72**, **74** [M]
- Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monasterio
 MS 780 131–36, 138, 143, **166** [B209]
 MS 1034 131–36, 142, **159** [B60]

- Monza, Biblioteca capitolare della Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista, MS CXXVIII
 (= Ambr. H232 inf.) 40, **73**, **74** [Z]
- Münster, Bistumsarchiv, Diözesanbibliothek, MS GV. 297 125, 127, 131–36, 142,
166 [B210]
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Clm 705
- a) 57–58, **79** [S17]
- b) 290, 291, 300–02, 305, 306, 312–15, 320, **332**, 348, 352 [T38]
- Clm 3311 131–36, 142, **159** [B61]
- Clm 3903 **210**–11
- Clm 4102
- a) 131–36, 143, 144, **167** [M4]
- b) **211**–12
- Clm 4323 27, **69**
- Clm 4548 131–36, 139, 143, **166** [B200]
- Clm 4553
- a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M50]
- b) 237–41 [U1]
- Clm 5875 131–36, 142, 143, **159** [B62]
- Clm 5902 131–36, 143, **159** [B63]
- Clm 5912
- a) 127, 131–36, 143, 144, **159** [B64]
- b) 241–42 [M]
- Clm 6016 131–36, 143, **159** [B65]
- Clm 6915 127, 131–36, 138, 141, **154** [B15]
- Clm 7550 **215**–16
- Clm 7903 131–36, 138, **159** [B66]
- Clm 8080 131–36, 142, 143, **159** [B67]
- Clm 8097
- a) 51, **77**
- b) 127, 131–36, 143, **159** [B68]
- c) 205–06, 210–11
- Clm 8710 131–36, 143, **154** [B16]
- Clm 8711 131–36, 143, **154** [B17]
- Clm 10,015 **220**–23 [M]
- Clm 10,072 131–36, 142, **154** [B18]
- Clm 10,076 127, 131–36, 142, 143, **154** [B19]
- Clm 11,003 131–36, 144, **159** [B69]
- Clm 11,339 **166** [B201]
- Clm 12,262 **262**–68 [M]
- Clm 14,450
- a) 131–36, 142, **170** [M54]
- b) **230**–31
- Clm 14,623 131–36, **160** [B70]

- Clm 21,582
 a) 131–36, 142, 143, **169** [M51]
 b) **252**–53
 Clm 23,052 131–36, **160** [B71]
 Clm 23,054 131–36, 143, **159** [B72]
 Clm 23,267 131–36, 142, 143, **154** [B21]
 Clm 23,274 131–36, **159** [B73]
 Clm 23,276 127, 131–36, 139, **160** [B74]
 Clm 27,180 51, **77**
 Clm 28,181 51, **77**
 Clm 29,310(17) **325**
 Nantes, Musée Dobrée, MS 4 41–43, **75** [O]
 Nantua, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 175 30–36, **70**, **72** [N]
 Narbonne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1 (1674) 147–50, **170** [N]
 Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library, MS 2
 a) 61, 62, **80** [S43]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **332**, 351, 352 [T43]
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
 M.47
 a) 59, 60, **79** [S19]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **332**, 351, 352 [T40]
 M.113 291, **332** [T41]
 M.374 131–36, 142, 143, **163** [B149]
 M.379 131–36, **154** [B23]
 M.450 131–36, 143, **160** [B75]
 M.518 131–36, 142, **163** [B150]
 M.710 40, **73**, **74** [N]
 M.713 131–36, 143, **154** [B24]
 M.937 131–36, 142, **160** [B76]
 MS G.16 131–36, 138, 141, **154** [B22]
 New York, Public Library, MS No. 63
 a) 60, 63, **79** [S20]
 b) 291, 300, 303, 305, 306, 312–15, **332**, 352 [T42]
 New York, The Burke Library of Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York,
 MS 3 131–36, 142, **163** [B152]
 Oxford, All Souls College, MS 302 60–62, **79** [S21]
 Oxford, Bodleian Library
 Barlow 1
 a) 59–60, **79** [S23]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **333**, 351, 352 [T51]
 Barlow 5 59, 60, **79** [S24]
 Barlow 7 27–28
 Bodley 637 196
 Canon. liturg. 3 279
 Canon. liturg. 192 30, 32, 34, 36, **72** [U]
 Canon. liturg. 354 131–36, 144, **154** [B25]

- Canon. liturg. 371 147–50, **170** [V]
 Canon. liturg. 385 131–36, 142, 144, **154** [B26]
 Don. b. 5 57–59, **79** [S25]
 Hatton 1 59–60, **79** [S28]
 Hatton 3 59–60, **79** [S29]
 Jones 47
 a) 60–61, **79** [S30]
 b) 291, 300, 312–15, 320, 322, 292, **333** [T52]
 Lat. liturg. d. 8 278, 280, 281, 283, **326**
 Lat. liturg. e. 17 291, 301, 303, 306, 317–18, 321–23, **333**, 352 [T53]
 Lat. liturg. f. 26 **117**–18, 130, [O]
 Laud. 582 10
 Laud misc.253
 a) 58–59, **79** [S31]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 306, 312–15, 320, 322, **333**, 351, 352 [T54]
 Laud misc. 283
 a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M46]
 b) 272–73
 Laud misc. 302
 a) 59–60, **79** [S32]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 305, 306, 317–18, 321, **333**, 351, 352 [T55]
 Lyell 23 63–64, **80** [S49]
 Rawlinson A.387^A 59–60, **79** [S33]
 Rawlinson C.142 53–55 [B]
 Rawlinson C.168 59–60, **79** [S34]
 Rawlinson liturg. c. 2
 a) 59–60, **79** [S35]
 b) 291, 300, 301, 306, 320, 321, 351, **333** [T56]
 Rawlinson liturg. e. 41 291, 300, **333** [T57]
 Rawlinson poet. 225 291, 300, 303, 312–15, **333**, 352 [T58]
 Wood empt. 20 291, 300, 303, 306, 312–15, 316, 321, **333**, 352 [T59]
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 394
 a) 59–60, **79** [S36]
 b) 291, 301, 302, 312–15, 316, **333**, 352 [T60]
 Oxford, Keble College
 MS 29 30, 32–36, **70**, **72** [K]
 MS 58
 a) 61–62, **79** [S37]
 b) 291, 301, 302, 305, 306, 312–15, **333**, 348, 352 [T61]
 Oxford, Oriel College, MS 75
 a) 60, 61, **80** [S38]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **333**, 351, 352 [T62]
 Oxford, Pembroke College, MS No. 1
 a) 61–62, **80** [S39]
 b) 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **334**, 352 [T63]

Oxford, Trinity College

MS 8 290, 291, 300, 308, 316, 312–15, **334** [T64]MS 94 291, 301, 303, 312–15, **334**, 352 [T65]

Oxford, University College, MS 78A

a) 147–50, **170** [H]b) 291, 300, 303, 306, 312–15, 316, 320, **334**, 352 [T66]Pamplona, Archivo general de Navarra, MS 3 27, 50, **68**, 109, 172

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

MS 203 (184 B.T.L.)

a) 47–48, **76** [P2]b) 131–36, **151** [A8]MS 583 47–48, **77** [P19]MS 595 (123 C.T.L.) 147–50, **170**, **171** [M]MS 619 131–36, **160** [B81]MS 620 47–48, **77** [P20]MS 621 47–48, **77** [P13]MS 622 47–48, **77** [P14]

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine

MS 406 47–48, **77** [P6]MS 408 (737) 47–48, **77** [P3]MS 409 (218) 47–48, **77** [P4]MS 410 131–36, 139, 142, 143, **152** [A28]MS 412 131–36, 139, 142, 143, **153** [A29]

MS 425 (220)

a) 131–36, 138, 141, 142, **153** [A30]b) 147–50, **170**, **171** [Z]

MS 512 5, 115, 206

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

ms. fr. 2097 334

ms. fr. 6110 68

ms. fr. 2375 277, 278, 279

ms. lat. 733 45

ms. lat. 825

a) 46, **49**

b) 107

ms. lat. 831 47–48, **76** [P16]

ms. lat. 836

a) 131–36, 139, **151** [A9]b) 147–50, **170**, **171** [L]ms. lat. 853 131–36, 142, 139, **160** [B82]ms. lat. 859 131–36, **160** [B83]ms. lat. 859A 47–48, **76** [P7]

ms. lat. 861

a) 47–48, **76** [P17]b) 291, 318–20, 323, **334** [T75]

- ms. lat. 871
 a) 131–36, 142, **160** [B84]
 b) 131–36, 142, **168** [M10]
 c) 220–23 [B]
- ms. lat. 872
 a) **160** [B85]
 b) **169** [M40]
 c) 250–51
- ms. lat. 876 131–36, 138, 141, **167** [B215]
 ms. lat. 878 147–50, **170**, **171** [G]
 ms. lat. 884 41–43, **75** [T]
 ms. lat. 910 100
 ms. lat. 951 45
 ms. lat. 967 45
 ms. lat. 1067 29–33, 36, **70**, **71**, 206 [M]
 ms. lat. 1097 104
 ms. lat. 1102 131–37, 138, 139, 141, **154** [B27]
 ms. lat. 1106 51, **77**
 ms. lat. 1245 26
 ms. lat. 1268 27, **69**, 120
 ms. lat. 2293 115, 130, 176, 177, 199, 206, 207, 208, 216, 228, 269
 ms. lat. 8846 17–25, **82**–94
 ms. lat. 8885 47–48, **76** [P17]
 ms. lat. 9434 115, 206
 ms. lat. 9440 29–33, 35, **71**, 72 [P]
 ms. lat. 9443 41–44, **75** [F]
 ms. lat. 10,525 13–14, **80**–81
 ms. lat. 11,592 27, **69**–**70**
 ms. lat. 12,056 116–17, 129–30 [J]
 ms. lat. 12,060 131–36, 139, **154** [B28]
 ms. lat. 12,062 47–48, **76** [P8]
 ms. lat. 12,079 43, **46**, 49[T]
 ms. lat. 14,283 127, 131–36, **160** [B86]
 ms. lat. 17,310 29–34, 35, **70**, **72**, 101 [C2]
 ms. lat. 17,314 47–48, **76** [P9]
 ms. lat. 17,315
 a) 47–48, **76** [P10]
 b) 131–36, 139, 143, **153** [A31]
- ms. lat. 17,316 131–36, 142, **151** [A10]
 nouv. acq. lat. 430 98
 nouv. acq. lat. 541 40, **73**, **74** [O]
 nouv. acq. lat. 1589 115
 nouv. acq. lat. 1689
 a) **47**, 49 [H]
 b) 131–36, **151** [A11]
- nouv. acq. lat. 2649 47–48, **76** [P15]

Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

- MS 90 51, **78**
 MS 94 131–36, 142, **155** [B29]
 MS 96 7, 51, **78**
 MS 97 131–36, 138, 141, **160** [B90]
 MS 102 226
 MS 126 (BB 1. in fol. 35) 29–35, **70**, **71** [G]
 MS 2643 131–36, 139, **160** [B91]

Philadelphia, Free Library

- MS 157 51, **78**, 101
 MS 159 40, **73**, **74** [E1, E2]
 MS 171 45

Philadelphia, The Library Company, MS 11 131–36, 142, **155** [B30]

- Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 28 (33) ;
 a) 131–36, 138, 142, **167** [M12]
 b) 220–23 [L3]

Pontarlier, Bibliothèque municipale

- MS 9 (19) 131–36, 140–41, 144, **151** [A12]
 MS 10 (20) 131–36, 140–41, 144, **155** [B31]
 MS 12 (22) 131–36, 140–41, 144, **152** [A13]

Princeton University, Garrett Collection, MS No. 40 41–43, **75** [N]Provins, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11 (4) 29–35, **71**, **72** [S]Reun, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 206 131–36, **163** [B153]

Rheims, Bibliothèque municipale

- MS 216 (C. 126) 41–44, **75** [R]
 MS 218 (C. 124) 46, 131–36, 138, 141, **157** [B342]
 MS 219
 a) 131–36, 139, 143, **155** [B32]
 b) 131–36, 142, **161** [B92]
 c) 248–49 [R]
 MS 224 (C. 128) 48, 127, 131–36, 142, **160** [B93]
 MS 233 (C.120) 131–36, 139, 143, **153** [A32]
 MS 234 (C. 167)
 a) 131–36, 142, **158** [B33]
 b) 291, 304, 318–20, **334**, 352 [T69]
 MS 235 (C. 136) 131–36, **161** [B94]

Rome, Biblioteca Angelica

- MS 477 116–17, 130 [J]
 MS T 8. 11 102, 147–50, **171** [R]

Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1907 (B II 1) 131–37, **152** [A14]

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale

- MS 205 (Y 46) 131–36, 140, 143, **155** [B34]
 MS 273 (A.287) 40, **73**, **74** [R]
 MS 279 (A.308)
 a) 51, **78**
 b) 131–32, **152** [A15]

- MS 290 29–35, **71**, **72** [R]
 MS 301 (Y.58) 127, 131–36, 142, **161** [B95]
 MS 385
 a) 131–36, 138, 142, **168** [M13]
 b) 220–23 [R]
 Salzburg, Museum Carolino-Augustium, MS 858 131–36, 144, **163** [B154]
 Salzburg, Sankt Peter Erzabtei
 MS a.VI.26 131–36, 144, **155** [B314]
 MS b.X.6
 a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M45]
 b) 256–61
 Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek
 MS M.II.238 131–36, 144, **155** [B315]
 MS M.III.12 127, 131–36, 139, 144, **163** [B155]
 MS M.III.23 131–36, 143, **164** [B156]
 MS M.III.99 127, 131–36, **164** [B157]
 Sankt Florian, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS III.9 127, 131–36, 144, **164** [B158]
 MS III.204 131–36, 142, 144, **156** [B316]
 MS III.205 127, 131–36, 144, **164** [B158]
 MS III.205A
 a) 131–36, 144, **168** [M24]
 b) **237–41** [F1]
 MS III.221A 131–36, 142, 144, **156** [B317, B318]
 MS XI.385 131–36, **164** [B160]
 MS XI.389
 a) 131–36, 144, **168** [M25]
 b) **237–41** [F2]
 MS XI.391
 a) 131–36, 144, **168** [M26]
 b) **237–41** [F3]
 MS XI.392
 a) 120, 127, 131–36, **156** [B319]
 b) 131–36, **156** [B320]
 c) 131–36, 144, **168** [M27]
 d) 131–36, 144, **168** [M28]
 e) **237–41** [F4]
 f) **237–41** [F5]
 MS XI.393
 a) 131–36, 144, **168** [M29]
 b) **237–41** [F6]
 MS XI.394
 a) 131–36, 142, 144, **168** [M30]
 b) **237–41** [F7]

- MS XI.395
 a) 131–36, 142, 144, **157** [B345]
 b) 131–36, 142, 144, **169** [M52]
 c) **238–41** [F9]
 d) 280, **325**, 326
- MS XI.397
 a) 127, 131–36, 142, 144, **164** [161]
 b) 131–36, 144, **168** [M31]
 c) **238–41** [F8]
- Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 49/3
 a) 127, 131–36, 144, **164** [B162]
 b) 244
- MS 62/3 131–36, 144, **156** [B321]
 MS 119/3 127, 131–36, **156** [B322]
 MS 151/6 131–36, 144, **156** [B323]
- Sankt Pölten, Bischöfliche Alumnats-Bibliothek
 MS 2
 a) 131–36, **157** [B344]
 b) **325**
- MS 51 131–36, 144, **164** [B163]
 MS 52
 a) 131–36, 143, **169** [M49]
 b) 245–46
- Schlägl, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 160 131–36, 138, **156** [B324]
- Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 119 131–36, 143, **164** [B164]
 MS 225 119
 MS 245
 a) 131–36, **168** [M32]
 b) **238–41** [S]
- MS 247 131–36, 143, **164** [B165]
- Spalding, Gentlemen's Society, MS M.J.ii 282, 300, 303, 306, 312–15, **334**, 352 [T70]
- Strasbourg, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 79 (Latin 76) 280, 330
- Subiaco, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia
 MS XLIII (45) 131–36, 142, 143, **164** [B166]
 MS XLV (47)
 a) 131–36, 142, 143, **164** [B167]
 b) 147–50, **170** [O]
- MS LXXXIII (85) 131–36, 142, **164** [B168]
 MS CXX (123) 118
 MS CXXXIII (137) 131–36, **156** [B325]
 MS CCXLV (250) 131–36, **164** [B169]
- Tarazona, Archivo de la Catedral
 MS 80 131–36, 144, **156** [B326]

- MS 92
 a) 131–36, 142, **144**, **166** [B211]
 b) 131–36, **166** [B212]
- MS 98 131–36, **166** [B213]
 MS 125 131–36, 144, **156** [B327]
 MS 135 131–36, 140, **164** [B170]
- Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo
 MS 35–13 131–36, **156** [B328]
 MS 35–15 27, **69**
 MS 52–9 131–36, 142, 143, **156** [B329]
 MS 52–12 131–36, 142, 143, **156** [B330]
- Tortosa, Archivo Capitular de Tortosa
 MS 10 110
 MS 13
 a) 40, **73**, **74**, 114, 173 [T]
 b) 108, 132, **150**, 172, 173
- MS 34 131–37, 142, 144, **156** [B331]
 MS 56 108, 111, **150**, 173
 MS 82 108, **151**
 MS 140 108, 112, **151**, 173
 MS 259 108, **151**
- Toulouse, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 107 (III, 57) 147–50, **171** [T]
 Trier, Bistumsarchiv, MS 409 131–36, 138, 141, 142, **156** [B332]
- Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 272 51, **78**
 MS 870 131–36, 144, **155** [B35]
- Ushaw, St Cuthbert College, MS 8 291, 301, 303, 305, 306, 312–15, 320, 321, **334**,
 348, 352 [T71]
- Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale
 MS 108 (101) 29–35, **71**, **72** [V1]
 MS 121 (114) 29–35, **71**, **72** [V2]
- Vallbona de las Monjas, MS 13
 a) 27, **69**
 b) 44–45, 49, **76** [W]
 c) 131–36, 138, **156** [B333]
- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Archivio S. Pietro, MS F 18
 a) 40, 41, **73**, [W]
 b) 116, 130 [R]
- Ottob. lat. 314 131–36, 143, **161** [B96]
 Palat. lat. 446
 a) 131–36, **170** [M56]
 b) 234–35 [P]
- Rossiano 1165 131–36, 142, **152** [A16]
 Vatic. lat. 3807 147–50, **171** [D]
 Vatic. lat. 6080 **279**, 330

- Vatic. lat. 6095 131–36, **161** [B97]
 Vatic. lat. 10,084
 a) 131–36, **170** [M55]
 b) 234–35 [Aug]
- Vatican, Archive
 Reg. Vat. 8 37
 Reg. Vat. 56 119, 128, 129
- Vich, Museo Episcopale
 MS 72 131–36, 138, **154** [B20]
 MS 73 131–36, 142, 144, **156** [B334]
- Vienna, Dominikaner Kloster
 MS 415 131–36, 142, 143, **165** [B179]
 MS 416 131–36, 142, 143, **165** [B180]
- Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
 Cod. Palat. 1467 **38–41** [ÖN]
 Cod. Palat. 1782 131–36, 144, **165** [B181]
 Cod. Palat. 1797 131–36, 142, **165** [B182]
 Cod. Palat. 1798 131–36, **156** [B335]
 Cod. Palat. 1803 131–36, 143, **165**, 203 [B183]
 Cod. Palat. 1804 131–36, **157** [B353]
 Cod. Palat. 1809 131–36, 142, 143, **157**, 203 [B336]
 Cod. Palat. 1839 127, 131–36, 143, 144, **157** [B337]
 Cod. Palat. 1854 131–36, 138, **161** [B98]
 Cod. Palat. 1871 131–36, 143, **165** [B185]
 Cod. Palat. 1892 131–36, 143, 144, **157** [B338]
 Cod. Palat. 1899 127, 131–36, 143, 144, **165** [B186]
 Cod. Palat. 1913 131–36, **157** [B339]
 Cod. Palat. 3641 131–36, **157** [B340]
 Cod. Palat. 3649 127, 131–36, 143, 144, **165** [B187]
 Cod. Palat. 3795 131–36, **165** [B188]
 Cod. Palat. 4291 279, 280, 281, **326**
 MS Ser. n. 3618 131–36, **161** [B99]
- Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS 92 127, 131–36, **164** [B171]
 MS 109 131–36, 139, 144, **164** [B172]
 MS 126 131–36, 144, **164** [B173]
 MS 177 131–36, 144, **164** [B174]
 MS 270 131–36, 144, **164** [B175]
 MS 271
 a) 131–36, 144, **165** [B176]
 b) 233
 MS 272 131–36, 144, **165** [B177]
 MS 301 131–36, 144, **165** [B178]
- Wilhering, Stiftsbibliothek
 MS IX,8 131–36, **165** [B189]
 MS IX,9 325, 326

MS IX.,117	131–36, 139, 165 [B190]
MS IX.,1179	131–36, 138, 157 [B354]
Winchester College, MS 48	291, 300, 321, 334 [T72]
York, York Minster Library	
MS XVI.O.9	291, 301, 303, 312–15, 324, 334 , 352 [T79]
MS Add. 30	334 , 350, 352 [T80]
Zaragoza, Biblioteca Capítular	
MS 25–29	
a) 27, 70	
b) 131–36, 142, 165 [B191]	
MS 31–22	131–36, 165 [B192]
Zwettl, Stiftsbibliothek	
MS 229	131–36, 167 [B217]
MS 398	131–36, 143, 144, 165 [B193]

Index of Incipits

(Bold formatting designates complete texts.)

A. Bull

Ad liberandam Terram Sanctam (1333)	101
Ad pie matris communis (1322)	27, 100
Cum predicende crucis (1224)	38
Cum hiis superioribus (1456)	96, 119, 186–87, 237, 240
De vestra discretione (1199)	3, 99
Discipulorum Christi gesta	50
Dolenter referimus (1363)	101
Dudum multorum fide (1373)	101
Exaurientes indesinenter (1309)	118–19, 122, 128, 137–38
Exsurgat deus (1308)	118, 122, 137–138
Gaudemus et exultamus in domino (1331)	146
Misericors et miserator (1195)	2
Quia maior (1313)	37–40, 52
Salutaria et sollicite (1280)	46, 48
Sane Christianissimus in Christo (1309)	122
Verendum est nobis (c. 1200)	3

B. Alleluia

Letatus sum in hiis	205
---------------------------	-----

C. Alleluia Verse

Apprehende arma et scutum	264
Contere domine brachium	196
Dicite in gentibus	277
Domine deus meus in te speravi	211–13, 222, 223
Domine deus salutis mee	210, 212, 213
Domine exaudi orationem	220
Domine in virtute tua	201
Domine refugium factus es	199
Excita domine potentiam tuam	209
Exurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius	218
Ostende nobis domine misericordiam	204, 226, 230, 236, 247, 250, 255, 270
Propitius esto domine peccatis nostris	207, 232, 251, 270
Qui timent Dominum sperent in eo	216, 223

Sicut deficit fumus deficiant	218
Subiecit populos nobis	224
Timebunt gentes nomen tuum	248

D. Antiphon

Alma redemptoris mater	269
Cognoscimus domine quia peccavimus	268
Congregate sunt gentes	69, 120
Da pacem domine in diebus	261, 271
Extende domine brachium tuum	69, 120
Te deum laudamus	261
Tua est potentia	10, 55, 56

E. Communion

Amen dico vobis quicquid orantes	198, 205, 236, 247, 250, 255, 260, 271
Dicite pusillanimes confortamini	232
Domine deus meus in te speravi	211–13, 233
Domine rex omnipotens in ditione	267
Dominus virtutum ipse est rex glorie	202
Erubescant et conturbentur omnes inimici mei	200, 207, 217, 254
Erue nos domine in mirabilibus tuis	219
In salutari tuo animam meam	209, 222, 249
Inclina aurem tuam	220, 226, 273
Letabimur in salutari tuo	235
Memento verbi tui servo tuo	252
Pater si non potest	277
Redime me	262
Redime nos, deus israel	240, 244
Tu domine servabis nos	230
Tu mandasti mandata	204

F. Gradual

Adiutor in opportunitatibus	225, 254
Angelis suis mandavit de te	204
Christus factus est	277
Domine refugium factus es nobis	263
Eripe me de inimicis meis	216
Exurge domine fer opem	275
Exurge/Exsurge domine non prevaleat	231

Letatus sum in hiis	247
Liberasti nos, domine	251, 253
Oculi omnium in te sperant	250
Propitius esto domine peccatis nostris.....	222, 236, 270
Protector noster aspice	196, 232, 255
Respice domine in testamentum tuum	273
Salvum fac populum.....	201, 239, 244, 245, 262
Sciant gentes quoniam	199, 207, 209, 210, 212, 213, 215, 218, 220, 228, 234, 248
Tribulationes cordis mei	233

G. Gradual Verse

Ad te clamavi deus	245
Ad te domine clamabo	239, 242, 243, 246
Ad te dominus clamavi	201
Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster	222–24, 236, 270
Allide potentiam Theucrorum	264
Aperis tu manum tuam	250
Contere fortitudinem illorum	264
Deus auribus nostris audivimus	229
Deus meus pone illos ut rotam	199, 207, 209, 210, 212–14, 218, 220, 234, 248
Domine deus virtutum	196, 232, 255, 257
Domine qui conteris bella	264
Exaudi domine orationem meam	264
Exurge domine et iudice	273
Fiat pax in virtute tua	247
In convertendo inimicum meum	231
In deo laudabimur tota die	251, 253
In manibus portabunt te	204, 205
Liberator meus domine de gentibus	216
Propter quod deus	277
Quoniam non in finem oblivio erit	226, 254
Salvum fac populum tuum	239, 244, 262
Vide humilitatem meam	233

H. Introit

Congregati sunt inimici	167, 183, 196, 198
Da pacem	190, 198
Dominus fortitudo plebis	167, 192, 199, 200
Esto mihi in dominum	184, 203
Exurge quare obdormis	167, 184, 192, 206, 208
In nomine domini omne genu	277
Iudica domine nocentes	167, 191, 210–12, 215, 216

Iudica me deus	192, 216
Liberator meus de gentibus	167, 185, 217
Misereris omnium domine	219
Omnia que fecisti nobis	167, 185, 187, 221, 224, 225
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es mestorum	185, 227
Reminiscere miserationum tuarum	168, 169, 182, 183, 188, 190, 193, 227–29, 231, 233, 234
Salus populi ego sum	99, 100, 168, 169, 183, 186–90, 235, 238, 239, 244–46, 248, 250, 251, 253, 255, 261
Salvator noster aspice	186, 263
Si iniquitates observaveris	183, 188, 269
Sicut oculi servorum	169, 193, 272

I. Introit Psalm

Ad te domine clamabo	199
Ad te domine levavi animam meam	227, 229–31, 233, 234
Ad te levavi oculos meos	272
Attendite populus/popule meus	235, 238, 241, 243–46, 248, 250–53, 255, 257
Beati immaculati in via	221, 223
De profundis clamavi ad te	269
Deus auribus nostris audivimus	206, 208
Diligam te domine fortitudo mea	218
Disperge illos in virtute tua	196
Domine exaudi	277
Effunde frameam et conculca	210, 211, 213, 214
Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam	216
Exsurgat deus et dissipentur inimici eius	99, 263
In te dominus speravi	203, 205
Magnus dominus et laudabilis nimis	224, 225

J. Offertory

Congregate sunt gentes	266–67
Deus in adiutorium	232
Deus tu convertens vivificabis nos	230
Domine ad adiuvandum	266
Domine, in auxilium meum	233
Eripe me de inimicis	211, 212, 215, 216, 246
Inproperium expectavit	277
Iudica domine nocentes	219
Perfice gressus meos	204
Populum humilem salvum facies	201, 209, 217, 220, 235, 236, 240, 244, 254, 262, 273
Precatus est Moyses	197, 247

Si ambulavero in medio	222, 249, 252
Sicut in holocaustum arietum	250, 271
Sperent in te omnes	207, 226, 255

K. Prayer

Absolve quesumus domine tuorum	51
Adest domine deus noster et quos	102
Auxilientur nobis quesumus domine Christe Ihesu	280
Beate et gloriose semperque virginis Dei genitricis Marie	269
Concede nos famulos tuos	69
Concede nobis omnipotens et iustissime deus apud quem nulla	7
Concede quesumus omnipotens deus spiritum sanctum	260
Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut qui ex merito	257
Contere quesumus domine hostes	175
Da nobis quesumus misericors deus ut sancta	260
Da pacem domine	42
Da quesumus domine ut et mundi cursus	69
Da quesumus omnipotens deus famulo tuo regi nostro	58
Defende quesumus domine beata Maria	69
Deprime quesumus omnipotens deus iura tyrannorum	211
Deus a quo sancta desideria	42, 51, 64, 67, 69, 257, 270
Deus ac redemptor noster qui in terra fertilissima	320
Deus auctor pacis et amator	54, 55, 261
Deus celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum	261
Deus clemens omnipotens nostri redemptionis summa	317
Deus cui omne cor patet	257
Deus cui proprium est misereri et preces	318
Deus cuius misericordie non est numerus	175
Deus cuius regnum est omnium	175, 176
Deus et temporalis vitae	176
Deus in te sperantium	176
Deus omnium fidelium pastor	44, 51
Deus pater orphanorum iudex quoque viduarum	210
Deus qui ad exhibenda nostre redemptionis mysteria	36 , 103, 105, 115
Deus qui ad hoc irasceris [see Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris] 103, 108 , 154, 172 , 173 , 228	
Deus qui ad nostre redemptionis exhibenda mysteria	3, 4, 30, 34– 35 , 48, 68, 103, 105, 107–108
Deus qui ad nostre salutis exercenda misteria	36–37 , 107–108
Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regis evangelium	202
Deus qui admirabili providentia	3, 43–44 , 46, 50, 54, 71, 76, 122, 173
Deus qui caritatis dona	51, 64
Deus qui conteris bella	175, 199 , 215
Deus qui contritorum non despicias gemitum	257
Deus qui corda fidelium	99, 257

Deus qui credentes in te	258, 271
Deus qui culpas nostras piis verberibus	8
Deus qui errantibus	191, 210
Deus qui es nostre redemptionis pretium	322
Deus qui es redemptio nostra	322
Deus qui es summa redemptionis	312, 318–319
Deus qui es summa spes	312, 315, 321
Deus qui in singulari corporis tui	106
Deus qui manus tuas	306, 331, 332, 334
Deus qui mirabili providentia	68
Deus qui misericordiae tuae potentis auxilio	6
Deus qui non mortem sed penitentiam desideras	269, 270
Deus qui nos hodierna	102
Deus qui peccantium animas	268
Deus qui providentia tua	175–77
Deus qui regnibus omnibus [see also Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui regnis omnibus]	175
Deus qui sanctam tuam terram	319–20
Deus qui servientium tibi	175, 275
Deus qui sordes peccatorum nostrorum	213, 214
Deus qui sub tuae maiestatis	175
Deus qui transtulisti patres nostros	107
Deus qui tribulatos corde.....	258
Deus refugium nostrum	51
Deus regnorum omnium et Christiani maxime protector.....	175, 176, 200 , 202
Deus servientium tibi	175, 176
Deus summa spes nostre redemptionis	312–13 , 315, 320, 321
Dimitte domine peccata nostra	260
Domine deus qui ad hoc irasceris	172 , 176, 177, 183, 193, 216 , 217, 228
Domine Ihesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem	281
Ecclesiam tuam quesumus domine proprio sanguine	65, 219
Ecclesie tue quesumus domine orationes	42, 66, 70, 76, 104, 172, 263
Et famulos tuos adversitate custodi	163
Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum preces	268
Excita quesumus domine potentiam	51
Excita quesumus domine tuorum	51
Famulum tuum regem nostrum	44, 48, 51
Fidelium deus conditor	51, 306
Grata tibi sit domine	277
Has tibi domine offerimus oblationes	227
Hec oblatio domine quesumus cordis	258
Hostia quesumus domine tue maiestati	191, 213
Hostias tibi domine placationis offerimus	7
Hostium nostrorum quesumus domine elide	6, 8, 27, 31, 46, 50, 51, 55, 66, 69, 70, 101, 107, 172, 176, 208
Huius domine quesumus virtute	135, 184, 207, 208
Huius nos domine quesumus virtute	207

Ihesu Nazarene respice ad tribulationes meas	281
In spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito	7
Inclina deus	306
Inclina domine	317, 318
Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam	30, 42, 107
Largire quesumus domine fidelibus tuis indulgentiam	50, 271
Largire sensibus nostris	277
Miserere iam domine miserere populo	227
Miserere quesumus domine populo tuo	67
Mundi salvator Ihesu fili virginis	317
Munera quesumus domine oblata sanctifica	271
Notiones nostras quesumus domine aspirando	257
Oblatis domine placare	108
Omnipotens deus Christiani nominis inimicos	6, 115, 176, 184, 206 , 207, 208
Omnipotens deus qui humano generi	277
Omnipotens deus Romani nominis inimicos	115, 175, 206
Omnipotens et misericors deus Ihesu fili virginis	317
Omnipotens et misericors deus qui consolatione Thobie	205
Omnipotens et misericors deus qui ex habundantia	267
Omnipotens et misericors deus redemptor animarum	313–16
Omnipotens sempiterne deus a bellorum	115
Omnipotens sempiterne deus cui numquam sine spe	317, 318
Omnipotens sempiterne deus edificator et custos civitatis superne Hierusalem	68, 172
Omnipotens sempiterne deus in cuius manu	3, 4, 10, 11–12 , 26, 27, 28 , 37, 50, 68–70, 81, 100 , 103, 104, 115–19, 128–30 , 131–32 , 137–46, 149, 172, 196 , 198 , 199 , 208 , 212 , 218, 221 , 223–25, 229 , 230 , 232 , 234 , 238–39 , 241–42 , 243, 244 , 245 , 246 , 247 , 248 , 250 , 251 , 252 , 253 , 255 , 257 , 262, 272
Omnipotens sempiterne deus mestorum consolatio	65, 227
Omnipotens sempiterne deus mestorum consolator	281
Omnipotens sempiterne deus miserere supplicum	176
Omnipotens sempiterne deus nostra existens redemptio	317–18 , 322–23
Omnipotens sempiterne deus nostras indignas	126
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui consolatione Thobie [see also Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pro consolatione Thobie]	205
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es mestorum	185, 227
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pro consolatione Thobie [see also Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui consolatione Thobie]	184, 203
Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui regnis omnibus [see also Deus qui regnis omnibus]	12
Parce domine parce peccatis nostris	269
Parce domine parce populo Christiano	267
Parce domine parce populo tuo	6, 177
Pater noster	5, 6–8, 10, 28, 41, 44–46, 50, 52, 55, 57–64, 66–68, 70, 74–76, 78
Preces nostras quesumus domine placatus exaudi	7
Presentis sacrificii oblatione placatus	184, 204 , 205
Pretende domine famulis	69, 70
Propitiare domine in te	175

Propitiare domine supplicationibus nostris	104, 116
Protector noster aspice deus	101, 108, 116–18, 128 , 133, 135–136 , 137–146, 146– 149 , 150, 154, 176, 177, 183, 198 , 200, 209 , 212 , 215 , 217 , 219, 222 , 224, 225, 226 , 228, 230 , 231 , 235 , 236 , 240 , 242 , 243 , 245 , 246 , 247 , 249 , 251 , 252 , 253 , 254 , 256 , 261 , 262, 273
Protege domine famulos tuos regem	69, 177
Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus	54, 64, 269
Quesumus omnipotens sempiterne deus qui gloriose virginis	269
Quesumus domine pater omnipotens eterne deus ut gloriosissima	256
Qui subiectas tibi	176
Quos celesti domine dono	126, 177
Rege quesumus domine famulum tuum	56, 59, 60
Repleti domine celestibus alimentis	227
Reprime quesumus omnipotens deus gentem	191, 214
Respice quesumus domine super familiam	69, 70
Rex omnium seculorum deus cuius regnum	105 , 275
Sacrificia domine tibi	177
Sacrificiis presentibus domine quesumus intende	258
Sacrificium domine quod immolamus	101, 102, 108, 116–18, 128 , 133–134 , 137–46, 146– 148 , 149–50, 154, 176, 177, 183, 197 , 198 , 200, 209 , 212 , 215 , 217 , 219, 222 , 225, 226, 228, 230 , 231 , 232 , 235 , 236 , 240 , 242 , 243 , 245 , 246 , 247 , 249 , 250 , 252 , 253 , 254 , 255 , 258 , 262, 273 ,
Sacrificium tibi domine celebrandum	51
Sacris repleti muneribus quesumus domine deus noster ut terram	106
Sempiterna trinitas deus	126, 177
Sub cuius potestatis	176
Subiectum tibi famulum regem	202
Subveniat nobis sacrificii presentis oblatio	271
Sumpsimus domine redemptionis nostre pignus	184, 204 , 205–06
Suscipe domine munus oblatum	104 , 202
Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie	202 , 211 , 220
Suscipe domine quesumus preces et hostias	104–05
Suscipe domine supplicantis ecclesie tue	105, 106
Tua domine famulos tuos sperantes	116
Tua domine sperantes in te que sumpsimus sacramenta	106–07
Tua nobis domine propitiatione	271
Vitia cordis humani	177
Vivificet nos quesumus domine participatio	184, 207 , 208

L. Preface

Agnoscamus enim domine deus	176, 177
Et clementiam tuam	177
Qui filios Israel	227
Omnipotentiam tuam humili	177

Qui subiectas tibi	176
Sub cuius potestatis	176
Te toto corde	176

M. Psalm

2. Quare fremuerunt	10, 11, 16, 83–84
3. Domine quid multiplicati	6, 8, 72
20. Domine in virtute tua laetabitur rex	55, 58–60, 62, 63, 67
23. Domini est terra	17, 85
24. Ad te domine levavi	6
27. Ad te domine clamabo	6
53. Deus in nomine	10, 11, 18, 86–88
55. Miserere mei deus quoniam	6
59. Deus reppulisti nos	10, 11, 19, 88–89
66. Deus misereatur	54–56, 58–60, 62, 63, 67
67. Exurgat deus	69, 185
69. Deus in adiutorium	5, 8, 10, 42, 50, 101
70. In te domine speravi... et eripe	20, 89–90
73. Ut quid reppulisti	10, 11, 21, 90–91
78. Deus venerunt gentes	2, 4, 6, 10, 11, 22, 26, 27, 32, 34, 38–40, 42, 44–48, 50, 52, 54–56, 58, 60, 62–64, 68–70, 72, 81, 91–92, 100, 118, 172, 181–83, 185, 188
82. Deus quis similis	6, 10, 11, 23, 93, 185
89. Domine refugium factus es	6
93. Deus ultionum dominus	10, 11
94. Venite exultemus	24, 94
95. Cantate domino... cantate	25, 94–95
119. Ad dominum cum tribularer	6, 65
120. Levavi oculos meos	6, 56, 65
121. Letatus sum	50, 55, 66, 67, 172
122. Ad te levavi oculos	6, 8, 32, 34, 54, 56
129. De profundis	306, 347

N. Readings, Epistle

Audivit princeps exercitus (I Maccabees 3.13–22)	272
Benedictus deus (II Corinthians 1.3–11 (?))	233, 263
Clamaverunt filii Israel (Judith 7.18–8.27)	229
De cetero fratres confortamini in domino (Ephesians 6.10–18)	199, 263
Dixerunt unus quisque (I Maccabees 3.43–53)	221–22
Domine deus rex omnipotens (Esther 13.9–17)	251
Factum est verbum domini ad Iheremiam (Jeremiah 42.7–(?))	225
Fratres hoc enim sentite (Philippians 2.5–?)	277
Fratres imitatores mei estote (Philippians 3.17–[4.3])	248

Fratres non regnet peccatum (Romans 6.12–14)	255
Fratres scimus autem quoniam (Romans 8.28–39)	263
Fratres Spiritus adiuvat infirmitatem (Romans 8.26–27)	250
Locutus est Jheremias dicens (Lamentations 3.22–(?))	248, 270
Miserere nostri deus omnium (Ecclesiasticus 36.1–18)	196, 210, 212, 215, 216, 218, 219, 228, 231–32, 234, 236, 262
Nolite esse prudentes (Romans 12.16–21)	214
Nolite iugum ducere (II Corinthians 6.14 – 7.1)	213
Obsecro vos (II Corinthians 2.8 (?))	201
Orationem faciebant sacerdotes (II Maccabees 1.23, 2–5)	239, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247
Oravit Hester ad dominum dicens (Esther 14.3–9)	218, 245, 253, 262
Oravit Mardocheus (Esther 13.8–(?))	208
Si iniquitates mee responderunt (Jeremiah 14.7)	270
Subiecti estote (I Peter 2.13–(?))	201
Videns Iudas exercitum Lisie (I Maccabees 4.30–33)	204

O. Readings, Gospel

Abeuntes Pharisei (Matthew 22.15–(21?))	201
Aderant quidam in ipso tempore (Luke 13.1–5)	197
Audistis quod dictum est antiquis (Matthew 5.21–(6.4))	213
Cum egrederetur Ihesus de templo (Mark 13.1–(12?))	228
Cum vespere esset factum (Mark 11.19–25)	200
Ecce ego mitto (Luke 24.49–?)	204
Habete fidem (Mark 11.22–25)	262, 270
Impossibile est ut non veniant (Luke 17.1–6)	217
Nolite solliciti esse anime (Matthew 6.25–33)	207
Petite et accipietis (John 16.24–(?))	239, 241, 244
Petite et dabitur vobis (Luke 11.9–13)	209, 230, 236, 239, 241–43, 245, 246, 252, 254
Quis vestrum habebit amicum (Luke 11.5–(?))	209, 247
Quoniam oportet semper orare (Luke 18.2–8)	211, 212, 215, 232, 233, 273
Quum audieritis prelia (Luke 21.9–19)	219, 220, 235, 249
Respiciens Ihesus in discipulos suos (John 17.11–15)	255, 258
Sedente Iesu super Monte Oliveti (Matthew 24.3–13)	226, 266
Sublevatis Ihesus oculis (John 17.1–11)	222, 223–24, 250
Undecimi discipuli abierunt (Matthew 28.16–20)	266

P. Responsory

Aperi oculos	223
Aspice domine de sede	26, 42
Beatus Rudbertus quasi	261
Congregati sunt inimici	6, 69
Tu es Petrus	261

Q. St Gregory Trental

Erat quondam Rome quidam papa nomine Gregorius	334, 348
Ordo trigintalis quod quidam apostolicus.....	301, 351
Quedam mulier in omnibus devotissima	301, 331, 334, 350–01
Quidam apostolus Rome habuit matrem suam	334, 350
Quidam erat papa cuius mater in omnibus	333, 349–50
Quidam papa Leo fuit Rome quondam	300–01, 347
Quidam papa quondam erat nomine Romanus	301, 349
Trentalis sancti Gregorii pape	302
Une apostol fu ja	301

R. Sequence (Prose)

Christi sponsa atque decora	180, 264–266
Orbis Christe dominator	180, 196–197

S. Tract

Ad te levavi oculos	242
Commovisti domine terram	216, 223, 234
De necessitatibus meis	243, 248
Deus venerunt gentes	224
Domine non secundum peccata	196, 228, 230, 236, 250, 251, 254, 257, 270
Laudate dominum omnes gentes	244
Ne claudas ora canentium	209
Qui confidunt in domino	200, 210, 244
Sepe expugnaverunt	277
Usquequo domine irasceris	218

T. Tract Verse

Ad te domine levavi animam meam	243, 249
Adiuva nos/me deus salutaris noster	224, 252, 254, 258, 270
Dicant nunc Israel	277
Domine ne memineris iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum	252, 254, 258, 270
Ecce sicut oculi servorum	242
Effunde iram tuam in gentes	218
Et converte luctum nostrum	209
Et sicut oculi ancille	242
Etenim non potuerunt	277
Etenim universi qui te expectant	243, 249

Ita oculi nostri ad dominum	242
Miserere nobis domine	242
Montes in circuitu eius	200, 210
Prolongaverunt iniquitatem	277
Sana contritiones eius	216, 223, 234
Ultio sanguinis servorum tuorum	218
Ut fugiant a facie arcus	223, 234

U. Trentals and other sets of Masses (sigla)

Advenit	276, 285, 327–28
Aegidius	276–77, 280, 282, 283, 285, 304, 324, 327–28
Ancienement	279, 280, 282–285, 330
De missis	278, 280–284
Docuit	279, 280, 282, 283, 285, 330
Du temps	278, 280, 282, 283, 285, 329
Dyt synt misse	280, 282, 283, 330
Les messes	278, 282, 283, 285, 329
Nota	277, 280, 283
On trouve	277, 280, 283, 285, 302, 327–28
Quicumque	277, 280, 283, 285, 327–28
Quinque	279, 280, 282–285, 330
Siquis	276, 280, 283, 284, 326–27

V. Versicle

Ad nihilum redige	259
Adducentur regi virgines	28
Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster	8
Afflige domine opprimentes	70
Aperi domine manum tuam	259
Apprehende arma et scutum	6
Aspice domine de sancto	43
Aspice domine quia facta est	43
Averte a nobis	258
Benedictus dominus	258
Concide a facie eorum inimicos tuos. R. Et odientes te in fugam converte.	69, 70
Contere domine caput principum	259
Date magnificentiam	259
Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis	259
Dirige domine gressus nostros	259
Dirige nos in semitam rectam	259
Disperde eos domine de terra viventium	259
Disperde illos	70

Domine deus virtutum	10, 33, 67, 69, 259
Domine exaudi orationem meam	6, 8, 10, 31, 33, 34, 42–51, 54, 56, 58, 60, 64–70, 172, 256, 260, 261
Domine non secundum peccata	10, 33, 69, 258
Domine salvos fac reges. R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. [see also Salvos fac reges]	46, 50, 51, 54, 66, 172
Domine saluum fac regem. R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. [see also Salvum fac regem nostrum]	44, 48, 49, 51, 54, 58, 60, 65–67
Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.	8, 10, 31, 34, 42, 45–51, 54, 56, 58, 60, 61, 64–70, 76, 172, 256, 260, 261
Effunde frameam	6
Effunde iram tuam	69, 120, 259
Erige quesumus brachium	260
Esto ei	28
Esto eis/nobis domine turris fortitudinis. R. A facie inimici.	8, 10, 27, 28, 31, 33, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48–50, 56, 60, 64, 65, 69, 70, 100
Exaltasti propterea dexteram	259
Exaudi nos domine quoniam benigna est	261
Exaudi quesumus domine supplicum	259
Expugna impugnantes te.....	259
Exurgat deus et disipentur inimici eius. R. Et fugiant a facie eius qui oderunt eum.	31, 33, 42–44, 46, 49, 50, 54, 64, 68, 118, 120, 172
Exurge Christe adiuva nos	259
Exurge domine adiuva nos. R. Et libera nos propter nomen tuum.	8, 27, 33, 42, 43, 50, 51, 69, 70, 100
Fiant tamquam pulvis	70
Fiat misericordia tua	10, 69, 259
Fiat pax in virtute tua. R. Et habundantia in turris.	8, 10, 31, 33, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49–51, 54, 64–70
Fiat via illorum	70
Gloriemur domine in virtute tua	260
Hostium nostrorum elide superbiam	259
Iheus Christus regnat	260
Ihesus Christus vivit	260
Ihesus Christus vivit et imperat	260
Innova signa immuta mirabilia	260
Iudica domine nocentes	6, 70
Magnificate dominum meum	259
Memento domine in beneplacito	258
Memor esto congregationis tue. R. Quam possedisti ab initio.....	8, 33
Mitte eis/nobis domine auxilium de sancto. R. Et de Syon tuere eos/nos.	31, 33, 43, 46, 47–49, 51, 56, 60, 64, 69, 70
Ne memineris, domine, iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum	10
Ne tradas domine a desiderio. R. Eripe de me inimicis	6
Nec respicias peccata nostra	258
Nihil proficiat inimicus in eis. R. Et filii iniquitatis non noceant eis.	27

Non nobis domine non nobis	31, 33, 42, 43, 48, 56, 60, 65, 260
Ora pro nobis beate Iacobe. R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christ.	33, 34
Ora pro nobis sancta Dei genitrix	33, 69
Oremus pro afflictis et captivis (et peregrinis) Christianis. R. Libera eos deus (Israel) ex omnibus tribulationibus (iniquitatibus) eorum.	31, 44–49, 56, 57, 64
Oremus pro servis tuis bellatoribus nostris. R. Dominus conservet eos et vivificet eos et non tradat eos in manibus inimicorum suorum.	33
Ostende nobis domine misericordiam	8, 10, 65, 69
Peccavimus cum patribus	259
Perpetua nos domine	259
Protector noster aspice deus	261
Sacerdotes tui	66
Salvam fac ancillam tuam	28
Salvos fac reges [see also Domine salvos fac reges]	31, 33, 49–51, 66
Salvos fac servos tuos deus meus	27, 31, 33, 50, 51, 69, 70, 76, 100
Salvum fac populum tuum.....	10, 31, 33, 42–44, 46–51, 54, 56, 64–69, 172, 259
Salvum fac regem nostrum. R. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te.	33, 50
Salvum fac servum tuum	28, 48, 51
Sancta Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria. R. Intercede pro nobis ad dominum nostrum.	33
Sanctus deus	260
Sanctus deus fortis	260
Sanctus deus fortis et immortalis	260
Unam petimus a domino	261
Ut ecclesiam tuam regere et defendere digneris	69
Ut inimicos sancte matris	69
Ut regibus et principibus	69, 256

*Index of Names and Subjects***Persons**

Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury	xvi
Benedict of Peterborough	8–9
Bernard, Bishop of Kotor	186, 195, 267
Berthold von Henneberg, Archbishop of Mainz	272
Calixtus III, Pope	119, 124, 126, 179, 183, 186–87, 189, 194–05, 237–241, 246–07, 249, 254, 262, 273
Celestin III, Pope	2–3
Charlemagne	276, 279, 280, 282–03
Clement III, Pope	2
Clement V, Pope	37, 100, 103, 104, 118–22, 129, 137–38, 149
Durand, Guillaume, Bishop of Mende.....	45
Edward I, King of England	355
Edward II, King of England	120
Edward, son of Henry VI King of England	27
Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV King of England	27
Eudes de Chateauroux, Papal Legate	44
Frederic Barbarossa, Emperor	xvi
Giles, Saint	276, 282
Gregory VIII, Pope	1–2
Gregory X, Pope	355
Gregory XI, Pope	101
Henry II, King of England.....	1
Henry IV, King of England	27
Henry VI, King of England	27
Henry of Albano, Papal Legate	2
Honorius III, Pope	38, 119
Innocent III, Pope	3, 37–41, 99
Innocent IV, Pope	41, 44–45, 76
Innocent VIII, Pope	51, 146
Jean Sarrasin	xvii
Jeanne d’Arc	364
Joachim of Fiore	9
Joanna, Queen	27
Johann I, King of Portugal	70
John II, King of France.....	101
John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury	52
John XXII, Pope	50–52, 55, 66, 100–03, 107, 119, 146–50, 172
Leo, Pope	282, 283, 291, 300, 301
Louis IX, King of France	xvii, 44, 45, 80, 355
Margaret, Queen of Henry VI King of England	27
Michael, Papal Legate	2

Nicholas III, Pope	46, 48, 50, 51, 54
Oliver the Scholasticus	xvi, 37
Ottobuono, Papal Legate	53–54
Paul II, Pope,	186, 267
Peter of Blois	1
Philip II, King of France	xv
Philip IV, King of France	101
Philip VI, King of France	147
Richard I, King of England	9
Richard III, King of England	28
Robert of Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury	53
Roger of Howden	2, 8–10
Saladin	9–11, 88, 92
Salimbene de Adam	45, 365
Sixtus IV, Pope	187, 189, 194, 222, 226
Trajan	282, 300
Urban V, Pope	101, 103, 147
William of Blois, Bishop of Worcester	52
William the Marshal	xvii

Place-names

(Local Uses and places where Holy Land and cognate rituals were performed and documented; general references precede specific references.)

Aachen	153
Acre, Hospitallers	355, 360
Albaneta, Benedictine Priory of St Maria	72
Albi, Sainte-Cécile Cathédrale	76
Amiens, Hôtel-Dieu	355, 360
Angers	55, 75
Argenton-sur-Creuse, Franciscans	361
Arles, St Trophime Cathedral	46, 71, 107
Arnsberg, Wedinghausen, Premonstratensian Abbey of St Lambert	74
Arras	71, 141
Assisi, San Rufino Cathedral	74
Augsburg	77, 143, 159, 160, 167, 184, 191, 193, 211, 214
Cathedral	205, 210
Augustinian Canons of the Holy Cross	167, 211
St Stephen Convent	77
Benedictine Abbey of SS Ulrich and Afra	69
Autun	104, 116, 170
Hospitallers	46, 47, 151
Auxerre	138, 151, 152
Babwell, Franciscans	298, 346

Bamberg	30, 71, 229
Barcelona	166, 361
Basel, St Margaret Charterhouse	72
Bazas	139, 166
Bedfordshire	292
Benediktbeuren, Benedictine Abbey of SS Benedict and James	139, 166, 169, 237
Benevento, Benedictine Abbey of St Mary and St Peter	154
Bergamo	158
Bethlehem	148
Bezançon	160, 193, 194, 219, 220
Bohemia	161, 165, 184, 203–205
Boldau, Benedictine Abbey	72
Bologna	154
Bordeaux	26, 160, 167, 221
Bourges	361
Chapter of Canons of the Sainte-Chapelle	77
Braga	30, 34, 35, 72, 166, 167, 192, 196, 208, 250, 251
Brandenburg	159
Breslau	159
Brixen	158, 165, 166
Bursfeld, Benedictine Abbey of SS Thomas the Apostle and Nicholas	241
Cambrai, Augustinian Canons of St Aubert	169, 188, 248, 249
Canterbury	
Benedictine Abbey of St Augustine	52–53
Cathedral	79
Caromb, Benedictine Priory of the Holy Innocents	150, 171
Casamari, Cistercian Abbey of SS John and Paul	102, 170
Caserta, Lateran Canons of Santa Maria Bianca	160
Castres (Diocese of Albi), Benedictine Abbey of St Benedict (later St Vincent)	107
Cava dei Tirreni, Benedictine Abbey	139, 157
Chalons-sur-Marne	170
Chartres	46, 71, 72, 101, 139, 159, 160
Saint-Martin-au-Val, Priory of Marmoutier	73
Cheshire	291
Clare, Austin Friars	346
Clermont	76, 168, 183, 235
Compiègne, Benedictine Abbey of SS Cornelius and Cyprian	138, 151
Constance	191–2, 193, 212, 214
Darmstast, Cornelismünster	74
Dijon, Champmol Charterhouse	72
Durham and Durham Diocese	59, 79, 291, 317, 333
Ebersbach	159
Einsiedeln, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady and SS Maurice, Meinard, Sigismund and Justus	157, 166, 169, 190, 193, 198
Embrun	170
Enniger, St Mauritius church	166

Erlangen	183, 195, 268
Evesham, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady and St Egwin	27–28
Evreux	74
Exeter Cathedral	52, 291, 332
Farfa, Benedictine (Cluniac) Abbey of S Maria	154
Fécamp, Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Trinity	72, 143, 155
Ferrara, San Francesco church	163
Figeac, Benedictine (Cluniac) Abbey of the Holy Saviour and Our Lady	115, 176, 177, 199, 206–08, 216, 228, 269
Fonte Buono, Camaldolese Abbey of St Donatus	170
Freising	169, 183, 188, 195, 251, 252
Fürstenberg, Cistercian Abbey	141
Fürstenfeld, Cistercian Abbey of St Bernard	154
Gawsworth (Cheshire), St James church	59, 79, 333
Genoa	154, 163
Gerona	36, 39, 74, 107–08, 143, 150, 151, 155, 157
Colegiata San Felix	150, 151, 155
Girone	139, 154
Glandèves	170
Gmünd	157
Göttweig, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady	161, 237
Grenoble	138, 167
Gurk, Augustinian Canons of St Hemma	162
Güssing, Franciscans	268
Halberstadt	159, 169, 241
Haute-Auvergne	107
Hauterive, Cistercian Abbey	138, 153
Hereford and Herefordshire	55, 64, 67, 126, 167, 170, 171, 291, 300, 316, 317, 321, 331, 333, 334,
Heiligenkreuz, Cistercian Abbey of the Holy Cross	141, 152, 157, 162, 279
Heilsbronn, Cistercian Abbey	151
Hildesheim	159, 169, 183, 187, 195, 253, 254
Horsham (Sussex), St Mary church	332
Insderdorf	191, 194, 215, 216
Ipswich	
Carmelites	346
Dominicans	346
Jerusalem	100, 117, 118, 137, 148, 154
Jumièges, Benedictine Abbey of St Peter	161
Kaisheim, Cistercian Abbey	77, 159
Kelheim, Benedictine Convent	159
Kent	292
Klagenfurt	139, 195, 246
Klosterneuburg, Augustinian Canons of the Monastery of the Holy Saviour and Our Lady	72, 143, 146, 155, 162, 169, 187, 191, 195, 241, 244, 277

Köln

Benedictine Abbey of St Martin Major	155
St Barbara Charterhouse	68
Korneuburg, church	162
Kremsmünster, Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Saviour and St Agapit	237
Kritzendorf, chapel	162
Laach, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady and St Nicholas	73
Lambach, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady and St Chilian	143, 153, 162, 166, 168, 237
Langheim, Cistercian Abbey	192, 208
Langres	167, 195, 291, 304, 318, 323, 334
Lapworth (Warwickshire), St Mary church	59, 79, 291, 333
Lausanne	158
Lessness, Augustinian Abbey of St Mary and St Thomas the Martyr	52, 74
Liessies, Benedictine Abbey of St Lambert	72
Lilienfeld, Cistercian Abbey	162, 163, 169, 237
Limoges	139, 151, 153, 170
Saint-Pierre-du Queyroix church.....	360
Benedictine (Cluniac) Abbey of St Martial	100
Lincolnshire	57, 58, 78, 292, 339
Lisbon, Cistercians	139, 152, 153
London	8–12, 52, 56, 59, 60, 78, 79, 115, 288–91, 332, 333, 336–39, 360
St Botolph, Aldersgate	332
Augustinian Priory of St Mary, Overy	331
St Paul's Cathedral.....	8–12, 78
Benedictine Abbey of St Peter, Westminster.....	8–12, 52–53, 157
St Stephen's Chapel	332
Lübeck, Dominican Monastery	169, 193, 195, 272, 273
Lyons.....	159, 167, 220, 221
Collegiate Church of Saint-Nizier.....	326
Magdeburg	26, 38, 159
Mainz	71, 183, 187, 188, 195, 261–62, 272
Mans (Le).....	77, 138, 152, 184, 193, 206, 208
Marseilles	170
Benedictine Abbey of St Victor:	7
Meaux	361
Mehrerau, Benedictine Abbey of SS Peter and Paul	155
Melk, Benedictine Abbey of SS Peter and Paul, the Holy Cross and St Cholomann.....	143, 146, 163, 166, 168, 169, 237
Mende	46
Milan	105, 158, 185, 194, 226, 227
Minehead (Somerset), Parish church of St Michael	60, 78
Moissac, Benedictine Abbey of St Peter	115, 130, 133–35, 176, 206–08, 216, 228, 269
Monmouthshire	291, 334
Mondsee, Benedictine Abbey of SS Peter and Michael	143, 157, 165, 238
Mont-Saint-Éloi, Augustinian Abbey of St Vindicianus	151
Mont-Saint-Michel, Benedictine Abbey of St Michael	73

Monte Cassino, Benedictine Archabbey of St Benedict	72, 158, 167, 185, 194, 217, 219
Montpellier	2
St Peter Cathedral, Maguelonne.....	326
Montrieux, Our Lady Charterhouse	42, 68, 71, 206
Montserrat, Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady	159, 166
Morimond, Cistercian Abbey	69
Munich, Franciscans	154
Nantes, Carmelites	75
Nantua, Benedictine (Cluniac) Priory of St Peter, Holy Cross Chapel	167
Narbonne	2, 168, 170, 174, 192, 194, 223, 224
Neuberg, Cistercian Abbey	142, 152, 161, 279, 325
Nevers	5, 159, 170, 325
Norfolk	292, 338, 339
Norwich and Norwich Diocese	52–53, 57, 59, 78, 291, 331, 332
Carmelites	346
Noyon	115, 188, 248, 249, 331
Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Éloi.....	5, 248
Olmütz	157
Franciscans.....	184, 203
Orford, Austin Friars	346
Oxford and Oxfordshire	57, 79, 291, 292, 332, 336, 338, 339
St Mary's, Adderbury.....	57, 79
Padova, Franciscans	150
Parc (Le), Premonstratensian Abbey of Our Lady	153
Paris	46–48, 56, 65, 76–78, 138–40, 143, 151–53, 160, 291, 318, 323, 334
Beguinage.....	355, 360, 361
Carmelites	75
Cluniacs.....	188
Notre-Dame Cathedral	71, 100, 151
Carmelites	75
Sainte-Chapelle.....	47, 76, 153
Ste Geneviève, Regular Canons (St Victor)	78
Temple	360
Passau	119, 143, 144, 156–60, 162, 189, 190, 195, 237, 238, 255, 256, 325
Pembrokeshire	79, 291, 333
Poitiers	160, 169, 183, 195, 250, 251
Polling, Benedictine Abbey of St Edith	166
Pontarlier, Cistercians	140, 144, 151, 152, 155
Prague	160
Provins	
Collegiale of St Quiriac.....	360
Franciscans.....	45
Ramsey, Benedictine Abbey of St Mary and St Benedict	355, 360
Regensburg	144, 160, 168, 169, 194, 229
Sankt Emmeram Benedictine Abbey.....	159, 169, 190, 230
Reitenbuch, Augustinian Monastery of Our Lady	262

Remiremont, St Peter's Chapter of Canonesses	160
Rennes	166
Reun, Cistercian Abbey	163, 165
Rheims	39, 43, 48, 75, 138, 139, 155, 160, 169, 189, 248, 249
St Mary Church, St Anne's Chapel	157
Reitenbuch, Monastery of S. Maria	262
Rome	117, 137, 166
Basilica of the Holy Cross	37
Basilica of St-Lawrence-outside-the-wall	106, 116
Basilica of St Peter	73, 116
Rouen	73, 155, 159, 168, 221
Saint-Amand, Benedictine Abbey	30, 72
Saint Andrews, Monastery of Augustinian Canons	334
Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Benedictine Abbey of St Benedict	73
Saint-Claude, Benedictine Abbey of St Claudius	325
Saint-Denis, Benedictine Abbey of St Denis	34, 36, 72, 77, 105, 154
Saint Dubricius' Whitchurch (Monmouthshire)	170
Saint-Laurent, Cluniac Abbey	77
Saint-Lô, Augustinian Abbey of the Holy Cross	155
Saint-Loup	5
Saint-Maur-des Fossés, Benedictine Abbey of St Maurus	139, 154
Saint-Valéry, Benedictine Abbey of SS Valericus and Gualaricus	72, 78
Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge, Augustinian Priory of St Barbara	7, 78
Saintes	138, 152
Salzburg	139, 144, 146, 154–57, 161–65, 169, 183, 184, 187, 189, 190, 193, 195, 203, 205, 233, 240, 255, 256, 261
Sankt Florian, Augustinian Abbey	144, 156, 157, 164, 168, 169, 237, 280, 325, 326
Sankt Lambrecht, Benedictine Abbey of St Lambert	74, 144, 146, 161, 278, 325
Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Benedictine Abbey	144, 156, 164, 244
Sankt Pölten, Our Lady and St Hippolytus Monastery of Augustinian Canons	157, 169, 187, 191, 244, 245, 280, 325, 326
Collegiate Church of St Hippolytus	164
Sankt Udalric, chapel	165
Saronno Borgo, Franciscans	155
Salisbury, Sarum Use	12, 52, 55–64, 75, 78–80, 126, 158, 196, 264, 268, 290, 291, 303–05, 315, 316, 330–34, 360, 361
Schlägl, Premonstratensian Abbey	156
Seckau, Augustinian Canons Monastery of Our Lady	74, 139, 144, 146, 155, 158, 161
Sées (Sééz), Benedictine Abbey of St Martin	170, 184, 206, 208
Seitenstetten, Benedictine Abbey	164, 168, 238
Senlis	69, 71, 120, 160
Sens	72
Sevilla	167, 192, 193, 198
Shepton Beauchamps (Somerset)	80, 334
Sicily	3, 99
Somerset	60, 291

Somogyvar, Abbey	72
Sopron (Ödenburg).....	153
Strassburg	183, 188, 191, 194, 195, 213, 214, 268, 272
Subiaco, Benedictine Abbey of St Scholastica	117, 118, 156, 164, 170
Sudbury, Archdeaconry	289, 292–99
Dominicans	346
Suffolk	292–99
Sussex	291, 332, 336–39, 352
Tarazona	144, 156, 164, 166, 361
Thetford, Dominicans	346
Toledo	69, 105, 139, 156
Tortosa	73, 108, 110–14, 150, 151, 156, 172, 173
Toul	43, 46, 69
Tours	117, 126, 161, 206
Treves, St Alban Charterhouse	72
Triefenstein, Augustinian Nuns	170, 234
Trier	138, 141, 156, 158
Utrecht	220, 332
Uzes	158
Valencia, Porta Coeli Charterhouse	160
Vallbona de las Monjas, Cistercians	69, 76, 156
Venice and Venice Diocese.....	161, 170
Verden	159
Verona	157
Vienna	162
Dominicans	165
Vorau, Monastery of Augustinian Canons	164, 165, 193, 194, 233
Warwickshire	291
Weihenstephan, Benedictine Abbey of St Stephen.....	252
Weingarten, Benedictine Abbey of St Martin.....	73, 158
Wiener Neustadt, Dominican Convent	161
Wilhering, Cistercian Abbey	139, 157, 165, 189, 325
Winchester and Winchester Diocese	59, 79, 196
Worcester and Worcester Diocese	52, 57, 59, 60, 79, 80, 331, 333, 360
Worms	154
Würzburg and Würzburg Diocese	154, 168, 170, 185, 194, 225, 226, 234
York and Yorkshire	53, 55, 62, 64–67, 79, 126, 142, 167, 291, 301, 303, 310, 316, 321, 323, 330, 331, 333, 334, 360, 361
York Cathedral	330
Zagreb	164
Zaragoza	70, 102, 165
Zwettl, Cistercian Abbey	165, 167, 325, 326

Subjects

- Austin Friars 298, 346
 bell-ringing 7, 27, 52
 Carmelites 42, 51–52, 125, 192, 209, 298, 346
 Carthusians 30, 34, 36, 54, 56, 65, 68, 125
 Chapter, daily 2, 7, 42
 Cistercians 2–3, 26–27, 31, 34, 41–42, 44, 51, 69, 69–70, 73,
 98–99, 118, 125, 140, 141, 192, 209
 clamor 3–5
Clamor contra invasores Ecclesie xviii, 6–8, 10, 42, 364
Commendatio animarum 291, 305, 307
 Computer-aided manuscript classification 138–141
 Councils
 Cognac (1255) 99
 Lateran IV (1215, 12th Ecumenical) 37
 Lyons I (1274, 13th Ecumenical) 44, 355
 Montpellier (1195) 2
 Rouen (1335) 102
 Vienne (1311–12, 15th Ecumenical) 102
 Crusade of the Poor 120
 Dominicans 150, 298, 346
 fasting 175, 284, 306, 307
 Flagellants 120
 Franciscans 44–45, 125, 147–48, 298, 346
 heretics 27, 50, 121, 127, 132, 134, 135, 175,
 179–80, 184–90, 191–92, 193–95, 203–06, 225–26, 229–31, 238–41, 244–47, 251–52
 Hospitallers 46–47, 47, 118, 119, 355, 357, 360
 Hussites 27, 70, 126, 146, 179, 182, 184, 190, 191, 203, 205, 210, 211, 247
 Indulgence 50, 101, 119, 166, 186, 188, 268, 272, 278, 282, 354, 364
 infidels 5, 27, 103, 121, 124, 125, 127, 132, 134, 135, 138, 143, 146, 175, 178–82,
 188, 190, 191, 200, 203, 204, 208, 211–15, 230, 238–40, 246–47, 251–52, 268–72, 364
 Jews 83–84, 90–91, 94, 121, 146
 Kiss of Peace 39, 40
 Kyrieleison + Pater noster 4–5, 8, 10, 48, 58–62, 64
 Litany 34, 189, 256, 272, 283, 305, 307, 324
 Litany, The Great 4–6, 10, 42, 44, 45
 Ludus de Antichristo 365
 Marian Feasts 284–86, 302–04, 323
 Mass, Conventual 26–27, 44, 45, 118
 Mass, votive
 Contra paganos [see also *Pro paganis*] 12, 117, 121, 122, 126, 128–30, 137,
 138, 172–73, 177, 191, 192–93
 Contra persecutores (ecclesie/et male agentes) 31, 42, 46, 50, 76, 100, 103, 107
 Contra raptos ecclesie 6–7
 De angelis 98, 100, 101, 278, 279, 283, 284

<i>De Apostolis</i>	276, 278, 279, 280, 283, 284
<i>De beata Maria</i>	98, 100–02, 269, 276, 278–80, 284, 326–30
<i>De confessoribus</i>	276, 326, 328, 329
<i>De Evangelistis</i>	276, 328
<i>De martyribus</i>	226, 276, 326, 328, 329
<i>De quinque vulneribus</i>	282, 283
<i>De Sancta Cruce</i>	98–99, 101, 102, 277–79
<i>De Spiritu Sancto</i>	98–99, 276–80, 283, 279
<i>De Trinitate</i>	98, 100, 101, 102, 278, 279
<i>De virginibus</i>	276, 326, 329
<i>In profectione hostium euntibus in proelium</i>	177
<i>In tempore belli</i>	31, 46, 50, 100, 103, 107, 115–17, 137, 175–78, 181, 184, 185, 188, 191, 199, 201, 206–08, 215, 217, 220, 225, 227, 229, 231–36, 239–40, 242–43, 246, 266–67, 273
<i>In (Pro) tribulatione</i>	31, 42, 98–100, 107, 181, 189, 227, 229, 231, 233–35, 238, 246, 248, 250, 251
<i>Pro imminente prosecutione barbarica</i>	177
<i>Pro imperatore</i>	104–05, 116, 192, 200, 202
<i>Pro intercessione sanctorum</i>	98, 100
<i>Pro invasione paganorum</i>	177, 188, 269, 272
<i>Pro iter agentibus</i>	103, 106, 107
<i>Pro navigantibus</i>	103, 106
<i>Pro pace</i> 42, 54, 64, 169, 181, 186, 188–90, 196, 198, 239, 242, 247, 257, 258, 261, 269–72	
<i>Pro paganis</i> [see also <i>Contra paganos</i>]	117, 177, 183, 216, 217, 228
<i>Pro peccatis</i>	188, 239, 272, 276, 284, 326, 328
<i>Pro (De) quacumque necessitate</i>	98–99, 107
<i>Pro rege</i>	54, 177, 188, 269, 272
<i>Pro rege et exercitu suo</i>	104, 177
<i>Pro rege in die belli contra paganos</i>	177
<i>Pro regibus</i>	104, 177
<i>Pro salute vivorum</i>	239, 276, 284, 326, 328
<i>Requiem</i>	275, 278, 294, 295, 306–07, 309, 329, 346
Muslims	8, 12, 93, 94, 102, 121–23, 324
Office of the Dead	305–06
Passio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi secundum Iohannem	306
Pastoureaux	120
pilgrimage	68, 85–86, 184, 203, 278, 282, 293, 308, 358
Prayer, the Angelic Salutation	306, 354
Prayer, The Lord's	52, 306, 354
Prayer of the Sick	355
<i>Pro Christianissimo imperatore nostro</i> , Good Friday prayer	11–12, 28, 104, 115, 124, 127–130, 137, 138
<i>Pro rege nostro</i> , Ordo	47–48
prostration	39, 44, 58, 59, 62, 64
Psalms, the Fifteen Gradual	305, 307
Psalms, the Seven Penitential	272, 283, 305, 307, 324

Purgatory	277, 280–82, 285, 290, 293, 300, 308, 311, 324, 352, 353, 364
registers, papal	2, 37, 128, 137–38, 149
Style	
Annunciation/Incarnation	66, 303–04
Christmas	302–04
Easter	66
<i>Subsidium Terrae Sanctae</i>	127, 184, 203
Tartars	26, 31, 38
Templars	355, 360
Teutonic Knights	122, 267
Turks	xviii, 27, 69, 76, 101, 119, 123–27, 146, 175, 179–81, 183, 184, 186–91, 193–95, 198, 203, 222–26, 230, 241, 247, 249, 251, 252, 254, 261, 262, 264, 267, 272–73, 364
wills	287–89, 292–94

