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Liturgy and liturgical books

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Liturgy understood as a framework for the communal worship of God has a history in the Christian tradition (the scope of this entry) that stretches back to New Testament times, viz. the apostle Paul's description of a communal *agapē* (1 Cor xi:20-26). The development of the liturgy during the first centuries of the Christian era is poorly documented; modern understanding of ritual and prayer formulae depends on references in patristic writings and the 'church orders' that emerged in the late 4th century. The latter are preserved, often fragmentarily, in their original languages and in multiple translations (Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ge'ez [Ethiopian], or Latin). They describe rites for baptism, ordination, and the Eucharist, as well as codes of ecclesiastical discipline.

What one might call 'juridical' definitions of liturgy emphasize its public and officially sanctioned status as something approved by competent ecclesiastical authorities, international, national, or local. A certain level of structural or verbal fixity is implied. Even those Reformation traditions (Calvinist, Presbyterian, Baptist) that favour spontaneous prayer inspired by the Spirit over 'set' forms of prayer situate these within a conventional structure that admits degrees of flexibility. A juridical definition of liturgy tends to separate it from other manifestations of piety, whether private or public.

In addition to its broad generic meaning, 'liturgy' is often employed as a synonym for 'rite' in the sense of an entire complex of texts, chants, distinctive ceremonial gestures, and liturgical observances common to a geographical area, as, for example, the Gallican, Aquileian, Old Spanish, Sarum (Salisbury), and Milanese rites, of which only the latter has survived as a living tradition (King, 1959; Smyth, 2003 and 2007). Typically, the rite of an important metropolitan see would be taken over by neighbouring bishoprics. Thus on the eve of the reformation in England there were five principal rites or 'uses': those of Salisbury (Sarum), Hereford, Bangor, York, and Lincoln. What is known as the 'Roman' rite developed in 8th- and 9th-century Francia through a combination of the Roman liturgy with indigenous Frankish customs. Rites for Mass and Office proper to some religious orders (Cistercian, Carmelite, Dominican) are variants of the Roman rite (Bonniwell, 1945; King, 1955, Boyce, 1999; Waddell, 2007; Smith, 2012). Although the orders abandoned their traditional rites after the Second Vatican

Council, editions of many of their older liturgical books are available online. In a few Benedictine monasteries the Office is still said in Latin according to the traditional rite.

There is a modern tendency, derived from the fields of ritual studies, cultural anthropology, psychology, sociology, and linguistics, to regard the liturgy as some kind of 'performance' and to characterize the prescribed movements of the participants as a kind of 'choreography'. Apart from the terminological anachronisms, such an explanation misses the essence of the liturgy. Few priests, monks, and nuns would regard themselves as actors in a drama discharging their respective roles during Mass and Office, however it may appear to an uninitiated onlooker, though it is true that some medieval allegorical interpretations of the Mass understood it as a re-enactment of events in the life of Christ. Ritual studies can, nevertheless, contribute to an understanding of Christian liturgy within the wider context of human ritual action. There is no word that adequately describes what the ministers (clergy) charged with principal roles in the liturgy do: 'celebrate' (Ger. *feiern*, Fr. *célébrer*, It. *celebrare*), though widely accepted, may seem on the surface out of place for services during penitential seasons or funerals. Etymologically, 'worship' derives from Anglo-Saxon 'weorthscipe' (to ascribe worth). According to Frank Senn (1997), worship properly understood is not so much humanity's attempt to ascribe worth to God but God's dignifying humanity by entering into communion with it. It has been suggested that the German term for a worship service, *Gottesdienst*, might be construed as man's service to God as well as (reciprocally) God's service to man.

The study of the liturgy divides primarily along historical, theological, or pastoral lines. Pastoral liturgy, the most recent of these to take shape, is practical in its orientation, encompassing not only the conduct of public worship (including preaching) but also the administration of the sacraments, ministry to the sick, catechesis, spiritual guidance, etc. Liturgical theology investigates the deeper meaning of the rites, while not neglecting a historical perspective, and may develop principles to guide the celebration of the liturgy or the creation of new rites. Historical study of the liturgy focusses primarily on the development of rites based on the examination of material evidence: books of many typologies (see §II and III below), ceremonial vestments, liturgical vessels, and literary evidence, as well as the changing physical setting of the liturgy from the early Christian basilica to modern, non-traditional architecture.

The present overview will cover the books used in the medieval liturgy and liturgical commentaries (§II), the orders of service produced by the churches of the Reformation (§III), and the 'liturgical movements' of the late 19th century and the 20th that prompted important changes in the liturgical practice of virtually all the historic Christian churches (§IV). Limited coverage will be given to the Divine Office, responsibility for which fell to monastics (male

and female), cathedral canons, and member of religious orders. The loosely ordered forms of worship of evangelical churches are too diverse for inclusion.

On the classification of liturgical books see Cabrol (1926, 1930), Righetti (1946, vol.1), Sheppard (1962), Fiala and Irtenkauf (1963), Vogel (1966), Thiel (1967), Baroffio (1990), Neuheuser (1991, 1992), Palazzo (1993), Folsom (1997), Baroffio, 'I libri liturgici' (2000), and Klöckener and Häussling (2004).

I. History and definition of liturgy

Joseph Dyer

The word 'liturgy' derives from the Greek *leitourgia*, formed from the combination of the adjective *lēitos* ('state', 'public') and the noun *ergon* ('work'). In ancient Greece a *leitourgia* was the offering of financial support by private citizens for some activity in the public interest. Prosperous citizens could be obliged by law to perform a *leitourgia*, but the term also included spontaneous gestures of civic generosity. Thus one or more citizens might undertake the training and outfitting of a chorus for the theatre, the support of gymnastic events or the equipping of a ship in time of war. From the 3rd century BCE the term began to embrace other kinds of work that provided a service, often remunerated, or any kind of useful activity. The office of priest, who mediated between the people and one of the gods, was also sometimes called *deitourgia*, but outside Egypt cultic connotations of the word were not widespread.

The Jewish translators of the Septuagint (prepared in Egypt 250-150 BCE) adopted *leitourgia* (verb: *leitourgein*) as the normal word for the service (*avodah*) of priests and Levites in the Temple. By choosing a word with weak religious connotations they avoided terminology too closely associated with pagan cults. Jewish priests and Levites performed the public 'service' of prayer and sacrifice directed to God on behalf of their people, for whose subordinate role other words (*latreuein, douleuein*) were chosen.

Technical use of *leitourgia* carried over into the New Testament, where the word occurs relatively infrequently (15 times). For the priest Zachary father of John the Baptist, encountered an angel who predicted the birth of his son, he departed from the Temple 'when the days of his liturgy were fulfilled' (Luke i.23). The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, rejecting the efficacy of Jewish Temple sacrifices, glorified Jesus as the true high priest of a superior 'liturgy' (Hebrews viii.6, cf. viii.1-2). The author contrasted his single offering of himself with the functions of an ordinary priest, who must perform his 'liturgy' daily (Hebrews x.11). In the New Testament 'liturgy' continued to be applied in the broader sense to other forms of service. Paul called himself a 'liturgist of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles' (Romans xv.16) and described kindness towards himself as a 'liturgy' (Philippians ii.25, 30). He referred to a donation for Christians at Jerusalem as 'the

fellowship of this liturgy' (2 *Corinthians* ix.12). Latin translations of the Scriptures did not adopt the Greek term directly but rendered it as *ministerium*, *munus* etc.

Although the New Testament never related *leitourgia* to the nascent Christian cult, the word was taken up by the Greek-speaking Christian East to describe the ministry of clergy in general, and from the 4th century it was applied particularly to the eucharistic liturgy. Even today, the Eucharistic celebration of the Eastern Churches uses four principal 'liturgies': the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, the Liturgy of St Basil the Great, the Liturgy of the Presanctified (celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays during Lent and on the first three days of Holy Week), and the Liturgy of St James (from Jerusalem; still used by Syrian Christians). Medieval authors in the Latin West most often employed terms such as *officium* (adj. *officialis*), *ritus*, or *mysterium* when writing about the Church's worship.

Not until the 16th century (and under the influence of humanism) did the term 'liturgy' come into vogue. Jacobus Pamelius (Jacques de Joigny de Pamèle) published a treatise entitled *Liturgia latinorum* (1571), and Cardinal Bona's influential *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo* followed a century later (1671). The growing acceptance of the term in the 17th century is further attested in *De liturgia gallicana* (1685) by the Benedictine historian Jean Mabillon.

II. Medieval Western rite

Joseph Dyer

1. Structure of the liturgy and its books.

The two principal services of the medieval Western liturgy were the Mass and the Divine Office. The central element of the Mass, the consecration of bread and wine using the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper, was preceded by scripture readings and prayers, to which chants were later added. In cathedral churches and monasteries Mass was celebrated daily (several times in the case of churches and monasteries with multiple altars and numerous priests) and with great solemnity on special feasts, but in smaller churches perhaps only on Sundays (*see* Mass, §I). The Divine Office consisted of a daily round of eight times of prayer centred on weekly recitation of the Psalter, the singing of chants and hymns, and readings from the Scriptures, from the writings of the Fathers, and from the legends of the saints on their feast days. The liturgical day began before dawn with Matins and ended with Compline at nightfall. Lauds (earlier known as Matins) was sung at daybreak, followed by the Hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None, recited at approximately 6 a.m., 9 a.m., noon, and 3 p.m., respectively. It

became customary to celebrate with special solemnity 'first' Vespers on the evening preceding major feasts. On Sundays, however, 'second' Vespers in mid-afternoon was the principal observance, and it remained an important Sunday event in Catholic churches up to the early 20th century (*see* Divine Office and related articles). Certain prayers and chants of the Mass and Office were recited or sung daily, while other components varied according to the liturgical day, season, or feast. The fixed elements (e.g., most of the priest's prayers at Mass) were known as the Ordinary. Variable elements (e.g., chants and prayers that made allusion to a feast) were part of the Proper.

The 'Proper of the Time' (Lat. *Temporale*) was organized around the liturgical year, which began on the first Sunday of Advent, four weeks before Christmas, and closed with the last Sunday after Pentecost. The *Temporale* celebrated 'feasts of the Lord', mainly events in the life of Christ. Some of these, such as Christmas (25 December), Epiphany (6 January), and the Annunciation (25 March) fell on the same date every year. Most, however, were movable, dependent upon the variable date of Easter. This group includes the season of Lent (40 days preceding Easter Sunday), the feasts of the Ascension and of Pentecost (40 and 50 days after Easter, respectively). Sundays were numbered in relation to these major feasts: for example, the Second Sunday after Epiphany, the First Sunday after Easter, the Tenth Sunday after Pentecost.

The Proper of the Saints (Lat. *Sanctorale*) commemorated the feast-days of martyrs and saints celebrated on fixed dates of the calendar. The *Sanctorale* varied to a certain extent from place to place; it incorporated formularies for local saints whose feasts were not universally observed. Important observances, such as the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June), the feasts of St Peter and St Paul (June 29), or the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August), were celebrated with greater solemnity than the commemorations of saints. Formularies for saints of lesser rank were drawn from the Common of the Saints (Lat. *Commune sanctorum*), which furnished chants, readings, and prayers for the several categories of saints: apostles, evangelists, martyrs, doctors, bishops, confessors, virgins, etc. In liturgical books these formularies were grouped together at the end of the *Sanctorale*.

The *Temporale* was based on solar and (to a lesser extent) lunar cycles, while the *Sanctorale* was based on the division of the year into 12 months. The fact that these two astronomical cycles did not coincide from year to year presented problems for the structure of liturgical books. The two intersecting cycles could be kept entirely separate, or blocks of sanctoral feasts could be dispersed among the observances of the *Temporale*. Elaborate rules governed which feasts (*Temporale* or *Sanctorale*) took precedence in the event that two observances coincided on the same day. An Ordinal (*see* below)

coordinated the two by establishing orders of precedence. Efforts to date liturgical books precisely based on the integration of the two cycles remain problematical.

The history of liturgical books is a complex subject that has been treated in a number of important comprehensive overviews (Vogel, Palazzo, Folsom) based on hundreds of specialized studies. Though there are valid typologies of liturgical books, virtually every medieval liturgical manuscript contains a unique combination of elements and must, therefore, be studied individually. (For examples see Sources, MS, §II.) Liturgical manuscripts vary widely in size and format. The earliest ones took the form of a scroll (Lat. *rotulus*), a format that survived as a tradition only in the Exultet rolls that were a specialty of the Beneventan region and southern Italy. Many codices were small, unimposing books that could be held in the hand; others were distinguished calligraphic productions lavishly decorated and illuminated — deluxe manuscripts meant to honour the text and to project the prestige of the church, monastery, or aristocrats by whom they were commissioned.

The earliest liturgical books, designed to permit a single individual (priest, deacon, cantor) to discharge a specific role in the liturgy, contained only the texts proper to that role. Beginning in the 9th century, efforts were made to combine these individual books, but compilers had not only to integrate their separate contents but also to co-ordinate the overlapping *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* cycles. Such books, of which the missal and the breviary are the best known typologies, combined in a single volume all or most of the elements needed for all Sundays, feasts, or weekdays (*feriae*).

For further on the history of the liturgy see Srawley (1913), Schuster (1923), Maxwell (1936), Righetti (1946), King (1957), Miller (1959), Schmidt (1960), Klauser (1965), Nagel (1970), Mayer (1971), Cattaneo (1978), Meyer (1983), Adam (1985), Kalb (1991), Wegman (1991), Senn (1997), Wakefield (1998), Crouan (2001), Miklósházy (2006), Wainwright and Westerfield Tucker (2006), Foley (2008), and Pecklers (2012).

2. Mass books.

(i) *Sacramentary.*

(from Lat. *sacramentarium, liber sacramentorum*). The book used by the officiating bishop or priest (the celebrant) at the eucharistic liturgy and for miscellaneous blessings. It contains the texts for the Canon of the Mass, the Proper prayers (collect, secret, post-communion, and prefaces) for all observances of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* and for votive Masses, and a few other formulae

(blessings, etc.) recited by a priest or bishop. In the earliest centuries of the Christian era bishops improvised their prayers at the Eucharist. Subsequently, these were written down in small *libelli*. The earliest surviving Western collection of such texts, the Verona Sacramentary (also known as the Leonine Sacramentary after Pope Leo I, *d* 461; **I-VEcap** 85), is a collection of 5th- and 6th-century Roman *libelli*, compiled (probably by private initiative) about 620 or 625. The collection is incomplete in some respects (the period from January to mid-April is missing) and redundant in others; there are, for example, 28 formularies for the feasts of St Peter and St Paul.

The most important complete sacramentaries whose contents are of Roman origin are the Gelasian and the Gregorian. The Gelasian (or 'Old Gelasian', named after Gelasius I, *d* 496; **I-Rvat** Reg.lat.316, *c*750) was regarded by Antoine Chavasse as reflecting the practice of Roman *tituli* (parishes) in the mid-7th century (Chavasse, 1952, 1989), but Charles Coebergh (1961) adduced evidence to prove that it represents a compilation of authentic Roman materials made by Frankish monks or clerics. The Gelasianum is divided into three books: (1) the *Temporale* and rites of ordination; (2) the *Sanctorale*; and (3) 16 Sunday Masses and votive Masses for various occasions.

The Gregorian Sacramentary, identified (as was the chant antiphoner) with Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) as early as the 8th century, was a papal book (*see* Rome, §II, 1), probably compiled in the early 7th century. The purest witness is the 'Hadrianum', a copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary sent to Charlemagne (*d* 814) at his request between 784 and 791 by Pope Hadrian (772–95). The original has been lost but a Cambrai manuscript (*F-CA* 164, *olim* 159) is believed to be a close copy. The text of the Hadrianum had to be supplemented, especially with Sunday Masses outside of paschal time, in order to make it a practical Mass book for the needs of the Frankish Church. The Supplement, compiled by Benedict of Aniane (*d* 821), was gradually integrated with the main text. The resulting Franco-Roman liturgy became the foundation of the 'Roman' rite. Another version of the Gregorian Sacramentary, known as the 'Paduense' (**I-Pc** D.47), represents (according to Chavasse, 1952) an adaptation from about 659 or 681 of the papal sacramentary for the presbyteral liturgy of St Peter's basilica in Rome. A third version, the Sacramentary of Trent (*I-TRmp* Cod. 1590) was compiled about 825 for Arno, bishop of Salzburg, on the basis of a Roman sacramentary of about 685. The family of Frankish sacramentaries known as '8th-Century Gelasians' was created in a monastic milieu about the third quarter of the 8th century. It structures Gelasian prayer formularies according to the continuous format of the Gregorian sacramentary. This family of sacramentaries, of which the sacramentaries of Gellone (*F-Pn* lat. 12048; 780/790), Angoulême (*F-Pn* lat. 816; 8th century), and St. Gall (*CH-SGs* ms. 348; 800–20) are the most important, contain, in addition to Mass formularies, blessings of individuals and objects. Another category, that of the 'gelasianised' Gregorian sacramentaries, has been identified. Sacramentaries of

this group are characterized by a supplemented Gregorian sacramentary combined with material from the 8th-century Gelasians. An example is the so-called 'Lateran Missal' (1243/4) from Città di Castello (*I-Rsg* co, A65).

A few sacramentaries, mostly incomplete, that were in use previous to the arrival of Roman books have survived as representatives of the Gallican liturgy: the *Missale Francorum I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 257; 8th century), the *Missale Gallicanum vetus (I-Rvat* Pal. lat. 493; 8th century), the *Missale Gothicum (I-Rvat* Reg. lat. 317; 7th to 8th century), and the Bobbio Missal (*F-Pn* lat. 13246; 8th century). A precious relic of the Celtic liturgy from the late 8th century is the Stowe Missal (*IRL-Da* D.II.3).

For further on the sacramentaries see Leroquais (1924), Bourque (1948, 1952), Gamber (1963), Deshusses (1971), Vogel (1966), and Metzger (1994).

(ii) Lectionary.

(from Lat. *lectionarium*). The book containing, in the order of the liturgical year, extracts (pericopes) from the New Testament Epistles or the Hebrew Scriptures and the Gospels read at Mass. At first, the two series were transmitted separately. Historical precursors of lectionaries with the complete texts of the readings include (1) marginal notes in some biblical manuscripts that indicated when a given passage was to be read (e.g., 'in natale sancti Stephani') and (2) simple lists known as capitularies (from Lat. *capitulare, liber capitularius*): a *capitulare evangeliorum* for the gospels or, in the case of an epistle list, a *comes* or *liber comitis* (Morin, 1910). These provided only the beginning and end of each reading, the complete text of which had to be sought in a biblical codex. Theodor Klauser (1935) identified four strata of development among the *capitularia evangeliorum*. The oldest system of readings documents Roman usage of about 645 (Klauser's Π), the next two groups, Λ and Σ, document later stages of development (c740 and c755, respectively) based on the presence of readings for the Thursdays in Lent, introduced by Pope Gregory II (715-731), and on the new feasts in their Sanctorales. A fourth type (Δ) from about the same time (750) is a Romano-Frankish adaptation of Π.

Gospel books with marginal indications are frequently found with a *capitulare* in the same manuscript. The Gospel Book of St Kilian (**D-WÜu** M.p.th.q.1a) has 200 such indications, entered between the 7th and 9th centuries (Salmon, 1951 and 1952). Each of the four Gospels in the famous Lindisfarne Gospels (*GB-Lbl* Cotton Nero D IV), written about 700 on a Neapolitan model, is preceded by a *capitulare* that lists the pericopes in the order in which they appear in the Gospels, not according to the liturgical year. Marginal notes in the text indicate the beginning and end of each pericope. Since

bibles of the time did not have the chapter-verse subdivisions with which we are familiar, the lists referred to the divisions of the 'Eusebian Tables' that were prefixed to many bibles (sometimes inscribed in beautifully decorated arcades). The tables divided the four Gospels into approximately 1165 sections, grouping them in ten tables that indicated parallels among the four evangelists, if any existed.

An epistle list from Capua (c545) with 73 pericopes in the Codex Fuldensis (*D-FUL*, Cod. Bonifatianus 1; Gamber, 1962) is complemented by marginal notes in the text of the epistles in the manuscript. The earliest epistle list representing Roman usage is the Würzburg Capitulare (**WÜu** M.p.th.f.62, ff.2v-10; Morin, 1910) from about 700, but reflecting urban practice of as much as a century earlier. (The manuscript also contains a gospel list on ff.10v-16v that documents a later stage of liturgical development (c645).) The *comes* of Alcuin (*F-Pn* lat. 9452; Wilmart, 1937), though compiled in the early 9th century, reflects Roman usage of nearly two centuries earlier. Judging from the number of survivals, epistle lists and full epistolaries were less common than gospel lists and evangeliaries with the complete texts.

Lists of epistles and gospels were combined, apparently for the first time in a single series, in the Lectionary of Murbach (**F-B** 184; late 8th century); the lists are believed to have been based on a lectionary with the complete texts. The *Comes Parisinus* (*F-Pn* lat. 9451; 8th to 9th centuries), written with gold and silver letters on purple parchment, is a complete lectionary from north Italy (Verona or Monza).

Apart from the Gallican Lectionary of Luxeuil (*F-Pn*, lat. 9427; 7th to 8th centuries), which combines the complete texts of epistles and gospels, the early history of 'complete' lectionaries (from the 6th century) is recorded only in fragmentary survivals like the palimpsest *D-Wa* Cod. Guelf. 76 Weiss. (Gaul, c500), which may be the earliest book of the western Latin liturgy to have survived. For further, see Carmassi (2008), Salmon, (1944), Gamber (1962, 1963), and Martimort (1992).

The development of lectionaries with the complete texts of each pericope did not make marginal notes or *capitularia* obsolete. The epistolary and the evangeliary, books with the complete texts of the epistle and gospel pericopes throughout the year, began to replace *capitularia* by the 12th century. More of the latter than of the former survive, undoubtedly a reflection of the relative stature of the texts they contain. The solemn reading of the Gospel at Mass was a special prerogative of the deacon, and the book for this reading was often richly illuminated and covered with a binding embellished with gold, silver, and precious stones.

See also Epistle and Gospel.

(iii) Gradual, cantatorium.

The gradual (from Lat. *gradale, graduale, liber gradualis*), also called the *antiphonarium missae*, contains the antiphonal and responsorial chants for the Proper of the Mass (introit, gradual, alleluia, tract, offertory, and communion) together with formularies for votive Masses that stand outside the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*; it may also contain chants for processions and other liturgical functions. The earliest extant graduals, which date from the late 8th century and the 9th (Hesbert, 1935), transmit only the unnotated texts of the chants. All but one of these graduals are combined with a sacramentary or (in one case) an Office antiphoner. A prologue ('Gregorius praesul') prefixed to several of the graduals (*B-Bc* 10127-101344; *I-Lc* 490; *F-Pn* lat. 17436) associates the origin of the book with Pope Gregory the Great (590-604); hence the designation 'Gregorian' chant.

Complete neumed exemplars of the gradual are not attested until the 10th century (**CH-SGs** 339; **F-LA** 239). (The neumes of these manuscripts can be compared with the chants in square notation in the *Graduale Triplex*, 1979.) The introduction of staff notation in the next century did not lead immediately to the abandonment of staffless neumes. Pieces from suppressed chant repertoires such as the Gallican and Beneventan were inserted into Gregorian graduals produced in those regions (Francia, South and Central Italy) as alternative or supplementary pieces. Additions were later made to the core repertoire to accommodate new feasts, many of which were local celebrations. The physical size of the gradual eventually increased, so that it could be read by several singers standing around a lectern.

The gradual was later combined with a Kyriale containing chants for the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei). At first, the Ordinary chants were grouped separately, not in cycles like those found in the modern Kyriale, which lack medieval authority. The names of the chant Masses in the modern Vatican Gradual (e.g., 'Cunctipotens') are derived from the first words) of the prosulae associated with their Kyries. Credos, sung only on Sundays and the most important feasts, are usually gathered in a separate section.

The term 'cantatorium' was sometimes applied generically to books containing chants for the Mass. (According to Amalar of Metz (*Lib. off.*, Proemium; Hanssens, 1948, vol.2, p.16) this was the Romans' term for the gradual.) The earliest surviving examples of cantatoria (9th and 10th centuries), one of which includes musical notation (**CH-SGs** 359), contain only the soloist's chants: intonations and solo

verses of the gradual, the tracts in their entirety, and alleluia intonations and verses. (The provenance of a gradual can sometimes be established on the basis of a distinctive series of alleluias.) Later cantatoria vary considerably in their contents, but most are restricted to chants or portions of chants sung by a soloist. Some of the oldest cantatoria manuscripts are quite narrow in relation to their height; some were covered with carved ivory plates depicting biblical or ecclesiastical scenes. The Cantatorium of Monza (*I-MZ*, cod. CIX; after 800) is a luxurious production, the text written with gold and silver letters on purple parchment. A late appearance of the cantatorium typology in the books of the Dominican order (mid-13th century) was called a 'pulpitarium'.

See also Gradual (ii), and Cantatorium.

(iv) Missal.

(from Lat. *missale*, *missalis plenarius*). Though applied in some early sources (inventories and library catalogues) to sacramentaries, the term is commonly understood as the book containing all the material necessary for a priest to celebrate Mass. A decisive development in the history of liturgical books, it resulted from the integration of the sacramentary, the subdeacon's epistolary, the deacon's evangeliary, and the cantor's gradual. In early missals the material was merely juxtaposed, as the case of the Codex Gressly (*CH-B* private collection), an Alsatian manuscript from the end of the 11th century that combines a gradual, a sacramentary (with a few marginal melodic incipits), a lectionary, and a collection of ordinals (Hänggi and Ladner, 1994). In a first step the incipits of the epistle and gospel readings and/or incipits of the necessary chant texts might be inserted in the margins of a sacramentary. While the chant texts, usually psalmic, might have been recalled from the incipit alone, a biblical codex would have been required for the readings. The function of later missals with complete notation for all the chants ('noted missals') has not been satisfactorily explained; hardly any priest would have had the training required to interpret staffless neumes. The copying of such books required, moreover, careful planning to allow adequate space for the insertion of staffless neumes. Whether or not they were intended to receive notation, chant texts were customarily written in smaller script.

Missals incorporated rubrics as well as private devotional prayers (*apologiae*) and prayers related to ritual actions (censing, ablution) to be recited quietly by the priest. Not all medieval missals contained complete cycles of Masses for the liturgical year, an indication perhaps that some priests repeated a relatively small repertory of Masses (*missae cotidianae* or votive masses), not the

full range of formularies for the liturgical year. The process that led to the development of the 'plenary' missal was well advanced by the end of the 9th century, stimulated at least in part by the increased number of private Masses in monasteries and the needs of parishes served by only one priest. This development also reflected a shift of liturgical perspective: even at a solemn mass the celebrating bishop or priest reads the texts of the chants and readings himself, thus duplicating the liturgical duties fulfilled by the various clerical participants in the Mass. Assisting clergy and choir (not to mention the congregation) were rendered superfluous.

See also Missal.

(v) Processional.

(from Lat. *processionale, liber processionalis*). The book containing the texts and music of processional antiphons, responsories, and hymns sung during processions (Huglo, 1999). Most of the earliest processional chants were penitential, but the repertoire came to embrace chants for feasts of the Temporale and celebrations in honour of the saints. The earliest surviving processionals were copied in the 12th century, before which time processional chants were usually included in the gradual, as they are in several of the manuscripts of the earliest graduals published by Dom Hesbert in the *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*, although they could also form part of a troper, antiphoner, or breviary. Most of the extant manuscripts are small in size, making them easily portable.

See also Processional.

(vi) Troper.

(from Lat. *liber troparius, troparium*). The book, or section of a chant book, containing the texts and music of tropes—newly produced texts and music intended to be inserted between phrases of the traditional Mass chants, often the introit but also chants of the Ordinary (Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus dei) and as introductions to them. ('Meloform' tropes consisted only in wordless melodies.) The trope elements may appear either integrated with the base chants or separately, in which case only the incipit of the following chant phrase is provided. Tropes commented on the (usually psalmic) texts of Proper chants of a feast or 'properized' the invariable texts of Ordinary chants. A troper might also incorporate a selection of other

soloist's chants from the Mass. Tropers vary considerably in their content and organization, and might include sequence texts and melodies, offertory verses, alleluias, processional chants or Ordinary chants. The earliest extant tropers date from the 10th century; after the 13th century they are rarely found as independent books. Tropers and sequentiaries are occasionally joined with a Kyriale.

See also Troper, Sequence(i).

(vii) Tonary.

(from Lat. *tonarius, tonarium, tonale*). The book in which the antiphons of Mass and Office chants are classified according to the eight psalm tones and further subdivided according to the psalm-tone cadence (*differentia*) proper to each (Huglo, 1971). Many tonaries provided only a representative sampling of Mass and Office chants in all genres grouped according to the eight ecclesiastical modes, whether or not they were associated with psalmody. The tonary is not, properly speaking, a liturgical book, but a reference tool for the cantor who directed the music. *See also* Tonary.

For further on the history of the Mass see Franz (1902), Fortescue (1912), Dold (1943), Jungmann (1962) Lodi (1979), Foley (2008), Foley (2011), and the works listed at the end of §II, 1 above.

3. Office books.

The earliest extant medieval books for the Divine Office, like those for the Mass, followed the principle that each participant in the liturgy would have his or her (in the case of Office books destined for the use of female religious) own book.

(i) Liturgical psalter.

A book in which the psalms are divided according to the days of the week to which they were assigned in the Divine Office (*psalterium per hebdomadam*), an arrangement that differed according to whether the Psalter was intended for monastic or secular use. In secular use Sunday Matins began with Psalm i. In monastic use, according to the prescriptions in the Rule of Benedict, Sunday matins began with Psalm xxi (Monday Matins began with Psalm i). In monastic use the longest psalms were divided, a procedure foreign to the secular Office (except for the very long Psalm cxviii [cxix]). A liturgical psalter would usually include the canticles of the Old and

New Testaments, and the Te Deum. 'Noted' Psalters also included music for the antiphons of the ferial (weekly) psalms along with the psalm-tone *differentiae* that indicated the appropriate formula to which the psalm was to be sung in order to 'match' the antiphon. The entire community of monks, nuns, or secular canons participated in the singing of the psalms, but since the text of the psalms was generally committed to memory, it was not necessary for every member of the community to have access to a psalter.

See also Psalter, Liturgical.

(ii) Office lectionary.

The book containing the readings from the Scriptures recited at Matins following the psalmody of the first nocturn (of three; Martimort, 1992). The readings of each nocturn were divided into three (four in monastic use) sections, each followed by a responsory. A good portion of the Bible was, at least ideally, read during the first nocturn of Matins over the course of the year, beginning with Genesis on Septuagesima Sunday. At first, each day's Scripture reading simply continued from the point reached the previous day, a practice that required no book other than the Bible, which was thus the original 'lectionary'. Two of the *Ordines romani* (Andrieu, 1931) list the order in which books of the Bible were read during the night office at the Lateran (Ordo 13) and in the monasteries attached to St. Peter's (Ordo 14). As a system of briefer, fixed pericopes evolved, these were gathered into an Office lectionary, perhaps as early as the 9th century. With the development of the breviary the scriptural extracts were further abbreviated.

(iii) Homiliary

(from Lat. *homeliarium, homeliarius, homelium, homiliarium*). The book containing excerpts from the writings of the Church Fathers prescribed to be read at Matins (after the psalmody of each nocturn) and arranged in liturgical order (Martimort, 1988 and 1992). Readings 'by reputable and orthodox Fathers' are mentioned as part of the Office in chapter 9 of the Rule of Benedict; Ordo 14 also alludes to the readings from 'tractates of the Fathers'. At first, the assigned readings would have been read directly from books in the monastery's library. They either explained the meaning of a feast or liturgical season, or commented on passages of scripture; the two categories were usually distinguished as either sermons (read during the second nocturn) or homilies (read during the third nocturn), but the distinction could be blurred. The patristic authors whose orthodoxy guaranteed them a place in medieval homiliaries

were Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, Caesarius of Arles, Maximus of Turin, and Gregory the Great, but many of the attributions to distinguished ecclesiastical authors have proven to be false. The festal homiliary of St Peter's, Rome, can be traced back to the mid-7th century (*I-Rvat* Arch. S. Pietro C 105); it presents an anthology of patristic texts appropriate to a given feast from which liturgical readings could be selected. A unique witness to the Roman homiliary is the early 8th-century homiliary of Agimond, of which only the last two of the original three volumes survive (*I-Rvat* Vat. lat. 3835-3836).

The Frankish Church did not accept the Roman homiliary tradition; Charlemagne (king, 768–800; emperor, 800–814), as part of the liturgical reforms initiated by his father, Pippin, commissioned Paul the Deacon to compile a new homiliary. This resulted in a comprehensive collection of 244 texts organized according to the number of readings required for each liturgical observance. For certain occasions (the principal feasts of the *Temporale*, feasts of the saints, Sundays of Lent) the Carolingian homiliary provided a sermon for the three readings of the second nocturn. For the third nocturn of every Sunday and feast day there was a patristic homily on the gospel reading of the day (quoted only by its incipit). Popular homiliaries were compiled by Bede (*d* 735), Alan of Farfa (*d* 770), Egino of Verona (*d* 799), Haimo (*fl* mid-9th century) and Heiric (*d* c876) of Auxerre. A homiliary was also useful for private reading and for the preparation of sermons; this explains why many have survived when other books for the Office have not.

(iv) Martyrology.

(from Lat. *martyrologium*). A catalogue of saints (not all of them martyrs) listed according to the days on which their feasts are observed. Generally, only the saint listed first would be honoured liturgically. Only the most essential details of the place, manner of death (in the case of a martyr), and assumed date of death (i.e. *natalitia* – birth into heavenly glory) are given. Regional modifications to the earliest standard martyrologies ((pseudo-)Jerome (5th century), Bede (*d* 735), Florus of Lyon (*d* after 852), Ado (858), Usuard (c875)) inserted the names of saints whose cults were local; religious orders added the names of their sainted and beatified members. The Martyrology of Usuard formed the basis of the *Martyrologium Romanum*. Marginal entries (*obits*) list the names of deceased members, friends, and benefactors of the church or convent where the martyrology was used, so that they could be prayed for on the anniversary of their deaths. The martyrology was chanted daily at Prime, introduced by an announcement of the Roman calendar date and day in the lunar cycle (e.g. 'luna decima'); it always concluded with the phrase 'and elsewhere many other martyrs, confessors, and holy virgins'. In the Dominican rite the

reading of the martyrology was followed by the separate Office of Pretiosa (so called from the opening sentence 'precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints' (Ps cxv:6)).

(v) *Legendary*

(*legendarius, passionarium*). A book containing the Lives of the Saints (*vitae*), usually ordered according to their feast days in the liturgical calendar. Such readings were at first not part of the Divine Office at Rome but were popular in Gallican and Spanish churches. The Rule for nuns written by Caesarius of Arles (*d* 542), for example, prescribes readings 'de passionibus martyrum'. Some legendaries might not have been originally intended for liturgical use. Since an entire *vita* was generally far too long for recitation at the night Office, marginal annotations divided the text into 'lessons' (1 to 9) and indicated the extent of each reading. The reading of the saint's *vita* could, if desired, be continued in the refectory.

(vi) *Hymnary*

(also hymnal; Lat. *liber hymnorum*). A book of hymns (at times only the texts) was sometimes found in conjunction with a liturgical Psalter or an antiphoner. In the liturgical code of his monastic Rule, Benedict of Nursia (*c*480–550) prescribed the singing of a hymn at each of the Office Hours. This practice was adopted by the Irish and Gallican churches, but not at Rome or at Lyons, where non-biblical texts were regarded with suspicion. The earliest collection of hymn texts (the 'Old Hymnary') contained mainly hymns for ferias (the texts being appropriate to the time of day they were sung) and for Sundays but very few Proper hymns for feasts. This repertory was expanded under Frankish auspices in the 8th and 9th centuries, but the largest increase came with the 'New Hymnary' (first found in 9th-century Frankish sources), which contained a repertory that eventually grew to more than 250 hymns in some 11th-century collections. The number of medieval hymn texts (running into the tens of thousands) far exceeds the number of melodies, since melodies composed for a given metre could be fitted to all texts in that metre (Dreves and Blume, 1886–1922; Chevalier, 1892–1921; Szövérfy, 1964, 1989). In hymnaries with musical notation the melody is typically written out once with the first verse, followed by the text of the remaining verses. In the early 17th century the Latin texts of the Office hymns were revised (with not the happiest of results) to bring their language into conformity with Humanist ideals of proper diction.

See also Hymn, §II.

(vii) Antiphoner

(also antiphonal; from Lat. *antiphonarius*, *antiphonarium*, *antiphonale*). The book that brings together in liturgical order each of the musical items of the Office: the antiphons sung with the psalms and canticles, the great responsories chanted after the readings, hymns, a collection of invitatories, and possibly a liturgical psalter. First attested in the mid-8th century, the name was often applied to a book of chants for the Mass as well as the Office (*antiphonale missarum*). Its organization follows the *Temporale-Sanctorale* division of the liturgical year, and includes a *Commune sanctorum*. Monastic and secular antiphoners differ mainly in the structuring of matins, lauds, and vespers and in the distribution of the 150 psalms over the course of the week (Harper, 1991) The texts of 12 secular and 12 monastic antiphoners are edited in Hesbert (1963–79). The oldest Office antiphoner is paired in a late 9th-century manuscript (*F-Pn* lat. 17436) with a gradual for the Mass. There were many regional variations in the choice of chants for the Office, particularly with respect to the selection and arrangement of responsories. The antiphoner of the Office was subject to revision in a way that the sacramentary and gradual of the Mass were not; Amalar of Metz (*d* after 952) made his own (now lost) edition of the antiphoner in an attempt to coordinate Roman and Frankish practice (*Prol. de ordine antiphonarii*; Hanssens, 1948–50, vol.1, 361–3). The earliest notated complete antiphoner (in staffless neumes) is the two-volume Codex Hartker (CH-SGs cod. 390-391). By the later Middle Ages and Renaissance the format of the antiphoner had grown in size and the antiphoner was placed on a massive lectern in the middle of the choir. Sometimes matched pairs of antiphoners were used, one on each side of the choir.

See also Antiphoner.

(viii) Breviary

(from Lat. *breviarium*: ‘abridgment’). The book combining all or some of the texts and, occasionally music, for the Divine Office or portions thereof. As a comprehensive book, it parallels the missal, both with respect to its function and to the diversity of elements that compose both. The process, which led — from juxtaposition of these various elements to their integration — was similar. Medieval breviaries were not necessarily truncated versions of complete Offices or small, easily portable books: choir breviaries could be quite large, in fact. Whatever its size or degree of completeness, a breviary assembled material from various sources into one or more volumes. The material could be merely juxtaposed or, more frequently, integrated according to the order of the service, although not every element needed for the celebration of the Office might be

included. Salmon (1967) traced the origins of the breviary to 9th- to 10th-century 'collectaires enrichis'. These combined the collectar (also *orationale* or *manuale*) with the texts chanted during the office by the officiant (called 'hebdomadarian' since the duty rotated weekly): *capitula* (brief scriptural passages recited after the psalmody at all offices with the exception of matins), and blessings of the reader before the matins readings. The different ways in which these combinations were realized demonstrates that they were not based on an archetype. Bound with the book might be an *ordo* describing the Office throughout the year along with incipits of prayers and chants. The portable breviary (*portiforium*) in one or two volumes, to which the term is usually applied, drastically abbreviated the long readings at matins, thus enabling traveling clerics or monks to say the Office privately. The 13th-century breviary of the Roman Curia, taken over by the Franciscans, became the basis of the official *Breviarium Romanum* that prevailed (with minor revisions) until its replacement after the Second Vatican Council with the *Liturgia Horarum* (Liturgy of the Hours).

Public recitation of the Office among secular clergy declined during the Renaissance, thus making the breviary the de facto book for fulfilling the obligation of saying the Office daily. With the bull *Divino afflatu* (1911), Pope Pius X (1903-14) introduced a revision of the secular breviary. Matins was standardized to nine Psalms every day, and the daily recitation of (Vulgate) Psalm cxviii at the little hours on weekdays was replaced by selected psalms distributed across the hours of Prime, Terce, Sext, and None. Sunday Prime was substantially shortened, but Sunday and festal Lauds and Vespers remained for the most part unchanged. Psalms iv, xc, and cxxx were retained at Compline. This revision represented a major break with the traditions of the secular Office; the monastic Office was not affected. For further reading, see Bäumer (1895), Battifol (1911), and Leroquais (1934).

See also Breviary.

4. Ritual and ceremonial books.

(i) *Ordo*

A book containing directions for the performance of one or a number of liturgical offices. When only the incipits of readings, prayers, and chants were given, the full form had to be sought in the relevant Mass or Office book. The term 'ordo' is generally applied to a group of documents known as *Ordines romani*, numbered 1-50 in Michel Andrieu's critical edition (Leuven, 1931-61/R), which arranges them according category (Mass, Holy Week, etc.). Many could be

described as a series of liturgical 'notes' too incomplete to be a handbook for conducting ceremonies. Although the manuscript tradition of these *ordines* begins only in the late 8th century, a number of the ceremonies they describe date from the late 7th century or earlier. None of the extant collections of *ordines* originated in Rome. Five important Frankish collections of *ordines* have been identified: the first (A, between 700 and 750) contains authentic Roman material with few modifications; the contents of the second (B, early 9th century) has been more thoroughly adapted to Frankish practice ('gallicanized'). The 'Collection of St Amand' (*F-Pn*, lat. 974), later than collection 'A', (770-90), preserves directives for the Triduum and Easter week, the *litaniae maiores*, and the Roman procession on the feast of the Purification. The 'St Gall Collection' (*CH-SGs*, cod. 349; c775-80) consists of a core of four ordines (15, 16, 18, 19), created by a pro-Roman monastic compiler and prefaced by Ordo 14. Bound with the previously mentioned 'Antiphoner of Mt-Blandin' (*B-Bc* 10127-10144; late 8th century) is a collection of mostly otherwise unknown assorted ordines (13, 26, 3, 24, 30BA) that would have been of use to a parish priest. Another large St Gall collection of ordines from the second half of the 9th century (*CH-SGs*, cod. 614) was compiled from sources older than those used for collections A and B; some of the items (Ordines 2, 22, 12, 36, 8, 9) appear here for the first time. For further, see Molin (1959) and Gy (1960); for an excellent guide to the liturgy of Rome, on which the *ordines* were based, see Saxer (1989).

(ii) Ordinal

(from Lat. *ordinarius*). An ordinal coordinated the contents of the several books required for the celebration of the Mass and/or Office, taking into account the problems of coordinating the temporal and sanctoral cycles from year to year. Each diocese, cathedral, collegiate church, monastery, or confederation of monasteries might have its own liturgical directory (ordinal), which was subject to continual updating. Unlike the *Ordines romani*, which describe either single ceremonies or only portions of the liturgical year (e.g. Holy Week), an ordinal covers the entire liturgical year. (Ordo 50, which does cover this breadth, is not known as an independent ordo outside of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical.) Ordinals integrate the Mass and Office for the day in their proper sequence; the large-scale structure of the book either combines the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* in blocks over the course of the year, or divides the two cycles into separate books, a solution favoured from the 13th century onwards. An ordinal was important for establishing the order of precedence for feasts of various ranks that fell on the same day. As is the case with the Roman *ordines*, only incipits of prescribed texts and chants are usually given. The ordinal also incorporates certain ritual details about the rank of participants in the liturgy, the vestments to be worn, the number of candles, etc., depending on the solemnity of the feast. A Roman example from the mid 12th century is the *Ordo*

Lateranensis (c1143) of Prior Bernard, which mingles the customs of the Lateran with those of the canons of Sand Frediano of Lucca (Fischer, 1916).

A customary (from Lat. *consuetudo*) resembles an ordinal in some respects, but its primary purpose is the regulation of the internal discipline and customs of a monastery or a community of secular canons. Foundations would follow the *consuetudines* of the houses that established them. A list of ordinals and customaries from nearly 130 medieval institutions is given in *Le graduel romain*, vol.2: *Les sources*, Solesmes, 1962, 189–96. See also van Dijk and Walker (1975), Foley (1990), Martimort (1991), and Kelly (2008).

(iii) Ceremonial.

(from Lat. *caeremoniale*). A book, prescribing in more precise detail than the ordinal the actions of all participants in a liturgical observance (Callewaert, 1941; Bonniwell, 1945. In general, chants or prayers specific to the liturgy are not mentioned. Over time, additions and omissions were made to reflect evolving ceremonial needs. Important representatives of the genre are (1) the papal ceremonial (which regulated observances of the papal court, the election and coronation of the pope, and imperial coronation; see Schimmelpfennig, 1973; Dykmans, 1977–85 and 1980–82), and (2) the Ceremonial of Bishops, which describes the conduct of offices proper to the episcopal rank or those carried out in the presence of a bishop. Before the publication of the official *Caeremoniale episcoporum* in 1600, many of these items could be found in the pontifical (Häussling, 2004).

(iv) Pontifical.

(from Lat. *Ordo pontificalis*). A book containing the rites proper to a bishop. In the early Middle Ages books containing these rites did not follow any standard pattern. Assembled from *libelli*, pontificals included material for occasional services such as clerical ordination, confirmation, the expulsion of penitents on Ash Wednesday, their reconciliation on Maundy Thursday, the dedication of churches, the blessing of sacred vessels, and the coronation of monarchs. The pontifical contains the full texts of all the prayers recited by the bishop. It describes the course of the ceremonies, and provides the incipits of chants or, on occasion, complete texts with notation. The earliest specimens are collections of *libelli* assembled by bishops for their personal use, as represented by the manuscripts *D-KNd*, Dombibliothek, cod. 138 (early 9th century) and *I-VEcap*, Bibl. cap. Cod. 92 (early 9th century). Four major types of medieval pontifical have been distinguished: (1) the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the 10th century, compiled (c950–62) at the abbey of St Alban in Mainz and subsequently introduced at Rome (Vogel and Elze, 1963; but see

Parkes, 2015); (2) the Roman Pontifical of the 12th century; (3) the various 13th-century recensions of the Pontifical of the Roman Curia (Palazzo, 2004); and (4) the pontifical compiled (c1293–5) by Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende (Andrieu, 1938–41). Durand (*d* 1296) added material to earlier pontificals, but he eliminated all rites not proper to the episcopal office. He imposed a definitive tripartite structure: (1) ordinations and blessings of people; (2) blessings of churches, altars, and other objects, sacred or secular; and (3) other *ordines* for ‘ecclesiastica officia’. Agostino Patrizi de Piccolomini (c1435–95) and Johannes Burchard (Burkhard, c1450–1506), papal master of ceremonies, revised Durand’s work for the first printed edition of the Pontifical (Rome, 1485), which became in turn the basis of the authorized *Pontificale Romanum* (Rome, 1595), whose use was made obligatory by Clement VIII in the bull *Ex quo in ecclesia Dei* (1596). A three-volume revision that eliminated obsolete rites (e.g. coronation rituals). was issued in 1962, but this was replaced after the Second Vatican Council by another completely revised edition in four volumes.

For further information see Frere (1901–8), Puniet (1930), Andrieu (1938), Aherne and Lane (1947), Vogel and Elze (1963), Dykmans (1985), Palazzo (1999), and Goulet, Lobrihon, and Palazzo (2004).

(v) Benedictional.

(from Lat. *benedictionale*, *liber benedictionum*). The book containing blessings, mainly those pronounced by the bishop at Mass after the *Pater noster* and before the *Pax Domini semper vobiscum*. These blessings were not included in the sacramentary, but were first gathered in *libelli*. Benedictionals may also contain material for episcopal liturgical functions outside the Mass. There is a modern edition of the Benedictional of Freising (*D-Mbs* Cod. lat. 6430, fols. 1–14, 9th to 10th century; Amiet 1974), and a number of lavish Anglo-Saxon exemplars survive, the most famous of which, the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold (*GB-Lbl* Add.49598; 10th century), produced at Winchester, is renowned for its illuminations.

(vi) Ritual.

(from Lat. *rituale*; also *manuale*, *agenda*, *sacramentale*). The liturgical book containing various rites, other than the Mass and Office, proper to the priestly office, known also as a *Manuale* or *Liber manualis*. Individual *libelli* whose rites were derived from sacramentaries preceded the creation of more comprehensive collections. Essentially, the ritual is the priest’s equivalent of the pontifical and includes formulae for penance, last rites, burial, and various blessings of people and things — exactly what one would expect to find in a ‘pastoral’ book. Normally, no music would be included. The monastic equivalent contains rites appropriate to the

monastic environment, particularly those proper to the office of abbot. Some of the earliest surviving rituals, dating from the 10th and 11th centuries, are combined with collectars or sacramentaries. Historically, much was left to the initiative of each diocese and even individual priests. The official *Rituale Romanum*, based proximately on the *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum* of Cardinal Santori (1584), was promulgated by Pope Paul V in 1614, but it was not made obligatory, as were other the other liturgical books mandated by the Council of Trent. There was always licence for local custom. See further Molin (1959), Gy (1960), and von Arx (1969).

For further discussion of Western liturgical books see Plainchant, §§2-3.

(vii) Commentaries on the liturgy.

Medieval commentaries on the liturgy were created to interpret the complex fabric of texts and ritual acts of the Mass, making them comprehensible to the clergy responsible for their execution, and thus helping them to carry out their responsibilities with greater understanding and reverence (Vogel, 1966/R 1986, 10-17; Reynolds, 1982-9; Schaefer, 1991). Some commentaries favoured a historical exposition, while others interpreted the liturgy in an imaginative, 'allegorical' manner. Examples of the first category are the *De actione missae* of Florus of Lyon (d c860), the *De institutione clericorum* of Rhabanus Maurus (d 842), and the *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum* of Walahfrid Strabo (d 849). More attractive to the medieval imagination, however, were commentaries that probed the multiple layers of meaning that lay behind every aspect of the liturgy, no matter how apparently insignificant. The foundation for this method of explanation was laid by Amalar of Metz (d after 852) in his influential *Liber officialis*, a comprehensive (and avowedly personal) interpretation of the liturgy, whose definitive version in four books was completed in the early 830s (Hanssens, 1948-50). Amalar applied to the Mass and Office the allegorical principles of interpretation that had since Origen (d 254) been applied to the Bible, attributing to every part of the liturgy symbolic or 'spiritual' meanings. Such interpretations might be typological (e.g., a New Testament event prefigured in the Old: Levites as prefiguring the Christian cantor), tropological (the source of a moral teaching), or anagogical (symbolic of a heavenly reality). Moral injunctions (the 'tropological' interpretation) would be directed at the clerical participants in the liturgy (priests, deacons, singers, acolytes). For example, Amalar explains the difference between the gradual and the tract of the Mass as the difference between doves and turtledoves. Doves 'who live in flocks, are accustomed to fly and call out; [they] signify the busy nature of the active life'; turtledoves, on the other hand, 'rejoice in solitude' and thus the contemplative life.

In the gradual a singer, seeking companions in praise, sings 'Come let us adore and fall down before God' [Ps xciv:6]. But Moses, after having ascended Mount Sinai, 'sings something like a tract of tribulation'; Daniel, on the contrary, 'sings a tract of rejoicing when he remains with the angels after his companions have fled' (*Lib. off.* 3.12.3-4). The numerous medieval liturgical commentaries culminated in comprehensive treatises like the *Mitræ* of Sicard of Cremona (*d* 1215), the *De missarum mysteriis* of Lothar of Segni (Innocent III; *d* 1216) and especially the *Rationale divinarum officiorum* of Guillaume Durand (*d* 1296), which Cyrille Vogel called 'the liturgical synthesis *par excellence* of the Middle Ages' (Davril and Thibodeau, 1995-2003; Barthe, in Lang, 2010). Allegorical interpretations of the liturgy fell out of favour towards the end of the Middle Ages and were replaced by more objective historical treatments. Dom Odo Casel (*d* 1948), a monk of Maria Laach (Germany), developed a 'mystery' theology of the liturgy, which emphasized the abiding mystical presence (not mere remembrance) of Jesus' sacrifice on the cross in every liturgical act.

III. Reformation and post-Reformation liturgical books

Joseph Dyer

The Reformation introduced to western Christendom a seismic fragmentation of liturgical practice. The Mass, understood for more than a millennium as 'a memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and holy immolation made upon the altar of the Cross' (Lombard, *Sentences*, vol.4, dist. 12, cap. 5), was rejected by all of the reformers precisely for this reason. Henceforth, they were confronted with two options: either modify the Mass to purge it of elements that did not conform to reformed theology or discard it entirely and seek other ways of preserving communal Christian worship. Martin Luther and those who looked to him for guidance generally chose the first option. The more radical reformers of the Calvinist-Zwinglian stamp replaced the Mass with orders of worship devised after the model of the 'preaching service' (*Predigtienst*, also *prone* from Lat. *praeconium*), a type of pre-Reformation, non-eucharistic religious exercise focused on the sermon. All of the reformers agreed that the church's worship must be intelligible, a principle that necessitated introduction of the vernacular. Latin, a language familiar to the upper classes at the time, could still be used, and in the Lutheran tradition Franco-Flemish polyphony set to traditional Latin texts continued to be cultivated wherever choirs were available. Reformed (Calvinist and Zwinglian) orders of worship, on the other hand, made a clean sweep, eliminating all of the traditional Mass chants, Ordinary and Proper alike. Metrical psalmody, favoured by some or merely tolerated by other Reformed

churches, was a poor substitute for the richness of the traditional chant and polyphony. Organs were removed and destroyed at the behest of the reformers.

The churches that grew out of the Reformation were organized along the lines of the kingdoms, principalities, duchies, and free cities that fragmented the European political map of the time. Papal hegemony was replaced with secular oversight, an arrangement summed up in the principle 'cuius regio, eius religio'. This resulted in the production (and frequent revision) of a plethora of orders of worship, subject to approval by local authorities, whether princes or bourgeois magistrates. Only a summary treatment of these orders can be offered here.

(i) The Evangelical (Lutheran) tradition.

Martin Luther (*d* 1546) published in 1523 a proposal for a reform of the Latin Mass liturgy: the *Formula missae et communionis* (1523). He maintained that his aim was not to abolish the Mass but rather to purify it of elements that contradicted the Scriptures, specifically the belief that the Mass was a sacrifice or a meritorious 'work' (*see* Luther, Martin). The offertory prayers and the entire Canon of the Mass had to be discarded because of their focus on sacrifice. Luther's second proposal for reform, the *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottes Diensts* (1526), provided a simpler vernacular order of worship with congregational hymns in German replacing the Mass chants. For the *Deutsche Messe* he adapted the traditional Latin oration and lection tones to the German chanting of the Epistle, Gospel, and the pastor's chants at the altar. Both of these orders were published in part to forestall more radical experiments, but they had no juridical status beyond Wittenberg and Luther's personal sphere of influence.

The orders of worship (*Agenden*) that proliferated throughout Germany often formed part of broader *Kirchenordnungen* (church orders) that regulated various aspects of church life. It has been estimated that 135 such regulations were produced between 1523 and 1555, the date of the Peace of Augsburg. Two basic types emerged. One type followed the order that Johannes Bungenhagen (*d* 1558) devised for Braunschweig (1528; 1531 in High German); this followed the general outline of Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. The Braunschweig *Agende* also included a long admonition (*Vermahnung*) to communicants that they examine themselves with respect to their worthiness to approach the table of the Lord and receive the sacrament. Such admonitions, often expressed in very direct language, became a fixture in the Lutheran tradition and in the Reformed traditions stemming from Calvin and Zwingli. Bungenhagen composed seven *Agenden* that shaped worship practices across North Germany and Denmark-Norway (1537). A second type, represented by the *Agende* of Brandenburg-Nuremberg (1533) composed by Andreas Osiander (*d* 1552), pastor of St

Sebaldus, and Johann Brenz (*d* 1570) of Brandenburg, was modelled on Luther's more conservative *Formula Missae*. The Brandenburg-Nuremberg model, which served as inspiration for several *Agenden* in central and south Germany, provided two alternative Mass orders: one in Latin, the other in German. Through intermediaries like Martin Bucer (*d* 1561) and Thomas Cranmer (*d* 1656) the influence of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg *Agende* extended beyond the borders of German-speaking regions. For further, see Graff (1937-9), Reed (1960), Nagel (1970), Ehrensperger (1971), Meyer-Blanck (2001), and Herl (2004).

A Lutheran orientation to the Reformation in Sweden was virtually guaranteed, given that the two leading Swedish churchmen, Olavus Petri (*d* 1552) and his brother Laurentius, archbishop of Uppsala (1531-73), had studied at Wittenberg. Laurentius Andreae (*d* 1552), archdeacon of Uppsala and secretary to King Gustav I (1523-60), was of similar persuasion. The first Swedish reformed Mass, published by Olavus Petri in 1531, was based on a Nuremberg *Agende* of Andreas Döber, modelled in turn on Luther's *Formula Missae*. It retained the basic structure of the medieval Mass: call to worship, confession of sin, prayer for forgiveness, followed by the introit, Kyrie, and Gloria. A hymn took the place of the gradual, the Sanctus followed the elevation, and a hymn in the vernacular or *Nunc dimittis* concluded the reception of communion. In 1541 Laurentius Petri fended off an attempt by a counsellor of the king, George Norman (who knew little Swedish), to force a more Reformed orientation on the liturgy. Petri was able finally to publish a Mass order in *Then swenska Kyrkeordningen* (1571), that reflected Sweden's deep roots in Christian liturgical tradition, inherited from the rites of Strängnäs and Uppsala, the latter derived from that of the Dominicans (Yelverton, 1930).

The reformed liturgy of King Johan III (1568-92), *Liturgia svecanae ecclesiae catholicae & orthodoxae conformis* (1576), known from its binding as the 'Red Book', was 'an endeavour to rescue the Church's entire heritage of worship [*Gottesdienst*] without impinging upon even the smallest of Reformation principles'. The restored Mass could be celebrated either in Latin or in Swedish. The king revised the Canon of the Mass, saving most of its substance. The first edition of the Red Book was supplied with numerous commentaries citing patristic texts that justified the edition. Opposition to the king's liturgy arose immediately from an 'anti-liturgical' party, who rejected it for what they regarded as romanising tendencies, not only with respect to the text but also on account of its restoration of vestments, incense, and solemn ceremonial. Johan was able to secure the approval of the riksdag and the bishops (many of whom he had appointed), and the liturgy enjoyed some success. After the king's death, however, an ecclesiastical assembly at Uppsala, was summoned by the king's brother, Duke Karl, and the Privy Council. It forbade the liturgical practices introduced by the king and reinstated the Swedish Mass of Laurentius Petri. Nevertheless, Sweden remained liturgically conservative through the early 19th century, until the publication of a *Kyrko-Handbok* (*Swedish Service*

Book) in 1811, a liturgical revision that encountered resistance on theological and liturgical grounds. A new *Handbok för svenske kyrkan* was adopted in 1894 and reissued under the same title in 1917. *Den svenska psalmboken*, which followed 20 years later, adapted its language to an urban rather than Sweden's traditional agrarian culture. (For further information, see Yelverton, 1930; Bergendorff, 1962; Martling, 1993; Nilsson, 2001; Bexell, 2012.) Each of the Scandinavian countries has its own liturgical history, which cannot be followed in detail here.

(ii) The Reformed tradition (Zwingli, Calvin, Bucer).

The Reformation in Switzerland took a different course — one split along linguistic lines, German and French — but unified in its dismissal of the traditional Latin liturgy of the Mass. The Swiss reformers were extraordinarily influential, spreading their theology and form of worship to France, Holland, southwest Germany, England, Scotland, and the English colonies in North America. The two leading figures, Jean Calvin (*d* 1564) and Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli (*d* 1531), had similar goals for Reformed worship, especially the service of Holy Communion: to simplify drastically the inherited ritual, purging it of theologically unacceptable elements and returning it to its biblical and early Christian roots. (The fact that neither they nor any of the reformers of the time had much notion of early Christian liturgical practices did not serve as a deterrent.) The Mass was replaced with a Sunday preaching service derived from the pre-Reformation *prone*. Communion was rarely celebrated, generally only three or four times a year.

Huldrych Zwingli's *De canone missae epichiresis* ('An Attack on the Canon of the Mass', 1523) denounced the Roman Canon from a humanistic and theological perspective. (*see* Zwingli, Ulrich). As a substitute for the Canon he composed four long Latin prayers to be recited after the Sanctus, the first ending with the Lord's Prayer, the last with the words of institution. Much of the service, save for the Scripture reading, was in Latin, and vestments were still permitted. At this point music was still acceptable to Zwingli, provided the texts were biblical. His first vernacular order of Communion, *Aktion oder Bruch des Nachtmals* (1525), was a more radical break with the past. The four prayers were omitted and the Eucharist reduced to a simple remembrance of the Last Supper ('*gedechtnus oder dankagung Christi*') celebrated four times a year. The Gloria and Apostles' Creed were spoken responsively by men and women on opposite sides of the church, as was the postcommunion psalm. Deacons later took over this function, and the congregation assumed more and more the role of spectators, listening to a lengthy sermon and following lengthy prayers of the minister's own composition. There was little singing, and organs were removed from the churches.

The reformed Communion order for Basel, *Form und Gestalt ... wie Des Herren Nachtmal* (1526), was probably prepared by Johannes Oekolampadius (d 1531). Revised editions were published between 1529 and 1569. It was derived not from the Mass but from a combination of the preaching service (*prone*) with the order for distributing Communion outside Mass. An extended series of Scripture readings, focused primarily on the Passion, preceded the reception of Communion. A heavily revised, definitive form of the Basel liturgy was introduced in 1529 (*Form der Sakrament bruch ...*, 1537). It had less emphasis on the Passion, and a communion prayer ('*O Herr bespreng also mit dynem blût unsere hertzen ...*') preceded the words of institution (1 Cor xi:23-26). Psalms were now sung or spoken, since Oekolampadius recognized the devotional value of music.

By 1529, Bern had received its own liturgy in the *Ordnung unnd satzung deß Eegrichts* Dependent on Basel, it also borrowed from Zurich. On ordinary Sundays lengthy prayers and the sermon were the focal points; communion was offered only three times a year: Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas, to which an optional fourth time in the autumn was later added. Communion was preceded by a long, didactic address to encourage proper disposition, either as a separate *Vermahnung* or as part of the sermon. All of the reformed orders for communion placed their emphasis on the congregation's reception of the sacrament. Luther mandated that, if there were no communicants the sacrament could not be validly celebrated by the pastor alone receiving communion. In the Catholic Church of the time reception of communion was rare. Contemplation of the host raised over the priest's head immediately after the words of institution/consecration — at which time a small bell would be rung — was the supreme moment for many of the faithful. For further on the Swiss Reformed tradition see Hageman (1973), Bornert (1981), Gordon (2002), Vischer (2003), and Grosse (2008).

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The Reformation was introduced to Geneva by Guillaume Farel (*d* 1565). His *Manière et Fasson* (1533) established the foundation of a reformed French liturgy, based on a German model from Bern. Like the Reformed liturgies already mentioned, it drew on two types of pre-Reformation orders: the preaching service and the rite for distribution of communion outside Mass. Like many of the reformers, Farel saw the sermon as a vehicle for admonition and instruction. Jean Calvin (*d* 1564) came to Geneva in 1536, the same year in which he published the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (see Calvin, Jean) Farel convinced him to remain and to assist in reforming the city, but both faced resistance to the kind of moral discipline they wished to impose and they were forced to leave Geneva in 1538. Calvin settled in Strasbourg, where he was invited to teach theology and guide the French-speaking congregation there. He made a slightly revised French translation of Martin Bucer's Strasbourg order of worship that he took back to Geneva in 1541, when invited by the town council to return.

The earliest extant version of Calvin's *La forme des prieres et chantz ecclesiastiques avec la manière d'administration des sacremens ... selon la coustume de l'Église ancienne*, inspired by both Farel and Bucer, was published in 1542 (Immink, 2014, pp. 224–51). (As noted earlier, recovery of the purity of worship that supposedly prevailed in the *église ancienne* was ever the goal of reformers.) As suggested by its title, the book was intended for the congregation, who sang from it psalms and canticles in metrical versions. (Calvin was hostile to polyphony and instrumental music in church, at least in part because of the sensual pleasure that could be taken in such music.) The preaching service (daily under ideal circumstances) included a confession of sinfulness, extempore prayers, and a sermon delivered by the minister, closing with intercessions and the Aaronic blessing. At the communion service the words of institution were followed by a lengthy exhortation to self-examination before approaching the Lord's table, reinforced by the declaration: 'I excommunicate all idolaters, blasphemers, despisers of God, heretics ...'. Calvin promoted weekly communion as the biblical imperative, but the Genevan magistrates refused to approve the practice, restricting celebration of Holy Communion to Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and harvest time. His guidance was decisive for reformed groups in England and Scotland and was made obligatory for the reformed congregations of France by the Synod of Montauban in 1594. By contrast, Zwingli's model did not extend much beyond his own sphere of influence, except insofar as it mingled with Calvin's in Switzerland (Vischer, 2003; Wainwright and Westerfield Tucker, 2006, pp. 436–62; Grosse, 2008)

Calvin made metrical versions of a few psalms, publishing six of them, along with a dozen by the celebrated poet Clément Marot (*d* 1544), as *Aulcuns Pseaumes et cantiques mys en chant* ('Some psalms and canticles set to music', 1539). Several enlarged editions, on which Marot and Théodore de Bèze collaborated, followed, like the *Pseaumes octante trois de David, mis en rime françoise* (1551).

Many melodies in this edition, including 'Old 100th', were composed (or assumed to have been composed) by Louis Bourgeois. Folk songs were not an important source of melodies. The complete 'Genevan Psalter' became available in 1562 with *Les Pseaumes de David*, a collection of metrical versions of all 150 psalms. The heritage of the 'Genevan Psalter' was enduring, not only among French-speaking Reformed churches but also (naturally in translation) among those in Scotland, Germany, the Netherlands, and North America. Almost every hymnal, Roman Catholic included, contains at least a few versified psalms from this collection.

Martin Bucer (*d* 1561), perhaps a less familiar Reformation figure but an extremely influential one, has been mentioned earlier. He endeavoured to reconcile Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anglicans — even Roman Catholics, where that possible — but he was never able to negotiate a reconciliation between Luther and Zwingli over the Eucharist. Bucer arrived in Strasbourg, where he was destined to assume leadership of the reform, in 1523, the year before the first German Mass was offered there by Theobald Schwarz. Inspired by Luther's theology and preaching, he published a treatise, *Grund und Ursach* (1524) that laid out a plan for a liturgical reform that eliminated ceremony, vestments, feasts of the liturgical year, and all sense of mystery. But singing, including the Ten Commandments and the Creed, was retained. The old pericope system was replaced by much longer readings 'in course' from one Sunday to the next. The sermon, regularly lasting about an hour, occupied a central place: three were delivered every Sunday. Bucer revised the Strasbourg liturgy no less than 18 times over the next decade and a half before he published his definitive *Psalter with Complete Church Practice* (1539). The service began with a confession of sin (three options) and absolution, followed by two metrical psalms (or verses therefrom) separated by a prayer. A lengthy ministerial prayer (also three options) closing with the Lord's Prayer was common. The service at which communion was distributed became the 'The Lord's Supper' and the altar, behind which the minister stood, the 'Holy Table'. The minister read the words of institution from 1 Corinthians, followed immediately by communion; the service concluded with the singing of *Gott sei gelobet* or an appropriate psalm and a thanksgiving.

At the request of the (then Roman Catholic) archbishop-elect of Cologne, Hermann von Wied (*d* 1552), and with the help of Philipp Melancthon (*d* 1560), Bucer prepared a treatise covering many areas of liturgy and church discipline, which the archbishop published as *Einfältiges Bedenken* (1543). This was translated into English as *A Simple and Religious Consultation Concerning the Establishment of a Christian Reformation* (1547). Given the circumstances at Cologne, Bucer framed a liturgy of the Lord's Supper that was conservative, closely following the first part of the traditional Mass liturgy. An admonition preceded the Preface, which led directly into the words of institution, as in Luther's *Deutsche Messe*. The proposal was rejected by the clergy of Cologne, and von Wied was later excommunicated for siding with the reformers. Bucer

ended his career in England (1549–51), but his hopes of influencing the direction of the Reformation there went unrealized. Cranmer did, however, borrow from the *Consultation* for his 1548 *Order of Communion*. (He had travelled in Germany in the early 1530s and married a niece of the Nuremberg pastor, Andreas Osiander.)

(iii) The Reformation in England and Scotland.

Although Henry VIII (reigned 1509–47) broke with the pope and had plundered the wealth of the monasteries and confiscated ecclesiastical property, he did not tolerate reform of the traditional Latin rites. Thomas Cranmer (*d* 1556), archbishop of Canterbury, had to bide his time while Henry was alive, but he had been making preparations all along for the imposition of a reformed style of worship in England, as evidenced by the appearance of *An Order of the Communion* the year after Henry's death. This order was replaced the following year by the first *Booke of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church after the Use of the Church of England*. In the same year appeared the first metrical psalter in English, but the greater success was enjoyed by *The Whole Booke of Psalms, Collected into English Meter* (1562) by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins. A parliamentary Act of Uniformity prescribed the revised *Booke of Common Prayer* for use throughout the realm. The book was eclectic in drawing on sources ancient and contemporary — the works of continental reformers, many of whom Cranmer had met. In 1550 John Marbeck published *The Booke of Common Praier Noted*, which supplied simple syllabic musical settings of its services, but the revisions introduced by the 1552 Prayer Book made his settings obsolete almost immediately. (They have been revived and adapted to modern liturgical texts.)

The second version of the Prayer Book (1552) rearranged parts of the liturgy, moving English worship closer to the spirit of the continental reformers, though the language of the prayers was so crafted that it could be construed in ways that accommodated a wide spectrum of theological views, e.g., on the perennially controversial question among the reformers about what was actually received in Holy Communion. Cranmer also restructured the Divine Office to create the services of (1) Mattins, derived from Matins and Lauds, and (2) Evensong, a combination of Vespers and Compline. His mastery of older liturgical sources and his eloquent, rhythmic prose have long been admired. To the Calvinist party (Independents, Separatists, and Presbyterians) the Anglican liturgy hardly seemed 'reformed' at all: there was too little Scripture reading, the prayers were too brief, insufficient provision was made for extempore prayer, and there was entirely too much ritual solemnity.

The Scottish reformer, John Knox (*d* 1572), founder of Presbyterianism, had a turbulent career. In 1555, at the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary, whom he had harshly criticised, he

departed for Frankfurt-am-Main, where his reformed liturgy sowed discord in the congregation of English émigrés to whom he ministered. He then left for Geneva, where this liturgy was printed along with some metrical psalms as *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments* (1556), whose full title claimed the approval of ‘the famous and godly learned man John Calvin’. A Latin translation, *Ratio et Forma publice orandi Deum*, appeared in the same year for the benefit of those unable to understand English. Although dependent on Calvin’s *Forme des prières*, it was also indebted to the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, particularly the exhortation to self-examination before communion. As was the Reformed custom, communion was preceded by a warning to the unworthy: ‘Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer of God ... come not to this holy table ...’, a feature of Knox’s liturgy that became known as ‘fencing of the table’. Music played only a small role: a metrical psalm after the confession of sin, another during the bringing forward of the elements, and Psalm 103 after communion. A new edition of the *Forme of Prayers*, republished in Edinburgh in 1564 ‘approved and received by the Church of Scotland’, replaced the 1552 Book of Common Prayer in the Church of Scotland (the Kirk). Also known as the *Book of Common Order* or ‘Knox’s liturgy’, it was intended as a model, not as a form to be followed at the expense of the minister’s Spirit-inspired extempore prayer, a hallmark of the Reformed tradition.

Part of the plan to unify England and Scotland involved the imposition of a separate Prayer Book ‘for the Use of the Church of Scotland’ (1637) that hewed closely to the 1549 Book of Common Prayer with the addition of Scottish features. It was vigorously resisted in Scotland and repudiated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Charles I’s defeat at the hands of the Scots in 1640 put an end to the initiative (Grisbrooke, 1958). Knox’s *Forme of Prayers* thus remained in force until supplanted — briefly in England but definitively in Scotland — by the Westminster Directory, a document formulated by an ‘Assembly of Divines’ (1644–5) charged by Parliament to reform the government, theology, and worship of the Church of England. In the main the Assembly was composed of Presbyterians and a few Independents (Congregationalists) with Scottish representatives as advisors. *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* prepared by the commission was the result of heated arguments about almost every part of the service, especially how Holy Communion was to be distributed — from the breaking of the bread to the place and posture for receiving communion. An Act of Parliament replaced the Book of Common Prayer with the Westminster Directory (Davies, 1948). As the title suggests, it was a manual of instructions, some of them rather prolix, rather than the precisely worded format to which Anglicans were accustomed. Rather than fixed prayers, themes were proposed upon which the minister was expected to elaborate. Only the order for the ‘Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper’ had set prayers. With the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, the Westminster Directory was

soon suspended in England, though with certain adaptations it continued in use in Scotland until 1923. In the early 20th century service books followed each other in quick succession as various church bodies within the Kirk moved towards eventual unification (1929). The resulting Church of Scotland settled on *The Book of Common Order* (1940), which recovers much of the larger Church's traditional communion liturgy. For further, see Maxwell (1955), Burnet (1960), and Spinks (2008).

While the party of 'Puritans' did not see themselves called to separate from the Church of England but to reform it from within, many of them had left in 1620 aboard the Mayflower to settle the Plymouth Colony in what they hoped would be a 'new' England. The fortunes of the Separatists (Congregationalists) waxed and waned, reaching a high point during the Commonwealth and the introduction of the Westminster Directory, but not before a large number of them had departed for the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630. Those who remained and schemed the executions of Archbishop Laud (1645) and King Charles I (1649) lost their power under the Restoration. With the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 nearly 2,000 dissenting ministers were deprived of their posts. Worship services in the colonies were freely structured, often with interchanges between the minister and members of the congregation, who expected the regular celebration of communion, weather permitting, given the severity of New England winters (Adams, 1981).

The 1662 Book of Common Prayer, introduced after the Restoration, retained much of Cranmer; it restored a 'consecration' of the bread and wine, as the Scottish prayer book (not officially adopted) had done in 1637. The 1662 Prayer Book (with Psalter) has never ceased to be an authorized worship book of the Church of England. A proposed reform of the Book of Common Prayer in 1928 failed to receive parliamentary approval, but it was used by many parishes anyway. The supplementary *Alternative Service Book* (1980) was itself superseded in 2000 by *Common Worship*, a comprehensive series of volumes in various formats that reached 3600 pages. Its language blends 16th-century and modern idioms while attempting to be 'inclusive'.

After the North American colonies' break with England in the late 18th century the Anglican Church in the new United States, suspected in some quarters on political as well as theological and liturgical grounds, had to seek its own way. Elected first bishop of the new configuration, Samuel Seabury (*d* 1796) received his episcopal ordination at Aberdeen (1784), since he could not take the required oath of loyalty to the crown. The Scottish bishops extracted from him a promise to endeavour to introduce the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book. After a series of revisions and with the addition of material an American Prayer Book was adopted in 1789. The Episcopal Church in the United States published new editions in

1928 and again in 1979. For further on the Anglican tradition see Grisbrooke (1958), Davies (1961), Buchanan (1968), Cuming (1969), Bradshaw (1971), Hefling and Shattuck (2006), and Spinks (2008).

(iv) Methodist worship.

John Wesley (*d* 1791), the founder (albeit inadvertently) of Methodism, remained an Anglican priest and always encouraged adherents of the 'Methodist societies' to attend services in their local parishes. His aim was never to leave the Church of England but rather to deepen its spiritual life and that of the nation. The first Methodist meetings — usually intimate gatherings early in the morning or evening — were occasions devoted to preaching and extempore prayer with the singing of hymns, mostly written by his brother, Charles (*d* 1788), who wrote about 6000 of them. It was their hymnody that set Methodists apart from their Anglican brethren, who sang (if at all) metrical psalmody. Of the more than 30 hymnbooks published by the Wesley brothers, *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists* (1780) supplied a thematically organized, comprehensive, biblically inspired anthology for personal devotion or worship. In fact, metrical psalmody had already begun to fall out of fashion, as the modern English hymn was being created, mainly through the works of Isaac Watts (*d* 1748). John Wesley was unique in his day in encouraging frequent communion at a time when celebration of Holy Communion had become infrequent — in some cases by design, as we have seen. The Methodists eventually departed from the Church of England, its adherents finding that the preaching service with the lively, impromptu prayer favoured by Wesley fulfilled their spiritual needs. Given the Methodists' scant enthusiasm for 'set' prayers, the worship services adhered to a very simple plan, not a complex 'liturgy'. Although laity assumed leading roles as teachers and preachers, only ordained clergy of the Church of England were permitted to celebrate the Eucharist. It was the growth of Methodism in North America that moved Wesley to develop *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* (1784), supplemented by *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the Lord's Day* (1794). The formality of the service, close to that of the Book of Common Prayer, did not satisfy the expectations of American Methodists and was eventually abandoned for a less complex format in the manner of the 'free' churches (Westerfield Tucker, 2001).

(v) The Reformation in the Netherlands.

The convoluted liturgical history of the Reformed church in the Netherlands began with Marten Micron's *De christlicke Ordinancien der Nederlantscher Ghemeinten te London* (Emden, 1554) and the *Forma ac ratio tota ecclesiastici Ministerii* (Frankfurt, 1555) of Johannes à Lasco. Zwinglian in their orientation, both men

ministered to Dutch refugee congregations in London. Elements from both orders were borrowed for the 'Palatinate [*Kurpfalz*] Liturgy' drawn up in 1563 at the behest of Elector Friedrich III (1559–76) as a compromise that (so he hoped) would be acceptable to the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zwinglians living in his realm. Calvinist elements had been mediated through the *Liturgia Sacra* (1551) of Valerand Pullain, leader of the French-speaking Reformed congregation in London — essentially Calvin's Strasbourg liturgy. This eclectic Palatine Liturgy, which also drew on the Reformed preaching service of Württemberg, was translated into Dutch for refugees in Frankenthal by Peter Datheen (*d* 1588) as *De Psalmen Davids ende ander lofsangen* (1566). Datheen translated the texts of Marot and de Bèze, adapting them to the music of the Genevan Psalter. *De Psalmen Davids* formed the basis of *De Nederlandsche Liturgie* approved by the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619, and it remains one of the approved orders of the Dutch Reformed Church (Hageman in Bratt, 1973). Worthy of note is the early use of the word 'liturgy' by Pullain (in 1551) and the Dordrecht Synod.

For the texts of Reformation orders of worship see Sehling (1902ff), Thompson (1962), and Pahl (1983, Holy Communion portions only).

(vi) The Counter-Reformation.

The reformation of Christian worship had been under way for more than four decades by the time the Council of Trent, convened intermittently between 1545 and 1563, resolved to reject *in toto* the liturgical innovations of the reformers and to order the preparation and printing of standardized liturgical books (all in Latin) to be mandated for use throughout the Church. Chief among these were the *Missale Romanum* (1570), the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), the *Pontificale Romanum* (1595–6), and the *Rituale Romanum* (1614). The missal was a slightly revised version of the 1474 edition, which had its roots in the missal of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) that flowed in turn from the medieval Mass. A revision of the gradual was also commissioned, but once it became clear that its editors were committed to a drastic revision of the melodies according to humanistic concepts of accentuation (e.g., the excision of melismas on unaccented syllables), papal approval was withheld. The edition was, nevertheless, published in two volumes: *Graduale de tempore* (1614) and *Graduale de sanctis* (1614–15). It became known as the 'Medicaean' Gradual after the Roman printing office that issued it.

The re-formation of the liturgy of the western church, Catholic or Protestant, did not come to an end with the 17th century, any more than did the musical style of the music composed for it. The successive (but occasionally overlapping) influences of Pietism (especially among Lutherans), the Enlightenment, and Romanticism affected what happened on Sunday morning. Pietism was a movement inspired by Jacob Spener (*d* 1705), whose *Pia Desideria* (1666) promoted a more fervent Christianity centred on personal devotion and the individual's emotional relationship and response to

God rather than on public worship. Such an idea, that an ordered liturgy impeded genuine piety, led to the neglect of traditional liturgical forms. The Enlightenment, by contrast, valued rationality over mystery, but the results for the liturgy were somewhat similar: the inherited *Agenden* were neglected in the churches of the Augsburg Confession and the wearing of vestments declined; reception of communion became rarer. In some places Lutheran worship took on the character of a Reformed service with emphasis on the sermon. An 'enlightened' sermon did not, however, focus on exposition of the Scriptures or theological matters; it served rather as a vehicle for instruction, advice, and moral uplift, occasionally assuming the guise of a lecture. Early in the 19th century a reaction set in against Pietism's overemphasis on personal fervour and the Enlightenment's fascination with rationalism and the didactic over liturgical forms. Initiatives towards recovering the liturgical principles of Reformation worship were undertaken by King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia (1797-1840). In 1822 he issued an *Agende* (revised in 1824) for the court and cathedral church in Berlin that restored much of the historic liturgical tradition lost since the Reformation. He hoped that this liturgy might lead to a reconciliation between the Lutheran and Reformed confessions of his kingdom. The king's *Agenden* encountered both enthusiastic reception and also criticism, which led to their abandonment by the end of the century. Nevertheless, they served as a stimulus to the renewed study of liturgical sources.

IV. Liturgical movements

Joseph Dyer

The 19th century saw the birth of 'liturgical movements', first of all in the Lutheran and the Catholic churches. These necessarily had very different starting points. Catholics and Anglicans had fixed points of departure in the Roman Missal and the Book of Common Prayer, respectively, but the plethora of Lutheran and Reformed orders of worship (see §III above) that reflected internal divisions, geographical, theological, as well as liturgical, that had first to be healed. There was no unanimity on the Catholic side since liturgical movements generally depended upon the initiatives of individuals and associations, not the leadership of the episcopate. All agreed on the general goal that the laity should have a more personal and intimate share in the liturgy. Some believed that this could be done while maintaining Latin as the language of Catholic worship; others campaigned for translation into the vernacular. Curiously, many leaders of the liturgical movement in Europe and North America were monks, who did not normally exercise a pastoral (parish) ministry.

Dom Prosper Guéranger (*d* 1875), who had refounded the Abbey of Solesmes in 1833, initiated a campaign to restore the liturgy to a level of perfection that he presumed to have existed in the Middle

Ages. His *Institutions liturgiques*, a study of the Mass and Office liturgy viewed from his personal perspective, was published in 1840–41 (2 vols.) and again posthumously in an enlarged, four-volume edition (1878–83). In this work and in *L'année liturgique* (16 vols., of which 7 were published posthumously by Dom Lucien Fromage) he endeavoured to offer 'helps which an understanding of the mysteries of the liturgy brings to Christian piety'. Solesmes assumed a unique role in the restoration of Gregorian chant founded on the evidence of the earliest manuscripts. The brothers Maurus and Placid Wolter participated for several months in the liturgical life of the Solesmes community, which became the model of the monastic community they established at Beuron (1863). Beuron (famous not least of all for its school of iconic visual art) established other foundations, the most noted of which were Maredsous (Belgium, 1872) and Maria Laach (1892), both of which were to assume significant roles in the liturgical movement.

The Allgemeiner Cäcilien-Verband, a largely lay organization, was founded in 1868. It promoted sacred music of dignified character in opposition to the secular, theatrical style that pervaded so much church music at the time. Though the 'Caecilians' were not generally dissatisfied (as were the monks of Solesmes) with the faulty versions of chant melodies sung from the notorious 'Medicaean' edition resurrected by the Pustet publishing house, they esteemed Renaissance polyphony and new compositions based on this model. Not infrequently, the results were bland and unimaginative; nor were all in the best of taste.

These efforts received endorsement from Pope Pius X (1903–14), who introduced a number of important liturgical reforms (e.g., revision of the breviary). His goal, to foster 'active participation of the faithful in the Holy Mysteries', coincided with that of the liturgical movement. In the *motu proprio* 'Tra le sollecitudini' (1903) he called for the restoration of a dignified church music, especially Gregorian chant and Renaissance polyphony, and he decried 'the theatrical style that was so much in vogue in the last century, for instance in Italy'.

Encouraged by the pope's words and actions, the Belgian monk Lambert Beauduin (*d* 1960) delivered in 1909 an address, 'La vraie prière de l'Église', considered by some as the point of departure for the modern liturgical movement. Dom Beauduin stressed the centrality of the liturgy to the life of the church as 'the true prayer of the laity [and] a powerful bond of unity' and at the same time a replacement for individualistic forms of piety (e.g., saying the rosary), however laudable in their proper place. Beauduin's influence extended to the USA, where one of his monastic disciples, Virgil Michel (*d* 1938) and his successor, Godfrey Deikmann (*d* 2002) shaped the liturgical movement in North America. Michel initiated the journal *Orate Fratres* (later renamed *Worship*).

In Austria, Pius Parsch (*d* 1954), an Augustinian canon, published *Das Jahr des Heiles* (*The Church's Year of Grace*), a popular introduction to the liturgy modelled after Dom Guéranger's *L'année*

liturgique. He encouraged the laity's participation in the liturgy, not just at Mass, which he celebrated with great solemnity at the parish of St Gertrude near Klosterneuburg near Vienna, but also by participating in the singing of Matins and Lauds. At Mass the congregation sang the chants of the Ordinary of the Mass in alternation with the choir and responded to the gradual psalm, chanted in German.

Concerns raised about unauthorized experimentation with the liturgy prompted Pope Pius XII (1939–58) to issue the encyclicals *Mystici corporis* (1943) and *Mediator Dei et hominum* (1947), the latter a document that supported the aims of the liturgical movement, while warning of the dangers of privileging ancient liturgical forms over the venerable traditions of worship that had evolved over the centuries. Pius XII's appreciation for the musical heritage of the church was expressed in the encyclical *Musicae sacrae disciplina* (1955).

In the 19th and 20th centuries the Protestant churches experienced their own liturgical movements, whose diversity reflected the divisions inherited from the 16th and 17th century. In the Lutheran Church the liturgical movement reacted against the distortions of Pietism and the Enlightenment. A Lutheran community that favoured a 'high church' style of worship gathered around Friedrich Heiler (*d* 1967), professor at Marburg, but it found little resonance within the communion as a whole. Nor did the Alpirsbach movement, led by Friedrich Buchholz (*d* 1967), which promoted the use of Gregorian chant and the daily Office. The Berneuchner movement of the 1920s, linked to the contemporary German Youth Movement (*Jugendbewegung*), focused on the renewal of the liturgy as crucial to the renewal of the church. The founding of the Lutheran Liturgical Conference in 1941 offered a platform for coordination among Lutherans and later with the Reformed churches of Germany.

In 19th-century England the Oxford Movement (1833–45), although most frequently associated with liturgical high churchmanship, in particular the recovery of Catholic ceremonial that had been suppressed by the radical reformers of 16th and 17th century, was mainly an effort directed towards a theological and spiritual renewal of the 'catholic' identity of the Church of England. The members of the Oxford Movement, of whom the most prominent was John Henry Newman (*d* 1890), disseminated their principles via a series of 'Tracts for the Times', a method that earned them the name of 'Tractarians'. The movement effectively came to an end when many of its leaders were received into the Catholic church. More important to the Anglican Communion from a liturgical perspective was the Cambridge Camden Society (1839–63), which sought to restore 'catholicity' to the Anglican liturgy by restoring traditional elements — vestments (from the stole to the episcopal mitre), incense, and dignified ceremonial. Among those who were receptive there developed a distinctive Anglo-Catholic liturgy. Cardinal

Nicholas Wiseman (*d* 1865), with all his eloquence and love for the liturgy, was not able to initiate a comparable revival within the English Catholic Church.

Not a few of the revisions of the liturgical books of Reformed churches were occasioned by mergers, e.g., between Congregationalists and Presbyterians. In England the parties that came together as the United Reformed Church (1972) had to reconcile the 'directory' approach of Presbyterianism with trends in Congregationalism that had sought to recover the Calvinist roots of their worship, enriched with elements from the patristic age (*A Book of Services and Prayers*, 1959). Orders for the Eucharist, baptism, etc. were drawn up after 1972, but further revisions were required when the Reformed Association of Churches of Christ joined them. A *Service Book* published in 1989 tried to reconcile all demands, but its use was not obligatory. When English Methodists decided to unite in 1932, the Wesleyan tradition of extempore prayer had to be reconciled with branches of Methodism that practiced more formal styles of worship. The liturgical movement slowly exercised its influence within the communion. *The Methodist Service Book* of 1975 reflected that development with formal orders emphasizing Sunday celebration of the Eucharist. Over this period there also were numerous revisions of denominational hymnals coordinated with liturgical modifications.

Since the middle of the 20th century, practically all efforts towards liturgical renewal and reform in the churches have been carried out under the influence of the ecumenical movement. The pace quickened in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. Despite deep theological divisions many Protestant denominations looked to the Catholic Church for practical ideas like the three-year lectionary cycle, which gained wide acceptance. Consecratory prayers for the Eucharist, inspired by ancient church orders and the liturgical practices of the eastern churches, were introduced to ecclesial communities that had never had them. The archbishop of Canterbury sponsored formation of the inter-denominational Joint Liturgical Group (1963) with representatives from England, Scotland, and Wales. This group, which eventually included Roman Catholics, published suggestions for coordination among the churches of the British Isles. At the closing Eucharist of the 1962 meeting of the World Council of Churches (est. 1948) at Lima, Peru, an ecumenical liturgy was celebrated. This 'Lima Liturgy', intended to be a model for ecumenical worship, was indebted primarily to the Anglican tradition with elements from ancient eastern church orders, Orthodoxy, and the Taizé Community. Another eclectic liturgy of notable influence was that developed for the merger in 1950 that resulted in the formation of the Church of South India.

The most familiar liturgical book in modern churches is undoubtedly the hymnal. Although Anglican service books have mostly remained separate from the hymnal, many denominations have adopted a combined 'hymnal and service book'. Contents and arrangement differ but, in addition to the main corpus of hymns, there will usually

be found various items of service music, an abridged psalter, rites for morning and evening prayer, and the text of occasional services (baptism, a burial Office). These books are normally official denominational publications.

When the Second Vatican Council (1962–5) promulgated the constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (4 December 1963), it authorized a cautious reform of the Church's traditional Latin liturgy with some introduction of the vernacular. The committee that devised the 'novus ordo' Mass — introduced in 1970 with the Missal of Paul VI — took scant notice of this intention. The broad distinction between the 'liturgy of the Word' and 'liturgy of the Eucharist' was maintained, but the contents of each were restructured. Eliminated were the prayers at the foot of the altar at the beginning of Mass and the priest's private *apologiae* (confessions of unworthiness). Three readings were introduced, and the gradual was replaced by a 'responsorial' psalm (between readings one and two), modelled on 4th-century practice. Most of the offertory prayers were discarded in favour of acclamations ('Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation ...') derived from Jewish table blessings (*berekoth*). Though the traditional Canon was retained as one of four options, it appears to be rarely said. The Proper chants of the Mass (introit, offertory, communion) became optional; they can be replaced by any hymn or song. Priests and bishops entered into new roles as 'presiders' facing the congregation across the now free-standing altar. In many places the pipe organ was silenced in favour of guitars and piano; choirs were disbanded. Those attached to the Church's traditional worship attempted to maintain the Latin (misleadingly called 'Tridentine') Mass despite the opposition of many bishops. In the apostolic letter *Summorum Pontificum* (2007), Pope Benedict XVI effectively took the matter out of the hands of bishops by permitting the traditional Latin Mass to be celebrated by any priest as need arose.

Catholics in Germany and Austria created a common service book and hymnal, *Gotteslob*, with regional diocesan variants; it is now in its second edition (2013). German-speaking Catholics in Switzerland have their own *Katholisches Gesangbuch* (1998). In the USA the provision of Catholic hymnals (and hence the shape of the hymn repertoire) was left to the discretion of publishers. (Even the statement that a given hymnal is published 'with the approval' of the Committee on the Liturgy of the National Council of Catholic Bishops does not mean that its contents have been approved.) The fourth edition of the eclectic *Worship* (Gregorian Institute of America) appeared in 2011. The songs in *Glory and Praise* (Oregon Catholic Press), almost all recently composed, are oriented towards pop musical styles set to banal texts. In the UK there are fewer but similar choices: *The Catholic Hymn Book* produced by the Brompton Oratory as the traditional choice and *Liturgical Hymns Old and New* (Kevin Mayhew) as the eclectic alternative. Several American publishing houses merchandise cheaply produced booklets with texts for Masses and a selection of hymns that cover part of the liturgical year. They are discarded when no longer of use. An interesting new

approach to the service book-plus-hymnal combination is the *Saint Edmund Campion Missal and Hymnal for the Traditional Latin Mass* (2012). A companion volume for the 'novus ordo' Mass is the *Saint Jean de Brébeuf* (formerly Saint Isaac Jogues) *Illuminated Missal, Lectionary, and Gradual* (2014). Both volumes incorporate colour photographs of the liturgy and high-quality reproductions of medieval liturgical manuscripts. In what seems to be a hitherto unique undertaking, the Dominican Province of St. Joseph (USA) 'crowd funded' the production of a Latin/English *Hymnarium* (2013) of Office hymns, many in honour of Dominican saints.

For surveys on worship in the churches of the Reformation see Barclay (1927), Stählin (1950), Thompson (1962), Taylor (1963), Blume (1965), Nagel (1970), Jasper and Cuming (1980), White (1989), Kalb (1991), Senn (1997), Wakefield (1998), Vischer (2003), Miklósházy (2006), Wainwright and Westerfield Tucker (2006), Wandel (2006), Foley (2008), Immink (2014), Lindberg (2014), Wandel (2014). The identity of publications on liturgical movements will be evident from the titles in the bibliography.

For further discussion of liturgical books, including those used in the present-day services of the major denominations, *see* Anglican and Episcopalian church music; Baptist church music; Lutheran church music; Methodist church music; Pentecostal and Renewal church music; Reformed and Presbyterian church music; Roman Catholic church music; and Unitarian church music.

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