

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

The Theological Significance of “Keeping Vigil” in Rome
From the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the
School of Theology and Religious Studies
Of The Catholic University of America
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

©

Copyright

All Rights Reserved

By

James George Sabak

Washington, D.C.

2012

The Theological Significance of “Keeping Vigil” in Rome
From the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries

James G. Sabak, Ph.D.

Director: Dominic E. Serra, S.L.D.

This study examines the nature of Roman pre-Eucharistic vigil liturgies incorporated within the earliest extant calendars of Roman practice. It situates this examination between the fourth and the eighth centuries, a period during which the Roman Rite developed its current structure. This study employs a detailed and interpretive text-by-text historical-critical and textual-critical analysis of and commentary on the orations, scripture lessons, chants, rubrics, and structure of the liturgical celebration of those feasts that merited a vigil as found in the sacramentaries, lectionaries, antiphonals, and *ordines* of Roman provenance. Part one of the study explores the organization and meaning behind the vigils associated with the uniquely Roman Quarterly Fast periods or Embertides. Part two examines the complex development and multidimensional character of the vigils of the Paschal Cycle – Easter and Pentecost. The study uncovers the features unique to Roman papal and presbyteral liturgical forms, thus confirming some and challenging other long held assumptions. Part three investigates the vigils found within the celebration of Christmas in the Roman calendar, and evidence of a vigil associated with the feast of the Epiphany. This part of the study treats the evolution of the four liturgies connected with the celebration of the Nativity of the Lord and its relationship to Epiphany in Roman practice. Part four offers an analysis of the meaning and significance of the sanctoral vigils that became normative in Roman practice: John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Assumption, and Andrew, and considers the evidence for a vigil associated with the Ascension of the Lord. The sanctoral

vigils are studied for what they tell us of primitive vigil-keeping identified with the feasts of these saints. The study offers several conclusions, among which shows that the practice of keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil in Rome was composed of at least three different “types.” In addition, the study determines that the Embertide vigils are not based on imitating agrarian models of pre-Christian Roman practices, but rather on an eschatological rendering of the year punctuated by the solstices and equinoxes, and thus underscores the eschatological significance of all liturgical vigils in the city of Rome.

This dissertation by James George Sabak, fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in sacramental theology/liturgy approved by Dominic E. Serra, S.L.D., as Director, and by Kevin W. Irwin, S.T.D., and Margaret Mary Kelleher, Ph.D. as Readers.

Dominic E. Serra, S.L.D., Director

Kevin W. Irwin, S.T.D., Reader

Margaret Mary Kelleher, Ph.D., Reader

To Alexis, Gianna and John

May you wait in joyful hope for the fulfillment of God's promises

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Defining a “Christian Vigil”	10
A Brief Sketch of the Vigil in Roman Liturgical History.....	15
The Contributions of this Study.....	18
The Sources.....	20
PART ONE. THE EMBER VIGILS.....	32
Introductory Comments.....	33
The Saturdays with Twelve Readings.....	49
The Purpose of the Embertides.....	50
Chapter One. The Embertide Vigils of March and June.....	56
The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast.....	61
The Vigil of the March Quarter Fast: The Lectionaries.....	61
The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals.....	66
The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries.....	70
The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Formulary for the Dominica Vacat.....	81
The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast.....	84
The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Lectionaries.....	84
The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals.....	93
The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries.....	96
The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Formulary for the Dominica Vacat...	103
Chapter Two. The Embertide Vigils of September and December.....	108
The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast.....	108
The Vigil of the September Quarter Fast: The Lectionaries.....	110
The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals.....	116
The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries.....	120
The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast.....	129
The Vigil of the December Quarter Fast: The Lectionaries.....	132
The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals.....	138
The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries.....	141

Analysis of the Ember Vigils.....	155
The Four Embertides.....	155
The Structure of the Ember Vigil.....	160
The Number of Lessons of the Ember Vigil.....	165
The Role of the Daniel Cantic in the Embertide Vigils.....	178
Preliminary Conclusions.....	182
 PART TWO. THE EARLIEST VIGILS OF THE PASCHAL CYCLE.....	186
Introductory Comments.....	187
 Chapter Three. The Vigil of Pascha.....	194
Introductory Rites of the Vigil and <i>Lucernarium</i>	197
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha.....	205
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Sacramentary Structure.....	205
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The <i>Ordines</i>	211
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Lectionaries.....	212
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: Its Enactment.....	217
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Liturgical Texts.....	223
The Scripture Vigil in the Gregorian Tradition.....	224
The Scripture Vigil in the Gelasian Tradition.....	227
The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Canticles.....	237
Initial Observations on the Biblical Vigil of Pascha.....	248
The Blessing of the Font and Rites of Initiation.....	250
The Celebration of the Eucharist on Holy Saturday Evening.....	255
The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The <i>Ordines</i>	257
The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Antiphonals.....	260
The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Lectionaries.....	261
The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Sacramentaries.....	263
The Sunday of Pascha.....	270
The Mass for Easter Sunday: The Lectionaries and the Antiphonals.....	272
The Mass for Easter Sunday: The Sacramentaries.....	274
 Preliminary Conclusions.....	279
 Chapter Four. The Vigil of Pentecost.....	285
Introductory Comments on Pentecost.....	285
The Pentecost Vigil in the Verona Collection.....	293
The Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and Major Gregorian Sacramentaries.....	310
The Pentecost Vigil: The Lessons.....	315
The Pentecost Vigil: The Prayers Accompanying the Scripture Lessons.....	328
The Pentecost Vigil: The Vigil Mass in the Gelasian and Gregorian Traditions.....	335

Introductory Comments.....	469
The Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord.....	477
The Vigil of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist.....	482
The Vigil of Saints Peter and Paul.....	488
The Vigil of Saint Lawrence.....	495
The Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.....	501
Vigil of Saint Andrew.....	503
 Preliminary Conclusions.....	 508
 CONCLUSION.....	 512
 APPENDICES OF THE SACRAMENTARY TEXTS.....	 526
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	 638

ABBREVIATIONS AND SOURCES

CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
DOL	<i>Documents on the Liturgy</i>
EDIL	<i>Enchiridion documentorum instaurationis liturgicae</i>
GeV	<i>Gelasian Sacramentary</i>
GNLYC	<i>General Norms for the Liturgical Year and Calendar</i>
GrH	<i>The Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum</i>
GrP	<i>The Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis</i>
GrT	<i>The Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum</i>
ICEL	<i>International Commission on English in the Liturgy</i>
LLT-A	<i>Library of Latin Texts – Series A</i> (http://clt.brepolis.net/llta)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OR	<i>Ordines Romani</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RED	<i>Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
Ve	<i>Verona collection</i>
W _{ep}	<i>Würzburg Epistolary</i>
W _{ev}	<i>Würzburg Evangelary</i>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While it may appear at times that writing a dissertation is the loneliest task in the world, those who have dared to undertake so daunting a challenge will confirm that much of what is accomplished in it comes as a result of the guidance, advice, inspiration and support of many others. I would like to acknowledge and thank them here.

To Dr. Dominic Serra, my dissertation director, I offer heartfelt gratitude and deep appreciation in recognition that without his patient but firm guidance and encouragement, his tactful commentary on the “ungainly” and “infelicitous” dimensions of my draft copies, and his steadfast commitment to my interests and research this dissertation may have remained an idea that never emerged into reality. I also wish to express my very sincere thankfulness to Rev. Msgr. Kevin W. Irwin, my reader, who advised and mentored me throughout my doctoral studies, cautioned me “to sharpen my pencil” and to balance my judgments in regard to my conclusions on more than one occasion, and who provided unfailing support and encouragement in the more difficult moments. Your impact and influence on my academic formation will remain always with me. Deepest gratitude goes also to Dr. Margaret M. Kelleher, OSU, my reader, who opened my mind to the wonder of ritual and the power and meaning it contains, beginning with my Masters level studies. I am grateful for the constancy and support you have provided to me.

To the Franciscan Community of the Province of the Most Holy Name of Jesus I owe tremendous gratitude for the financial support they have provided in the many years over which this work progressed. In particular I owe a debt of thankfulness to Fr. Regis Armstrong, OFM Cap., not only for so graciously offering the use of his office at Catholic University in which to complete this dissertation, but more importantly for the fraternal care,

wise counsel, and passionate inspiration he offered to me. In addition I thank Fr. Garrett Galvin, OFM, who as a fellow Franciscan doctoral student never allowed me to lose sight of the goal, and Fr. Thomas Washburn, OFM, who ignited in me a love for those aspects of our Franciscan charism that reveal the search for truth is a journey into the mind of God.

I wish to thank the members of the faculty of The School of Theology and Religious Studies at Catholic University for their witness to scholarship and academic discovery, which continues to fortify me for further study and research. Especially I would like to thank Dr. Mark Morozowich, who as Acting Dean as this dissertation is finalized has always offered friendship, support, and counsel on many matters, and Dr. Cindy Nolan, with whom I worked in the Teaching and Learning Program at Catholic University. Her tutelage enabled me to see the forest through the trees on several occasions as well as to understand and appreciate the role of an educator as both teacher and learner. I will be forever grateful for your wisdom and insight. I am also thankful to Dr. David Bosworth who over many a cup of tea offered guidance and advice on navigating the “post-doctorate” world. Finally to Abimbola Akintolayo, Assistant Director of Graduate Admissions for the School of Theology and Religious Studies at Catholic University, who wisely guided me through all the narrow administrative passages of graduate studies and who provided invaluable assistance in preparation for my defense I wish to acknowledge my deepest gratitude, and to Thomas Palanza, Secretary to the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies who so generously offered to proof-read the many pages of this dissertation, I thank wholeheartedly for his willingness to share his editing talents with me on this project.

To my classmates in Liturgy and Sacramental Theology, among whom I am the last to finish doctoral studies, Fr. Stephen Wilbricht, CSC, Fr. Stephen Sauer, SJ, Fr. Gabriel

Pivarnik, OP, and Fr. Michael Woods, SJ, I extend my most sincere affection and gratitude for the abiding friendship we formed, and for your affirmation of my work and assurances that it would be completed. I am honored to be numbered among young scholars such as you. In particular I give immeasurable thanks for the friendship and affirmation of classmates Fr. Thomas Margevicius, Miriam Perkins, Rose Beal, Andrew Staron, Alexandra Carroll, Shannon McAlister, Christopher Born, and Stuart Squires and the mutual encouragement and understanding we offered each other over countless cups of coffee and tea, a tin of cookies, a margarita, or a slice of chocolate torte. You hold a very special place in my life.

To the student ministers of Catholic University for whom I served as Chaplain while writing this dissertation, I express loving gratitude and fond admiration: the community of the The House, 2008-2009: Jonathan Jerome, Juliette, Szczepaniak, Joshua Baum, Casey O'Connor, Matthew Aujero, Kelsey Flynn, Kara Fitzgerald, Colleen Crawford, who were present as this work began; and the community of The House 2010-2011: Jennifer Barbera, Peter Walz, Mallory Guglielmo, Michael Conroy, Drew Earnest, Jessica Clement, Jamie Charest, Emma Gallagher, and Sal Biase, who saw the final edits come to pass. Your example and witness to the power of faith in human life will always be an inspiration to me. To the Residence Life community of North Neighborhood 2 at Catholic University with whom I was honored and privileged to live in the last year this dissertation was assembled: Amy Petrovich-Kerr, Dan O'Connell, Chris Prudente, Kevin Rensch, Sean Wilson, Emily McDonald, John Henderson, Joanna Gardner, Ines Zanotti, Lauren Schene, Katrina Oteyza, Justine McQueary, and Lucie Blauvelt, I give great and humble thanks to you all for welcoming me so warmly, supporting me so graciously, and embracing me unreservedly. I

also wish to acknowledge with grateful thankfulness the support and affirmation of Fr. Jude DeAngelo, OFM Conv., Fr. Andrew Santamauro, OFM Conv., Fr. Marek Stybor, OFM Conv., David Pennington, Chris Commins, Emmjolee Mendoza-Waters, Jamila Evans, Lani Collins, and Luz Lily Dullin-Jones for their certain and assured confidence in me, and to the Student Ministers of the Office of Campus Ministry at Catholic University for 2011-2012, in particular Andrew Finley, Sarah Ault and Ryan Lyssy, and also Nicole Centeno, Rylee Magee, James Archer, Isaac Farias, Steve Imparato, Julie Larkin, Maureen Brabec, Amanda Aromatici, Billy Conlon, Steve Serafin, Kathryn Crawford, Bridget Conley, Kate Jacob, Teresa Nadareski, Chris Gervais, and Stu Nygard for their joyous commendation of my work.

To Dr. Carole Sargent, Director of Scholarly and Literary Publications at Georgetown University, who helped me to see that I could indeed write a dissertation and who calmed anxiety after anxiety as this work took shape, and to Dr. Diana Owen, Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgetown University, who kindheartedly offered opportunities for writing together in mutual support I also extend humble gratitude and genuine appreciation.

To the communities of faith in which I served as an ordained minister during the period of my doctoral studies: Holy Trinity Parish in Washington, D.C., where I was first introduced to the power of keeping vigil at Pascha, especially to Ellen Crowley, Judith Brusseau, and Fr. Gregory Schenden, SJ; St. Elizabeth Ann Seton Parish in Crofton, Maryland, my “second home” in Maryland where I held the esteemed position of “parochial vicar without portfolio,” and whose members will always hold a very special place in heart, especially to Fr. Edward Connelly, Sr. Katherine O’Donnell, RSM, Brendan Walls, Jack

O'Malley, Deacon Fred Seibold, Nancy Connell, Sharon Shipley, and Bill and Maureen Sapero; and St. Rose of Lima Parish in Newtown, Connecticut, "my home while at home" where I was often asked to spin-out much of this dissertation's research in talks and presentations, if only to make sure I knew what it was I was writing, especially to my pastoral mentor Rev. Msgr. Robert Weiss and to Pam Arsenault, I give wholehearted thanks and gratitude for your faith-filled witness and for your ceaseless prayers on my behalf.

To my dear friends, Kathryn and Rob Potter, Susan and Steve Donovan, and Michelle and Eric Tober I extend an overwhelming amount of thanks and appreciation for your steadfastness toward me during the good and the challenging times of this process. You have demonstrated what faithful loyalty and true generosity are to me all these years. Ours is a friendship born of the Easter Vigil and the potential of that event, as is true of all vigils, to transform and give life is true also of our bond and will forever remain a profound part of my life.

Finally, I wish to thank my godmother, Barbara Vincelli, for always showing an interest in the progress of this work, even when the subject matter could at times be more than mind-boggling. Her prayers all through the creation of this document have more than sustained and encouraged me. I thank my sister and brother-in-law, Joann and Michael, for their love and support in the creation of this treatise and for providing their dining room table on many occasions where its pieces were spread out and collated. And most importantly I give sincere and humble thanks coupled with great and abiding love to my parents Janet and Alvin, the first teachers to me in the ways of faith. You have truly shown yourselves to be the best of teachers in thought, in word and in deed, and have provided me with the courage, the strength, and the love for God to make real this dream.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Paragraph 18 of the *General Norms for the Liturgical Year and Calendar* (GNLYC, 1969), which document governs the post-Vatican II celebration of the feasts and seasons of the Roman Catholic Church, states that, “the Easter triduum of the passion and resurrection of Christ is the culmination of the entire liturgical year.”¹ Further on the document singles out the Easter Vigil as the liturgy in which the Easter triduum “reaches its high point.”² These two assertions acknowledge the Easter Vigil as the principal celebration of the entire liturgical year. The Easter Vigil serves also as the setting for celebrating the sacraments of initiation. The celebration of the sacraments, which brings individuals into the community of the Church and which recognizes our relationship to God, amplifies the significance of this liturgy in relation to the other festal liturgies of the Church year. The celebration of the sacraments of initiation at the Easter Vigil prompts some to conclude that the liturgy acquires meaning solely as the arena in which Christian initiation occurs. It is important to note that even without the celebration of the sacraments, the Easter Vigil remains the Church’s paramount liturgical celebration.

In addition to the Easter Vigil a number of other feasts have vigils attached to them. The temporal and sanctoral cycles of the Roman Missal (*editio typica tertia*, 2002, emended 2008, 2010) contain five vigil liturgies which begin the solemnities of Christmas, Pentecost,

¹ GNLYC 18 (DOL 442.3784: International Commission on English in the Liturgy [ICEL], *Documents on the Liturgy* [DOL] 1963-1979: *Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1982). This statement also summarizes paragraph five of the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (CSL), which speaks of Christ “...[who] achieved his task of redeeming humanity and giving perfect glory to God, principally by the paschal mystery of his blessed passion, resurrection from the dead, and glorious ascension...” CSL 5 (DOL 1.5).

² GNLYC 19 (DOL 442.3785).

Saint John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The most recent editions of the Missal add vigils on the eves of Epiphany and the Ascension of the Lord. Except for the Paschal Vigil, and for an option for celebrating the Pentecost Vigil, what distinguishes the vigils of the revised Roman Missal is the fact that they are vigils consisting solely of a Mass. The Paschal Vigil is a pre-Eucharistic vigil, celebrated with a prolonged Liturgy of the Word that then concludes with Mass; the same pattern is visible in the liturgies of the Ember Saturdays and in the extended form of the Pentecost Vigil. The vigils of Christmas, Epiphany, Ascension, Assumption, Peter and Paul, and John the Baptist, as well as the simple form option for Pentecost are vigil Masses, essentially an ordinary Eucharist on the day before a feast. The vigils for the Epiphany and for the Ascension are found in various editions of the Roman Missal.³

A few aspects are striking about this list; first, a small number of feasts merit a vigil. It is not a routine or customary element of a liturgy. Second, the types of calendrical observances chosen for a vigil are all solemnities according to the liturgical classifications of GNLYC. Except for Saints Peter and Paul, a vigil does not introduce the feast of any other apostle, nor does one begin the solemnities of either the Immaculate Conception or Saint Joseph. A third aspect is the antiquity of these celebrations. With the exception of the Vigil of the Assumption, the other five vigils can be found recorded in the most ancient liturgical

³ Vigils for the Epiphany and for the Ascension appear in the 1911 edition of the Roman Missal under Pius X. The Vigil of the Ascension appears in the Roman Missal 1962; since the Vigil of the Epiphany was not listed among the vigils in the revised rubrics of 1960 promulgated by John XXIII (25 July 1960), and so it is omitted from the 1962 edition of the Missal. Pope John's rubrical reform classified the vigils of the Liturgical Year accordingly: 1st Class: Christmas and Pentecost; 2nd Class: Ascension, Assumption, John the Baptist, and Peter and Paul; 3rd Class: Lawrence. The Easter Vigil is said to be in a class of its own because it is a nocturnal vigil, *pervigilium*, and "not a liturgical day." See Frederick McManus, *Handbook for the New Rubrics* (Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961), 24-25. Neither vigil for the Ascension nor for Epiphany found its way into the post-conciliar edition of the Roman Missal in 1970.

books – sacramentaries, lectionaries, and *ordines* – associated with Roman liturgical practice.⁴ Their recurrent presence suggests something of an ancient antecedent, which continued to be acknowledged through the centuries to the present day.

Prior to the post-conciliar reform of the liturgy, the Roman Church observed at least eight other vigils in its calendar, the origins of which extend back to the early centuries of Christianity. Principal among these other vigils in the early centuries were Eucharistic vigils prior to the feasts of Saint Lawrence and Saint Andrew.⁵ Many of these vigils were suppressed in the revision of the calendar following the Second Vatican Council.⁶ The ancient and particularly Roman tradition of the Quarterly Fasts known to later history as the Ember Days always included a vigil service from Saturday into Sunday, which service concluded the week's observance. By the eighth century the rite for dedicating a church building has adopted a vigil service the night before the dedication, as a prayerful watch over the relics to be interred under the altar the following day.⁷ The origins of the practice

⁴ The Vigil of the Assumption appears in the Hadrianum manuscript alone of the major Gregorian sacramentaries, and is omitted from the Tridentinum and the Paduensis. Since the Hadrianum is a later version of the Gregorian sacramentary tradition than either the Tridentinum or the Paduensis, the Assumption vigil must also be a later addition to the calendar (possible mid-late 8th century).

⁵ The vigil for Saint Andrew was not listed in the rubrical reform of John XXIII in 1960 and subsequently does not appear in the 1962 Roman Missal.

⁶ See United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), *Norms Governing Liturgical Calendars*, Liturgy Documentary Series 6 (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1984), 133. The document is the English translation of *Calendarium Romanum* (text found in *Enchiridion documentorum instaurationis liturgicae* [EDIL], vol. 1 [1963-1973], ed. Reiner Kaczynski [Rome: C.L.V.-Edizione Liturgiche, 1990], 439-455) the text and commentary approving the general norms for the liturgical year and the new general Roman calendar. A note in the English translation of the commentary states that while the commentary appears in the *editio typica* of *Calendarium Romanum* it was marked as “non-official.” The English translation of the commentary was prepared by ICEL in 1975. See *Norms Governing Liturgical Calendars*, 61. While the USCCB document states the Vigil of Saint Lawrence is “abolished,” it says nothing at all concerning the Vigil of Saint Andrew, which is nevertheless unnamed.

⁷ See G.G. Willis, *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968), 149-154.

of keeping vigil over the relics of the martyrs go back to at least the fourth, and possibly the third century.⁸ Throughout the history of the Western Church the use of a vigil before the celebration of a particular feast was judiciously employed. In addition to the six major vigils already mentioned, the Missal of Pius V (1570) contains vigils for the Immaculate Conception and for All Saints, as well as for Saints Bartholomew, James the Greater, Matthew, Matthias, Simon and Jude, and Thomas. The concept of a vigil liturgy may be linked to a very early stratum of liturgical expression in the West.

The term “vigil,” usually in the plural, “vigils,” has been used in Western Christianity for an hour in the daily round of prayers known as the Divine Office and today as the Liturgy of the Hours. A vigil occurred during the nighttime hours, generally following first vespers of the coming day; it could be celebrated also at midnight, or at the very beginning of daylight, culminating at dawn. In past centuries vigils have been called *matins*, pertaining to the early morning hours, or *nocturns*, which name expresses the more nocturnal aspect of the hour. The purpose in praying through the night not only acknowledged Paul’s exhortation to “pray without ceasing” (I Thess. 5:17), but also it daily re-enacted the greatest of Christian vigils, that held on Holy Saturday.⁹

The instances of vigil practice in the Church’s calendar, encountered in the liturgical texts for feasts and solemnities, seem to be of a different order than vigil practice in the Divine Office. Whereas the vigil of the Divine Office is a regular component of daily

⁸ Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 88-94.

⁹ A.J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 7.

prayer, a Eucharistic vigil of the kind found in the ancient sacramentaries, lectionaries, and *ordines* is more exceptional. In *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Robert Taft identifies this type of vigil as pre-Eucharistic: “an especially solemn preparation for the celebration of the Eucharist in a period when this was done with limited frequency.”¹⁰ Psalmody characterized the daily vigil of the Office, but Taft notes great importance given to the scriptural lessons, which were the focus of the pre-Eucharistic vigil.¹¹ What we experience today at the Easter Vigil, with its extended Liturgy of the Word, is perhaps the lone descendant of this ancient practice of keeping vigil. Why certain feasts merited a vigil prior to their Eucharistic celebration or for what liturgical purpose these vigils were created, however, is left unanswered.

While there have been a number of studies on the history and theological significance of the Divine Office/Liturgy of the Hours, including Taft’s masterful thesis on the subject, further work is needed on understanding the nature of the pre-Eucharistic vigil, especially as expressed in the liturgical texts.¹² A full exposition on this topic could involve several volumes of research and analysis; to more manageably approach the data the scope of this study will be limited to a single tradition within a particular time frame in the Church’s history: Rome, between the fourth and eighth centuries, the period in which much of what we identify as the Roman Rite was being formed.

¹⁰ Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 189.

¹¹ Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 189.

¹² In his chapter on “Cathedral Vigils,” in *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Taft recommends that such a study be undertaken particularly from the standpoint of the pre-Eucharistic vigils appearing in the liturgical year. See Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 165.

Vigils have existed in both Western and Eastern Christianity from a very early period. Studies of the practice in the West, however, have not been as numerous as their counterparts in the East. Nonetheless, the Western practice of keeping vigil reveals a distinct character, which is not imitated in the sister churches of the East. The city of Rome played an important, though not a unique, role in disseminating this character to other churches of Western Christianity. During the fourth to eighth centuries the liturgical style that comes to typify the Roman Rite developed, which style would subsequently become normative for the Western Church. These centuries afford us the opportunity to learn how the variety of vigil liturgies that come to fill the calendar assumed their roles in liturgical celebration. Through a historical-critical and textual-critical analysis of the liturgical sources this dissertation intends to unravel the most primitive structure or structures of keeping vigil in order to explore the values and implications not only of those structures, but also of the content and theological meaning behind keeping vigil in this period. Vigils of several different sorts are still in use in the Roman Rite and this study will help us understand and celebrate them better.

The data concerning the liturgical practices of Western Christianity, particularly before the fourth or even the fifth centuries, however, is notoriously scanty and unreliable. Research is further complicated by the piecemeal development of certain facets of liturgical life such as the format for celebrating great solemnities and the development of a calendar for feasts.¹³ While it is difficult to cite evidence from liturgical texts and sources prior to the

¹³ See G.G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy* (London: The Boydell Press, 1994), 78-80; Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Neils Krogh Rasmussen (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 37; and Herman Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and*

fourth century, we are in possession of manuscripts from later centuries that tell us something about fourth and fifth century liturgical practices. These liturgical documents – sacramentaries, lectionaries, Antiphonals, and *ordines*¹⁴ – will serve as the means with which to survey the ways in which ancient Christians in Rome celebrated or kept a pre-Eucharistic vigil.

The structure and ritual content of the pre-Eucharistic vigils found in the ancient Roman liturgical sources differs among the variety of feasts celebrated. The most detailed are the vigils of the Ember seasons, Pascha, and Pentecost. These vigil celebrations include a series of scripture lessons beyond the usual one or two prior to the gospel as well as prayers associated with the lessons; these lessons and prayers appear before a discernable Eucharistic liturgy. The vigils preceding the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany are more limited in their content, though certain sections containing *alia orationes* may suggest a more ancient vigil practice of several scripture lessons and prayers. The liturgical structure of the vigils associated with the sanctoral feasts is simplest in design, differing very little from the structure of the feast day celebration. The liturgical texts of these vigils, however, are distinct from what is found for the celebration *in die*. At times the day celebration (if one does appear at all) merely repeats texts from the vigil replacing *nocte* with *die* where appropriate.

With these fundamental distinctions among the pre-Eucharistic vigils in mind and in order to examine the data in as logical and clear a fashion as is possible, this study will take

West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History, trans. Gordon W. Lathrop (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 7.

¹⁴ The provenance, date, and particulars of each of these documents will be described below.

the form of a series of parts. Part I will examine the vigil associated with the Ember seasons. As we will discover the Ember seasons are a uniquely Roman liturgical phenomena. While their practice spreads to other churches in the West the origin of the Ember seasons resides in Roman antiquity. The arrangement and relationship of the liturgical elements of these vigil liturgies in the sources also differs to some degree from the vigils of Pascha and Pentecost.

Part II will focus upon the earliest vigils of the Paschal Cycle, Pascha and Pentecost. The Paschal Vigil is identified as *mater omnium sanctorum vigiliarum* according to Saint Augustine.¹⁵ Pascha is the feast most associated with the practice of a pre-Eucharistic vigil particularly as Eucharist comes to complete the celebration of the sacraments of initiation, which celebration becomes an essential element of the vigil. However, this may not always have been the case, and the vigil may have emphasized more than a yearly remembrance of the empty tomb. Part of the analysis of the Paschal Vigil will concern its relationship to the vigils of the Embertides, whose antiquity and liturgical structure possibly mirrors that of the annual commemoration of the Lord's Resurrection.

The Pentecost Vigil may be the most perplexing given its presence prior to the feast, which concludes the period of Paschal feasting. The ancient Church prohibited penitential practices and fasting during festive celebrations. As the practice of keeping vigil becomes synonymous with fasting, the observance of a vigil during the time of Paschal joy (even towards the end of it) would seem to contradict the intent of the season. We will consider

¹⁵ "Quanto ergo alacrius in hac vigilia, velut matre omnium sanctarum vigiliarum, vigilare debemus, in qua totus vigilat mundus?" Augustine of Hippo *Sermo* 219, *In vigiliis paschae*, I (PL 38.1088). See also: Edmund Hill, trans., *Sermons 184-229Z on the Liturgical Seasons*, part 3, vol. 6 of *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (New Rochelle, NY: New City Press, 1993), 198.

also the origin of this vigil. In liturgical structure and content it imitates the Paschal Vigil, and the Pentecost Vigil will also come to serve as an occasion for celebrating the sacraments of initiation. The evident duplication of Paschal elements in the Pentecost Vigil and its role in completing the initiation of those candidates unable to be baptized at the Paschal Vigil may lead one to conclude that the vigil exists to fulfill a functional need and nothing more. We will test this theory against the textual evidence in the liturgy itself to discover if there is any truth to it.

Part III will analyze the vigils of the Christmas Cycle, the Nativity of Christ and Epiphany. Here we will investigate the complex aspects of a feast with three or four liturgical units associated with it. The evolution of the Christmas liturgy results in not one, but possibly two pre-Eucharistic vigils celebrated within the night between Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. The historical development and theological significance of these vigils in relation to the other liturgies of Christmas will be explored. We will attempt to discern whether or not the primitive liturgy of Christmas in Rome was a day celebration, which was extended backward to the evening before, or originally established, as were many other feasts, as an evening/nocturnal event that acquires a daytime assembly only later. We will determine whether the variety of three to four liturgies for Christmas was understood as a single liturgical unit in Rome, or independent liturgical commemorations of the same feast. The impact the number of Christmas liturgies had upon communication of the mystery of the Incarnation will be studied also.

Part IV will present the material on the sanctoral vigils contained in the liturgical texts as an excursus. The principal pre-Eucharistic vigils this part will cover are those of

Saint John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Lawrence, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Andrew. Other vigils, which are not listed in every liturgical text, such as for Saint Cecilia, Saint Sixtus, Saints Gervase and Protase, and Saints John and Paul, will be noted but not examined as the origins of these commemorations lay with sources outside of Roman practice. Scholars believe that nocturnal gatherings at the tombs of the martyrs, from which the sanctoral vigils spring, may be an important link in the development of vigil practice especially at Rome. The limited amount of ritual data and extra-liturgical source material on all these feasts, however, makes a full-scale study difficult to undertake, therefore, whatever data may shed light on the practice of keeping vigil in Rome will be presented. This data will be treated in Chapter Seven.

Defining a “Christian” Vigil

Having set out the parameters of this study it would be prudent to define next what is meant by “vigil” in the Church’s tradition. Several solemnities and feasts have already been mentioned that involve a vigil preceding their feast day. While nocturnal assemblies at festive times were not foreign to antiquity, these gatherings were not customary and sometimes viewed with suspicion.¹⁶ The Christian Church adopts and reinterprets this practice in a particular manner to express the ethos of Christian belief.

¹⁶ See John North, *Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 64; and Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, “A History,” vol. 1 of *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 91-98. Suspicion greatly surrounded the cults of Bacchus and Cybele, whose devotees often engaged in nocturnal rituals.

The *Lexicon latinitatis* provides a four-part definition for the noun, *vigilia*, from whence comes the English word, *vigil*. In this text, *vigilia* refers to a nocturnal office of four stages in the night: vespers, compline, nocturns, and matins; a morning office titled, *vigilia matutina*; a morning office on the days of feasts; and an office for the dead for all the faithful.¹⁷ The noun functions also as a stem in words such as, *pervigilatio* (plural, *pervigilia*), the action of passing the night in a church on the vigil of a feast;¹⁸ or *praevigilium*, a period of two days prior to something.¹⁹ In addition to its role in the office of the dead, these entries convey the concept of keeping vigil as a nocturnal service focused on the eve of a feast.

The English language has some resonance with these concepts. The Oxford English Dictionary lists four results when the query “vigil” is place in its search engine: two forms of a noun, one adjective, and one verb, in that order.²⁰ Pertinent to this study is the definition of the word as a noun. The initial entry, “vigil,” harmonizes with the understanding of *pervigilatio* in the *Lexicon latinitatis*. The OED defines vigil as, “the eve of a festival or holy day, as an occasion of devotional watching or religious observance,” or better, “a devotional watching, *esp.* the watch kept on the eve of a festival or holy day; a nocturnal service or devotional exercise.” Other connotations listed under this first heading are: a “wake,” or “prayers said or sung at a nocturnal service, specifically for the dead.”

¹⁷ Albert Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi: Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du Moyen-âge* (Turnholt: Brepols, 1975), 957.

¹⁸ *Lexicon latinitatis*, s.v. “Vigilia.”

¹⁹ *Lexicon latinitatis*, s.v. “Pervigilatio.”

²⁰ *OED Online* 2nd ed., <http://dictionary.oed.com> (accessed 10 June 2010), s.v. “Vigil.”

Here, the OED echoes the meaning of *vigilia* in the *Lexicon latinitatis*. Vigil is described also as “a period of keeping awake for some special reason or purpose;” furthermore, and without an article, “watch” or “watching.”

Both the *Lexicon latinitatis* and the OED relate similar understandings of vigil as an approach toward something else, or an expectation or anticipation of something to come. The event is also related to something festive or a particular feast day. An “addendum” that appears joined to the definition of *vigil* as a noun describes a wakeful period for some reason or purpose: “a stationary and peaceful demonstration in support of a particular cause, often lasting several days, which is characterized by the absence of speeches or other explicit advocacy of the cause, and frequently by some suggestion of mourning.”²¹ While this latter understanding of vigil in the OED is a contemporary concept, it is also expressed in the vigil the precedes a funeral Mass, though the difference in the vigil of the latter does not focus solely upon mourning and lament, but rather tempers these emotions with assurances and hope of the Resurrection.²²

The liturgical documents in utilizing the term, “vigil,” express a unique purpose for this type of liturgical observance. In the texts “vigil” designates a *type* of liturgical commemoration, rather than the title of a feast. In the ancient sacramentaries, as well as currently, no other type of descriptive marker exists for denoting a liturgical celebration in this way. In most cases the ancient sacramentaries carry titles for the Mass to be celebrated

²¹ The copyright to the second edition of the *OED Online* is 1989, while the “additions series” wherein this new entry comes is dated 1993.

²² “Through careful use of the rites...the minister helps the mourners to express their sorrow and find strength and consolation through faith in Christ and his resurrection to eternal life” *Order of Christian Funerals* 52. See ICEL, *Order of Christian Funerals* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1989), 21.

on a certain day. For solemnities commemorating the life of Christ, these titles state the event to be remembered from the life of Christ. Among the entries in the sanctoral cycle, it is the saint's name, with the preface *in natale* or more simply *natalis*, which specifies the feast. These are all titles of the liturgical feast to be celebrated. The addition of *vigilia* to the title appears to point to the *style* in which the feast is to be celebrated.²³ In the ancient sacramentaries these vigils were (and today continue to be) exclusively *Eucharistic* liturgies. Thus, the term *vigil* applied to certain feasts makes it possible to discern that two types of Eucharistic experiences may have existed, at least in the city of Rome: Eucharistic celebrations *in die* and Eucharistic celebrations *in vigilia*; each of which implied a distinct and focused style of celebration.

Contemporary liturgical documents seem to express confusion over or a lack of appreciation for how this exceptional type of liturgical vigil ought to be implemented. It is interesting that an analysis of the post-conciliar documents on the Liturgical Year, apart from the Easter Vigil, does not reveal much information on keeping vigil as this relates to the other solemnities, which merit one. The commentary on the General Norms for utilizing the reformed calendar refers to the vigils of John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and the Assumption in the following manner:

All that remains of this vigil is an optional Mass, which may be celebrated in a festive manner on the evening of [respective date].²⁴

²³ Even such celebrations as that of the *Laetania major* (April 25) or the *De inventione sanctae crucis* (May 3, Gelasian Sacramentary) in the ancient sacramentaries are titles for the day celebrated, rather than descriptions of the type of liturgy celebrated.

²⁴ See ICEL, "Commentary on the General Roman Calendar," in *Norms Governing Liturgical Calendars*, 128, 133. Other pertinent information on this these documents is found above at footnote 6.

In what way is the vigil of these solemnities *optional*? Prior to this the text of GNLYC also states that, “Solemnities are counted as the principal days in the calendar and their observance begins with Evening Prayer I of the preceding day. Some also have their own vigil Mass for use when Mass is celebrated in the evening of the preceding day.”²⁵ It is interesting to note that in the English translation of the document the word, *ditantur* – meaning to enrich or endow, is not translated. Without it, the English translation loses some sense of the augmenting of a particular solemnity with a vigil Mass the evening before it. The sense of the instruction affirms that the vigil Mass is part of the solemnity even when it is celebrated before first vespers. The celebration of a Mass on the evening that begins the feast may be optional, but if Mass is celebrated on the eve of a feast, the vigil Mass is the only one permitted. Even with this qualification and with the exception of the Easter Vigil, the *Missale Romanum* provides very little information as to why vigil-Masses exist or on the manner in which they should be celebrated if this differs from that of the day. The Latin text of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* also does not address specifically the keeping of vigils in the Church’s liturgical prayer. It does, however, mention the use of a vigil in the form of a Bible service on more solemn feasts; these services may have been intended more as Word Services independent of the Mass.²⁶

²⁵ GNLYC 11 (DOL 442.3777).

²⁶ “Foveatur sacra verbi Dei celebratio in solemniorum festorum pervigiliis, in aliquibus feriis Adventus et Quadragesimae, atque in dominicis et diebus festis” SC 35.4 (EDIL 1.35).

A Brief Sketch of the Vigil in Roman Liturgical History

The historical development of the liturgy contains evidence, which reveals that early on the type of worship that occurred at the tombs of the martyrs generally took the form of some sort of evening celebration, of keeping vigil. This ancient practice of keeping vigil *ad corpus* lasted through the night as the faithful kept prayerful watch at the tombs of the martyrs. Keeping vigil in this way took place not only when the martyr was initially interred in his or her tomb, but also would be celebrated on the anniversary of their martyrdom, and in ancient and medieval Rome on the date of the translation of their relics to the shrine-church. These vigils offered the living faithful a glimpse into the promise of resurrection through the “deep peace of the sleep” of the departed faithful “before the resurrection shows in their bones.”²⁷ The vigil was not conducted in remorse or even as a nostalgic remembrance of the death of a hero of the faith, but rather as an act of eschatological promise, however primitively this may have been understood. These vigils were also particular in that they often concluded with the first Mass of the day of the festal memorial of the martyr.²⁸

This practice would lead to other occasions and instances in which prayer over the hours of nighttime took place and was encouraged. At times an individual alone observed this nighttime prayer; at other times this prayer happened within gatherings of larger

²⁷ Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 76-77.

²⁸ Antoine Chavasse, “La Célébration *In vigilia*, veille du *natale* d’un saint,” in *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe siècle*, Studia Anselmiana 112, Analecta Liturgica 18 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 247.

assemblies. Yet whether alone or in groups the enacting of this prayer attempted to apply the prophecies from both the Book of Malachi, wherein the prophet speaks of a “sun of justice,” which will arise, “with healing in its rays” (Malachi 3:20); and from the gospel of Luke, wherein Zechariah proclaims, “the tender mercy of our God by which the daybreak from on high will visit us” (Luke 1:78) to the experience of Christian life.²⁹ The faithful Christian is the one who waits for this dawn, and does so actively, with the dynamic of keeping vigil from nighttime into day. The meaning of the scripture passages conveyed the expectation of both a person and a fulfillment: the eschatological completion of the work of God in Christ’s return, foreshadowed in the vindicated death of the martyrs. This eschatological dimension of keeping vigil expressed one of the fundamental aspirations of a Christian: belief in the return of Christ.

The dynamic power of keeping vigil in the Latin West, as Taft notes, “acquires a consistency and importance” not observed in other areas of Christianity after the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the establishment of the barbarian kingdoms in the fourth and fifth centuries.³⁰ The powerful nature of what it meant to keep vigil particularly on the eve of certain feasts remained an integral part of Christian prayer life. Thus, Augustine of Hippo’s affirmation that the Easter Vigil is called *mater* of all vigils may mean it to be the greatest and not necessarily the origin of all practices of keeping vigil; that the paschal night is but one of many occasions for celebrating a vigil. While it is unclear whether or not

²⁹ The footnote to this passage in the New American Bible states that the Greek translates as “dawn/daybreak” (ἀνατολή) what the LXX means as scion or branch (σκιμή) – a reference to a person or individual who is awaited. See *New American Bible* (Washington, DC: Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1991), note 22. <http://www.usccb.org/nab/bible/luke/luke1.htm> (accessed July 15, 2010).

³⁰ Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, 177.

Augustine speaks this way in order to remind his audience of a tradition either being forgotten or being replaced by other liturgical customs, ultimately it is most puzzling that Augustine is less descriptive of what he means by this statement.

Given Augustine's assessment and based upon evidence we can distill from a variety of historical records, keeping vigil played a significant and fundamental role in the life of the early Church. It was a ritual development, which could be enacted in a multiplicity of styles, occasions, and audiences. The liturgical rituals in the early Church that were designated by the name of *vigil* operated both in relationship to the Eucharist, and on some level independently from the Eucharist. There was a commemorative and kerygmatic element involved in keeping vigil, such that it comes to be applied, first, in connection with celebrations of the Eucharist, and then later incorporated within the pattern of daily prayer. Perhaps it is not a mere coincidence that this term is utilized in these various contexts because the idea of "keeping vigil" seems to connote much more in the Church's tradition than just "waiting around," even if this waiting around is connected to some other activity. Among the early Christian communities the vigil, especially when kept at the tombs of the martyrs, seems to have functioned not only as an active witness to faith in the final resurrection of all believers, but also as a demonstrative expression of the arrival of that promised fulfillment.

The development away from an eschatological understanding of keeping vigil, expressed in the celebration of the Eucharist, to an understanding, which treated keeping vigil as one of the hours of the round of daily prayer in accord with St. Paul's injunction to "pray without ceasing," will be considered in the study that follows. It is to this latter

framework that the concept of “vigil” becomes most intimately attached, serving an integral role in the nocturnal prayer of the Church. It will be shown how this move contributes to the difficulty in understanding the role and purpose of pre-Eucharistic vigils, and the reason or reasons why they are associated with only a few solemnities in the liturgical calendar.

The Contributions of this Study

A historical survey of the texts and, insofar as is possible, the liturgical structure of the ancient practice of pre-Eucharistic vigils has the benefit, first, of assisting us to understand them better. Second, the survey will help us to ascertain why in the evolution of the liturgy certain feasts attracted to themselves a vigil. Third, such a study begins to consider the possible impact such liturgical practices had upon the faith-life of a community and aid us in gaining a greater appreciation of the meaning of vigil in the lives of Christians in early Rome. It will probe and examine the earliest expressions of keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil in Rome, and how that practice manifested itself in the principal celebrations of the liturgical year. The research in this paper will shed further light on the perplexing nature of the Saturday vigil during the Quarterly Fast periods unique to the city of Rome. In particular, this work will contribute to an on-going debate and conversation on the nature of keeping vigil and the role of the Easter Vigil prior to the incorporation of baptism into its celebration in the Western Christian tradition. This study will advance a renewed appreciation for the eschatological nature of the vigil. Highlighting those eschatological elements of a pre-Eucharistic vigil will help to deepen the understanding of the theological significance of the vigil in its varied forms. What comes to light through an

examination of the eschatological dimensions of the pre-Eucharistic vigil may reveal also how the early Christians in Rome experienced and understood the “already/not yet” aspects of salvation. Finally, a study of the most ancient of the liturgical texts for the celebration of pre-Eucharistic vigils in Rome will aid in discerning the role of these evening and/or nighttime liturgical services in relationship to the day celebrations that followed them. A key element of this inquiry will concern the meaning of a vigil as precursor and embodiment of the festal mystery.

The investigation into the ancient practice of keeping vigil in Rome will also generate some implications for contemporary practice and understanding. While they will not be central to the thesis of this study, the research may help to shed light on three areas of current liturgical practice concerning keeping vigil. The first area is the phenomenon of designating the celebration of the Sunday Eucharist on Saturday evening, as a “vigil” in many parishes. Such identification for a Saturday evening liturgy may not be a good use of the term. A second area is the understanding of a vigil as anticipating the celebration of the day, which follows. While a Saturday evening Mass serves to anticipate Sunday, the pre-Eucharistic vigil of the Church’s solemnities does not anticipate inasmuch as it both prepares an assembly for the feast and expresses something of the profound eschatological aspects of Christian worship; a Saturday evening “vigil Mass” for Sunday is not the same as a vigil of one of the calendar’s great feasts. The third area involves the content of a vigil. As already noted at the beginning of this introduction, many believe that the Easter Vigil receives its meaning from the celebration of the sacraments of initiation, which occur within

it. What may be overlooked is the existence of something within a vigil *qua* vigil, which draws to it the celebration of other ritual events, such as baptism at Easter.

This study will provide some answers to the puzzle of keeping vigil at certain times of the year in the liturgical tradition of the Western Church. Its method will utilize a historical and textual critical examination and an analysis in the liturgical texts: sacramentaries, lectionaries, Antiphonals, and *ordines* pertaining to the earliest pre-Eucharistic vigil celebrations of the city of Rome. A pre-Eucharistic vigil comes to exist in relationship to a day celebration, and therefore where possible I will analyze these texts also in order to note complementarities or dissonance in structure of the feast celebrated as a vigil. I will also make note of duplications of prayer texts, as well as stylistic nuances among the Mass sets within the sacramentaries.

The Sources

The texts I will consult are those with cores considered by most scholars of liturgical history to be Roman or at least Roman in their earliest strata.

I. The Sacramentaries

1. **The Verona Collection** – Sacramentarium Veronense or simply, Veronense.³¹ The manuscript dates from the late 6th century; the *formulae* within the collection date between the 5th and 6th centuries. It is doubtful that any set is earlier than 400. The manuscript has also been called the Leonine Sacramentary (Sacramentarium

³¹ *Sacramentarium veronense, Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV (80)*. Edited by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg. RED, Series major, Fontes 1. 3rd ed. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1976.

Leonianum), though the book cannot be attributed to St. Leo the Great's authorship. This document while not a true sacramentary exists rather as a collection of *libelli* or texts to be utilized at a Mass. The collection contains specific Mass sets and prayer texts that relate to various dimensions of vigil practice. It is arranged monthly according to the civil year, rather than according to the liturgical year. The manuscript is incomplete and begins with the month of April. The Verona collection will be abbreviated as **Ve** followed by the item number of each text.

2. **The Gelasian Sacramentary** – Gelasianum Vetus or simply, Gelasianum.³²

The manuscript dates from around 750, and reproduces a Frankish sacramentary from ca. 700, itself a copy of a Roman sacramentary from ca. 630 containing elements as early as the 5th century. Most scholars posit that this sacramentary may have been used among the presbyteral and suburbicarian churches of the city of Rome. The Gelasianum will be abbreviated as **GeV** followed by the item number of each text.

3. **The Gregorian Sacramentary** – Several manuscripts in the Western

tradition bear variations on this name. They are products of Charlemagne's desire to establish the Roman ritual tradition among the Frankish peoples in his program of national unification. At its core, the Gregorian Sacramentary may have been a papal text used at the Lateran Basilica and at the stational liturgies around the city of Rome. The most primitive redaction of the Gregorian sacramentary may be dated between 609-638, and stems from the

³² *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56). RED Series major, Fontes 4. Edited by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1976.

city of Rome. The three recensions of particular Roman provenance, which concern this study are:

a. **The *Hadrianum*** – *Sacramentary of Hildoard of Cambrai (Cambrai, Bibl. municipale, codex 164 [olim 159], folios 35^v-203).*³³ The manuscript is called “*Hadrianum ex authentico*,” and is dated between 811 and 812, although it reproduces a papal text sent to Charlemagne between 784 and 791. The document is classified as a Type I Gregorian sacramentary designated for papal use. This is the form of the Gregorian sacramentary first established in Rome ca. 630 and revised by Sergius I (687-701) and Gregory II (715-731) in the first third of the eighth century. The text in its “*ex authentico*” version is an unsupplemented and uncorrected version of the Roman original that was sent to Charlemagne by Hadrian I (772-795). The *Hadrianum* will be abbreviated as **GrH** followed by the item number of each text. Any reference to the Supplement by Benedict of Aniane (Autun, Bibliothèque municipale, *codex Augustodunensis* 19) will be rendered **GrSupp** followed by item number.³⁴

b. **The *Tridentinum*** – The Sacramentary of Trent, *Sacramentarium Tridentinum*.³⁵ The manuscript dates ca. 825-830, however its base text derives from

³³ *Hadrianum ex authentico*. Vol. 1 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 3e éd. revue et corrigée, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28. Edited by Jean Deshusses, 85-348. Fribourg: Editions Saint-Paul, 1992.

³⁴ *Hadrianum revisum anianense cum supplemento*. Vol. 1 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 3e éd. revue et corrigée, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28. Edited by Jean Deshusses, 349-605. Fribourg: Editions Saint-Paul, 1992.

³⁵ *Sacramentarium tridentinum*, (Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, M. N. 1590). Edited by Ferdinando Dell'Oro and Hyginus Rogger. *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae saeculo XIII antiquiora*, II/A. 73-310. Trent: Società Studi trentini di Scienze storiche, 1985.

a late 7th century Lateran sacramentary after 680 prior to the pontificate of Sergius. It, too, is a Type I Gregorian sacramentary. The Tridentinum contains elements of a pre-Hadrianic model of the papal sacramentary. This model appears to have left Rome around the same time that Hadrian sent the copy, which eventually became the Hadrianum, to Charlemagne. The Tridentinum will be abbreviated **GrT** followed by the item number of each text.

c. **The Paduensis** – The Sacramentary of Padua, *Liber Sacramentorum Paduensis*.³⁶ The manuscript dates between 840 and 855. The document is a Type II Gregorian sacramentary revised for use by the Roman presbyters serving Saint Peter's Basilica. Its prototype was executed at Rome for use at Saint Peter's basilica ca. 650-680, and elements in the text may date ca. 595-617. The Paduensis contains a pre-Hadrianic core prior to Sergius I (ca. 700), which is even earlier than that of the Tridentinum. The Paduensis will be abbreviated **GrP** followed by the item number of each text.

II. The Lectionaries

1. **The Würzburg Epistolary**. *Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, codex M.p.th.f. 62*.³⁷ The manuscript is dated ca. 700. It represents the epistle list of the oldest surviving lectionary of the Roman Church. The manuscript is one part of two, the second being the gospel list, which together comprise the lectionary proper. It is composed of

³⁶ *Liber sacramentorum paduensis* (Padova, *Biblioteca Capitulare, cod. D 47*). Edited by Alceste Catella, Ferdinandus Dell'Oro, and Aldus Martini, with Fabritio Crivello. BELS 131. Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2005.

³⁷ The text is reproduced by G. Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romain," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 41-74.

pericopes and at times also includes Old Testament contributions. The Würzburg Epistology will be abbreviated as **W_{ep}**.

2. **The Würzburg Evangelary.** *Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, codex M.p.th.f. 62.*³⁸ As above, the manuscript is dated ca. 700. It represents the gospel list of the oldest surviving lectionary of the Roman Church. It is composed of pericopes from the gospels. The Würzburg Evangelary will be abbreviated as **W_{ev}**.

3. **The Epistology of Corbie** – *Leningrad, Publichnaja Biblioteka, codex, Q.V.I, no. 16 (olim Sangerman. 842).*³⁹ The manuscript can be dated ca. 772/780. It is a Roman-Frankish epistology, whose core is essentially Roman. According to the research of Frere this epistology serves as a standard of comparison for all the Roman epistolaries.⁴⁰ A.G. Martimort lists it as bearing particular importance for Roman liturgical history.⁴¹

4. **The Comes of Alcuin** – *Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, codex 553.*⁴² The manuscript comes from the first quarter or first half of the ninth century. It is an epistology with Old Testament and New Testament pericopes created by Alcuin of York (ca. 730/740-804) from a Roman epistology put together ca. 626/627 under Honorius I, which is why it is included here as a Roman source.

³⁸ The text is reproduced by G. Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle," *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 296-330.

³⁹ Text utilized is that of Walter Howard Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, vol. 3: *The Roman Epistle-Lectionary*. Alcuin Club Collections 32. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 1-24.

⁴⁰ See Frere, *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, vol. 3, 25.

⁴¹ See A.G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 34.

⁴² See Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques*, 52; and Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 341 on the date and origin of the manuscript. The text I utilized is that of André Wilmart, "Le Lectionnaire D'Alcuin." *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 136-197.

5. **The Roman Gospel Capitularies.** These manuscripts are four different types of gospel collections for the liturgy ranging from 700 to 800.⁴³ They are classified by Theodore Klauser according to type:

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, codex M.p.th.f. 62. Würzburg is a type Π evangelary and is found in the third section of the *Capitulary of Würzburg*, folios 10^v-16^v. It is dated ca. 645.

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, codex 22 (Codex aureus), fol. 161^r-171^r. Trier is a type Λ evangelary and is dated ca. 740.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Nouvelles acquisitions latines 1588, lat. 17227, 11958, 9386, 11956; Rome, Ottobon. Lat 79. Paris is a type Σ evangelary and is dated ca. 755.

Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, codex 12; Paris, Biblio. Nat. lat. 11957; Rome, Vat. lat. 8523; Paris, Biblio. Nat. lat. 11963. Douai is a type Δ evangelary and was completed in ca. 750, based upon a pure Roman *capitulare* of ca. 650.⁴⁴

These four types of Roman gospel capitulary represent various developments of a Roman core subsequently augmented by Franco-Germanic influences.

⁴³ Text utilized is that of Theodore Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*. I Typen. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorfschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935.

⁴⁴ Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 343.

6. **The Verona Lectionary** (or the Lectionary of Monza) – *Paris, Biblio. Nat. codex lat. 9451*.⁴⁵ The manuscript is dated between the eighth and ninth century. The text is a full lectionary of epistle and gospel texts. It is a Roman lectionary, but evidence of Northern Italian feasts reveal that it may have been copied and edited outside of Rome.

7. **The Comes of Murbach** – *Besançon, Bibl. municip., codex 184, fol. 58-74*.⁴⁶ The manuscript dates from the late eighth century. This is a *capitulare* of epistles and gospels giving *incipit* and *explicit* for each lesson. A Roman-Frankish arrangement of readings, the manuscript is an adaptation of an older Roman calendar of the seventh century based upon the Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentaries.

On occasion reference will be made to the Merovingian Lectionary of Luxeuil (late seventh or early eighth century)⁴⁷ and the Campanian Epistolary of Capua (ca. 545),⁴⁸ which texts while non-Roman in origin are two other early lectionaries, which may contribute to the understanding of Roman practice and its theological significance.

⁴⁵ Text utilized is that of Robert Amiet, “Un ‘Comes’ carolingien inedit de la haute-italie.” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959): 335-367.

⁴⁶ Text utilized is that of André Wilmart, “Le ‘Comes’ de Murbach.” *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 25-69.

⁴⁷ Text utilized is that of Pierre Salmon, *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil* (Paris, ms. Lat. 9427). *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 8, 9. Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1944-1953.

⁴⁸ Text utilized is that of John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

III. The Antiphonals⁴⁹

1. **The Cantatorium of Monza** – *Monza, Tesoro della basilica S. Giovanni, codex CIX*. The manuscript is dated to ca. 800, and is the oldest surviving witness to the Roman Gradual.

2. **The Antiphonal of Rheinau** – *Zürich, Zentralbibl., codex Rh. 30, fol. 1^v-13^v*. The text is dated between the eighth and ninth century.

3. **The Antiphonal of Mont Blandin/Antiphonal of Pamelius** – *Brussels, Bibl. royale, codex 10127-10144, fol. 90-115*. This text is also dated between the eighth and ninth century.

4. **The Antiphonal of Compiègne/Antiphonal of Charles the Bald** – *Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 17436*. The manuscript can be dated to ca. 860-880.

5. **The Antiphonal of Corbie** – *Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12050, fol. 3-17*. The manuscript can be dated after 853, and reflects the influence of Aniane's *Supplement* to the Hadrianum.

6. **The Antiphonal of Senlis** – *Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, codex lat. 111 (olim BB I fol. 20)*. The Antiphonal manuscript can be dated between 877 and 882.

⁴⁹ All the texts utilized are those of René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex: d'après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis*. 1935. Reprint, Fribourg in Brisgau: Herder, 1967.

IV. The *Ordines Romani*⁵⁰

From the *Ordines Romani* those which are relevant to the practice of keeping vigil in Rome or in a context derived from Roman practice will be considered. These are the *ordines* that describe the arrangement of the liturgical cycle of vigil readings at the Liturgy of the Hours in Rome, that depict the celebration of the Paschal and Pentecost vigils (especially the enactment of the vigil of scripture lessons), and that explain the structure of the Ember Day Saturday vigils. These documents will shed light upon the manner in which keeping vigil in the Roman tradition was both performed and structured.

a. **The *Ordines* that concern the Liturgy of the Hours at Saint Peter's and the Roman Monasteries**

Ordo 12. The manuscript is of Frankish origin, but the compiler was familiar with current Roman practices. It can be dated to ca. 770-795, and 800.

Ordo 13A. The manuscript is Roman in origin, and perhaps the work of a master of ceremonies at the Lateran Palace.⁵¹ The oldest recension dates to the first half of the eighth century.

Ordo 13B. Gallican interpolations in the manuscript would date it to the first half of the ninth century, but the original, according to Andrieu, stems from a more ancient stratum.⁵²

⁵⁰ These are all contained in Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23-24, 28-29. Lovain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-1961. Reprint, Lovain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971-1985. We will use especially volumes 2, 3, and 4.

⁵¹ Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 167.

⁵² Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 495.

Ordo 14. The manuscript is the product of two Frankish recensions, the earlier of the two is probably Roman, describing the practice at the Vatican basilica.⁵³ This portion of text can be dated to the second half of the seventh century, and represents much earlier usage.

Ordo 15. The manuscript is composed of Roman and Frankish elements, and can be dated to the mid-eighth century, before the year 787.⁵⁴

Ordo 16. A variation of *Ordo 15* for monastic communities; of Northern Italian or Gallican origin. Andrieu believes the text of this *ordo* was meant to coincide with the Gelasian sacramentary.⁵⁵ The manuscript can be dated to ca. 750-787.

Ordo 17. The two sources for this *ordo* both are dated to the last years of the eighth century. The manuscript was created as an *ordo* complying with the Benedictine Rule in a Gallican monastery.

Ordo 18. The manuscript is Gallican, perhaps for a small, recently founded monastery,⁵⁶ and dates from the eighth century, although there is evidence that the redactor was working with a more ancient document.

⁵³ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 34-35.

⁵⁴ As Andrieu notes the editor of this *ordo* makes allusion to the six ecumenical councils; the sixth of which concluded in 681. The seventh ecumenical council, Nicaea II, was held in 787, so the manuscript is earlier than this date. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 18-20.

⁵⁵ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 134-144.

⁵⁶ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 201.

b. **The *Ordines* that concern the Paschal Vigil**

Ordo 23. The manuscript is German, but based upon an original Roman document separated by several intermediaries.⁵⁷ It can be dated to first half of the eighth century.

Ordo 24. The manuscript represents the practice of a suburbicarian church of Rome and can be dated to the second half of the eighth century.⁵⁸

Ordo 27. The document was compiled in *Francia* between the years 750 and 775. It includes a Roman *ordo* at its core, which circulated independently in Gaul.⁵⁹

Ordo 28. The archetype of the manuscript was compiled in *Francia* about the year 800. The manuscript also contains an appendix (*Sangall. 614*) for the readings of Holy Saturday.

Ordo 28A. The manuscript originates in *Francia* (Wissembourg), and dates from the beginning of the ninth century.

Ordo 29. The manuscript is the work of a Frankish monk, possibly of the Monastery of Corbie and is dated to the early ninth century.

Ordo 30A. The manuscript was composed before 800 and after 750 in area of Flanders or Lotharingia.

Ordo 30B. The document was composed between 770 and 800 at the Abbey of Saint Armand-les-Eaux in Northern *Francia* based upon the grammar and syntax of the text.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 170.

⁵⁸ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 283.

⁵⁹ Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 172.

⁶⁰ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol 3, 461.

Ordo 31. Composed in Northern or Northeastern *Francia occidentalis*, the manuscript is dated prior to 900.

Ordo 32. The document can be dated between 870 and 890, and was probably composed at the Abbey of Corbie.

Ordo 33. The surviving manuscript dates from the end of the tenth century, but represents older Roman use for an unidentified chapel in France.⁶¹

c. **The *Ordines* that concern the Ember Week Vigils**

Ordo 37A. While it represents at its core the Roman origin of this practice, the *ordo* is Gallican because its practice of the Embertides does not comply with Roman usage.⁶² The manuscript appears to be prior to 813.

Ordo 37B. This oldest recension can be dated to the first half of the ninth century in Cologne; it may have been the original itself.⁶³

⁶¹ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 527.

⁶² See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol 4, 231.

⁶³ See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 178-179.

PART ONE
The Ember Vigils

Introductory Comments

General Observations About the Ember Seasons

The first, and perhaps oldest, collection of liturgies that provide a portrait of keeping vigil in a Roman context are those celebrations connected with the Ember Weeks. The term “Ember Week” is itself an anglicized rendering (via middle-German “die Quatember”) of the Latin, *Quattuor Tempora*.¹ This phrase signifies something that recurs four times in the course of a year, a quarterly occurrence, occurring in March, June, September, and December. Their Latin derivation comes from the number of the month to which they are associated: First, Fourth, Seventh, and Tenth.² Three days of these weeks in particular contained special liturgical formulae: Wednesday, Friday, and a vigil from Saturday night into Sunday. The focus of these days is fasting, but these times were not essentially defined by a fast alone, and their theological meaning was neither fully penitential nor fully penal. These weeks also become associated with ordinations to the diaconate and presbyterate; there is not direct evidence in the sources, however, that ordination to the episcopate took place at this time. They are uniquely Roman liturgical celebrations, possibly pre-dating their incarnation in Christian contexts in the third century as periods observed within the ancient Roman religious calendar, and do not appear in other Western Christian contexts until the diffusion of Roman practice in the eighth century.

¹ Thomas Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days: Inconclusive Postscript,” in *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy*, eds. Paul de Clerck and Eric Palazzo (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), 465. The OED gives the etymology of “ember” from the Old English, *ymbryne*, masc., a period, revolution of time.

² This reckoning used a calendrical count with March as the first month of the year.

Previous scholarship on these weeks generally stated that they originated primarily as three weeks, in June, September, and December, with the observance in March added much later. The reason for excluding March, according to this line of thought, was this month's association with the Lenten fast observed by and large in March.³ More recent research, particularly that of Thomas Talley, suggests that this may be an incorrect assumption and that greater significance can be attached to the theological meaning of these weeks if they are approached from the standpoint of their existence as quarterly periods in origin.⁴ I shall take this perspective in my own research, furthering support of Talley's scholarship.

The inception of the *Quattuor Tempora* is shrouded in mystery. *Quattuor Tempora* is not the name by which these periods are known in the earliest documentation we possess. This designation probably originates in a Carolingian context after the ninth century, when these Roman observances migrate to Gaul.⁵ In the earliest Roman milieu they are known simply as "the Fasts" (*jejunii*). Among a variety of scholars who have studied these phenomena there is no agreement or conclusive evidence as to why or how they came into existence. In some manuscripts where they appear, the Ember Weeks are linked to the

³ The institution of a pre-paschal preparation period of forty days is generally credited to the Council of Nicaea (325). However, Leo I (440-461) credits the monthly fasts with an ancient origin. Even in antiquity, though, 120 years would not necessarily be measured as "ancient." As we will see the Quarterly Fasts pre-date the evolution of a pre-paschal "Lent."

⁴ Thomas J. Talley, "The Development of the Ember Days to the Time of Gregory VII" (Th.D. diss., General Theological Seminary, 1969), 216-217.

⁵ See G. Morin, "Notes liturgiques 3: Un opuscule de l'époque carolingienne sur la raison d'être des Quatre-Temps," *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 231-234. The earliest *ordo* we possess on the liturgy of celebrating the Ember Weeks comes from ninth century Gaul (OR 37A), where by this time the four periods of the year are known as *Quattuor Tempora*.

temporal cycle of the four seasons. In other documents some weeks are tied to liturgical seasons of Lent, Pentecost, and Advent.

The temporal link has prompted some scholars to conjecture that in origin there were only two seasons of fasting, a *Duo Tempora*, in the months of September and December. Scholars who favor a *Duo Tempora* origin for the Quarterly Fasts reason that since the liturgical texts for the Ember Weeks in these two months are not compromised by references to another liturgical season they may represent an older stratum of the observance. The Fasts of March and June, on the other hand, come to be associated with Lent and Pentecost.⁶ While the Fast of December acquires Advent themes, in its most primitive stage it may not appear oriented toward the Nativity of Christ, though Talley states that this by no means is certain.⁷ What should be borne in mind is that the December Ember season did not originally occur in Advent, as Advent is a much later development. Talley rejects establishing the origin of the *Quattuor Tempora* in an ancient celebration of a *Duo Tempora*. As we will see, the earliest origins of the Ember Weeks are tied to a calendar not yet marked by the fully developed Paschal and Christmas cycles. The primitive emergence of the *Quattuor Tempora* may lie in the observance of a yearly cycle of four solar or astronomical seasons. When the calendar begins to adopt specific liturgical seasons, these have a direct

⁶ However the reason why these particular months above any others should merit such a fast-season is never made evidently clear. In the ancient Roman calendar, September was known primarily for hosting the *Ludi Romani*, the Roman Games. There are no large festivals or commemorations of individual deities during this month. December did contain some major festivals – the *Saturnalia*, the *Larentalia*, and the *Opalia* – most of these feasts have some connection to sowing and the end of the harvest year. In the ancient Roman calendar there is nothing, which links together the festivals of September and December; and in fact the December festivals appear to have more in common with those of August. Such a discovery further complicates attempts to connect the two months. See H.H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 182-183; 199-212.

⁷ Talley, “The Development of the Ember Days,” 130.

impact upon those Ember Weeks formerly identified with astronomical seasons. This impact shifts and colors the former understanding of these weeks, distorts the sense of unity among the *Quattuor Tempora*, and reduces the observance to a *tria* or *duo tempora*.

These astronomical commemorations, of whatever type, apparently pre-date Pope Leo I (440-461), 24 of whose sermons reflect on the approach of these days in the calendar. The *Liber pontificalis* would suggest that Callistus I (218-222) instituted a fast on Saturdays in the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, but authenticating such a custom so early in Church history via the *Liber* is unreliable.⁸ The record of the *Liber Pontificalis* may only reflect back on an honorable practice as interpreted in the sixth century when the document was compiled. The *Liber Pontificalis* also states that these Saturday fasts celebrated the corn, wine and oil harvests, which harvests, given Talley's research, do not correlate with the months in which the Quarterly Fastes come to be observed. Other scholars attempt to credit Pope Damasus I (366-384) with establishing them;⁹ still others see these periods as the work of Damasus's successor, Pope Siricius (384-399).¹⁰ For Leo the fast periods originate from a point far in antiquity, they also seem to number four in quantity as he lists them in a homily for the December Fast: "Siquidem jejunium vernum in Quadragesima, aestivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense septimo, hiemale autem in hoc qui est decimus

⁸ See Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1955), 141-142.

⁹ See Karl Holl, *Der Westen*, vol. 3 of *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 83-86.

¹⁰ See José Janini, *S. Siricio y las cuatro temporadas: una investigación sobre las fuentes de la espiritualidad seglar y del Sacramentario leoniano* (Valencia: Seminario Metropolitano de Valencia, 1958).

celebramus.”¹¹ The Fast in Lent (*Quadragesima*) and in Pentecost would approximate the temporal Ember weeks of March and June. In another homily, given for the Ember week in September, Leo mentions four seasons without specifically naming when they occur:¹² “Ideo enim ipsa continentiae observantia quatuor est adsignata temporibus.”¹³ Leo links together four times during the year, when the community is called to gather to fast, generally to reclaim or reaffirm some dimension of Christian character or lifestyle. However, as we examine the liturgical texts for these periods, we may be able to discern that Leo’s objective in celebrating them may not have been the same as their more ancient purpose of solemnly marking the seasonal turnings of the year.

Confusion as to the meaning of these fasts also contributes to a shift in considering how many of these periods there were in the calendar and which months contained them. It is not very clear why, but in documents we possess from the time of Leo I’s successor, Gelasius I (492-496), the *Quattuor Tempora* have definitely been reduced to a *Tria Tempora* located in the fourth, seventh, and tenth months alone. In a letter to the bishops of southern Italy and Sicily, Gelasius describes when presbyteral or diaconal ordinations should take place:

Ordinationes etiam presbyterorum et diaconorum, nisi certis temporibus et diebus, exercere non debent, id est, quarti mensis jejunio, septimi, et decimi, sed et etiam quadragesimalis initii, ac mediana Quadragesimae die, sabbati jejunio circa vesperam noverint celebrandas.¹⁴

¹¹ Leo I, *Tractatus* 19, 2 (Chavasse CCL 138:186).

¹² See G.G. Willis, “Ember Days,” in *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 59.

¹³ Leo I, *Tractatus* 94, 3 (Chavasse CCL 138A:459).

¹⁴ Gelasius I, *Epistola* 9 *Ad episcopos Lucaniae* Caput 11 (PL 59:52b).

Among these times Gelasius provides only three “fast months,” the fourth, seventh, and tenth months, as appropriate for celebrating ordination. His exclusion of a fast in the first month has led some scholars to conclude that the first month was not an Ember month during Gelasius’s reign. Since this evidence also mentions that ordinations took place at the beginning of Lent and also in the middle of Lent, *mediana Quadragesima*, the first month, March, when Lent could begin, then would become the fourth Ember month. However, since Lent could just as easily begin in February, a distinction must be made between the beginning of Lent and the first month as times for ordination in later documents.¹⁵ This only leads to further confusion on how one is to distinguish the Lenten Fast from the Ember Fast; and so excluding the first month from among the Ember seasons because it may also have been the start of the Lenten season may not provide enough of an explanation for its omission. It may be that by the time of Gelasius the first month fast has become so subsumed into the Season of Lent that it loses its previous identity as an Ember Week.¹⁶ We shall return to this problem in our analysis of the first month fast.

Dom Morin believed that the origin of the Ember Week practice stemmed from a Christianization of agrarian festivals of ancient Rome.¹⁷ Later scholarship demonstrated that

¹⁵ See *Liber diurnus* 6, ed. and trans. Theodor E. Von Sickel *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1966), 5-7.

¹⁶ See Willis, “Ember Days,” 59; and Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days,” 466. Pope Leo I in Sermon 19 on the Fast of the Tenth Month appears to include spring in the seasonal fasts established “in accordance with the Holy Spirit’s teaching:” “Hujus observantiae utilitas, dilectissimi, in ecclesiasticis praecipue est constituta jejuniis, quae ex doctrina sancti Spiritus ita per totius anni circulum distributa sunt, ut lex abstinentiae omnibus sit ascripta temporibus. Siquidem jejunium vernum in Quadragesima, aestivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense septimo, hiemale autem in hoc qui est decimus celebramus.” Leo I, *Tractatus* 19, 2 (Chavasse CCL 138:186).

¹⁷ See G. Morin, “L’origine des Quatre-Temps,” *Revue bénédictine* 14 (1897): 341-343.

certain links, which Morin prescribed between the Ember Days and the Roman festivals, were only compatible in the pages of his research.¹⁸ Morin attempted, along with some early Christian writers (Philastrius of Brescia, 385-391), to link these days also to passages in scripture, citing in particular Zechariah 8:19, which text speaks of fasts of joy and gladness and of great solemnity on the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth month.¹⁹ However, Talley points out that these fasts do not coincide with the Ember Weeks as the Christian calendar eventually lists them. In addition, Philastrius speaks of fasts that may be particular to Brescia alone and not to Rome.²⁰ The fasts of Brescia are concerned with particular feasts of the budding ecclesiastical calendar – Christmas, Lent, Ascension and Pentecost – while the Ember fasts appear originally established independent of particular liturgical feasts and seasons.

Another ancient document, *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*, which some believed contained the earliest references to the Ember Days, purportedly from the fourth century and from Rome, has been discredited by Talley.²¹ According to Talley, the text does not

¹⁸ Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days,” 469. Morin attempted to link the harvest festivals of wheat, wine and oil to the celebration of the Ember Weeks in June, September, and December. Ancient practice of these festivals, however, were at times a month off from Morin’s calculations.

¹⁹ See Morin, “L’origine des Quatre-Temps,” 337; and Philastrius of Brescia *Diversarum hereseon liber* 149.1-3 (Bulhart CCL 9.311-312). There is also the contribution of the calendar found in the Talmudic *Book of Jubilees*, which divided the year into four quarters of three month segments – first, fourth, seventh, and tenth – marked as days of remembrance and each beginning on a Wednesday. See Annie Jaubert, “Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân: ses origines bibliques,” *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (3 July 1953): 250-264, especially 253-255. A recent re-examination of Jaubert’s work is also of value here, see: Liora Ravid, “The Book of Jubilees and its calendar: a reexamination,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10, no. 3 (2003): 371-394.

²⁰ Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days,” 471; see also Willis, “Ember Days,” 62-63.

²¹ For the early study on this proposal see Polikárp Radó, *Enchiridion liturgicum: complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et leges. iuxta novum codicem rubricarum*, vol. 2 (Rome: Herder, 1961), 1098-1101.

necessarily deal with the Ember Weeks, but rather seeks “to relate the mystery of the Incarnation to the structure of time itself.”²² In addition, the document appears to be at its core a Syrian manuscript and not originally Roman at all.

While it is difficult to pinpoint an origin for the Ember Days, it is additionally hard to explain the unusual manner in which the Roman church celebrated these days. Wednesday and Friday were observed as particular weekly fast days from an early period in the Church’s history.²³ Thus, there is precedent for observing these days in a particular manner during a week dedicated to fasting and penitence. The vigil, which comes to be celebrated from Saturday evening into Sunday, is another matter. In the East and in Gaul Saturday and Sunday were considered days of feasting, Saturday because it was the Sabbath and Sunday because it was the day of the Resurrection; consequently fasting was forbidden on both days. The association of Saturday with Sunday, however, did not carry the same significance in Rome till the time of Leo I.²⁴ Rome, contrary to Eastern and Gallican

²² A full assessment on the development of the Ember Days can be appreciated in reading the doctoral dissertation of Thomas J. Talley, “The Development of the Ember Days to the Time of Gregory VII.” Th.D. diss., General Theological Seminary, 1969.

²³ See *Didache* 8, Jean-Paul Audet *La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres* (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1958), 234, a Syrian document; and The Shepherd of Hermas, *Similitudo*, 5.1, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol 2. (1885; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), 33. See also Tertullian, *De jejuniis*, 14, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol 4. (1885; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), 111-112.

²⁴ The epistles of Leo appear to be the earliest mention of liturgically beginning Sunday on Saturday evening, and this primarily in the context of ordinations and when they should occur. For example: “...ut his qui consecrandi sunt numquam benedictio nisi in die resurrectionis dominicae tribuatur, cui a vespera sabbati initium constat ascribi” *Epistola* 9, 1 (PL 54:626a); and “... sed die legitimo ordinatio celebretur; nec sibi constare status sui noverit firmitatem, qui non die sabbati vespere, quod lucescit in prima sabbati, vel ipso Dominico die fuerit ordinatus” *Epistola* 10, 6 (PL 54:634b).

practice, fasted on Saturday and feasted on Sunday.²⁵ This Roman custom appears to stem from lengthening the Friday fast into Saturday prolonging it for the sake of intensifying the fast.²⁶ There is evidence from both Gaul and the East that viewed as scandalous the Roman practice of fasting on Saturday. The exception to these divergent practices was Holy Saturday, when churches in both the East and the West fasted.

Innocent I (401-417) writes in a letter to Decentius of Gubbio that fasting on Saturday is in keeping with the fast kept on Holy Saturday, and this particular fast becomes itself the model for other Saturdays as well.²⁷ Liturgically speaking, however, Innocent provides no information on a *synaxis* or gathering of the faithful on Saturday to accompany this fast. Overall, fasting comes to occupy a significant place in the observance of these Ember Weeks, even as its expression on Saturdays conflicts with the general practice of the early Christian communities. And while Innocent's letter states very clearly that he considered every Friday and Saturday of the entire year to be days of fast (probably apart from the Paschal Season), the Quarterly Fast periods were expressly communal times of fasting. We cannot be definitely clear, though, on whether or not these Saturday fasts included prayer and/or liturgical rituals.

²⁵ See Marcora, *La Vigilia nella Liturgia*, 171; Talley, "The Development of the Ember Days," 55. Tertullian rails against this practice in *De jejuni*, 14.2 as inconsistent with Church tradition.

²⁶ See Talley, "The Development of the Ember Days," 56-59. Talley here quotes a number of early Christian writers, from at least the third century, who speak of strengthen (*superpositio*) the Friday fast. This term is also quoted in canon 23 and canon 26 of the Council of Elvira (c. 306); see Charles Hefele *A History of the Christian Councils*, vol. 1, *To the close of the Council of Nicaea A.D. 325*, trans. William Clark (1894; repr. New York: AMS Press, Inc, 1972), 146-148. As for a reference in the *Liber pontificalis* to a fast in the four, seventh, and tenth months instituted by Callistus I (218-222), Talley considers this anachronistic at best, in addition to the fact that Callistus is tying these fasts to agricultural themes, which he and I will show is inconsistent with their liturgical development.

²⁷ See Innocent I, *Epistola* 25, 4.7 (PL 20:555a-556b).

It may benefit us to pause here and explain the use and significance of *synaxis* in these manuscripts. A “liturgical *synaxis*” in these documents generally means a gathering of the Christian assembly for any sort of worship service. The phrase can also be used to describe a gathering for the celebration of the Eucharist, but it is not exclusive. In the case of gatherings at times of fasting, however, especially at these Quarter Times, these assemblies appear to be aliturgical – a time for prayer, psalmody, and scripture lessons – a Word service or a part of the Divine Office rather than a Eucharist. During a fast, the *synaxis* served as a means to edify the faithful until the eventual breaking of the fast with the communal meal of the Lord’s Body and Blood. Wednesday and Friday of the Ember Week may have been “aliturgical *synaxes*,” when prayers and intercessions were offered, but not a celebration of the Eucharist. The assembly that comes to take place on Saturday is of a different order, as we will see shortly.

An interesting connection exists, therefore, between the celebrations of the Ember Week and observances originally tied to Lent. The non-dominical days of Lent may have initially developed without a Eucharistic celebration so as to maintain the fast, and perhaps breaking it only at a weekly Sunday Eucharist. If this is so, then among the aliturgical synaxes of Holy Week, as the celebration of Good Friday was originally conceived, we may glimpse lingering evidence of this former practice.

An appreciation of the meaning of *statio*, recorded as early as *The Shepherd of Hermas*, is important to clarify this point. Originally this word refers in the tradition to some type of gathering or *synaxis* during a fast, though not necessarily including a

celebration of the Eucharist.²⁸ A *statio* in the Roman tradition may not have originally included a Eucharistic celebration. By the time of Leo I a synaxis with a clearer liturgical content has been added at least to the gathering on the Ember Saturdays, which Leo announces at the conclusion of several of his homilies at these times of the year. Leo differentiates between the *activity* on Wednesday and Friday, where the community is called to fast, and the *assembly* on Saturday, on which the community keeps a vigil. At no point does Leo announce that the activity of communal fasting on Wednesday and Friday involve a specific time for assembling for worship. In fact the announcement itself begs explanation as it appears in a standardized formula outlining the objectives of the coming week with a task for the faithful to enact on Wednesday and Friday, and an assembly to keep vigil on Saturday. The announcement in Leo's writings invariably takes the following form:

Quarta igitur et sexta feria jejunemus,
sabbato autem apud beatum Petrum vigilemus.

Willis believes this statement is not Leo's invention, but by the fifth century is already a stereotypical liturgical formula.²⁹ It appears in at least sixteen of Leo's sermons dealing with the celebration of the Ember Days. Similar formulas appear also in the Verona collection and in the Gelasian sacramentary. Talley notes that while Saint Peter's Basilica is mentioned as the location of the vigil, no church is mentioned for either Wednesday or Friday, which raises the question of whether or not there was an assembly, liturgical or

²⁸ Tally, "Development of the Ember Days," 41-43, particularly the understanding of *ma'amad* in the literature of Qumran. See also Wegman, *Christian Worship*, 27-28.

²⁹ Willis, "Ember Days," 77. The announcement itself would be given immediately prior to Communion, after the *Pax domini*, see Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol 4, 223; Willis, "Ember Days," 77; and a rubric in the Canon of the Mass found in the Gelasianum, GeV 1260: "Post haec (the giving of the Peace) commonenda (est) plebs pro jejunii quarti, septimi et decimi mensis temporibus suis...."

otherwise, of the whole community on those days also.³⁰ We lack clarity on the type of celebration that happened on Wednesday and Friday, and while Leo's announcement mentions keeping vigil on Saturday it gives no indication that a Eucharist or any other sacramental ritual was celebrated. It is, however, to this Saturday vigil that the celebration of these Ember Weeks is directed. If the contexts suggest a non-Eucharistic gathering we may conclude that the *synaxes* of the Saturdays of the Quarterly Fasts indeed go back to a very early tradition of Sabbath fasting, which may have distinguished Jewish-Christian customs in Rome. This premise not only affirms an ancient origin of the Ember times, but also contributes to an explanation for the peculiarly Roman custom of Saturday fasts, as a remnant of these practices. Fasting on Lenten Saturdays appears also to be a remnant of this ancient custom.

The Roman sacramentaries highlight this feature of the Ember Week celebrations. The arrangement of the Embertide observance actually begins on the Sunday prior to the Saturday vigil, when the announcement of the upcoming observance is made to the assembly. The Gregorian sacramentaries, particularly for the Fast of the Seventh Month, attest directly to this Sunday assembly. As Willis points out, following an entry for September 16 there appears at Section 163 of the Hadrianum the title, *Mensis septimi. Orationes die dominico ad sanctum petrum*.³¹ All the presidential prayers concern a readiness to confess fault and petition for divine mercy. There then follow the sections for

³⁰ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 106.

³¹ Willis, "Ember Days," 75. See GrH 702-704; this Mass also occurs in GrT 741-743 and in GrP 676-678.

the liturgical assemblies on Wednesday, Friday, and the Saturday vigil.³² This is the only evidence of a particular designation given to a Sunday to prepare the assembly for the Quarterly Fasts. In the section of the Hadrianum on the liturgies for December, the Sunday preceding the Ember Week is the Third Sunday of Advent, to which the Gregorian sacramentaries append – *ad sanctum petrum*. No location is provided for any other liturgy in December. Pentecost Sunday serves as the liturgy, which announces the Ember Week in the fourth month, and the First Sunday of Lent supplies this role in the first month.³³

The text of the actual announcement is not included among the prayers for these Sundays in the Gregorians. Rather, it is found in the Verona collection and in the Gelasianum, which incidentally do not contain a specific Mass for announcing the Quarterly Fasts as we find in the Gregorian sacramentaries. This circumstance highlights the probable origin of the Embertides as specific units of papal liturgical practice found in the Gregorian tradition. The Verona collection contains two texts proclaiming the fast of the seventh and tenth month respectively.³⁴ Here, the text is a reminder (*admonitio jejunii mensis septimi et orationes et preces*) of the Fast of the Seventh Month; and it is an invitation (*invitatio plebis*

³² By the time of the recensions of the sacramentaries we possess Wednesday and Friday of the Ember week have acquired a Eucharistic *synaxis* on each day.

³³ Several, though not all, of Leo I's sermons on the Quarterly Fasts give evidence of place for the celebration of the Saturday vigil.

³⁴ For the Fast of the Seventh Month: "Annua nobis est, dilectissimi, jejuniorum celebranda festivitas, quam mensis septimi sollemnis recursus indicit. Quarta igitur et sexta feria succedente solitis eadem conventibus exsequamur, sabbatorum die hic sacras acturi vigilias; ut per obsevantiam competentem, domino purificatis mentibus supplicantes, beatissimo Petro apostolo suffragante, et praesentibus periculis exui mereamur pariter et futuris: per..." (Ve 860)

For the Fast of the Tenth Month: "Hac hebdomade nobis mensis decimi sunt recensenda jejunia. Quapropter fidem vestrae dilectionis hortamur, ut eadem quarta et sexta feria solitis processionibus exsequentes, sabbatorum die hic ipsum vigiliis sollemnibus expleamus; quatenus apostolicis suffragantibus meritis propitiationem dei nostri perseverantia debitae servitutis obtineat: per..." (Ve 905)

in jejunio mensis decimi) to the Fast of the Tenth Month. The text uses the initial words, *admonitio* and *invitatio*, synonymously as a way to bring the assembly into the fast week. The presence of the words, *hic* (in the *Admonitio*) and *hic ipsum* (in the *Invitatio*) in relation to the Saturday vigil (*sabbatorum die*) imply that the same location, Saint Peter's Basilica, was used for both the Sunday prior to the Ember Week and the Saturday vigil.³⁵ The Verona collection also bears witness to a fast in the fourth month (Ve 226-231, *In jejunio mensis quarti*), but does not provide a text announcing it. The missing initial folios of the Verona manuscript do not allow us to affirm that the collection contained an announcement for the first month fast.

In the Gelasian sacramentary two texts (GeV 652 and 653) announce the Ember fasts. They are similar to those found in the Veronese and appear together prior to the texts for the fourth month Ember Week, at Section 82 of Book I. The Gelasianum refers to the text as, *Denuntiatio jejuniorum quarti septimi et decimi mensis*.³⁶ While the title suggests that these texts are to be used for the fourth, seventh and tenth month fasts, it should not be inferred that a first month fast has been excluded. The conflation of that month's observance with the season of Lent distorted the original setting of a first month fast. The "announcement texts" each paraphrase the declaration of the weeklong observance found at the conclusion of Leo's homilies. These texts appear to stem from a tradition earlier than

³⁵ See Louis Brou, *Étude historique sur les oraisons des dimanches après la Pentecôte dans la tradition romaine*, *Sacris Erudiri* 2 (1949): 163-164. The first month fast during Lent reveals the one complication to this pattern, as in the Gregorian sacramentaries, the First Sunday of Lent begins not at Saint Peter's Basilica, but at the Basilica of Saint John Lateran.

³⁶ GeV 652 and 653.

the Gelasian manuscript and its Roman source, possibly as early as 440;³⁷ and earlier than the title under which they were grouped. Hence, they may come from a time when the first month fast was acknowledged as such, a fast to which Leo refers in a few of his homilies. In addition, the Gelasian announcement texts never specify a particular month, but rather contain an *illius*, to be used to announce any of the Quarterly Fasts.³⁸

Talley uses the appearance of the *denuntiatio* to support his theory that there were in origin four Embertides. At the conclusion of a Lenten sermon of Leo I (Sermon 42), he proclaims a series of assemblies using the *denuntiatio* we find in his homilies for the Quarterly Fasts of the other months. It is the only presence of the formula among the Lenten sermons, and it is not contained in all the sermon's recensions. The sermon itself is dated to 444, the fourth year of Leo's pontificate, and in the month of March. The presence of a *denuntiatio* in this sermon possibly indicates that the homily was delivered at a time of transition when a previously independent Ember Week was becoming enveloped by a more universal observance of Lent.³⁹ The other fast periods, because of the variable character of

³⁷ See Leo I, *Tractatus 13*; dated to 15 December 440 (Chavasse CCL 138:172-173).

³⁸ **Denuntiatio jejuniorum quarti septimi et decimi mensis**

“Anniversarii, fratres carissimi, jejunii puritatem, qua et corporis acquiritur et animae sanctitas, nos commonet *illius* mensis instaurata devotio. Quarta igitur et sexta feria, sollicite convenientes occursu, offeramus deo spiritale jejunium; die vero sabbati apud beatum Petrum, cujus nos intercessionibus credimus adjuvandos, sanctas vigiliis christiana pietate celebremus: ut per hanc institutionem salutiferam peccatorum sordes, quas corporis fragilitate contrahimus, jejuniis et eleemosynis abluamus: auxiliante domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.” (GeV 652) – the underscored emphasis is the present author's.

Item aliter. “*Illius* mensis jejunia in hac nobis sunt hebdomada tenenda; ideoque hortamur sanctam fidem vestram, ut quarta sexta vel septima feria jejunemus, quatenus divinis inhaerendo mandatis propitiationem dei nostri perseverantia debitae servitutis obtineat: per.” (GeV 653) – the underscored emphasis is the present author's.

³⁹ See Leo I, *Tractatus 42*, 6 (Chavasse CCL 138A:280-281). The edition of this sermon in the CCL contains the announcement, which is not contained in the collection of *PL* 54:280-281a. In the CCL edition

seasonal dating, required an announcement of when they were to be celebrated. While a fast in the first month comes to be included among the other Quarterly Fast as a result of the requisites for celebrating ordinations under Gelasius I, it may be far too simple to affirm that this is the first appearance of the fast in the calendar.⁴⁰

Another unusual aspect of the celebration of the Ember Weeks is the elimination of a Sunday celebration following the Saturday vigil. In some ancient texts this missing Sunday is known as *Dominica vacat*, or “the Sunday (which) is empty,” meaning empty of a Eucharistic celebration. While the arrangement of the Verona collection contains no references to a *Dominica vacat* among its sets of Quarterly Fast liturgies, there are no Sunday liturgies following the Saturday vigil of the seventh and tenth months in the Gelasianum. The Sundays following the fasts of the first and fourth months in the Gelasian sacramentary are a bit more complicated, and shall be addressed in the sections on these fasts below.⁴¹ In the Gregorian sacramentaries *Dominica vacat* appears, but rather than being an “empty” Sunday, these sections contain presidential texts for a Mass. This peculiarity will also be dealt with below.⁴² In a similar fashion some, though not all, of the lectionaries and antiphonals associated with Roman practice also contain liturgical formulae

the announcement is found only in the following recensions of the first collection: Karlsruhe, *Aug. preg.* 227; London, Lambeth, 338; Oxford, Bodl., *Oriel* 42; Stuttgart, Landesbibl., HB VII.

⁴⁰ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 4, 223-224. The directive in Gelasius’ *Constitutum* on ordination practices reads: “Ordinationes vero presbyterorum seu diaconorum non nisi quarti, septimi, et decimi mensium jejuniis; sed et ingressu quadragesimali atque medio, vespere sabbati noverit celebrandas” (*Epistola* 9, *Ad episcopos Lucaniae*, 11).

⁴¹ See pages 81-82, and 103-104 below.

⁴² See pages 82-84, and 105-107 below.

for the Sunday following the Saturday vigil. The absence of a Sunday Mass formulary following the Saturday Ember vigil suggests that the vigil was kept not merely to anticipate Sunday, but rather was the celebration of the Embertide.

The Saturdays with Twelve Readings

The unusual title given to the Saturday to Sunday vigil of the Embertides: *Sabbato in XII lectiones* – the Saturday of the 12 Lessons – is especially important for our present concerns. This title appears not only in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, but also in most of the lectionaries and those Antiphonals, which include the Ember Saturday in their lists. The name of this liturgy is peculiar for a number of reasons. First is the origin of this title. The title seems to stem from a tradition found in the Roman *ordines* associated with the practice of proclaiming the lessons of the Paschal Vigil in Greek and in Latin. “Six” comes to be the number of readings proclaimed at the Ember Saturday service. If these readings were proclaimed both in Greek and in Latin, then doubling them produces a total of “twelve” lessons. Second, if the title refers to a number of readings doubled in a bi-lingual proclamation then this development arose, as it did for the celebration of the Paschal Vigil during the Byzantine period of Roman history (c. 550-750).⁴³ The problem with this dating, therefore, is that the practice can only be traced back to a liturgical development of the sixth

⁴³ See Willis, “Ember Days,” 85; see also Amalarius of Metz *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II.1: “Sex lectiones ab antiquis Romanis Graece et Latine legebantur (qui mos apud Constantinopolim hodieque servatur), ni fallor, propter duas causas: unam, quia aderant Graeci, quibus incognita erat Latina lingua, aderantque Latini, quibus incognita erat Graeca; alteram, propter unanimitatem utriusque populi.” The practice of reading the Paschal Vigil lessons in Greek and Latin will be discussed in Part II, Chapter 3, below.

century, while evidence, particularly from the sermons of Leo I, points to a more ancient origin of the Ember celebrations.

A third peculiarity surfaces in the sacramentaries, lectionaries, and Antiphonals where the title lacks any specific reference to it as a vigil. It is known only as the “Saturday of the 12 lessons,” an odd designation for a liturgy rarely provided with any other association to the Ember season in which it takes place. The only indication that these liturgies may be associated with a vigil liturgy are the number of readings preceding the epistle, and the fact that the following Sunday is listed as a *Dominica vacat*, meaning that the Saturday liturgy *qua vigilia* satisfied the Sunday observance. The *Dominica vacat* conveys an important role for the Embertide Saturday evening liturgy in the liturgical calendar of Rome, which could four times a year supplant the Sunday liturgy.

The Purpose of the Embertides

The Embertides culminating in the Saturdays of the 12 Lessons, therefore, appear organized for a different purpose than other vigils throughout the year. As Talley recognizes:

Embertides do not fit well into the modern pattern of the Christian year, a steady succession of Sundays, each of which is determinative for the week it initiates, giving way on Saturday even to the liturgical themology of the new week. ...the Embertides in the time of Leo seem to be self-contained periods of intensified religious observance which are not immersed in liturgical seasons. As such, their aim is not so much that of liturgical festivals, the cultic celebration of some mystery of the faith, as it is the more pastoral goal of revitalization of the ascetical life of the faithful.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days,” 110-111.

The vigil of the Ember Weeks changes the nature of Sunday, as during these times of the year the Sunday celebration does not, as it normally does, begin the week, but the Saturday to Sunday nocturnal vigil concludes the week. In this way the Ember vigil differs from the other vigils of the Christian calendar by neither introducing a feast nor a special Sunday – there is no feast toward which the Ember vigil points – and the Sunday that follows it is *vacat*. Rather, there is something contained within the weeklong observance itself, where fasting is understood as an aid to the growth of a Christian perspective on the world. Beginning and ending at Saint Peter’s Basilica, Sunday to Saturday night-Sunday morning, as Talley points out, creates a formal unity to the celebration in a pattern not experienced with other celebrations of the year.⁴⁵

In the matter of the Quarterly Fasts the week is “an eight-day observance” not descending from a feast as an octave week does, but rather leading to it.⁴⁶ There is another week, as Camillus Callewaert suggests, that seems to mirror the Ember Week pattern. This is *Mediana* Week, which falls out of use by the ninth century.⁴⁷ This week followed the Fourth Sunday of Lent, yet did not appear to include this Sunday, apparently beginning on

⁴⁵ Talley, “Origins of the Ember Days,” 112.

⁴⁶ If so, then the Ember Week behaves in a style, which in later centuries would come to characterize the devotional patterns of a novena.

⁴⁷ *Mediana Week* was the week preceding the Fifth Sunday in Lent in the Roman calendar. Evidence for its observance is provided by Gelasius I in the fifth century. See G.G. Willis, “What is Mediana Week,” in *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 99-104. See also Camillus Callewaert, “La semaine Mediana dans l’ancien carême romain et les quatre-temps,” *Revue bénédictine* 36 (1927): 200-228. Traces of its celebration remained even in MR1570, where Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent contains two readings before the Gospel, Ezekiel 36 and Isaiah 1. The former is termed a “Lesson,” the latter an “Epistle.” The edition of the 1570 Missale Romanum with which we are working is, Gaspar Lefebvre, ed., *The Saint Andrew Daily Missal: With Vespers for Sundays and Feasts and Kyriale* (1945; repr., Great Falls, MO: St. Bonaventure Publications, 1999), 408-409. It is very interesting that a collect, “Praesta quaesumus omnipotens Deus ut quos jejunia votiva castigant ipsa quoque devotio sancta laetificet ut terrenis affectibus mitigatis facilius caelestia capiamus. Per Dominum,” follows the reading from Ezekiel.

the Monday, which followed.⁴⁸ *Mediana* Week does not appear in the sacramentaries, but is listed in the Würzburg Epistolary, the *Comes* of Murbach, and the *Comes* of Alcuin. In these manuscripts Wednesday and Saturday of this week are provided with the distinction: *in mediana*.⁴⁹ Only in the Würzburg Epistolary is the Fifth Sunday of Lent named as *in mediana*.⁵⁰ Surprisingly, Friday of this week is not identified as a day *in mediana*. Willis notes that with the exception of Friday, *Mediana* Week followed the same arrangements as that of an Ember Week, complete with a vigil on Saturday night prior to the Fifth Sunday of Lent. This Sunday would also be reduced to a *Dominica vacat*, remaining so until the seventh century.⁵¹ The structure of the Ember Week, therefore, seems to fall within two patterns: a week that culminates in a Saturday-Sunday vigil, thereby a week ending with Sunday, or a week initiated by a Sunday and culminating in the Saturday-Sunday vigil, forming “an eight-day observance” beginning and ending with Sunday.

Since the Ember Weeks are not tied to a specific festal celebration in the Church’s year, the purpose for which they were conceived is never clearly articulated. As Talley notes,

the significance of Ember Days consisted in the times of year in which there were observed, not in any heortological importance of the Sundays that concluded the

⁴⁸ There is, however, no reference to a *Mediana* Monday in any of the ancient sources.

⁴⁹ In these manuscripts the days appear as: *Feria iv ad sanctum paulum in mediana* and *Sabbato ad sanctum laurentium in mediana*.

⁵⁰ *Dominica ad sanctum petrum in mediana*.

⁵¹ Willis, “What is Mediana Week,” 103-104. The vigil, which concluded Mediana Week, also appears to have served as an occasion for ordination under Popes Gelasius and Pelagius. There is no evidence, or at least we possess no record of an announcement made similar to that initiating the Ember Weeks for *Mediana* Week. Antoine Chavasse does not agree with Callewaert’s findings, see “La préparation de la Pâque, à Rome, avant le Ve siècle: Jeûne et organisation liturgique,” in *Mémorial J. Chaine* (Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1950): 61-80. Willis, however, disagrees with Chavasse and favors the theory of Callewaert.

observance...rather, the entire observance, from the Sunday of indiction, through the fasts of Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, to the vigil on Saturday night concluding in the celebration on Sunday morning, is all a formal unity defined by the beginning and concluding Sunday stations at St. Peter's.⁵²

Their connection to the liturgical year, while thought to be agrarian in nature appears rather to be based upon the astronomical season in which they occur than on any specific agro-economic factors. While the weeks include fasting and with this aspect a decidedly penitential character, evidence of a more than penitential purpose to these observances will be revealed by examining their liturgical texts. Thus the Ember seasons represent something of an anomaly. The celebration of the vigil during an Ember week assumes an important value as the fundamental and most central liturgical element of the observance. So important is this vigil, Talley notes, that, "when the vigil begins to fall earlier in afternoon of Saturday, the liturgy of Sunday moves likewise into Saturday night, becoming one with the Saturday vigil."⁵³

In his survey of the Ember Seasons Talley arrives at four conclusions based upon Leo I's sermons on the Quarterly Fast, which will benefit us as we move to the next part of our study, the Ember vigils themselves. The first revolves around the importance of the vigil, which concludes the Embertide. Second is its link with St. Peter's Basilica as the place where the fast was announced and concluded. Leo is exact in specifying that the vigil took place before the *memoria* of Peter. Third is the role, which fasting plays, not only on Wednesday and Friday, but also that the fast is extended from Friday into Saturday. The fast is public and corporate, and Leo in his homilies emphasizes prayer and almsgiving as

⁵² Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 111-112.

⁵³ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 113.

dimensions of the corporate fast. Finally, unlike other feasts and celebrations of the Christian calendar, the Ember observances appear to be driven, not by a Christological or Sanctoral memorial, nor by seasonal agrarian concerns, but by the astronomical passage from one season to the next. Talley believes the observance is purposefully connected with a development in the liturgical calendar of the “quarterly articulation of the year in terms of the four seasons.” This connection orients the celebrations to a continual sanctification of time itself.⁵⁴ Talley’s understanding of the significance of the Ember Weeks also supports the premise I stated earlier, that the Ember fasts were a quarterly observance from their beginning, marking each of the four seasons.⁵⁵

Both Talley and Willis have contributed to a thorough understanding of the origin and development of the Ember Days as calendrical celebrations, we will not go much further in explaining these dimensions of their observance. It will suffice to mention that while current scholarship is unable to pinpoint a *terminus a quo* for the celebration of the Ember Days in the Roman liturgical calendar, the observance of a communal fast associated with specific times of the year is a very ancient Roman practice.

Let us now consider the Saturday Ember vigil as a liturgical celebration manifested in each quarter of the year. This analysis will have the effect of deepening an understanding of the significance of the Ember celebrations and of the purpose of keeping vigil during them. This examination will begin with the March and June Ember Vigils, followed in the

⁵⁴ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 116. This theory appears to parallel a conclusion Robert Taft makes regarding the work of the Liturgy of the Hours in Christian prayer; a work, he believes, which sanctifies the totality of life. See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 357-361.

⁵⁵ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 149-150.

next chapter by the September and December Ember vigils. The analysis of the texts will survey the evidence contained in the Roman lectionaries, Antiphonals, and sacramentaries for each Ember season's vigil. The pattern or patterns that shaped these vigils as a particular liturgical celebration in the Roman tradition will be identified; and in the process special attention will be paid to the scriptural readings that comprised the vigils as these lessons reflect an insight on the Ember season at times distinct from the prayers, which accompanied the readings. The relevant *ordines*, dating as they do from the ninth and tenth centuries will offer a glimpse into the later development of the celebration of the Ember Weeks. We will dissect these texts for what they may reveal as to the earliest celebration of the Quarterly Fasts.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ For the sake of clarity and the ease of classifying the parts of the sacramentaries, the following distinctions based upon the practice of most textual scholars will be employed. The parts of the sacramentaries headed by either Roman or Arabic numerals will be termed, "sections," these numerals will be cited in Arabic form. A complete Mass is one defined by a full complement of presidential prayers: collect, *super oblata*, and post-communion, sometimes completed by an *ad populum* blessing. Complete Masses of this nature I will term as a "Mass set," and each prayer in them will be referred to by their "item number" in Arabic enumeration as in the sacramentaries. These "Mass sets" will bear the abbreviation for the sacramentary, followed by the numbers of the prayer texts in question, e.g. GeV 435-437. In the Verona sacramentary, several Mass sets often appear in a single section, each of which is marked by a Roman numeral. In order to identify these instances, as well as where they may appear among the other sacramentaries, I will use the term, "groups," and record the Roman numeral designating it in Arabic form.

In addition, euchological selections quoted in the text will appear in roman type in quotation marks, while selections from the rubrical notes and the titles of sections or texts themselves will appear in italics.

References to individual *ordos* will be abbreviated by OR; when speaking of them in the plural I will use the term, *ordines*.

CHAPTER ONE

The Embertide Vigils of March and June

The lectionary evidence concerning the Ember vigil is more complete than that provided for any other vigil of the calendar. Oddly, while the Würzburg Epistolary does not supply a list of readings for either the Paschal or Pentecost vigils, it does supply readings for the Ember seasons. The following tables will chart the series of lessons for each of the Quarterly Fasts. We shall proceed following Talley's well-argued theory that the Ember seasons existed from earliest times as quarterly observances. I include also the readings for the section that follows the Saturday vigil in the lectionary and in the Antiphonal, and whether or not this section is specified as a *Dominica vacat*. We will see whether the position and context of the *Dominica vacat* holds any significance in determining how the vigil was understood and exercised.

The gradual identification of the First Month Fast with the Season of Lent makes it difficult to discern it specifically from a season already dedicated to fasting. The liturgical books, however, never designate this Ember week as Lenten. The Antiphonals and the Gregorian books give it no particular title, the Gelasianum refers to the week as *mense primo*, and the lectionaries refer to it as the fast of the first month, *mensis primi*.¹ Willis, though, understands the First Month Fast to be a much later addition to the calendar,

¹ For example, the title introducing the orations in GeV 134-139 begins: *Iste orationes quae sequuntur prima sabbato in mense primo sunt dicendae*; and the Würzburg Epistolary labels Saturday of the March Ember Week as, *Sabbato ad scm petrum in xii lectiones mense primo*, but Wednesday of this week as, *Feria iv ad sca maria mensi primi*.

appearing sometime in the sixth century.² Talley disagrees with Willis and shows that Leo's fifty-first sermon gives some evidence of a liturgy on the first Saturday of Lent. The sermon dates to 445, early in Leo's pontificate and one year later than Sermon 42, which concludes with that enigmatic *denuntiatio*. The biblical incipit of Leo's Sermon 51 is the Transfiguration (Matthew 17:1-9), which eventually will come to be assigned as the gospel passage for the second Sunday in Lent.³ However, the most ancient of the Roman lectionaries place this gospel under the heading of the First Month Fast.⁴ What is interesting about the homily is that it gives reference neither to Lent nor to the Embertide in its text. There is no mention of fasting, but rather the homily is an excursus on the significance of the Transfiguration.⁵ Talley, citing a later recension of this sermon, which places it on the Saturday before the Second Sunday in Lent, believes that originally Leo delivered it at the Saturday spring Ember vigil.⁶

With this information Talley also vacillates on his conclusions regarding the origin of the Embertides. In his chapter on the spring Embertide and in light of the context of

² Willis, "Ember Days," 61. Willis's evidence for this assumption is the introduction of the word, *primi*, to the list possible times for ordination in Formula VI of the *Liber Diurnus* of the seventh century, where it does not appear in other ordination pre-requisites prior.

³ Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matheum. "*In illo tempore: Assumpsit Jesus Petrum, et Jacobum, et Joannem fratrem ejus, et duxit illos in montem excelsum seorsum, et reliqua*" Leo I *Tractatus* 51 (Chavasse CCL 138A.296-303).

⁴ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 177-178. Talley also draws the conclusion that, "the strong emphasis on the role of Saint Peter in the Transfiguration incident would be entirely consistent with the supposition that the sermon was preached at the *memoria* of that apostle, the Vatican basilica." The lectionaries in which this gospel passage appears as that for the Saturday vigil of the First Month Fast are the Würzburg Evangelary, the '*Comes*' of Murbach, the Roman gospel capitularies, and the Verona Lectionary.

⁵ As Chavasse notes Leo will incorporate parts of this homily into the Tome he delivers to Bishop Flavian of Constantinople in 449. See Chavasse CCL 138A.295.

⁶ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 177-178.

Sermon 51, he supposes that a Saturday vigil prior to the second Sunday of Lent, if it is an Ember Saturday, represents a gradual development of the Embertides season by season, rather than an original inception of four weeks from the beginning. He does not agree that the addition of a spring Ember week happens as late as the sixth century, but that it occurs more recently than the foundation of the other Embertides, though he is not precise on a particular date.⁷ Talley bases this conclusion on the historical record that at Rome the First Sunday of Lent was celebrated not at Saint Peter's, but at Saint John Lateran. This stands in contrast to the pattern of opening and closing the Ember week at the Vatican basilica as we find in the other Ember seasons. Talley presumes, "the station at the Lateran on the first Sunday in Lent was established before the attempt to keep an Embertide in the ensuing week."⁸ Such a conclusion upsets the fundamental thesis of Talley's work that from the beginning the *Quattuor Tempora* comprised four astronomically-based fasts, and that the First Month Fast is neither indebted to Lent nor are the Ember weeks descended from a later stratum than the Lenten observance. Such a position would bring into question the antiquity of the Embertides.

Chavasse concurs somewhat with Talley's assessment. He deduces from the position of the sermon in various primitive collections – between the sermons of the First Sunday of Lent and sermons for the Sunday of the Passion – that this homily was given at the Mass, which closed the Saturday vigil of the Second Sunday in Lent.⁹ Talley, for his

⁷ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 179.

⁸ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 179.

⁹ Chavasse CCL 138A.295.

part, remains cautious about definitively concluding that a spring Embertide is a later accretion to the Fasts. He states at the end of his section on the spring Embertide only that “the history of the Lenten Embertide is bound up with the vicissitudes of the Roman pre-paschal fast.”¹⁰

Neither Talley nor Chavasse, it seems, admits the possibility that Sermon 51 and the Saturday vigil, which seems to be its context, might also reflect a primitive stratum of a first month Embertide independent of an official Lent. Talley, especially, bases his deductions on the location of the Embertide liturgies in the first month on a Lenten stationary model, which may not have been in place during Leo’s reign, or at least may have been substantially different. *That* the Roman church celebrated the First Sunday in Lent at the Lateran is certain, *when* this custom actually began is not. We cannot be sure that the complex, processional nature of the Roman stations as they come to be observed in the sixth century, fully existed in Leo’s time. While Innocent I (401-417) mentions the stations,¹¹ he does not provide specifics on particular liturgies at particular churches. In fact the only station to which Leo attests is that of Saint Peter’s during the Embertides.¹² If Talley and Chavasse are moved to affirm a later addition of the spring Embertide based on the appearance of the Transfiguration gospel for the vigil, this assessment also falters. Neither author considers that more often than not Lent begins in February. If one associates the gospel of the Transfiguration with the second week of Lent, this gospel might not always

¹⁰ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 179-180.

¹¹ See Innocent I, *Epistula ad Decentium Eugubinum*, 5 (PL 20:556b-557a).

¹² See G.G. Willis, “Roman Stationary Liturgy,” in *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1968), 34.

fall in March, the *mense primo*. The necessary connection between the Ember season and Lent cannot be substantiated in these cases. What we see in Sermon 42 and in Sermon 51 are traces of an earlier pattern of celebration being drawn into a newer practice. There is, then, another truth concerning the “first month,” which truth the spring Embertide illuminates. To discover what this truth is and how it is brought to light, let us turn now to the elements of the vigil for this Embertide. In doing so, we will concentrate for the moment on the content, rather than the structure of the vigil, which is the same for all the Ember Saturdays. We will return to the latter dimension of the liturgy after analyzing each of the seasonal vigils.

The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast

The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Lectionaries

To aid us in our consideration of the scripture lessons associated with the Vigil of the First Month, please consult Table 1 following. The lectionaries state that the liturgy takes place at Saint Peter's (*ad sanctum petrum*). Only the Würzburg Epistolary specifically links the vigil with the first month, though one may deduce this from the position of the vigil in the lectionary. Along with the other lectionaries, Würzburg states that the vigil is the Saturday of the Twelve Readings. The readings prior to the epistle are taken from Deuteronomy, II Maccabees, and Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus). A reference to Daniel 3 will later become standard as the final entry prior to the epistle at the Ember vigil. Its citation in the lectionary lists is unusual in that it is written as a rubric rather than as a pericope. Only the Würzburg epistolary omits the Daniel reading.

The vigil of the First Month Fast does not arrange its readings according to the order of the biblical books, as the readings for the Easter Vigil appear in the Gregorian sacramentaries. Deuteronomy 26 speaks of the form for offering the first fruits and tithes to God, as well as remembering the covenant and special status God has bestowed upon Israel. In Deuteronomy 11 God promises that through obedience to the commandants, God will deliver Israel from all enemies and foes and give over their lands to them. The passage from II Maccabees recounts the prayer of the priest Nehemiah in rededicating the Temple altar after the overthrow of Antiochus Sidetes. The pericope in the *Liber comitis* is unusual in that it begins with verse 23 and then incorporates verse 5. All other lectionaries show this

reading to begin at verse 29. Verse 5 is a benediction upon the hearers of the account from

II Maccabees. The initial verses of chapter 36 from the book of Sirach or Ecclesiasticus,

Table 1. The Lectionary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the First Month¹³

Würzburg Lectionary Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>Sabbato ad scm petrum in XII lectiones mense primo (W_{ep})</i> <i>Fer. VII in XII lec ad scm petrum (W_{ev})**</i>	Π: <i>Feria VII in XII lectiones ad scm petrum</i> Λ: <i>Die sabbato in XII lectionum ad scm petrum</i> Σ: <i>Die sabbato XII lectiones ad scm petrum</i> Δ: <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones ad scm petrum</i>	<i>Sabb ad sanctum petrum in XII lect</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad s petrum in XII lect</i>	<i>Sabbato ad scm petru in duodecim lectiones</i>
Deut 26:12-19		Deut 26:15-18	Deut 26:15-18	Deut 26:15-19	Deut 26:15-19
<i>Lectio II. ubi supra</i> Deut 11:22-25		Deut 11:22-25	<i>Lectio II. ubi supra</i> Deut 11:22-25	Deut 11:22-25	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Deut 11:22-25
<i>Lectio III. ubi supra</i> II Macc 1:23-29		II Macc 1:23-27	<i>Lectio III. ubi supra</i> II Macc 1:23-27	II Macc 1:23: 2-5	<i>Item ubi supra</i> II Macc 1:23
<i>Lectio IV. ubi supra</i> Sirach 36:1-10		Sirach 36:1-10	<i>Lectio IV. ubi supra</i> Sirach 36:1-10	Sirach 36:1-10	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Sirach 36:1-10
		<i>Dan. Angelus domini cum azaria et benedictio</i> Daniel 3: 49	<i>Lectio V. Daniehelis prophetae. Require in vigilia paschae</i>	Daniel 3:49-55 <i>et cetera</i> (a liturgical text)	<i>Item ubi supra iste lectione lege in quattuor tempore mense primo et quarto et VII et X</i> Daniel 3:49-55
<i>In lec xii mens primo</i> I Thess 5:14-23		I Thess 5:14-23	<i>Lectio VI. ubi supra</i> I Thess 5:14-23	I Thess 5:14-23	<i>Item ubi supra</i> I Thess 5:14-23
<i>Item alia unde supra</i> I Thess 4:1-7					
Matthew 17:1-9**	Matthew 17:1-9	Matthew 17:1-9			Matthew 17:1-9
<i>W_{ep}: (Feria II ad scm clementem – next item number)</i> <i>W_{ev}: Ebd II die dominico vacat</i> (next item in list— no gospel provided)**	Π, Λ, Σ: <i>Edodmada II die dominico vacat</i> (no gospel provided) Δ: <i>Ebdomada II die dominico (Mark 1:40---2:12)</i>	<i>Dom prima mensis primi</i> (I Thessalonians 4:1-7 Matthew 15:21 – next item number)	<i>Dominica I mensis primi</i> (I Thessalonians 4:1-7 – next item number)	<i>Dom prima mensis primi:</i> (I Thessalonians 4:1-7 – next item number)	<i>Dom prima men primo:</i> (I Thessalonians 4:1-7 Mark 1:40-44 – next item number)

¹³ The full bibliographical information for these sources is contained in the General Introduction.

follow. This passage petitions God for deliverance from enemies and mirrors the themes of Deuteronomy 11. The final verses ask God to be God in delivering the faithful with an almost eschatological sentiment: “festina tempus et memento finis ut enarrent mirabilia tua” (verse 10).¹⁴ Daniel 3 recounts the survival of the three youths who are thrown into the fiery furnace because they opposed the ritual decrees of Nebuchadnezzar. This passage shares an interesting similarity, as we will see, with the canticles of the Paschal Vigil. The text leads from a narrative into a hymn expressing God’s steadfastness and power. We will look particularly at this passage later in this chapter.

Taken together these readings neither reflect the agricultural themes of the Embertide tradition that some scholars would maintain, nor express sentiments particular to Lent. While a reference to first fruits and tithing exists in Deuteronomy 26 such elements are secondary to language conveying God’s care and concern that Israel remember its identity. The scriptural texts lack the penitential themes one would consider elements of a “Lenten” Embertide, nor do they speak of a particular fast at this point in the calendar or of fasting practices. The scriptures focus on deliverance both present and future. The epistle and the gospel appeal to this latter aspect. The epistle, I Thessalonians 5, exhorts the faithful to rejoice, pray, and give thanks while waiting for the coming of the Lord. The gospel, Matthew 17 as mentioned above, involves the Transfiguration of Christ before Peter, James, and John. The passage provides a glimpse of the triumph of the resurrection, and a foretaste of the destiny of all believers.

¹⁴ The scripture quotations are taken from the Vulgate, which may have been in use in the time of the lectionaries. The edition used for this study is *Biblia Sacra Vulgata (Latin Vulgate Bible)*, 4th ed. Edited by R. Gryson, B. Fischer, H.I. Frede, H.D.F. Sparks, W. Thiele. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006.

Interestingly, the Würzburg epistolary alone supplies a second epistle, *item alia unde supra*, which is I Thessalonians 4:1-7. The text is another exhortation, here to purity of life, for God calls not to uncleanness, but to sanctification – “non enim vocavit nos Deus in inmunditia sed in sanctificatione” (verse 7). The purpose for listing a second epistle is not clear. Chavasse proposes that it was indeed used in conjunction with the vigil. We will address this theory below. Morin, however, believes that I Thessalonians 4 was introduced to fill the place for an epistle when the *dominica vacat* ceased to be so and acquired its own Mass texts. Morin also believes that the omission of Daniel 3 from the Würzburg list is indicative of the fact it was common to all the Saturday Ember vigils and probably entered the system as a hymn rather than as a reading.¹⁵ We will address these observations below, also. Morin admits, however, that a *dominica vacat* with Mass texts does not occur in either Würzburg list.

Monday of the Second Week of Lent with a station at Saint Clement: *Feria II ad scm clementem*, follows immediately in the epistle list, leaving no room for any notation at all for the intervening Sunday. The gospel list contains a heading for a *dominica vacat*: *Ebd II die dominico vacat*, and provides no gospel notation just as the heading suggests. In this rare occasion the title in the liturgical texts means what it says – this Sunday is vacant. Such is the case in the Roman gospel capitularies of types II, Λ, and Σ. The opposite is true in two other lectionaries, which list a gospel for the *dominica vacat*. The Roman gospel capitularies of type Δ designate the Sunday: *Ebdomada II die dominico*, the *vacat* having been eliminated, and lists Mark 1:40-2:12. The Marcan passage concerns the healing of a

¹⁵ G. Morin, “Le plus ancien ‘Comes’ ou Lectionnaire de L’Église Romain” *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 50.

leper and of the man sick with palsy; two healing miracles whose connections either to the Transfiguration or to Lent are unclear. The Verona lectionary lists only the pericope for the healing of the leper (Mark 1:40-44). The epistle lectionaries, Murbach, Alcuin, and Corbie, include I Thessalonians 4:1-7 and refer to Sunday as the First Sunday of the First Month (*Dom prima mensis primi*, and variants) without linking the Sunday to Lent.¹⁶

With this sketch of the contents of the Saturday Ember Vigil in mind, the lectionaries supply the following arrangement for the First Month Fast:

Deuteronomy 26:12-19
 Deuteronomy 11:22-25
 II Maccabees 1:23-29
 Sirach 36:1-10
 Daniel 3 – a reading or a canticle?
 I Thessalonians 5:13-23
 (I Thessalonians 4:1-7 – Würzburg Epistolary)
 Matthew 17:1-9

How this arrangement fits the pattern of similar vigil liturgies is puzzling. In the Easter and Pentecost Vigils, the vigil lessons are distinct from the epistle and gospel of the Eucharist, and taken from the Old Testament. The lectionaries list only four readings from the Old Testament for this Ember vigil. An instruction concerning the Daniel 3 passages states that it is to be “proclaimed,” as on the Paschal Vigil (*Require in vigilia paschae*) in the Lectionary of Alcuin. Is Daniel 3, however, considered a reading or a canticle? We will leave that question open for the moment. If we include the Daniel reading we have five readings, which does not amount to the requisite six that in turn will comprise twelve

¹⁶ See the General Introduction for the full bibliographical information for these sources mentioned in this paragraph.

readings for the *Sabbato in XII lectiones*. Chavasse counts the epistle as a vigil reading,¹⁷ but does not include Daniel 3 among the lessons; in this he favors the testimony of the Würzburg Epistolary. Chavasse explains that the spring Ember vigil in this context contained not one but two readings from the New Testament epistles. The presence of two epistles (I Thessalonians 5 and I Thessalonians 4) combined with four Old Testament lessons in the Würzburg list, provides six vigil lessons.¹⁸ Talley concurs only with the reasoning that the epistle was considered one of the six lessons, but as part of the Mass and not part of the vigil. Talley considers the presence of a second epistle unlikely as then the vigil would conclude with an epistle and this would be an unusual arrangement.¹⁹ Chavasse does not explain, however, why the Spring Ember Vigil (and as we shall note with the other Ember vigils) follows a pattern distinct from the Easter and Pentecost Vigils by including the epistle among the vigil readings.

The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals

Table 2 below will assist us in examining the pattern of the chants associated with the March Quarterly Vigil in the antiphonals.

¹⁷ Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien: Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dan les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Paris: Desclée et Co., 1958), 113 n.42.

¹⁸ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 114.

¹⁹ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 214-215. Talley, however, also mentions a study by R. Dubois, "Hatte die römische Messe je eine dreigliedrige Leseordnung?" *Heiliger Dienst* 18 (1964): 129-137, which attempts to show that the lessons of the liturgy were divided between the Old Testament on weekdays and the New Testament on Sundays. The situation with the Würzburg lectionary and its two epistles is that the vigil of the First Month began at a later hour than in other seasons, with the final reading of the vigil falling after midnight and hence on Sunday, so the extra reading from the epistle since it was Sunday. Such a theory, however appears to fragment the vigil into a Saturday and a Sunday context, when the lectionary evidence treats it as one whole: *Sabbato in XII lectiones*, without any reference to *Dominica*.

The Roman antiphonals, unfortunately, provide little clarity on the issue of the number of readings. If the antiphonals function by supplying chants to follow the scripture lessons, as we will find with the Paschal and Pentecost vigils, such an arrangement is missing in the Gradual of Monza²⁰ and in the Antiphonal of Mont-Blandin. These documents only state that the vigil consists of four graduals (in the case of Monza, three) and the *Benedictiones* or the hymn of Daniel 3, and nothing more: *Resp. Grad. IIII. Et Benedictiones* (See Table 2). The Antiphonal of Corbie is even more peculiar, stating, *Resp. Grad. IIII quale volueris dic ad hunc diem pertinentes* – which appears to leave it up to the presider or cantor to choose the texts in response to the readings. The antiphonal of Compiègne likewise does not note specific gradual texts, yet it does provide the full text of Daniel 3. Only the antiphonals of Rheinau and Senlis supply texts for the graduals, which are not identical in either text or in number. The Rheinau list, consistent with Monza, indicates only three graduals. The three graduals of Rheinau are psalms 6, 70, and 144, all of which speak of the Lord's deliverance and protection, and complement the scriptural lessons quite well. Senlis is the most complete of the antiphonals presenting five graduals prior to the Daniel 3 canticle. These graduals, psalms 78, 83, 140, 85, and 89, are penitential in character and demonstrate a somewhat evolutionary development in the concept of this Ember vigil, which is not present in the Rheinau antiphonal.

²⁰ Recall that Monza functions primarily as a collection of graduals and not an antiphonal in the proper sense. It provides only the Gradual reference and not all the usual chants for the Eucharist.

Table 2. The Antiphonal Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the First Month²¹

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus</i>	46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	46a. <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones responsoria IV^{or} quale volueris</i>
	Ant.: <i>Intret oratio mea in conspectu</i> Psalm 87: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Intret oratio mea in conspectu</i> Psalm 87: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Intret oratio mea in conspectu</i> Psalm 87: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Intret oratio mea in conspectu</i> Psalm 87: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Intret oratio mea</i> Psalm 87: <i>Domine deus salutis</i> Ad repet: <i>Aestimatus sum</i>
Resp. Grad. III <i>et benedictiones</i>	Grad: <i>Miserere mihi Domine</i> Grad: <i>Esto mihi</i> Grad: <i>Oculi omnium in te</i>	Resp. Grad. IV <i>et benedictiones</i>	Resp. Grad. IV <i>ad ipsum diem pertinentes et benedictiones</i>	Resp. Grad. IV <i>quale volueris dic ad hunc diem pertinentes</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Proptius esto domine</i> Resp. Grad.: <i>Protector noster</i> Resp. Grad.: <i>Dirigatur oratio</i> Resp. Grad.: <i>Salvum fac populum tuum</i> Resp. Grad.: <i>Convertere domine</i> Lectio danieli prophetarum: <i>In diebus illis angelus domini Ymnum dicite</i>
Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>		Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>
	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Domine deus meus in te</i>	Ad Com: <i>Domine deus meus in te</i> Psalm: <i>ipso</i>	Com: <i>Domine deus meus in te</i> Psalm: <i>ipsum</i>	Com: <i>Domine deus meus in te</i> Psalm: <i>Nequando rapiat</i>	Com: <i>Domine deus meus</i> Psalm: <i>ipsum</i>
46b. <i>Dominica vacat</i>	46b. <i>Dominica in XL^{ma} item ad missam sicut jam supra scriptum est in sabbato</i>	46b. <i>Dominica vacat</i>	46b. <i>Dominica vacat</i>	46b. <i>Dominica vacat</i>	46b. <i>Dominica vacat</i>

²¹ As in the case of the lectionaries, the full bibliographic detail is found in the General Introduction. For convenience the edited source for the Antiphonals is R. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1935; repr., Fribourg en Brisgau: Herder, 1967).

If the number of graduals corresponds to the number of vigil readings, then the evidence found in antiphonals is a jumble of conflicting arrangements. Mont Blandin, Compiègne, and Corbie suggest an Ember vigil of four lessons, in addition to the Daniel 3 canticle, mentioned only in Mont Blandin and Compiègne. Three lessons are the norm for the gradual of Monza and the antiphonal of Rheinau, and five lessons appear in Senlis. With the differences among the antiphonals regarding the number of graduals, is it possible to determine the number of readings used at the March Ember Vigil? Realizing that the Antiphonal of Senlis is nearly a century older than the other antiphonals and that the use or non-use of the *benedictiones* can account for the enumeration problem, the presence of at least four lessons might possibly signal a more ancient layer of keeping the Ember vigil. Such a tradition finds a parallel in the Gregorian Paschal Vigil, which we will see also contains four Old Testament lessons. This parallel is consistent with the papal origin of the Gregorian sacramentary and of the Ember celebrations. The antiphonal of Senlis dating from the ninth century may represent a later tradition such that five lessons and the Daniel canticle amount to six readings, which when doubled would provide the *XII lectiones*. We will see whether or not a vigil pattern of four lessons and the Daniel canticle is consistent as we examine the vigils of the other Ember months.

The next item number in all the antiphonals is simply *Dominica vacat*, without provision of any texts. The Antiphonal of Rheinau furnishes for this day: *Dominica in XL^{ma} item ad missam sicut jam supra scriptum est in sabbato*. This is the only mention of Lent among the First Month vigils. The title basically says to repeat what was done on Saturday. It does not give a particular number to this Sunday in Lent, however. Rheinau may show

initial signs of the eventual movement of the Saturday vigil from a nocturnal practice to one during the day and necessitating another liturgy on Sunday.

The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries

Let us now compare the lectionary and Antiphonal evidence with that contained in the sacramentaries for the Vigil of the First Month. The full texts of these prayers appear in the Appendices at the conclusion of this dissertation. The reader is referred to Table 3.

The Verona manuscript, lacking its initial pages, does not contain any information on the Quarterly Fast of the First Month. In Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, however, we discover some interesting elements attached to the First Month Fast. The Gelasian sacramentary places this fast, as it does the Fast of the Fourth Month, in Book I, the Temporal Cycle. The Fasts of the Seventh and Tenth Months are contained in Book II, the Sanctoral Cycle. The Gelasianum divides the celebration into two halves: Section 19 of Book I, the orations and prayers of the vigil properly speaking (*Orationes et preces in XII lectiones mense prima*) and the Mass, Section 24, which concludes the vigil (*Item orationes et preces ad missa*). The title of Section 19 does not specifically mention a vigil, but just that these are the orations and prayers during the 12 lessons of the first month. Between Sections 19 and 24 are found the prayers for the ordination of presbyters and deacons. These texts are not represented in Table 3 and we will return to their role in the vigil later in this chapter.

Table 3. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the First Month

Veronense	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
	Book I - Section 19 Nos. 134-139	Section 44 Nos. 192-201	Section 36 Nos. 248-257	Section 40 Nos. 164-173
	<i>Iste orationes quae sequuntur prima sabbato in mense primo sunt dicendae</i> <i>Orationes et preces in XII lectiones mense prima</i>	<i>Sabbt. in XII lectiones ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Sabbato in XII lectiones ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>
	<i>Deus qui delinquentes perire non pateris</i>	<i>Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice</i>	<i>Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice</i>	<i>Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice</i>
	<i>Omnium nostrum domine quaesumus</i>	<i>Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos</i>	<i>Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos</i>	
	<i>Jejunia quaesumus domine nos sacrata letificent</i>	<i>Protector noster aspice deus</i>	<i>Protector noster aspice deus</i>	<i>Protector noster aspice deus</i>
	<i>Adesto quaesumus omnipotens deus ad jejunio corporali</i>	<i>Adesto quaesumus domine supplicationibus nostris</i>	<i>Adesto quaesumus domine supplicationibus nostris</i>	<i>Adesto quaesumus domine supplicationibus nostris</i>
	<i>Da nobis observantiam domine legitimam</i>	<i>Preces populi tui domine quaesumus clementer</i>	<i>Preces populi tui domine quaesumus clementer</i>	<i>Preces populi tui domine quaesumus clementer</i>
	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per continentiam</i>	<i>Quaesumus omnipotens deus vota humilium respice</i>	<i>Quaesumus omnipotens deus vota humilium respice</i>	<i>Quaesumus omnipotens deus vota humilium respice</i>
		<i>Actiones nostras quaesumus domine et aspirando praeveni</i>	<i>Actiones nostras quaesumus domine et aspirando praeveni</i>	<i>Actiones nostras quaesumus domine et aspirando praeveni</i>
		<i>Deus qui tribus pueris</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris</i>
	Section 24 Nos. 157-162			
	<i>Item orationes et preces ad missa</i>			
	<i>Exaudi domine supplicum preces et devoto tibi</i>			
	<i>Secreta Tuis domine quaesumus operare mysteriis</i>	<i>Super oblata Praesentibus sacrificiis domine jejunia nostra</i>	<i>Secreta Praesentibus sacrificiis domine jejunia nostra</i>	<i>Super oblatam Praesentibus sacrificiis domine jejunia nostra</i>
	<i>VD: qui rationabilem creaturam nec temporalibus dedita</i>			<i>VD: Majestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes ut mentibus nostris</i>
	<i>Infra actionem Hanc igitur oblationem...quos ad presbyterii vel diaconatus gradus promoveri dignatus est</i>			
	<i>Post communionem Hos quos reficis domine sacramentis adtolle benignus</i>	<i>Ad completa Sanctificationibus tuis omnipotens deus et vitia nostra</i>	<i>Ad complendum Sanctificationibus tuis omnipotens deus et vicia nostra</i>	<i>Ad complendum Sanctificationibus tuis omnipotens deus et vitia nostra</i>
	<i>Ad plebem Da quaesumus domine populis christianis</i>			

An examination of Section 19 uncovers that it falls at the end of the first week of Lent. Section 18 contains the Mass sets for each day of the week (Sunday to Saturday, save Thursday),²² considered *in quadragesimo*. Section 19 provides a second synaxis for the Saturday of the First Week of Lent. If this second synaxis is the conclusion of the usual Ember Days it is curious that the preceding Wednesday and Friday are not so identified. This phenomenon seems out of touch with the *denuntiatio* for the Ember fasts in the Gelasianum. We can locate, possibly, the Wednesday station in Section 17, *Orationes et preces a quinquagesima usque quadragesima*, as a sub-section: *In jejuniis prima statione, feria iv* (GeV 89-93). There is no entry for the Friday station of the fast.²³ The confusing nature of these arrangements and misalignments either point to the novel inclusion of a Quarterly Fast in the first month, or perhaps more accurately indicate the disruption of an original Quarterly Fast practice in March as the Season of Lent takes hold in Roman liturgical tradition.

The sections for the spring Ember Vigil in the Gelasianum follow the pattern more familiar to the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. The vigil liturgy is separated from the Eucharistic liturgy by a sacramental rite, in this case ordination. The pattern for the spring Ember Vigil appears as follows:

The Vigil of Readings and Prayers
 Introit with Antiphon
 Oration
 Announcement of those to be Ordained

²² Thursdays are aliturgical in the Gelasianum as is true of Roman practice before Gregory II (715-731). This is a sign of the formulae's antiquity.

²³ Willis erroneously states that the Gelasian, however, makes no provision for a Wednesday and a Friday station. See Willis, "Ember Days," 91. Talley does not comment on this situation.

Kyrie with Litany
 Rites of Ordination
 Oration
 Secret Prayer
 Preface (with *infra actionem*)
 Post Communion Prayer
Ad plebem Blessing

While it may be possible to conclude that the epistle and gospel for the Eucharist were proclaimed immediately after ordination, the nature of the first oration in the Mass formulary is unclear. It may be an opening prayer prior to the announcement of the ordinandi or it may be the *oratio super sindonem* to be said before the presentation of the gifts.

The three major Gregorian sacramentaries do not contain an ordination ritual among the texts for the First Month Ember Vigil. The prayers for the Eucharist, a *super oblata* and *ad complendum*, directly follow those texts related to the vigil as a single liturgy. A *Dominica vacat* supplied with texts appears next in each of the Gregorian sacramentaries while Section 25 of Book I in the Gelasianum contains the presidential prayers for the Second Sunday in Lent (*Secunda dominica in quadragesima*), without any reference to a *Dominica vacat*.

The vigil portion of the spring Ember Saturday in the Gelasianum contains six prayers (GeV 134-139). Here and in the examination of the pre-Eucharistic vigils to follow these prayer texts will be classified as *orations* to distinguish them from *collects*, prayers at the beginning of the Mass as we cannot be certain that these prayers functioned in this manner. The Gelasian orations differ from those in the Gregorian. The first two texts,

“Deus qui delinquentes” and “Omnium nostrum” appear in Section 27 of the Verona collection under the heading for prayers of the Seventh Month Fast.²⁴

If compared with the corresponding lessons from the lectionary lists the orations of the Gelasian First Month Ember Vigil do not demonstrate a thematic link between them, as one finds between the prayers and lessons in the Paschal and Pentecost vigils.²⁵ The lack of references to fasting and penitential works among the lectionary lessons, however, is more than made up for in the Gelasianum’s vigil prayers. Each oration comments on the Fast, though it is not specifically stated that this fast is Lenten (or even a Quarterly Fast for that matter); for example, the first, third, fourth, and sixth orations of the vigil mention the Fast or fasting directly: “sed potius per jejunium emendatio prosit ad veniam” (GeV 134); “Jejunia, quaesumus, domine, nos sacrata laetificent” (GeV 136); “ac jejunio corporali mentem nostram operibus tuorum refice mandatorum” (GeV 137); “pia jejunantium precatione placatus et temporalia subsidia nobis tribuas et aeterna” (GeV 139). The two other orations emphasize similar sentiments around fasting, “et ab his quibus offenderis abstinentes non iram tuam sed misericordiam sentiamus” (GeV 135), and “cum refrenatione carnalis alimoniae sancta tibi conversatione placeamus” (GeV 138).

The texts make reference either to placating or appeasing divine anger or displeasure, but also are oriented toward seeking conversion and restoration of mind and body. They appear to treat the Fast as an event rather than a Christian attitude. It is interesting that the

²⁴ *Admonitio jejunii mensis septimi et orationes et preces*. Here the prayers are Ve 861 and Ve 878 respectively. They are contained in different sub-sets of Section 27, neither of which demonstrates the characteristics of being a vigil.

²⁵ See Appendix One, pages 527 to 532, for the collection of these prayer texts.

texts of the first two prayers (GeV 134 and GeV 135) make oblique reference to scripture passages not contained in the lectionary for this vigil. GeV 134 echoes Ezekiel 33:11: God's desire not to destroy the wicked, but rather that they be converted and live.²⁶ The petition to turn back the hearts of all to the Lord at the beginning of GeV 135, echoes Hosea 14:2.²⁷ While both prayers are also found in the Veronense for the autumnal Quarterly Fast, neither scripture text appears in the lectionaries for the vigil of the Seventh Month Fast.

The Type I Gregorians, the Hadrianum and Tridentinum,²⁸ provide eight orations before the *super oblata* prayer. Presumably they all pertain to the vigil, but if they mean to follow the scriptural readings, the Ember Vigil becomes a Saturday of sixteen, rather than twelve readings. Only the final oration, "Deus qui tribus pueris," specifically corresponds with a scripture passage – Daniel 3. If this oration is removed from the schema because it refers to a hymn and not to a reading, seven prayers remain, still one more than the Ember vigil pattern requires.

Chavasse believes the first prayer of each Ember vigil to be an opening oration prior to the scripture proclamation.²⁹ This pattern follows a similar arrangement found in the Gelasian Easter Vigil, which prefaces the scripture vigil with a prayer for purity and right

²⁶ "Deus, qui delinquentes perire non pateris, donec convertantur et vivant: debitam, quaesumus, peccatis nostris suspende vindictam et praesta propitius, ne dissimulatio cumulet ultionem, sed potius per jejunium emendatio prosit ad veniam: per dominum nostrum" (GeV 134). The relevant portion of this prayer has been underscored.

²⁷ "Omnium nostrum, domine, quaesumus, ad te corda converte; et ab his quibus offenderis abstinentes non iram tuam sed misericordiam sentiamus: per" (GeV 135). Again, the relevant portion of this prayer is underscored.

²⁸ A Type I Gregorian sacramentary reflected the papal liturgy at Saint John Lateran. Type II Gregorian sacramentaries, such as the Paduensis, represents the papal tradition adjusted for presbyteral use.

²⁹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 106.

judgment.³⁰ Chavasse notes that the use of an opening oration for a vigil is a presbyteral practice not followed in the Papal liturgy in the Gregorian sacramentaries.³¹ However, the structure of the First Month Vigil in the major Gregorian sacramentaries seems to suggest we do so noting an opening oration, six prayers for six lessons, and a collect for Daniel 3 (considered outside the specific vigil readings). Nonetheless, we should be cautious in affirming such an adaptation in either the Gelasian or the Gregorian sacramentaries at the Ember Vigil for the following reasons. First, the Gelasianum, alone, contains this “opening oration for purity” at the Paschal Vigil. Second, the most ancient of the Roman *ordines* on the Paschal Vigil do not instruct the praying of such an oration.³² Third, in the Gelasianum itself, the vigil for the First Month Fast consists of six orations, and if one follows Chavasse’s reasoning then the first of the six must be the opening oration, which leaves only five prayers for five readings.³³ Fourth, the first oration in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries does not evoke in either setting the idea of preparation for the liturgy. In the Gelasianum the first oration of the First Month Vigil speaks of what God does through the practice of fasting in correcting and pardoning. The prayer in the Gregorian sacramentaries simply petitions God for favor and clemency, a sentiment not restricted to this initial prayer

³⁰ See below, Part II, Chapter 3, pages 228-229.

³¹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 106.

³² See for example, OR 24.42: *Et ascendit lector in ambonem. Non pronunciat lectio libri genesis sed inchoat in principio plane similiter et illas lectiones omnes. Et ante in principio non dicit orationem.* (Emphasis is provided.)

³³ Chavasse insists that the First Month Fast, while it existed in the time of Gregory I (590-604) was an addition to the Gelasianum in the course of the seventh century, a presbyteral and not a papal sacramentary, and thus not originally familiar with papal rituals. See *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 216-217.

alone.³⁴ Fifth and most importantly, the lectionaries and Antiphonals record only four Old Testament readings and the Daniel canticle before the epistle, which epistle does not, following the pattern established by the Paschal and Pentecost vigils, appear joined to the vigil liturgy. The vigil pattern of the sacramentaries does not neatly match up with the lectionary witness.

Chavasse, again, attempts to explain the inclusion of the two epistles from I Thessalonians in the Würzburg epistolary as part of the vigil celebration and suggests that they merit orations to complement them.³⁵ However, the distribution of the epistle and its prayer(s) to the vigil is unusual, despite conjectures to the contrary.³⁶ And while such an arrangement would equal six readings – four Old Testament and two New Testament – and with an opening oration and an oration connected with the Daniel 3 canticle for a total of eight prayers, only the Hadrianum and Tridentinum among the sacramentaries fit such a model. The Paduensis, like the Gelasianum a presbyteral sacramentary, contains seven prayers (it omits the second prayer, “Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos”). The Gelasianum, as we have been saying, moves from six prayers for the vigil, to a single oration prior to the secret in the section on the Mass prayers. Tagging the final prayer of the Gelasian vigil to the epistle leaves unresolved the need for an oration following the Daniel canticle and the distribution of seven prayers among seven readings. Excluding the first

³⁴ “Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice atque ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte. Per.” (GrH 192; GrT 248; GrP 164)

³⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 113.

³⁶ See Willis on the use of the two prayers prior to the Secret prayer in the Gelasianum, “The Variable Prayers of the Roman Mass,” in *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: SPCK, 1968), 108-112; and A. Massimo Martelli, “I formulari della messa con due o tre orazioni prima della segreta nei sacramentari romani,” *Studia Patavina* 19 (1972): 539-579, for an alternative theory on the purpose of these prayers.

oration in the Gelasianum as an opening oration, six orations remain; this means, however, for the First Month Fast in the Gelasianum the vigil ends with a New Testament text, which arrangement Talley finds unusual.³⁷

The Vigil Mass in the Gelasianum (Section 24) includes, other than the single oration of which we have been speaking, a secret, a post-communion, and a prayer over the people (*ad plebem*). The Mass also contains a preface and a *hanc igitur* insert for the Eucharistic Prayer. The Gregorian sacramentaries include a secret and post-communion prayer. The Gregorian tradition omits the *ad plebem* prayer. The Paduensis alone supplies a preface (GrP 172). Just as with the vigil, the prayers of the Mass are distinct in each tradition.

The purpose for the single oration prior to the *secreta* in the Gelasianum is not easily identified. It may or may not be a *collecta*, opening this part of the liturgy. In addition, Section 24 does not include the customary two orations prior to the *secreta* as we find in other Mass sets in the Gelasianum. If this section was meant to follow upon the vigil and the rites of ordination, the initial oration in Section 24 might have been a prayer concluding the intercessions or an *oratio super sindonem*, a prayer that followed the gospel preceding the offertory chant.³⁸

While none of the vigil prayers refers to ordination, both the first oration and the *hanc igitur* of the Mass allude to orders. The *hanc igitur* asks the Lord to receive the offerings “from those you deemed worthy to advance to the position of presbyter, or to the

³⁷ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 214.

³⁸ This prayer appears at times in the Verona collection and in the Gelasian sacramentary. See Willis, “Variable Prayers of the Roman Mass,” 101.

diaconate.”³⁹ The oration prior to the *secreta* prays for divine protection of “those attending to you” that nothing stand in the way of fulfillment service.⁴⁰ The oration appears also in the Verona collection (Ve 874) not in the section on episcopal ordination, but as a collect for a Mass (Ve 872-876) under the heading for the Fast of the Seventh Month. This Mass set does not appear to be a Mass for the Saturday vigil as it does not bear the characteristic series of six or so collects prior to a discernable *super oblata* prayer.

The other Mass texts rather casually imply the Fast. The secret prayer speaks in the plural that the gifts may be offered with worthy minds, without any reference to ordination or to the fast. The preface gives oblique reference to the fast as a way that God teaches “the rational creature” not to be overwhelmed by worldly matters, but to focus upon his/her eternal reward with glorious devotion.⁴¹ The post-communion prayer speaks of “those restored by the sacraments” that they may be aided to grasp the effect of redemption in life and worship.⁴² This text refers to the whole assembly along with the newly ordained.

Without specifically mentioning it the sense of the text implies that divine restoration and

³⁹ “Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis tuis, quos ad presbyterii, vel diaconatus, gradus promovere dignatus es, quaesumus, domine, placatus suscipias: et quod eis divino munere contulisti, in eis propitius tua dona custodi: per Christum dominum nostrum. Quam.” (GeV 160, The pertinent portion of the prayer is underscored.) This text also appears in part in the Verona collection under Section 28, *Consecratio episcoporum*, Ve 943-944; and in the Gregorian sacramentaries under the section the blessing of a bishop (GrH 25; GrT 973: GrP 28).

⁴⁰ “Exaudi, domine, supplicum preces, et devoto tibi pectore famulantes perpetua defensione custodi, ut nullis perturbationibus impediti, liberam servitutem tuis semper exhibeamus officiis: per.” (GeV 157)

⁴¹ “Vere dignum: Qui rationabilem creaturam ne temporalibus dedita bonis ad praemia sempiterna non tendat ea dispensatione dignaris erudire, ut nec castigatione deficiat nec prosperitatibus insolescat, sed hoc potius fiat ejus gloriosa devotio, quo nullis adversitatibus obruta superetur: per quem majestatem tuam.” (GeV 159)

⁴² “Hos quos reficis domine sacramentis attolle benignus auxiliis, et tuae redemptionis effectum et mysteriis capiamus et moribus: per.” (GeV 161) This prayer also appears as the post-communion for Friday of the Third Week in Lent in the Gelasianum (GeV 218).

aid are the benefits not only of the liturgy, but also of completing the Quarterly Fast.

Finally, Section 24 contains an *ad plebem* prayer (elsewhere known as an *ad populum*), not found in the Gregorian sacramentaries. This prayer over the assembly is repeated from the Wednesday previous to the First Month Vigil (GeV 123). Chavasse notes that the presence of an *ad populum/plebem* prayer is a sign of the antiquity of a set of presidential prayers.⁴³

In the Fast of the First Month the prayer text asks that the “Christian people” both acknowledge what they profess and love what they celebrate.⁴⁴ As with the post-communion prayer the text embraces more than the ordained, and a petition consistent with the goal of renewing faith and commitment to it, which the Ember seasons convey.

The Gregorian sacramentaries furnish only two prayers for the Mass, a secret and a post-communion (the exception being the Paduensis, which adds a preface). A case could be made since the vigil orations and the prayers of the Mass form a consistent whole, that the oration prior to the secret is actually the collect for the Mass. Such a position is not possible, however, since as I have pointed out above, the final oration is associated with Daniel 3 and considered therefore a part of the vigil and not the Mass. This situation presents us with the peculiar lack of a separate collect for the Ember Saturday Mass in all the Gregorians.

The short texts for each Mass prayer are purposely associated with the fast, though without reference to presbyteral or diaconal ordination. The secret petitions that the offerings sanctify the fast to an inward effect; while the post-communion asks that by the

⁴³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 200, 210.

⁴⁴ “Da quaesumus domine populis christianis et quod profitentur agnoscere, et caeleste munus diligere quod frequentant: per.” (GeV 162)

holy mysteries vices may be cured and eternal remedies be given.⁴⁵ The preface in the Paduensis emphasizes elements of the fast as a medicine for souls and an aid to those who have become neglectful in faith.⁴⁶ Neither the Gelasian nor the Gregorian texts associate the vigil Mass with the Transfiguration gospel as given in the lectionaries. This context demonstrates an independent origin for both the lectionary and the sacramentary texts in the development of the Ember vigil.

The Vigil of the March Quarterly Fast: The Formulary for the Dominica Vacat

Let us next examine the function of the prayer texts in the Sunday that followed the Saturday vigil; we shall refer to Table 4 following. As is the case among the other Quarterly Fast weeks in the Gelasianum the *Dominica vacat* remains just that, without texts provided for the Sunday following the Saturday vigil. Nevertheless, Mass texts for the Second Sunday in Lent follow the vigil Mass of the First Month Fast, Section 25, *Secunda dominica in quadragesima* (GeV 163-167). Chavasse believes that the presence of this Second Sunday in Lent predates the observance of the Quarterly Fast at this time of the year.⁴⁷ For

⁴⁵ **Super oblata.** “Praesentibus sacrificiis domine jejunia nostra sanctifica, ut quod observantia nostra profitetur extrinsecus interius operetur. Per.” (GrH 200; GrT 256)

Ad complendum. “Sanctificationibus tuis omnipotens deus, et vitia nostra curentur, et remedia nobis aeterna proveniant. Per.” (GrH210; GrT 257)

⁴⁶ “VD aeternae deus. Majestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes, ut mentibus nostris medicinalis observantiae munus infundas, et qui negligentibus etiam subsidia ferre non desinis, beneficia praebeas potiora devotis. Per Christum.” (GrP 172)

⁴⁷ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 229.

some scholars⁴⁸ the presence of a Mass for the Second Sunday in Lent was further demonstration that the First Month Fast is a more recent, perhaps third century, addition to the Quarterly season. However, as we state above, Talley argues that Leo I preached

Table 4. The Second Sunday of Lent (*Dominica Vacat*)

Veronense	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
	Section 25 Nos. 163-167	Section 45 Nos. 202-204	Section 37 Nos. 258-260	Section 41 Nos. 174-175
	<i>Secunda dominica in quadagesima</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>
	<i>Praesta nobis omnipotens deus ut quia viciis subjacet</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui</i>
	<i>Praesta nobis misericors deus ut plagationem tuam</i>			
	Secreta <i>Ecclesiae tuae domine munera placatus adsume</i>	Super oblata <i>Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende</i>	Super oblata <i>Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende</i>	Super oblatam <i>Sacrificiis domine praesentibus quaesumus intende</i>
	Post communionem <i>Refecti domine panis caelesti</i>	Ad complendum <i>Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus</i>	Ad complendum <i>Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus</i>	Ad complendum <i>Refecti domine panis caelesti</i>
	Ad populum <i>Familiam tuam quaesumus domine propitiatus inlustra</i>			

Sermon 51 at the Ember Saturday vigil before a Second Sunday of Lent came into existence. The text, which he used, the Transfiguration, later becomes assigned to the Second Sunday in Lent.⁴⁹ One can also reason that the presence of a Mass for the Second Sunday in Lent would not be so surprising as the Second Sunday did not always fall in March, the First Month. It is more peculiar, rather, that a section for a Mass for the Second Sunday in Lent is non-existent in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Gregorian sacramentaries assign the Third Sunday in Lent to the Sunday that follows the *Dominica vacat*. If the Gregorian

⁴⁸ Chavasse is one of them in the text of *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, see page 228-229. His argument appears to have changed with research done on the Leonine sermons.

⁴⁹ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 280.

tradition witnesses the origin of the Embertide observance as a papal Roman practice, then the lack of a Second Sunday in Lent following the Ember vigil demonstrates both the antiquity of the Ember practice and its original independence of the First Month Fast from the Lenten season. The prayer texts under Section 25 in the Gelasianum, *Secunda dominica in quadragesimo*, make no reference to the Ember season or to a special fast or fasting period. A reference to the Transfiguration is lacking also, yet this is customary for the Gelasianum, whose prayer refer to the saint or feast being celebrated but not directly to the readings proclaimed for the day.

Let us conclude with a brief examination of the texts for the *Dominica vacat*, which appear in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The appearance of a Sunday liturgy with texts seems to downplay the importance of the Saturday vigil, which Talley recognizes as a principal component of the Ember celebrations.⁵⁰ More to the point, however, if the day were supposed to be a *Dominica vacat*, then for what purpose would filling it with Mass texts serve? The Gregorian sacramentaries contain only the three presidential prayers – collect, secret, and post-communion – but without any specific reference to the unique fast week just observed or particular allusion to the season of Lent. In fact, the prayers are uninventive, petitioning for typical needs of the faithful – protection from adversity, preservation in spirit, right devotion, salvation, restoration, and pleasure in serving the Lord. Such sentiments could be prayed for at any time; hence, the texts demonstrate a surprising

⁵⁰ See Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 110-113.

versatility and they appear in other sections on various themes in the sacramentaries.⁵¹ If the evolution of texts for the “empty” Sunday comes as a result of the tendency to celebrate the vigil less and less in a nocturnal setting, does this not diminish the importance of the vigil itself in the schema of the Ember Week? The “impoverished” texts of the Sunday seem to provide an answer in the affirmative. We shall return to this matter in our conclusions following the examination of the Ember vigils.

The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast

The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Lectionaries

Chronologically, the second of the Ember seasons is the fast following Pentecost, or the Fast of the Fourth Month. No less complex an origin than the Fast of the First Month surrounds the development of this Ember season. Just as we may be correct in asking whether the spring Quarterly Fast is Lenten or based on astronomical spring, we can apply a similar question to the Fourth Month Fast: is it related to Pentecost or astronomical summer? Among the earliest mentions of a fast during this time of the year are, again, the sermons of Leo I. These references occur within the celebration of Pentecost in one way or another; and the Quarterly Fast according to these sermons takes place during the week after Pentecost Sunday. Talley notes that such a connection presents a problem for announcing this Ember

⁵¹ The collect (“Deus qui conspicis”) appears at GrH 876 (*Incipiunt orationes cottidianas*). Additionally, the secret (“Sacrificiis praesentibus domine”) appears numerous times throughout all the Gregorians, particularly in the same position for the Fasts of the Seventh and the Tenth Months; the post-communion (“Supplices te rogamus”) appears at a variety of sanctoral feasts as well as the post-communion for the Ascension.

observance. If the fast falls the week after Pentecost, then its announcement appears to have been proclaimed by Leo on Pentecost itself. Not only would such an emphasis distort the Pentecost celebration as the culmination of the festive days of Pascha, but it also creates an interesting juncture of feast leading to fast, quite an unusual progression in Western Christian celebration.⁵² Consideration of the Fourth Month Ember observance is further complicated by the fact that the observance often migrated between the months of May and June depending upon the date of Pentecost. Thus, while the celebration occurs in the week following Pentecost in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, there may be upwards of three weeks between Pentecost Sunday and the appearance of the Fourth Month Fast in some lectionary manuscripts. We shall see this pattern more keenly in our examination of the lectionaries. In these instances we discover signs of an older stratum of tradition, which attempted to keep this fast associated with summer or the fourth month, June. Just as the First Month Fast becomes identified with Lent, which did not always begin in the first month, so too the same predicament arises when the Fourth Month Fast becomes coupled with Pentecost.

In order to understand the manner in which the Roman church celebrated the vigil of the second Quarterly Fast and how the feast of Pentecost affected it, let us examine first, as we did for the Vigil of the March Ember season, the lectionary and Antiphonal evidence. Table 5 provides the data for our analysis.

⁵² See Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 158-159. The formula, which introduces the Ember Week can be found in Sermons 75, 76, 78, and 81.

Let us note first where the Ember Week falls in the lectionary calendars. In the Würzburg Evangelary it falls the week following Pentecost Sunday. Morin states that this is

Table 5. The Lectionary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Fourth Month

Würzburg Lectionary Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitatus (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>Sabbato ad scm petrum (W_{ep})</i> <i>Fer. VII ad scm petrum XII lect (W_{ev})</i>	Π: <i>Feria VII ad scum petrum XII lectiones</i> Λ: <i>Die sabbato XII lectionum ad scum petrum</i> Σ: <i>Sabbato XII lectiones ad scum petrum</i> Δ: <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones ad scum petrum</i>	<i>Sab ad sanctum petrum in XII lect</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato. Ad s petrum</i>	<i>Sabb ad scm petrum in XII lectiones</i>
Joel 2:28-32		Joel 2:28-32	Joel 2:28-32	Joel 2:28-32	Joel 2:28-32
<i>ubi supra</i> Lev 23:10-21		Lev 23:10-21	<i>Item ut supra</i> Lev 23:10-21	<i>Item ut supra</i> Lev 23:10-21	<i>ubi supra</i> Lev 23:10-21
<i>ubi supra</i> Deut 26:1-11		Deut 26:1-11	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Deut 26:1-11	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Deut 26:1-11	<i>ubi supra</i> Deut 26:1-11
<i>ubi supra</i> Lev 26:3-12		Lev 26:3-12	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Levi 26:3-12	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Lev 26:3-12	<i>ubi supra</i> Lev 26:3-12
		Daniel 3: 49	<i>Hic debes legere angelus domini. Require in vigilia paschae</i>	<i>Hic legitur Danihel propheta. Require mens prim</i>	<i>Hic legitur lectio danielis prophetae Daniel 3:49-55</i>
<i>ubi supra</i> Romans 5:1-5		Romans 5:1-5	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Romans 5:1-5	Romans 5:1-5	Romans 5:1-5
<i>ubi supra</i> Romans 8:18-23			<i>Dominica ut supra</i> Romans 8:18-23		
Matt 20:29-34	Matt 20:29-34	Matt 20:29-34			
					Mark 12:41-44
[<i>Item alia</i> Luke 6:36-42]	Π: <i>Item alia</i> Luke 6:36-42 Δ: <i>Item alia</i> Mark 12:41-44 <i>Item alia</i> Luke 4:38-43 <i>Item alia ut supra</i> Luke 6:36-42				
W _{ep} : <i>In nat scorum</i> – next item number appears connected with Feast of John and Paul W _{ev} : <i>Die IX mens juni nt scorum primi et feciliani</i> (next item in list)	Π, Δ: <i>Die II mensis juni natale scorum marcellini et petri</i> Λ: <i>Die dominico vacat</i> Luke 6:36-42 Σ: <i>Octabas pentecosten</i> (John 3:1-15)	<i>XIV k jul nat sanctorum marci et marcelliani</i> <i>XIII k jul nat sanctorum protasi et gervasi</i> <i>Ebd IV post pentecosten</i> (next item numbers)	<i>Dominica III post pentecosten</i> (next item number)	<i>Ebd IV post pent</i> (next item number)	<i>IV Dom post octab pent</i> (next item number)

the position in which Gregory I (590-604) ordered this fast be celebrated,⁵³ though it may not have been such in Leo's time, 150 years prior. In the Würzburg Epistolary the fourth month fast is separated from Pentecost by a Sunday dedicated to All Saints (*Domi in nat scorum*), and so the observance falls in the second week following Pentecost. Morin, here, explains the development of an octave for the celebration of the feast of Pentecost in the sixth century and the inconsistency undoubtedly caused by a fast in a time of feasting as a possibility for the transfer of the Ember Week.⁵⁴ Among the types of gospel capitularies the Ember Week is observed the week of Pentecost. The *Comes* of Murbach and Corbie, and Verona Lectionary place the week between the third and fourth Sunday after Pentecost. In the *Comes* of Alcuin the Ember week occurs in the week following the Octave Sunday of Pentecost and the week following the Third Sunday after Pentecost. In those antiphonals, which cite a Fourth Month Fast, it occurs in the week that follows Pentecost Sunday. Logically, then, the later Embertide is placed after Pentecost, the more certain it might fall in the fourth month. It is not clear, however, whether or not the wandering nature of the Fourth Month Fast is a development due to the appearance of Pentecost in the calendar.

Since these noteworthy variations will probably be tangential to our study, let us examine the readings for the vigil of the Fourth Month Fast for what they offer concerning a fuller understanding of this observance. As with the First Month Ember Vigil, the Old

⁵³ G. Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle: D'après les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg," *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 307, note 2. Hereafter known as "Les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg."

⁵⁴ Morin, "Le plus ancien '*Comes*,'" 58-59. Morin does not comment on the issue of pre-baptismal fast preceding the Pentecost Vigil, however. The feast, *Domi innat scorum*, Morin states also that no Roman attestation exists for such a memorial following Pentecost. It appears to have been practiced in the East, however, and what may be included in the Würzburg epistolary is a vestige of a Constantinopolitan practice in the West.

Testament readings are consistent across the lectionaries, with the exception, again, of the missing Daniel 3 reading in the Würzburg Epistolary. They are also arranged outside of their scriptural order. Joel 2 prophesies the pouring out of God's Spirit upon the people who will in turn prophesy. The passage concludes with an eschatological proclamation on the coming day of the Lord. Leviticus 23 provides the ordinance for the observance of a summer fast in the ancient tradition of Israel. Within this passage is the command to observe the offering of the grain harvest on the fiftieth day after Passover, hence at πεντηκοστή.⁵⁵ This is the first agricultural reference among the pericopes. The passage from Deuteronomy 26 explains the offering of first fruits of the land in recognition of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt by the hand of God; a second agricultural reference. Finally, Leviticus 26 highlights the promises made to those who will keep the Lord's precepts and commandments. Reference to the Daniel reading/canticle occurs via a rubric as we saw for the First Month Vigil. Only the *Comes* of Murbach provides a notation for Daniel as a pericope rather than as a canticle just as it lists other lessons. The vigil for the Fourth Month Quarterly Fast contains, then, four readings and the Daniel canticle, the same arrangement we found with the First Month Vigil.

The epistle common to all the lectionaries from Romans 5 expresses the foundation in hope given to believers through the Spirit poured forth into their hearts. This passage fulfills the prophecy of Joel. Taken as a whole, therefore, the readings from Joel and Romans alone expressly mention the Spirit. Agricultural motifs are present only in

⁵⁵ Pentecost was the thanksgiving feast at the end of the grain harvest, which began after Passover. Later tradition made it a commemoration of the giving of the law at Sinai. See Thierry Maertens, *A Feast in Honor of Yahweh*, trans. Kathryn Sullivan (Notre Dame, IN: Fides Publishers, Inc., 1965), 138-148.

Leviticus 23 and Deuteronomy 26. Leviticus 26 centers upon the responsibility of living the covenant, though the passage focuses on enumerating God's contributions to it. A common thread through these lections asks the hearers to remember certain aspects of living the life of a believer and the divine initiatives, which found this life. The readings are not "Pentecostal" in the sense of echoing the preceding feast, nor are they totally based upon agricultural themes, contrary to those who believe the Ember seasons were merely Christian adaptations of ancient Roman agricultural feasts. There is also nothing in the lessons specifically concerning ordination.

Some, however, see in the readings for the Fourth Month Vigil a solemnization of the resumption of fasting and penitential practices following the conclusion of Paschaltide.⁵⁶ Such a custom of celebrating the return to normal fasting practices in the Church may have been observed in Jerusalem, Africa, Syria, and possibly Egypt.⁵⁷ This transition to normal fasting practices when celebrated in Rome, however, seems a bit exaggerated when it is accompanied by a week's commemoration concluding with a liturgical vigil and Mass. The churches of the East simply resume the fast the next day after Pascha. The Roman practice resumes the fast the following Wednesday (not the day after Pascha) and then complicated it with a vigil that has no place at all in the Eastern practice of the resumption of the fast. In

⁵⁶ Talley believes this to be so – see "Development of the Ember Days," 163-164. Leo I in Sermon 78.3 considers the Ember week to be a corrective to any excesses, which the Paschal celebration may have incurred: "Igitur post sanctae laetitiae dies, quos in honorem Domini a mortuis resurgentis, ac deinde in coelos ascendentis, exegimus, postque perceptum sancti Spiritus donum salubriter et necessarie consuetudine est ordinata jejunii: ut si quid forte inter ipsa festivitatum gaudia negligens libertas et licentia inordinata praesumpsit, hoc religiosae abstinentiae censura castiget: quae ob hoc quoque studiosius exsequenda est, ut illa in nobis quae hac die Ecclesiae divinitus sunt collata permaneant." Leo I *Tractatus* 78.3 (Chavasse CCL 138A.496)

⁵⁷ See Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2: *Der Osten* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1928), 176.

addition the fast could not have been undertaken earlier than the day after Pentecost if the fifty-day season is properly observed in Rome. The vigil lessons themselves do not communicate such sentiments. Some of the sermons of Leo I emphasize the Fourth Month Fast as a return to fasting after Pascha in Rome, offering further confusion.

The lectionary for the Ember Saturday also contains two epistles in the Würzburg epistolary, just as we encountered in the First Month Vigil. The first epistle, from Romans 5, we have described above; the second is also from Romans, chapter eight.⁵⁸ This latter passage expresses the hope of all who suffer and concludes with the verse that all creation groans in expectation of the fullness of redemption. This eschatologically comforting verse may be at odds with a rigorous resumption of fasting and penitential practices after a prolonged period of sustained joy and feasting. As with the First Month Vigil, Chavasse states that the second epistle represents the sixth of the requisite readings – four from the Old Testament and two from the New Testament – which when read in Greek and in Latin provide the twelve lessons for the vigil. The issue remains, however, whether or not the epistle constituted a part of the vigil properly speaking. Morin, on the other hand, believes that Romans 8 is provided for the Sunday following the vigil. He cites the notation for the lesson in the *Comes* of Alcuin. Yet, Morin writes also that this cannot have been its original placement as there would have been no liturgy as a result of the *Dominica vacat*.⁵⁹ We may

⁵⁸ In the Würzburg list the citation is given that the lesson is from Corinthians, but the pericope is the text from Romans, see W_{ep} 124.

⁵⁹ Morin, “Le plus ancien ‘*Comes*,’” 60. The Lectionary of Alcuin uses the rubric, *Dominica ut supra*, to differentiate this epistle from the one proper the Saturday liturgy. In the *Missale Romanum* 1570, the Romans 8 epistle is proclaimed on the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost.

merely note that the reading from Romans 8 is consistent with the theme of hope amid adversity presented in Romans 5.

The lectionaries also admit of some disagreement regarding the gospel text for the vigil. The Würzburg evangelary, the Roman capitularies, and in the *Comes* of Murbach cite Matthew 20, where Jesus grants sight to two blind men, who persistently request it. The gospel passage does not counsel on the ascetical disciplines of Christian life, as one would expect if the goal of the Fourth Month Fast was to return the faithful to the rigors of fasting and penitence. Rather, the gospel pericope illustrates a compassionate Jesus, and it highlights that persistence in asking is a hallmark of true Christian prayer. In light of the readings of the vigil proper, the gospel emphasizes a God who is near to those who call upon him.

A second gospel appears in the Würzburg Evangelary, listed as *Item alia*. It is Luke 6:36-42. In this passage from the Sermon on the Plain, Jesus gives his followers the exhortation to be perfect by being merciful, giving and not judging one another. There is no strong call for penitence contained in these words, but in truth they speak to the character of every believer. Morin offers little comment on the appearance of this gospel except to say that a scribe added the text appearing in brackets next to fine pen stroke at this point in the original manuscript.⁶⁰ The Π type of manuscripts of the Roman capitularies also lists Luke 6 as an *Item alia*. The Δ types of manuscripts, on the other hand, provides three *alia* after the vigil gospel: Luke 6, as does the Π type, plus Luke 4:38-43, the healing of Peter's

⁶⁰ Morin, "Les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg," 307, note 3. He also notes that the pericope is currently used on the Sunday following Pentecost, which Sunday would have been observed in the pre-conciliar calendar.

mother-in-law, and Mark 12:41-44, the widow's mite. The third pericope is the only gospel selection for the Saturday Ember Vigil in the Verona Lectionary. Mark 12 also highlights the aspects of the character of a believer, which are consistent with those expressed in Luke 6. Luke 4 presents another picture of Jesus' compassion. The number of choices in the Δ group is curious, and Klauser provides no other commentary except to say that four lessons are given for the Saturday vigil.⁶¹ It may well be that they represent various evolutions in the practice of keeping the Ember vigil as it moves from Rome into Gallican territory where the type Δ capitularies originate. The passage from Matthew 20 is, however, the lead gospel pericope in type Δ for the summer Ember Vigil.

The lectionary for the Fourth Month Vigil only provides some allusions to the feast of Pentecost, which can be seen in the epistle from Romans 5, and the lessons from Joel 2 and Leviticus 23. One could argue that the epistle and gospels passages concern the characteristics of the life of a believer, emphasize life in the Spirit, but this could be too broad a connection to make. A more appropriate focus for the vigil is brought out among those lessons, which are layered with an eschatological overtone, and the various gospel choices, which manifest the in-breaking of the eschatological Kingdom of God through various healings.

⁶¹ In the *Missale Romanum* 1570, the passage from Luke 4 becomes the gospel of the Ember Saturday, while that from Luke 6 is placed on the First Sunday after Pentecost. Mark 12 does not appear at all in the time after Pentecost. The edition of the 1570 *Missale Romanum* with which we are working is, Gaspar Lefebvre, ed., *The Saint Andrew Daily Missal: With Vespers for Sundays and Feasts and Kyriale* (1945; repr., Great Falls, MO: St. Bonaventure Publications, 1999), 735-736; 766.

The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals

Texts associated with the vigil are found only in the antiphonals of Mont Blandin, Compiègne, Corbie, and Senlis, and may be found in Table 6. Each antiphonal places these texts at the conclusion of the week following Pentecost Sunday. The section dedicated to the Fourth Month Vigil in these antiphonals is named, *Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum* consistently. The antiphonals do not provide any reference that this is the Embertide of the Fourth Month.⁶² The antiphonals furnish standard information for the liturgical chants: antiphon at the introit, offertory, and communion. The presence of an introit suggests that unlike the Paschal Vigil, which, as we shall see, the Roman *ordines* state begins immediately with the readings, the Ember vigil began in a manner similar to the Mass. The introit also appears in the antiphonals for the First Month vigil. Only Mont Blandin and Compiègne furnish a heading for the responsorial graduals, but specific texts are not listed. Mont Blandin provides, *Resp. Grad et Benedictiones*, while Compiègne gives the number of graduals as four (*Resp. Grad. IV^{or}*), with the initial verses of the Daniel 3 canticle. Among the other chants for the Fourth Month Ember Vigil only the introit, “Caritas dei diffusa est,” and the communion antiphon, “Non vos relinquam orfanos,” echo the feast of Pentecost.

⁶² The only indication that we have entered the Ember Week in the antiphonal calendar is the station for the Mass for Wednesday at Saint Mary Major and for Friday at Holy Apostles, the tradition locations of the Wednesday and Friday assemblies in the Embertide.

Table 6. The Antiphonal Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Fourth Month⁶³

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
		111. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	111. <i>Sabbatum in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	111. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus statio ad sanctum petrum</i>	111. <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones. Statio ad sanctum petrum</i>
		Ant.: <i>Caritas dei diffusa est</i> Psalm: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Caritas dei diffusa est</i> Psalm: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Caritas dei diffusa est</i> Psalm: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>	Ant.: <i>Caritas dei diffusa est</i> Psalm: <i>Domine deus salutis</i>
		Resp. Grad. <i>et benedictiones</i>	Resp. Grad. IV <i>ad ipsum diem pertinentes et benedictiones</i>		
		Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>
		Ad Com: <i>Non vos relinquam</i> Psalm: <i>Adtendite populus meus</i>	Com: <i>Non vos relinquam</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Com: <i>Non vos relinquam</i> Psalm: <i>Letamini in domino</i>	Com: <i>Non vos relinquam</i>
		112. <i>IV nonas junias natale sancti petri et marcellino</i>	112. <i>IV nonas junias natale sanctorum martyrum petri et marcellini</i>	112. <i>IV nonas junias natale sanctorum marcellini et petri</i>	112. <i>IV nonas junias natale sanctorum marcellini et petri martyrum</i>

The day following the Saturday vigil recorded in the calendars both of the lectionaries and of the antiphonals is quite interesting. Only the Λ collection of manuscripts of the Roman capitularies notes the day as a *Dominica vacat*. Type Λ lists the gospel as Luke 6:36-42, an *item alia* gospel in the Δ group for the vigil. The feast of Saints Marcellinus and Peter on June 2 follows the vigil in capitularies type Π and Δ , and the Octave of Pentecost, which undoubtedly is a Sunday, in type Σ . The type Σ capitularies pericope is John 3:1-15, Jesus' discourse with Nicodemus. The lectionaries of Alcuin, Corbie and Verona follow the Saturday vigil with a Mass for Sunday, although they do not name it a *Dominica vacat*. In Alcuin the next item number is the Third Sunday after

⁶³ The reader is reminded that these antiphonals represent Roman practice despite their Frankish provenance and date between the eighth and ninth centuries.

Pentecost; in Corbie and Verona⁶⁴ it is Fourth Sunday after Pentecost. No reference to the preceding Ember vigil or Ember Week is made. The Sunday following the Ember vigil in the *Comes* of Murbach is given as the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, but its item number in the manuscript is separated from the Saturday vigil by two other mentions: the feast of Saints Mark and Marcellianus, and the feast of Saints Protase and Gervase.

The Würzburg Epistolary and Evangeliary do not provide a *Dominica vacat*. The next item number in the epistle list states simply *In nat scorum* (an abbreviation for *Dominica in natale sanctorum*). While this title is in the plural, Morin believes the epistle passage utilized is the same for the Feast of Saint Pancras in the Lectionary of Alcuin. He then suggests the heading could be applied to any feast falling in June.⁶⁵ The next item following the Saturday vigil in the Würzburg gospel list is for the feast of Saints Primus and Felicianus on June 9. The feast of Saint Basilides follows that of Primus and Felicianus on June 12, and the Octave of Pentecost (*Octabas de pentecosten*) that of Primus and Felicianus in the Evangeliary. The gospel pericope for the Octave Sunday is John 3:1-15, as in gospel capitulary Σ. Morin does not believe this title is of ancient origin, as the Sunday following the vigil would have been a *Dominica vacat*. When this Sunday ceases to be vacant, the gospel reading chosen for it is Luke 6 as demonstrated by a bracketed *item alia* after the pericope for the vigil in the manuscript. Morin understands the John 3 passage and the

⁶⁴ In the Verona manuscript, this next item number is actually the Fourth Sunday after the *Octave* of Pentecost, which would make this Sunday the beginning of the fifth week after Pentecost; quite a distance from Pentecost itself.

⁶⁵ Morin, "Le plus ancien '*Comes*,'" 60.

Octave itself to be part of a “transitory institution” phenomenon found elsewhere in the gospel list.⁶⁶

The texts of the Roman antiphonals do not label the Sunday following the Saturday Ember vigil as a *Dominica vacat*. The next item number after the vigil is for the feast of Saints Peter and Marcellinus on June 2, which feast is not reflected in any of the lectionary lists. The lack of a distinct mention of a *Dominica vacat* in either the lectionaries or the antiphonals (save for type A among the capitularies) may demonstrate that the Saturday vigil of the Fourth Month held its own for quite some time as the conclusion of this Ember Week, without the need for any consideration of a Sunday. Let us now turn to the sacramentary texts.

The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries

Table 7, following, catalogues the sacramentary evidence for the vigil of the Fourth Month Fast.⁶⁷ The first item to note is the appearance of an entry for the Fast of the Fourth Month in the Verona collection, Section 12, *In jejunio mensis quarti*.⁶⁸ Beneath this section we find only one set of orations. It is not clear for which day, if any in particular, these prayers served. The liturgical unit does not resemble a vigil according to the pattern we see in the other sacramentaries. The only hint that these orations may have been used at a vigil Mass is the preface, which also appears in the Saturday Fourth Month Ember vigil in the

⁶⁶ Morin, “Le listes d’évangiles de Würzburg,” 308, note 1.

⁶⁷ The sacramentary prayer texts can be found in Appendix Two, pages 533 to 539.

⁶⁸ Recall that the extant copy of the Veronense is missing the initial folios of the manuscript and so does not provide evidence of the First Month Fast.

Paduensis. The set of orations for the Fourth Month Fast occurs as the last entry under the month of May in the Verona collection, an oddity as its title should place the unit in the fourth month or June. As we shall see when we examine the texts for the Pentecost Vigil, a sub-set entry appears under those texts for the “day before Pentecost” (*Orationes pridie*

Table 7. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Fourth Month

Veronese	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 12 Nos. 226-231	Book I - Section 83 Nos. 666-675	Section 117 Nos. 545-552	Section 102 Nos. 591-598	Section 109 Nos. 487-495
<i>In jejuniis mensis quarti</i>	<i>Sabbato in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbt. XII lectiones mensis quarti</i>	<i>Sabbato in XII lectiones mensis IV</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones mensis quarti</i>
	<i>Praesta domine quaesumus famulis tuis</i>	<i>Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus</i>	<i>Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus</i>	<i>Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus</i>
	<i>Da nobis domine quaesumus regnum tuum</i>	<i>Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus</i>	<i>Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus</i>	<i>Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus</i>
	<i>Deus qui nos de praesentibus adjumentis</i>	<i>Deus qui ad animarum medellam</i>	<i>Deus qui ad animarum medellam</i>	<i>Deus qui ad animarum medellam</i>
	<i>Deus qui misericordiam tuam praevenis</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus jejuniis</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus jejuniis</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut salutaribus jejuniis</i>
	<i>Deus qui non dispicias corde contritos</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus sic nos ab epulis</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus sic nos ab epulis</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus sic nos ab epulis</i>
	<i>Item post benedictionem Deus cujus adorandae potentiam majestatis</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>
<i>Adesto domine supplicibus tuis ut hoc sollemne</i>				
<i>Presta domine deus noster ut contra omnes fermitus</i>				
<i>Offerimus tibi domine quae dicanda tuo nomini</i>	<i>Secreta Domine deus noster qui in his potius creaturis</i>	<i>Super oblata Ut accepta tibi sint domine nostra jejunia</i>	<i>Secreta Ut accepta tibi sint domine nostra jejunia</i>	<i>Super oblatam Ut accepta tibi sint domine nostra jejunia</i>
<i>VD: Post illos enim laetitiae dies quos in honore domini</i>	<i>VD: tibi sanctificare jejunium quod nos ad aedificationem</i>			<i>VD: Post illos enim laetitiae dies quos in honore domini</i>
<i>Refecti participatione muneris sacri</i>	<i>Post communionem Sumptum quaesumus domine jejunii nostri</i>	<i>Ad completa Praebeat nobis domine divinum tua sancta fervorem</i>	<i>Ad complendum Praebeat nobis domine divinum tua sancta fervorem</i>	<i>Ad complendum Praebeat nobis domine divinum tua sancta fervorem</i>
<i>Adesto domine populis tuis tua protectione</i>	<i>Ad populum Proficiat domine quaesumus plebs tibi decata pie</i>			

pentecosten). The sub-set entry is titled, *In jejuniis quarti mensis*, with two orations and a

preface assigned to it. These orations appear without titles. They could be a series of alternate opening prayers or prayers preceding or following each of several lessons. The manuscript does not indicate the exact use to which these texts may have been put. In the Verona collection the Fourth Month Fast reflects some aspects of the feast of Pentecost, especially in the preface.⁶⁹ We will analyze the prayer texts momentarily.

In the Gelasianum, unlike its vigil of the First Month where the vigil and the Mass are found in separate sections, six orations precede the *secreta*, and subsequent Mass prayers, all in a single section. This pattern resembles the style found in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Saturday vigil is located in Section 83, which includes also the entries for Wednesday and Friday of the Ember Week. The preceding section, Section 82, contains two texts for the announcement of the Ember Week according to a set template.⁷⁰ The Ember Week in the manuscript occurs in the week following Pentecost Sunday. The last of the orations preceding the *secreta* bears the title, *Item post benedictionem*, and refers specifically to the Daniel canticle, which canticle was not easily discerned in the vigil of the First Month. The Gelasian set concludes with an *ad populum* prayer.

Unlike the seven or eight orations we found for the Saturday vigil of the First Month, the Fourth Month Vigil ascribes six orations prior to the *super oblata* in the three major Gregorian sacramentaries. The sixth oration complements the Daniel canticle. As before, the Saturday vigil is a single section, with only the *super oblata* and *ad complendum* listed

⁶⁹ “Vere dignum: post illos enim laetitiae dies, quos in honorem domini a mortuis resurgentis et in caelos ascendentis exigimus, postque perceptum sancti spiritus donum necessarie nobis haec jejunia sancta provisa sunt, ut pura conversatione viventibus quae divinitus ecclesiae sunt collata permaneant: per.” (Ve 229) The underscored portions of the text refer to Pentecost.

⁷⁰ The template is described above at page 47, footnote 38.

for the Mass. The Ember Week falls during the week after Pentecost Sunday. As I mentioned above, and as we saw in the case of the First Month Vigil, the Paduensis is the only Gregorian sacramentary to contain a preface for the vigil.⁷¹ There is no *ad populum* prayer.

The day following the Saturday vigil in the Gelasianum is the octave Sunday of Pentecost. There is no mention of a *Dominica vacat*, just as was the case for the First Month Fast. The Mass for the Octave (Section 84) contains three orations prior to the *secreta* – the third oration may function possibly as the *oratio super sindonem*⁷² – and also concludes with an *ad populum* prayer. This is the final entry of the temporal cycle in Book One of the Gelasianum. In the Gregorian sacramentaries a *Dominica vacat* follows in the section after the Saturday vigil. The same three presidential texts occur in each sacramentary among the Gregorians.

Let us now look at the texts themselves. It is surprising that with its proximity to Pentecost only the preface in the Verona collection (Ve 229) makes reference to Pentecost, describing it as a season rather than a day. This text attributes this time as days of joy (“*laetitiae dies*”) and now counsels on the necessity of the holy fasts for keeping the Church in purity of conduct and in unity.⁷³ Both this text and the first collect, “*Adesto domine*

⁷¹ This preface is the same as the preface found in the Verona collection (Ve 229), from where it was probably taken. It is interesting that the episcopal prayer of Ve 229 appears only in the presbyteral Gelasians and Paduensis and in the Supplements, but not in the papal Type I Gregorian sacramentaries.

⁷² See the comment above on page 78, footnote 38.

⁷³ The text is located above at footnote 69.

supplicibus tuis,” replicate aspects from a sermon of Leo I on this fast.⁷⁴ The first collect (Ve 226) orients us to the purpose of the fast for providing healing of soul and body. The collect is also found in the Gelasianum for the Saturday following Ash Wednesday.⁷⁵ The second collect, “Praesta domine deus noster” (Ve 227), with its references to the “roarings of the wicked” (“omnes fremitus impiorum”) and those who “labor overconfident in their power to overthrow us,” (“nos in sua confidentes virtute moliuntur affligere”) may refer to the turmoil Rome experienced during the siege of the city by the Ostrogoths under Vitiges in 536-537.⁷⁶ Both Chavasse and Mohlberg believe the prayer may originate with Vigilius (537-555), who was pope during this period.⁷⁷ This prayer concludes with subjecting these interlopers through the fast, and seems better placed among the texts, *Contra inimicos catholicae professionis* or *Contra inpetitores*, which are found previously in Section 11, *In dominicum pentecosten*.⁷⁸

The prayer over the gifts, “Offerimus tibi domine quae dicanda,” and the post-communion prayer, “Refecti participatione muneris sacri,” make reference neither to

⁷⁴ “...sollemne jejunium quod animis corporibusque curandis salubriter institutum devota...” and “...laetitiae dies quos in honorem domini a mortuis resurgentis ac deinde in caelos ascendentis exegimus postque perceptum sancti spiritus donum...” Leo I *Tractatus* 78.1, 3 (Chavasse CCL 138A). See Charles Feltoe, “Notes,” in *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 182; and D.M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 27-28.

⁷⁵ GeV 100 – *Feria VII in Quinquagesima*.

⁷⁶ See Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 60-61; Leo Mohlberg, “Inhalt und Charakter des Buches,” in *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 3rd ed. (Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1976), lvii.

⁷⁷ See Antoine Chavasse, “Messies du Pape Vigile dans le léonien,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 64 (1950): 178; Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, lxxix.

⁷⁸ “Presta, domine deus noster, ut contra omnes fremitus impiorum mentis puritate vincamus; et qui nos in sua confidentes virtute moliuntur affligere, a nobis jejunantibus subjugentur: per.” (Ve 227)

Pentecost, nor to the Holy Spirit, nor to the fast. Feltoe states that the prayer, “Refecti,” is used often among the Gregorian sacramentaries for the feasts of martyrs.⁷⁹ The *ad populum* prayer asks for protection and assistance in this life toward the attainment of everlasting grace.⁸⁰ Feltoe cites that in the Bianchini, Muratori, and Ballerini editions of the Verona *unicum* this prayer is actually divided into two separate texts, the second prayer beginning with the word, “Percipiant.” If so, then the second prayer (beginning with “Percipiant”) may have been an *oratio super sindonem*. While it is difficult to state definitively that Section 12 in the Verona collection is the Fourth Month vigil, the Mass set may have been used during this Ember Week. Only the preface connects it specifically to a period of time following Pentecost and around the fourth month. The other prayers could have been used for any of the Quarterly Fasts.

The orations of the Fourth Month vigil in the Gelasianum entreat the Lord for support and aid in remaining faithful to the practices of Christian life, acknowledging that with God’s assistance all things are attainable. The only reference to the fast occurs in the fifth oration, “Deus, qui non despicias corde contritos” (GeV 670).⁸¹ The prayer following the Daniel canticle (*Item post benedictionem*, GeV 671) expands upon its parallel in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Gelasian text relates the rescue of the three youths from the

⁷⁹ Feltoe, “Notes,” in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 182.

⁸⁰ “Adesto, domine, populis tuis tua protectione fidentibus, et tuae se dexteræ suppliciter inclinantes perpetua defensione conserva. Percipiant, quaesumus, domine, vitae praesentis auxilium, et gratiam repperiant sempiternam: per.” (Ve 231)

⁸¹ “Deus, qui non despicias corde contritos et afflictos miseriis, populum tuum jejunii ad te devotione clamantem propitiatus exaudi, ut quos humiliavit adversitas, adtollat reparationis tuae prosperitas: per.” (GeV 670)

fiery furnace to God's rescue of the faithful from the more oppressive adversities of this world ("de gravioribus mundi hujus adversitatibus").⁸²

The secret prayer of the Mass immediately follows this prayer. We may recognize at this point that once again Chavasse's theory on the arrangement of the Ember vigil does not appear to hold. If the initial oration of the summer Ember vigil is an opening collect and the Daniel canticle is not included among the lessons in its function as a transitional canticle and not a scripture reading, there are only four orations prior to the secret prayer. Following the pattern found in the great vigils of Pascha and Pentecost of scripture lesson → silence → prayer, a prayer should appear to accompany each reading. Chavasse completes the six readings necessary for an Ember vigil with two epistles, such as we find in the Würzburg epistolary. This schema may work (and for the Gelasian tradition only) in the First Month Vigil, where the Mass texts contain two collects prior to the secret prayer. However, there are no additional collects for the Mass in the Fourth Month Vigil whose vigil orations are immediately followed by the secret of the Mass. It would appear, therefore, that for the Fourth Month vigil in the Gelasianum the six orations are attached to the six readings, including the Daniel canticle, which when doubled in Greek would have provided for the *XII lectiones*. The text does not indicate whether they were read before or after each lesson.

While Chavasse does not comment upon this abnormality, he recognizes that the Fourth Month Fast presents an unusual stage in the development of the Ember Weeks, a sign of its own antiquity. The texts appear to come from a period before the fast came to be

⁸² "ITEM POST BENEDICTIONEM. Deus, cuius adorandae potentia majestatis flammae saevientis incendium sanctis tribus pueris in splendore demutatum est animarum, ecclesiae tuae similibus adesto remediis, ut de gravioribus mundi hujus adversitatibus propitiatione caelesti populus tuus ereptus exultet: per." (GeV 671)

associated with Pentecost, hence the absence of “spirit” motifs among the orations.⁸³ The presence of the *ad populum* is further testimony to the antiquity of the set as this prayer disappears in later centuries and is omitted from the Mass sets of the first five Sundays of Pascha.⁸⁴ The prayer over the gifts and the post-communion prayer complement each other as the former requests the offering to provide aid in this life and in the life to come, the latter petitions that such work become effective through sharing in the Eucharist. The preface relates the purpose of the fast as an act of devotion (“devotionis...jejunio”) for self-edification as well as tempering of our desires. It prays that by the fast the faithful may become pleasing to the Lord. There are no Eucharistic Prayer inserts suggested in this section. The *ad populum* prayer prays, again, that by devotion to the fast the faithful may become more pleasing to the Lord and also more receptive to divine gifts. The texts do not mention ordination nor provide evidence, which would point to ordination having occurred at this liturgy.

The Vigil of the June Quarterly Fast: The Formulary for the Dominica Vacat

The final consideration of this chapter is the function of the prayer texts for the *Dominica vacat*, the Sunday that followed the Saturday night vigil; we shall refer to Table 8 following. As has been mentioned above, there is no *Dominica vacat* in the section that follows the Saturday vigil in the Gelasianum. Rather Section 84 concerns the Sunday of the

⁸³ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 251-252. Chavasse believes from evidence found in the Würzburg lectionaries and the Roman gospel capitularies that an octave for Pentecost cannot have been observed at Rome before the years 630-650. The prayers of Section 81 (nos. 646-651), *Item orationes ad vespere infra octabas pentecosten*, bear the hallmarks of a later addition to an older layer of the sacramentary, see p. 200.

⁸⁴ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 200.

Table 8. The *Dominica Vacat* of the Fourth Month

Veronense	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
	Section 84 Nos. 676-682	Section 118 Nos. 553-555	Section 103 Nos. 599-601	Section 110 Nos. 496-498
	<i>Orationes et preces in dominica octavorum pentecosten</i>	<i>Die dom. vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>
	(Collect) <i>Timentium te domine salvator et custos averte ab ecclesia</i>	(Collect) <i>Deprecationem nostram quaesumus domine benignus</i>	(Collect) <i>Deprecationem nostram quaesumus domine benignus</i>	(Collect) <i>Deprecationem nostram quaesumus domine benignus</i>
	(Collect) <i>Sensibus nostris domine spiritum tuum sanctum</i>			
	(Collect) <i>Omnipotens et misericors deus ad cujus beatitudinem</i>			
	Secreta <i>Remotis obumbrationibus carnalium</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine oblata sanctifica ut tui nobis</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine oblata sanctifica ut tui nobis</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine oblata sanctifica ut tui nobis</i>
	(Preface) <i>VD: qui cum unigenito filio tuo</i>			
	Post communionem <i>Laetificet nos quaesumus domine sacramenti</i>	Ad complendum <i>Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine</i>	Ad complendum <i>Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine</i>	Ad complendum <i>Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine</i>
	Ad populum <i>Ecclesia tua domine caelesti gratiae replatur et crescat</i>			

Pentecost Octave, *Orationes et preces in dominica octavorum pentecosten*. This section Chavasse states is a latter interpolation into the older layer of the sacramentary commensurate with the adaptation of an octave to the feast of Pentecost in the seventh century.⁸⁵ The gradual insertion of a Mass for an octave of Pentecost admits that a true *Dominica vacat*, without any texts for a Sunday liturgy, may have existed following the Saturday Ember vigil of the Fourth Month in the Gelasian tradition.

The texts of the summer Ember vigil in the major Gregorian sacramentaries display stronger influences of the feast of Pentecost upon them. There is, however, no evidence of

⁸⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 253-262. In this section of Chapter 3, Chavasse analyzes the texts of Section 84 in order to date the inclusion of these texts into the sacramentary.

an octave or an octave Sunday of Pentecost in the manuscripts. An entry for a *Dominica vacat* follows the Saturday vigil. The same prayers appear in each of the three sacramentaries in this tradition, whose texts differ from those found in the Gelasianum. The texts of the vigil and of the Mass are contained together and not separated from each other by an intervening ritual as is the pattern in the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. The second to sixth orations are further identified by the word, *Alia*, “another.” The orations are brief in contrast with the texts in the Gelasianum.

The first two of the vigil orations, “*Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum*” and “*Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus*,” echo the previous feast of Pentecost. The texts pray for the Spirit’s wisdom in the minds of the faithful, and that the fire, which Christ wished kindled on the earth be enacted (Luke 12:49).⁸⁶ The third through fifth orations emphasize the fast without any mention of the Holy Spirit. The fast in these texts is undertaken to bring about devotion, win atonement, and to assist in avoiding vices. The sixth oration, identified as an *alia* like those above, repeats the same text as found in the vigil of the First Month. The composition of the prayer connects it to the lesson from Daniel 3. This oration is not the only prayer to echo a scriptural lesson if Daniel is considered a lesson. The passage from Joel 2 resonates in the prayer, “*Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum*” – a connection between the first reading and first prayer of the vigil. The other texts, however, do not demonstrate any strong link to the scripture passages. It is interesting that while the text of the second prayer, “*Illo nos igne*,” quotes from Luke 12:49, that gospel

⁸⁶ “*Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus infunde, cujus et sapientia conditi sumus et providentia gubernamur. Per.*” (GrH 545; GrT 591; GrP 487)

“*Alia. Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus inflammet, quem dominus noster Jesus Christus misit in terram, et voluit vehementer accendi. Per.*” (GrH 546; GrT 592; GrP 488)

does not occur among the selections for the vigil in the lectionaries. The *super oblata* and *ad complendum* prayers affirm respectively the work of the fast for purification, and the desire for the Holy Spirit as divine ardor (“divinum...fervorem”) to make the reception of the Eucharist effective in the lives of the faithful. There is no *ad populum* prayer.

As we saw in the Gelasianum, the six orations prior to the *super oblata* must constitute the vigil inclusive of the Daniel canticle. Further, the first prayer, connected with Joel 2 as it appears to be, cannot be identified as an “opening collect” per Chavasse. There is also no allusion to ordination or to the practice of ordaining in the texts of the Gregorian Ember vigil.

The *Dominica vacat* that follows the vigil in each sacramentary contains only the presidential texts. The *ad complendum* prayer draws a connection to the Saturday fast as purgative in its petition that the eucharist cleanse the faithful from their guilt (“Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine”).⁸⁷ This same prayer, however, appears also as the post-communion prayer in the rite of episcopal consecration in the Hadrianum (GrH 26), and in the same position in Masses for a few martyrs in the major Gregorian sacramentaries. The collect prayer is featured also during Lent (GrH 263; GrT 275; GrP 236) and in a collection of prayers in the Hadrianum *pro peccatis* (GrH 872). The borrowing of these texts from other sources reveals the *ad hoc* nature of this liturgy as an insertion to fill the need for a Sunday celebration as the vigil observance moves earlier in the afternoon of Saturday.

⁸⁷ “Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine, et caelestibus remediis faciat esse consortes. Per dominum.” (GrH 555; GrT 601; GrP 498)

As we saw with the texts of the First Month Fast, the lectionary and sacramentary texts of the Saturday vigil of the Fourth Month Fast are not easily correlated. The lectionary passages we have considered above for the Fourth Month Ember Vigil are concerned with memorial remembering, *anamnesis*, of what God has done and will do, and of recognition of this reality in the lives of believers. The sacramentary texts in contrast focus on the penitential and corrective aspects of the fast itself. There are some explicit references to Pentecost among the scriptural lessons, such as Joel and Romans 5, and the orations, especially in the Gregorian sacramentaries. We also saw that some other of the lectionary lessons focused on agricultural motifs of offering first fruits: Leviticus 23 and Deuteronomy 26. It is interesting that both the First and the Fourth Month vigils contain passages from the twenty-sixth chapter of Deuteronomy. While some of Leo I's sermons connect the First Month Embertide vigils to the observance of Lent and the Fourth Month Embertide vigil to Pentecost, it would be difficult to state categorically that either Ember vigil finds its origin in these periods of the calendar. What we may be able to state, however, is that the First and Fourth Month Embertide vigils manifest a mingling perhaps of two (or more) different elements by the time they are recorded in the liturgical documents. To see if this is also the case with the Seventh and Tenth Month Ember vigils, let us turn now to a consideration of their liturgical texts.

CHAPTER TWO

The Embertide Vigils of September and December

The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast

There is some discrepancy regarding the placement of this fast in the sacramentaries. According to the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz (d. 850) each vigil of the four Ember Weeks took place on a different Saturday for each month in which it was celebrated. Thus, the vigil of the First Month Fast occurred on the first Saturday of March, that of the fourth month on the second Saturday of June, the seventh month on the third Saturday of September, and that of the tenth month on the Saturday of December just prior to the feast of the Nativity.¹ However, during a visit to Constantinople in 813-814 Amalarius was shown that such a distribution of the Ember vigils was not observed in Rome.² The Ember Weeks as observed at Rome underwent a variety of adjustments in scheduling within their respective months. Pope Gregory VII did not standardize a definitive date for their celebration until 1078.

The Fast of the Seventh Month comes to be celebrated between the 16th and 27th of September. This placed the Ember Week after the celebration of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross/Feast of Saints Cornelius and Cyprian (September 14), according to the early calendar in use at Rome. Roughly, this is the location for the autumn fast in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Sunday announcing the fast falls after the 16th and the vigil the

¹ Amalarius *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.1 (PL 1076a-1076d).

² See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 4: *Ordines XXXV-XLIX* (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1985), 213.

following Saturday. The calendar of the Gelasian sacramentary, however, enters the fast at the end of the Masses for September, listed after the Feast of Saint Michael Archangel on September 29. According to Willis the Gelasian placement reveals that the September Fast may have been celebrated elsewhere in the month. He cites that the ordination of Pope Gregory I on Sunday, September 3, 590, at St. Peter's Basilica possibly served as the Sunday introducing the September Ember Week. Willis notes that the *super oblata* and the preface prayers of the Mass set *Orationes in natale papae* in the Hadrianum (GrH 825, 826) mirror the prayers announcing the September Embertide in the same sacramentary. This connection leads him to conclude that the September Fast originally took place during the first week of the month.³ There is, however, no evidence for observing the week there after the time of Gregory I.

The September Fast occurs not in Book I of the Gelasianum among the temporal celebrations (as do the First and Fourth Month Fasts), but rather in Book II the sanctoral feasts. The occurrence may reflect the independence of this Quarterly Fast from any other liturgical season. The December Fast is also located in Book II. The position of these two Ember Weeks in the sacramentary possibly bears witness to an antiquity somewhat compromised in the First and Fourth Month Embertides as the latter are drawn into, respectively, Lent and Pentecost. The Verona collection places the September Fast at the end of the month of September, following the section of prayers, *Natale basilicae angeli in salaria* (*Pridie kalendas octobres*), which correspond to the Feast of Saint Michael Archangel.

³ G.G. Willis, "Ember Days," in *Essay in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 72-73.

The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast: The Lectionaries

The wandering September Fast week moves the reader to inquire next, why was September chosen to include an Ember Week in the first place? To answer this question, let us look at the liturgical texts surrounding the September Ember Vigil to discern what they can tell us about the uniqueness of this observance. We begin with the evidence found in the Roman lectionaries. Table 1 following will assist us in our consideration.

Saint Peter's basilica is the site of the vigil in all the lectionaries. The Verona Lectionary alone provides an hour for beginning the vigil, *nona*. Only the Würzburg Epistolary does not link the vigil to twelve readings, but rather states simply that the liturgy is *Sabbato ad sanctum petrum*. Except in the case of the Würzburg Epistolary, four Old Testament readings appear prior to the Daniel 3 canticle in the other lectionary sources, a similar pattern we saw with the vigils of the First and the Fourth Month Fasts.⁴ The epistle for the Mass then follows. The Würzburg Epistolary lists six Old Testament lessons prior to the epistle reading. Consistent with data for the First and Fourth Month vigil, the Würzburg manuscript fails to mention the lesson/canticle from Daniel 3. Interestingly, the Lectionary of Alcuin omits the canticle, even though it appears in the previous two fast vigils. The following readings are shared among all the lectionary manuscripts: Leviticus 23:26/27-32; Leviticus 23:33/34-43; Micah 7:14-20; and Zachariah 8:14-19. As for the additional readings: Exodus 32:11-14 appears in the Würzburg epistle list and in the Lectionary of Alcuin; and Jeremiah 30:8-11 in the Würzburg Epistolary alone.

⁴ See above, pages 62 and 86.

Table 1. The Lectionary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Seventh Month

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>Sabbato ad scm petrum (W_{ep})</i> <i>Fer. VII XII lect ad scm petrum (W_{ev})</i>	Π: <i>Feria VII in XII lectiones ad scum petrum</i> Λ: <i>Die sabbato ad scum petrum XII lectiones</i> Σ: <i>Sabbato ad scum petrum XII lectiones</i> Δ: <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones ad scum Petrum</i>	<i>Sabb ad sanctum petrum in XII lec</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad s petrum in XII lect</i>	<i>Sabbato ad scm petru in duodecim lectiones de nona</i>
Leviticus 23:27-32		Leviticus 23:27-32	Leviticus 23:26-32	Leviticus 23:27-32	Leviticus 23:27-32
<i>Ubi supra</i> Jeremiah 30: 8-11					
<i>Ubi supra</i> Leviticus 23:34-43		Leviticus 23:34-43	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Leviticus 23:33-43	<i>Item supra</i> Leviticus 23:39-43	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Leviticus 23:34-43
<i>Ubi supra</i> Micah 7:14-20		Micah 7:14-20	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Micah 7:14-20	<i>Item supra</i> Micah 7:14-20	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Micah 7:14-20
<i>Ubi supra</i> Zachariah 8:14-19		Zachariah 8:14-19	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Zachariah 8:14-19	Zachariah 8:14-19	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Zachariah 8:14-19
		<i>Hic leg danih proph</i>		<i>Hic legitur daniel</i>	<i>Hic legitur lectione danielis prophetae Daniel 3:49-55</i>
<i>Ubi supra</i> Exodus 32:11-14			<i>Item ubi supra</i> Exodus 32:11-14		
<i>Ubi supra</i> Hebrews 9:2-12		Hebrews 9:2-12	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Hebrews 9:2-12	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Hebrews 9:2-12	Hebrews 9:2-12
Luke 13:10-17	Luke 13: 10-17	Luke 13:10-17			Luke 13:10-17
W _{ep} : <i>In nat angeli</i> (next item number) W _{ev} : <i>Ebd II die dom ad scos cosmae et damino ante natale eorum</i> (next item number)	Π: <i>Ebdomada II die dominico ad scos comam et daminaum ante natale eorum</i> Λ, Σ: <i>Ebdomada II post sci cypriani</i> Δ: <i>Ebdomada VII post Laurenti die dominico ad scos cosmam et damianum</i>	<i>Ebd XIX post pentect</i> (next item number)	<i>Dominica ut supra mensis VII:</i> I Corinthians 1:4-8 (next item number)	<i>Ebd XIX post Pent:</i> I Corinthians 1:4- 8 (next item number)	<i>Dom ubi supra:</i> I Corinthians 1:4-8 (epistle) Matthew 22: 23-33 (gospel)

The choices for the lectionary of the September vigil suggest Old Testament elements of keeping sacred the seventh month and the particulars surrounding the

celebration of the Hebrew Feast of Tabernacles. The Leviticus reading breaks chapter 23 into two segments, the first recounts the foundation of the Day of Atonement, and the second the Feast of Tabernacles. In the first half, Israel is told to “afflict their souls” on the tenth day of the seventh month, and to avoid all work. To fail to do so, would incur the Lord’s punishment. In the second half of Leviticus 23, the Lord instructs Israel to keep the Feast of Tabernacles for eight days beginning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Unlike the “affliction” commanded in verses 26/27-32, verses 33/34-43 command offering holocausts to the Lord in solemn and holy remembrance of being brought forth from the land of Egypt. Chapter eight from the prophet Zechariah recalls the establishment of the fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh and tenth months, which dates, as stated above,⁵ had been used in antiquity as a source-origin of the Ember fasts. The reading from Micah 7 expresses the hoped for deliverance that God will provide to the remnant of Israel.

The common message formed by these readings at the September Ember Vigil has nothing to do with agricultural themes, but rather it emphasizes God’s command to keep memorial at this time of the year in remembrance of Israel’s journey in the desert. This journey is principally acknowledged as the means by which Israel became God’s own people. The lessons also emphasize messianic deliverance, and the eschatological hope contained therein. To these four passages the Würzburg Epistolary and the Lectionary of Alcuin add from the 32nd chapter of Exodus, a short passage where Moses entreats the Lord for mercy toward Israel’s iniquity in the desert. Jeremiah 30 foretells another messianic deliverance of Israel from any who would oppress them (and in the more immediate context

⁵ See above, page 39.

of the passage, from the oppression of the Babylonian captivity). The Daniel passage repeats God's rescue of the youths from the fiery furnace and the canticle of praise they proclaim we encounter in the previous two fast vigils.

Understood as a unit the scripture readings communicate the sense that the September Ember vigil focuses upon fasting as something done in anticipation of redemption, rather than as reparation averting divine punishment. The lessons emphasize certain aspects of the fundamental liturgical elements of Judaism. The question whether or not such references demonstrate an adoption of Judaic rituals by the Christians of Rome, particularly under Leo I, is debatable. While Christians do adopt and adapt the feasts of Pascha and Pentecost into the Church's calendar, it is odd that one of the principal feasts of Judaism, that of Tabernacles, is not adopted.⁶ Jan van Goudoever comments on the tradition that the dedication of the Anastasis in Jerusalem was timed to coincide with the Feast of Tabernacles in September, as a supplanting of that feast, and the September Ember days were meant to reflect this development.⁷ In Leo I's sermons on the Fast of the Seventh Month, of which we possess nine, he suggests that the background for the Seventh Month Fast lay in Old Testament observance.⁸ Still, if the role of the Jewish new-year in

⁶ Thomas J. Talley, "The Development of the Ember Days to the Time of Gregory VII" (Th.D. diss., General Theological Seminary, 1969), 144.

⁷ Jan van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 32.

⁸ See Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 134. This link is made particularly in the opening words of Sermon 90: "Sacratum, dilectissimi, in septimo mense jejunium, ad communis devotionis exercitia praedicamus, fidenter vos paternis cohortationibus incitantes, ut quod fuit ante Judaicum, vestra fiat observantia Christianum. Est enim omni tempore aptum et Testamento utrique conveniens, ut per castigationem et mentis et corporis misericordia divina quaeratur, quia nihil est efficacius ad exorandum Deum quam ut homo ipse se judicet, et numquam desinat a venia postulanda, qui se scit numquam esse sine culpa." Leo I *Tractatus* 90.1 (Chavasse CCL 556)

September played a role in the choice of readings, the Ember celebration is not New-Year focused, nor is it noted in the Christian calendar as a turning point of the year. Vogel, however, believes that the middle of September held great importance as a dividing line between the Sundays following Pentecost and those leading to the New Year on January 1.⁹

The epistle reading is Hebrews 9:2-12. Only one epistle reading appears for the Seventh Month Vigil. The passage distinguishes between the tabernacle of the Old Covenant and that of the New, where Christ's own blood gained eternal redemption for the people. In the gospel passage, Luke 13:10-17, Jesus heals a woman suffering from an infirmity for eighteen years. Jesus does this on the Sabbath and in a synagogue incurring the ire of a synagogue official. Jesus responds with the correct way to understand the Sabbath. Such a gospel highlights in a practical manner the embrace of the New Covenant and the proper way of fulfilling the divine precepts commanded in the Hebrew Scriptures. The gospel context is a healing and not necessarily a teaching discourse. Willis comments that healings are a standard Embertide theme, although he gives no explanation as to why.¹⁰ There is no overtly penitential aspect in either the epistle or the gospel, both reveal God's compassion and desire for "right worship."

None of the lectionaries contains a specific *Dominica vacat* following the Saturday vigil. In the oldest of the lectionary groups, the Würzburg manuscripts, the Feast of the

⁹ Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 312-313. Talley does not agree with Vogel's assumptions, even though the Rule of Benedict encourages a strengthening of fasting practices from the Ides of September (September 13) to Lent. See *Regula monachorum* 41; *S. Benedicti Regula monachorum: herausgegeben und philologisch erklärt*, ed. Benno Linderbauer (Metten: Verlag des Benediktinerstiftes, 1922), 64. For Talley's objections see, "Development of the Ember Days," 150.

¹⁰ Willis, "Ember Days," 95.

Holy Angels (*In nat angeli*, W_{ep} 152) follows in the epistle list; in the gospel list it is a Sunday liturgy at the church of Saints Cosmas and Damian *before their feast* (*Ebd II die dom ad scos cosmae et damino ante natale eorum*, W_{ev}). Morin does not provide much commentary on these entries except to say that in the gospel list the Feast of Saints Cosmas and Damian occurred on September 26, within the parameters for observance of the Seventh Month Fast. The fact that Sunday liturgy takes place at the church of Cosmas and Damian not on their feast, but rather in anticipation of it, is testimony to the popularity of the two saints in Roman Christianity.¹¹

It is peculiar that the entry following the vigil in the epistle list is the Feast of the Angels, without any mention of a Sunday at all. The Würzburg Evangelary dates the feast of the Angels on the 29th of September, which entry follows that of Cosmas and Damian.¹² In the Roman gospel capitularies only type Π and Δ manuscripts locate the Sunday after the Saturday vigil at Saints Cosmas and Damian: respectively, *Ebdomada II die dominico ad scos comam et daminaum ante natale eorum* (manuscript capitulary type Π) and *Ebdomada VII post Laurenti die dominico ad scos cosmam et damianum* (manuscript capitulary type Δ). In the type Λ and type Σ capitularies the Sunday following the vigil is listed as the Second Sunday after the Feast of Saint Cyprian on September 14, *Ebdomada II post sci cypriani*. This demonstrates a more recent reckoning in the calendar, which Frere states

¹¹ G. Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle: D'après les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg," *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 315, note 3.

¹² The Evangelary actually states that the Angel's feast day is 28 September, which Morin corrects. Another unusual aspect of the Feast of the Angels in the epistle list is a second reading from the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians. This second reading Morin comments upon saying that it does not seem appropriate to this feast, but that in the Lectionary of Alcuin it appears in the Sunday following the Quarterly Fast. See G. Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes' ou Lectionnaire de l'église romain," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 63.

replaces the reference to Cosmas and Damian.¹³ Both Murbach and Corbie demonstrate an even later development of the calendar by marking the Sunday following the vigil as the 19th Sunday after Pentecost (*Ebd XIX post pentect*). Finally, only the *Comes* of Alcuin and the Lectionary of Verona connect the Sunday liturgy with the vigil preceding it. The connection is not listed as a *Dominica vacat*, but rather as *Dominica ut supra mensis VII* (Alcuin) and *Dom ubi supra* (Verona). The Lectionary of Verona is the only lectionary to provide a Sunday gospel, Matthew 22:23-33, a shortened version of a longer passage common in the gospel lectionaries for the liturgy at Cosmas and Damian before their feast.

The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals

As we see in the Roman lectionaries, Saint Peter's basilica is the location for the September Ember Vigil in the three antiphonals that mention the vigil of the Seventh Month Fast: Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis. The Quarterly Fast itself is included in the section comprising texts for the Sundays of the year, rather than appearing in sequential order among the celebrations of the calendar year. Table 2 following outlines the content of the vigil in these antiphonals.

Common to the three antiphonals are an introit, offertory antiphon, and a communion antiphon. Only Corbie and Senlis supply graduals for the scripture vigil. They do not, however, specifically list all the texts of the graduals, although each antiphonal notes that their number is four (4). The Antiphonal of Senlis mentions one of the graduals, "Propitius

¹³ See Walter Howard Frere, *The Roman Epistle-Lectionary*, vol. 3 of *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections 32 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 71.

Table 2. The Antiphonal Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Seventh Month

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
		192. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>		192. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	192. <i>Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>
		Ant.: <i>Venite adoremus deum</i> Psalm: <i>ipso</i>		Ant.: <i>Venite adoremus deum</i> Psalm: <i>Venite exultemus domino</i>	Ant.: <i>Venite adoremus deum</i> Psalm: <i>Venite exultemus</i>
				Resp. Grad.: <i>IV et benedictiones</i>	Resp.: <i>IV. Proptius esto domine</i>
				Tract: <i>Lauda dominum omnes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum</i>
		Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>		Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i> Require <i>utrumque</i> cap. 46	Off: <i>Domine deus salutis meae</i>
		Ad Com: <i>Mense septimo festa celebrabitur</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>		Com: <i>Mense septimo festa celebrabitur</i> Psalm: <i>Adtendite populus meus</i>	Com: <i>Mense septimo festa celebrabitur</i> Psalm: <i>Venite</i>
193. <i>Ebdomata XVII</i>	193. <i>Ebdomata XIX post octabas [pentecosten]</i>	193. <i>Ebdomata XVIII [post octabas pentecosten]</i>		193. <i>Ebdomata XVIII post pentecosten</i>	193. <i>Ebdomata XVIII post octabas pentecosten</i>
	Ant.: <i>Da pacem domine sustentibus.</i> Psalm: <i>Beati immaculati</i>	Ant.: <i>Da pacem domine sustentibus.</i> Psalm: 114		Ant.: <i>Da pacem domine sustentibus.</i> Psalm: <i>Laetatus sum</i>	Ant.: <i>Da pacem domine sustentibus.</i> Psalm: <i>Dilexi quoniam</i>
Resp. Grad.: <i>Convertere domine aliquantulum</i> V: <i>Domine refugium</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Letatus sum</i> V: <i>Fiat pax</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Qui sicut dominus</i> Item Resp.: <i>Letatus sum.</i> V: <i>Fiat pax</i>		Resp. Grad.: <i>Laetatus sum.</i> Require cap. 60	Resp. Grad.: <i>Laetatus sum</i> V: <i>Fiat pax</i>
	All.: <i>Laudate dominum</i>				All.: <i>Qui posuit</i>
	Off.: <i>Sanctificavit moyses altare.</i>	Off.: <i>Sanctificavit moyses altare.</i> V.I: <i>Locutus est dominus.</i> V.II: <i>Oravit moyses dominum & dixit</i>		Off.: <i>Sanctificavit moyses altare</i>	Off.: <i>Sanctificavit moyses altare.</i> V.I: <i>Locutus est dominus.</i> V.II: <i>Oravit moyses dominum</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Tollite hostias.</i>	Ad Com: <i>Tollite hostias.</i> Psalm 115		Ad Com: <i>Tollite hostias.</i> Psalm: <i>Cantate domino I</i>	Com: <i>Tollite hostias.</i> Psalm: <i>Cantate domino I</i>

esto domine,” from Psalm 78. This psalm also appears as a gradual in the First Month Vigil.

Corbie notes the Benedictus from Daniel following the graduals (*IV et benedictiones*).

The Sunday following the Saturday vigil in the antiphonals does not bear the title, *Dominica vacat*; rather, it is a Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (save in the Corbie antiphonal, where it is a Sunday “after Pentecost”). The title of the Sunday, however, depends upon the antiphonal in question. In the Gradual of Monza it is the 17th Sunday (or rather the 17th week, *Ebdomada XVII*), in the Rheinau antiphonal it is the 19th Sunday, and in the remaining antiphonals it is the 18th Sunday;¹⁴ the Antiphonal of Compiègne does not contain an entry at all for the September vigil. There does not appear to be any strong link between the Sunday chants and those of the preceding vigil, if indeed this Sunday entry followed the vigil. A lack of correspondence between the two liturgies may offer evidence that the September Ember vigil was celebrated from Saturday into Sunday, without necessitating a Sunday liturgy. It would also point to an antiquity of the Embertide observance, which remains even as Sundays are acknowledged around it in the calendar.

The analysis of the lectionary and antiphonal evidence for the vigil of the Seventh Month presents us, again, with fewer graduals and readings for an Ember liturgy of twelve lessons. In the antiphonals, four graduals and a Benedictus provides for only five lessons, if as we have been conjecturing a chant accompanies each lesson of the Ember vigil, and the Daniel canticle is included as a lesson. In Hesbert’s calculations four graduals, the Benedictus, and the tract equals six pieces of chant to follow the pattern of six lessons in the

¹⁴ In Hesbert, these Sundaya are presented as lined-up with each other, so the 17th Week in Monza and the 19th Sunday in Rheinau are on the same line (193) as the 18th Sunday in Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis. See René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex: d’après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis* (1907; repr., Rome: Herder, 1967), 192-193.

lectionaries.¹⁵ However, ought the tract to be included among these vigil chants? In concert with Chavasse's hypothesis that the epistle is one of the vigil lessons is Hesbert.¹⁶ Since the tract, which replaces the alleluia in penitential times follows the epistle, Hesbert reasons that it is the chant associated with the epistle. But can we affirm this? The alleluia precedes the gospel in the liturgical tradition of the Church and does not fulfill a responsorial quality for the epistle, which the graduals supply in turn. The use of the tract during penitential times fulfills the same role as the alleluia; as such it does not seem appropriate to consider it as a "response" to the epistle, let alone as a component of the "Saturday of the 12 lessons." Including the epistle as a vigil lesson also discounts the manner in which the sacramentaries, as we have seen, generally conclude the vigil with a prayer linked to the Daniel 3 passage. Yet, with the exception of the Lectionary of Alcuin and the Würzburg epistolary, the lectionaries only display four Old Testament readings and the Daniel canticle. The antiphonals, which contain four graduals in addition to the Daniel 3 canticle, are not necessarily incorrect, since they support a four reading vigil completed by the Daniel 3 canticle.

The Würzburg and Alcuin manuscripts list six and five readings respectively for the vigil, and neither mention the Daniel canticle. The Würzburg Epistolary achieves six lessons with the addition of readings from Jeremiah and Exodus. If these six are proclaimed in Latin and in Greek, twelve lessons results consistent with the title of the celebration in the liturgical documents. Still, the absence of a Daniel canticle proves a stumbling block, as we

¹⁵ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, xl.

¹⁶ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, xli.

shall see, if we attempt to match the readings to the sacramentary prayers. The *Comes* of Alcuin by offering five lessons and perhaps an *understood* reading of Daniel 3 come closer to paralleling the sacramentary patterns.

The Vigil of the September Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries

Let us explore further the significance of the September Embertide Vigil and the day following it by considering the sacramentary texts.¹⁷ Table 3 following outlines the celebration found in the Roman sacramentaries. The table reveals the interworking of three independent traditions as content. In each tradition the pattern of six orations prior to a discernable, if not labeled, Prayer over the Gifts is consistent. Only the Verona collection contains a preface for the vigil Mass. While the texts of the Veronese are not provided with headings, it may be that the final text is an *ad populum* prayer, in which case it would share the presence of such a prayer with the Gelasianum. The sacramentary traditions present the vigil liturgy and the Mass of the Ember Saturday as a whole unit, undivided into a section on the vigil and a section on the Mass that followed. The Veronese does not specifically name the Saturday Ember vigil, *per se*. We may be able to deduce that it is by the presence of several orations prior to what may be a *super oblata* prayer. The Gelasianum and the Gregorian sacramentaries refer to the vigil as the “Saturday of the 12 Lessons.” In the Gelasianum the set for the vigil falls under the general heading for all the liturgies of the Seventh Month Ember Week – Section 60, *Orationes in jejunio mensis septimi*. The same arrangement exists for the Fourth Month Fast in the Gelasianum.

¹⁷ These texts may be found in Appendix Three, pages 540 to 545.

Table 3. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Seventh Month

Veronense	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 27 Nos. 916-925 xi. Item alia	Book II - Section 60 Nos. 1044-1052	Section 166 Nos. 712-719	Section 142 Nos. 751-758	Section 168 Nos. 686-693
<i>Admonitio jejunii mensis septimi et orationes et preces</i>	<i>In XII lectiones die sabbati</i>	<i>Sabbt. ad sanctum petrum XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>
<i>Concede quaesumus domine ut ad preces</i>	<i>Tribue quasumus domine fidelibus tuis</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per continentiam</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per continentiam</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per continentiam</i>
<i>Virtutum caelestium deus qui plura prestas</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui se adfligendo</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando tua</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando tua</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando tua</i>
<i>Deus qui praevenis vota poscentium</i>	<i>Deus humane salutis operator da nobis</i>	<i>Tuere quaesumus domine familiam tuam</i>	<i>Tuere quaesumus domine familiam tuam</i>	<i>Tuere quaesumus domine familiam tuam</i>
<i>Domine deus qui fragilitati nostrae</i>	<i>Sucipe domine preces populi supplicantes</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus domine sic nos ab</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus domine sic nos ab</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus domine sic nos ab</i>
<i>Tua nos domine quaesumus pietate</i>	<i>Omnipotens tua domine prumta mente</i>	<i>Ut nos domine tribuis sollemne tibi</i>	<i>Ut nos domine tribuis sollemne tibi</i>	<i>Ut nos domine tribuis sollemne tibi</i>
<i>Dirige domine quaesumus ecclesiam tuam</i>				
	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>
<i>Tanto quaesumus domine placates adsume</i>	<i>Secreta Haec hostia domine quaesumus et vincula nostrae</i>	<i>Super oblata Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut oculis tuae</i>	<i>Secreta Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut oculis tuae</i>	<i>Super oblatam Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut oculis tuae</i>
<i>VD: quia tuae rationis imaginem</i>				
<i>Gratiam tuam nobis domine semper adcumulet</i>	<i>Post communionem Perfiant in nobis domine quaesumus tua sacramenta</i>	<i>Ad completa Perfiant in nobis domine quaesumus tua sacramenta</i>	<i>Ad complendum Perfiant in nobis domine quaesumus tua sacramenta</i>	<i>Ad complendum Perfiant in nobis domine quaesumus tua sacramenta</i>
<i>Absolve domine quaesumus tuorum delicta populorum</i>	<i>Ad populum Auxiliare domine populo tuo ut sacrae devotionis</i>			
	Section 61	Section 167 Nos. 720-722	Section 143 Nos. 759-761	Section 169 Nos. 694-696
<i>There is no definitive Dominico vacat in the Veronense</i>	<i>In natale sanctorum marcelli et apulei nonas octobris</i>	<i>Die dom vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>
		<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus misericordiam tuam</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus misericordiam tuam</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus misericordiam tuam</i>
		<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende</i>	<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende</i>	<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende</i>
		<i>Ad completa Quaesumus omnipotens deus ut illius salutaris</i>	<i>Ad completa Quaesumus omnipotens deus ut illius salutaris</i>	<i>Ad completa Quaesumus omnipotens deus ut illius salutaris</i>

Finally, the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions, share the vigil oration, “Deus qui tribus,” and the post-communion prayer, “Perficiant in nobis.”

In the Verona collection, the heading of Section 27, *Admonitio jejunii mensis septimi et orationes et preces*, is the fourth section of eight under the month of September.

Following Section 27 are the sections dealing with ordination, the anniversary of ordination, the veiling of virgins and the earliest evidence of a wedding liturgy in the West. Section 27 lists fourteen sub-sections of prayer texts. The first item under the section heading is an *admonitio* to attend to the Seventh Month Fast (Ve 860). Aside from the first sub-section, the manuscript designates them as *item alia*, except for sub-section ix, which is labeled, *Item preces*.¹⁸ In between sub-sections viii and ix one finds the invitation to the Fast of the Tenth Month, *Invitatio plebis mensis decimi*, which is discussed above.¹⁹

Many of the *alia* consist of three orations prior to a preface (identified by the initial words, “Vere dignum”), and followed by two other orations, which appear to be a *post-communionem* and an *ad populum* respectively. Only sub-section xi (Ve 916-925) breaks this pattern. Here, seven orations precede the preface, which in turn is followed by two other prayers. The seventh oration (Ve 922) may be a Prayer over the Gifts as it speaks of the taking up of offerings to be consecrated in the Lord’s name.²⁰ The initial six orations,

¹⁸ Mohlberg identifies sub-section viii as *Item alia. In jejunio*, which is a non-vigil liturgy. He also notes in the critical apparatus that the words, *in jejunio*, appear “on the outer edge of the manuscript (*am ässeren Rande*) at Ve 893 in sub-section vii. Feltoe places the phrase, *In jejunio*, after the first collect in sub-sections vi and vii.

¹⁹ See above, pages 42-48, especially note 34 on page 45, and note 38 on page 47.

²⁰ “Tanto, quaesumus, domine, placatus adsume, quanto sacrandas nomini tuo has specialiter hostias indixisti; ut quidquid nostrae non expletur servitutis officio, indulgentiae tuae dignatione pensetur: per.” (Ve 922) – the relevant portion of this prayer is underscored.

while unlabelled, may be considered as a distinguishing characteristic that identifies this section as an Ember vigil. Such a pattern is consistent with the vigils found in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries.

The texts of the vigil in the Verona collection implore the Lord's mercy. These requests, however, do not seek the averting of punishment, but rather request support and aid in living a proper life.²¹ The penitential aspects of the prayers speak of conversion, rather than retribution. The Lord is viewed as someone to turn to in time of trouble, and not as a despot to be appeased. Feltoe sees in the third oration (Ve 918) a prayer based upon the Lord's Prayer.²² Some evidence hints that the prayers may have been composed during a time of attack upon Rome.²³ It is not easy to link any of the orations of the vigil with a specific lesson, nor are they identified as such. Perhaps the prayer, "Dirige domine quaesumus ecclesiam tuam," with its references to Messianic fulfillment could accompany the reading from Micah 7. The texts contain no application conveying that the liturgy is a vigil let alone that of the Seventh Month. The orations are unique to the Verona collection, surfacing only partially in a prayer for the sick in the Gelasianum (GeV 1537) or among some *ad populum* blessings in the Paduensis (GrP 899). As with the Würzburg Epistolary

²¹ For example, "Tua nos, domine, quaesumus, pietate dispone: quia nullis egebimus adjumentis, si tuae providentiae clementia gubernemur: per." (Ve 920).

²² "Deus, qui praevenis vota poscentium, tribue, quaesumus, ut et corporeis non destituamur alimentis, et ab hostium formidine liberemur: per." (Ve 918). See Feltoe, "Notes" in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 206.

²³ Again, for example, "Deus, qui praevenis vota poscentium, tribue, quaesumus, ut et corporeis non destituamur alimentis, et ab hostium formidine liberemur: per." (Ve 918). There also may be some reference to a time of distress in the next prayer, "Domine deus, qui fragilitati nostrae quae congruant et praevides solus et provides: presta, ut et praesentibus fulciamur auxiliis, et instruamur aeternis: per." (Ve 919). See also David M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 33.

there is no mention of a Daniel 3 reading and/or canticle, nor is there any prayer, which could be linked to it.

There is no discernable break between the supposed vigil orations and the secret prayer.²⁴ While the prayers for ordination follow in a separate section of the month there is no evidence that they are associated with Section 27. The preface (Ve 923) speaks directly about the harvest, and makes allusion to the harvests of grain, wine, and oil upon which Morin based much of his theory of the Ember season's origins.²⁵ This is the only preface, however, to do so. The prayer draws a parallel between the food of bodily nourishment and the food of the Eucharist, which provides nourishment toward eternal life. Feltoe points out that the initial words of the preface, "tua rationis imaginem," hint at a Christological debate, which may have been engaged at the time of this prayer's origin.²⁶ The post-communion prayer asks that the effect of sharing in the Eucharist bring forth faithful service. A portion of the *ad populum* blessing is found in the collect of the Sunday Mass, which initiates the September Embertide among the Gregorians.²⁷ The blessing is itself an absolution ("Absolve domine... tuorum delicta populorum") rather than a blessing upon the

²⁴ Nor does Mohlberg indicate in his apparatus that there is anything unusual in the manuscript. He often notes such things as extra spaces and the color of large lettering, etc.

²⁵ "Vere dignum: quia tuae rationis imaginem mundanis regionibus constitutam, et humanis non desinis fovere subsidiis et reformare divinis. Consequens enim fuit, ut transactis terrae fructibus caeleste semen oreretur, et alimonia vitae mortalis expleta germen immortalitatis exsisteret, atque escis carnalibus expeditis cibus nasceretur mirabiliter animarum, ac tempore frumenti vini et olei mox peracto ineffabiliter ederetur, qui filiis dei ad similitudinem proficienitibus angelorum, hoc totum non solum de caelo substantia deferret et nomine, sed panem praeberet aeternum: per." (Ve 923)

²⁶ See Feltoe, Notes" in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 206, 211.

²⁷ See GrH 702; GrT 741; GrP 676.

assembly. It also petitions that by the consolation of God's grace the promise of redemption may be accomplished.

There is no announcement of the fast among the texts for the Sunday prior to the Ember Week in the Gelasian sacramentary. The first prayer of the vigil (GeV 1044) makes direct reference to the Seventh Month Fast as a means to bodily chastisement and conversion.²⁸ The other prayers concern the fast in various contexts speaking of it as both purgative and medicinal. The second prayer, "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut familia tua" (GeV 1045), appears in the Gregorian sacramentary as the collect for Monday of the Second Week of Lent (*Feria II ad sanctum clementem*, GrH 205). The sixth oration, "Deus qui tribus," identifies with the Daniel canticle, and repeats the text we found among the Gregorians for the vigil of the First and Fourth Month Fasts. As in those liturgical contexts, this is the only prayer we can solidly identify with a scriptural lesson, if indeed Daniel is a lesson and not a canticle.

The arrangement of the Gelasian vigil for the Seventh Month makes it difficult to affirm Chavasse's theory on the link between the lessons and the sacramentary prayers. As noted in the discussion of the March Embertide, Chavasse views the first oration in Section 60 as an opening collect. There is, however, not enough evidence in the text of "Tribue quaesumus domine fidelibus tuis," or in any of the opening Embertide vigil orations, to assert that this prayer text prepares either the assembly or the ministers for the liturgical

²⁸ "Tribue, quaesumus, domine, fidelibus tuis, et jejuniis mensis septimi convenienter aptentur, et suscepta solemniter castigatio corporalis ad fructum cunctarum transeat animarum: per." (GeV 1044). This prayer also appears in the Veronese, but under section XXIX, *In natale episcoporum*, (Ve 984) where it specifies the "paschal fast" *jejuniis pascalibus* and not the fast of September. Hope believes that this prayer is out of place and was originally a prayer for Monday of Holy Week possibly used during an anniversary Mass of Pope Vigilius (537-555). See Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 78-79.

vigil. Rather, the text is an anticipation of the fast about to be undertaken by the community (“Tribue, quaesumus, domine, fidelibus tuis, et jejunio mensis septimi convenienter aptentur”). If anything, the second half of this text would seem more appropriate as a prayer for Leviticus 23:27-32, with its petition that those who follow the Lord’s commands be able to cross over to the reward of all souls (“et suscepta solemniter castigatio corporalis ad fructum cunctarum transeat animarum”). If the final prayer prior to the *super oblata* is meant to accompany the epistle and tract of the Mass, we find further disagreement. The oration, concerned as it is with the Daniel 3, can in no way be matched with the epistle from Hebrews 9. No other collects exist in this Mass set, which would fulfill Chavasse’s design of an “opening collect” in the first oration of the vigil set.²⁹

The secret and post-communion prayers contain nothing expressly associating them especially with the vigil or the Fast of the Seventh Month. The secret, “Haec hostia,” is associated with liturgical times focused on penitence in other sacramentaries, however. The prayer appears in the Gregorians as the *super oblata* prayer for the Fifth Sunday in Lent (Passion Sunday) and at the *Laetania major*. The Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions share the post-communion prayer. It petitions that what is observed in appearance may be revealed in truth. The *ad populum* blessing repeats the same blessing from Wednesday of Holy Week in the Gelasianum. The prayer petitions that the assembly receive eternal redemption through devotion to the Eucharist and the Lord’s teaching, a thought conveyed by the prayer in a similar position in the Veronese.

²⁹ Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958), 110. It is important to note that Chavasse never speaks of a thematic relationship between the Embertide vigil lessons and prayers, either, along the lines of what occurs with the Paschal and Pentecost vigils.

In the Hadrianum and in Tridentinum the formularies for the Seventh Month Ember Week are placed after September 16, the Feast of Saint Euphemia and of saints Lucy and Geminaus. In the Paduensis they are placed after September 22, the Feast of Saints Mauricius and his Companions. In all three sacramentaries a set of orations appears for the Sunday preceding the Ember Vigil; this is most probably the Sunday of indiction, which announced the Ember Week.³⁰ The texts of the Gregorian sacramentaries focus upon the fast as a means to strengthen Christian life, protect against enemies, cure the sinner of vices, and gain divine support. The vigil orations are prefixed by the word, *alia*, and are used only for this vigil and nowhere else in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The second oration, “Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando,” petitions for strength over enemies, as does the third oration of the Verona vigil possibly revealing a common origin.³¹

Six orations (the sixth combined with the Daniel 3 canticle) lead uninterrupted to the *super oblata* prayer, which asks for the grace of devotion in offering the sacrifice that it may gain the effect of everlasting blessedness. Recall that the post-communion, “Perficiant in nobis,” is common to the Gelasian and Gregorian vigils.

The designation, *Dominica vacat*, does not appear in the Verona collection or in the Gelasianum following the vigil liturgy. The next section in the Gelasianum, Section 61, concerns the Mass for Saint Marcellus and Apuleius on October 7. A *Dominica vacat* does follow the Saturday vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries, consisting of the three

³⁰ In the Hadrianum it is Section 163 (GrH 702-704), *Mensis Septimi. Orationes Die Dominico ad Sanctum Petrum*, in the Tridentinum it is Section 139 (GrT 741-743), *Mense Septimi. Orationes Die Dominico ad Sanctum Petrum*, and in the Paduensis it is Section 165 (GrP 676-678), *Orationes Mensis VII Die Dominico ad Sanctum Petrum*.

³¹ “Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando tua gratia satiemur, et abstinendo cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores. Per.” (GrH 713; GrT 752; GrP 687)

presidential texts. The texts repeat similar sentiments, which characterize the Saturday vigil: imploring the Lord's mercy and aid in order to live the Christian life fully. These texts also appear in the Gelasianum, a collect in one of the formularies for a Mass in time of tribulation (GeV 1361); the *super oblata* within an *alia* during Advent (GeV 1138); and the Post-communion as the secret prayer within the Mass for the Fourth Sunday after the Close of Pascha (GeV 558).

Other than a time of fasting, although not necessarily chiefly punitive or disciplinary, a deeper meaning for establishing an Ember week in September is still unclear from the prayer texts alone. Save for the vigil preface in the Veronese, the sacramentary prayers lack the agricultural themes one would expect if the theories that the Ember fasts sprang from pre-Christian Roman harvest festivals held true. The harvest references in the Veronese, however, are more oriented to the completion of the harvest than they are specific to one particular harvest at this time of the year. The same sentiment is voiced by Leo I in one of his homilies on the Tenth Month Fast, where he speaks of a custom of giving thanks to God for all produce of the year.³² Talley concurs with this understanding,³³ which would make the presence of this preface seem equally incongruous during the September Fast in the Veronese, as the completion of the harvest would be more applicable to December. Let us now turn to the final of the Ember vigils, that of the Tenth Month, to

³² "...et quae utrique Testamento erant congrua, nulla sunt commutatione variata. Ex iis autem est etiam decimi mensis solemne jejunium, quod a nobis nunc annua est consuetudine celebrandum: quia plenum justitiae est atque pietatis, gratias divinae agere largitati pro fructibus quos in usus hominum secundum summae providentiae temperamentum terra produxit." Leo I *Tractatus* 17.1 (Chavasse CCL 138.68).

³³ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 124-125.

complete our survey of these liturgies and examine what conclusions we may draw from them concerning the keeping of this vigil in Rome.

The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast

Much of the manuscript evidence for this fast week demonstrates a fuller assumption of an Ember Week into a later and larger calendrical observance. The sacramentaries locate the Quarterly Fast during the season of Advent, sometimes during the third week. The celebration of Advent, however, in Rome is of a later origin than that of the Embertides. Elements of a fast (preparatory for some other commemoration, perhaps) or period of ascetical reflection appear to have existed from antiquity during the tenth month of year. These traces may be the remnant of the original Quarterly Fast of the Tenth Month. In the Christian era, historians of the liturgy point to evidence of a proto-Advent existing in Gaul and Spain from the fourth and fifth centuries prior to the celebration of Christmas, which feast itself appears to gather importance as we move into the latter part of the fourth century.³⁴ Philastrius of Brescia (d. 397) relates that a fast in December prior to Christmas is a principal fast of the Church.³⁵ The fourth canon of the Council of Saragossa (380) requests the faithful to be in regular attendance at church during the period from December 17 until Epiphany. The faithful are told not to run off to the countryside or to the hills, nor are they to lounge around at home, but are asked to be in church during this time. Though

³⁴ The elements of vigil in the celebration of Christmas are discussed in Chapter Five. Currently the best source for the origins of Christmas and its theological significance is Susan K Roll, *Toward the Origins of Christmas* (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995).

³⁵ See Filastrius of Brescia *Liber de haeresibus* 149, *Haeresis de Zacharia propheta de jejunio* (Bulhart CCL 9.311-312).

the purpose for this restriction is unclear some scholars believe it was to prepare for the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany.³⁶ Talley states that in pre-Christian Rome the period from December 15 to December 22 included a number of festivals in celebration of the conclusion of the agricultural year. There may have been some fear that Christians might misuse these “leisure festivals” at the end of the year, and so some the early fathers instituted a countermeasure to curb such abuse.³⁷

Within the milieu of these concerns on the proper use of the latter days of December we find the fourth of the Ember Seasons. From the sermons of Leo I we gather that this Embertide is of a certain antiquity, which must pre-date the establishment of Advent in Rome. Nine sermons on the Tenth Month Fast are preserved, celebrating Advent expectation and eschatological themes, while remaining void of any specific reference to either the season itself or to the coming feast of Christmas. In fact, these sermons are not “Advent” oriented, and Leo never equates them with Advent, if he even knew of such a seasonal observance during his time. In Sermon 19, Leo speaks of this season as the “Tenth

³⁶ See the canons of the Council of Saragossa in Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. 3 (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759), 633-636. In particular, canon 4 reads: “Item legit: Viginti et uno die quo a 16 kalendas januarii usque in diem epiphaniae quae est 8 idus januarii continuis diebus nulli liceat de ecclesia se absentare nec latere in domibus nec secedere ad villam nec montes petere nec nudis pedibus incedere sed concurrere ad ecclesiam. Quod qui non observaverit his decretis anathema sit in perpetuum. Ab universis episcopis dictum est: Anathema sit.” See Pierre Jounel, “The Christmas Season,” in *The Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 91-92.

³⁷ Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2d emended ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 149-150.

Month Fast,”³⁸ and in Sermon 17 refers to the Tenth Month Fast as a “yearly celebration.”³⁹

The sermons emphasize almsgiving specifically over fasting, because the fast makes more revenue available for almsgiving. These actions contribute, Leo states, to the Christian program of perfection.⁴⁰

On the other hand, there is much more contained in the celebration of this Ember season than the desire for increased almsgiving, for in his homilies, Leo also relates the fast and its benefits to the renewal of the *imago dei* in humanity.⁴¹ This renewal anticipates the summation and fulfillment of God’s plan for creation at the end of time, and thus extends metaphors associated with agricultural harvests to the final eschatological harvest of the Lord. Hence, the Tenth Month Fast functions not as an anti-pagan counter-observance to end of December Roman festivals, but more profoundly as a Christianization of these celebrations with a much broader scope and interpretation.⁴² The significance of a principal eschatological element existing in this the tenth month Ember week, therefore, may have been adopted into the growth of an “Advent Season.” In Sermons 17 and 19 references to “advent,” should be viewed perhaps in this broader eschatological expectation, rather than indications of an “Advent-themed” Ember week. Talley agrees somewhat with this

³⁸ “...jejunium decimi mensis fructuosum vobis eleemosynarum largitate faciatis.” Leo I *Tractatus* 19.3 (Chavasse CCL 138.80).

³⁹ “...autem est etiam decimi mensis solemne jejunium, quod a nobis nunc annua est consuetudine celebrandum.” Leo I *Tractatus* 17.1 (Chavasse CCL 138.68).

⁴⁰ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 128.

⁴¹ Sermon 12 speaks of this renewal especially: “...invenimus hominem ideo ad imaginem Dei conditum, ut imitator sui esset auctoris; et hanc esse naturalem nostri generis dignitatem, si in nobis quasi in quodam speculo divinae benignitatis forma resplendeat.” Leo I *Tractatus* 12.1 (Chavasse CCL 138.48)

⁴² Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 129-130.

interpretation, and while he states that we should not view the December Embertide in a strict sense as ascetical preparation for Christmas, it would be wrong to suppose that a relationship between the Embertide and Christmas did not eventually develop.⁴³

The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast: The Lectionaries

With these themes in mind, let us examine the liturgical texts of the Winter Embertide vigil. As it falls generally during what later will become the third week of Advent in the liturgical manuscripts, it will exert a curious impact on the celebration of the vigil of Christmas. We will see if we cannot separate out some of the kernel of the original December Embertide celebration, which may also reflect back on the purposes of the other three Embertides. We begin with an examination of the lectionary texts. Table 4 following, provides the schema of readings for the vigil.

The various Roman lectionary systems, with the exception of the Würzburg Evangelary, place the December Embertide at the end of the temporal calendar. Surprisingly, the Würzburg Evangelary concludes without mention of a December Embertide, or for that matter without any reference to Sundays in Advent. The final entry in the Würzburg gospel list is the vigil of Saint Andrew on November 29.⁴⁴ The title of the Embertide vigil in the other lectionary lists concerns the Saturday of the 12 Lessons, without mention of Advent. Saint Peter's is the station for this Liturgy. The Lectionary of Verona

⁴³ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 132-133.

⁴⁴ Morin, "Les listes d'évangiles de Würzburg," 317. Morin does state that the recension of the evangelary from Rheinau and Spire (Rh S, 10th century) contains the missing pericopes of December.

provides the hour, *nona*, as it did for the vigil of the September Fast. The type II manuscripts alone of the Roman gospel capitularies state that the liturgy is that of Saturday

Table 4. The Lectionary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Tenth Month

Würzburg Lectionary Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>Sabbato ad scm petrum</i> (W _{ep}) NO ENTRY (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Feria VII ad scum petrum</i> Λ: <i>Die sabbato in XII lectiones ad scum petrum</i> Σ: <i>Sabbato ad scum petrum XII lectiones</i> Δ: <i>Sabbato ad scum Petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Fer VII ad sanctum petrum in XII lec</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato. Ad s petrum in XII lect</i>	<i>Sabbato in XII lectiones ad scm petrum de nona</i>
Isaiah 19:20-22		Isaiah 19:20-22	Isaiah 19:20-22	Isaiah 19:20-22	Isaiah 19:20-22
<i>ubi supra</i> Isaiah 35: 1-7		Isaiah 35: 1-7	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 35: 1-7	<i>Item</i> Isaiah 35: 1-7	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 35: 1-7
<i>ubi supra</i> Isaiah 40:9-11		Isaiah 40:9-11	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 40:9-11	<i>Item</i> Isaiah 40:9-11	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 45:1-8
<i>ubi supra</i> Isaiah 42:1-9					
<i>ubi supra</i> Isaiah 45:1-8		Isaiah 45:1-8	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 45:1-8	<i>Item</i> Isaiah 45:1-8	<i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 40:9-11
			<i>Require Angelus domini in vigilia paschae</i>	<i>Legitur Daniel propheta</i>	<i>Sequitur lectio danielis prophetae</i> Daniel 3:49-55
<i>Ad scm petrum</i> II Thessalonians 2:1-8		II Thessalonians 2:1-8	<i>Statio ad sanctum petrum</i> II Thessalonians 2:1-8	II Thessalonians 2:1-8	II Thessalonians 2:1-8
		<i>Dan. Angelus domini cum benedictione</i>			
	Luke 3: 1-6	Luke 3: 1-6			Luke 3: 1-6
W _{ep} : five entries each titled only as <i>De adventu dni</i> follow W _{ev} : NO ENTRY	Π, Λ, Σ, Δ: <i>Die XXIV mensis decembris vigiliae domini</i> (Matthew 1: 18-21 – next item number)	<i>Ebd prima ante natl domini</i> (next item number)	<i>Ebdomada I ante natale domini</i> (next item number)	<i>Ebdomada prima ante nat domini</i> (next item number)	

at Saint Peter's (*Feria vii ad sanctum petrum*) without any mention of the 12 lessons.

Four Old Testament readings, all from Isaiah, are common to all the lectionary systems. The Würzburg Epistolary adds a fifth, also from Isaiah. The passages are arranged in order as they appear in the book. In the later tradition the month of December will highlight the book of Isaiah as a particular scriptural choice for the season of Advent as it

presents the work of God in messianic images and metaphors consistent with the theology surrounding the Incarnation. As such, Willis describes the vigil readings concerned with the first coming of the Messiah to be Advent in character and preparatory to Christmas.⁴⁵ But as we have been inquiring, can Willis' understanding be affirmed from the texts? The first reading from Isaiah 19:20-22 speaks of the Lord sending a Savior to Israel who will scourge Egypt for its oppression of Israel. While such a passage is Messianic, it may also be interpreted to refer to an eschatological as well as an historical Messiah, who brings forth a final reckoning among the nations. As the vigil leads with this lesson, it appears to color the meaning of the other lessons, which follow.

Isaiah 35:1-7 depicts the blossoming of the desolate and impassable land, and the joy of a revived wilderness as indicative of God's salvation. Isaiah 40:9-11, relates the comfort of the promise of salvation; and Isaiah 42:1-9 (in the Würzburg Epistolary), the proclamation of the servant of the Lord who will be instrumental in leading the "new things" God is doing. Isaiah 45:1-8, reveals the promise that God will rain down the "just one," the deliverer of God's people. These passages, read in the light of Isaiah 19, point very well to the fulfillment of salvation expressed in Leo's understanding of the end-time harvest. If we favor this Embertide as primarily Advent-based, however, we find it odd that the lectionaries omit a reading from Amos, or any passage, which makes reference to Emmanuel and the first coming of the Messiah. The epistle from II Thessalonians 2:1-8 is eschatological rather than historical, clearly concerned with the second coming of Christ. This is an event the

⁴⁵ Willis, "Ember Days," 88.

passage discloses, which will not occur until the “man of sin,” the “son of perdition” (“homo peccati filius perditionis”) is revealed.

The Daniel canticle, as in previous Embertide vigils, is missing from the Würzburg Epistolary. The canticle itself does not contribute directly to the theme of eschatological fulfillment, except by way of imagining God as an absolute deliverer. The passage stands out in this vigil as oriented to another aspect of the liturgy, the transition to the Eucharistic liturgy. As with the other Ember vigils, the lectionaries introduce the Daniel canticle by means of a rubric – “that it follows here,” or “that it is read here.” The *Comes* of Alcuin associates the canticle’s proclamation with what is done at the Paschal Vigil. The gospel, Luke 3:1-6, recounts John the Baptist’s mission and preaching, concluding with “all flesh shall see the salvation of God” (*videbit omnis caro salutare Dei*). It is interesting that the passage from Isaiah quoted within this gospel (Isaiah 40:3) is not included in the Isaiah 40 pericope proclaimed in the vigil. The gospel passage also stops short of the expansion on the Johannine fiery call to repentance, which follows verse six. While elements in the Embertide lectionary, such as the Lucan gospel text, become associated with Advent, the eschatological themes in the vigil readings are probably independent of the development of the Advent season and may well have predated it. The data may indeed reveal that a more ancient substratum of the December Embertide Vigil lies beneath the growing Advent-theme Embertide to which the texts witness.

In the *Comes* of Murbach the Daniel canticle follows the epistle. This is a strange order not reflected in any other lectionary system, and about which Wilmart offers no commentary or explanation. It may be a copyist’s error, and it may also be that the *Comes*

of Murbach represents a stage in the development of the Embertide vigil, which did not know of a Daniel canticle originally. We maintain that Murbach demonstrates how the canticle may have been added, incorrectly, to the schema of vigil readings.

It is also peculiar that prior to the entry for the epistle in the *Comes* of Alcuin are the words, *Statio ad sanctum petrum*. The repetition of location (Saint Peter's in the Vatican) would seem redundant as the whole vigil entry itself is already designated as *Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones*. The *Comes* of Alcuin does not insert the station before the epistles of the other Embertides in the lectionary. If, however, the lessons of the vigil were considered separate from the epistle and gospel of the Mass such a designation would be necessary in orienting those who coordinated the liturgy. As the December Ember vigil may contain a core of a more primitive stage of keeping vigil during this season, one could argue, the *Comes* of Alcuin offers insight into a former arrangement for the location of the lessons for the vigil and the lessons for the Mass. This arrangement chips away at Chavasse's theory of a vigil inclusive of the epistle, which theory we have been considering in light of the lectionary data of each of the Embertide vigils. A further and final consideration of Chavasse's premise concerning the placement and function of the epistle in the Quarterly Fast vigil will occur in the analysis of the Embertide vigil following this chapter.

The lectionaries do not specifically designate a *Dominica vacat* following the vigil. In the Würzburg Epistolary a series of five lessons, *De adventu domini*, follow. Morin believes these lessons correspond to an original Advent of five weeks, or six if the missing *Dominica vacat* is counted.⁴⁶ In the Lectionary of Verona the three entries following the

⁴⁶ Morin, "Le plus ancien '*Comes*,'" 64.

Saturday vigil contain, respectively, readings for the ordination of deacons, presbyters, and bishops. The *Comes* of Murbach and Alcuin, as well as the Epistolary of Corbie note the Sunday entry as “the first week before the Birth of the Lord” (*Ebdomada prima ante natali domini*). The entry refers to the final week before Christmas, which would make the Sunday following the vigil the Fourth Sunday of Advent (in an Advent of four weeks). There are no lectionary texts, which refer to the Fourth Sunday of Advent, however. In the Roman gospel capitularies the entry following the Saturday of the 12 lesssons is that for the Vigil of Christmas (*Die xxiv mensis decembris vigiliae domini*).⁴⁷ These documents place the Ember Week after the Fourth Sunday. Since the week following the Fourth Sunday of Advent is rarely complete, the position of the Ember Week during this time cannot have been permanent. It may be that the December Ember Week while occurring annually in the calendar was originally not a fixed-date observance. The celebration, rather, was determined by papal announcement of the fast days on Wednesday and Friday, and the vigil on Saturday, the Sunday that preceded the week. As a “moveable feast” its formularies appear at the conclusion of December in the sacramentaries pending placement on dates to be determined within that month. This peculiarity reveals an ancient flexibility in the celebration of the Embertides, such as we see in the September Ember Week’s location in the Gelasianum, which the concretization of the calendar in later years did not necessarily undo.

⁴⁷ In the Type A manuscripts the year begins and closes with this entry. We will return to this phenomenon in Chapter Five on the Christmas Vigil.

The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast: The Antiphonals

The Roman antiphonals all include some mention of the December Embertide vigil. Table 5, following, will assist us in our consideration of these texts. The vigil is placed following the Third Sunday in Advent, which season, unlike in the lectionaries, is located at the beginning of the antiphonals rather than at the conclusion of the temporal cycle. The title of the liturgy mirrors that found in the lectionaries, *Sabbato in XII lectionibus*, with the stational reference *ad sanctum petrum* included except in the Monza manuscript. The titles give no reference to Advent. The Gradual of Monza lists only the graduals and the tract. The other antiphonals provide a full complement of chants. As we saw in the Antiphonal of Senlis in the First Month Vigil, the antiphonals contain the incipits of the graduals and not merely the number of them. These incipits are the same in all the manuscripts. However the number of graduals differs: Monza and Rheinau provide for three, the other antiphonals for four. The pattern in Monza and Rheinau is not explained, but its presence makes it difficult to reconcile even Chavasse's theory on the distribution of readings and graduals so as to create a Saturday of 12 Lessons. Strangely, the manuscripts do not mention the Daniel canticle.

The same chants appear in each of the antiphonals. The introit, offertory and communion antiphons are well suited to Advent themes. The graduals are taken from Psalm 18 or Psalm 79. The first two graduals, "A summo caelo egressio ejus" and "In sole posuit

Table 5. The Antiphonal Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Tenth Month

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
<i>7a. Sabbato in XII lectionibus</i>	<i>7a. Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectionibus</i>	<i>7a. Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>7a. Sabbato in XII lectionibus ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>7a. Sabbato in XII lectionibus statio ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>7a. Sabbato in XII lectiones. Statio ad sanctum petrum</i>
	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i>	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i>	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i> Ad repet: <i>Excita</i>	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis faciem tuam</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i>	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i> Ad repet: <i>Excita</i>
Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>A summo caelo egressio</i>
Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>In sole posuit</i>
Resp. Grad.: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>		Resp. Grad.: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>
	Resp. Grad.: <i>Excita domine potentiam tuam</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Excita domine potentiam tuam</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Excita domine potentiam tuam</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Excita domine potentiam tuam</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Excita domine potentiam tuam</i>
Tract: <i>Qui regis Israhel intende</i>	Tract: <i>Qui regis</i>		Tract: <i>Qui regis Israhel intende</i>	Tract: <i>Qui regis Israhel intende</i>	Tract: <i>Qui regis</i>
	Off: <i>Exulta satis filia Sion</i>	Off: <i>Exulta satis filia Sion</i>	Off: <i>Exulta satis filia</i>	Off: <i>Exulta satis filia Sion</i>	Off: <i>Exulta satis</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Exultavit ut gigans</i>	Ad Com: <i>Exultavit ut gigans</i> Psalm: <i>In sole posuit</i>	Com: <i>Exultavit ut gigans</i> Psalm: <i>Caeli enarrant</i>	Com: <i>Exultavit ut gigans</i> Psalm: <i>Nec est qui se abscondat</i>	Com: <i>Exultavit ut gigans</i> Psalm: <i>Non est qui se abscondit</i>
	7bis. Dominica I. Ante natale domini		7bis. Dominica vacat		7bis. Dominica quarta
	Ant.: <i>Veni et ostende nobis</i> Psalm: <i>Qui regis</i>		Ant.: <i>Memento nostri domine in beneplacito</i> Psalm: <i>Confitemini</i> Ad repet.: <i>Quis loquetur</i>		Ant.: <i>Rorate caeli desuper.</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>
	Grad.: <i>A summo celo egressio</i>		Resp. Grad.: <i>Prope est dominus omnibus</i> All.: <i>Veni domine et noli</i>		Resp. Grad.: <i>Prope est dominus</i> All.: <i>Veni domine</i>
	Off: <i>Exulta satis filia Sion</i>		Off: <i>Ave Maria gratia plena</i>		Off: <i>Ave Maria</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Exultavit</i>		Com: <i>Ecce virgo concipiet. ut supra.</i>		Com: <i>Ecce virgo concipiet.</i>

tabernaculum suum,” from Psalm 18, do not focus on the Incarnation, but express praise for God’s glory and esteem for God’s law. The third and fourth graduals, “Domine deus virtutum converte nos” and “Excita domine potentiam tuam,” from Psalm 79, call upon God to come and save, a predominant Advent-theme. These latter two graduals also connote the end-time harvest in addition to anticipating the Messiah. While the graduals once again lack direct relationship to the lessons, they convey in part something of the latter’s eschatological insight. The care taken to record written incipits for the graduals of the December vigil, whereas other Embertide vigils provide only a short-hand style numerical notation, may be a further sign either of the antiquity of the Tenth Month Embertide or a characteristic of this Embertide’s liturgical development as it is assumed into the Advent season.

Only the antiphonals of Rheinau, Compiègne, and Senlis contain an entry following the Saturday vigil. Compiègne, alone, names it a *Dominica vacat*. In Rheinau the entry is titled, *Dominica I. Ante natale domini*, and so is the final Sunday (whether fourth or not is not clear) before Christmas. Senlis designates the Sunday specifically as the Fourth Sunday, *Dominica quarta*, presumably of Advent. The Antiphonal of Rheinau contains the same chants, albeit with only one gradual, as one finds for the Saturday vigil. The duplication suggests that Rheinau preserves a more primitive relationship between the December Embertide vigil and the Sunday that followed it. The repetition of texts for the Sunday following the Embertide vigil in the Rheinau antiphonal may contribute to the theory that in the case of the Quarterly Fasts the Saturday vigil took the place of Sunday, thereby leaving it *vacat*. We will see a similar development occur in our examination of the vigil of the Paschal cycle in Chapter Three. A different set of chant texts in the Compiègne and Senlis

manuscripts attests to a more recent development. These texts highlight the nearness of the feast of Christmas, and the offertory and communion antiphons emphasize the Blessed Virgin.

Neither the lectionary nor antiphonal texts indicate that ordination was celebrated at these liturgies, although the writings of Pope Gelasius direct that the December Ember vigil become one of the loci for ordination in the fifth century. Along with the Advent themes and images of some of these texts, stands a foundation of eschatological themes dealing with the close of the Roman civil year, which may have not been necessarily separate. As the season of Advent is a later development in the Roman calendar, it may be that the eschatological themes are older and richer than the Advent typologies, which come to characterize December in later centuries. The lectionary and antiphonal data contribute further proof that the Ember system is older than the introduction of Advent into the Roman calendar and its eschatological themes are explicable apart from Advent.

The Vigil of the December Quarterly Fast: The Sacramentaries

Let us examine next the sacramentary texts to see what further light they may shed upon the primitive foundation of the December Ember vigil.⁴⁸ Table 6 following outlines the prayer texts for the Tenth Month Vigil as they appear in the Roman sacramentaries.

What stands out from a cursory glance at the sacramentary data for the December Ember vigil is the existence of two sets of what appear to be vigil Mass formulae in the

⁴⁸ See Appendix Four, pages 546 to 552, for the texts on the Ember Vigil of the Tenth Month.

Table 6. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Saturday Vigil of the Fast of the Tenth Month

Veronese	Veronese	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 43 Nos. 1306-1315 iii. Item alia	Section 43 Nos. 1316-1324 iv. Item alia	Book II -Section 85 Nos. 1169-1177	Section 191 Nos. 797-804	Section 164 Nos. 835-842	Section 201 Nos. 800-807
<i>In jejuniis mensis decimi</i>	<i>In jejuniis mensis decimi</i>	<i>Sabbato in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbat. ad sanctum petrum XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>	<i>Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones</i>
<i>Supplices domine te rogamus ut fructum</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine firmitatem</i>	<i>Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et praesentis</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate</i>	<i>Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate</i>
<i>Cordibus nostri quaesumus domini benignus</i>	<i>Respice domine propitius ad plebem</i>	<i>Converte nos deus salutaris noster et ut vobis jejunium</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quia</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quia</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quia</i>
<i>Hujus nobis parimoniae quaesumus domine</i>	<i>Succurre domine quaesumus populo tuo</i>	<i>Deus qui pro animarum expiatione nostrarum</i>	<i>Indignos nos quaesumus domine famulos</i>	<i>Indignos nos quaesumus domine famulos</i>	<i>Indignos nos quaesumus domine famulos</i>
<i>Subde tibi nostras quaesumus domine</i>	<i>Quaesumus omnipotens deus ecclesiae tuae tempora</i>	<i>Miserationum tuarum domine quaesumus praeveniamur</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut filii tui</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut filii tui</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut filii tui</i>
<i>Precamur omnipotens deus ut de transitoriis</i>	<i>Presta quaesumus domine spiritualibus</i>	<i>Preces populi tui quaesumus deus clementer exaudi</i>	<i>Preces populi tui quaesumus domine clementer exaudi</i>	<i>Preces populi tui quaesumus domine clementer exaudi</i>	<i>Preces populi tui quaesumus domine clementer exaudi</i>
<i>Pacem nobis tribue domine</i>					
		<i>Post benedictionem Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>	<i>Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti</i>
<i>Presta domine quaesumus ut dicato</i>	<i>Offerimus tibi domine munera supplices</i>	<i>Secreta Ecclesiae tuae domine munera sanctifica</i>	<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>	<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>	<i>Super oblata Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>
<i>VD: quoniam salubri</i>	<i>VD: qui non solum ineffabilis</i>				
<i>Sumpsimus domine celebritatis anuae</i>	<i>Refecti vitalibus alimentis quaesumus domine</i>	<i>Post communionem Prosit nobis domine sumpta mysteria</i>	<i>Ad completa Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta</i>	<i>Ad complendum Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta</i>	<i>Ad complendum Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta</i>
<i>Tuere domine plebem tuam</i>	<i>Super populum tuum domine quaesumus benedictio</i>	<i>Ad populum Veniat domine quaesumus populo tuo supplicanti</i>			
			Section 192 Nos. 720-722	Section 165 Nos. 843-845	Section 202 Nos. 808-810
			<i>Dom vacat</i>	<i>Dominica vacat</i>	<i>Die dominico vacat</i>
			<i>Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni</i>	<i>Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni</i>	<i>Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni</i>

Veronese	Veronese	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
			Super oblata <i>Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>	Secreta <i>Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>	Super oblatam <i>Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende</i>
			Ad completa <i>Sumptis muneribus domine quaesumus</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sumptis muneribus domine quaesumus</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sumptis muneribus domine quaesumus</i>

Veronese, back to back at Section 43, *In jejunio mensis decimi*. Number 43 is the final section in the Veronese. Scholars who have studied the Verona collection or the Ember Days provide no commentary on either of the vigil Mass sets. This is another indication of the nature of the Veronese as a collection of *libelli* for use at particular times of the year. The placement of Section 43 is, however, consistent with the placement of the December Ember Week in the gospel capitularies and in the Lectionary of Verona. Hope, apparently unaware of this evidence, states that since these are the Advent Embertides they should be placed earlier in the December section. For him, the present placement of these texts demonstrates the convoluted manner in which the collection was compiled.⁴⁹

The first set of item numbers (Ve 1306-1315) consist of six orations prior to plausible secret, preface, post-communion and *ad populum* prayers. The final prayer of the vigil portion of the set appears linked to Daniel 3. The antiquity of these prayers is difficult to ascertain. The first oration (Ve 1306), “Supplices, domine, te rogamus, ut fructuum,” is the only prayer to make oblique reference at best to matters agricultural.⁵⁰ The remaining prayers communicate the same petitions for divine assistance to live more fully a Christian

⁴⁹ Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 37.

⁵⁰ “Supplices, domine, te rogamus, ut fructuum terrenorum commodis sufficienter adjuti, ad te omnium proficiamus auctorem: per.” (Ve 1306)

life a theme already noted among the other Ember vigils.⁵¹ They are devoid of Advent themes or any reference to the coming feast of Christmas. However, Advent/Christmas themes begin to appear, albeit subtly, in the texts for the vigil Mass.

The preface (Ve 1313) contains an interesting mix of an agricultural thanksgiving and a focus of this fast as preparation for the Nativity: "...non solum terrena fertilitate laetemur, sed nativitatem panis aeterni purificatis suscipiamus mentibus honorandam."⁵² It may be the original preface was edited to reflect the Ember vigil's place in the Advent season. The post-communion prayer makes mention of a "yearly celebration;" and although it is unclear whether this mention concerns the Ember fast or Christmas, such a reference echoes Sermon 17 of Leo I, in which he uses the same terminology for the December Fast.⁵³ The *ad populum* prayer gives reference to cultivating afresh the holy solemnity ("sacram sollemnitatem recolentem"), which could mean Christmas, although it is not specifically named.⁵⁴ While not overtly agricultural, as opposed to Willis' assessment,⁵⁵ nor truly indicative of Advent preparation, this set expresses particularly in the orations of the vigil proper the theology of keeping the Ember vigil as an exercise of recommitting oneself to a fuller Christian life, which theology may be the earliest expression of keeping the

⁵¹ See above, page 100-101.

⁵² "Vere dignum: quoniam salubri meditante jejunio necessaria curationi tractamus, et per observantiae competentis obsequium de perceptis grati muneribus de percipiendis efficimur gratiores; ut non solum terrena fertilitate laetemur, sed nativitatem panis aeterni purificatis suscipiamus mentibus honorandam: per." (Ve 1313)

⁵³ "Sumpsimus, domine, celebritatis annuae votiva sacramenta. Presta, quaesumus, ut et temporalis vitae nobis remedia praebeant et aeternae: per." (Ve 1314)

⁵⁴ "Tuere, domine, plebem tuam, et sacram sollemnitatem recolentem caelestis gratiae largitate proseguere; ut visibilibus adjuncta solaciis, ad invisibilia bona promptius incitetur: per." (Ve 1315)

⁵⁵ Willis, "Ember Days," 88.

Embertide. One could also conjecture given the lack of Advent references in the vigil portion of this set that the introduction of Advent themes begins first with the Mass and extends back to the vigil. This might also reinforce an understanding that while the prayers of the Ember Saturday include both vigil and Mass in one section, these may originally have been considered as separate elements later joined together.

The second set of item numbers under Section 43, Ve 1316-1324, contains only five orations prior to the secret prayer. A preface, post-communion, and *ad populum* prayer also follow. In this set, the final prayer of the vigil portion seems unconnected to the Daniel 3 canticle. The vigil orations contain no agricultural motifs, but still express similar sentiments of the need for divine help, aid, and protection as in the previous set of item numbers. The fourth oration (Ve 1319) is the only prayer evoking allusion to Christmas or to its coming.⁵⁶ Among the prayers of the Mass the preface speaks of the Incarnation in a highly Christological manner emphasizing belief in Christ's divinity and the fulfillment of God's promises. The text is interesting in that it quotes from John 20:29 – "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe."⁵⁷ The pattern of introducing Advent themes first into the Mass and then among the vigil orations seems to hold here as well.

Does the existence of two sets of orations for the Tenth Month Vigil say anything more? Recall that there is no direct indication that these are indeed pre-Eucharistic vigils for

⁵⁶ "Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ecclesiae tuae tempora clementi gubernatione dispensa: ut cum sollemnitatum multiplicatione sanctorum et intellectum rerum caelestium capiat et profectum: per." (Ve 1319)

⁵⁷ "Vere dignum: qui non solum ineffabilis in excelsis, sed etiam immensus probaris in minimis. Nam cum filius tuus dominus noster Jesus Christus mundum diceret universum in suum nomen esse cessurum, quis non veluti putaret absurdum? Quis, cum fieri videat, neget esse divinum? Cernensque promissa conpleri, merito secutura non dubitet, quae partier praedicata sunt esse ventura. Sicut autem beatiores illi qui nondum apparentia crediderunt (John 20:29), ita nos et inexcusabiliores, si nec experta fateamur; et nihilominus gratiores existimus, si quae manifestata non sunt, confidimus adfutura: per." (Ve 1322)

Christmas. We arrive at this conclusion by the pattern of orations prior to a discernable *super oblata* prayer among the texts. However, this is the only case among the patterns for the Ember Seasons contained in the Veronense in which two sets appear side by side for the same liturgy. As is mentioned above, one may argue that the existence of two sets is because of the peculiar nature of the Verona collection as a collection of prayer texts and not a sacramentary in the true sense of the word. The two sets may have existed as independent *libelli* prior to incorporation into the manuscript. It is not possible to say whether or not one served in a papal context or the other in a presbyteral setting originally.

Determining for certain whether or not the December Embertide is built around agricultural or Advent themes is made even more puzzling when we discover that the texts used for the Ember Vigil in the Verona collection appear in the other Roman sacramentaries primarily in the season of Lent. Table 7 provides a concordance among the texts for the first set of the Christmas Vigil in the Veronense (Ve 1306-1315).

Table 7. Textual Concordance of Ve 1306-1315

Ve 1306	<i>Unique to the Veronense</i>
Ve 1307	GeV 115 – Second Collect – Feria tertia in quadragesimo GrH 232; GrT 288; GrP 205 – Collect – Feria ii ad sanctam marcam – Monday of Third Week in Lent
Ve 1308	GeV 124 – First Collect – Feria sexta in quadragesimo GeV 1163 – First Collect – In sexta feria mensis decimi
Ve 1309	<i>Unique to the Veronense</i>
Ve 1310	GeV 119 – First Collect – Feria quarta in quadragesimo
Ve 1311	GeV 120 – Second Collect – Feria quarta in quadragesimo
Ve 1312	GeV 1166 – Secreta – In sexta feria mensis decimi
Ve 1313	<i>Appears in several Eighth Century Gelasian texts</i>
Ve 1314	GeV 117 – Post-communion – Feria tertia in quadragesimo GrH 120; GrT 181; GrP 99 – Post-communion – Natalis sanctae agnae secundo GrH 683 – Post-communion – Nativitate sanctae mariae
Ve 1315	GeV 73 – First Collect – In sexagesima

The first set of Tenth Month Vigil texts shows up elsewhere among the Masses of the week following the beginning of Lent in the Gelasianum. If we recall, these days

precede the entry for the Saturday of the 12 Lessons of the First Month in the Gelasianum.⁵⁸

Only the second oration of the first vigil set (Ve 1308) and its post-communion (Ve 1314) appear in the Gregorian manuscripts. The former is the collect for Monday of the Third Week in Lent; the latter is the post-communion for the Second Feast of Saint Agnes. The post-communion appears again in the Hadrianum only for the Feast of the Birth of Mary. It is also strange that the *ad populum* blessing (Ve 1315) is used as a collect in the Mass for Sexagesima Sunday. There appear to be only two compositions that remain original to the Verona collection.

Table 8 will show us where the texts of the second Mass set of the Christmas Vigil in the Veronese (Ve 1316-1324) occur among the sacramentaries:

Table 8. Textual Concordance of Ve 1316-1324

Ve 1316	<i>Unique to the Veronese</i>
Ve 1317	GeV 118 – <i>Ad populum</i> Blessing – Feria tertia in quadragesimo
Ve 1318	<i>Unique to the Veronese</i>
Ve 1319	<i>Unique to the Veronese</i>
Ve 1320	GeV 127 – Post-communion – Feria sexta in quadragesimo
Ve 1321	<i>Appears in the Bergamo sacramentary</i>
Ve 1322	<i>Unique to the Veronese</i>
Ve 1323	GeV 1167 – Post-communion – In sexta feria, mensis decimi – Friday of the December Fast GrH 337; GrT 393; GrP 298 – Post-communion – Feria v in cena domini
Ve 1324	GeV 113 – <i>Ad populum</i> Blessing – Oraciones et preces dominica in quadragesima inchoantis initium GeV 219 – <i>Ad populum</i> Blessing – Feria sexta ebdomada iii – Friday of Third Week in Lent

These texts are not used as widely as the preceding prayers among the other Roman sacramentaries. The texts of Ve 1316-1324 may not have circulated as widely as Ve 1306-1315. There may also be some evidence that Ve 1316-1324 represents a much older layer of the Ember tradition, whose purity the redactors wished to maintain. These texts may as well have been newer compositions for the December Ember vigil. The shared texts appear to be connected with Lent in the Gelasianum and with the Mass of the Lord's Supper in the

⁵⁸ See above, page 72.

Gregorians. The second oration (Ve 1317) is quite interestingly used as the *ad populum* blessing on Tuesday of the first week of Lent in the Gelasianum.

In any event, it seems odd that the texts for a Quarterly vigil occurring within the month of December come to be used primarily in a Lenten context in the other Roman sacramentaries. The texts for the vigil of the Seventh Month are not found in the other sacramentaries, except, as is cited above, in partial form and only in two contexts.⁵⁹ It is most curious that the December vigil texts (of either set) do not show up as part of any other Ember vigil liturgy in the other Roman sacramentaries. This evidence may argue in favor of the antiquity of the December Embertide, if not all the Embertides, over and against that of other seasons, particularly Lent. Editors of the Lenten sets of prayers may have imported texts from the Embertide to stress penitential understandings inherent in the later season, which prayers may not have expressed the same understandings in the former season.

In the Gelasianum the texts for the Saturday vigil fall, as they do for the Fourth and Seventh Month vigils, under a section heading containing all the liturgies of the Fast of the Tenth Month, Section 85: *Orationes et preces mensis decimi*. This is the final section of the sanctoral cycle of Book II. The title given to this section is similar to that given to the Fasts of the First and the Fourth Month.⁶⁰ There is no direct relationship with Advent aside from the fact that the Ember Week section comes after a series of *alia* sections comprised of

⁵⁹ See above, page 125. This is the secret prayer of the Gelasian September vigil, which appears as the secret in both the Mass for Passion Sunday (the Fifth Sunday in Lent) and the Mass of the Major Litany on April 25 in the Gregorian sacramentaries.

⁶⁰ This similarity prompts Chavasse to comment that the texts of the Fourth and Tenth Month fasts may be older than those for the Seventh Month in the Gelasianum, as the heading for the section on the Seventh Month Fast does not mimic the patten of *Orationes et preces*, but only *Orationes*. The First Month fast is not mentioned as for Chavasse it is even more recent than any of the other Quarterly periods. See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 197.

Orationes de adventum domini. The location of these texts outside an Advent grouping may, again, reveal a more ancient stratum of development for the December vigil.

Five orations precede a prayer *Post benedictionem*, whose text assigns it to the reading/canticle from Daniel 3. The text is the same as that found in the Gregorian sacramentaries. A similar title appears before the Daniel 3 prayer at the Fourth Month vigil, also, although the text utilized there is different. Chavasse believes that the lack of a title prior to the prayer associated with Daniel 3 in the Seventh Month vigil indicates that the Fourth and Tenth Month Fasts manifest a commonality, to which idea this author will return in the conclusions at the end of this chapter.

The orations prior to the ‘Deus qui tribus’ prayer contain no Advent themes, but maintain the perspectives found in the other Ember vigils that this is a period of re-conforming oneself to Christian life. The texts of the prayers do not speak of divine retribution for sin, but rather acknowledge that sin is its own punishment, and those who find themselves in a state of sin require God’s consolation.⁶¹ The certainty of divine aid in perfecting Christian life (“Miserationum tuarum...praeveniamur auxilio,” GeV 1172) stands out in the texts. The fast is also considered a solemn observance (“solemnitate jejunii,” GeV 1172) in itself. Except for the prayer, “Deus qui tribus,” none of the vigil orations appear linked to a particular scripture reading as we find in the lectionary lists. This has been consistent among all the Ember vigils.

Two of the Gelasian vigil orations appear in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The oration, “Converte nos deus,” GeV 1170 (second in number among the Gelasian December

⁶¹ “Preces populi tui, quaesumus, deus, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur: per.” (GeV 1173).

vigil orations) is used as the collect on the Monday of the first week of Lent (*Feria ii ad sanctam petrum ad vincula*);⁶² another interesting connection to Lent. However, the appearance of the second oration, GeV 1173, “*Preces populi tui*,” (fifth in number among the Gelasian vigil orations) is more curious. In the Gelasian sacramentary the oration reassures the faithful that consolation awaits them through the “visitation of your (the Lord’s) tenderness” (“*pietatis tuae visitatione*”). Willis rightly interprets this passage in its Gelasian context as an allusion to the Eucharistic action toward which the vigil is leading, rather than to the Incarnation.⁶³ This is not the case it seems where we find the same text in the Gregorian sacramentaries. In the Gregorian manuscripts “*Preces populi tui*” is used not only in the Tenth, but also in the First Month vigil. In the Gregorian December vigil the text concludes as it does in the Gelasianum with, “*pietatis tuae visitatione*.” In the Gregorian March vigil, however, the oration is slightly edited. Here the sinner is no longer consoled by the visitation of the Lord’s tenderness, but now is “mercifully liberated” according to the glory of the Lord’s name (“*pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur*”).⁶⁴ As we shall see in the Gregorian tradition the December vigil prayers take on a markedly Advent character, where “visitation” is now equated with “Incarnation.” The need arises, therefore, to differentiate a second use of the text, “*Preces populi tui*,” in March. This development

⁶² GrH 171; GrT 227; GrP 142

⁶³ Willis, “Ember Days,” 89.

⁶⁴ In the First Month Vigil: “*Preces populi tui domine quaesumus clementer exaudi, ut qui iuste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur. Per dominum.*” (GrH 196; GrT 252; GrP 167). In the Tenth Month Vigil: “*Preces populi tui, quaesumus, deus, clementer exaudi, ut qui iuste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur: per.*” (GrH 801; GrT 839; GrP 804) See also Willis, “Ember Days,” 89.

among the Gregorians may attest that the Gelasian texts represent a more ancient stratum, whose textual meaning appears unaltered by an encroaching Advent season.

The vigil texts move immediately to the prayers for the Mass, as they do in the Seventh and Fourth month vigils. Again, as at the September Fast, only a secret, post-communion, and *ad populum* prayer are provided. There is no preface, as is consistent with the Seventh Month, but not with the First and Fourth Month vigils. The secret and post-communion prayers do not mention Advent, but make petition for restoration and protection. The *ad populum* is also devoid of Advent references, emphasizing instead the work of God, which drives away treachery, protects the weak, and sustains the helpless.⁶⁵ As we saw with the other Ember Seasons (the presence of a Second Sunday in Lent following the First Month vigil and the Octave Sunday of Pentecost at the Fourth Month vigil notwithstanding) of the Gelasianum a Sunday, *Dominica vacat* or otherwise, does not follow the Saturday liturgy in December.

It will be noticed that the texts of the major Gregorian sacramentaries are strongly influenced by Advent. The Advent themes in the Gregorian Embertide formularies may represent a later evolution by a well-enough established Advent season of an original system that predates the introduction of Advent into the Roman, perhaps even the papal, calendar. The Ember week texts appear after the Third Sunday in Advent (*Dominica iii ad sanctum petrum*). Since the sacramentary places this liturgy at Saint Peter's we may presume this

⁶⁵ "Veniat, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo supplicanti tuae benedictionis infusio, quae diabolicas ab eodem repellat insidias, quae fragilitatem mundet et protegat, quae inopem sustentet et foveat: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum." (GeV 1177) While the initial, "Veniat," may lead some to see in the text an orientation to the coming of Christ, it is more appropriately referring to the infusion of the Lord's blessing ("tuae benedictionis infusio") that grants protection and assistance.

Sunday to be the indiction Sunday for the Ember Week, or the Sunday when the Ember Week was announced, but there is no indication of this in the prayer texts.⁶⁶ A *Dominica vacat* with liturgical texts follows the Saturday vigil, but no suggestion is made that this is the Fourth Sunday in Advent, and no Fourth Sunday of Advent appears in the sacramentaries. The *Dominica vacat* is the last of the Mass sets in the Gregorians followed by a series of *aliae orationes* for Advent, which are not connected to any specific liturgy.

Six orations make up the vigil portion of this Ember season, the final oration being the standard text, which accompanies the Daniel 3 reading/canticle, “Deus qui tribus.” The influence of the season of Advent upon the other orations is apparent from the beginning. The first oration, “Deus qui conspicias,” adapts in a different way the idea we found already in the prayer shared in the Gelasian tradition, “Preces populi tui.” Where “visitatione” refers in the Gelasian to the mercy of the Lord’s healing and forgiveness, it now refers to the coming of the Lord.⁶⁷ The texts of the second and third orations mention the Only-Begotten Son (“unigeniti filii”), whose birth is both anticipated and extraordinary. The fourth oration speaks of “the coming solemnity of your Son” (“filii tui ventura solemnitas”). However, the expectation of Christ’s birth is not necessarily focused on joy, but rather upon the needs of the depraved (“pravitate”), the unworthy (“indignos”) and the humbled (“deprimimur”) to be corrected in a strange, but uniquely Advent, mix of pessimism and hope. With the exception of the orations, “Preces populi tui” and “Deus qui tribus,” the other Gregorian vigil orations

⁶⁶ The liturgies of the other Advent Sundays are not provided with locations in the Gregorian sacramentaries.

⁶⁷ “Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Per.” (GrH 797; GrT 835; GrP 800)

can be found also in the Gelasianum among a series of orations following the post-communion prayer in Section 84, *Item alia missa* (GeV 1146-1156). There is no designation given for these orations in the Gelasianum, they merely appear following the post-communion prayer. This section precedes the Gelasian December Embertide (Section 85). Finally, the Gregorian texts lack any reference to the fast. What we may have in this case is a substitution of statements on the fast with statements on the coming of the Only-Begotten Son.

We may discern a portion of a more ancient core in the two prayers constituting the Mass, which, as in the Gelasianum and in the Veronese, occur immediately following the Daniel 3 prayer. The secret and post-communion prayers do not contain any Advent themes. The secret asks that the offering contribute to the devotion and the salvation of the assembly.⁶⁸ The post-communion prayer reflects on the sharing of the Eucharist as means for restoration and healing.⁶⁹ The same sentiments occur in many of the same prayers during the other Embertides. These texts have not undergone the assimilation into Advent as experienced by the other texts of the vigil, but remain rooted in an earlier portion of the tradition. It is unclear, however, why the vigil prayers experienced this incorporation more than those of the Mass. It is interesting, if the orations following the lessons are meant to reflect the lessons in some way, that the orations of the December Ember Vigil are no more linked to the scriptural lessons even when those readings are read through an Advent lens.

⁶⁸ “Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.” (GrH 803; GrT 841; GrP 806)

⁶⁹ “Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta mysteria quae pro reparationis nostrae munimine contulisti, et praesens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum. Per.” (GrH 804; GrT 842; GrP 807)

The three presidential prayers of the *Dominica vacat* witness as well to the transitional tension from a primitive Tenth Month Embertide to an Advent Embertide. Only the collect expresses an Advent premise in its opening words, “Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni.” This collect also reflects the fourth of the graduals in the Roman antiphonals for the December Ember Vigil. It may be that this text in both instances represents a transitional moment in the keeping of the Embertide to a celebration nuanced by the development of Advent. The secret merely repeats the same as that prayed at the vigil Mass, and the post-communion prayer petitions that reception of the Eucharist may increase salvation. Both of these themes are more significant of the Ember season as it was primitively established, than expressive of a later Advent theology. The *Dominica vacat* bears hallmarks of a novelty: insertion of Advent qualities into the opening collect, and the repetition of the previous evening’s secret prayer, which comes about to satisfy the need for a Sunday liturgy when the Saturday vigil no longer spans the period from Saturday into Sunday. The issue of an absent Fourth Sunday of Advent in the Gregorian sacramentaries is left unresolved by the texts of the “empty Sunday” liturgy.

Analysis of the Ember Vigils in Light of the Texts

The analysis of the four Embertide vigils undertaken in Part I of this dissertation leads to several observations concerning their particular and unique liturgical celebration. From the beginning, it must be admitted that there is a complexity not only of the vigil as enacted, but also of the whole facet of the Ember seasons. As one heads down a road with a plausible explanation of how these seasons functioned, eventually one finds a conclusion hindered by an equally plausible detour. One truth, however, appears to be certain, that the purpose for which these weeks originated in antiquity, be that pre-Christian or early Christian Rome, is not the same function they came to hold in later centuries. It is, then, equally certain to affirm with Talley that there were always four periods of Quarterly ritual fast and intensive prayer and not three instances that incorporated a fourth at a later time.¹

The Four Embertides

It was mentioned in the Introductory Comments of Part I that extra-liturgical manuscripts identify these weeks principally by the number of the month in which they occur. The practice of referring to these times as *Quattuor Tempora* is a later development. While reference to Embertides in the Fourth, Seventh and Tenth months appears more frequently in these manuscripts, their position within the calendar, separated by three

¹ Thomas J. Talley, "The Development of the Ember Days to the Time of Gregory VII" (Th.D. diss., General Theological Seminary, 1969), 216-217.

months each, understands a symmetry which would be in keeping with Roman pragmatism.² This symmetry implies the inclusion of an Ember Season at the First month, March. The months assigned an Embertide are those, also, containing the yearly solstices and equinoxes. The spring equinox, occurring as it does during the month of March, would have influenced its inclusion among the other Ember weeks from the beginning. It is not a mere coincidence that the Ember seasons corresponded with these cosmic and natural moments of the year, but that in a very profound way they are purposefully equated with them.

Second, the introduction of the season of Lent into the calendar distorted some of the original meaning and purpose of this spring Embertide. The texts, which initiate Lent in the Gelasianum provide evidence of this alteration. While a Saturday liturgy appears for the First Month at GeV134-139 and again at GeV157-162, there are no specific liturgies for Wednesday or Friday of the First Month. There is the unusual title for the Wednesday of Quinquagesima Week, *In jejuniu prima statione. Feria iv* (GeV 89-93). From its position in the calendar this day may be identified as Ash Wednesday. However, the title of the liturgy also bears the hallmarks of the Embertide. Wednesday and Friday were “stational” days of the Ember season, meaning that the community was called to gather on these days. In the Gelasianum the only section in the entire manuscript identified as “stational” (*statione*) is GeV 89-93. The texts comprising this section are not any more “Lenten” than are the texts for the spring Embertide Saturday vigil at GeV 134-139, and in fact bear a remarkable resemblance to similar texts used on other Ember days. The absence of sermons by Leo I on

² For more detail on these intellectual aspects of Roman society one of the best most recent surveys is found in Kevin M. McGeough, *The Romans: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), see especially pp. 248-284.

the stationary days of the Embertide may indicate that these were “alitururgical” days, excluding a eucharistic synaxis on these days.³ Finally there is the puzzling title for the First Sunday in Lent in the Gelasian sacramentary, *Orationes et preces dominica in quadragesima inchoantis initium* (Section 18 in the Gelasianum). The last two words, *inchoantis initium*, possibly translated as “the beginning of the beginning,” may reflect a need to clarify what was being celebrated once the season of Lent begins to interfere with the older Ember practices.

The Lenten transformation of the Ember observance is also manifest in the presence of a Saturday liturgy in the first week of Lent (*Feria septima*, GeV 129-133) in the Gelasianum immediately prior to the Saturday vigil of the First Month (GeV 134-139). It is not the case here of a morning liturgy, followed by an evening liturgy, but rather a duplication of Saturday brought about by the insertion of Lenten weekdays into the more ancient solemnization of the spring Embertide. The appearance of a Mass for the Second Sunday in Lent (Section 25) following the First Month vigil Mass (Section 24) again testifies to the displacement of the Embertide, as the Mass for the Second Sunday in Lent makes more sense if related not to the Saturday Ember vigil, but back to the *Feria septima* of the first week of Lent.

A similar altering occurs in the meaning of the summer Ember week. Recall that the summer Embertide comes to be associated with Pentecost, and eventually assumes the role of the feast’s octave week. This association poses an unusual conflict where the celebration of Pentecost Sunday now doubles as the indiction Sunday for the Quarterly Fast that

³ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 286.

followed. The odd conflation of feast and fast on the same day leads to confusion: does Pentecost celebrate the Spirit's coming or prepare for a fast? Furthermore, the title for the summer fast in the sacramentaries and lectionaries associates it with the Fourth Month, *mensis quarti*, which would place it in June. And yet, Pentecost does not always fall in June and is more often celebrated in May.⁴ Among the seven sermons of Leo on this topic the earlier three, numbers 75-77 concern Pentecost Sunday, while the later four, numbers 78-81, concern the "Pentecost fast." Only sermons 75 and 76, and sermons 78 and 81, contain the "Leonine formula of indiction"⁵ for observing the Ember fast. It may be that the homilies mark occasions when Pentecost fell during the month of June, the fourth month, and occasions when it did not. The distribution of these sermons illustrates times when Leo associated the Fourth Month Fast with Pentecost and when he did not. The fact that the Gelasian sacramentary's Fourth Month Fast omits all references to the Holy Spirit in its texts, which references figure prominently in the Gregorian sacramentaries, reveals another layer of a developing displacement of the summer Embertide by the feast of Pentecost.

Talley points out that the *Comes* of Murbach locates the fast of the Fourth Month the week following the third Sunday after Pentecost. This arrangement keeps the fast in June, the title of its celebration in the liturgical books, rather than locating it on a particular week

⁴ While the Verona collection does place the section dealing with the Fast of the Fourth Month under the month of May, what appears here is only one Mass set, which does not appear to be the Saturday vigil. Recall also that an entry for the Fast of the Fourth Month appears in an *item alia* set under the section, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*. While Talley sees this as a lack of concern to place the summer fast in the month of June, it may as well be evidence could support another example of the disjointed nature of the Verona collection. See Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 249.

⁵ This is the formula that maps out the liturgical observance of the Ember Week: "Quarta igitur et sexta feria jejunemus, sabbato autem apud beatum Petrum vigilemus."

after Pentecost.⁶ Even though the *Comes* dates from the latter part of the eighth century and is of Franco-Roman provenance, it may be that what is kept here in the Roman core of this manuscript is a more ancient memory of the time of the Ember observance.

The issue of the date of the spring Ember week is equally complicated. Again, the terminology for this celebration reads: *mense prima*, in the Gelasian sacramentary as well as in the lectionaries. The Gregorian sacramentaries do not identify the week, *per se*, as *mense prima*, but neither do they designate any of the other liturgies of the Ember seasons by the month in which they occur, except for Saturday vigil of the Fourth Month. If from a very early period Roman practice associated the spring fast with the first month then this title must link it to March. March may not always claim the beginning of Lent, like June and the celebration of Pentecost, which beginning can fall as often in February. Now a forty-day fast appears in Rome prior to the year 340, given Athanasius' reference to its observance while in exile there.⁷ It is this fast that Leo links to three others: at Pentecost, in the seventh month, and in the tenth month respectively, in Sermon 19 about one hundred years later. Such a lapse in time may explain the clouded understanding of a previous fast unassociated with a Lenten season, even one that originally may have been only three weeks long. This development may also explain the absence of Leo's customary indiction formula from his sermons on first week of Lent.

⁶ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 251.

⁷ Talley describes a 40-day Lent as an "unpopular innovation" when introduced into Egypt in the fourth century especially when viewed in light of Athanasius' letters, which lament those who disregard observance of the forty day fast. See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 168-170. See also Athanasius' Festal Letter, number 12, to Serapion (PG 26.114).

The Structure of the Ember Vigil

The particular concern of the first part of this dissertation is the structure and meaning of the Embertide vigil. The study has shown that the Embertide Vigils possess a unique structure when compared with the structure of the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. The sacramentaries provide very little rubrical information on the Embertide vigils. The Roman *ordines* (OR 37A, OR 37B, and OR 38), on the other hand, are our best source for ceremonial details. These *ordines* stem from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, however, and are highly Gallicanized.⁸ What remains of a Roman core in them is difficult to uncover. There is no evidence of a lucernarium, which is celebrated at the beginning of the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasianum; and mention of a procession to the church where the Embertide vigil will be celebrated only appears at OR 38.4-5.⁹ The Ember vigil does not immediately begin with the lessons, as is seen in the Gregorian sacramentaries and in the Roman *ordines* for the Paschal and Pentecost vigils.¹⁰ Rather, according to the *ordines* the vigil of the

⁸ Andrieu demonstrates this Gallican origin for each of the ordos by the manner in which each ordo begins by citing that each Quarterly Fast is assigned to a particular week of the month in which it occurs. See Michel Andrieu, *Les "Ordines Romani" du haut moyen âge*, vol. 4, *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense* 28 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1985), 213-214, 258; and OR 37A.1-4; OR 37B.1-4; OR 38.1.

⁹ OR 38 (from the tenth century) supplies a procession from a church *ad collecta* to the stationary church for the vigil on the Saturday of the Ember Week, though neither church is mentioned. Such a practice is non-Roman, as none of the sacramentaries supplies a collect *ad collectam* as part of the Saturday vigil. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 4, 258-259.

¹⁰ The only exception Andrieu notes is with a codicille found at OR 37A.12, where the manuscript says that if the week prior to Pentecost falls in June, then the Ember Week is observed and on Saturday at the ninth hour the readings for the Vigil of the Fourth Month are proclaimed with their responsories and the Daniel canticle. The readings are proclaimed, however, in the fashion described in the *ordines* for Pascha: "*Cum autem leguntur non pronuntiat lector, Lectio libri, sed inchoat plane.*" It is presumed that the vigil of Pentecost would follow in the evening, with the previous readings and responsories serving as an office during the day. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 4, 228-229.

Quarterly Fasts begins with an *introit* antiphon followed by the *Kyrie eleison*.¹¹ This pattern is confirmed in the antiphonals, which all contain an *introit* heading the selection of chants for the Saturday vigil. Finally, where the *ordines* of the Paschal Vigil expressly prohibit the recitation of a prayer, an “opening oration,” prior to the first reading of the vigil, the *ordines* of the Ember vigil specifically mention praying an oration following the *introit* and litany, *sicut in sacramentorum continet* (OR 37A.6; OR 37B.8).

The above notation has an interesting bearing on how one understands the arrangement of the vigil of the Ember Days. Only the Gelasianum contains a rubric for an “opening prayer” prior to the readings at both the Paschal and Pentecost vigils.¹² The Gregorian sacramentaries omit the prayer, leading scholars to view it as a non-Roman interpolation into the schema of the vigil. In addition, both in the Gelasian and in the Gregorian sacramentaries each oration for the Paschal and Pentecost scripture vigil is indicated by reference to the scriptural book proclaimed, which is printed above the text of the oration. The vigil orations of the Quarterly Fasts in the same sacramentaries contain none of these careful correlations of oration to scripture reading. Each sacramentary section on the Ember vigils merely presents a series of orations.

Talley and Chavasse espouse a theory, which views the first oration listed in each section of the Ember vigils as an opening collect, just as one finds in the Gelasian Paschal

¹¹ See OR 37A.5-6; OR 37B.7-8; OR 38.7 (the processional litany, OR 38.2-4, takes the place of the *Kyrie* in this ordo).

¹² Following the proclamation of the blessing and lighting of a candle with the text, “*Deus mundi conditor*” (GeV 426-429) a rubric directs: “*Post hoc surgens sacerdos a sede sua et dicit orationes de vigilia paschae sicut in sacramentorum continetur.*” (GeV 430). The *orationes* are introduced by a prayer, “*Deus qui divitias misericordiae*” (GeV 431), which precedes the Genesis reading and the prayer following it, “*Deus incommutabilis*” (GeV 432).

and Pentecost vigils, and not a prayer linked to any of the vigil readings; this has been commented upon above. It has been hinted, however, that such an arrangement may be forced when applied to the Embertide vigils.

Talley and Chavasse support their theory by turning to the pattern of presidential prayers found among the sections for Eucharistic celebrations in the sacramentaries.¹³ As these prayers begin with an opening collect, Talley and Chavasse argue, so too must be the case in the celebrations of the Quarterly Fast vigils. Again, the Ember Week *ordines*, which all state that a prayer is offered before the lessons are read, affirm this point of view.¹⁴ Talley and Chavasse's premise, however, that the first oration of the Ember vigil represents an opening collect raises more questions than answers about the structure of the Ember vigils. The first oration in the Gelasian Vigils of both Pascha and Pentecost exhibit the characteristics of a prayer intended to begin the liturgical celebration while the first orations of the Embertide vigils in the Verona, Gelasian, and Gregorian sources do not. Table 1 following assists in examining this more closely.

¹³ See Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958), 110-113; and Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 214-215, 221-225. Essentially both Chavasse and Talley see an archaic pattern of five presidential orations – opening collect, *oratio super sindonem*, *super oblata*, post-communion, and *super populo* – preserved to an extent in the Gelasian sacramentary, but which the Gregorians reduce to three orations. See, however, Willis' assessment on the *oratio super sindonem* in "The Variable Prayers of the Roman Mass," 99-102. This theory is used to explain also the number of readings in the vigil, as we will see below, pages 148-159.

¹⁴ For example: OR 37A.6-7: 6. "*Deinde pontifex dicit: Oremus. Diaconus: Flectamus genua. Et, ut surrexerint, dicit: Levate. Prosequitur sacerdos orationem primam sicut in Sacramentorum continet.*"

7. "*Sequitur lectio et tunc pronuntiat lector: Lectio libri, et legitur in sensu lectionis sicut epistolae Pauli diebus dominicorum.*"

Table 1. Comparison of the First Oratio of the Ember Vigils with the “Opening Collect” of the Gelasian Paschal and Pentecost Vigils

Paschal Vigil Opening Collect GeV 431	Pentecost Vigil Opening Collect GeV 618
<p><i>Deus, qui divitias misericordiae tuae in hac praecipue nocte largiris, propitiare universo ordini sacerdotalis officii, et omnes gradus famulatus nostri perfecta delictorum remissione sanctifica, ut ministraturos regeneratrici gratiae tuae nulli esse obnoxios patiaris offensae: per.</i></p> <p>O God, who especially on this night grant bountifully the riches of your mercy, rendered favorable by the whole order of priestly service, and sanctify all the degrees of our service by a perfect forgiveness of offenses, that you may not allow any of the ministers of your grace of regeneration to be liable to give offense: through...</p>	<p><i>Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti novam tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purgatae jejunio cunctis reddantur ejus muneribus aptiores: per dominum nostrum.</i></p> <p>Grant us, we beg, O Lord, through the grace of the Holy Spirit the new teaching of the spiritual observance of your Advocate, that our minds made clean by the holy fast may be restored more suitable through all his gifts: through our Lord...</p>
Fast of the First Month Verona Collection	<i>Vigil not included in text</i>
Fast of the Fourth Month Verona Collection	<i>Vigil not included in text</i>
Fast of the Seventh Month Verona Collection–Ve 916	<p><i>Concede, quaesumus, domine, ut ad preces tuas corda nostra flectamus; et esse tibi possibilia cuncta fidentes, non de elementorum profutura nobis speremus effectu, sed de tua virtute suppliciter inploremus: per...</i></p> <p>Grant, we beg, O Lord, that we may bend our hearts to your requests; and trusting (that) in you all things to be possible, may we not hope in the performance of simple substances to profit us, but may we humbly beseech your strength: through...</p>
a. Fast of the Tenth Month Verona Collection–Ve 1306	<p><i>Supplices, domine, te rogamus, ut fructuum terrenorum commodis sufficienter adjuti, ad te omnium proficiamus auctorem: per...</i></p> <p>Suppliant, O Lord, we pray to you, that having been sufficiently aided by the benefits of the fruits of the earth, we may make progress by you the originator of all things: through...</p>
b. Fast of the Tenth Month Verona Collection–Ve 1316	<p><i>Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, firmitatem religionis et pacis, ut quanto tibi devotius famulamur, tanto diebus nostris prospera cunctaque succedant: per...</i></p> <p>Grant to us, we beg, O Lord, firmness of religion and peace, that the more we attend devotedly to you, the more in our days prosperous things and all things may advance: through...</p>
Fast of the First Month Gelasian Tradition–GeV 134	<p><i>Deus, qui delinquentes perire non pateris, donec convertantur et vivant: debitam, quaesumus, peccatis nostris suspende vindictam et praesta propitius, ne dissimulatio cumulet ultionem, sed potius per jejunium emendatio prosit ad veniam: per dominum nostrum.</i></p> <p>O God, who does not permit the erring ones to die, as long as they may be converted and live: withhold, we beg, the vengeance owed by our sins and favorably inclined bring to bear, lest keeping secret increase retribution, but above all may correction through fasting be useful towards pardon: through our Lord...</p>
Fast of the Fourth Month Gelasian Tradition–GeV 666	<p><i>Praesta, domine, quaesumus, famulis tuis talesque nos concede fieri tuae gratiae largitate, ut bona tua et fiducialiter inploremus et sine difficultate sumamus: per.</i></p> <p>Supply, O Lord, we beg, to your servants and grant us to become so excellent by the bounty of your grace that we may both confidently beseech your goodness and without difficulty we may obtain it: through...</p>
Fast of the Seventh Month Gelasian Tradition GeV 1044	<p><i>Tribue, quaesumus, domine, fidelibus tuis, et jejunio mensis septimi convenienter aptentur, et suscepta solemniter castigatio corporalis ad fructum cunctarum transeat animarum: per.</i></p> <p>Grant, we beg, O Lord, to your faithful ones, that they may be both suitably prepared by the fast of the seventh month, and solemnly having undertaken bodily correction may pass through to the profit of all souls: through...</p>
Fast of the Tenth Month Gelasian Tradition GeV 1169	<p><i>Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris et praesentis vota jejunii placita tibi devotione exhibere concede: per.</i></p> <p>Be present, O Lord, to our supplications and grant (us) to present to you the vows of the present fast with pleasing devotion: through...</p>

Fast of the First Month Gregorian Tradition GrH 192; GrT 248; GrP 164	<i>Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice atque ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte. Per.</i> Look favorably upon your people O Lord we beg and mercifully turn aside the scourge of your anger from them. Through...
Fast of the Fourth Month Gregorian Tradition GrH 545; GrT 591; GrP 487	<i>Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus infunde, cujus et sapientia conditi sumus et providentia gubernamur. Per.</i> Kindly pour out the Holy Spirit into our minds O Lord, both by whose wisdom we were created and by whose providence we are governed. Through...
Fast of the Seventh Month Gregorian Tradition GrH 712; GrT 751; GrP 686	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui per continentiam salutarem et corporibus mederis et mentibus, majestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut pia jejunantium deprecatione placatus, et praesentia nobis subsidia praebeas et futura. Per.</i> Omnipotent everlasting God, who through helpful restraint heals both in body and in spirit, we humbly entreat your majesty, that appeased by the righteous supplication of the fast, you may provide help to us both in the present and in the future. Through...
Fast of the Tenth Month Gregorian Tradition GrH 797; GrT 835; GrP 800	<i>Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Per.</i> O God, who sees we are afflicted because as a result of our depravity, kindly grant that as a result of your visitation we may be consoled. Through...

The text of the first oration in the Gelasian Paschal and Pentecost vigils, especially the Paschal Vigil text, petitions the Lord to favor the ministers who are about to enact the liturgical service. As such it could be perceived accurately as an “opening” to the liturgy in the sense of a preparatory prayer for the ministers. Nothing within this text captures the basic themes of the Paschal Vigil in any other way. If the opening collect is to be interpreted in this manner, as a prayer of preparation, then the same may be inferred of the collect at the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasianum. This oration includes a petition for purity before beginning the vigil, although it is a bit more thematically focused upon the Holy Spirit. A comparison of these texts with the first oration of the Embertide vigils, however, reveals that the latter do not share the same construction or sentiment. The first oration of the Embertide vigils does not pray that the ministers of the liturgy perform their duties well, nor is it distinguishable from the orations that follow it in petitioning that the Quarterly Fast profit the faithful. It would appear that Chavasse and Talley identify the first oration of each

Embertide vigil as an opening collect because of its placement in the schema and not primarily because of its content.

The first oration of the Embertide vigil is labeled no differently from the other five orations that follow it in the sacramentaries. In fact, the successive orations of the Gregorian Ember vigils receive the label “*alia*” – another – suggesting similarity to the first oration, rather than difference. Chavasse and Talley conclude that the purpose of the initial oration of the Gelasian Paschal and Pentecost vigils is to introduce the liturgy. They arrive at this decision based upon the oration’s location in the liturgical unit apart from those prayers identified with the biblical lessons. The same context does not appear at work in the Embertide vigils, where the liturgical units do not list the first oration apart from the other orations. As far as concerns the Paschal and Pentecost vigils in Roman papal practice, as witnessed by the Gregorian tradition, there was no initial prayer and the vigil began immediately with the first reading of the service.

The Number of Lessons of the Ember Vigil

Designating the first oration of the Embertide vigils as an opening collect seems also to confuse the number of readings that constitute the vigil. If we take the operative structure of a pre-Eucharstic vigil as a scripture lesson, followed by silence, then by an oration, we may determine that the sacramentaries present by way of the number of prayer texts preceding a *super oblata* prayer, which prayer is joined to the Eucharistic liturgy, the number of readings that constituted the vigil.¹⁵ Furthermore, if the pattern holds for six

¹⁵ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 193-194.

readings, read in two languages, so that twelve readings are proclaimed at the Saturday vigil, then removing the first oration as an opening collect leaves only five possible readings, given the five remaining orations. The final lesson of the Quarterly vigils (except at the First Month Vigil in the Gelasianum, and at the Seventh and Tenth Month vigils in the Verona collection) is taken from Daniel 3, the hymn of praise proclaimed by Azariah and his companions in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar.¹⁶ The oration, “Deus qui tribus,” which appears (save in those exceptions noted above) before the *super oblata* prayer, determines the position of the Daniel lesson. This is the only oration whose content clearly echoes a biblical text.

With or without an “opening collect,” the sacramentary structure of the Paschal and Pentecost vigils, as shall be seen in Chapters Three and Four,¹⁷ establishes a liturgical pattern where the addition of the sacraments of initiation appear to separate an Old Testament based scripture vigil from a Eucharistic liturgy. In the latter are included those elements customary to a Mass, particularly the proclamation of the epistle and the gospel. Talley and Chavasse, however, appear to forgo consideration of this structure in their description of the Embertide vigils and include the epistle, but not the gospel among the six lessons. Their reason for making this concession is that the epistle appears counted among the lessons in the ancient epistle lists. If the Paschal Vigil is viewed, however, as the *mater omnium sanctorum vigilarum*, then the epistle would not be considered an element of the vigil, but rather of the Eucharistic service that followed it. The question whether or not a

¹⁶ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 219.

¹⁷ See below, pages 205-211 and 293-315.

Roman pre-Eucharistic vigil containing New Testament lessons existed is left definitively unanswered, although lectionary evidence seems to point in the negative.¹⁸ The tradition associates the epistle historically and thematically with the celebration of the Mass.

Talley supports his argument for including the epistle among the vigil lections by associating the Embertide vigils with the sacrament of Holy Orders. When the practice of performing ordinations to the presbyterate and diaconate was added to the vigil, these took place after the epistle and its tract, providing a newly ordained deacon opportunity to proclaim the gospel afterward. This arrangement included the epistle among the vigil lessons, and it counted as the sixth lesson.¹⁹ The celebration of ordination, however, must be seen as an intrusion into the practice of keeping Ember vigils; therefore, the presence of the epistle at the vigil cannot lay claim to an original structure of keeping vigil.

Furthermore, one must remember that the Roman epistolaries were precisely that: lists of the

¹⁸ Robert Taft highlights the fact that the office vigil, as distinct from the pre-Eucharistic vigil, consisted primarily of psalmody and that proclaimed lessons are not part of that liturgical unit's core. See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 188-190.

¹⁹ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 220-221. Yet, the references to ordination occurring during the Ember Day vigils found in the *ordines* are a bit confusing: at OR 37A.7 the *ordo* provides for a Pauline epistle to be read, but at OR 37A.8 the *ordo* reads that it is after the canticle of Daniel 3 that the rite of ordination begin: "*Expleta autem lectione, quae est Danihel prophetae, canit benedictionem et, dum benedictio canitur, qui ordinandi sunt stent in poio sub gradibus.*" The same structure can be found in OR 37B.12 in the Sangalliensis and Munich recensions. Only the London and Wolfenbuettel recensions of OR 37B and OR 38 follows the pattern Talley describes, at OR 38.10, it reads: "*Benedicite finito, dicat pontifex: Dominus vobiscum. Sequitur oratio Deus qui tribus pueris. Deinde lectio et tractus.*" (Here *lectio* must refer to the epistle as it follows the Daniel canticle). At OR 38.11 it follows: "*Post haec celebrabitur consecratio sacrorum ordinum.*" In OR 36, an Romano-Frankish *ordo* for ordination from the late ninth to early tenth century, a direction is given at no. 15: "*Subdiaconi legunt lectionem et cantent gradale, expectantes illi qui benedicendi sunt sub ambone, donec quinque lectiones compleantur.*" At no. 16 it continues: "*Deinde apostolicus legit ipse advectionis brevem coram populo et stant parati singulorum ministri cum indumenta donec archidiaconus veniat et singulis singula sua manu tribuat.*" After the readings are completed, the ordination rite begins with the distribution of the garments of office to the candidates. There is, however, no mention of reading the epistle prior to the rite beginning, although no. 15 does mention five readings are proclaimed.

New Testament epistles that come to function as the only other reading besides the gospel at the Eucharist. The appearance of Old Testament lessons in the epistolaries is the exception harkening back to ancient practices when the Old Testament lessons numbered among the readings at Eucharist. The sacramentaries and the Roman *ordines* do not count the epistle among the Old Testament lessons in the celebration of the Paschal Vigil. The Holy Week *ordines* place the proclamation of the epistle after the rites of initiation, which rites occur before the *Gloria* is sung.²⁰ It would be an odd development in the liturgical tradition, particularly of Rome, to proclaim the *Gloria* after the epistle.

Another irregularity that arises by including the epistle among the vigil texts is that the epistle generally has neither a gradual nor a prayer assigned to it.²¹ While Talley admits the lack of a prayer associated with the epistle, he claims that the tract that follows it functions in the same way as the graduals for the other readings.²² Citing the presence of two epistles in the Würzburg Epistolary for the First and Fourth Month vigils Talley surmises that one epistle concluded the vigil, while the other epistle served at the Mass. Talley bases this argument on the time of nightfall and the earlier celebration of the Embertide vigil in spring and summer.²³ Yet his thesis does not consider the fact that the Würzburg list omits a second epistle in the seventh and tenth month vigils, and ignores the

²⁰ See the description of the enactment of the Paschal Vigil below in Chapter Three, pages 217-223.

²¹ Those scholars who posit that the double orations for the Mass in the Gelasian tradition represent prayers associated with the epistle must also admit that the structure of the Gelasianum places these prayers, especially in the Paschal and Pentecost vigils, among the sections dealing with the Eucharistic celebration and not in the sections labeled for the vigil.

²² Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 193.

²³ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 214-215. However, Talley also says of these explanations that one is more unusual than another, and so gives a begrudging acceptance to this theory.

fact that nightfall and an early vigil in December would seem to be of more dramatic concern in comparison to nightfall in either spring or summer. Furthermore, the need to make the epistle the final text of the vigil conflicts with Talley and Chavasse's affirmation that the final prayer of the vigil is that associated with the text of Daniel 3.²⁴

Talley and Chavasse's argument to include the epistle as a vigil lesson revolves also around a desire to maintain a number of readings consistent with the liturgical title for the Embertide vigils found in the sacramentaries, *Sabbato in XII lectiones*. Is this title, however, primitive enough upon which to base the structure of the vigil? As we have seen, the number of vigil lessons varies a great deal at times even within the Würzburg Epistolary, one of the most ancient of the Roman lectionaries we possess. Morin concluded that a second epistle was added in order to supply the *Dominica vacat* formulary with a needed epistle once it ceased to be "*vacat*" and developed into a day Mass following the nighttime vigil Mass.²⁵ Doubling the epistles in the lectionary lists is a function of supplying this lesson for the second Mass in the morning and the second epistle cannot be counted among the vigil lessons. The appearance of a double epistle occurs, however, in the Würzburg Epistolary only in the vigils of the First and Fourth Months. The Epistolary supplies six Old Testament readings for the Seventh Month Vigil and five for the Tenth Month Vigil before it lists a single epistle, and does so without mentioning the Daniel canticle. If the epistle is considered a part of these vigils, then in the Seventh Month Vigil alone we have seven

²⁴ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 111-112; and Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 219.

²⁵ G. Morin, Morin, "Le plus ancien '*Comes*' ou lectionnaire de l'église romain" *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 50.

readings with which to contend, eight if the missing Daniel canticle is understood in the Würzburg context. With these unexplained or unaddressed elements in mind, it might appear that both Talley and Chavasse have overlooked a deeper stratum for the composition of the Ember vigil.

Scholarship on the liturgy of the Ember days again and again centers on the vigil as the crucial element in the quarterly observance. Leo I acknowledges the importance of the vigil at Saint Peter's, yet he never refers to the liturgy as consisting of a particular number of readings. The evidence supplied by the Veronese also does not give us certainty about the number of lessons assigned to the vigil. We encounter the title, *Sabbato in XII lectiones*, in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, whose extant manuscripts date to around the middle of the eighth century. It is also found in the lectionaries, but not consistently and here may lay the clue to a deeper stratum of Ember vigil practice.

The Würzburg Epistolary, whose origin may date back to the beginning of the seventh century, names *Sabbato ad sanctum petrum in XII lectiones* only for the vigil of the First Month. The Epistolary notes the vigils of the Fourth, Seventh, and Tenth Months as, *Sabbato ad sanctum petrum*, without any reference to the number of readings. This same title appears in the Corbie Lectionary for the Fourth Month Vigil, and again in the type II manuscripts of the Roman gospel capitularies for the Tenth Month Vigil. The latter gives the entry as *Feria vii ad sanctum petrum*. There may be more here than a mere slip of the copyist's pen, which raises a question or two on the true number of lessons that composed the Ember vigils.

The earliest commentator on the liturgy of the Quarterly Fast to ascribe twelve lessons to the Saturday vigil is Amalarius of Metz in the ninth century, who while believing himself to be quoting Roman practice did not always have a correct picture of that practice.²⁶ The number of vigil lessons is the product of sensitivity to the Eastern embassies, which populated Rome from the mid-sixth to the mid-eighth centuries: an original six-lesson vigil becomes twelve if proclaimed in Greek and in Latin for both populations in attendance. This custom, in turn, reflects a manner of proclaiming the lessons of the Paschal Vigil bilingually, as stated in the Roman *ordines*, and sensitive to similar conditions.

There are two problems, however, in affirming the Ember vigils as a bilingual liturgy. The first is the absence of any direction to read the Ember vigil lessons in Greek and in Latin in the *ordines* for the Ember seasons, as one finds in the *ordines* for the Paschal Vigil.²⁷ Our only source on this practice is, again, Amalarius.²⁸ The practice itself is undoubtedly an innovation, but one that bears a lasting mark on the celebration. Second, as already maintained, the practice of observing the Ember seasons is much older than their transformation during the Byzantine centuries in Rome. Thus, the premise of a twelve-lesson Ember vigil cannot have been in place before the seventh century when the presence of the Byzantines in Rome called for the bilingual doubling of the six lessons.²⁹ What of the

²⁶ See above, page 108.

²⁷ Only three of the *ordines*, OR 23, the Appendix to OR 28, and OR 30B, make reference to a bilingual proclamation of the Paschal Vigil lessons.

²⁸ See Amalarius *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.1.50 (PL 1076d-1078d).

²⁹ See G.G. Willis, "Ember Days," in *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*, Alcuin Club Collections 46 (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), 85; Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 111-113.

six-lesson foundation of the Embertide vigils; do the sources affirm that the Saturday night liturgy of the Quarterly Fasts consisted of six lessons from antiquity?

An examination of the liturgical texts reveals that the Würzburg Epistolary contains a number of discrepancies in the quantity of readings assigned for each of the Ember vigils. The First and Fourth Month vigils contain six readings, an arrangement consisting of four Old Testament and two New Testament epistles. The Seventh Month lists six Old Testament readings and one epistle. The Tenth Month vigil contains five Old Testament readings and one epistle.

Many of the Roman lectionaries in the sections on the Embertide vigils provide distinct rubrical links that connect the Old Testament lessons and that explain the use of two epistles when they appear. In most cases the rubric is simply, *ubi supra*. In the Würzburg Epistolary, however, these rubrics are somewhat exceptional. In the First Month Vigil, as is shown in Chapter One, Table 1, the first epistle is titled, *in lec. xii mens primo*, and the second epistle in relation to it and not to the Old Testament lessons reads, *item alia unde supra*. In Chapter Two, Table 4, the Tenth Month vigil places a single epistle prefaced by the notation, *ad scm petrum*, in contrast to the Old Testament lessons, which as with the other Ember vigils bear the label, *ubi supra*. I believe that the manner in which the Würzburg Epistolary notes the lessons of the First and Tenth Month vigils is more than stylistic variance, but rather a deliberate distinction is made between the vigil lessons and the epistle.

The distinction is between the vigil itself and the night Mass that follows, and between the vigil Mass and the Sunday Mass that begins to appear the next day, as per

Morin. The appearance of a second epistle in the First and Fourth Month vigils witnesses the liturgical evolution that occurred as the true nighttime vigil divided into separate Saturday and Sunday liturgies. The second epistle's absence from the other Ember vigil lists demonstrates also that supplying the *Dominica vacat* with a Mass formulary came about in stages beginning with the First and Fourth Month fasts. The gradual association of the First and Fourth Month fasts with the season of Lent and the feast of Pentecost may have contributed to the need for supplying a second epistle for a Sunday liturgy.³⁰

Removing these epistles for the vigil Mass and for Sunday from the vigil proper still leaves inconsistencies. One can only account for four readings in the vigil of the First and Fourth Months. Six is the number of lessons we find in the Seventh Month Vigil; and five readings exist for the Tenth Month Vigil. There is also the problem of the missing reading from Daniel 3, which Chavasse understands is implied in the Würzburg Epistolary.³¹ Adding the Daniel 3 to the lists and reckoning it as a lesson, rather than a canticle, produces five lessons in the vigil of the First and Fourth Months, seven in the Seventh Month, and six for the Tenth Month. Only the Tenth Month Vigil, it seems, agrees with the pattern of a six-lesson scripture vigil. Talley believes that the Daniel canticle was introduced into the Ember

³⁰ Willis' claim that the *Dominica vacat* is the Mass text used in those churches, which did not celebrate ordination, whose texts would be employed for the Mass that followed the vigil as the Ember Saturday becomes the setting for administering the sacrament of orders (see Willis, "Ember Days," 80), is interesting. This claim would posit that the *Dominica vacat* does not function as a consequence of the time of celebration of the vigil, but results from a topical influence on the vigil not practiced in all churches. But his conclusion appears to neglect that the texts and chants of the vigil or the Mass, which follows, carry themes associated with ordination.

³¹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 111.

liturgy only in the seventh century, perhaps as a contribution to the bilingual liturgy.³² If the Daniel canticle is taken out of the equation as an element not present in the earliest layer of establishment of the vigil, and the epistle is removed because its inclusion among the vigil readings results from the later incursion of ordination into an already existing Ember celebration, what remains as the organization of the vigil lessons is even more perplexing. Table 2 outlines this arrangement below. The table lists the epistle and the Daniel canticle in parentheses because the epistle appears in the lectionary evidence of the 7th and 8th centuries, and the Daniel reading, while functioning primitively as a canticle is represented as a lesson in some of the lectionaries.

Table 2. Comparison of the Embertide Vigil Arrangements in the Roman Lectionaries

First Month	Fourth Month	Seventh Month	Tenth Month
Four lessons	Four lessons	Six lessons	Five lessons
(Daniel canticle)	(Daniel canticle)	(Daniel canticle)	(Daniel canticle)
(Epistle)	(Epistle)	(Epistle)	(Epistle)

From the data it appears that the September vigil alone remains faithful to a six-lesson schema, that is, until we compare its entry in the Würzburg Epistolary with one contained in the Lectionary of Alcuin, closest in antiquity to Würzburg. Compared with one another, Alcuin omits the second reading in Würzburg, Jeremiah 30:8-11. The September Ember vigil in Alcuin, excluding the Jeremiah lesson, consists only of five readings. If the evidence in the Lectionary of Alcuin suggests that the lesson from Jeremiah is an addition to Seventh Month Vigil in the Würzburg Epistolary (for reasons unknown) then the number of lessons in the Würzburg September vigil matches the number of lessons in the December

³² Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 219; and Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 112 note 40. Chavasse does believe that the evidence of Daniel 3 in the Gallican sacramentaries and its defective use in these contexts demonstrates that the lesson is a Roman practice translated to Gaul rather than vice versa. More will be said of the introduction of the Daniel canticle below.

vigil. Given the pattern one could conclude that the Ember lessons were distributed in a very equitable manner: four in the spring and summer months, and five in the fall and winter months. Such a judgment is faulty, because the sources reveal no reason for this type of distribution. A further examination of the December Ember vigil in the Lectionary of Alcuin, moreover, uncovers only four Old Testament readings, rather than five as in Würzburg; the lesson from Isaiah 42:1-9 being omitted.

This analysis offers two possible conclusions. The first comes from Chavasse's own study of the Ember seasons in the Gelasianum. In this work, he notes that the texts of the prayers for the Fast of the Seventh Month and their organization seem more recent than the structures of either the Fourth or the Tenth Month Embertides. Chavasse compares the titles given to the liturgies of the September Quarterly Fast in the Gelasian sacramentary (those provided for Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday), and finds them dissimilar to those of the June and December fasts, the latter two being almost identical.³³ This does not mean the September fast is a later introduction into the Ember schema, for it has been demonstrated here that one should conceive of the institution of four Ember seasons from the beginning. Rather, the September Ember season represents, particularly with its vigil, an example of

³³ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 197. Chavasse uses the table below to demonstrate his finding:

Fast of the Fourth Month GeV 654-675	Fast of the Tenth Month GeV 1157-1177	Fast of the Seventh Month GeV 1037-1052
<i>Incipiunt orationes et preces mensis quarti</i>	<i>Orationes et preces mensis decimi</i>	<i>Orationes in jejuniis mensis septimi</i>
A. <i>Feria quarta</i> B. <i>Feria sexta</i> C. <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones</i>	A. <i>Feria quarta</i> B. <i>In sexta feria</i> C. <i>Sabbato in XII lectiones</i>	A. ----- B. <i>In sexta feria mensis septimi</i> C. <i>In XII lectiones die Sabbati</i>

transition and differentiation, which the structure of these liturgies underwent in the centuries leading up to the editions of the extant liturgical manuscripts.

More intriguing, and perhaps more plausible, is a second conclusion. It may indeed be that the primitive Roman Ember vigil had nothing to do with six or twelve lessons, but rather consisted of four lessons. This is the most consistent number of Old Testament lessons shaping the vigils of the summer, fall, and winter Ember seasons in the lectionaries. If Leo the Great acknowledged the Ember Seasons to be not only a papal celebration, but also important in Roman liturgical practice, then the Embertide pre-Eucharistic vigils may correspond to the papal form for such vigils. The custom of assigning four lessons to a liturgical vigil may exemplify Roman practice. Applying Anton Baumstark's premise that ritual development in liturgy moves from simplicity to complexity,³⁴ what occurs not only in the First, Fourth, and Tenth-Month vigils, but more prominently in the Seventh Month vigil is an augmentation similar to what shall be seen in the Paschal Vigil of the Gelasianum, and in the same vigil found in Aniane's Supplement to the Hadrianum. The reason why this augmentation appears so dramatically in the Seventh Month Vigil and not in the others may very well be answered by the fact that September is the only Ember season not contesting with the introduction of another season introduced into the calendar. September, a month containing only a few sanctoral memorials within the budding liturgical calendar, provided a fertile field for experimentation in heightening the enactment of its Ember vigil.³⁵

³⁴ Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, rev. Bernard Botte, trans. F.L. Cross (London: A.R. Mowbry and Co., 1958), 19-20.

³⁵ There are not many sanctoral days contained in the sacramentaries during September, and aside from the Birth of Mary on September 8, and the Holy Cross on September 14, which in the Gelasianum is still

Evidence in the Roman antiphonals concurs with the pattern of a uniquely Roman pre-Eucharistic vigil practice. In the oldest of the antiphonals, the Gradual of Monza and the Antiphonal of Rheinau (both from the eighth century, but representing a more ancient foundation),³⁶ the only Ember vigils they document are those of the first and tenth months, which fall in their respective calendars. While the other antiphonals record four graduals for these and the vigils of the other seasons, Monza and Rheinau count only three graduals in the Saturday vigil of the first and tenth months. The disagreement in the data for the Embertide vigils is resolved when compared with the lectionary arrangements for the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. In these latter vigil systems, three chant pieces, albeit canticles and not graduals, consistently accompany three particular lessons and in the major Gregorian sacramentaries the first reading was never accompanied by a chant of any kind. It may be determined as this study moves forward that the Roman tradition for celebrating a pre-Eucharistic vigil consisted of four scripture lessons and three chant pieces.

contending with another Holy Cross feast on May 3, no Christologically based feasts. Recall, also, that where it appears in the Roman antiphonals the Fast of the Seventh Month is found wedged among the Sundays of the year toward the end of each antiphonal.

³⁶ It is difficult to say how ancient the cores of these manuscripts are, although Hesbert believes that subtle archaisms in the text of the Cantatory of Monza may reveal aspects dating to early 7th century. One such archaism is an entry for a feast of Mary, *In natale sanctae mariae*, that falls between an entry for Saint Hermes (28 August) and one for Saints John and Sabina (29 August). This Marian feast, whether for Mary's Nativity or the Assumption, is not a part of the primitive layer of the antiphonal. In addition, a Mass, *Dedicatio basilicae sanctae mariae*, lists no gradual, but only an alleluia. The full Mass composed in 608 appears in the other antiphonals, and Hesbert proposes that the missing gradual in Monza may mean that the day corresponded to another observance prior to the incorporation of the dedication Mass into the calendar. See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, x-xi.

The Role of the Daniel Canticle in the Embertide Vigils

If the research of Part I of this dissertation points in the direction of a four-lesson, three-chant schema as the most primitive plan of keeping the Ember vigil, it is important to consider now the final element that eventually comes to conclude the Ember scripture vigil, the Daniel canticle. While the sacramentary tradition by and large insists that Daniel 3 plays a definitive role in concluding the Quarterly Fast vigil, the lectionary evidence is not as conclusive. Table 3 below will help to illustrate this situation.

The Daniel reading does not appear at in the Würzburg Epistolary for any of the Quarterly Fast vigils. Recall that the passage is also strangely absent from the Lectionary of Alcuin for the September vigil. Where and when the pericope is listed, it is accompanied by a rubric that it ought to be read (*hic debes legere*); it is read (*hic legitur*, or simply, *legitur*), or that it is required (*require*) and in this last context further qualified as either “at the Paschal Vigil” or just as in the other fast months. No other lesson of the Quarterly vigils

Table 3. The Presence of Daniel 3 in the Saturday vigil of Quarterly Fast

	Würzburg Lectionary	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitatus (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
Fast of the First Month		v. Dan. <i>Angelus domini cum Azaria et Benedictio</i> (3: 49)	Lectio V <i>Danihelis prophetae. Require in vigilia paschae</i>	Daniel 3: 49-55, etc., a liturgical text	<i>Item ubi supra ista lectione lege in quattuor tempora mense primo et quarto et VII et X.</i>
Fast of the Fourth Month		Dan. <i>Angelus domini</i> (3: 49)	<i>Hic debes legere angelus domini. Require in vigilia paschae</i>	<i>Hic legitur Danihel propheta. Require mens. prim.</i>	<i>Hic legitur lectio danihelis prophetae.</i>
Fast of the Seventh Month		v. <i>Hic leg. Danih. Proph.</i>		<i>Hic legitur daniel</i>	<i>Hic legitur lectione danihelis prophetae.</i>
Fast of the Tenth Month		vi. Dan. <i>Angelus domini cum benedictione</i>	<i>Require Angelus domini in vigilia paschae</i>	<i>Legitur Danihel propheta</i>	<i>Sequitur lectio danihelis prophetae.</i>

contains such a rubric. Its placement is generally standard as the fifth item in the list, except at the December vigil in the *Comes* of Murbach where Daniel 3 is oddly placed sixth, and here it follows the epistle. Only Murbach connects the pericope with the *Benedictio* (though only in the First and Tenth Months), which follows it, although the *Liber Comitis* mentions an “*et cetera*” in the vigil of the First Month.

Such is the peculiar situation with Daniel 3: 49-55 in the lectionaries. In the sacramentaries it is much the same. The sections of the Verona collection where the Ember vigil orations are recorded suggest no evidence of a prayer linked to a reading from Daniel 3. One may inquire whether the Verona editor or the tradition from which the Verona collection grew knew of such a reading. If we affirm the presence of Daniel 3 by way of the oration, *Deus qui tribus*, then both the Gregorian and the Gelasian traditions knew of it. The exception is, of course, the spring Ember vigil in the Gelasianum, where the oration and presumably the lesson do not appear. Excluding Daniel 3 from the spring Ember vigil is most curious. If as some scholars have posited the spring Embertide was a latecomer to the Ember observances, then surely its vigil in the Gelasianum should include Daniel 3, found in all the other Ember vigils. The fact that it is not may reveal something more extraordinary about the spring Embertide and its witness to a stratum of earlier development among the Ember vigils such as we see in the Verona collection.³⁷

Its appearance aside, how ought we to interpret the role played by Daniel 3 in the vigil liturgy of the Quarterly Fasts? Historically, the Daniel 3 canticle originates in the Jerusalem Paschal Vigil, where it serves to greet the newly baptized upon entering the

³⁷ See Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 219.

church for the celebration of the Paschal Eucharist.³⁸ The canticle occurs also as the final lesson in the Gelasianum Paschal Vigil, but does not serve the same purpose. In the Jerusalem liturgy the scripture performs a post-baptismal transitional function the same way Psalm 41 will lead to the rites of initiation at Pascha in the Roman liturgy. There are some distinctions, however, in the use of these two elements. Herman Schmidt believes that when it appears in the Paschal Vigil Psalm 41 functions solely as a psalm and even though it is numbered among the Paschal Vigil lessons its designation is always as a psalm and not a lesson.³⁹ Daniel 3, on the other hand, is a hybrid composed of a prose narrative and a hymn. Talley understands the lesson portion of Daniel 3 is contained in verses 49-51, and the remainder of the passage serves as the canticle.⁴⁰ The same pattern exists in regard to the Paschal Vigil lessons from Exodus 14, Isaiah 4, and Deuteronomy 31 in the Paschal Vigil, which readings conclude with a respective canticle. Noting this, the Murbach *Comes* alone includes *cum benedictio* with the Daniel 3 pericope in some of its Embertide vigils, just as the Gelasianum includes the phrase *cum cantico* with lessons to which a canticle is appended at the Paschal Vigil. Daniel 3 not listed, however, as *cum cantico* in the Gelasian Paschal Vigil.

While affirming that Daniel 3 serves as a transitional moment in the Ember vigil, toward what does it move is not entirely clear. Talley favors, based upon data in the Roman *ordines* cited above, that this transition led to the rites of ordination to the presbyterate and

³⁸ See below, pages 235-236.

³⁹ See below, page 215.

⁴⁰ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 219.

the diaconate.⁴¹ Talley, however, also states that the canticle is a seventh-century import into the vigil liturgy. If so, it would mean the appearance of Daniel 3 in the vigil occurs much later than the practice of ordination, which appears during the pontificate of Gelasius I (492-496).⁴² Although, the close proximity of Gelasius' reign to the initiation of Byzantine influence upon the papacy at the beginning of the sixth century might suggest that importing Byzantine elements into the liturgy may have begun earlier.

The selection of Daniel 3 as a transition to ordination at this point in the Ember vigil is even more peculiar. The text of the reading, as John Collins understands it, is a celebration of life – a powerful rescue by the hand of God from a dire situation.⁴³ This reading ties quite nicely with the celebration of baptism and the transformation from death to new life brought about by the rituals of initiation. Its incorporation into the Jerusalem liturgy is understandable; its use for an ordination ritual less so.

References within the Lectionary of Alcuin to sing the Daniel canticle “required at the Paschal Vigil” (*Require in vigilia paschae*) are just as peculiar. While this link between the Ember vigils and the Paschal Vigil may suggest a commonality, the manner in which the Daniel 3 canticle functions at the Ember vigil is not replicated in the Gelasian Paschal Vigil. Since the rubric conveys an idea that the canticle is expected at the Paschal Vigil, the rubric's presence at the Ember vigil may be a neat rhetorical device to lend a greater

⁴¹ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 220-221.

⁴² See above, page 37, for Gelasius' ruling on when ordinations are to take place. See also Paul Bradshaw, *Ordination Rites of the Ancient Churches of East and West* (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1990), 21; and Willis, “Ember Days,” 79.

⁴³ See John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees: With an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), 48.

credibility to the Byzantine influences shaping the Paschal Vigil. An important lacuna to acknowledge, though, is the fact that Daniel 3 does not play a role in the Gregorian Paschal Vigil. If the Embertides and the Gregorian sacramentary stem from a similar papal context, it is extremely odd that Daniel 3 is not shared between these vigil traditions. In the end, it may be safe to say that Daniel 3 is not original to the most primitive Roman kernel of keeping an Ember vigil. Its appearance is most likely the result of non-Roman influences upon a presbyteral Ember ritual derived from the papal liturgy. Yet by the eighth century the canticle has worked its way into the Roman practice across the board, assuming a constitutive, although enigmatic, role in the vigil.

Preliminary Conclusions

Given this lengthy analysis of the Saturday vigil practiced during the four uniquely Roman Quarterly Fasts a final question to ask is perhaps a more general one: What does the Saturday Ember vigil communicate regarding keeping vigil at Rome? The celebration of the Ember vigil liturgies is unique even when compared with the vigils of Pascha and Pentecost, with which it shares a more developed organization in the sacramentaries and lectionaries. Unlike the composition of the Paschal and Pentecost vigils, which separate a scripture vigil from a festal Eucharist by way of a sacramental ritual, the Embertide vigils do not, even when the sacrament of Holy Orders becomes associated with the liturgy.

While the section on the Saturday vigil of the First Month in the Gelasianum embodies the Paschal and Pentecost model of a vigil separate from a Mass, this pattern is not common to the other Ember vigils in the sacramentaries. In the latter the Ember vigil

liturgy, as presented in the sacramentaries appears as a single unit, which begins with a series of orations connected to an extended scripture vigil and concludes with the post-communion oration of the Eucharistic liturgy. This structure evokes, perhaps, a true pre-Eucharistic vigil ordered to something quite different than the introduction of a sacramental ritual or even a prelude to a Eucharist. The fact that in the sacramentaries (including the Verona collection to some degree) the prayers of the vigil lead directly to those that constitute the Mass, presents an intriguing style of Eucharistic celebration quite different from other expressions in the same liturgical texts.⁴⁴ The practice of ordination, which comes to be introduced into the celebration, upsets this pattern, just as initiation may do the same to the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. The lack of any impact of ordination upon the liturgical texts or elicited in the lessons chosen for the vigil attests to an original purpose that did not include celebration of the sacrament. The need to proclaim the lessons in Greek and Latin is also a much later addition, which becomes part of a gradual augmentation of the Ember celebration and not evidence of its earliest stages of development. It may well be that the Ember vigil, if not the Ember season itself, was treated as a distinctive and exceptional liturgical event.

The connection of the Embertides to the seasonal transformations of creation, spring into summer, summer into fall, fall into winter, and winter's movement into spring, place their Saturday into Sunday vigil liturgies in profound relief; a relief similar to and yet distinct from the transformational nights of Pascha and Pentecost. Far from the connections to agriculture or even to some pre-Christian mystery rites, the Ember vigils, according to

⁴⁴ Talley, "Development of the Ember Days," 212.

Talley, manifest a concern for a periodic articulation of the year and of the role of Sunday within it.⁴⁵ Why this articulation? If the role of keeping vigil is eschatological at its foundation, then the vigil of the Quarterly Fasts channeled that eschatological focus to one of the most powerful moments of ancient reckoning, the solstices and equinoxes. These moments epitomize the very real groaning of creation as it moved through the year, bringing humanity that much closer to its fulfillment. Hence the prayers and scriptural lessons of the vigils focused upon the renewal, which awaited all of creation, and the need to be both mindful of and single-minded toward that reality. The Ember seasons and in particular their vigils in being connected to nothing more eloquent of God than creation itself express something of what it means to celebrate vigil *qua* vigil, or better, Sunday *qua* Sunday.

The Ember vigils share with the Paschal and Pentecost vigils the same time frame for liturgical celebration: Saturday into Sunday. In particular, the Paschal and Ember vigils share a special bond. Pascha becomes the memorial of the definitive act of God in re-creating the world, which is recalled on every Sunday. The Ember seasons and their vigils celebrate the work of God in the process of this re-creation. The role of Sunday in the early Church did not serve merely for edification of the faithful, but there was a strong element of anticipation and enactment toward the “Day of the Lord.” The texts of the liturgies do not convey so much an expectation of the fulfillment that awaits believers, as they desire to assist believers in becoming more aware of the fulfillment already at work.

There is no reason given why the Ember seasons become a chosen period within which to ordain men to presbyteral and diaconal office. Gelasius writes only that

⁴⁵ Talley, “Development of the Ember Days,” 150.

ordinations are to be done during the Ember weeks, he does not say why this should be so. If, however, these astronomical weeks in the cosmos were viewed as primordial transitional points, encapsulating God's saving work, what better time than the Ember seasons to celebrate the sacrament, which provides leadership for the people of God; especially as the community stands upon the cosmic threshold of the fulfillment of God's promises. This statement remains conjectural without the further material this study will supply in the next two chapters. Nevertheless, the rituals associated with ordination are a later addition to the already established practice of keeping these times of the year as Quarterly Fasts. The fundamental aspect of these weeks, and of the vigil of recognizing the desire and power of God "to make all things new" in the seasonal transformation of creation lies at the heart of the Ember celebrations. It is the perception of the power of keeping vigil at these pivotal points in the cycle of nature that operates when the decision is made to add equally powerful sacramental rituals to them, drawing together heaven and earth.

PART TWO

The Earliest Vigils of the Paschal Cycle

Introductory Comments

General Observations About the Paschal Vigil

The Paschal Vigil is supposed by many to be the most ancient form of Christian vigil as well as one of the earliest elements in the liturgical calendar of Rome. Our examination of the Embertide vigils suggests that the antiquity of that practice may well outstrip that of the annual Paschal Vigil. Despite the Paschal Vigil's reputation for antiquity, useful information on the details of its earliest form of celebration is sparse. Augustine calls the Paschal Vigil the "mother of all vigils,"¹ yet he offers little information about others. Does he mean that Pascha is the first and source of all vigils or just that Pascha is the greatest of all the others? In either case, Augustine leaves the contemporary researcher unenlightened about any vigil but this one.² Perhaps familiarity with a whole panoply of vigils made this epithet's meaning clear to his fifth-century audience. It leaves us perplexed.

To undertake a full-scale analysis on the origins of an annual celebration of Easter at Rome would go beyond the scope of this dissertation. It will suffice to sketch, as far as is possible, the origin of the vigil elements of the Easter celebration. This sketch will include

¹ See Augustine of Hippo *Sermo* 219, *In vigiliis paschae*, I (PL 38.1088).

² It is interesting that the appearance of Pascha as a feast in the calendar is never qualified as being a vigil outright. In North Africa, Tertullian refers to baptism at Pascha (*De Baptismo* 19), but says nothing about the celebration taking place at a vigil. While the question of when to celebrate Pascha is the principal issue during the Quartodeciman Controversy (2nd -3rd centuries), the role of a vigil is not discussed. It may be that here also the understanding of the time to observe the feast was so well known it went without saying. References to Roman practice of the Paschal Vigil, however, should be approached with caution in light of recent research, see John Baldovin, "Hippolytus and the *Aposotolic Tradition*: Recent Research and Commentary," *Theological Studies* 64 (2003): 520-542. It is important to note that initially the annual commemoration of Pascha appears as a memorial of Christ's passion and death, which in turn leads to the nighttime assembly on a Saturday in anticipation for his return. (See Herman Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 32-33.

consideration of the equally perplexing time for celebrating this vigil, Friday into Saturday or Saturday into Sunday, as well as what exactly this vigil recalled: the salvific death of the Lord, his victorious resurrection, or a composite of both these elements.

The practice of keeping a nocturnal vigil at Pascha seems foundational to the celebration from a very early period. It is not clear whether this was an exception, or whether the nighttime assemblies were part of the weekly cursus. Perhaps the evening setting of the Jewish Passover influenced the Christian Pascha. Talley affirms the constitutive role of the vigil at the celebration of Pascha using evidence provided in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, a church “order” or liturgical guide, which originates in Asia Minor around the middle of the second century.³ This liturgical vigil commences on a Saturday night and culminates around cockcrow (or 3 o’clock in the morning) on Sunday.⁴ The motifs of this vigil, as the manuscript describes them, are based on the account of the apostle James’s death and of Peter’s arrest and liberation from prison in Acts 12 where Passover is the context for the vigil. The section on the celebration of Pascha in the *Epistula Apostolorum* begins with these words of the Lord to his disciples, “...you celebrate the memorial day of my death, that is the Pascha.” A closer view of the text in light of the Acts 12 typology, as Karl Gerlach has undertaken, shows the words focus not upon the death of Jesus, but upon his ascent to the Father. Through the image of Peter’s rescue from

³ Thomas J. Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 31-32.

⁴ “And you therefore celebrate the remembrance of my death, which is Passover [Pascha]...And when you complete my Agape and my remembrance at the crowing of the cock...” *Epistula Apostolorum* 15. Translation: Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed. *Gospels and Related Writings*, vol. 1 of *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 257-258. The passage appears in both a Coptic and an Ethiopian recension; the Ethiopian version alone is complete). See Karl Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha: A rhetorical history* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 97-98, 111.

imprisonment and reunion with the community, keeping annual memorial at Pascha “celebrates the *via salutis*, not the *historia salutis*.”⁵ That this vigil leads to a dominical Paschal observance reveals a strand of the celebration of Pascha emphasizing Christ’s return to the Father as a transit (διάβασις) over death that in turn becomes a basis upon which we can hope for his eschatological return. Sunday as the “eighth” day expresses this new relationship of creation filled with the power (δύναμις) of Christ.

A second source for the celebration of a Paschal Vigil is the *Peri Pascha* (Περὶ Πάσχα), a Paschal homily of Melito of Sardis, written later in the second century (ca. 160-170). The homily, however, gives no account of the schema of a vigil, nor does it say at any point that it was given at a nocturnal service. What leads scholars to propose that it is a Paschal vigil homily is the fact that it comments essentially upon Exodus 12, the Judaic Passover charter, which the author reminds the assembly they have just heard proclaimed.⁶ This reading, read in a Jewish context at the evening gathering of Passover, functions now as the reading at the Christian Paschal Vigil. Melito, however, redefines the event related by the scripture passage now used in a Christian context at the vigil; here the Jewish Passover of 14/15 Nisan now commemorates the Passover of Christ. The nocturnal vigil of remembrance celebrates Christ’s suffering and death, from which God rescues Christ

⁵ See Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha*, 112-113.

⁶ “The scripture from the Hebrew Exodus has been read and the words of the mystery have been plainly stated, how the sheep is sacrificed and how the People is saved and how pharaoh is scourged through the mystery” (Melito of Sardis *Peri Pascha* 1). Translation: Stuart G. Hall, ed., *On Pascha and Fragments: Melito of Sardis* (Oxford University Press, 1979), 19.

through the resurrection. The result is the birth of a new people of God, which replaces the role Exodus 12 played in the birth of the nation of Israel.⁷

Exodus 12 comes to play a principal role in the liturgy of the Paschal vigils of the East, and through it Melito reinterprets Passover as an attempt to understand Christ's suffering and death. On the one hand, Melito's typology can and does lead to a virulent anti-Judaic polemic; on the other hand, when compared with the accounts in the *Epistula Apostolorum* the typology manifests two trajectories for examining the celebration of Pascha. One trajectory favors the idea of Pascha as transitus, that movement of Christ to the Father, while a second emphasizes the redemptive suffering and death of Christ. Melito favors the latter and in his homily reconsiders the themes celebrated on 14/15 Nisan. Thus, while we may affirm that an annual celebration of Pascha took place within the context of a vigil, this observance may have emphasized a variety of different elements and theologies.⁸

Differences in celebrating what becomes the chief feast of Christianity could and did eventually lead to disputes; among which arise a significant disagreement toward the end of the second century. The context of this disparity concerns the celebration of Pascha at Rome. The church in Rome seems to have tolerated variation in the time for observing the Paschal festival— whether on 14/15 Nisan or on a Sunday – to some degree. Those who

⁷ See Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha*, 76-77.

⁸ The Latin West, or parts of it, may have tended originally toward an association of *pascha* with *passio*. It is not clear from the earliest sources if this association did not stem from North Africa, nor can we measure the influence this may have had upon the practice of observing an annual Pascha at Rome. For a fuller exposition on this issue see Christine Mohrmann, "Pascha, Passio, Transitus," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 66 (1952): 37-52. Augustine attempts a combination of the elements of *passio* and *transitus* in an understanding of an annual Pascha as *transitus per passionem*. Pascha is the Passover of Jesus and of the worshipping assembly in a single event. See Augustine *Ennarrationes in psalmos* 120.6 (PL 37.1609); see also Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West*, 99.

celebrated Pascha according to the Jewish calendar on 14/15 Nisan were primarily immigrants to Rome from Asia Minor. The desire to maintain the prominence of Sunday in the Paschal commemoration prompted Pope Victor I (c.186-c.201) to excommunicate those who did not observe a dominical Pascha. The conflict that arose as a consequence of this action came to be known as the *Quartodeciman Controversy* of 195.⁹ Irenaeus of Lyons, citing a past precedent of mutual respect for Paschal celebration between Pope Anicetus and Polycarp of Smyrna earlier in the century, eventually brokered a reconciliation between Victor and the Quartodecimans, which prompted a tenuous “live and let live” attitude toward diversity in observance.

Previously, scholars had pointed to the Quartodeciman Controversy of 195 as evidence that prior to 165 an annual Paschal celebration was unknown at Rome. This deduction comes by reading Irenaeus’ letter of reconciliation during the Quartodeciman Controversy in a way that appears to suggest prior to Pope Soter (c.162-c.177) the church at Rome did not observe Pascha.¹⁰ Others propose that from a very early period an annual Pascha existed in several ancient communities, including Rome, but with differing

⁹ *Quartodecimani* being those “fourteeners” who espoused the 14/15 Nisan celebration of Pascha. A very good study of this controversy even today is found in the essay by George LaPiana, “The Roman Church at end of the Second Century,” *Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925): 201-207. More recently see the introduction in Rainiero Cantalamessa, *Easter in the Early Church: an anthology of Jewish and early Christian texts*, trans. James M. Quigley and Joseph T. Lienhard (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 8-11; Talley’s coverage in *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 18-27; and Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha*, 319-387.

¹⁰ Talley concludes that Irenaeus’s statement refers to observing Pascha on a Sunday or on 14/15 Nisan, and does not concern whether or not Pascha was celebrated at all. See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 21-24. For support of the argument that an annual Pascha is unknown to Rome prior to 165 see: Karl Holl, “Ein Bruchstück aus einem bisher unbekannten Brief des Epiphanius,” in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2, *Der Osten* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), 204-224; Wolfgang Huber, *Passa und Ostern: Untersuchungen zur Osterfeier der alten Kirche* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969); and Han Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, vol. 2, *The Founding of the Church Universal*, 3rd ed., trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961).

emphases.¹¹ One may garner some evidence for an early third century celebration of Pascha in the West from the works of Western Church Fathers such as Tertullian (early third century). He mentions Pascha as one of the principal occasions on which to celebrate baptism (*De baptismo* 19), and speaks to his wife of “paschal solemnities” taking place “all the night long” (“solemnibus Paschae abnoctantem securus sustinebit,” *Ad uxorem* 2.4). During this same century we find a more developed description of a Paschal Vigil celebration in the Syrian church order, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, that speaks of reading the Prophets, proclaiming the Gospel, and praying psalms until the third hour of the night.¹²

While the data at hand may not allow one to state affirmatively that Rome celebrated an annual Pascha from the very introduction of Christianity into the city, a type of annual celebration becomes part of Rome’s liturgical calendar by the early third century. It is important to note, however, that Tertullian associated *Pascha* not necessarily with the Lord’s Resurrection on an “Easter Sunday,” but with his passion (“Diem Baptismo solemniolem Pascha praestat, cum et passio Domini in qua tinguimur, adimpleta est,” *De baptismo* 19). For him, the length of Pentecost celebrates the resurrection appearances, which time is also appropriate for baptism (“Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris latissimum spatium est quo et Domini resurrectio inter discipulos frequentata est,” *De baptismo* 19).

¹¹ See Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West*, 32. For those scholars who support this view of the origin and spread of the annual Pascha festival see: Christine Mohrmann, “Le conflit pascal au II^e siècle: note philologique,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 16, no. 3-4 (September-December 1962): 154-171; Bernhard Lohse, *Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner* (Gütersloh, Germany: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953); and Cantalamessa, *Easter in the Early Church*, 8-11.

¹² See *The Didascalia Apostolorum: An English Version*, ed. Alistair Stewart-Sykes (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2009), in particular 21.5.18.

Consequent to the issues surrounding the Quartodeciman Controversy, a Sunday celebration for Pascha was becoming the norm in Rome late in the second century.¹³

It is important to note that many scholars believe that at the core of any understanding of *pascha* among the ancients was a unitive “christological” sense of the feast as the memorial of Jesus’ suffering, death, and resurrection.¹⁴ Only later will this memorial come to be parceled out among individual days, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, each bearing a particular facet of the mystery. As the unified memorial “splits,” the practice of keeping vigil becomes joined to a ritual event from Saturday evening into Sunday. It will be noted later that the principal reading, which appears to have shaped a primitive and unitive Paschal festival, Exodus 12, does not find a place among the readings of the primitive Roman Paschal Vigil as it does in the Eastern liturgical celebrations. The reading of this passage shifts to Good Friday, perhaps recalling its original position within the feast, on which day the Church commemorated, in more ancient times, the anniversary of Christ’s victorious death, rather than on the Sunday following it.

¹³ The *Liber pontificalis* mentions that under Pope Victor I it was decreed “the holy Easter should be kept on the Lord’s day from the 14th to the 21st day of the first lunar month,” English translation by Raymond Davis, *The Book of Pontiffs: The ancient biographies of the first ninety Roman bishops to AD 715* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 6. For original text, see Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2nd ed, vol. 1 (Paris: Etudes de Boccard, 1955), 137.

¹⁴ Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West*, 32. See also Cantalamessa, *Easter in the Early Church*, 6-12. Cantalamessa believes that Tertullian’s reference to Passover in *De baptismo* points to a Friday context. Talley does not doubt this may be possible, but then he uses the *Apostolic Tradition* as evidence that baptism in third century Rome took place on a Saturday that ended a period of keeping vigil (see Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 35). The collaborative work of Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell Johnson, and Edward Phillips, as well as that of Marcel Metzger, argues for dating the *Apostolic Tradition* beyond the third century (these positions are reported by John Baldovin, see above, footnote 1) and may throw more weight to Cantalamessa’s position. For work on the dating of this document see Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, ed. Harold W. Attridge (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002), and Marcel Metzger, “Nouvelles perspectives pour la prétendue *Tradition Apostolique*” *Ecclesia orans* 5 (1988): 241-259.

CHAPTER THREE

The Vigil of Pascha

An annual Pascha commemorated with a vigil preceding is established in all of Christianity, including Rome, by the fourth century. While extant manuscripts, such as the *Epistula Apostolorum* or the *Didascalia*, provide depictions of Paschal celebrations in the Greek East, very few ancient accounts or primitive blueprints survive for the liturgical celebration of the vigil practiced in Rome. Records from the fifth century may be the earliest evidence we possess on the Roman Paschal Vigil. Still, the early development of the liturgy of the Easter Vigil appears marked by variation and nuance when one compares its celebratory style among the earliest liturgical texts.¹ The Verona Collection, because of the loss of its initial pages, is silent on the matter of a celebration of Easter or of its vigil. The liturgical texts we do possess, however, reveal a more developed framework for the Paschal Vigil than the other vigil celebrations documented in them. The unique treatment of the Paschal Vigil in the liturgical tradition of Rome requires a manner of consideration different from that employed for the Embertide vigils.

Among the Roman sacramentaries, the Gelasianum, originating among the tituli or suburban parishes of Rome, provides a comprehensive and detailed, though not necessarily the most ancient or most Roman, arrangement of the rites of the Paschal Vigil. The vigil of Holy Saturday night as organized in the Gelasianum will be adopted, therefore, as a pattern around which to discuss the manner in which this liturgical event unfolds in the other Roman sacramentaries, lectionaries, Antiphonals, and *ordines*. Table 1 following outlines

¹ The sacramentary texts associated with the Paschal Vigil appear in Appendix Five, pages 553 to 569.

Table 1. The Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian Sacramentary, Book I, Sections 42 to 45

Section 42B Nos. 425-430 Lucernarium	Section 43 Nos. 431-443 Vigil Readings	Section 44 Nos. 444-452 Baptism	Section 45 Nos. 453-462 Mass
<i>Sequitur ordo qualiter sabbato sancto ad vigiliam ingrediantur</i>	<i>Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato sancto</i>	<i>Inde descendis cum laetania ad fonte. Benedictio fontis</i>	<i>Orationes et preces ad missam in nocte</i>
Rubrical instruction on the entrance of the ministers and on the blessing of the candle (GeV 425)	Oration (GeV 431)	[Litany]	Oration: <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GeV 453)
[Litany]	<i>Sequitur lectio: In principio fecit deus</i> Oration (GeV 432)	[Oration] (GeV 444)	Oration: <i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GeV 454)
Blessing of the Candle – <i>Deus mundi conditur</i> (GeV 426-428)	<i>Sequitur de Noe</i> Oration (GeV 433)	<i>Item consecratio fontis</i> (GeV 445-448)	Secreta: <i>Suscipe quaesumus domine et plebis</i> (GeV 455)
Blessing over the lighted candle – <i>Benedictio super incensum</i> (GeV 429)	<i>De Abraham tertia</i> Oration (GeV 434)	Questions to the Elect and baptism by immersion three times in water (GeV 449)	<i>Item alia:</i> <i>Suscipe domine preces populi</i> (GeV 456)
Rubrical instruction to begin the scriptural vigil (GeV 430)	<i>In Exodo quarta cum cantico: Cantemus domino</i> Oration (GeV 435)	Signing of the crown of the head with chrism by the presbyter (GeV 450)	Preface: <i>VD...adest enim nobis optatissimum tempus</i> (GeV 457)
	<i>In Esaia v</i> Oration (GeV 436)	Giving of the seven-fold Spirit by the bishop and laying on of hands (GeV 451)	[Preface:] <i>VD...te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GeV 458)
	<i>In Ezechiel vi</i> Oration (GeV 437)	Signing of the forehead with chrism, exchange of peace	Infra actionem: <i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis</i> (GeV 459)
	<i>vii in Esaia cum cantico: Vineae domini</i> Oration (GeV 438)		<i>Item infra actionem:</i> <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GeV 460)
	<i>Item in Exodo viii</i> Oration (GeV 439)		Post-communionem: <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut divino munere</i> (GeV 461)
	<i>IX In Deuteronomio cum cantico</i> Oration (GeV 440)	[Litany] <i>Gloria in excelsis</i> (GeV 452)	<i>Item alia:</i> <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut paschalis perceptio</i> (GeV 462)
	<i>In Daniheo x</i> Oration (GeV 441)		
	<i>Oratio post psalmum xli</i> (GeV 442)		
	Rubrical instruction on the rite of baptism to follow and on the celebration of the Eucharist following baptism (GeV 443)		

the structure of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil. The vigil comprises four separate sections in the manuscript (Sections 42B-45), which mirror the four-part shape the Easter Vigil would take in later centuries: a *lucernarium*, a series of scripture readings, the celebration of the sacraments of initiation, and a Eucharist.

Included among the prayer texts are rubrical notes on the performance of the vigil, notes not always contained in a sacramentary and absent from other vigils listed in the Gelasianum. Antoine Chavasse notes that the rubrics can be separated into two groups based upon the use of the second or the third person singular in the verbs describing the action. The ability to classify the rubrics in this way reveals non-Roman influences upon the composition of these texts. Chavasse believes the rubrics connected with the lucernarium are in the third person and are thus more recent and less reliably Roman. It would appear that the original Roman vigil did not begin with the lucernarium, but rather with the readings. This pattern concurs readily with the manner in which the vigil commences in the major Gregorian sacramentaries, in OR 23, OR 24, and OR 30B.²

If the rubrical styles are placed side by side, one discerns the work of an editor who appears to have inserted rubrics from other sources (some outside of Rome), which elaborate on the initial actions of the vigil.³ What occurs is an interesting duplication of rubrics. This is seen in the rubric that follows the readings and prayers at the conclusion of Section 43. The instruction provides a summary of the rituals that follow the scripture vigil – the blessing of the font, baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist of Pascha;⁴ which Sections 44 and 45

² Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958), 96-97. Chavasse believes the use of the third person singular to be trait of the Lateran basilica and found most prevalently in the Roman *ordines*. The insertion of such rubrics demonstrates a second layer of development upon the more ancient stratum of the Gelasian.

³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 97. Chavasse believes that the compiler employs elements from *ordines* 23, 30B, describing the keeping of the Paschal Vigil at the Lateran, and elements of *ordo* 24, which attempts to adapt papal to the vigil of a suburban parish of Rome.

⁴ *Inde procedunt ad fontes cum litania ad baptizandum. Baptismum expletum consignantur ipsi infantes ab episcopo, dum accipiunt septem dona gratiae spiritus sancti, et mittit chrisma in frontibus eorum...et ingrediuntur ad missas in vigilia.* (GeV 443)

proceed to enact. These sections link two different traditions for keeping the Paschal Vigil, which seem to have existed simultaneously in Rome: a presbyteral tradition in the titular churches, and a papal one at the Lateran basilica.⁵

The Introductory Rites of the Vigil and Lucernarium

Section 42 in the Gelasian sacramentary contains the initial rites of the Paschal Vigil. The section can be divided into two: 42A, which concerns the catechumenal rites of Saturday morning (GeV 419-424), and 42B, the lucernarium of the vigil (GeV 425-430). The latter are found under the title, *Sequitur ordo qualiter sabbato sancto ad vigiliam ingrediantur*. A set of rubrics introduces the Paschal Vigil proper at GeV 425. The ministers are told to proceed to the sacristy in order to vest for the liturgy at half past the eighth hour of the day: *viii diei mediante*, (GeV 425).⁶ The Gregorian sacramentaries do not mention such an hour, and the hour itself is puzzling. If cross-referenced by modern standards of time keeping, this would place the vesting of the clerics at around two-thirty in the afternoon, quite a distance from nightfall; an odd time to commence a liturgy, whose nomenclature evokes a nocturnal context. Yet in Rome at this period in history, lacking the (arbitrary?) precision of mechanical devices, time keeping varied a great deal, and half-past the eighth hour of the day in winter could be quite different from the same hour in spring. There is no time given at which the liturgy itself begins, but it may stand to reason that it is not long after the clergy

⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire Gélisien*, 99. *Ordo* 30B.36-66 describes the papal arrangement during the Paschal Vigil.

⁶ See Patrick Regan, "Paschal *Lucernarium*: Structure and Symbol," *Worship* 82, no. 2 (March 2008): 103, where he seems to read the rubric as the time at which the vigil begins, although this is not expressly clear from the text itself: "*Primitus enim viii hora diei mediante procedunt ad ecclesiam et ingrediuntur in sacrario et induunt se vestimentis sicut mos est.*" (GeV 425)

has vested. The Gelasianum will further contrast the time at which the ministry enters the sacristy with the time at which the Mass of the Paschal Vigil begins, *in nocte* (Section 45).

The distinction may permit two conclusions. The first seems to be a practical and pastoral concern toward those who will be subjects of initiation. While some may read the difference between the hours as devaluing the nocturnal context of the vigil, beginning the celebration at half-past the eighth hour of the day, an hour outside of “true night,” may have allowed the inclusion of infants in at least the baptismal celebration. Second, an early time for starting the vigil could also accommodate a vigil of some length. If the time frame for observing the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasianum has been influenced by the vigil practice in the *Epistula Apostolorum* or in the *Didascalia*, then it ought to end around three in the morning. As we shall see the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian sacramentary contains a substantial number of scriptural lessons. The prayerful proclamation of these readings would necessitate an earlier start to the vigil, so that it might conclude at the appropriate hour.

The gathering of the clergy for the Paschal Vigil at an hour not necessarily nocturnal is not reserved to the Gelasianum, alone. The time varies in several of those Roman *ordines* dealing with Holy Week, as Table 2 demonstrates.

Table 2. The Hour for Initiating the Paschal Vigil as recorded in the Roman *Ordines*

OR 23	OR 25	OR 28	OR 29	OR 30A	OR 30B	OR 31	OR 32
23. <i>Sabbato sancto hora quasi VII ingreditur clerus ecclesiam...</i>	1. <i>Eodem die, sabbato sancto hora VIII conveniunt omnes presbyteri...</i>	58. <i>Hora nona ingrediuntur in sacrarium sacerdotes et levitae...</i>	44. <i>In nocte vero sancti sabbati surgent ad vigiliis hora octava...</i>	13. <i>Post hoc die vero illa octava hora diei mediante ad ecclesiam eundum est...</i>	37. <i>Post hoc vero die illa octava hora diei procedit ad ecclesiam</i>	62. <i>Hora octava ingrediantur in sacrarium sacerdotes</i>	16. <i>Hora nona ingrediuntur in sacrarium sacerdotes et levitae...</i>

Generally the time shifts between the eighth and ninth hour of the day among the *ordines*, with the exception of the seventh hour found in OR 23. The description of the vigil

in OR 23 is important, however, as this *ordo*, according the study of Michel Andrieu, depicts the vigil held at the Lateran basilica.⁷ Chavasse notes that beginning the Lateran vigil at this hour would permit transportation of the *fermentum* to the suburbicarian churches for their own celebration of the vigil.⁸ This arrangement is consistent with the rubrics found in the Gelasianum.⁹ Table 3 outlines the full order of the introductory rite of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil.

Table 3. The Beginning of the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian Sacramentary
Sequitur ordo qualiter sabbato sancto ad vigiliam ingrediantur (GeV 425-430)

Procession to the church at the eighth hour of the day, and vesting in the sacristy	<i>Primitus enim viii hora diei mediante procedunt ad ecclesiam et ingrediuntur in sacrario et induunt se vestimentis sicut mos est</i>
Litany begun by a cleric	<i>Incipit clerus litania</i>
Procession of the <i>sacerdos</i> with those in Holy Orders	<i>Procedit sacerdos de sacrario cum ordinibus sacris</i>
Chanting of the <i>Lamb of God</i> before the altar by the ministry with head bowed	<i>Veniunt ante altare stantes inclinato capite usquedum dicent Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere</i>
The <i>sacerdos</i> is seated in his chair behind the altar	<i>Deinde surgens sacerdos ab oratione vadit retro altare, sedens in sede sua</i>
The Archdeacon comes before the altar and receives the light, which was hidden on Good Friday	<i>Deinde veniens archidiaconus ante altare, accipiens de lumine quod VI feria absconsum fuit</i>
The Archdeacon makes the Sign of the Cross over a candle and lights it (with the flame reserved on Good Friday)	<i>Faciens crucem super cereum et illuminans eum</i>
The candle is blest: <i>Deus mundi conditor</i> , along with <i>Benedictio super incensum</i>	<i>Completur ab ipso benedictio cerei</i>
Afterward the <i>sacerdos</i> rising says the prayers of the Paschal Vigil as found in the sacramentary	<i>Post hoc surgens sacerdos a sede sua et dicit orationes de vigilia paschae, sicut in sacramentorum continetur</i>

The Gelasian liturgy for Holy Saturday night begins with a *lucernarium*, a service of lighting candles; a practical ritual, as one needed light from which to read the scriptures in the evening. While Patrick Regan notes there were many customs for beginning the Paschal

⁷ Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 3 (Louvain: Peeters – Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 2006), 265.

⁸ “*Sabbato sancto, hora quasi VII, ingreditur clerus ecclesiam*” (OR 23.23). See Chavasse, *Le Sacramentaire Gélasian*, 100.

⁹ As we shall see, however, in the analysis of some other vigils, the time for initiating the liturgy comes to depend upon the conclusion of the fast preceding it rather than on a sharing in the *fermentum*. The hour of *none* (or the ninth hour of the day as OR 28 and OR 32 indicate) becomes the customary time for a fasting period to end and a vigil to begin. We will see this especially in the case of the Christmas Vigil, whose first Mass is titled, *In vigiliis natalis domini ad nonam* in some sacramentaries.

Vigil with the lighting of a lamp or candle or any combination thereto,¹⁰ the *lucernarium* celebrated in the Gelasianum is unusual. Of the eleven *ordines*, which detail the rites of Holy Week, six speak of lighting two candles or a variety of candles (*faculas*) at the start of the vigil, some of which, in turn, are given to “notaries” or dignitaries (*regionarii* or *notarii*), who stand at the altar providing light.¹¹ The earliest and most purely Roman of the *ordines* concerning Holy Week, OR 23 (early eighth century) refers to the ritual in this manner. OR 30A (mid-eighth century) contains the lighting of a single candle; it is the earliest account of such a practice in the West. The manner in which OR 30A describes the *lucernarium* parallels the account in the Gelasianum for initiating the Paschal Vigil. Comparing the Paschal *lucernarium* in the Gelasianum with those described in the *ordines* reveals two types of this ritual evolving in the eighth century – the lighting of a single candle or of two candles. The custom of using a single candle becomes standard after this time.¹² While Andrieu believes this practice is imported into the city of Rome filtered through traditions in the northern parts of Italy; Chavasse, however, holds that the practice of blessing a single candle may be found in Rome as early as the seventh century. This rite appears to be some sort of

¹⁰ Regan, “Paschal *Lucernarium*,” 102.

¹¹ OR 23, 24, 27, the AppOR 28, 29, and 30B make reference to the lighting of either candles or two candles in particular. More will be said about this phenomenon below in the discussion on the initiation of the Paschal Vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries.

¹² OR 25, 28, 31, 32, and 33 all mention a single candle lit in the manner described in the Gelasianum. These *ordines* date from the early to mid-ninth to the late eleventh centuries.

transposition of the Lateran practice of lighting two candles at the start of the vigil, now adapted to the customs of the titular parishes.¹³

The *lucernarium* in the Gelasianum unfolds in this manner. Once vested, a priest (*sacerdos*, and interestingly not *episcopus*, thereby specifying that the context of this liturgy is presbyteral and not papal)¹⁴ with other ordained clerics (*ordinibus sacris*) leave the sacristy and process to the altar accompanied by the first of three litanies, particular to the Gelasian vigil. Once before the altar the clerics remain standing, the *sacerdos* bows his head, and group chants the *Lamb of God* (*ante altare stantes inclinatio capite*). The *sacerdos* then goes to sit behind the altar in his chair. The archdeacon comes before the altar and receives a flame that was hidden on Good Friday (“*Deinde veniens archidiaconus ante altare, accipiens de lumine quod VI feria absconsum fuit*”), with which he lights a candle, first making the sign of the cross over it.¹⁵ The final rubrical note at this point states that, “the blessing of the candle is done by the archdeacon” (“*et completur ab ipso benediction*

¹³ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 141-142, and Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 103-106. Regan also recounts this debate in “Paschal *Lucernarium*,” 103.

¹⁴ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 100 n. 22. While it may be argued that *sacerdos* could also mean bishop, the Gelasianum draws a distinction between this term and *episcopos*, which it supplies for the presider after the rites of initiation have been concluded at GeV 451.

¹⁵ “*Deinde veniens archidiaconus ante altare, accipiens de lumine quod VI feria absconsum fuit, faciens crucem super cereum et illuminans eum...*” (GeV 425). Andrieu provides a very good examination on the conflicting origins of this “hidden flame.” It appears that the earliest accounts on the use of this flame state that on the evening of Holy Thursday lights are extinguished in the churches of Rome, but a source of fire is reserved for use at the Paschal Vigil (a letter from Pope Zachary to St. Boniface mid-eighth century). There is then a shift to hiding this light on the evening of Good Friday, as recorded in the Gelasianum and some of the Roman *ordines*. Finally the practice begins of creating a “new fire” on Good Friday for use at the Vigil. This development is tied also to the need for light during the nocturnal offices of the last three days of Holy Week. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 312-320.

caerei”). The text of this blessing begins with, *Deus mundi conditor*,¹⁶ unique to the Gelasian sacramentary and its descendants, the Frankish Gelasians of the eighth century.¹⁷ It does not appear in the other Roman sacramentaries. While some form of providing light for nocturnal services may have been quite common in early Christianity, its ritualization in a *lucernarium* in the context of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil is provided with a profound bearing given the significance of this holy evening.¹⁸

What is certain is that a *lucernarium*, which opens the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasianum does not appear for any other vigil in the Roman sacramentaries. Most noticeably it is not celebrated on the other days of Holy Week, which according to the *ordines* do contain nocturnal offices, and which “dip into” the fire reserved on Holy Thursday for illumination during these offices.¹⁹ There is no ritual lighting, but rather the kindling of lights is purely functional, providing brightness at the evening office. There are, within OR 26, references to a “solemn extinguishing” of lights on Holy Thursday and Good Friday at an evening office. The *ordo* refers to the evening office as *nocturn*, however, not necessarily as a vigil; this custom appears to be Gallican in origin, it may not have been

¹⁶ GeV 426-428. See Leonel L. Mitchell, “Deus Mundi Conditor,” in *Creation and Liturgy: Studies in honor of H. Boone Porter*, ed. Ralph N. McMichael, Jr. (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1993), 43-53; and A.J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 385-387. This blessing is mentioned by name only in OR 30A.15 (mid-eighth century) among all the *ordines*.

¹⁷ The blessing may also appear in OR 50 and in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the 12th century.

¹⁸ See for example Regan, “Paschal *Lucernarium*,” 104; and MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, 300-303, 406-409; for further insights on this rite.

¹⁹ See OR 26.3-4. For Andrieu’s commentary see, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 312-314.

observed at Rome.²⁰ A second tradition found in OR 23 and in OR 30A speaks of kindling a new fire and keeping it hidden for use on the evening of Holy Saturday. The ritual for procuring this new fire is explained at OR 29.45. Finally, only OR 30A (as noted above) and the ninth to eleventh century Holy Week *ordines* (OR 31, 32, 33) mention blessing of a candle, which does not seem to have been originally a custom in the city of Rome.²¹

The Gregorian sacramentaries do not contain as extensive an introduction to the vigil. The liturgy of Holy Saturday night begins with the biblical readings. While the Gregorian texts lack a *lucernarium*, a rubric appears in the Paduensis that refers to the blessing of the candle at the conclusion of the preparatory rites on Saturday.²² The only place one finds a text for a candle blessing during the vigil is in supplementary material or appendices to the major Gregorian sacramentaries. A candle blessing is located in the Supplement to the Hadrianum, produced by Benedict of Aniane to fill the lacunae contained in the papal Mass book sent to Francia by Pope Hadrian I at the request of Charlemagne.²³ A Supplement to

²⁰ See Herman Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta: fontes historici, commentarius historicus*, vol. 2 (Rome: Herder, 1957), 814-815, and Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 316-321. According to Andrieu the confusion stems from a question Amalarius asks of Roman archdeacon Theodore concerning this practice. Theodore's response, equally confusing, stated the practice was not concerned with lighting at the evening services of the Triduum, but lighting during the day. See Amalarius of Metz *De ordine antiphonarii*, 44, *De extinctione luminum circa sepulturam Domini* (PL 105.1292b-1293c).

²¹ Chavasse states that according the *Liber pontificalis* the blessing of the paschal candle was practiced in the suburbicarian dioceses at least from the middle of the sixth century, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 103. Andrieu also corrects a misunderstanding of Louis Duchesne, who in the latter's edition of the *Liber pontificalis*, will mistakenly place the practice to the beginning of the fifth century. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 321, note 3.

²² GrP 321c – "*Post hoc impletur caerei benedictio.*" A blessing is not provided following this rubric in the Paduensis.

²³ See Cyril Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources* (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 84-92, on the transmission of the Hadrianum. The location of the candle blessing in the vigil is the first text of Aniane's supplement. (GrSupp 1)

the Paduensis contains the blessing at the conclusion of the sanctoral cycle.²⁴ The Tridentinum does not include mention of a candle blessing. Where it appears, the blessing is termed simply, *Benedictio caerei*, a blessing of the candle without reference to the Paschal Vigil as its context. The text differs also from that of the candle blessing found in the Gelasian sacramentary. It is the *Exultet* in a form rather close to the one currently in use but not identical to it.²⁵

The manner in which the Paschal Vigil begins in the Gregorian manuscripts reveals a significant aspect of keeping the vigil in the city of Rome. As mentioned above, according to Chavasse's analysis of the rubrics in section 42B of the Gelasianum, the candle blessing and *lucernarium* at the beginning of the Paschal Vigil are the products of influences outside Roman practice. Hence, the ritualization of the lighting of candles in order to read the lections of the vigil was not necessarily a custom indigenous to the Roman liturgy. The scanty evidence we possess from liturgies in North Africa suggests further that even the celebration of Sunday Eucharist began with the readings once the ministry had entered and taken their places.²⁶ In Rome and in those areas under Roman influence, therefore, while

²⁴ GrP 1163.

²⁵ The text of *Exultet* appears to originate from a variety of contexts, most notably from a reference Augustine provides to composing a *laus cerei*, *De Civitate Dei* 15.22, though of course the true origins of the text may be earlier. That the *Exultet* or something like it was practiced in Northern Italy prior to its introduction into Rome may be attested by evidence from Jerome's letter to Praesidius of Piacenza, who asked Jerome to compose a *laus cerei* for him to chant on Easter, see Jerome Epistola 18. Ad Praesidium. *De cereo paschali*. Jerome refuses in a typically abrasive fashion. On the text and its development see also Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 627-628; MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, 382-389; and Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 42-43. MacGregor states also concerning the Northern Italian origin of the paschal candle itself that this part of Italy was known for its production of superior quality beeswax (*idem*, 303).

²⁶ See G.G. Willis, *St Augustine's Lectionary* (London: SPCK, 1962), 2-3; and Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West*, 118-119.

there was a need to light lamps and illuminate the assembly space for a vigil, it may not have entailed an elaborate blessing preceded by litanies.²⁷ The difference in the manner in which the Gelasian and the Gregorian Paschal traditions begin the vigil, is perhaps further indication that papal and titular/presbyteral liturgies were never intended to be identical and may even have had distinct origins. The provisions concerning the scripture vigil of Holy Saturday evening, to which this dissertation turns now, will confirm this assessment.

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Sacramentary Structure

Before considering the biblical vigil of Pascha, it is important to note two items, which further differentiate the Paschal vigil from other vigils in the liturgical documents. The first item is the parallel that exists between the liturgy for the vigil of Pascha and that of the vigil of Pentecost that follows fifty days later. While there are differences in lessons selected, structurally the services are almost identical. One also finds that the lectionary system for the Pentecost Vigil replicates several of the lessons for Holy Saturday, especially in the Gregorian/papal tradition. This curious development gives rise to a problem of thematic correspondence where a reading that serves well at Easter may not serve as well at Pentecost. These considerations will be addressed in Chapter Four, the Pentecost Vigil. In

²⁷ In fact, any significance attached to candles at the Paschal Vigil in a papal context seems to come from those who are entitled to hold them, dignitaries or notables of some fashion. OR 23 (Roman, 700-750) states: "...vadunt ad secretarium diaconi scilicet et subdiaconi in planetis et **accendent duo regionarii per unumquemque faculas** de ipso lumine, quod de VI feria absconditum est, et veniunt ad altare." (OR 23.24).

so doing we will delay a fuller and complete analysis of the lectionary used at Rome for the Paschal Vigil.

A second item is the inclusion of a lectionary system in the sacramentary manuscripts for the Paschal and Pentecost vigils. This system is identified not only by incipits for the lessons, but also by specific prayers associated with them. As we saw in Chapters One and Two, no such lectionary arrangement exists for the Embertide vigils. We will therefore consider the lectionary system for the Paschal Vigil in the sacramentaries in tandem with the data found in the lectionaries themselves. Table 4 presents for our review a comparison of the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentary traditions. The table repeats a portion of the information on the Gelasian Vigil from Table 1 provided above.

The Gelasianum concludes the introductory rites of the Paschal Vigil with a rubric (GeV 430) that the *sacerdos* is seated and the prayers (*orationes* and not *preces*) for the readings of the Paschal vigil “are said just as they are contained in the Sacramentary.”²⁸ In his analysis of the Gelasian texts for Holy Saturday, Chavasse links the texts for the preparation rites *Sabbatorum die* (GeV 419-424) with the texts that begin the scripture vigil, *Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato sancto* (GeV 431-442), passing over the introductory rites. The formularies constitute a more ancient foundation for the Gelasian vigil already in place before other texts and elements were added to it.²⁹

The Liturgy of the Word within the pre-Eucharistic vigil occupies a principal position in all the sacramentaries. The system of biblical lessons for the Paschal Vigil is, however, a

²⁸ “*Post hoc surgens sacerdos a sede sua et dicit orationes de vigilia paschae, sicut in sacramentorum continetur.*” (GeV 430)

²⁹ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 96-97.

very confusing maze of several elements, which influenced the evolution of the Paschal celebration at Rome. There is a lack of agreement among the Gelasian and

Table 4. The Scripture Vigil of Pascha as recorded in the Roman Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 43 Nos. 431-443	Section 84 Nos. 362-372	Section 73 Nos. 418-428	Section 74 Nos. 322-326a
<i>Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato sancto</i>	<i>Orationes quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia</i>	<i>Orationes quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia</i>	<i>Orationes quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia</i>
<i>Deus qui divitias misericordiae</i>			
Sequitur lectio: In principio fecit deus	Lectio libri genesi. In principio fecit deus caelum et terram.	Lectio libri Genesis. In principio fecit deus caelum et terram.	In Genesim. In principio creavit deus caelum.
<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i>	<i>Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem</i>	<i>Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem</i>	<i>Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem</i>
Sequitur de Noe <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui in omnium</i>			
De Abraham tertia <i>Deus fidelium pater summe</i>			
In Exodo quarta cum cantico: <i>Cantemus domino</i> <i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula etiam nostris</i>	Lectio libri exodi. Factum est autem in vigilia matutina. <i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula in praesenti</i>	Lectio libri Exodi. Factum est autem in vigilia matutina. <i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula etiam in praesenti</i>	Factum est autem in vigilia matutina. <i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula etiam in praesenti</i>
In Esaia v <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus multiplicas in honore</i>			
	Lectio esaiae prophetae. Et adpraehendent VII mulieres unum hominem. <i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>	Lectio Esaiae prophetae. Et adpraehendent septem mulieres unum hominem. <i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>	Et adprehenderunt septem mulieres. <i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>
In Ezechiel vi <i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>			
vii in Esaia cum cantico: <i>Vinea domini</i> <i>Deus qui in omnibus ecclesiae</i>			
	Lectio esaiae prophetae. Est hereditas credentibus in domino. <i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium</i>	Lectio Esaiae prophetae. Hec est hereditas credentibus in domino. <i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium</i>	Haec est hereditas servorum domini. <i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium</i>
Item in Exodo viii <i>Deus qui diversitatem omnium gentium</i>			
IX In Deuteronomio cum canto <i>Deus celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum</i>			
In Daniheo x <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus spes unica mundi</i>			
Oratio post psalmum xli <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice propitius</i>	De psalmo xli. Sicut cervus desiderat. <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui festa</i>	De psalmo XLI. Sicut cervus desiderat. <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui festa</i>	In psalmo XLI. Sicut cervus. <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui festa</i>

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
	Alia oratione in eodem psalmo xli. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice propitius</i>	Alia oratio in eodem psalmo XLI. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice propitius</i>	
Rubrical instruction on the rite of baptism to follow and on the celebration of the Eucharist following baptism			

Gregorian traditions as to the number of readings proclaimed at the Paschal Vigil; a situation that is complicated further by a tendency among some of the earliest of the Roman lectionaries to omit listing the readings for the Paschal Vigil, citing only the epistle and gospel for the liturgy. The earliest Roman *ordines* that concern Holy Week fail to provide a list of readings that comprised the vigil. While several *ordines* do supply the incipit for the first reading from chapter one of Genesis (“In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram...”), the common first reading of the Paschal Vigil in those lists that exist, the other readings are noted simply by a rubric, *similiter et illas lectiones omnes*, or some parallel instruction.³⁰

Those *ordines* serving as directories for the Liturgy of the Hours at the Vatican basilica and among the Roman monasteries (late 7th century) also fail to mention many liturgical particulars on the matter of the Paschal Vigil, one of these particulars being a list of the readings to be used at the Paschal Vigil. Rather, these *ordines* outline the structure of the Paschal Vigil (OR 16 and OR 17 for example) and state only in general terms that the

³⁰ See OR 24.42; OR 27.52; OR 28.64; OR 29.46; OR 30A.16 (which states, *hoc expleto* – the blessing of the candle – *incipient lectiones legere sicut ordinem habent*); OR 30B.41 (which states, *deinde secuntur lectiones et cantica seu et orationes...sicut ordinem habent*); OR 31.68 (however OR 31.69-75 provides for the individual readings and the prayers for the vigil – a witness to hybridization); OR 32.24 (which states that the readings to be done on this night are done – *ad lectiones legendum de ipsa nocte*); OR 33.9 (which merely mentions, *lectio*, and nothing more).

readings are done as they are contained within the sacramentary.³¹ A discussion of these circumstantial implications will occupy a portion of this chapter further on; for now it should be said that the data suggests from the outset, even as a system of nocturnal prayer or *vigilia*, the Paschal Vigil belonged to a distinct liturgical form. Keeping this framework in mind let us turn to the pattern and system of the scriptural readings of Holy Saturday night.

The prayers of the vigil lections in the Gelasian sacramentary are located under Section 43. The section is entitled, *Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato sancto*, and lists ten readings along with Psalm 41 (GeV 431-442), which psalm occurs at the end of Section 43, and presumably the scripture vigil. The prayer texts of this section are each attached to a biblical reading, and a prayer accompanies Psalm 41 as well. This relationship is conveyed by the use of the verb, *sequitur*, or by the prepositions “*de*” and more commonly “*in*,” in the titles of the readings. The prayer joined to Psalm 41, however, is titled, *oratio post*. Save for the first two texts, the orations are numbered sequentially according to the readings. There are no specific references as to where within the biblical texts one is to turn for the readings themselves. The only incipit cited is that for the first reading from Genesis (GeV 432)³². The sacramentary lists the next two readings (GeV 433-434) according to their subject matter, Noah and Abraham, rather than the book or the chapter in that book from which they come, also Genesis. The section specifically mentions three “canticles,” which

³¹ See OR 16.41: “...*et incipiunt legere lectionis de ipsa nocte una cum cantica eorum quas in sacramentorum commemorat.*” See also OR 17.107: “*Et ingrediuntur ad legendum. Post unamquamque lectionem dat sacerdos orationem sicut in sacramentorum commemoratur.*”

³² *Sequitur lectio*: In principio fecit deus.

follow three of the readings.³³ The titles for these readings make it clear that the canticles are linked to them by use of the preposition, *cum*. Prior to all these texts stands an untitled oration (GeV 431), the “opening collect” according to Chavasse and Talley and which we considered in the analysis of the Embertide lectionary in Chapter Two.³⁴

The major Gregorian sacramentaries entitle the section for the vigil readings, *Orationes quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia*.³⁵ Recall that the system represented in the Gregorian books has the vigil beginning immediately with the readings and prayers without the extended *lucernarium* found in the Gelasian system.³⁶ The Gregorian documents provide four readings only, and include Psalm 41. The four Gregorian readings appear in the Gelasian system. The two readings from Isaiah are placed in reversed position in the Gregorian sacramentaries.³⁷ In the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, the lections are noted by both the title of the biblical book from which they are drawn and the specific incipit where the lector is to begin reading. The Paduensis, also, provides incipits, although the only biblical book it mentions by name is Genesis from which the first reading is taken. There is no mention of any canticles in the Gregorian texts; nor is there an initial oration at the head of the sections. Table 5, following, presents a side-by-side comparison, according to the studies

³³ *In Exodo quarta cum cantico*: Cantemus domino (GeV 435); *vii in Esaia cum cantico*: Vineam domini (GeV 438); and *VIII In Deuteronomio cum cantico* (GeV 440).

³⁴ This collect at the beginning of the Gelasian scriptural vigil should not be confused with references to a prayer such as one finds for example at OR 17.103, where the deacon after illuminating the principal candle is next told to say the “first prayer” – “*Deinde dicit: Oremus, et dicit orationem primam.*” The reference to *orationem primam* should be understood here to be the blessing over the candle at the *lucernarium*.

³⁵ GrH 362-372; GrP 322-326a; GrT 418-428.

³⁶ See Regan, *Paschal Lucernarium*, 103; and Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 141.

³⁷ In Table 5, following, these positions are designated with arrows (↑ or ↓) next to the readings.

of the Paschal Vigil provided by Schmidt and Chavasse, of the Gelasian and Gregorian systems.

Table 5. A comparison of the structure of the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasian Tradition Paschal Scriptural Vigil	Gregorian Tradition Paschal Scriptural Vigil
Opening Collect	
Genesis 1 – The creation Genesis 5 – Noah and the Flood Genesis 22 – The testing of Abraham Exodus 14 – Crossing of the Red Sea, followed by the canticle, <i>Cantemus domino</i> Isaiah 54 – The inheritance of believers Ezekiel 37 – The dry bones Isaiah 4 – Rebuilding of Israel, followed by the canticle, <i>Vinea domini</i> Exodus 12 – The Passover Deuteronomy 31 – Moses’ admonition to Israel, followed by an unnamed canticle Daniel 3 – Nebuchadnezzar	Genesis 1 – The creation Exodus 14 – Crossing of the Red Sea Isaiah 4 – Rebuilding of Israel (↓ - <i>In GeV</i>) Isaiah 54 – The inheritance of believers (↑ - <i>In GeV</i>)
Psalms 41 – <i>Sicut cervus desiderat</i>	Psalms 41 – <i>Sicut cervus desiderat</i>

Finally, the title of the section on the vigil readings in the Gregorian texts deserves notice. The title of the section qualifies that these prayers for the readings are said *in the church* (*ad lectiones in ecclesia*); a specific reference to place, not provided for in the Gelasianum. Such a designation might imply that other rites or other parts of the liturgy took place elsewhere. The reference may beg the question for whom these readings were proclaimed – the baptized or catechumens or a combination? Unlike its Gelasian counterpart, as will be considered below, the Gregorian documents are not as extensive in their description of the rites of Christian initiation during the Paschal Vigil.

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Ordines

The Roman *ordines* do not list the readings for the didactic portion of the Paschal Vigil, with the exception of AppOR 28, and OR 31, where we find an interesting arrangement of readings. Both *ordines* can be dated to around the ninth century; and

although outside the century time frame considered in this dissertation, they do provide value in considering the prevailing structure of the Roman Paschal Vigil lectionary. Table 6 illustrates this structure.

Table 6. The Paschal Vigil Lectionary in the Appendix to OR 28 and in OR 31

Appendix to OR 28.2-10 Paschal Scriptural Vigil	OR 31.68-75 Paschal Scriptural Vigil
Genesis 1 – The creation Exodus 12 – Crossing of the Red Sea, with the canticle: <i>Cantemus domino</i> Isaiah 4 – Rebuilding of Israel, with the canticle: <i>Vinea</i>	Genesis 1 – The creation Exodus 12 – Crossing of the Red Sea, with the canticle: <i>Cantemus domino</i> Isaiah 4 – Rebuilding of Israel, with the canticle: <i>Vinea</i> Isaiah 54 – The inheritance of believers, followed by the canticle, <i>Sicut cervus</i> (Psalm 41) – (↓ - AppOR 28)
Deuteronomy 31 – Moses’ admonition to Israel, with an unnamed canticle	
Psalm 41 – <i>Sicut cervus</i>	

While highly influenced by the Gallican liturgical hegemony of the ninth century, both *ordines* at their core retain a uniquely Roman pattern reflected in the number of readings, mirroring the Gregorian manuscripts. These *ordines* witness to the presence of canticles, not explicitly mentioned in the Gregorian sacramentaries; the replacing of Isaiah 54 with Deuteronomy 31 in AppOR 28, which appears in the Gelasian tradition; and connecting Isaiah 54 with Psalm 41 in OR 31, which occurs in neither tradition.³⁸

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Lectionaries

Turning to the lectionary evidence for data on the readings used for the Roman Paschal Vigil recall that some lectionary manuscripts provide no readings while others do.

³⁸ It is interesting that while Schmidt finds the order of lections in the AppOR 28 “strange” (*ordinem mirum*), he associates the canticle following Deuteronomy 31 with Psalm 41, which is not as explicit as it appears to be in OR 31. There are further rubrics between these two items in the Appendix, which does not occur in OR 31. In addition, Schmidt does not appear to reconcile the situation in the Appendix with the same arrangement as exists in the Gelasianum, where an unnamed canticle follows the Deuteronomy reading, which here is not Psalm 41. See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 833-834.

Table 7 charts the distribution of biblical readings proclaimed at the Paschal Vigil in the variety of extant Roman lectionary manuscripts. Consideration of the Roman antiphonals for information they provide on the nature of the specific canticles associated with this vigil will follow.

Table 7. The Readings for the Paschal Vigil in the Roman Epistolaries and Lectionaries

Würzburg Epistolary (W_{ep})	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitatus (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
	68. <i>Incipiunt lectiones de vigilia pascha</i>	86-91. <i>Incipiunt lectiones de vigilia pascha</i>	66a-q. <i>Incipiunt lectiones de pascha</i>	174-183. <i>Incipiunt lectiones de vigilia pascha</i>
NO LIST	Genesis 1	Genesis 1	Genesis 1	Genesis 1 (<i>item secunda lectio</i>)
OF VIGIL	Genesis 5		Genesis 5	Genesis 5
READINGS	Genesis 22		Genesis 22	Genesis 22
	Exodus 14	Exodus 14	Exodus 14	Exodus 14
	<i>Cum canticum: Cantemus domino</i>		<i>Carmen: Cantemus domino</i>	
	Isaiah 54		Isaiah 54	Isaiah 54
	Jeremiah (Baruch) 3		Jeremiah (Baruch) 3	
	Ezekiel 37		Ezekiel 37	Ezekiel 37
	Isaiah 4	Isaiah 4	Isaiah 4	Isaiah 4
	<i>Cum canticum: Vinea facta est</i>	<i>Canticum: Vinea domini</i>	<i>Canticum: Vinea facta est</i>	
	Exodus 12 (<i>Rq. in fr. vi</i>)		Exodus 12	Exodus 12
	Jonah 2		Jonah 3	
	Deuteronomy 31	Deuteronomy 31	Deuteronomy 31	Deuteronomy 31
	<i>Cum canticum: (unnamed)</i>		<i>Canticum: Attende caelum</i>	
		Isaiah 54 (↑)		
	Daniel 3	Daniel 3	Daniel 3	Daniel 3
			<i>Canticum: Psalm 40(41)</i>	

The lectionaries, as well as the sacramentaries, provide no explanation for the choice of readings or for their number. It is significant that a specific number of lessons do not appear required for the Paschal Vigil as we found among the Ember Vigils and the Saturday of the 12 Lessons.³⁹ It may be that the Paschal Vigil preserves an element common to the

³⁹ See Pierre Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 3rd ed., trans. Atwell M.Y. Baylay (New York: Longmans, Green, 1912), 143-147; and Mario Righetti, *L'anno liturgico, il breviario*, vol. 2 of *Manuale di Storia liturgica*, 3rd ed. (1969; 2nd repr., Milan: Ancora editrice, 2005), 264-267.

Embertide vigils, which in the latter is lost to the need to accommodate the Embertide vigils to a bilingual setting not as crucial to the celebration of the Paschal Vigil.

The information that the lectionaries reveal on the Paschal Vigil highlights a number of similarities and differences. The most ancient of the Roman lectionaries, the Würzburg Epistolary (mid-seventh century) supplies no readings for the vigil. The epistolary furnishes an epistle, and the Würzburg Evangelary a gospel for the Eucharist that follows the vigil. In his commentary on the Würzburg Lectionary system, G.A. Morin states that the missing list of readings for the vigil demonstrates that at least this lectionary considered the vigil a separate event from the Eucharist of Pascha. Such an insight begs the question of a possible lost *ordo*, sacramentary, and/or lectionary specifically for use at vigil liturgies in the early tradition of the city of Rome.⁴⁰

The *Liber Comitis* or Epistolary of Corbie, dating from late eighth century, manifests a Roman core, highly influenced by Gallican revisions. The list of Paschal Vigil lessons does not correspond to the ten reading system found in the Gelasianum, but rather to the Gelasianum's twelve reading adaptation found in Benedict of Aniane's Supplement to the Hadrianum.⁴¹ Schmidt calls Aniane's Supplement list both "gregorianized" and "amplified."⁴² The epistolary includes all the canticles, providing a name (lacking in the

⁴⁰ George-André Morin, "Les plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 55.

⁴¹ William Howard Frere, *The Roman Epistle-Lectionary (Liber Comitis)*, vol. 3 of *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 48, see item number 66. For the text of Aniane's Supplement see Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 363-368 (GrH 1024-1048). For more on the Roman-Frankish arrangement of these Gelasian texts see Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 347.

⁴² Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 841. The Paschal Vigil lectionary in Aniane's Supplement is "gregorianized" with the replacement of the oration following the Genesis 1 readings in the original Gelasianum

Gelasianum) for the canticle associated with the reading from Deuteronomy 31, *Attende caelum*. The list refers to the canticle following Exodus 14 as a *carmen* and not a *canticum*. It is also the only lectionary to count Psalm 41 in its system, although it uses the Masoretic numbering for the psalm. The presence of Psalm 41 is odd, as Schmidt will point out (and we will analyze below), because the psalm should not be understood as a reading even though it is included among the sacramentary lections for the Paschal Vigil. Wherever the text appears, it is referred to always as a psalm and never a reading, designating it as something other.⁴³ The *Liber Comitatus* contains the same lessons as the *Comes* of Murbach (late eighth century).⁴⁴ In Murbach Psalm 41 is not listed and the following Deuteronomy 31 is left unnamed. It is also interesting to note that in recording a reading from Exodus 12, Murbach notes this reading already having been proclaimed on Good Friday (*Rq.in fr.vi*). This particular incidence will be examined later.

The Lectionary of Alcuin (eighth century) records a modification of the Gregorian lectionary's order for the vigil of four readings, with a list of six readings. It catalogs these readings under the heading, *Incipiunt lectiones de vigilia paschae*.⁴⁵ The arrangement in the Lectionary of Alcuin includes Deuteronomy 31 and Daniel 3. The only mention of a canticle is that following Isaiah 4, *Vinea domini*. Schmidt believes that the presence of readings from Exodus 14 and Deuteronomy means that their canticles undoubtedly would have been

with the text from the same reading in the Gregorian tradition. Aniane's addition of the Baruch lesson, with its oration, also aligns the set with the Gregorian sacramentaries.

⁴³ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 846.

⁴⁴ André Wilmart, "Le 'Comes' de Murbach," *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913), 25-69.

⁴⁵ André Wilmart, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 136-197.

chanted,⁴⁶ though their omission from Alcuin's list is puzzling. Psalm 41 is missing from Alcuin.

The Lectionary of Verona, dating from the end of the eighth century, contains ten readings similar to those found in the Gelasianum. It lacks mention of any canticles and of Psalm 41. An interesting rubric appears following the initial reading from Genesis 1 – *Item secunda lectio* – “likewise [move] to the second reading.” Rubrics occur within the texts of the Verona Lectionary, but this rubric occurs only once and in the context of the Paschal Vigil. This direction may reflect a period when the Liturgy of the Word was moving from two readings before the gospel to only one, and so instructs the lector that the whole of the set should be proclaimed rather than one or a choice of readings.

The lectionaries contain no reference to the place of the liturgy: church, baptistery, or some other location. The *Comes* of Alcuin and Murbach, and the Lectionary of Verona alone specify that the readings are *de vigilia pascha*. The *Liber Comitatus* indicates that the biblical lessons are for Pascha itself: *Incipiunt lectiones de pascha*. The significance of these distinctions matters more when placed in contrast to those sets for the vigil Eucharist and for the Mass of Easter Sunday, which follow in each lectionary. We will discuss these particular readings below, though for now it is important to note that neither the epistle nor the gospel, are considered part of the vigil service in these lectionaries, but rather occupy a separate section heading. The inconsistency of the Paschal arrangement of vigil lessons when compared to that of the Embertide vigils, where in the latter some scholars include the epistle among the Old Testament lessons, is very peculiar.

⁴⁶ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 834.

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: Its Enactment

Before moving to an examination of the biblical texts of the Pascha Vigil, the wealth of information in the *ordines* concerning the celebration of the vigil permits us to consider two further aspects of the liturgy: the systematic proclamation of the readings, and the peculiar role played by language in their proclamation. Although the *ordines* do not agree on the data, several similarities exist among them. Tables 9a and 9b (page 32) outline the data concerning the proclamation of the lessons in the *ordines*. The data is divided in half to allow for ease of reading. AppOR 28 and OR 31 present a more detailed explication of the Paschal scripture vigil, which details are important to our considerations. As the structure of these *ordines* differs markedly from the others, they are addressed separately, as was done above in outlining their lectionary structure. Table 8, following on page 31, presents AppOR 28 and OR 31 specifically.

We will first consider the data contained in AppOR 28 and OR 31 concerning the style of scripture proclamation at the vigil of Pascha. Dated to the ninth century, these *ordines* likely present a more than developed picture of the vigil; yet, the roots of the practice they depict may be traced in several other *ordines* prior to the ninth century, and clearly stem from an earlier tradition. AppOR 28, the most developed of the scripture vigil patterns, finds that after the reading is proclaimed the *pontifex*, rising, invites the assembly to pray: *Oremus*. A deacon (*diaconus*) gives the instruction to kneel, *Flectamus genua*, then the instruction to rise, *Levate*, and the prayer is offered (*datur oratio a pontifice*). The Appendix repeats the following pattern:

Oremus → flectamus genua → levate → oratio

for all the readings of the vigil. If the reading contains a canticle, then the canticle is sung prior to the invitation to pray. The manner in which the *ordines* describe this pattern suggests that it be considered a whole, complete action. Such a model is consistent with

Table 8. The Proclamation of the Scripture Vigil: OR 28 Appendix and OR 31

OR 28 Appendix	OR 31
2. Subdiaconus vero statim exiit se planeta ascendens in amnone et legens non dicit: "lectio libri Genesis" sed inchoat ita: "In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram" nam et reliquae omnes sic inchoantur. In primis greca legitur deinde statim ab alio latina.	68. Deinde ascendat lector in ambonem et non pronunciat: "lectio libri genesis" sed inchoat plane: "In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram" et illas alias lectiones similiter. Et ante "In principio" non dicat orationem.
3. Tunc primam surgens pontifex dicit: "Oremus" et diaconus: "Flectamus genua" deinde: "Levate." Et datur oratio a pontifice.	69. Lecta autem prima lectione dicat pontifex: "Oremus." "Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem."
4. Et legitur lectio grece: "Factum est in vigilia matutina" et ipso cantatur canticum hoc grece "Cantemus domino." Post hoc ascendit alius et legit supradictam lectionem latine et cantat canticum suprascriptum latine.	70. Post hanc lectio Exodi: "Factum est in vigilia matutina." Cantetur canticum "Cantemus domino."
5. Deinde pontifex surgens dicit: "Oremus" et diaconus ut supra et datur oratio.	71. Deinde dicatur oratio: "Deus cujus antiqua miracula."
6. Post hoc legitur lectio grece "Adprehendent septem mulieres" et ab ipso cantatur canticum grece "Vinea." Deinde alius ascendit legere suprascriptum latine canticum latine cantat suprascriptum.	72. Deinde legitur lectio Isaiae prophetae: "Adprehendent vii mulieres virum unum." Deinde cantetur canticum "Vinea facta est dilecto."
7. Et pontifex: "Oremus" diaconus et supra.	73. Deinde dicatur oratio: "Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale sacramentum."
8. Et iterum legitur lectio grece "Scripsit Moyses canticum." Et alius ascendens legit eam latine.	74. Deinde legatur lectio Isaiae prophetae: "Haec est hereditas servorum domini." Deinde cantetur canticum "Sicut cervus."
9. Deinde pontifex vel diaconus et supra.	75. Deinde dicatur oratio: "Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus qui festa paschalia agimus."
10. Post hoc cantatur psalmus "Sicut cervus" grece et alius ipsum psalmum latine.	
11. Post haec pontifex directus ad populum dicit "Dominus vobiscum." Et respondent: "Et cum spiritu tuo." Et dicit: "Oremus" et dat orationem directus ad orientem. Post finitam dicit: "Dominis vobiscum" et statim descendit ad fontes.	

ancient practice, especially of praying the psalms,⁴⁷ and of praying the Solemn Prayers of Good Friday. Its use connected with the scripture readings of the vigil offers further testimony of the unique nature of this liturgical context. Among the other *ordines* this pattern is found explicitly in OR 23 and 29 (Table 9a), and in 30B, 32, and 33 (Table 9b). OR 23 is the earliest witness dating from the early eighth century. The insufficient details concerning

⁴⁷ See Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 153-154, 176-177; and Josef Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1962). 124-125.

the scripture vigil in the remaining *ordines* (OR 24, 27, and 28), however, should not preclude us from thinking that this pattern did not occur in these contexts also.

Table 9a. The Proclamation of the Scripture Vigil: *Ordines* 23, 24, 27, 28, and 29

OR 23	OR 24	OR 27	OR 28	OR 29
26. <i>Et ascendit lector in ambonem et legit lectionem grecam.</i> 27. <i>Sequitur "In principio" et orationes et "Flectamus genua" et tractum.</i>	42. <i>Et ascendit lector in ambonem. Non pronunciat: "lectio libri genesis" sed inchoat: "In principio" plane; similiter et illas lectiones omnes. Et ante "In principio" non dicit orationem.</i> 43. <i>Expletas lectiones...</i>	52. <i>Et ascendit lector in ambone. Non pronunciat: "lectio libri genesis" sed inchoat: "In principio" plane; similiter et illas lectiones omnes. Ante "In principio" non dicit orationem.</i> 53. <i>Expletas lectiones...</i>	64. <i>Deinde ascendit lector in ambonem. Non pronunciat: "lectio libri genesis" sed inchoat: "In principio" plane; similiter et illas alias lectiones omnes. Et ante "In principio" non dicit orationem.</i> 65. <i>Expletas lectiones...</i>	46. <i>Et ascendit lector in ambone. Non pronuntans: "lectio libri genesis" sed inchoat: "In principio" plane. Qua perlecta dicat sacerdos: "Oremus" et diaconus: "Flectamus genua." Et orent quousque diaconus: "Levate." Et surgant et sacerdos det orationem "Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem." Similiter et illas lectiones omnes. Ante "In principio" non dicit orationem.</i>

Table 9b. The Proclamation of the Scripture Vigil: *Ordines* 30A, 30B, 32, 33

OR 30A	OR 30B	OR 32	OR 33
16. <i>Hoc expleto, incipient lectiones legere sicut ordinem habent.</i>	38. <i>...tenentes faculas usquedum complentur lectiones.</i> 39. <i>Deinde annuit archidiaconus subdiacono regionario ut legatur lectio prima in greco sive in latino.</i> 40. <i>Deinde psallit sacerdos infra thronum in dextra parte altaris et dicit: "Oremus" et diaconus: "Flectamus genua" et post paululum dicit: "Levate." Et sequitur oratio "Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem."</i> 41. <i>Deinde secuntur lectiones et cantica seu et orationes tam grece quam latine sicut ordinem habent.</i>	23. <i>Et stat sacerdos retro altare et dicit "Oremus" diaconus "Flectamus genua." Et ut surrexerint dicit "Levate." Dicit sacerdos orationem que in sacramentorum continetur.</i> 24. <i>Ipsa expleta ad lectiones legendum de ipsa nocte et post unamquamque lectionem non dicit "Dominus vobiscum" sed tantum "Oremus" et diaconus "Flectamus genua" una cum cantica eorum.</i>	9. <i>...tunc benedicit [cereus] postea lectio postea oratio postea lectio...</i>

OR 23 provides the least information on the particulars surrounding the proclamation of the lessons. After the lighting of candles (supplying light to the assembly hall), a lector goes to the ambo and reads the lesson, in Greek (an element to be considered below); the

ordo gives no reference to other introductory rites. Subsequent *ordines* are more specific. OR 24 introduces the direction that proclamation of the first lesson is not to be announced – “A reading from...,” but rather, the lector is told to begin with the first words, “In the beginning.” This instruction is enhanced by the adverb, *plane* – the reading begins “simply,” with the first verse and not the usual introduction. The *ordines* repeat this clarification, though in OR 30A, 30B, 32, and 33 it is not expressly stated in this manner. The remaining lessons are proclaimed similarly (*similiter et illas lectiones omnes*). Only OR 30A, 31, 32, and 33, which are dated after the eighth century and to various extents influenced by Gallican practice, supply an elaborate introductory rite along the Gelasian model. Beginning the Paschal Vigil with the lessons is consistent among the earliest *ordines* and suggests a practice with an ancient Roman core.

AppOR 28 and OR 31, alone of the *ordines*, provide a full set of lessons, according to the Gregorian model (although they differ in the choice of the final reading). These two *ordines* refer to the canticles, which are not mentioned in the Gregorian sacramentaries. It is possible to affirm, because these *ordines* reflect the practice of keeping the Paschal Vigil at the papal basilica of Saint Peter, that AppOR 28 and OR 31 represent an ancient core of the Roman tradition of keeping this vigil. Among the other *ordines*, OR 29 supplies “Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem” as the prayer to follow the Genesis 1, which text is found in the Gregorian tradition; and OR 31, while it employs a Gelasian/presbyteral *lucernarium*, joins this to a Gregorian system of lessons.

The second aspect in regard to the manner of proclaiming the Paschal Vigil lessons concerns the language of proclamation; even here, there is variance. Neither the Roman

sacramentaries nor the lectionaries indicate the Paschal Vigil readings were proclaimed in any language other than presumably Latin. However, three of the Roman *ordines* in the tables above – OR 23, AppOR 28, and OR 30B – direct that the readings be proclaimed both in Greek and in Latin. OR 23.26 states, *Et ascendit lector in ambonem et legit lectionem grecam*. Here Andrieu comments that retained in OR 23 may be a remnant of a past practice: the readings were normally done in Greek first and then in Latin.⁴⁸ The next instruction (OR 23.27) states: *Sequitur “In principio,” et orationes et “Flectamus genua” et tractum*. This could either mean that the Greek reading was different than the first chapter of Genesis or that the instruction merely states the obvious: that the same reading still follows in Latin. The laconic nature of the rubrics of OR 23 makes a firm answer difficult. AppOR 28, on the other hand, maintains that each of the readings is proclaimed in Greek first and in Latin second, for example concerning Genesis: *“In primis greca legitur deinde statim ab alio Latina”* (AppOR 28.2). In OR 30.39, the regional subdeacon (*“subdiacono regionario”*) reads the first lesson in Greek and then in Latin (*“legatur lectio prima in greco sive in latino”*). Following genuflecting and rising for the prayer, OR 30.41 continues: *“Deinde secuntur lectiones et cantica seu et orationes tam grece quam latine sicut ordinem habent.”*⁴⁹

These are the only references to a bilingual celebration of the Paschal Vigil Liturgy of the Word in the early manuscripts. This tradition, as it may have existed, does not appear as pervasive as it comes to be known in the Embertide Vigils. Andrieu believes that bi-lingual liturgies were more abundant during the Byzantine period in Rome, after the Gothic Wars of

⁴⁸ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 272, n. 26.

⁴⁹ To what, *“sicut ordinem habent,”* refers is unclear and not stated in the commentaries of Andrieu.

the sixth century. Imperial influence upon the papacy and the city government of Rome necessitated a bilingual structure in public affairs including the liturgy.⁵⁰ Conversely, Schmidt sees this influence exerted more formally in the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Popes, from John V (685-686) to Zachary (741-752), came primarily from the East (Syria or Greece). The position held by Schmidt conflicts with that held by Chavasse who holds that a bilingual need for proclaiming the scriptures is very ancient as evidenced by its practice at the Ember Week vigils, as we saw in Chapters One and Two. The Embertide evidence Schmidt finds questionable, as its source is a reference in Amalarius of Metz's *Liber officialis*, based more upon conjecture and opinion than on the reality of what was practiced in the Rome. Consequently, Schmidt believes that Chavasse's theories ought to be disregarded.⁵¹ While the impact of bilingual practice pre-dates the manuscripts by which we know these traditions (eighth and ninth century respectively), it is quite possible that their earliest foundations in the seventh century as liturgical books and in the mid-fifth century as individual units and texts may have had a much greater familiarity with bilingual liturgy. If one holds that *koine* Greek was utilized as a principal liturgical language in the first centuries of Christianity, it is not impossible to propose that also in Rome Greek functioned in the same way during these centuries. The emergence of Latin as the predominant language of the liturgy in Rome occurs prior to the pontificate of Damasus I (366-384),⁵² by way of North

⁵⁰ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 272, n. 26. See also, Eamon Duffy, *Saint and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 64-68; and Andrew J. Ekonomou, *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 250-252.

⁵¹ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 843-844.

⁵² See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 295-297. Vogel believes that bilingual liturgy took place on special occasions, such as Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and on the Ember Saturdays. See also Charles Pietri, *Roma*

Africa.⁵³ It is possible to conclude that prior to the transition of Latin as a preeminent liturgical language, Rome being a cosmopolitan city, may have allowed for the scripture readings of an initially Greek speaking Roman liturgy to be repeated in Latin for the growing number of people unable to speak Greek.⁵⁴ It is interesting to wonder if a bilingual liturgy may have existed as early as the mid to late fourth century and only resurrected in the seventh and eighth centuries with the Byzantine presence in the city. It is significant that the *ordines* state that the bilingual proclamation of the readings began with Greek, rather than Latin.

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Liturgical Texts

We turn now to the specific texts of the readings and the prayers that comprised the Paschal Vigil in the Roman liturgical documents of the sixth and seventh centuries. Further work on the Pentecost Vigil will complement these considerations.

Chavasse and Schmidt present differing schemas on the earliest prototype for the scripture vigil in their respective studies. Table 10 presents these schemas side by side for

Christiana: Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Milade à Sixte III (311-440) vol. 1 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1976), 103-104, 405; and Maura K. Lafferty, "Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: Romanitas and Christianitas in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 28-29.

⁵³ Vogel notes that, "It was only around 250 that texts began to appear which were originally composed in Latin, [such as] Novatian's *De Trinitate* (ca. 256) and the *Letter of the Roman Clergy* to the clergy of Carthage after Bishop Fabian's death (250-251)...These are sure indications that Latin had already come into current usage." See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 294.

⁵⁴ See *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la liturgie*, s.v. "Langue/langage liturgique."

consideration. Schmidt believes that the site of the ancient Paschal vigil celebration at Rome was the Lateran, and consequently the one represented by the Gregorian sacramentaries.⁵⁵

Table 10. Scripture Vigil of Pascha organization according the research of Schmidt and Chavasse

Herman Schmidt <i>Hebdomada sancta</i> Pre-Gregorian Schema of the Paschal Vigil	Antoine Chavasse <i>Le Sacramentaire Gélasien</i> First-stage of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil
Genesis 1 – <i>In principio</i>	Genesis 1 – <i>In principio</i> Prayer: Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui in omnium
Genesis 22 – <i>Tentavit</i> Prayer: Deus incommutabilis	Genesis 22 – <i>Tentavit</i> Prayer: Deus fidelium pater
Exodus 14 – <i>Factum est</i>	Exodus 14 – <i>Factum est</i> Prayer: Omnipotens sempiterne deus spes unica
Deuteronomy 31 – <i>Scipsit Moyses</i> Prayer: Deus cujus antiqua	
	Isaiah 4 – <i>Apprehendent</i> Prayer: Deus qui in omnibus
Isaiah 4 – <i>Apprehendent</i>	
	Deuteronomy 31 – <i>Scipsit Moyses</i> Prayer: Deus celsitudo
Isaiah 54 – <i>Haec est hereditas</i> Prayer: Deus qui nos	
<i>Sicut cervus</i> (Psalm 41) Prayer: Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice	<i>Sicut cervus</i> (Psalm 41) Prayer: Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice

The Scripture Vigil in the Gregorian Tradition

Recall that Table 4 above provides an outline of the readings of the Gregorian scripture vigil. They are repeated presently in Table 11, below; which table will be used in tandem with Table 10 for this study.

Table 11. The Structure of the Gregorian Scripture Vigil of Pascha

Scriptural Reading	Canticle	Corresponding Prayer
Genesis 1 – <i>In principio</i>		<i>Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem</i>
Exodus 14 – <i>Factum est</i>	[<i>Cantemus domino</i>]	<i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula in praesenti</i>
Isaiah 4 – <i>Et adprahendent VII mulieres</i>	[<i>Vinea domini</i>]	<i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>
Isaiah 54 – <i>Haec est hereditas</i>		<i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium</i>
Psalm 41 – <i>Sicut Cervus</i>		<i>Concede quaesumus</i> <i>Alia (GrH & GrT):</i> <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice</i>

In his pre-Gregorian schema (Table 10) Schmidt proposes that six readings with only three prayers (excluding the prayer, which follows Psalm 41) comprise the Roman Paschal

⁵⁵ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 827. Schmidt also makes the claim that the system of readings contained in the Gregorian sacramentaries can be traced back to Gregory I (590-604), see page 844.

Vigil. The schema in the Gregorian sacramentaries consists of four readings and four prayers. In the Gregorian schema only two of the biblical lessons can be associated with canticles, Exodus 14 and Isaiah 4. While they are not specifically mentioned in the Gregorian lists, their presence can be inferred. I have bracketed them in Table 11 to demonstrate this situation. Both the Pre-Gregorian and the Gregorian schemas include Psalm 41. Scholars disagree over how to interpret the psalm's inclusion in the lists, as it is a psalm and not scripture reading *per se*. A prayer follows the chanting of Psalm 41, and an *alia oratio* appears in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum.

The readings flow in a systematic fashion and are arranged as they occur in the Bible. Schmidt believes this order is significant, as it expresses not only a purposeful progress of the didactic structure of the vigil from creation (Genesis 1) to fulfillment of God's plan of salvation in calling the nations to the waters of baptism (Isaiah 54), but also it suggests elegance in its composition.⁵⁶ The Genesis reading (1:1—2:2, according to the ancient lectionaries) is the first creation account, and concludes with God resting on the seventh day (Genesis 2:2). It may be deliberate that the passage does not include the blessing of the Sabbath, as Christ's resurrection now transcends this understanding. The lesson's prayer, "Deus qui mirabiliter," emphasizes humanity's creation and redemption.⁵⁷ The text is

⁵⁶ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 832.

⁵⁷ "Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem et mirabilius redemisti, da nobis quaesumus contra oblectamenta peccati mentis ratione persistere, ut mereamur ad gaudia aeterna pervenire. Per dominum." (GrH 363; GrP 322a; GrT 419)

original to the Gregorian tradition and its connection to the meaning of Pascha is obvious as both texts emphasize the ever-present work of God in bringing creation to its fulfillment.⁵⁸

The pericope from Exodus (14:24—15:1) recounts the passage of Israel through the Red Sea. The passage begins with the morning watch (*in vigilia matutina*) and draws a parallel to the vigil begun by the assembly on this night. God transforms an enslaved people into a nation through water, an action paralleled in the present assembly by the prayer accompanying the lesson, “Deus cujus antiqua:” a petition that the Lord transform those to be baptized by the same.⁵⁹ The canticle, *Cantemus domino*, will be examined below. At present it be noted that the canticle’s appearance is linked to the conclusion of the scriptural passage.

The third and fourth readings in the Gregorian system are each taken from the prophet Isaiah, the prophet of the messianic reign.⁶⁰ The third reading, Isaiah 4:1-6, is the shortest of all the readings proclaimed this night. It introduces, however, a very strong eschatological element into the celebration. The passage speaks, first, how the Lord will heal the desolation wrought by the sins of humanity. The canticle, *Vinea domini*, immediately follows the text read as a lesson in the very short fourth chapter. It sings of the power of God to overcome

⁵⁸ Interestingly, although the prayer speaks of the redemption of humanity, the account of the fall is not read among the passages from Genesis at the Gregorian Paschal Vigil. The choice to omit these passages would focus the assembly, especially those preparing for baptism, on the work of God in creation rather than upon human limitations.

⁵⁹ “Deus cujus antiqua miracula in praesenti quoque saeculo coruscare sentimus, praesta quaesumus ut sicut priorem populum ab aegyptis liberasti, hoc ad salutem gentium per aquas baptismatis opereris. Per.” (GrH 365; GrP 323a; GrT 421) In the Tridentinum, this prayer is not shortened as in the Hadrianum and Paduensis, but repeats word for word the text of the same prayer in the Gelasianum: “Deus, cujus antiqua miracula etiam nostris saeculis coruscare sentimus, dum quod uni populo a persecutione aegyptia liberando dexteræ tuæ potentia contulisti, id in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris: praesta, ut in Abrahae filios et in israheliticam dignitatem totius mundi transeat plenitudo. Per dominum.” (GeV 435). The portion of the prayer that is repeated in both the Gelasian and Tridentine manuscripts has been underscored.

⁶⁰ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 846.

human pride, arrogance, and the despair that comes from failure. These are lessons humanity still needs to learn. The prayer, “Deus qui nos,”⁶¹ ties the passage and canticle together by reminding the assembly that what is taught through the pages of scripture ensures the promise of a future.⁶² This same prayer is found in the Gelasianum, although in the latter context it follows the lesson from Ezekiel. In both manuscripts the certainty of a future weaves a direct eschatological reference into the Paschal Vigil beyond the celebration of baptism. The fourth and final reading, Isaiah 54:17—55:11, begins with the second half of verse 17 according to the traditional incipit. The passage expresses God’s call to the nations to come to the waters of new life – baptism – the waters that restore vigor and renew hope. The prayer, “Deus qui ecclesiam,” like the prayer connected with Genesis 1, originates in the Gregorian tradition. It re-echoes the sentiment of the scripture passage and asks that the Lord protect those who respond to the divine call through baptism.⁶³ Psalm 41 will be treated below.

The Scripture Vigil in the Gelasian Tradition

Preceding the prayers associated with the scripture lessons of the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian sacramentary is the oration, “Deus, qui divitias misericordiae tuae.” This prayer,

⁶¹ “Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale sacramentum, utrisque testamenti paginis instruis, da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per dominum.” (GrH 367; GrP 324a; GrT 423) In the Padua Sacramentary the verb *imbuisti* is substituted for *instruis* in this prayer, just as it is in the Gelasianum; the emphasis then becomes not merely instruction, but on initial instruction.

⁶² See Adrien Nocent, “La semaine sainte dans la liturgie romaine,” in *Hebdomadae sanctae celebratio: The Celebration of Holy Week in Ancient Jerusalem and its Development in the Rites of East and West*, ed. Antonii Georgii Kollamparampil (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizione Liturgiche, 1997), 281.

⁶³ “Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium vocatione multiplicas, concede propitius ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis continua protectione tuearis. Per dominum.” (GrH 369; GrP 325a; GrT 425)

offered by the *sacerdos* (according to the rubric), prays on behalf of the sacerdotal order for the grace to enact their ministries this evening without giving offense.⁶⁴ The major Gregorian sacramentaries do not know this prayer.⁶⁵ It is interesting, as Tables 9a and 9b show above, that the *ordines*, especially, OR 24, 27, 28, 29 and 31 declare that a prayer should not be said before the readings: *ante "In principio" non dicit orationem*. The vigil in these contexts, as mentioned, begins immediately with the first reading. Whether or not this rubric refers to the Gelasian oration or merely to an opening prayer omitted at this liturgy is not clear. OR 32, however, contains the instruction: *Dicit sacerdos orationem que in sacramentorum continetur*, which may refer to this oration. The remaining *ordines* (OR 23, AppOR 28, OR 30A and B, OR 32, OR 33) are silent on the matter. It is not clear why the Gelasian tradition adds this prayer to the vigil; and the *ordines* do not offer a reason to reinforce **not** beginning the vigil with it.

In the conclusion to Part One of this dissertation, we challenged Chavasse's consideration that one finds the origin of this collect in the practice of the Ember Week Vigils whose lessons, he believes, were preceded with a prayer for purity. Chavasse sees this practice influencing the celebration of the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian sacramentary.⁶⁶ Yet this prayer does not appear in the other sacramentaries, and the initial prayers of the

⁶⁴ "Deus, qui divitias misericordiae tuae in hac praecipue nocte largiris, propitiare universo ordini sacerdotalis officii, et omnes gradus famulatus nostri perfecta delictorum remissione sanctifica, ut ministraturos regeneratrici gratiae tuae nulli esse obnoxios patiaris offensae: per." (GeV 431)

⁶⁵ It is found in Aniane's Supplement to the Hadrianum, GrH 1023, following the *benedictio caeri*. It is preceded by the following rubric, "*Oratio post benedictionem caerei dicenda antequam legatur prima lectio <genesis in principio>.*"

⁶⁶ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 106.

Embertide vigils do not resemble either in structure or in theme the context of GeV 431.

Chavasse mentions further on in his study of the Gelasianum that the prayer exists to introduce the liturgical vigil itself, as will be the practice with a similar prayer on Good Friday.⁶⁷ In this setting the prayer serves to achieve a type of “consistent beginning” at the liturgies on these days. The Gelasian tradition does not begin with the first words of the lesson, but rather with a first collect placed before the initial reading.⁶⁸ Schmidt merely notes that this is a special Gelasian peculiarity.⁶⁹ The texts of the Gelasian vigil will be analyzed with the aid of Table 12, which replicated the data from Table 4 for our present consideration.

In comparison with the Gregorian lectionary system for the Paschal Vigil, the Gelasianum contains ten readings and ten corresponding prayers. These lessons are not arranged in biblical order; and four readings of the Gregorian vigil are also found in the

Table 12. The Structure of the Gelasian Scriptural Vigil of Pascha

Scripture Reading	Canticle	Corresponding Prayer
Genesis 1 – <i>In principio</i>		<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i>
Genesis 5 – <i>Noe vero cum quingentorum</i>		<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui in omnium</i>
Genesis 22 – <i>Tentavit deus abraham</i>		<i>Deus fidelium pater summe</i>
Exodus 14 – <i>Factum est</i>	<i>Cantemus domino</i>	<i>Deus cujus antiqua miracula in praesenti</i>
Isaiah 54 – <i>Haec est hereditas</i>		<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus multiplica</i>
Ezekiel 37 – <i>Facta est super me</i>		<i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale</i>
Isaiah 4 – <i>Et adprahendent VII mulieres</i>	<i>Vinea domini</i>	<i>Deus qui in omnibus ecclesiae tuae</i>
Exodus 12 – <i>Mensis iste vobis</i>		<i>Deus qui diversitatem omnium gentium</i>
Deuteronomy 31 – <i>Scriptis moyses</i>	[<i>cum cantico</i>]	<i>Deus celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum</i>
Daniel 3 – <i>Nabuchodonosor rex</i>		<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus spes unica</i>
	(Psalm 41) <i>Sicut Cervus</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus respice</i>

⁶⁷ This would be the prayer, “Deus a quo et Judas reatus sui poenam” (GeV 396), a prayer said before the altar (*Ista oratione expleta vadit retro altare*) and before the lesson is read.

⁶⁸ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 122-123.

⁶⁹ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 841: ...est modus agendi specialis gelasianus.

Gelasianum. Of the other six readings, Genesis 22 and Deuteronomy 31 appear in the lectionary system for the Pentecost Vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The other four lessons: Genesis 5, Ezekiel 37, Exodus 12, and Daniel 3 are particular to the Gelasian tradition. Save for Genesis 5, the readings are proclaimed also at the Jerusalem Paschal vigil, which contained upwards of twelve readings.⁷⁰ The influence of Eastern Christianity was strongly felt in Gaul whose liturgical practices are imprinted upon the Gelasianum. The orations accompanying the lessons differ from those found at the Gregorian Paschal Vigil. An exception is the prayer, “Deus cujus antiqua,” which follows Exodus 14 in both traditions. “Deus qui nos,” as cited above, which accompanies Isaiah 4 in the Gregorian system, is linked with Ezekiel 37 in the Gelasian arrangement. As will be shown later, two biblical lessons that occur in the Gelasian Paschal Vigil, happen also in the Gregorian Pentecost Vigil, Genesis 22 and Deuteronomy 31. They are accompanied in the Pentecost setting by prayers reworked using Gallican literary models.⁷¹ The Gelasianum includes a third unnamed canticle connected with the reading from Deuteronomy.

The Gelasian system of readings expands upon an original Gregorian structure, most likely the result of revisions and additions to the Roman system as it moved from Rome into Gaul in the seventh to eighth centuries. The strong influences of Eastern practices upon the Gallican church may have led to the desire to incorporate those practices into an original Roman core. This is not to say that the Gelasianum vigil structure was neither Roman nor

⁷⁰ Athanase Renoux, “Introduction aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine, lumières nouvelles,” vol. 1 of *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 35, fasc. 1, no. 163 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1969), 296-307.

⁷¹ See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 838; and Nocent, “La semaine sainte,” 282.

used in the presbyteral title churches, but rather that its Paschal lectionary system represents a later enhancement of its Roman core. Such a conclusion is opposite those who believe the Gregorian Paschal lectionary represents a reduction to four lessons of an original ten-lesson structure the Gelasian sacramentary preserves. The appearance, however, of several simultaneous lectionary systems reveals much variation in proclaiming the Paschal Liturgy of the Word in the ancient church.

The four readings common to both the Gelasian and Gregorian systems have been considered above, let us examine now the other lessons. The readings from Genesis 5, Genesis 22, and Ezekiel 37 are suitable to the celebration of the Paschal Vigil, particularly as a baptismal vigil. Genesis 22:1-19, in the ancient lectionaries, tells of the sacrifice of Isaac.⁷² The accompanying prayer, “Deus fidelium pater summe,” stresses God’s call to all people making them children of adoption and asks for a worthy response on the part of the faithful.⁷³

The reading from Ezekiel (37:1-14) narrates the valley the dry bones, which come to life as the Spirit of God rushes upon them. Chavasse believes that this text is not part of a primitive Gelasian Paschal structure, but rather belongs to a second stage of development.⁷⁴ The passage is baptismal after a fashion proclaiming the power of the Spirit of God to create a new people from what appears dead and lifeless. Schmidt equates this passage with the

⁷² In the Gregorian tradition this lesson is found at the Pentecost Vigil. As we will see below in discussing the Pentecost Vigil, Chavasse believes this passage is misplaced there, as its theme celebrates God’s formation of a new people, and does not specifically reference the Spirit. See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 119; and below, page 324.

⁷³ “Deus, fidelium pater summe, qui in toto orbem terrarum promissionis tuae filios diffusa adoptione multiplicas et per paschale sacramentum Abraham puerum tuum universarum, sicut jurasti, gentium efficis patrem: da populis tuis digne ad gratiam tuae vocationis intrare: per.” (GeV 434)

⁷⁴ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 118.

resurrection from the dead, and so its use with the Paschal Vigil is more than evident outside of a baptismal context.⁷⁵ With its focus upon the Spirit, the reading would seem also appropriate for use at Pentecost, and yet, as will be shown, it is not included in either a Gelasian or a Gregorian set for that feast. The oration, “Deus qui nos,” paired with the reading from Isaiah 4 in the Gregorian tradition, appears out of place following Ezekiel. The second of the three texts taken from Genesis (5:31—8:21), the account of the Deluge and God’s promise never to destroy the earth, also belongs to a second stage of Gelasian development. It is the longest of all the passages proclaimed at the vigil. Schmidt says that this reading is used to prefigure baptism; although it does not appear in the Jerusalem system or in many others outside of Gaul.⁷⁶ The prayer accompanying this passage, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui in omnium,”⁷⁷ draws a parallel between the beginning of creation and Christ’s sacrifice at the end of the ages, and asks that the faithful may know that the sacrifice of Christ is more excellent than all the wonders God initiated at the beginning of creation.

The readings that present interesting contrasts in our study of the Paschal Vigil are those from Deuteronomy 31, Exodus 12, and Daniel 3. In Deuteronomy 31: 22-30, Moses prepares the Israelites for entrance into the Promised Land. He provides them with the canticle, *Attende coelum*, with which they are to remember what the Lord has done for them

⁷⁵ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 838.

⁷⁶ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 838.

⁷⁷ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui in omnium operum tuorum dispensatione mirabilis es, intellegant redempti tui non fuisse excellentius quod initio factus est mundus, quam quod in fine saeculorum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus: per eundem dominum.” (GeV 433) In MR1570 this text is placed with the reading from Exodus 12, concerning the Passover, and to which it finds greater affinity. The edition of the 1570 Missale Romanum with which we are working is, Gaspar Lefebvre, ed., *The Saint Andrew Daily Missal: With Vespers for Sundays and Feasts and Kyriale* (1945; repr., Great Falls, MO: St. Bonaventure Publications, 1999), 600.

and not forsake the covenant. The song begins in chapter 32 and becomes a third canticle along with *Cantemus domino* and *Vinea domini*, which form a musical responsorial portion of the Paschal Vigil. The biblical passage does not specifically speak of baptism. It does not appear in the Jerusalem list. The prayer following the reading, “Deus celsitudo,” reiterates the hope, articulated by the passage, that in remembering this canticle God will continue to remit the sins of the people and lead them to salvation.⁷⁸ The transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua so that he might lead the Israelites into the Promised Land in Deuteronomy 31 conveys both baptismal and eschatological themes.

Issues concerning Exodus 12:1-11 were acknowledged at the beginning of this chapter. On Good Friday, both the episcopal basilicas and the presbyteral-title churches of Rome proclaimed Exodus 12:1-11, the Passover charter, attested to the seventh century by the Würzburg Epistolary.⁷⁹ Why it is repeated in the Gelasian system is not clear. The passage appears, however, in the Armenian lectionary used by the Jerusalem church (*Jerusalem 121*) for the Paschal Vigil. Talley affirms that the presence of Exodus 12 at the vigil is ancient and that the passage was transferred to the Good Friday synaxis in Rome, but he posits also that its removal was the result of anti-Judaic tendencies in Rome.⁸⁰ We will examine this statement later in our consideration of the Pentecost Vigil. The placement of

⁷⁸ “Deus, celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum, qui per sanctum Moysen puerum tuum ita erudire populos tuos sacri carminis tui decantatione voluisti, ut illa legis iteratio fieret etiam nostra directio: excita in omnem justificatarum gentium plenitudinem potentiam tuam, et (da) laetitiam mitigando terrorem, ut omnium peccatis tua remissione deletis quod denuntiaturum est in ultionem transeat in salutem: per.” (GeV 440) See also Nocent, “La semaine sainte,” 283.

⁷⁹ *Feria VI. ubi supra – lec lib exodi* (W_{ep} 84). See also Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 778-783; and Giovanni Berti, *La Settimana Santa; Commento storico, dogmatico e pastorale al nuovo Ordo* (Monza: Tipografia Monzese, 1957), 152.

⁸⁰ Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 53.

Exodus 12 on Good Friday may be more consistent with a thread in the tradition of celebrating Pascha not as a memorial of the Resurrection, but rather as a commemoration of the Cross of Christ. This tradition would find a place in the liturgical aims of the Quartodecimani who in the second and third centuries wished to retain the date of the Jewish Passover as the date of Christ's *transitus* from this life to the Father. Carlo Marcora believes that particularly in Northern Italy there was a tendency to keep vigil not from Saturday night into Sunday, but from Friday night into Saturday.⁸¹ The Roman church early on may also have kept a memorial of the passion as part of its paschal vigil, and in so doing, may have proclaimed Exodus 12 at this liturgical celebration. As the understanding of keeping Pascha shifts from the Cross to the Resurrection, and the commemoration is parceled out on various days, then it may be possible that Exodus 12 proclaimed previously at the liturgical vigil now shifts to be proclaimed on the Friday prior to Sunday. The prayer accompanying this reading, "Deus qui diversitatem omnium gentium," does little to alleviate some of the puzzle as to why this reading appears in the vigil.⁸² The text speaks of God bringing the nations together in confession of the divine name and prays for unity in faith and action. Such sentiments are more appropriate, again, to Pentecost than to Pascha.

⁸¹ Carlo Marcora, *La Vigilia nella Liturgia: ricerche sulle origini e sui primi sviluppi*, sec i-vi. Archivio Ambrosiano 6 (Milan: S.A. Tipografica Sociale, 1954), 174-175. Marcora also points out a reference, which Ambrose of Milan makes to this practice in the *Hexameron* 6.91-99. See also where Karl Gerlach tackles this issue in *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 139-165. In this section Gerlach uses Tertullian's reflections from his *De baptismo* (19.1-3), where the author appears to equate Pascha an appropriate time for baptism, "since the passion of the Lord, in which we are baptized, was at that time accomplished."

⁸² "Deus, qui diversitatem omnium gentium in confessione tui nominis unum esse fecisti, da nobis et velle et posse quod praecipis, ut populo ad aeternitatem vocato una sit fides mentium et pietas actionum: per." (GeV 439). This prayer also appears in the Gregorian sacramentaries, as the collect on Thursday of Easter Week, *ad apostolos* (GrH 415; GrP 354; GrT 464).

The final lesson, Daniel 3:1-24, is supplied by the Jerusalem lectionary in the same position as we find it in the Gelasianum – the final reading of the Paschal Vigil. It is the account of the three young men in the fiery furnace, who defied King Nebuchadnezzar by refusing to worship the golden idol. Its prayer, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, spes unica mundi,” acknowledges God as the only hope of the world and asks that recognition of this truth may aid the people toward an increase in virtue.⁸³ The prayer complements the reading, and Schmidt sees it as expressing the symbolic strength and power of baptism.⁸⁴ We have already discussed the placement and purpose of Daniel 3 in the vigil lectionary of the Embertides, where there it occurs also as the conclusion to the vigil. Recall from that discussion that the Jerusalem system used Daniel 3 to greet the neophytes as they entered the church following baptism in the Constantinopolitan and Gallican vigils.⁸⁵ Daniel 3 does not serve this function in the Gelasian structure of the Paschal Vigil, and its placement seems inconsistent with the Gallican tradition that influenced the Gelasianum. If Daniel 3 were to accompany the neophytes into the church, it would have to be proclaimed following baptism. Such an arrangement is not adequately clear from the Gelasian manuscript.

If the passage was used to welcome the neophytes in the church, it is not certain what part of Daniel 3 would have been proclaimed. Talley believes that a hymn or canticle accompanied the newly baptized as they processed from font to church. If so, then it may

⁸³ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, spes unica mundi, qui prophetarum tuorum praeconio praesentium temporum declarasti mysteria, auge populi tui vota placatus, quia in nullo fidelium nisi ex tua inspiratione proveniunt quarumlibet incrementa virtutum: per.” (GeV 441)

⁸⁴ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 838.

⁸⁵ Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 53-54.

have been the hymn of Azariah in the furnace, Daniel 3:26-45, that follows the passage proclaimed in the lectionary lists (Daniel 3:12-25). This arrangement, however, would either mean a longer reading than recorded in the manuscripts, or suggest that the proclamation of Daniel 3 was split between a time pre-baptismal and a time post-baptismal.

The prayer following Genesis 1, “Deus incommutabilis virtus,” occurs in the Gregorian sacramentary attached to a reading from Baruch 3 at the Pentecost Vigil. In the Gregorians the prayer is shortened, perhaps evidence of the Gallicanization of the original Roman text in the Gelasianum.⁸⁶ The prayer is baptismal in content, praying that what is begun in baptism may continue uprightness of life. If the Gregorian text is older it may have been written especially for the celebration of the pre-Eucharistic vigil of Pentecost, which comes to include baptismal rites.

The prayers following Isaiah 54 and Isaiah 4 are compositions unique to the Gelasian tradition. “Omnipotens sempiterne deus multiplica” (Isaiah 54) acknowledges the adoption won by Christ at work in the growth of the Church as another sign of the fulfillment of God’s promises.⁸⁷ “Deus qui in omnibus ecclesiae” (Isaiah 4) echoes the images of restoration in

⁸⁶ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 839. A comparison between the two texts will help to illustrate the transformation the prayers made as they traveled north of the Alps:

Prayer following Genesis 1 – Paschal Vigil Gelasian Sacramentary	Prayer following Baruch 3 – Pentecost Vigil Gregorian Tradition
“Deus incommutabilis virtus, lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae tuae mirabile sacramentum et opus salutis humanae perpetuae dispositionis affectu tranquillus operare, totusque mundus experiatur et videat dejecta erigi, inveterata novari, et per ipsum redire omnia in integrum, a quo sumpserunt principium: per.” (GeV 432)	“Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae mirabile sacramentum et da famulis tuis ut hoc quod devote agimus etiam rectitudine vitae teneamus. Per dominum nostrum.” (GrH 514; GrP 458; GrT 560)

⁸⁷ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, multiplica in honore nominis tui quod patrem fidei spondisti et promissionis filios sacra adoptione dilata, ut quod priores sancti non dubitaverunt futurum, ecclesia tua magna iam parte cognoscat impletum: per.” (GeV 436)

the biblical reading and in the canticle. It prays that the vine of the Church may be protected from thorns and briars to produce ever-abundant fruit.⁸⁸

The Scripture Vigil of Pascha: The Canticles

The final elements of the scripture vigil of Pascha to consider are the scripture canticles. These canticles play a role, also, in the liturgy of the Pentecost Vigil; consequently a fuller understanding and appreciation of their role cannot be accomplished without an analysis of the Pentecost Vigil, which will occur in Chapter Four.

The Gelasian sacramentary specifically notes the presence of three canticles associated with three of the lessons in its lectionary system; the Gregorian sacramentaries do not mention them. The canticles found in the Gelasianum are listed above in Table 12. A canticle follows the fourth reading from Exodus 14, *Cantemus domino*; the seventh reading from Isaiah 4, *Vinea domini*; and an unnamed canticle follows the ninth reading from Deuteronomy 31, whose prayer states that Moses taught Israel the Law through a hymn he composed. This last canticle will be identified as *Attende caelum/coelum* in other manuscripts concerned with the texts of the Paschal Vigil. The canticle texts are extensions of the readings with which they are associated. They are also named in those registers of the ancient lectionaries containing a list of Paschal Vigil lessons, namely the *Comes* of Alcuin,

⁸⁸ “Deus, qui in omnibus ecclesiae tuae filiis sanctorum prophetarum voce manifestasti in omni loco dominationis tuae satorem te bonorum seminum et electorum palmitum esse cultorem: tribue populis tuis qui et vinearum apud te nomine censentur et segetum, ut spinarum et tribulorum squalore resecato digni efficiantur fruge fecundi: per.” (GeV 438)

the *Comes* of Murbach, and the Epistolary of Corbie.⁸⁹ The *Comes* of Alcuin cites only the canticle, *Vinea domini*.

A fourth musical piece is found in the sacramentaries and featured in the Epistolary of Corbie alone among the lectionaries: Psalm 41, *Sicut cervus*. It is present following Isaiah 54 in the Gregorian sacramentary, and after Daniel 3 in the Gelasian. In both instances the psalm is not connected to the reading, which precedes it, but is identified with a prayer associated with it: *Oratione post psalmum xli*. The psalm does not bear the title, *canticum* or *carmen*, as do the other musical pieces, except in the Epistolary of Corbie, where it is listed as *Canticum in Ps. xl*.⁹⁰ We will return to this peculiarity in a moment.

Recall that only AppOR 28 and OR 31 among the *ordines* mention the canticles. AppOR 28 refers to *Cantemus domino* (AppOR 28.4) and *Vinea domini* (AppOR 28.6). There is no mention of a separate canticle associated with Deuteronomy 31, although the *ordo* does provide the incipit for the reading as, *Scriptis Moyses canticum* (AppOR 28.8). The *ordo* provides Psalm 41 with no special designation either, than as a psalm (AppOR 28.10). OR 31 lists the canticles for Exodus 14 (OR 31.70) and Isaiah 4 (OR 31.72), and excludes the reading from Deuteronomy 31. OR 31 refers to Psalm 41 as *canticum* and associates it as a response to Isaiah 54 (OR 31.74).

Further aids to understand the function of the canticles are the collections dedicated to these musical elements, the antiphonals. These manuscripts are the fourth document source in our study of the Paschal Vigil, and Table 13 below outlines the manner in which the

⁸⁹ See Table 7, page 213 above.

⁹⁰ See Frere, *The Roman Epistle-Lectionary*, 10. Corbie uses the masoretic numbering of the psalms, as stated above.

Table 13. The Canticles of the Paschal Vigil in the Roman Antiphonals

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
79a-b. <i>Canticum in sabbato sancto sive in sabbato pentecostes</i>		79a-b. <i>Cantica in sabbato sancto</i>		79a-b. <i>Incipiunt cantica in sabbato sancto. (Cap.) LXXIX</i>	
Canticum Exodi: <i>Cantemus domino gloriose enim</i>		Canticum Exodi: <i>Cantemus domino gloriose enim</i>	Canticum in Exodo: <i>Cantemus domino gloriose enim</i>	Canticum Exodi: <i>Cantemus domino gloriose enim</i>	Tract: <i>Cantemus domino gloriose enim</i>
Canticum Deuteronomii: <i>Adtente caelum et loquar</i>		Canticum Deuteronomii: <i>Adtente caelum et loquar</i>	Canticum in Deuteronomii: <i>Adtente caelum et loquar</i>	Canticum Deuteronomii: <i>Adtente caelum et loquar</i>	
Canticum Isaiae: <i>Vinea facta est dilecto</i>		Canticum Isaiae Prophetarum: <i>Vinea facta est dilecto</i>	Canticum in Isaia: <i>Vinea facta est dilecto</i>	Canticum in Isaiae Prophetarum: <i>Vinea facta est dilecto</i>	Tract: <i>Vinea facta est dilecto</i>
Tract: <i>Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes</i>		Psalm XLI: <i>Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes</i>	De Psalm XLI: <i>Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes</i>	Canticum de Psalm XL Primo: <i>Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes</i>	Tract: <i>Sicut cervus desiderat</i>
					Tract: <i>Adtente caelum</i> Versus: <i>Tibi laus perennis auctor</i>
	<i>Et incipient canere in sabbato ad missa ad introitum letania et dicit sacerdos Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	<i>In ipsa nocte ad introitum letania. Gloria in excelsis deo</i>		<i>Sabbato sancto statio ad lateranis. Letania per vices. I. Septenas. Alia quinas tertia ternas. In ipsa nocte ad introitum letania. Gloria in excelsis deo</i>	
Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>				
Alleluia: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Eduxit dominus populum suum</i> Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini domino</i>
		Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i> Require cap. xlvi	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum omnes gentes</i>
	Off: <i>Angelus domini descendit</i>	<i>Non cantatur nec offertorium nec agnus dei nec communionem</i>			
	Ad Com: <i>Cito euntes dicite</i>				

canticles, as well as other chants of the vigil, are employed in this liturgy.

Dom Hesbert in his study of the Roman antiphonals and of the antiphonals in the table terms all four of these pieces, “tracts,” or continuously sung (without a choral response)

chant pieces, often replacing the Alleluia in the Mass during penitential times;⁹¹ however such a description bears further investigation. In the antiphonals, as well as in the sacramentaries, lectionaries, and *ordines* where applicable, these musical elements are termed, *canticum*.⁹² While Hesbert seems blithely to dismiss this distinction in terminology between “tract” and “canticle,” he mentions that a canticle occupies a special place within liturgical compilations. They are the poetic and lyric elements of prose texts, announced by the text itself. They are, therefore, not “tracts” *per se* because they are not from the Psalter, but are intimately tied to the texts from which they spring. Hesbert argues for a development, which occurred in the evolution of the Vigil, where when the lector came to the portion of the text that announced a song (*carmen* in the biblical texts), the lector, who had been chanting the entire lesson, adopted a more elaborate chant melody for the piece. This pattern of proclamation becomes part of the tradition, and these canticles stand apart from their prose texts as elements of joyous response to the Word of the Lord.⁹³ Augustine affirms the

⁹¹ See Dom René-Jean Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1967), lx; and Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. Francis A. Brunner, vol. 1 (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1951), 430-432.

⁹² See James McKinnon, “The Gregorian Canticle-Tracts of the Old Roman Easter Vigil,” in *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. C.-H. Mahling and R. Seiberts (Tutzing: Verlag bei Hans Schneider, 1997) 254-269. McKinnon notes, as does Hesbert, that in the antiphonals the chants utilize a mode-8 melody. For McKinnon this choice of melody reveals that the canticles are not indicative of early Roman practice, which for him “would presumably have used the typical Old Roman tract melody that is retained for every other G-mode Tract in the Old Roman graduals... There would have been no need to borrow the Gregorian melody for these four chants.” See pages 268-269.

⁹³ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lx. See also McKinnon, “The Gregorian Canticle-Tracts,” 259; and Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 265-266.

antiquity of such a practice, and makes mention of singing the canticle, *Cantemus domino*, in his sermon on Exodus 14, preached at a Paschal Vigil.⁹⁴

The six antiphonals of Roman provenance do not provide equal or parallel information on the use of these canticles. Only the *Cantatorium* of Monza and the Antiphonals of Mont Blandin and Corbie contain a title for the section on the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil. The word “vigil” does not appear, and they refer to the liturgy as *sabbato sancto*. Monza is the only manuscript to mention use of these canticles for Holy Saturday or (*sive*) Pentecost eve.⁹⁵ The antiphonal of Rheinau does not list any canticles, while the other antiphonals list three canticles along with Psalm 41.

The order of the canticles – Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah – reflects neither the Gregorian nor the Gelasian paschal lectionary as reflected in the sacramentaries. There is no reading or canticle from Deuteronomy in the Gregorian lectionary; and in the Gelasian lectionary the reading, and hence the canticle, from Deuteronomy 31 comes after Isaiah 4 and not before it. Surprisingly, the ordering reflects the structure of the readings of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasianum. Hesbert believes the editors of the antiphonals arranged the canticles opposite their proclamation in the sacramentaries and in the lectionaries to retain a fidelity to their appearance in Sacred Scripture. Such negligence to the Word on the part of the editors of the sacramentaries and lectionaries was offensive to the editors of the

⁹⁴ Augustine *Sermo* 363, *De cantico exodi* 2 (PL 39.1635).

⁹⁵ This instruction will become more important in our discussion on the Pentecost Vigil below.

Antiphonals, according to Hesbert.⁹⁶ Hesbert notes at the bottom of the section on the Antiphonal of Corbie, however, that in the manuscript the canticle *Vinea* comes before the canticle *Attende*, as it does in the Epistolary of Corbie. Why this order was later switched is not clear.⁹⁷ The Antiphonal of Senlis presents the strangest order of the canticles. While seeming to preserve the arrangement of the canticles in the other liturgical books, it inverts Psalm 41 and Deuteronomy 31 in a manner not portrayed in any liturgical tradition.

The Senlis manuscript alone refers to these pieces as “tracts” and not “canticles,” which evidence Hesbert uses to substantiate his position that the terms may have been interchangeable early on in their development. The term, “tract,” is also applied to Psalm 41 in Monza. Yet Mont Blandin and Compiègne do not furnish a heading for the psalm; and in Corbie it is referred to as a canticle – the only one of the antiphonals to do so. We will return to the phenomenon of Psalm 41 in a moment. The only antiphonal to omit mention of the canticles and of Psalm 41 is the antiphonal of Rheinau; this phenomenon deserves consideration.

The Rheinau manuscript on the eve of Pascha begins with the tract for the vigil Mass, *Laudate dominum omnes gentes*. Hesbert reasons that Rheinau removes the canticles in light of the liturgical distinction that exists between the celebration of the vigil of Holy Saturday and the first Eucharist of Pascha in the lectionaries. In Hesbert’s estimation, the lectionaries mark the feast as comprising two liturgical functions: the Vigil – the blessing of fire and the

⁹⁶ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi. Hesbert also mentions that while there may have been a party whose rigorous desire to maintain biblical precedents, such sentiments as proved by the arrangements of the sacramentaries and lectionaries was not held by everyone.

⁹⁷ See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 97-98.

paschal candle, followed by the readings, and concluding with the procession to the font and the ceremonies of baptism – and the Mass properly speaking.⁹⁸ As we have seen above, the Würzburg Epistolary lists no vigil lessons, as these texts are considered part of a separate liturgical unit. A similar separation appears to be at play as well in the tradition that gave rise to the Rheinau antiphonal. Hesbert asserts that the compiler of the Rheinau antiphonal was more concerned with the tracts of the Eucharistic liturgy, and as a matter of course had removed material related to the non-Eucharistic portion of the liturgy.⁹⁹ The absence of the vigil readings may further support the impression that ancient Roman practice understood observing a biblical vigil at Pascha as a distinct liturgical unit. The separation of about one to two hundred years between the Würzburg and Rheinau manuscripts demonstrates a common source of this custom.

Hesbert adopts the order in which the Corbie lectionary arranges the canticles, as well as their appearance in the *Comes* of Murbach, and in the Supplement of Aniane, to construct the most primitive style of organizing the chants: *Cantemus*, *Vinea*, *Attende*, and *Sicut cervus*.¹⁰⁰ Schmidt, however, disagrees. He argues for an arrangement of *Cantemus*, *Attende*, *Vinea*, *Sicut cervus*. This arrangement surfaces also in the structure of the Pentecost Vigil and because it does Schmidt believes the arrangement reflects a more probable primitive distribution of the pieces.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi.

⁹⁹ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi.

¹⁰⁰ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi.

¹⁰¹ For the present, this argument is found at: Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 844-847.

Finally, there is the issue of Psalm 41. Recall, that Schmidt does not necessarily believe Psalm 41 should be included along with the scriptural readings, even though it appears as such in the sacramentaries; its designation as a psalm and not a reading precludes it from direct association with lessons of the scriptural vigil.¹⁰² Schmidt's point may be valid. Only the strongly gallicanized Epistolary of Corbie, whose lectionary pattern reflects the Supplement of Aniane, includes mention of Psalm 41 in its lectionary list. The *ordines*, except for AppOR 28 and OR 31, do not mention Psalm 41 at all. How then ought we to understand its purpose and inclusion in the sacramentaries? The scholarly consensus is the psalm served to conclude the vigil of readings and mark the transition to the rite of baptism, which followed. The psalm's image of desire for God equated with a yearning to quench one's thirst corresponds to the context of baptism associated with the vigil. It appears to have been introduced primarily to accompany the movement from the church to the baptistery, unassociated with any particular biblical reading. The psalm plays both a functional role and a theologically appropriate expression of baptism toward which the liturgy moves at this point. The baptism-specific nature of the psalm leads us to inquire if baptism is not an original component of the Paschal Vigil, whether or not the psalm and its transitional role may have existed in a more primitive stage of the Paschal Vigil. The rubrical notes in Gelasian Paschal Vigil, which vigil lists Psalm 41, as well as several of the *ordines* also make mention of a processional litany accompanying the ministry to the font. It is unclear whether Psalm 41 and the litany are the same element in this case. Schmidt argues that the psalm was

¹⁰² See above, page 180.

a component *sui generis* in the development of the Paschal Vigil, which was then made equal to the canticles.¹⁰³ Two issues entwined with Psalm 41 provide additional information.

The first issue is the prayer connected with Psalm 41. In the Gregorian sacramentaries its title is simply, *De (In – according to the Paduensis) psalm XLI*. In the Gelasianum the prayer bears the title, *Oratio post psalmum xli*. The latter title provides information, which the former does not – the prayer follows the chanting of Psalm 41, in the same way the prayers do for the scriptural readings. In addition, both traditions contain different prayers. The Gelasianum contains the prayer, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, respice.”¹⁰⁴ We find the prayer, also, as an *alia* in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum for Psalm 41, but not in the Paduensis. The text in the Gelasian is oriented toward baptism. It echoes the psalm in comparing the devotion of the people being renewed to the deer who is searching for the running stream (“respice propitius ad devotionem populi renascentis, qui sicut cervus aquarum expectat fontem”). The petition requests that in the mystery of baptism the thirst of faith itself may sanctify body and soul (“ut fidei ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque sanctificet”). The prayer speaks of baptism signified by reference to the “populi renascentis,” those about to be reborn in baptism.

In the Gregorian tradition the principal prayer associated with Psalm 41 is “Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus.”¹⁰⁵ The prayer’s metaphors express that the assembly having

¹⁰³ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 846-847.

¹⁰⁴ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, respice propitius ad devotionem populi renascentis, qui sicut cervus aquarum expectat fontem, et concede propitius, ut fidei ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque sanctificet: per.” (GeV 442; also as an *alia* in GrH 372 and GrT 428 – the prayer is the same all manuscripts)

¹⁰⁵ “Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui festa paschalia agimus celestibus desideriis accensi, fontem vitae sitiamus. Per dominum.” (GrH 371, GrP 326, GrT 427)

been set on fire with heavenly desires in celebrating the paschal feast (“qui festa paschalia agimus celestibus desideriis accensi”), they now thirst for the font of life (“fontem vitae sitiamus”). Here the prayer echoes a different perspective on the psalm. The prayer emphasizes not the immediate reception of the sacrament of baptism, but rather the on-going conversion of those already baptized.

The second issue in a study of the role of Psalm 41 concerns the manner of the psalm’s use specifically in the Paschal Vigil. This concern stems from the appearance of two oration texts in the Gregorian tradition. Are two choices provided in the Gregorian tradition (at least in the Hadrianum and Tridentinum) simply to supply the presider with a variation to use at his discretion? Or, are two prayer texts given because in practice baptism at the vigil was becoming less frequent? The principal oration in the Gregorian tradition, “Concede quaesumus,” seems geared toward occasions on which there were no baptisms. There is no mention of candidates and there is no specific reference to approaching the waters of baptism. Either prayer could be used depending whether or not there were candidates for baptism. In the Paduensis, which provides only the one collect, “Concede,” we may perceive material reflective of an earlier state of the Gregorian tradition at the core of this sacramentary. If so, then the Paduensis at this point may preserve the celebration of the vigil prior to the addition of baptism to it.

In the Gelasianum, though, we encounter another element. At GeV 443, a summary of rubrical instructions on the administration of baptism follows beneath the prayer for Psalm 41. The first line of this rubric reads, “Thereupon they proceed to the font with the litany in

order to baptize.”¹⁰⁶ The features of this litany are not provided, though it is the second of three, which characterize the Gelasian Paschal Vigil. All the *ordines*, except AppOR 28, mention a litany chanted in procession to the font, and so the practice is quite attested to in the tradition. Only OR 23 provides a response to it, “Christe audi nos.”¹⁰⁷ There is no mention of a processional litany to the font in the antiphonals. As stated above, scholarship on the matter affirms that Psalm 41 functioned as the processional litany. The presence of the prayer associated with Psalm 41 is consistent with the Roman tradition that generally concluded a litany with a collect.¹⁰⁸ This would occur at the baptistery once the party had arrived. Adrian Nocent, however, extends significance of this development, taking a page from the practice in Constantinople and in Gaul. In affirming the role of Psalm 41 as the processional litany, Nocent states that a second litany also accompanied the newly baptized returning to the church. The second litany arose by splitting Psalm 41 into two parts: one part to process to the font, the other into the church.¹⁰⁹ This might explain the presence of an *alia* in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum: prayers to conclude the litany to and from the font. No other evidence can be found support such a theory in the manuscripts, however. The presence of a post-baptismal litany in the *ordines* and in the Gelasianum appears more connected to initiating the Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil than it is on bringing the newly

¹⁰⁶ “*Inde procedunt ad fontes cum litania ad baptizandum.*” Chavasse does not include the whole of this rubric as part of the ancient Roman strata for celebrating the Paschal Vigil. See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 96-97, although he does acknowledge the litany chanted on the way to the font as Roman.

¹⁰⁷ OR 23.28.

¹⁰⁸ Wegman, *Christian Worship*, 118-120.

¹⁰⁹ Nocent, “La semaine sainte,” 286.

baptized into the assembly. The antiphonals of Rheinau, Mont Blandin, and Corbie mention this litany, but in these contexts the litany is definitely associated with the Eucharist and with not baptism.

Some initial observations on the biblical vigil of the Paschal Vigil

Let us pause at this point and offer a preliminary analysis of the vigil of readings within the Roman Paschal Vigil. First, taken together the biblical lessons and the prayer texts, which accompany them, work toward a presentation of the scope of salvation history. The additional readings found in the Gelasian tradition enhance what appears to be a seminal scripture foundation contained in the four readings of the Gregorian tradition. Second, in the Gregorian tradition, only the readings and prayers accorded to Exodus 14 and Isaiah 54 speak directly to the subject of baptism. The Genesis 1 and Isaiah 4 readings and their prayers suggest a more eschatologically minded perspective focused on the attainment of eternal joys and of a promised future. The set combines two attitudes toward keeping vigil on this night: the introduction of new members into the Church through baptism, and the edification of the already baptized through biblical anamnesis. The Gregorian scripture proclamation seems to “fit” a vigil at which baptism could be celebrated, and one that did not require baptism to take place.

Third, the convoluted nature of the Gelasian lectionary, where the lessons are not biblically ordered, stems from a desire to preserve a local lectionary pattern already in existence (introduced and strongly influenced by Eastern practice) with the desire to emulate

Roman practices in the eighth century.¹¹⁰ The pattern is not systematic and is more hodge-podge, lacking the movement from creation to the advent of salvation one experiences in proclaiming the Gregorian texts.

Fourth, as concerns the Gelasian structure however, outside of the prayer accompanying Exodus 14, which alludes to baptism as the water of regeneration (“*aquam regenerationis*”), the prayers are not overly baptismal in content, but rather each seems to comment upon the continuing impact of the pivotal events of salvation for believers in the present age. For example, the prayer following the account of Noah (Genesis 5) speaks of “those redeemed” (“*redempti*”) a title, which applies equally to the baptized assembly as well as those about to be baptized. The prayer associated with Exodus 12, speaks more of the promise of universal salvation than of immediacy of sacramental reception (“*qui diversitatem omnium gentium in confessione tui nominis unum esse fecisti*”). Even the stronger “baptismal” themed prayer following Exodus 14 suggests an emphasis upon the whole of creation as the subject of salvation, than a specific group of Elect or Catechumens (“*id in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris*”).

Fifth, we may say, therefore, that within both the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions the biblical vigil assumes a wider theological scope than administration of the rite of baptism. The purpose of the Paschal Vigil is not necessarily the baptism of candidates alone, but also serves for the edification of the baptized. It seems possible to conceive that edification of the baptized may have been a primal goal of the vigil, which existed prior to the incorporation of baptism into the celebration.

¹¹⁰ Nocent supports this theory although he realizes the clear proof of such a process is lacking. See Nocent, “La semaine sainte,” 283.

Sixth, this original goal of the vigil may help to explain why the Würzburg Epistolary does not provide a unit of vigil lessons on the eve of Pascha. The introduction of the sacraments of initiation into the Paschal Vigil may have prompted a decision that the number and type of primitive vigil readings were insufficient to serve the additional function of orienting those about to be baptized to expectations and promises of Christian life. An earlier vigil set of four readings in the papal liturgy or even within the earlier presbyteral liturgy was augmented with additional lessons and new prayers composed, therefore, in order to communicate the baptismal nature of the Paschal Vigil.¹¹¹ The Würzburg Epistolary may represent this stage of transition. It lacks the vigil readings because they were either in the process of revision; or better, because the tradition from which Würzburg originates still used a more ancient core in a now lost *ordo* or *libellus*. The Gelasian tradition of ten lessons may exemplify the enhancement of an original core to accommodate baptism.

The Blessing of the Font and Rites of Initiation at the Paschal Vigil

A litany, possibly though not certainly Psalm 41, ushers the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil into its next phase, the blessing of the font. The Gelasianum and the Roman *ordines* attest to the presence of a litany. While the Gregorian sacramentaries do not narrate this transition, the Hadrianum (GrH 373-374), and the Tridentinum (GrT 429-431) follow the scripture vigil with a blessing over the font.¹¹²

¹¹¹ Schmidt alludes to the possibility of such an ancient core in *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 841-842.

¹¹² A *Benedictio fontis* is found in the Sacramentary of Padua (GrP 981-983), but it occurs toward the end of the Sacramentary, after the calendar cycle has concluded, and is more than likely part of supplemental material added to the sacramentary. It is contained among a number of blessings such as that for fire

An extensive analysis of the blessing of the font and the initiation rites of the Paschal Vigil goes beyond the scope of this paper; however, consideration of the features of the sacramental rites that affect the vigil will aid our analysis. The texts of the font blessing and the rites of initiation are contained either in their own sections (in the Gelasianum, Section 44, and the Hadrianum, Section 85) or set apart by a separate heading within a larger section (as in the Tridentinum, where the blessing appears under Section 73, *Orationes quae dicuntur ad lectiones in ecclesia*). The blessing and the rites are viewed as a unit. Their placement between the scripture vigil and the Mass of the vigil gives credence to the belief that they are an added dimension to the liturgy; without these rites the Word service would progress into the celebration of the Eucharist, as we saw with the Embertide vigils.

The Gelasianum provides more rubrical information on this part of the vigil than is found in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The title of section 44 in the Gelasianum, “*Inde discendis cum laetania ad fonte. Benedictio fontis*,” establishes the procedure for what follows at the conclusion of the scripture vigil: “You move with the litany being chanted down to the font.” The Roman *ordines* communicate a similar understanding of “descending to the font.” The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum omit any rubrical direction, and the titles of their sections read simply, *Benedictio fontis*.

The Gregorian sacramentaries do not include the actual baptism ritual. A formula follows the conclusion of the blessing of the font (GrH 375, GrT 431) and concerns the post-baptismal anointing on the top of the head by the presbyters. The action is preceded by a

(*Benedictio ignis*, GrP 984-985), whether the new fire of the Paschal Vigil or candles is unclear (it does state *ignis* and not *incensum* as that which is blest, unlike in the Gelasianum), a blessing for the lamb to be eaten at Easter (*Benedictio super agnum in Pascha*, GrP 986), and several blessings over olives (*Orationes super olivas*, GrP 987-989).

short rubric, *Baptizat et linit eum presbiter de chrism in cerebro, et dicit*. The same text is found in the Gelasianum (GeV 450).¹¹³ A prayer comes next (GrH 376, GrT 432), used also in the Gelasianum, that petitions for the sending the seven-fold Spirit. In the Gregorian texts, the minister of this prayer is not given; although the Gelasianum states that the bishop performs this blessing. The prayer is not preceded by any rubric in the Gregorian texts, but is marked by a heading: *Oratio ad infantes consignandum*.¹¹⁴

The Gelasianum, on the other hand, contains a detailed *ordo* for baptizing the candidates and for anointing the newly baptized with chrism (GeV 449-452): *Inde benedicto fonte baptizas unumquemque in ordine suo sub has interrogationes*. This *ordo* resumes where the pre-baptismal rites of Holy Saturday morning (section 42 GeV 419-424) concluded. The mysterious arrival of the bishop (*episcopo*) at GeV 450 for the administration of confirmation is puzzling. In the Gelasianum, mention of a bishop in attendance is lacking in the earlier portion of the vigil liturgy. The manner in which the rubrics tell it, the bishop takes over from this point of the liturgy, but this is also unclear. Chavasse believes that this is a copyist's error and not indicative of the real liturgical practice in the Gelasian tradition.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ “Deus omnipotens pater domini nostri Jesu Christi qui te regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancta, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum ipse te linit chrism salutis, in vitam aeternam.” (GeV 450; GrH 375; GrT 431) This text is also provided in the back of the Paduensis, but in separate section not linked to the blessing of the font, *In baptismo administrando* (GrP 990).

¹¹⁴ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos et famulas tuas ex aqua et spiritu sancto, quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum emmitte in eos septiformem spiritum tuum sanctum paraclitum de caelis, <spiritum sapientiae et intellectus> spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, spiritum scientiae et pietatis; adimple eos spiritu timoris domini et consigna eos signo crucis in vitam propitiatus aeternam.” (GeV 451; GrH 376; GrT 432) The text varies slightly in the Gelasianum.

¹¹⁵ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 158. Chavasse's argument helps to clarify the confusion where it would seem that the bishop intones the *Gloria in excelsis* at the conclusion of section 44, when

It is also revealing that the celebration of baptism and the anointings are anticipated in an instruction earlier in the text, prior to blessing the font (GeV 443).¹¹⁶ This instruction indicates that a break takes place between the initiation liturgy and the beginning of the Eucharistic celebration on this night. The same rubric goes on to state that after the baptisms are completed, the ministry returns to the sacristy for “a little while” (*post paululum*) and only when “the first star appears in the heavens” (*ut stella in caelo apparuerit*) do they begin a third litany, which initiates the Mass of the vigil.¹¹⁷ The reason for this break may be significant for two reasons: first, the ministry does not begin the Eucharistic liturgy immediately after the baptisms are completed, they wait for the star to appear. This particular detail of waiting till the first star appears to begin the Eucharist highlights the necessity of a nocturnal context in which to celebrate the Paschal Vigil Mass. It is striking when one considers that if the Mass does not begin until nightfall, then the greater part of this vigil has been conducted during daylight hours. How much time was allowed to pass between the completion of the rites of initiation and the beginning of the Mass is not known, although such an interval may have compromised the integrity of a unified liturgy.

The second reason this rubric is important concerns the issue over what occupied the assembly during the baptismal liturgy, at least in the Gelasian tradition. There is no rubric dismissing them following the scriptural vigil and it is unclear whether or not they

according to Innocent I's Decretal to Decentius the presbyters are permitted this episcopal honor on Pascha in the tituli.

¹¹⁶ “*Baptismum expletum consignantur ipsi infantes ab episcopo, dum accipiunt septem dona gratiae spiritus sancti, et mittit chrisma in frontibus eorum.*” (GeV 443)

¹¹⁷ “*Postea vero ipse sacerdos revertit cum omnibus ordinibus in sacrario. Et post paululum incipiunt tertiam litaniam, et ingrediuntur ad missas in vigilia, ut stella in caelo apparuerit.*” (GeV 443)

accompanied the ministry to the baptistery, yet following the baptisms the text gives a reprieve in this extensive liturgy while waiting for the first star to appear. The mysterious appearance of the bishop for confirmation in this text may suggest evidence of a parallel liturgy occurring during the rites of baptism, where the bishop has remained with the assembly in prayer in the church while the presbyters conducted baptism in the baptistery. This action of the assembly and the bishop together would be quite appropriate as it is the prayer of the assembled community that accompanied the candidates to the waters of new life. After baptism, the assembly, which had been in deep prayer during this time, would have been freed to attend to any personal needs until the Eucharist began in the night.¹¹⁸ If such was the case, it is even more interesting that neither texts nor rubrics exist to provide information on it. Nevertheless, we encounter a few other obstacles in affirming this idea in what follows after the chrismations in the Gelasianum.

Section 44 concludes with the rubric, *Inde vero cum litania ascendit ad sedem suam et dicit: Gloria in excelsis deo* (GeV 452). The one who has been anointing goes to his seat accompanied by another litany and intones the Gloria.¹¹⁹ This rubric seems inconsistent with that found following the scripture vigil (GeV 443) as in the pattern proposed at GeV 452 there is no indication of a *post paululum* break till nightfall. The liturgy continues

¹¹⁸ Egeria notes several times where the assembly is dismissed following one of the liturgies of Great Week in Jerusalem to attend to personal needs or rest: following the Holy Thursday liturgy before the night station at the Mount of Olives (Egeria *Itinerarium* 35.2); and following a daybreak service on Good Friday (Egeria *Itinerarium* 36.5). Translation, Pierre Maraval, ed., *Égérie: Journal de Voyage*, Sources Chrétiennes no. 296 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002), 280-281, 282-285.

¹¹⁹ The identity of this individual is perplexing in the Gelasianum. OR 30B also speaks of the celebration in the titular churches when it explains why the presbyters do not accompany the pope at the liturgy, presumably at the Lateran, on the eve of Pascha. On this night alone do the presbyters have permission to sit in the chair (*sede*) and to intone the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, two prerogatives of the pope. See OR 30B.64-65.

immediately after the sign of peace is exchanged between the bishop and the newly baptized. Here, again, is another combination of traditions in the Gelasianum. According GeV 443, the Eucharist only begins with the appearance of the first star in the evening. The rites of initiation and their completion, while important, are not determinative for moving into the Eucharist. As the rubrics at GeV 452 imply, however, the rites of baptism and anointing flow directly into the Mass as an uninterrupted whole. Attending to the rubrics at GeV 452, we have a pattern of celebration similar to what we see for the Emberide vigils, even with the interruption of the sacramental rituals. The rubric at GeV 443 delays the celebration of the Eucharist because the practice of baptizing at the Paschal Vigil caused the initiation rituals and the vigil preceding them to be celebrated earlier in the day. The Eucharist, the culmination of the liturgy, however, was maintained as an evening celebration.

The Celebration of the Eucharist on Holy Saturday Evening

It is noted in all the Roman sacramentaries that the Eucharistic celebration, which follows/concludes the vigil occurs “in the night.”¹²⁰ The tradition assigns importance to the time at which the Eucharistic liturgy takes place, as it does for when the preparations for the vigil are to begin.¹²¹ In the Gelasianum and in the *ordines* the requirement of night for the

¹²⁰ The sets are named, *Orationes et preces ad missam in nocte* (Gelasianum); *Oratio in sabbato sancto nocte ad missam* (Hadrianum); *In sabbato sancto in nocte* (Paduensis); and *Orationes in sabbato sancto nocte ad missam* (Tridentinum). Such a designation describes the Mass on Christmas, which becomes known as “Midnight Mass,” although the hour is never stated. This interpretation of *in nocte* comes never to be applied to the Mass of the Eve of Pascha.

¹²¹ The Gelasianum provides in a rubric that the Eucharist begins “when the first star appears” (GeV 443). Recall that the ministry is told to enter the sacristy in preparation for the vigil at “half past the eighth hour of the day” in a prior rubric (GeV 425).

Mass is as important as stating that the vigil begins at “half past the eighth hour of the day” (*primitus enim viiia diei mediante*). Both elements of the pre-Eucharistic vigil rely upon astronomical reckoning for initiating their respective parts on Holy Saturday eve that hints at a very primitive origin for this liturgy. In the way in which the Embertides are “in-tune” with astronomical phenomena in their placement in the calendar, so too is the Paschal Vigil; and as the Embertide celebration at the turning of the seasons expresses eschatological meaning, the Gelasian celebration of Pascha emphasizes the eschatological nature of the vigil as well.¹²²

The Church Fathers attach great significance to the movement from one day to the next through the night. This time is considered a moment of supreme passage, of transformation – *transitus*, the on-going movement toward the promised fulfillment God intends for creation. In some patristic texts this movement becomes synonymous with Pascha: Christ’s passage from death to life – the inception of a new becoming.¹²³ Can one carry over a similar line of thought into baptism, if the latter is understood as a passage from spiritual death leading to spiritual life?¹²⁴ Gerlach comments that the use of *transitus*/διάβασις themes in the Egyptian and Syriac church’s liturgical celebration of Pascha communicate both the heavenly descent

¹²² See above, pages 182-185.

¹²³ See for example Ambrose of Milan: “Et ideo omnes aequalitatem devotionis et fidei deferre praecepit ad pascha Domini, id est, ad transitum” *Epistola VII.10* (PL 16.907c); and, “pascha enim Domini transitus est a passionibus ad exercitia virtutis” *De Cain et Abel 1.8.31* (PL 14.332c). Ambrose sees in this “transitus” for Christians a passage from vices to virtues.

¹²⁴ See Anscar Chupungco, *The Cosmic Element of Christian Passover* (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1977), 37.

of the Redeemer and the heavenly ascent of the believer.¹²⁵ The celebration of Pascha from Saturday eve through Sunday morning of Pascha is consistent with nighttime as a moment of possibility and conversion. The impact of transformation within this night contributes to the view that Pascha eve was an appropriate time in which to celebrate baptism. As Anscar Chupungco relates, the timing of the paschal celebration at the vernal equinox as the moment of equal night and day evokes a time of tension within which the Christian Passover is celebrated as a matter of re-creating the world (*mundi renovatio*) and redeeming of the world (*mundi redemptio*).¹²⁶ Preserving the climactic celebration of the Eucharist in the nighttime hours, however, honors the fundamental nature of *transitus*.

As was done with the scripture vigil of Pascha we will consider the texts of the Mass of Pascha eve beginning with the data in the *ordines*, then moving to the lectionaries and antiphonals, and concluding with the sacramentary texts.

The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Ordines

The *ordines* are amazingly silent on the matter of celebrating the Mass, most of them conclude with the anointings following the baptism of the candidates. Where they do mention the Eucharist following the rites of initiation, their descriptions are limited to rudimentary notes on the celebration. The most common description of the Mass in the *ordines* is as follows:

Laetania expleta dicit pontifex: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Deinde legit apostolum. Alleluia. Confitemini domino. Tractus. Laudate dominum. Ante evangelium non

¹²⁵ Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha*, 113.

¹²⁶ Anscar Chupungco, *Shaping the Easter Feast* (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1992), 53-54.

portant luminaria in ipsa nocte sed incensum. Non cantant offertorium, nec Agnus Dei, nec communionem. (OR 23.32-33; OR 24.54; OR 27.64; OR 28.81-84; OR 29.59-60; OR 30A.18-19; OR 30B.61-66; OR 31.98)¹²⁷

The earliest of the Roman *ordines* pertaining to the Mass of the Paschal Vigil, OR 23, notes only the following:

OR 23.32 (following the chrismation)

Postea facit clerus laetantias II et in tertia intrans ad missam iam sero et dicit Gloria in excelsis Deo et Alleluia, Confitemini domino, tractum Laudate dominum.

OR 23.33

Et Agnus Dei cantat schola cantorum et respondent IV accoliti stantes ad rugas tenentes sciphos et gimellares quae postea tenent ad confirmandum populum.

The *ordines* confirm that a litany begins the Mass in the same manner as the rubrics at GeV 443 and 452. The *Gloria* follows, and the epistle and gospel are read. The last two items are considered part of the Mass and not part of the scriptural vigil. Chavasse includes the epistle assigned to the Mass as one of the vigil readings and numbers it thus. In the *ordines*, however, we have a clear break between the vigil and the Mass. Some *ordines* offer a variety

¹²⁷ In OR 32.31 (the Paris, B.N. lat. 14088 recension provides only: “*Postquam finierint* (the chrismations) *dicit sacerdos: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Postea dicit orationem et legitur apostolum.*” The Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, *cod. lat.* 192 recension provides more detail: “*Finita vero tertia laetania procedat sacerdos et dicat: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Postea sequatur oratio et apostolus, Alleluia, et tractus. Tunc legatur evangelium secundum Matheum: Vespere autem. Et in ipsa nocte non portetur lumen ante evangelium sed tantum incensum. Et offertorium nec Agnus Dei nec antiphona ad communionem ed communicent omnes cum silentio.*”

OR 33.10-11 states simply: 10. “*Postea incipit presbyter: Gloria in excelsis Deo. Postea ante evangelium cereo duos et turibulos duos.*” 11. “*Dum missa cantet accenduntur duo caerei et stent a dextris et a sinistris altaris, tenentibus a duobus notariis et cum ipsis procedunt per totam eddomadam ad missam non amplius. Novissime oratio et Benedicamus domino. Et vespere cantant insimul.*”

of additional information, such as the instruction that the *infantes* who are baptized are to receive communion, even during the octave week of Pascha.¹²⁸

The *ordines* also record a liturgical unit known as an *officium nocturnum et matutinum* kept on the Thursday, Friday, and sometime during Saturday of Holy Week.¹²⁹ By the time of the *ordines*' conception, Roman and Gallican liturgical practice had developed a pattern of observing the hours of the day and those of the night. How much this reflects a growing monastic daily cursus and how many of these hours were celebrated by all the faithful is difficult to answer at this point. What is certain from the information supplied by the *ordines*, however, is that the practice of this *officium* was quite different from the liturgical event that becomes the Paschal Vigil. The terms *nocturnum* and *matutinum*, while they may have become synonymous with *vigil*, are not of the same caliber in the practice of the tradition, and the present author would disagree with MacGregor who equates "matins" with a daily reenactment of the vigil held on Holy Saturday night.¹³⁰ The Paschal Vigil is never referred to by either of these terms, nor is any other festal vigil in liturgical calendar of Rome. Furthermore, the pattern of celebrating the Paschal Vigil comes to differ markedly from the observance of nighttime hours of prayer. Whereas nocturns and matins are based upon psalmody, the Paschal Vigil and the experience of other solemn vigils are biblical and

¹²⁸ "*Et communicat omnis populus seu et infantes qui in ipsa nocte baptizati sunt. Similiter usque in octavas paschae*" (OR 30B.63). OR 28.84 gives the instruction that newly baptized children are not to eat or drink anything before they receive communion: "*Illud autem de parvulis providendum est, ut postquam baptizati fuerint nullum cibum accipiant nec ablactentur antequam communicent sacramenta corporis Christi*" (OR 28.84).

¹²⁹ See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 815-817. The *ordines* in question are 28, 29, 30B, 31, 32, and 33.

¹³⁰ See MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum*, 7.

Eucharistic, containing within their celebration particular rituals of profound importance to Christian life, directed toward more profound eschatological understandings. The celebration of nocturns and matins may have contributed to maintaining a focus upon this understanding, but it seems that the vigil itself embraced and directed the celebrating community towards its realization.

The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Antiphonals

Table 13, above, contains the data for the Paschal Vigil Eucharist in the antiphonals. The antiphonals of Rheinau, Mont Blandin, and Corbie affirm that the vigil Mass began with the litany and the *Gloria*. The other antiphonals do not include this information. The pattern of the chants is the same, except in Monza and in Rheinau where the tract, *Laudate dominum*, and the Alleluia, *Confitemini domino* are reversed.¹³¹ The *ordines* state that at the Mass the offertory antiphon, the *Agnus Dei*, and the communion antiphon are not to be sung. Amalarius of Metz offers a reason for this instruction as respect for the silence, which took hold of the myrrh-bearing women as they went to anoint the Lord's body. The *Sanctus*, on the other hand, may be sung, as it is the hymn of the angels who announce the Lord's resurrection.¹³² The antiphonals abide by this instruction (Mont Blandin specifically records it), with the exception of Rheinau, which provides chants for the offertory and communion antiphons. These items, Hesbert explains, the compiler of Rheinau supplies so that the Mass

¹³¹ See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi-lxii. While this pattern nowhere else exists in the tradition, the compilers of Monza and Rheinau may have been thinking of organizing these pieces according to the positions of gradual and Alleluia in other Mass sets. The Alleluia habitually follows the gradual in these contexts.

¹³² Amalarius of Metz *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 1.1.31 (PL 105.1056c-1058c)

of the vigil corresponds with the other Masses of the Easter cycle. There is also in Rheinau a double alleluia inconsistent with the tradition.¹³³

The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Lectionaries

The ancient lectionaries attest that at the Paschal Vigil in Rome the epistle is taken from Colossians (3:1-4 – new life in Christ), and the gospel from Matthew (28:1-7 – the witness of the women) in all contexts as Table 14 demonstrates, following. The epistle and gospel of Pascha eve fall together under similar headings in the lectionaries: *Sabbato sancto ad lateranis*. In the *Comes* of Alcuin the *sabbato sancto* heading is preceded by, *Incipiunt lectiones de pascha*, apparently marking the distinction between the eve of the feast, and the celebration of its day.¹³⁴

Table 14. Epistle and Gospel for the Vigil Mass of Pascha

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitatus (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona	Epistolary of Capua (Codex Fuldensis)
<i>Sabbato sancto ad lateranis</i> (W _{ep}) <i>In sabbato sancto</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>In sabbato sancto</i> Λ: <i>Sabbato sco ad lateranis</i> Σ: <i>Sabbato sco ad lateranis</i> Δ: <i>In sabbato sco ad lateranis</i>	<i>Sab. sancto stat. ad later.</i>	<i>Incipiunt lectiones de pascha. Sabbato sancto ad lateranis</i>	<i>Sabbato sancto. Ad lateranis</i>	<i>Sabbato sco. ad lateran.</i>	53. <i>In noctu sca. mane</i> (Phil. 4: 4-9) 54. <i>In noctu sca. noctu</i> (I Cor. 10: 1- 4) 55. <i>In scm. pascha</i>
Col 3: 1-4		Col 3: 1-4	Col 3: 1-4	Col 3: 1-4	Col 3: 1-4	Col 3: 1-4
Matt 28:1-7	Matt 28:1-7	Matt 28: 1-7			Matt 28: 1-7	

¹³³ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxi. Remember, too, that Rheinau does not include the canticles of the vigil as this considered a separate liturgical unit for its compiler. The extra chants the compiler furnishes for the vigil are borrowed from other days of the Paschal octave.

¹³⁴ Wilmart, “Le lectionnaire d’Alcuin,” 156, see item numbers 86 and 92.

In the Würzburg system only the evangeliary provides the place of celebration on Holy Saturday as *ad lateranis*. This heading concerns the epistle of the vigil Mass and says nothing about the vigil proper.¹³⁵ The lectionaries locate the Eucharist of Easter Sunday at Saint Mary Major (*Dominica/o sancta/o ad sanctam mariam*). One might inquire whether or not the need for specifying a location for the vigil Eucharist and the day Eucharist of Pascha was necessitated by the elaboration of the festal celebration away from a more unified, less complex nocturnal liturgy, such as we saw among the Embertide vigils.

Included also within Table 14 is data from the Epistolary of Capua (c. 545).¹³⁶ The epistolary is a non-Roman document and reflects practices in southern Italy, which the present author questions may have been influenced by or echo previous Roman practices. The manuscript is interesting because it contains three different epistles for apparently three successive Masses associated with Pascha. The first Mass, no. 53, is a night Mass in the early morning (*In noctu sancta mane*) and the epistle is Philippians 4:4-9. A marginal note at this point in the manuscript reads: *Pridie natale domini et in noctu sancta*. The scripture passage, while a Christmas text is also used for the Paschal Vigil. The second mass, no. 54 is again a night Mass, but this time specifically stated as occurring at night (*In noctu sancta noctu*). The passage here is I Corinthians 10:1-4, what the Israelites received only *in figura* we now receive in truth. A marginal note at this point states: *Lectio in nocte sancta ad sero*, here the time of the liturgy is the evening. These two entries present a bit of an oddity as it is unclear whether the entry at no. 53 is for an early morning Mass on Holy Saturday or

¹³⁵ Morin, "Les plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine," 55, see item number 85.

¹³⁶ See John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908); and Klaus Gamber, "Die kampanische Lektionsordnung," *Sacris erudiri* 13 (1962): 327-334.

for an early morning Mass on Easter Sunday, and how this Mass would distinguish itself from the nighttime Mass of Holy Saturday. The third Mass, no. 55 is titled, *In sanctam pascha*. Its marginal note states, *Lectio in sanctum pascha dominico*. This note may refer to a Mass during the day of Pascha, but the epistle is Colossians 3:1-11, is used in the Roman lectionary system for the vigil Mass. It may be possible to discern in the Epistolary of Capua a shift that occurred in keeping the Paschal Vigil from nighttime to an evening, and eventually to a daytime celebration on Holy Saturday, which in turn necessitated a second liturgy on Sunday.

The Eucharist of the Paschal Vigil: The Sacramentaries

The sacramentary texts on the Eucharist of Pascha eve make no reference to a particular epistle or gospel text as they do for the Old Testament texts of the vigil. They provide instead presidential prayers oriented to the thematic understanding of Pascha. Table 15 compares the structure of the Paschal Vigil Mass in the sacramentary traditions.

With the exception of the first oration in the Gelasian sacramentary, and the post-communion prayer in the Gregorian and Gelasian sacramentaries, both sacramentary traditions employ similar presidential prayers texts. The oration, “Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem,” speaks of the glory of the resurrection illuminating this “most holy night,” a referent to the time of day at which this liturgy takes place. The oration goes on to pray that the new progeny (“nova progenie”) of the family of God may be kept safe, so that

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<u>Section 45</u> Nos. 453-462	<u>Section 87</u> Nos. 377-382	<u>Section 73</u> Nos. 433-438	<u>Section 75</u> Nos. 327-332
<i>Orationes et preces ad missam in nocte</i>	<i>Oratio in sabbato sancto ad missam</i>	<i>Orationes in sabbato sancto nocte ad missam</i>	<i>In sabbato sancto in nocte</i>
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui hanc sacratissimam</i> (GeV 453)			
<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GeV 454)	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GrH 377)	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GrT 433)	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem</i> (GrP 327)
Secreta: <i>Suscipe quaesumus domine et plebis</i> (GeV 455) Item alia: <i>Suscipe domine preces populi</i> (GeV 456)	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (GrH 378)	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (GrT 434)	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (GrP 328)
<i>VD...adest enim nobis optatissimum tempus</i> (GeV 457)			
<i>VD...te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GeV 458)	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GrH 379)	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GrT 435)	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GrP 329)
Infra actionem: <i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis</i> (GeV 459) Item infra actionem: <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GeV 460)	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (GrH 380) <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GrH 381)	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (GrT 436) <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GrT 437)	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (GrP 330) <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GrP 331)
Post-communionem: <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut divino munere</i> (GeV 461) Item alia: <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut paschalis percepio</i> (GeV 462)	Ad complendum: <i>Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (GrH 382)	Ad complendum: <i>Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (GrT 438)	Ad complendum: <i>Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (GrP 332)

¹³⁷ “Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem gloria dominicae resurrectionis illustras, conserva, in nova familiae tuae prole adoptionis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi exhibeant servitutem: per dominum.” (GeV 454; GrH 377; GrP 327; GrT 433)

but with some minor elaborations.¹³⁸ Why, then, would there be a need for a second oration in the Gelasianum? If as Chavasse and others believe the Gelasian text of the Paschal Vigil is a presbyteral adaptation of the liturgy celebrated at the Lateran basilica for use in the tituli of Rome, the first oration may merely serve in providing continuity with the two collect pattern of the Gelasian tradition. The Gelasianum uses the Gregorian text without offering any texts of its own, and so it simply duplicates the Hadrianum in order to conform to its usual pattern of preceding the *secreta* with two orations.

In a strange parallel, however, the Gelasian provides for two secret and two post-communion prayers, as well as two prefaces. Except in the case of the prefaces, these second prayers are labeled as *item alia*, “likewise another.”¹³⁹ The purpose of these *alia* is not clear. Are they alternatives from which the presider is free to choose, or are they meant to be utilized in different situations of celebrating this vigil Eucharist? For example, in the Gregorian tradition, the secret prayer is the *alia*, or second prayer of the Gelasianum. This text petitions that God receive the prayers and the offerings of the people, “populi tui” that they may experience eternal healing.¹⁴⁰ There is no distinct mention of the newly baptized or any reference to them in this prayer, the “populi tui” could very well signify all those

¹³⁸ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem per universa mundi spatia gloria dominicae resurrectionis illustras, conserva in nova familiae tuae progenie sanctificationis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi animam et purum pectus semper exhibeant: per dominum.” (GeV 453) – The portions of this text that are present in the second collect in the footnote above are underscored.

¹³⁹ We saw in our analysis of the texts for the Ember Week Vigils how confusing this word, *alia*, can be, where it signals not necessarily a choice of texts, but rather the idea of “and next.”

¹⁴⁰ “Suscipe, domine, (quaesumus,) preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant: per dominum.” (GeV 456; GrH 378; GrP 328; GrT 434) – the Gregorian tradition inserts an additional “quaesumus,” into the text.

gathered, including newly baptized if they are present, which are now participating in the first Eucharist of Pascha. The prayer may equally express the situation of a gathered assembly without the presence of the neophytes, because there were no candidates to baptize. The oration may represent an earlier tradition of celebrating the Paschal Vigil before the incorporation of the sacramental rites of initiation. The first prayer for the secret in the Gelasianum (GeV 455) is more specific about who constitutes the assembly, and petitions the Lord to receive the offering of *both* the assembly *and* those newly baptized, “Suscipe, quaesumus, domine, et plebis tuae et tuorum hostias renatorum.” It goes on to ask that those newly baptized may attain everlasting happiness.¹⁴¹

The preface in the Gregorian sacramentaries centers on Christ’s sacrifice as our *pascha*, “pascha nostrum,” the lamb, who takes away the sin of the world, who in dying destroys death and in rising restores life.¹⁴² In the Gelasian Sacramentary we find this preface listed as the second (GeV 458) of two. The first preface (GeV 457) bears little resemblance to the second. It speaks in cosmic images and dynamic form of Christ’s resurrection as the longed-for light; that in shattering the gates of hell, the risen Lord is presented to the amazement of the stars (“mirantibus astris”). This text, like the oration “Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem” above, provides a reference to the time of day in which this liturgy is taking place. It speaks, also, of the act of resurrection as a mystical and

¹⁴¹ “Suscipe, quaesumus, domine, et plebis tuae et tuorum hostias renatorum, ut et confessione tui nominis et baptismo renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur: per dominum.” (GeV 455)

¹⁴² “VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore sed in hanc potissimam noctem gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.” (GrH 379; GrP 329; GrT 435)

venerable exchange, and compares Mary's joy at the birth of Christ to the Church's joy at the rebirth of those who have been baptized ("renatorum").¹⁴³ The preface carries a strong baptismal emphasis in connection with the Paschal Vigil. The presbyteral tituli functioned as sites for the celebration of baptism during the vigil. It would seem quite appropriate, therefore, to have a preface in the Gelasianum that reflected this transformative ritual of Christian life. While baptism was celebrated also at the vigil in the Lateran basilica, the absence of a preface focused upon baptism does not reflect the baptismal context.

Two inserts into the Eucharistic Prayer follow the preface(s), a *communicantes* (an intercessory memorial to the saints),¹⁴⁴ and a *hanc igitur* (a petition that God accept the offering).¹⁴⁵ The former text emphasizes the reality of the resurrection, and the latter stresses that this offering is done, "on behalf of those deemed worthy to be reborn by water and the Holy Spirit." With some minor variations, these texts are the same in both the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions. The Gelasian provides a title for both of these texts, *infra actionem*, and further labels the *hanc igitur* as an *item*. The *communicantes* expressly states the celebration takes place on this "most holy night" ("noctem sacratissimam celebrantes.") The

¹⁴³ "Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare: adest enim nobis optatissimum tempus, et desideratae noctis lumen advenit. Quid enim majus vel melius inveniri poterit, quam domini resurgentis praedicare virtutem? Hic namque inferorum claustra dirumpens, clarissima nobis hodie suae resurrectionis vexilla suscepit atque hominem remeans invidia inimici dejectum mirantibus intulit astris. O noctis istius mystica et veneranda commercia! O sanctae matris ecclesiae pia sempiterna beneficia! Non vult habere quod perimat, sed cupit invenire quod redimat. Exultavit Maria in sacratissimo puerperio, exultat ecclesia in filiorum suorum generationis specie. Sic fons ille beatus qui dominico lateri circumfluxit, moles excepit vitiorum, ut his sacris altaribus vitales escas perpetua vita conferat renatorum. Et ideo cum angelis." (GeV 457)

¹⁴⁴ "Communicantes, et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem: sed et memoriam." (GeV 459; GrH 380; GrP 330; GrT 436)

¹⁴⁵ "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus, pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias." (GeV 460; GrH 381; GrP 331; GrT 437)

hanc igitur in all the sets presents the offering from the Lord's whole family ("cunctae familiae tuae"), on behalf of those the Lord has deemed worthy to be reborn through water and the Holy Spirit ("pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto").

The two selections of post-communion prayer in the Gelasianum do not mention baptism; neither prayer text is employed by the Gregorians. The first post-communion (GeV 461) in the Gelasianum simply prays that the assembly having been satisfied with the divine gift may be renewed by the holy mysteries and in its conduct.¹⁴⁶ The second prayer (GeV 462) just as succinctly asks that the effect of the paschal sacrament ("paschalis sacramenti") persevere in the spirit of the faithful.¹⁴⁷ GeV 461, "Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus," appears in the Gelasianum also as the post-communion prayer in a set for the Sundays of the year.¹⁴⁸ The second prayer will be repeated in the Pentecost Vigil.

Similarly, the post-communion prayer in the Gregorian sacramentaries prays that the love poured out in the paschal sacraments may bring about unity in devotion among the faithful.¹⁴⁹ If, as some scholars posit, the inclusion of the post-communion prayer in Roman

¹⁴⁶ "Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut divino munere satiati et sacris mysteriis innovemur et moribus per." (GeV 461) The prayer is unique to the Gelasian and does not appear in any of the Roman sacramentaries.

¹⁴⁷ "Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut paschalis perceptio sacramenti continuata in nostris mentibus perseveret: per." (GeV 462) This prayer does appear in the Gregorian tradition, but as the Post-Communion prayer of Tuesday of Easter Week at Saint Paul's Outside the Walls (*Feria III ad sanctum paulum*, GrH 404; GrP 344; GrT 454)

¹⁴⁸ GeV 1229

¹⁴⁹ "Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti tua, facias pietate concordēs. Per." (GrH 382; GrP 332; GrT 438) This prayer does appear in the Gelasianum in a Mass set for charity, GeV 1330; and also in the Verona Collection under the section, *In natale episcoporum*, Ve 1049.

practice may have been a later development,¹⁵⁰ we may discern in both the Gregorian and in the Gelasian sacramentaries first instances of including such a prayer. The prayer's novelty or innovation has not yet allowed for a full development to reflect the feast.

The Gregorian text of the post-communion prayer, "Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis," intends, perhaps, a fuller understanding of the celebration of the Paschal Vigil.¹⁵¹ The final three words of the prayer, "facias pietate concordēs," seem to place emphasis on the goal of Christian life and the celebration of Eucharist at Pascha oriented toward unity among the community of the faithful.¹⁵² The prayer echoes and underscores perspectives found in the orations following the lections of the vigil, which speak of the gathering of all nations (orations following Exodus and the second Isaiah reading) for the purpose of entering into eternal joys (oration following Genesis) and receiving the promise of a future of blessings (oration following the first Isaiah reading). Here we have additional evidence for arguing that the eve of Pascha in the Gregorian tradition orients the assembly to something more than the inclusion of "new members" in the local church of the city of Rome and its environs. These liturgical texts contain the expectation of something yet to come, an eschatological foreshadowing of the fullness of God's plan for humanity. The texts provide us with insight

¹⁵⁰ See Geoffrey Grimshaw Willis, "The Variable Prayers of the Roman Mass," in *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1968), 130-131; and Edmund Bishop, "The Genius of the Roman Rite," *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918): 1-19. Willis suggest the fifth century for its introduction.

¹⁵¹ Full text: "Spiritus in nobis domine tuae caritatis infunde ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti tua facias pietate concordēs. Per." (GrH 382; GrT 438; GrP 332).

¹⁵² See Kevin Irwin, *Easter: A Guide to the Eucharist and Hours* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 79.

of a more profound underlying eschatological tone to the vigil, which moves beyond a yearly memorial of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ.

One final note: it is striking that the prayer texts lack references to a fast or to fasting, an element that is an important part of keeping vigil in the Embertides. We shall encounter the connection of keeping vigil with fasting again in the sanctoral vigils later. This absence may indicate a more foundational understanding for the purpose of this vigil over other vigils of the Church's calendar year; a purpose directed less toward mortifications, which fasting comes to typify in time, and more toward the reception of the mystery the feast toward which the feast leads.

The Sunday of Pascha

The origins and existence of a separate celebration on the Sunday of Pascha are both elusive and puzzling. While there is no question at all but that the vigil took place in the late afternoon according to the information we have from the liturgical manuscripts from the late eighth century on, what occurred before this time is a question. From the information supplied by the rubric in the Gelasianum that speaks of waiting till the first star appears, and from the titles of the Masses in the Tridentinum and in the Paduensis, we know that the vigil Eucharist occurred during the night. The issue, then, is ascertaining how much of the night did the whole liturgy occupy – only Saturday evening or past midnight into the following morning, even to daybreak on Sunday? If this liturgy did conclude on the morning of Sunday, would a vigil-Mass of Pascha be the principal if not the only liturgy for that day? This pattern occurs during the Saturday vigils of the Ember Weeks, where Sunday appears

originally to have been an aliturgical day. In this instance, it appears that the nighttime celebration of the Saturday vigil if it lasted into Sunday morning fulfilled the observance of Sunday during the Ember Week. Evidence in the Gelasianum, where no Sunday liturgy follows the Ember vigil, and in the Gregorian sacramentaries where the Sundays that follow the vigil are titled, *Dominica vacat*, or a Sunday on which no Eucharist, occurs, seem to support this proposition. Recall, however, that in the evolution of these vigils the liturgical celebration moves earlier and earlier on Saturday. The reason is unclear. As the biblical vigil and its corresponding Eucharistic celebration depart from the nighttime context of their observance, they become associated more with Saturday, rather than with Sunday.

Therefore, another liturgy during the day becomes required to fulfill a need for Mass on Sunday itself. A similar pattern of evolution seems to occur with the Saturday into Sunday celebration of Pascha, perhaps as early as the beginning of the fourth century in North Africa, though not adopted in Rome until sometime between the fifth and seventh centuries.¹⁵³ In the case of Pascha, a consequence of this development is the duplication of most of the Mass texts for the celebration on Holy Saturday, evidenced most clearly in the Gregorian tradition. This duplication while present in the Gelasianum is not as extensive.

¹⁵³ Augustine preaches a homily at a day liturgy for Pascha after admitting of “all the hard work of last night” (Augustine *Sermon* 228.1); translation: Edmund Hill, ed., *Sermons: on the Liturgical Seasons*, vol. 3/6 of *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (New Rochelle: New City Press, 1993), 257. We possess no homilies by Leo I for Easter Sunday, only for the vigil. See Pierre Jounel, “The Year,” in *The Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*, ed. Irénée Dalmis, Pierre Jounel, and Aimé Georges Martimort, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 51.

The Mass for Easter Sunday: The Lectionaries and the Antiphonals

The information on the Sunday celebration of Pascha in the Roman sources is not as involved as that which we have been analyzing for its vigil. The *ordines* are our best source to affirm that a second Mass during the day on Sunday was not originally part of the paschal pattern. While a vespers service on the night of Pascha is attested in the *ordines*,¹⁵⁴ none of them makes provision for a second, particularly a Eucharistic celebration during the day of Easter. The Mass of Holy Saturday night, it appears, is the Mass for Pascha in those *ordines* concerned with the rites of Holy Week.¹⁵⁵ The lectionaries and the Antiphonals, however, do differentiate between the liturgical vigil of Pascha eve and the Mass of Pascha day. The lectionary readings and the antiphonal chants for Easter Day are contained in Table 16 and in Table 17 following.

The liturgical sources from the seventh century agree that a day Mass for Pascha took place at Saint Mary Major. This Mass is not necessarily baptismal, but rather focuses on the life a Christian is to live in light of the resurrection. There is nothing exceptional in either the chants or the readings, which would greatly distinguishes this Mass from that during the night prior. The only element taken up from the vigil Mass is *Confitemini domino*, which on Easter Day is used as the gradual verse and not the Alleluia verse as at the vigil.

¹⁵⁴ OR 27.67-78; OR 28.87; OR 30A.21; OR 30B.68; OR 31.121-124; OR 32.32; OR 33.11. The earliest *ordines* on the Paschal Vigil, OR 23 and OR 24, conclude with the Mass of Holy Saturday.

¹⁵⁵ It is interesting that OR I describes a papal Mass for Easter Sunday that takes place at Saint Mary Major, the location for this liturgy listed in the sacramentary evidence for Easter Sunday. The dating of OR I, according to Andrieu and Vogel, however, is early to mid-seventh century given references within the text to either locations or prayers, which did not exist before that time. It may represent the later development of the Sunday liturgy for Easter. See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 159-160; and Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, 51.

Table 16. The Epistle and Gospel for the Mass of Easter Sunday

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Α, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In Dominico sco ad sca maria (W_{ep})</i> <i>Dominico paschae ad sca maria (W_{ev})</i>	Π: <i>Dominico paschae ad scam Mariam</i> Α: <i>In pascha dominica sca ad scam Mariam majorem ad praesepe</i> Σ: <i>In pascha dominica sca ad scam Mariam majorem ad praesepe</i> Δ: <i>Dominica pascha ad scam mariam</i>	<i>Dom. sancta ad sanctam mariam</i>	<i>Dominica sancta ad sanctam mariam</i>	<i>Dominica. Ad s. mariam</i>	<i>Dominico sco ad sca maria</i>
I Corinthians 5: 7-8		I Corinthians 5: 7-8	I Corinthians 5: 7-8	I Corinthians 5: 7-8	I Corinthians 5: 7-8
Mark 16: 1-7	Mark 16: 1-7	Mark 16: 1-7			Mark 16: 1-7

Table 17. The Mass of Easter Sunday in the Roman Antiphonals

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
<i>In die sancto paschae</i>	<i>Dominico sancto in pascha ad missa.</i>	<i>Dominica sancta statio ad sanctam mariam</i>	<i>Dominica sanctam paschae station sanctam mariam</i>	<i>Dominicum sanctum paschae station ad sanctam mariam ad praesepe</i>	<i>Dominica sanctam paschae station ad sanctam mariam ad prespem.</i>
	Ant.: <i>Resurrexit et adhuc tecum sum</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i>	Ant.: <i>Resurrexit et adhuc tecum sum</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i> Ad repet. <i>Tu cognovisti</i>	Ant.: <i>Resurrexit et adhuc tecum sum</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i> Ad repet. <i>Intellexisti</i>	Ant.: <i>Resurrexit et adhuc tecum sum</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i>	Ant.: <i>Resurrexit et adhuc tecum sum</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i> Ad repet. <i>Intellexisti</i>
Resp. Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Resp. Grad.: <i>Haec dies quam fecit dominus</i> verse: <i>Confitemini domino</i>
Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> <i>Alleluia: Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>	Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>	Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>	Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i> verse: <i>Non in fermento</i>	Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>	Alleluia: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>
	Off: <i>Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret</i>	Off: <i>Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret</i>	Off: <i>Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret</i>	Off: <i>Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret</i>	Off: <i>Terra tremuit et quievit dum resurgeret</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i>	Ad Com: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra.</i> <i>Expurgate</i>	Ad Com: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i> Psalm: <i>Domine probasti me</i> Item: <i>Et omnes vias meas</i>	Ad Com: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i> Psalm: <i>Confitemini domino</i>	Ad Com: <i>Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus</i> Psalm: <i>Confitemini</i> Ad repet.: <i>Dextera domini</i>

The Mass for Easter Sunday: The Sacramentaries

Table 23. The Mass of Pascha (Easter Sunday) in the Roman Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 46 Nos. 463-467	Section 88 Nos. 383-391	Section 74 Nos. 439-447	Section 76 Nos. 333-336
<i>Dominicum paschae</i>	<i>Ortn. in dominica sancta ad miss.</i>	<i>Oratio in dominica sancta ad missam</i>	<i>In dominico sancto ad sanctam mariam in lateranis</i>
<i>Deus qui per unigenitum tuum</i> (GeV 463)	<i>Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum</i> (GrH 383)	<i>Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum</i> (GrT 439)	<i>Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum</i> (GrP 333)
<i>Deus qui nos resurrectionis</i> (GeV 464)			
Secreta: <i>Suscipe domine propitius munera</i> (GeV 465) See also GeV 455	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (GrH 384) See also GrH 378; and GeV 456	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (GrT 440)	Super oblata: <i>Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi</i> (from GrP 328)
<i>VD...per quem in aeternam vitam</i> (GeV 466) See also GeV 458	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GrH 385) See also GrH 379	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (GrT 441)	Prefatio: <i>VD...Te quidem omni tempore sed in hac</i> (from GrP 329)
<i>Infra actionem ut supra in nocte sancta. Sequitur</i>	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (GrH 386) See also GrH 380 <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GrH 387) See also GrH 381	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (GrT 442) <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (GrT 443)	<i>Communicantes... celebrantes resurrectionis domini</i> (from GrP 330) <i>Hanc igitur...quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque</i> (from GrP 331)
Post-communionem: <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui ad aeternam vitam</i> (GeV 467)	Ad completa: <i>Spiritum in nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (GrH 388) See also GrH 382	Ad complendum: <i>Spiritum nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (GrT 444)	Ad complendum: <i>Spiritum in nobis domine tuae caritatis</i> (from GrP 332)
	Ad sanctum johannem ad vespr. <i>Concede quasumus omnipotens dues ut qui</i> (GrH 389) See also GeV 463	Ad sanctum johannem ad vesperum <i>Concede quasumus omnipotens dues ut qui</i> (GrT 445)	Ad vespere: ad sanctum johannem <i>Concede quasumus omnipotens dues ut qui</i> (GrP 334)
	Ad fontes <i>Praesta quasumus omnipotens deus ut qui resurrectionis</i> (GrH 390)	Ad fontes <i>Praesta quasumus omnipotens deus ut qui resurrectionis</i> (GrT 446)	Ad fontes <i>Praesta quasumus omnipotens deus ut qui resurrectionis</i> (GrP 335)
	Ad sanctum andream <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gratiam</i> (GrH 391)	Ad sanctum andream <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gratiam</i> (GrT 447)	Ad sanctum andream <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui gratiam</i> (GrP 336)

Table 23, above, outlines the celebration of the day of Pascha in the sacramentaries. The Mass for Easter Sunday stands alone as a section separate from those texts associated with the vigil and its ceremonies; and each section bears a slightly different title. In the Gelasian the title of Section 46 reads simply, *Dominicum paschae*. In the Hadrianum the title of Section 88, *Ortn.* (Orationes?) *in dominica sancta ad miss.*(missam?). The Tridentinum follows suit at Section 74 with *Oratio* (in the singular) *in dominica sancta ad missam*. The Paduensis alone has the most informative, if not erroneous, title at Section 76, *In dominico sancto ad sanctam mariam in lateranis*.¹⁵⁶

While the Gregorian tradition, save for the initial oration of the Mass, repeats the same prayers as those of the previous evening, the Gelasianum repeats only the secret and those prayers associated with the Eucharistic Prayer. The Paduensis affirms the practice of repeating the previous evening's texts on Sunday by not duplicating the texts, as we find in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, and providing the rubric: *Super oblatam, praefatio, hanc igitur, ad complendum, et omnia ut supra per ordinem in nocte sancta* (GrP 333a) to direct the presider to the vigil section.

The initial prayer in the Gregorians, *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum* (GrH 383), is similar to the first oration of the Pascha Day Mass in the Gelasianum (GeV 463).¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ It is interesting that the editor of the Paduensis places the liturgy at St. Mary "in the Lateran," where in most stationary lists the liturgy takes place at Saint Mary Major. It is interesting that the Rheinau manuscript of the Gelasian sacramentary places this liturgy at Saint John Lateran, see Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 335-336; and Willis, "Roman Stationary Liturgy," 29.

¹⁵⁷ "Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, vota nostra quae praeveniando adspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere. Per eundem dominum nostrum." (GrH 383; GrP 333; GrT 439); "Deus qui per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti da nobis quaesumus ut qui resurrectionis sollemnia colimus per innovatione tui spiritus a morte anime resurgamus: per

The prayer in the Gregorian sacramentaries, in contrast to the initial oration at the vigil Mass, states the time of this celebration as day (“Deus qui hodierna die”). The Gelasian oration does not provide a time reference. The Gregorian prayer acknowledges that in overcoming death God’s only-begotten Son opens the way of eternity for believers. A petition for divine assistance in the work of following the Lord’s desires concludes the prayer. In the Gelasian text the prayer begins similarly, and its petition asks that by observing the solemnity of the Lord’s resurrection and the renewal it brings, the assembly may also rise.¹⁵⁸ The Gelasian text may convey a more eschatological understanding of the resurrection than perhaps we find in the Gregorian prayer, which seems to focus on the “here and now” of living a Christian life. The second oration of the Gelasianum (GeV 464) imparts a similar eschatological sense as it prays that celebrating the annual feast of the Lord’s resurrection may merit eternal joys.¹⁵⁹

The Gelasian secret prayer slightly varies the text from the previous evening. At the vigil Eucharist, the prayer is offered on behalf of “your people and those reborn (in baptism);” in the daytime liturgy it is offered on behalf of the Lord’s servants without any qualification.¹⁶⁰ The Gelasian supplies a new preface (GeV 466) based in part on the second

dominum.” (GeV 463). The shared portions of the prayer are underscored. GeV 463 is also duplicated in part at GeV 523, one of the collects under Section 61, *Incipiunt orationes paschales vepertinales*.

¹⁵⁸ “Deus, qui per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, da nobis, quaesumus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solemnia colimus, per innovationem tui spiritus a morte animae resurgamus: per dominum.” (GeV 463)

¹⁵⁹ “Deus, qui nos resurrectionis, dominicae annua solemnitate laetificas, concede propitius, ut per temporalia festa quae agimus pervenire ad gaudia aeterna mereamur: per dominum.” (GeV 464)

¹⁶⁰ “Suscipe, domine, propitius munera famulorum tuorum ut confessione tui nominis et baptismate renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur: per dominum.” (GeV 465)

preface of the vigil (GeV 458), and a new post-communion prayer for Easter day. The new preface reflects the time of the liturgy with “this day” (“hoc die”) and echoes themes from the vigil and the first oration for Easter day. The text accents the transformation of humanity through Christ’s resurrection, the opening of humanity’s heavenly inheritance, and concludes with the affirmation, “Who in dying destroyed our death and in rising restored (our) life.”¹⁶¹ A rubric directs the presider to repeat the *infra actionem* from the vigil (*Infra actionem ut supra in nocte sancta*), although it does not say to change “nocte sanctissimam” in the *communicantes* to “diem sanctissimum.” The temporal context is altered in the *communicantes* for the day celebration in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum: “Communicantes et **diem** sacratissimam caelebrantes...” (GrH 386; GrT 442). The Gelasian post-communion prayer indicates the protective work of God’s mercy in the community through its sharing in the Eucharist.¹⁶²

A series of prayers concludes the Mass set for Easter Sunday in the Gregorians, which prayers are not found in the Gelasianum.¹⁶³ These are three orations *ad vesperum*. They are part of a great stational vespers service, which took place in three areas of the Lateran Basilica at the hour of *nona* on Easter Sunday. The first prayer is prayed at Saint John in the

¹⁶¹ “Vere dignum: te quidem omni tempore, sed in hoc praecipue die laudare benedicere et praedicare, quod pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Per quem in aeternam vitam filii lucis oriuntur, fidelibus regni caelestis atria reserantur et beati lege commercii divinis humana mutantur. Quia nostrorum omnium mors cruce Christi redempta est et in resurrectione ejus omnium vita surrexit. Quem in susceptione mortalitatis deum (majestatis) agnoscimus et in divinitatis gloria deum et hominem confitemur. Qui mortem nostram moriendo distruxit et vitam resurgendo restituit, Jesus Christus dominus noster. Et ideo cum angelis.” (GeV 466)

¹⁶² “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui ad aeternam vitam in Christi resurrectione nos reparas, custodi opera misericordiae tuae et suavitatem corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti filii tui nostris infunde pectoribus: per dominum.” (GeV 467)

¹⁶³ GrH 389-291; GrP 334-336; GrT 445-447

great nave, the second at the font of the baptistery, and the third *ad sanctam andream*, which is the Oratory of the Cross. These prayers acknowledge the assembly's worship of the solemnity of the resurrection and petition that this worship lead to their own resurrection and deliverance.¹⁶⁴

The practice among the Gregorian sacramentaries to merely duplicate the prayers of the vigil for what becomes a separate celebration during the day of Pascha is evidence of a desire to privilege the evening celebration as the principal celebration of the feast. A liturgical service on Easter day is the result more of necessity than of intention, perhaps brought about by the celebration of the vigil outside of a nocturnal context. The Gregorian tradition appears to preserve a more primitive dimension of the observance of Pascha as constitutively a pre-Eucharistic vigil. In the Gelasian tradition, on the other hand, there seems to be a more concentrated effort to distinguish Easter Sunday from the vigil. This effort stems from a development, which would in later centuries mark the Sunday of Pascha as the beginning of the Paschal Period, when the vigil becomes a liturgical event on Holy Saturday morning.

¹⁶⁴ See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 286-287. The rite is recorded in OR 27.67-78; OR 30B.71-82.

Preliminary Conclusions

After examining the Paschal Vigil observed in the city of Rome we might now tender some preliminary conclusions concerning the liturgical practice of keeping this vigil. The first is an awareness of distinct traditions for celebrating the Paschal Vigil in the tituli of Rome and at the Lateran. These traditions manifest themselves not only in the style and composition of the scripture vigil, but also in the manner in which the vigil begins, the importance given to baptizing candidates, and the focus of the prayer texts for each liturgy. The information provided by the liturgical documents does not allow us to identify directly a “pure” Roman core from which these traditions grew. Employing Baumstark’s typology that liturgical practice evolves from simplicity to further complexity, however, there may exist in the Gregorian tradition of the Paschal Vigil evidence of a primitive Roman core in the choice and number scripture lessons proclaimed at the vigil.¹⁶⁵ The four readings found in the Gregorian Paschal lectionary (Genesis 1, Exodus 14, and Isaiah 4 and 55) are not only present in the Gelasian lectionary, but their number is similar to that found most consistently among the lectionaries associated with the Embertide, whose celebration, as we discussed in Part One, may be as old as that of Pascha in Rome. The Gelasianum, connected as is it with presbyteral practice may in turn reflect an independent liturgical tradition, which could have more easily absorbed new customs and so added other texts, as well as some non-Roman

¹⁶⁵ Schmidt maintains that a vigil system of four lessons is both classically Roman and is in existence prior to the pontificate of Gregory I, see *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 827, 832.

elements, which might explain its variation on the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil.¹⁶⁶

Such an assessment is not to say that the Gregorian tradition of the Paschal Vigil is older than that found in the Gelasianum, although it may stand to reason that the four scripture lessons are perhaps the most primitive elements of the vigil pre-dating even the orations associated with them. It seems improbable to assert as some might that the Gregorian tradition actually reveals an abbreviation of the Paschal Vigil brought about by the decline in adult baptisms in later centuries.¹⁶⁷ The Gelasian and the Gregorian may in origin have been established as distinct liturgical traditions. Those who foster the aforementioned perspective cite the Armenian Lectionary (early to mid-fifth century) as a more fundamental model for the Paschal Vigil. The Armenian Lectionary supplies twelve readings for the vigil of Holy Saturday. Hence a larger number of readings given for the scriptural vigil would date a particular Paschal Vigil practice to an earlier origin. While possibly convincing, neither the Gregorian nor the Gelasian sacramentaries contains a requisite number of twelve readings. In fact, it is not until the eighth century that the pattern of twelve readings at the Paschal Vigil becomes a norm for the West; and yet keeping a vigil on the eve of Pascha pre-dates this development.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ One may speak of this independent tradition through an entry in the *Liber pontificalis*, which relates that Pope Marcellus I (306-309) organized 25 *tituli* within Rome as centers not only for baptism, but also for the reconciliation of penitents. See Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, vol. 1, 164.

¹⁶⁷ See McKinnon, "The Gregorian canticle-tracts," 260.

¹⁶⁸ In our analysis of the Pentecost Vigil, where we will return to the subject of the vigil readings for Pascha, we will also discuss theories of an original Roman Easter Vigil of six readings, whose texts are eventually divided up to supply lessons for both a Paschal and a Pentecost Vigil.

A second conclusion may be drawn from variances in the number of readings for the vigil. The difference in scripture readings for the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasian and in the Gregorian sacramentaries reveals that the liturgical practice of keeping the Paschal Vigil did not evolve out of a single or a predominant style of celebration, but may have been highly influenced by the needs and/or theological perspective of the local church. This possibility leads in turn to a third preliminary conclusion: the four lessons of the primitive vigil of the Gregorian sacramentaries may not point so much to baptism as a privileged theological locus, as they may represent a re-figuring of the four nights of creation found in Talmudic recounting at Passover.¹⁶⁹ On Holy Saturday eve the Gregorian readings of creation (Genesis), deliverance (Exodus), restoration (Isaiah 4), and re-creation (Isaiah 54) work to remind the assembly of a God who has accomplished all these things. It is not fully clear whether or not such a re-interpretation represented the supplanting of Judaic practice or was designed as an anti-Judaic polemic. It may well be that in a city which still functioned in many ways as the spiritual heart of a great Empire and contained a sizeable Jewish minority particularly in the initial centuries of late antiquity,¹⁷⁰ offered the opportunity for cross fertilization in the evolving understanding of budding Christian liturgical practice.

¹⁶⁹ Talley also proposes a connection, but for him it is with the Armenian Lectionary (*Jerusalem 121*) Paschal Vigil system. Talley, however, associates only three readings with the “four nights” of Passover, which are Genesis 1, Genesis 22 (the binding of Isaac), and Exodus 12 (the Passover charter). He does not address a parallel lack of a fourth lesson to complement the *Targumin*. See Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 48-51.

¹⁷⁰ For example see John Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided 400-700* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 152-155. Moorhead would not want to overstate a universal anti-Judaic perspective in these centuries in the West, and gives evidence that “persistent repetition of laws against the Jews indicates their ineffectiveness, and measures to taken to prevent people from supporting them provides heartening evidence that they were sometimes disregarded.”

From the shape of the Paschal Vigil in the sacramentaries and by the manner in which some of the lectionaries record or fail to record the lessons of the vigil, we may suggest a fourth conclusion. The practice of keeping vigil on the eve of Holy Saturday may have functioned independently from the Eucharist that concludes it. This assessment may be a further indication of the unique aspect of keeping vigil for this feast. It is interesting that the earliest of the Roman *ordines* for Holy Week conclude their rubrical notations on the vigil before the celebration of the Eucharist. The sacramentaries infer a distinction between the vigil proper and the Mass by allotting these elements separate section numbers or separate headings. Recall that the Embertide Vigils exist as a single unit in the sacramentaries – a liturgical vigil that moves to a Eucharistic celebration. Among the lectionaries, the Würzburg Epistolary does not include the vigil readings under Holy Saturday, but rather cites only the epistle and the gospel for the Eucharist. The Rheinau antiphonal omits any notation for the vigil portion of Holy Saturday and begins only with the litany-*introit* for the Mass of Pascha. These few examples demonstrate the unique nature of this vigil as an event in itself, distinct from the Eucharist, and distinct from a component bearing the same or a similar name in the cursus of keeping holy the hours in a day.¹⁷¹

A fifth conclusion may be offered regarding the Eucharist celebrated on the eve of Pascha. Whether or not it existed as an element of the Paschal celebration detached from the vigil, the liturgical evidence appears to suggest that primitively there may have been only one

¹⁷¹ The importance of a scriptural vigil, even distinct from a Eucharistic celebration may be found in the writings of Origen of Alexandria, who in his *Peri Pascha* understood the biblical texts on this night as feast in themselves. For Origen the scriptural vigil of Holy Saturday “did not merely talking about the Pascha, but became the paschal meal as much as the culminating Eucharist,” see Gerlach, *The Antenicene Pascha*, 114-124; see also Origen *Peri Pascha* 26.5-27.5 (Robert J. Daly, ed. *Origin: Treaties on the Passover and Dialogue of Origin with Heraclides and His Fellow Bishops on the Father, the Son, and the Soul*, Ancient Christian Writers no. 54 [New York: Paulist Press, 1992], 41-42.)

Eucharist for Pascha. The Gelasianum, Tridentinum, and Paduensis make note that the Eucharist occurs *in nocte*. The repetition of the Saturday Mass prayer texts, with some modifications for a Eucharist during the day on Sunday, however, seems to vouch for the conclusion that originally there was only one celebration. The role of a Eucharistic celebration of Pascha *in nocte*, may also direct us to posit a sixth conclusion, that being a significance placed upon the context of “night” for celebrating some, if not all, of the Paschal Vigil. Just as the Gelasianum initiates the vigil at a particular time of the day, the Eucharist in the sacramentaries is also determined by astronomical reckoning that takes into account an experience of the people highly attuned to a cosmological consciousness. Night may be viewed as the context for divine activity in the same manner night functions in scripture, as transformative and re-creative. The Gelasian lectionary system places the lesson from Exodus 14 ahead of that from Exodus 12; and the Gregorian system records only Exodus 14. This arrangement could suggest that an element of the Roman celebration of the eve of Pascha placed predominant emphasis not on the night of sacrificial deliverance equated with the Passover lamb of Exodus 12, but on the night of transformative deliverance in the crossing of the Red Sea of Exodus 14. If proclaimed in this manner, the reading represents a distinctive theological turn in understanding the meaning of Pascha.

The liturgical evidence we possess on the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil at Rome in the early centuries of Christianity may lead to more questions than it provides concrete answers on the manner of celebrating the vigil. If we compare elements common to both the Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions, however, we may be able to discern a root structure of keeping the Paschal Vigil in some manner of a Roman context. This structure may have been

composed of some form of the following: gathering the assembly in the afternoon of Saturday for a vigil of scripture readings, which when concluded led to rites of initiation at the font. A festal Eucharist not always clearly connected to the vigil, but having a possible or probable connection to it, occurred at some time *in nocte* as is shown in the Gelasian and in some of the Gregorian sacramentaries.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Vigil of Pentecost

Introductory Comments

A consideration of the origins of the Christian festival of Pentecost immediately presents the scholar with a quandary. First, since Pentecost can refer to either the entire fifty-day period following Pascha, or only the fiftieth and final day of the Paschal celebration, data on the feast in the historical record can be confusing. Second, evidence suggests that earlier celebrations of Pentecost commemorated not only the descent of the Holy Spirit, but also the Ascension of the Lord.¹ Third, the title, Pentecost, is itself the Greek derivative of *Shabuoth*, the ancient Hebrew feast of the seven weeks following Passover. While the Judaic feast may have originally concluded the Feast of Unleavened Bread, historicizing tendencies in Judaism eventually began to associate Pentecost with Moses' reception of the Law on Mount Sinai and renewal of the Sinai covenant in the community.²

¹ See Georg Kretschmar, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66, no. 3 (1954-1955): 209-253; Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 64-66; *Itinerarium Egeriae* 42 (Maraval SC 296.296-297). Egeria does not, however, connect the celebration of Pentecost to Easter in her diary, although the feast is celebrated with more liturgical action than any other day in the diary (see George Gringas, trans., "Introduction," in *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, Ancient Christian Writers, no. 38 (New York: Newman Press, 1970), 42.

² See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 57-60. Talley writes that the movement to consider the fiftieth day of *Shabuoth* as a particular day in itself begins in the early part of the first century of the Common Era.

When Christians adopt the term it appears to refer at first to a period of fifty days beginning with the Sunday of the Lord's Resurrection.³ By the second century, it is associated with great festivity. Tertullian speaks of it as a *laetissimum spatium* during which baptisms could be celebrated.⁴ During this time of celebration fasting is forbidden and the customary posture in prayer is standing, rather than kneeling.⁵ The lengthy observance also contained a sense of the immanent return of Christ demonstrated by the Spirit's outpouring upon the nascent Christian community. Talley notes that in Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:14-36) "with its eschatological citation of Joel 2:28-32, both the resurrection of Christ and the giving of the Spirit to the community are seen as preparing the way for the day of the Lord, the *parousia*."⁶

In time, however, the "psychological need of the Christian people," according to Pierre Journel, "to follow tangibly the life of Christ," led to the dissolution of a unified

³ Talley also cautions against viewing the time of Pentecost from the very beginning of Christian use as a period of uninterrupted rejoicing. See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 60-61. There is also a shift in the scriptural referent for Pentecost (Acts 2:1), where in the Greek text of Acts the word refers to a single day, in the Latin text the word is put into the plural. Pierre Journel believes this reflects ecclesiastical usage in the fourth century. See Pierre Journel, "The Easter Cycle" in *The Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 57. See also Robert Cabié, *La pentecôte: L'évolution de la cinquantaine pascale au cours de cinq premiers siècles* (Tournai: Declée, 1965), 35-45.

⁴ "Paschae celebrandae locum de signo aquae ostendit. Exinde Pentecoste ordinandis lavacris laetissimum spatium est." Tertullian *De baptismo* 19.1-2 (Dekkers CCL 1.293).

⁵ Tertullian *De jejuniis* 14.2 (Gerlo CCL 2.1272-1273). See also Cabié, *La pentecôte*, 35-45. Cabié notes that one of the first references to the practice of forbidding kneeling during the fifty days of Pascha is attributed to a lost treatise by Saint Irenaeus (2nd century) on Pascha. He believes, however, that there is no reason to doubt this witness.

⁶ Talley cites the sermon of Peter in Acts 2:9-11 as the foundation for this interpretation. See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 60. The *Epistula Apostolorum* mentions that the coming of the Lord will take place "between the Pentecost and the feast of unleavened bread" *Epistula Apostolorum* 17. Translation: Wilhelm Schneemelcher, ed. *Gospels and Related Writings*, vol. 1 of *New Testament Apocrypha*, trans. R. McL. Wilson, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 258.

understanding of the paschal mystery. As a consequence the fifty days were apportioned into celebrations of the Lord's Resurrection, his Ascension, and of the descent of the Holy Spirit. The distribution of feasts ritualized the chronology of Luke-Acts regarding the post-resurrection experiences of the apostles.⁷ This development may have occurred toward the end of the third and beginning of the fourth centuries. It is also during these centuries that communities begin to observe the fifty days of the paschal season in growing intensity to a final day of celebrated pageantry.⁸ The fourth-century pilgrimage diary of Egeria provides evidence that the paschal celebration in the Holy Land proceeded to the fiftieth day of Pascha in this way. Egeria's travelogue describes a liturgy of the Holy Spirit at the basilica of Holy Sion in the morning of the fiftieth day, and on the same day one at the Imbomon on the Mount Olivet commemorating the Ascension.⁹

By the fourth and fifth centuries, the final day of the seven weeks of paschal festivity begins to be known itself as Pentecost and associated solely with the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles. This development may have also been influenced by the decisions of the Council of Constantinople I (381), which council affirmed the divinity of the Holy Spirit along with that of the Father and of the Son. One of the Pentecost sermons given by Leo the Great (440-461) emphasizes the work of the Spirit in educating the faithful to choose virtue over arrogant boasting.¹⁰

⁷ Jounel, *The Liturgy and Time*, 57-58.

⁸ Mario Righetti, *L'anno liturgico. Il breviario*, vol. 2 of *Manuale di Storia liturgica*, 3rd ed. (1969; 2nd repr., Milan: Ancora editrice, 2005), 310.

⁹ *Itinerarium Egeriae* 43.1-9 (Maraval SC 296.299-303). See also, Jounel, *The Liturgy and Time*, 59.

¹⁰ Leo I *Tractatus* 79 <Item alius de pentecosten> (Chavasse CCL 138A.498-500).

Leo the Great's sermons on Pentecost offer some of the earliest evidence of the feast's introduction into Rome. While we do not know precisely when an observance of Pentecost began to be held in Rome, the Leonine homilies provide a glimpse into its liturgical elements. We possess seven homilies for Pentecost (Sermons 75-81). All but one are given on Pentecost Sunday; the exception, Sermon 80, being given on the "fast day" (*feria jejunii*).¹¹ The sermons refer to three feasts in the paschaltide: Easter Sunday, Ascension, and Pentecost. However, the word, *pentecostes*, in reference to a single day appears in only three homilies (Sermons 75, 76, and 79),¹² and is used only once in each of these sermons. Where the term occurs, Leo identifies it as the fiftieth day from the Passover of the Lord.¹³ Surprisingly Leo does not refer to a season of Pentecost in these sermons, but only to the fiftieth day. This may be all the more peculiar as the Greek term for a fifty-day period, *pentecostes*, is favored over the Latin, *quingagesima*. The Roman lectionaries and sacramentaries refer to this day as *Pentecoste*, and never as *Quingagesimus*, even though they refer to the season of Lent as *Quadragesima*.

One can detect a shift in Leo's sermons in the spirit of keeping the fifty days: between the forty days from Pascha to the Ascension, and the ten days from the Ascension to the day

¹¹ While PL designates Sermons 75-77 each under the heading, *De pentecoste*, and Sermons 78-81 under, *De jejuniis pentecostes*, the CCL provides the title, *Incipit de pentecosten* for Sermon 75, and files each of the other sermons under, *Item alius de pentecosten*.

¹² It is interesting to note that *pentecostes* also appears in Sermon 19, a homily for the Fast of the 10th Month, one of the Ember Weeks. Here Leo uses the term to describe the kinds of quarterly fasts that are: "Siquidem jejunium vernum in Quadragesima, aestivum in Pentecoste, autumnale in mense septimo, hiemale autem in hoc qui est decimus celebramus." *Tractatus* 19.2 (Chavasse CCL 138.77). As this fast will fall in the calendar, Leo appears to be referring to a day, rather than a season of Pentecost.

¹³ "...qui ab ejusdem resurrectione quingagesimus nobis in eo a quo coepit illuxit." *Tractatus* 75.1 (Chavasse CCL 138A.465); "...quo sanctum Spiritum quingagesimo post Domini resurrectionem die." *Tractatus* 76.1 (Chavasse CCL 138A.472); "...in die Pentecostes, quem a Pascha Domini quingagesimum celebramus." *Tractatus* 79.1 (Chavasse CCL 138A.498).

of Pentecost.¹⁴ As a whole Leo's sermons on Pentecost are highly theological, emphasizing the dual procession of the Spirit and the Son from the Father, and expressing the relationship of the Spirit to the Father and the Son. It is interesting, however, that Leo's Pentecost sermons lack any reference to a vigil preceding the feast day.

Four of these sermons announce in a formulaic final statement the keeping of a fast in the week following Pentecost, which fast concludes with a vigil. This formula appears in Sermons 75, 76, 78, and 81.¹⁵ Sermon 80 whose title speaks of it being given on the *feria jejunii* mentioned above surprisingly does not contain the formula. The formula does not refer to a fast in connection with a vigil prior to the Sunday of Pentecost. From the references Leo makes, it could refer to a resumption of regular fasting practices by the faithful, not observed during the season of paschal rejoicing. More certain, however, the formula seems connected with the Summer Embertide, observed during the week following Pentecost Sunday in Leo's time. We have commented upon the relationship of Pentecost to the June Embertide in Chapter Two; in our present discussion we will consider the question of fasting specifically tied to the Pentecost Vigil.

As previously stated, the desire to apply the paschal feast to the life of Christ results in parsing a great, single season of fifty days into separate observances. Beginning as early

¹⁴ This pattern leads some scholars, such as Patrick Regan, to wonder about the possibility that Leo may have understood the joyous Paschal period to end at Ascension, and a preparation time of return to "Ordinary Time" beginning in the ten days leading to Pentecost. See Patrick Regan, "The Fifty Days and the Fiftieth Day," *Worship* 55 no. 3 (May 1981): 212-213.

¹⁵ "Quarta igitur et sexta feria jejunemus; sabbato autem apud beatissimum Petrum apostolum vigilias celebremus." Leo I *Tractatus* 75.5 (Chavasse CCL 138A.470-471); *Tractatus* 76.9 (Chavasse CCL 138A.486); *Tractatus* 78.4 (Chavasse CCL 138A.497); and *Tractatus* 81.4 (Chavasse CCL 138A.505). The same proclamation is used in all of Leo's sermons concerning this fast week.

as the fourth century, at least in Rome and in North Africa (almost as a rule in the latter), comes the practice of completing at Pentecost any baptisms not performed at Easter.¹⁶ This custom of “Pentecostal” as well as Paschal baptism links Pentecost with Easter as a *day* of particular prominence, so much so that Pentecost acquires the same type of liturgical celebration as that of Easter, complete with a vigil.¹⁷ This further transformation of the meaning of Pentecost rightfully leads one to question the role of a vigil for this feast, as the vigil may appear only to be an expected and functional context for bringing individuals into the Church. Pentecost, in its earliest form as a day rather than a season may not have included a vigil at all; Leo’s sermons do not reference one, even though in a letter to the bishops of Sicily Leo recommends Pentecost as a time for baptizing those unable to attend the Paschal Vigil.¹⁸ Augustine in a few of his sermons acknowledges a vigil before Pentecost at which the baptism of catechumens took place.¹⁹ The concept of a non-baptismal vigil prior to the Sunday of Pentecost may have derived from the travel record of Egeria where she notes that on Pentecost in Jerusalem:

¹⁶ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 312-313.

¹⁷ Regan, “Fifty Days and Fiftieth Day,” 214. Pentecost will also acquire an octave celebration by the seventh century to mirror that of Easter. See also Adrian Nocent, *The Easter Season*, vol. 3 of *The Liturgical Year*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1977), 244.

¹⁸ “Additur sane huic observantiae etiam Pentecostes ex adventu Spiritus sancti sacrata solemnitas, quae de paschalis festi pendet articulo. Et cum ad alios dies alia festa pertineant, haec semper ad eum diem qui resurrectione Domini est insignis occurrit porrigens quodammodo auxiliantis gratiae manum, et eos quos a die Paschae aut molestia infirmitatis, aut longinquitas itineris, aut navigationis difficultas interclusit, invitans, ut quibuslibet necessitatibus impediti, desiderii sui effectum dono sancti Spiritus consequantur.” Leo I *Epistola, Ad Universos Episcopos per Siciliam constitutos*, 16.3 (PL 54.699b).

¹⁹ “Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnae rei sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis.” Augustine *Sermo 272 In die Pentecostes postremus ad infantes, de sacramento* (PL 38.1246); and *Sermo 266 In vigiliis pentecostes, contra donatistas* (PL 38.1225-1229).

A vigil is kept in the Anastasis, and the bishop reads the passage from the Gospel that is always read on the Lord's Day, namely, the account of the Lord's Resurrection, and afterwards everything customary is done in the Anastasis, just as throughout the whole year.²⁰

This vigil, however, is not particular to Pentecost as a solemn feast day, but is part of the customary weekly Sunday vigil Egeria says is celebrated throughout the year.²¹

The association of a vigil with Pentecost raises a further question of a fast. This question in turn inquires as to the role of fasting in keeping vigil. Did the latter by necessity have to include the former? While Saturday comes to be observed as a fast day in the West, a practice unknown in the East, both East and West kept a "Paschal Fast" on Holy Saturday. The practice of Saturday fasting, however, was suspended during the Easter Season in Rome.²² Fasting, while specifically mentioned as an activity of Wednesday and Friday of the Ember week, is not clearly connected specifically with the Saturday Embertide vigils, when it is announced, "on this day let us keep vigil." Knowledge of the fasts in association with the vigils of the martyrs comes basically from texts in the sacramentaries, which mention that a fast was kept. However, for other solemnities, such as Christmas and Epiphany, the association of a fast with a vigil is less clear.²³

²⁰ *Itinerarium Egeriae* 43.1 (Maraval SC 296.299).

²¹ *Itinerarium Egeriae* 24.9-12 (Maraval SC 296.243-244).

²² See the letter of Innocent I to Decentius of Gubbio where Innocent writes, "Quod si putant semel atque uno sabbato jejunandum; ergo et Dominica, et sexta feria semel in Pascha erit utrique celebranda" Innocent I *Epistola* 25.4, *Ex Dionysio Exiguo* (PL 20.556a).

²³ As will be shown in the consideration of the vigil of Christmas a fast-breaking Eucharist takes place at *nona*, the hour associated with breaking a fast in the tradition. This fast, however, does not appear integral to the vigil itself.

If the Pentecost Vigil mirrors the Paschal Vigil, then fasting at least for the baptismal candidates may have been required. Recall that in Chapter Three on the Paschal Vigil the prayer texts for both the vigil and the Eucharist spoke little of the preceding fast, and focused more on the mystery of the Resurrection. Such a phenomenon, however, prompts more questions than provides answers, especially when discerning whether or not the Roman church undertook to fast either prior to or during the Pentecost Vigil. Left unanswered is the question how a fast could be called during a season in which it was not customary to fast, the Fifty Days. Fasting, as just stated, was precluded at Rome during the observance of the great feast of Easter. If a vigil preceding Pentecost Sunday is introduced into the Roman calendar along with a communal fast, then fasting becomes paradoxically inserted into the non-fasting celebration of the fifty days of Easter.²⁴ Neither Leo nor Augustine specifically mentions a fast associated with the Pentecost Vigil. It may be that the practice of fasting at Pentecost, a possible Gallican importation, is only gradually adopted in the churches of the Latin West.²⁵ With these issues in mind, therefore, let us consider the celebration of Pentecost in Rome contained in the data of the liturgical books.²⁶

²⁴ While not representative of the traditions of Rome, Filastrius of Brescia in Northern Italy (around the 380s) has categorized the fasting periods of the Church, one of them being the ten-day period between Ascension and Pentecost. Could this practice have been taking an adverse effect upon Roman customs as the church of Rome moves into later centuries? See Thomas Tally, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* 2nd emended ed. (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), 68-89; and Martin Connell, *Eternity Today: On the Liturgical Year* vol. 2: Sunday, Lent, the Three Days, the Easter Season, Ordinary Time (New York: Continuum, 2006), 173-174.

²⁵ Rhigetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 313.

²⁶ The edition of the Veronense in use is that edited by Leo Mohlberg. The volume edited by Charles Feltoe will be referred to at times for the sake of comparison or to allow for greater clarity of meaning.

Evidence of the Pentecost Vigil in the Verona Collection

The Verona collection, as stated in the Introduction, exists as an *unicum*, meaning that it is a one-of-a-kind assortment of prayer texts, and exists only as a single manuscript.²⁷ It may not have functioned as a sacramentary, though some scholars debate this point.²⁸ The texts contained in this collection are derived from *libelli*, the pamphlets and booklets containing various liturgical prayers and sets of prayers that circulated in the early centuries of Christianity. The unique character of the Veronese is revealed in the numerous Mass sets or other liturgical services its compiler or compilers placed under a particular feast day. In the collection, some Masses bear the sub-title *Item alia*, although this designation is inconsistent.

The Verona collection is silent concerning the celebration of Pascha, but it does contain prayer texts for the celebration of Pentecost, situated in the section for the month of May. Given the dating of the Veronese as a collection (ca. 6th century), these texts may be

²⁷ Both Cyrille Vogel and Antoine Chavasse, as well as Emmanuel Bourque, affirm this characteristic of the Veronese. See Emmanuel Bourque, *Les texts primitifs*, vol 1 of *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains* (Vatican City: Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1948), 155-157; Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William Storey and Neils Rasmussen (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 38-39; Antoine Chavasse, "Le sacramentaire, dit Léonien, conservé par le Veronensis LXXXV (80)," in *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe siècle* Studia Anselmiana 112. Analecta Liturgica 18. (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 74. Bourque coins the term, *unicum*, in describing the collection. The principal difference between this collection and the Roman sacramentaries is that it arranges its prayers by civic calendar, January to December, rather than by a liturgical calendar, Christmas to Advent.

²⁸ See the discussion that David Hope writes concerning this matter in, D.M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 132-144. Hope makes the interesting comment that Leo Mohlberg, editor of the most complete edition of the collection, held an opinion that the collection "was used at some stage as the liturgical book for a Christian community." See Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 6-7.

the earliest examples of liturgical prayer for Pentecost.²⁹ Owing to the unique composition and purpose of the Verona collection, its prayer texts will be considered first and then compared with the Pentecost texts in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries. It will be noted where the same prayer texts occur in the other sacramentaries. A complete list of the prayer texts for the Pentecost Vigil and Pentecost Sunday liturgies for the sacramentaries considered in this chapter may be found in Appendix Six.³⁰ The Verona collection supplies two sections dealing with Pentecost: Section 10, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, and Section 11, *In dominicum pentecosten*. Mohlberg notes that the title for Section 10 is in red, and indicates that for Section 11 a red title is found in the remainder of the line after the prayer at Ve 214.³¹ We will examine the text of Section 10 first.

The title of Section 10, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, is peculiar. At first glance one could conclude that the section pertains to the vigil, but upon closer examination the heading may not so easily render such a judgment. *Pridie* might be interpreted to mean that the texts of this section are prayed without any relation to the feast. The word itself can be translated as “on the *day* before,” and in this manner can be understood as daytime as well as nighttime. The title does not expressly state that these are *orationes in vigilia*, which would

²⁹ Mohlberg and others will date the texts for Pentecost to the time of Leo I (440-461). See Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium veronense*, lxxi-lxxii; Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, vol. 1, 113-114 (the text cannot be prior to 455 according to Bourque); Hieronymus Frank, “Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons,” *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 1 (1950): 116-119, who compares the linguistic elements of the Verona Pentecost prayers with the Pentecost sermons of Leo and finds that the tenor of each point to the same author. Chavasse, however, dates some texts to the time of Vigilius (537-55); see Antoine Chavasse, “Messses du pape Vigilie (537-555) dans le sacramentaire léonien,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 64 (1950): 201-204.

³⁰ See Appendix Six, pages 570 to 583.

³¹ For Section X, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, which falls between Ve 186 and Ve 187, Mohlberg simply uses the word, *rot*. But for the title of Section XI, *In dominicum pentecosten*, Mohlberg describes with the phrase, *Titel rot im Zeilenrest nach 214*, meaning that this title occurs after the prayer text, Ve 214 prior to Ve 215. Mohlberg will identify several titles in the manuscript’s apparatus in this manner.

place them for use in a specific time frame. Thus, this section could pertain to texts originally used on the Saturday before Pentecost, without designating a vigil liturgy. The texts of this section are assigned, however, as *orationes*, a label that occurs only two other times in the collection, and never associated with other sections whose titles contain the word, *pridie*.³²

Stylistically some prayer groups are arranged in what appears to be a vigil format. Section 10 comprises five sets of grouped item numbers, some sets of which are provided sub-headings.³³ Table 1 below replicates Mohlberg's arrangement of these texts and indicates where Feltoe differs in his edition of the collection. The items in Section 10, according to Mohlberg, fall into three categories: a set of four prayers (which he calls *Formeln*) Ve 187-190; a single Mass set, *Item alia*, Ve 191-199; and three Mass sets under

Table 1. Section 10. *Orationes pridie pentecosten* (Ve 187-214)

(no sub-heading)	ITEM ALIA	I. IN PENTECOSTEN ASCENDENTIBUS A FONTE	II. [ITEM ALIA]	< III. ITEM ALIA >
Item numbers 187-190 four <i>orationes</i>	Item numbers 191-199 six <i>orationes</i> <i>preface</i> <i>post-communion?</i> <i>super populum?</i>	Item numbers 200-205 two <i>orationes</i> <i>preface</i> <i>hanc igitur</i> <i>communicantes</i> blessing over milk and honey	Item numbers 206-209 one <i>oration</i> a sub-heading: IN JEJUNIO QUARTI MENSIS two <i>orationes</i> <i>preface</i> with its own sub- heading: [PRAESUMPTIO ET REPARATIO PRIMI HOMINIS]	Item numbers 210-214 three <i>orationes</i> <i>preface</i> <i>post-communion?</i> or <i>super populum?</i> In Feltoe's edition these prayers follow after of the PRAESUMPTIO of the previous group without differentiation

³² *Orationes* is associated with Section 18 under the month of July, *Orationes matutinas vel ad vesperum* (Ve 587-590), and as we saw in Chapter Two with the Seventh Month Fast in September, Section 27, *Admonitio jejunii mensis septimi et orationes et preces* (Ve 860-904). The two other times that *pridie* appears in the manuscript is in Section 26, *Pridie kalendas octobres. [Natale] basilicae angeli in salaria*, and Section 39, *Pridie kalendas decembres. Natale sancti andreae apostoli*. In both these instances, however, *pridie* is used to provide the date for the feasts and not in reference to a time or type of celebration of these feasts.

³³ Feltoe and Mohlberg arrange these grouped item numbers in different ways, as I will note below. Mohlberg interprets most of these sub-headings as an addition to the manuscript.

the sub-heading, *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, Ve 200-214.³⁴ The numbering of the sub-headings (I, II, and III), and the title *Item alia*, are likely enhancements of a later editor of the texts. Mohlberg indicates these additions with half brackets (⌈ ⌋). He uses angled brackets (< >) in places where he has added to the manuscript for the sake of clarity or efficiency in understanding a text.³⁵ These symbols are retained in the analytic tables.

As Table 1 shows, the first group of Section 10 (Ve 187-190) stands under the main title of the section (without any sub-heading) and consists only of four prayers. The texts are not suitable as either *super oblata* or *post-communion* prayers. They do not address the solemnity of Pentecost, vigil or otherwise; rather they are penitential in character, petitioning for God's mercy and compassion, and seeking conversion and amending of mind and heart.³⁶ Their purpose, therefore, at the head of this section is unclear. If Section 10 originally contained prayers for the final Saturday of the Paschal Season, and not necessarily a pre-festal vigil, the content of these prayers is equally puzzling. They may be misplaced or prayers that formerly comprised a *libellus* of penitential orations. Interestingly, the prayers do not refer to a fast. The appearance of the fourth prayer, "Parce domine parce peccantibus" (Ve 190), under the heading of "prayers in a time of tribulation" in the Gelasianum, as Table 2 demonstrates, is equally interesting.

³⁴ Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium veronense*, liv.

³⁵ Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium veronense*, xxviii.

³⁶ For example: "Deus, qui si velis reddere quod meremur, prius deficiamus, quam merita supplicia perferamus: quaesumus, absolve nostros placatus errores, et ut possimus ad tua praecepta converti, copiosa propitiatione nos praeveni: per" (Ve 187). In this prayer God is asked to deal mercifully with us who are deserving of punishments because of our errors and failings.

Table 2. Occurrence of Item Numbers Ve 187-190 in the Roman Sacramentaries

Ve 187	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 188	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 189	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 190	GeV 1334 (second collect, <i>Orationes in tribulatione</i>)

The second group (Ve 191-199) offers a more familiar pattern if Section 10 indeed supplies a vigil for Pentecost. Employing a structural model similar to the Ember Vigils we encountered in Chapters One and Two, a series of orations prior to the texts for a Eucharistic liturgy, this second group seems to reveal a full arrangement of prayer texts for a “pre-Eucharistic vigil.”³⁷ It is not certain, however, whether these texts would necessarily serve a vigil of Pentecost. The set provides a series of six orations prior to a discernable preface, initiated by the words – *vere dignum*. Only the first text (Ve 191) focuses specifically upon Pentecost.³⁸ The remaining texts are, as those in Ve 187-190, more suited to a penitential service, petitioning God for clemency, renewal, and strength to follow his commands. There are no other references to Pentecost in the succeeding orations. The sixth oration might be a *super oblata*, because of its reference to holy service (*sacri muneris*).³⁹ While Ve 192 mentions fasting, the preface of the second sub-group of Section 10 (Ve 197) stands out in offering an excursus on the work of fasting, which is as healthful for the soul as nourishment

³⁷ As we have seen in Chapter Three, pages 217-218, and will see later on in this chapter the structure of a vigil as composed of a series of lessons with prayers following generally applies to the Paschal and Pentecost Vigils in the sacramentaries. It is less certain that the pattern of lesson → silence → prayer can be applied to the Ember Vigils. We will also learn that just as in the Paschal Vigil the prayers of the Pentecost Vigil reflect something of the scripture passage, which precedes it. The Ember Vigils contain prayers that do not reflect the scripture passage, but are more thematically composed.

³⁸ “Omnipotens, sempiternus deus, qui pascale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri: presta, ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregetur: per.” (Ve 191)

³⁹ “Sacri nos, domine, muneris operatio mundet et foveat, renovet et donis societ sempiternis: per.” (Ve 196)

is for the physical body,⁴⁰ but does not say anything regarding the feast. The text does not mention that this fast is directed towards baptism. The final two prayers of this group likewise contain themes in keeping with a penitential season, rather than expressing the feast of Pentecost. The first prayer, “Sacris caelestibus,” possibly a post-communion prayer because it makes reference to the rites just celebrated, goes on to pray that faults may be cleansed (“vitia nostra purgentur”).⁴¹ The second prayer, “Supplicem tibi domine,” is structured as a *super populo* blessing in that it asks the Lord to accompany the people with abundant mercy (“clementia largiore comitare”). Such blessings appear frequently in the Verona collection, but less so in both the Gelasian and the Gregorian sacramentaries.⁴² Antoine Chavasse believes the blessing was more widespread in antiquity, and eventually it drops out of use in later centuries.⁴³

Table 3 demonstrates the occurrence of the Verona orations among the other Roman sacramentaries. The texts, Ve 192, 195-197, and 199 are unique to the Verona collection. The other texts are associated with the celebration of Pentecost, both the vigil and the Sunday observance in the Roman sacramentaries, with the exception of Ve 193, which prayer occurs among the Lenten orations of the other sacramentaries.

⁴⁰ “...Corpus alitus aescis, anima jejuniis saginatur: nisi competentibus sustentata cibus membra non serviunt, absque continentia non viget mentis imperium...” (Ve 197)

⁴¹ “Sacris caelestibus, domine, vitia nostra purgentur, et ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari: per.” (Ve 198)

⁴² In the Gelasianum while the *super populo* is most consistently used in Lent and the Ember fasts it is well-represented elsewhere, such as in the Nativity cycle and the latter part of the paschal season around Ascension and Pentecost.

⁴³ See Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien: Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai, Belgium: Declée and Cie., 1958), 186-189. The presence of *ad populum* blessings in the Roman sacramentaries we possess is generally, but not always, limited to Lent and to the Ember seasons.

While the structure of item numbers Ve 191-199 may resemble a pre-Eucharistic vigil, the lack of any strong reference to Pentecost in this group, save for the oration, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui pascale sacramentum” (Ve 191), makes it difficult to identify with certainty that Ve 191-199 is a Pentecost Vigil liturgy. Another possibility may

Table 3. Occurrence of Item Numbers Ve 191-199 in the Roman Sacramentaries

Ve 191	GeV 637 (first collect, <i>Orationes et preces dominica pentecosten</i>) GrH 516 and GrT 562 (<i>alia oratione, Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i> – among the vigil prayers for Pentecost) GrP 467 (<i>alia oratione, Die dominico ad sanctam petrum</i> – Pentecost Sunday)
Ve 192	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 193	GeV 220 (first collect, <i>Feria septima ebdomada III</i> – Saturday of the Third Week in Lent) GrH 300 (collect, <i>Feria V ad sanctum apollonarem</i> – Thursday of the Fifth Week in Lent at Saint Apollonaris)
Ve 194	GrH 518 and GrT 564 (<i>alia oratione, Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i> —among the vigil prayers for Pentecost) GrP 473 (<i>alia oratione, Die dominico ad sanctam petrum</i> – Pentecost Sunday)
Ve 195	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 196	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 197	unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 198	GeV 635 (<i>item post-communionem, Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>)
Ve 199	unique to the Verona Collection

be, considering the references to fasting in Ve 192 and in the preface, and the penitential character of the prayers, that Ve 191-199 pertains to a type of fasting-breaking vigil similar to the first Mass of Christmas we find in the Gelasianum and the Paduensis. As will be considered in Chapter Five, the Christmas sets of the Gelasian and Padua sacramentaries⁴⁴ celebrate a first vigil Mass at *nona*. This hour, from ancient times, appears to have been associated with concluding a fast period by the celebration of Eucharist and communion.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Orationes et preces in vigiliis natalis domini ad nonam* (GeV 1-4); *In vigilia natalis domini hora nona, station ad sanctam mariam* (GrP 1-3). (the present author’s emphasis)

⁴⁵ For the Romans the ninth hour is the end of the business day and the time for the taking of an evening meal. See: “...imperat extractos frangere nona toros.” Martial *Epigrams* 8.1 (LLT-A 4.118); or “...sic ignovisse putato me tibi si cenas hodie me cum ut libet ergo post nonam venies.” Horace *Epistulae* 7.69-70 (LLT-A 1.267). Among Christians as the death of Christ is associated with the ninth hour, fasting until this hour is deemed appropriate. See: “Et Dominus hora sexta crucifixus, ad nonam peccata nostra sanguine suo abluit, et ut redimere et vivificare nos posset, tunc victoriam suam passione perfecit.” Cyprian of Carthage *Liber de oratione dominica* 34 (PL 4.541).

The third group (Ve 200-214) Mohlberg classifies as three Masses (indicated separately in Table 1 above). These Masses are located under the sub-heading, *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte* (On Pentecost on coming up from the font), in both Feltoe's and Mohlberg's editions. The sub-heading is rubrical and similarly appears in the Gregorian sacramentaries at the Pentecost Vigil, where there it introduces the prayers of the Eucharist following the vigil and baptisms. It does not specifically suggest, at this point, that baptism has been conferred, though it is phrased in a manner that might convey that this has occurred. The relationship of item numbers Ve 200-214, however, to the preceding group, Ve 191-199, is not clear. As we have seen in the Easter sections of the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, a break occurs between the biblical vigil and the Eucharist, during which break paschal baptisms took place.⁴⁶ One may interpret a similar case here, where group Ve 191-199 provides a vigil context and group Ve 200-214 supplies three possible forms for celebrating the Eucharist. The only problem with this assessment is that Ve 191-199 appears to be a full vigil and Mass in itself, while Ve 210-214 contains sets of Eucharistic texts alone.

The first Mass set (Ve 200-205) of the third group of texts consists of two orations "Praesta nobis ineffabilis et misericors deus," and "Propitius domine quaesumus haec dona sanctifica." The second oration asks for the acceptance of the oblations and so must have functioned as a *super oblata*.⁴⁷ The set continues with a preface, *hanc igitur* and *communicantes* inserts for the Eucharistic prayer (the inserts presented in reverse order), and

⁴⁶ See above, pages 251-255.

⁴⁷ "Propitius, domine, quaesumus, haec dona sanctifica, et hostiae spiritalis oblatione suscepta nosmet ipsos tibi perface munus aeternum: per" (Ve 201).

a blessing over milk and honey. The formulary ends at this point and without trace of texts that could have functioned as a post-communion or an *ad populum* blessing. Save for the *super oblata*, the texts mention the Holy Spirit specifically and comment on the feast of Pentecost, particularly as a context for baptism. The initial oration speaks of the adoption now given to the newly baptized in the Holy Spirit (“adoptio, quam in id ipsum sanctus spiritus advocavit”).⁴⁸ The preface cites both the Ascension of Christ and the sending of the Holy Spirit, combining the two elements to represent the fullness of the Paschal season in Roman practice.⁴⁹ The prayer also ascribes the Holy Spirit to the newly baptized (“spiritum sanctum in filios adoptionis effudit”). The newly baptized are mentioned in the *hanc igitur*, which petitions that their names be inscribed in the book of the living.⁵⁰ The reference to the “day” of Pentecost (“diem Pentecosten sacratissimum celebrantes”) in the *communicantes* (Ve 204) while puzzling if these are vigil texts, could very well point to the fact that the Eucharist of this vigil was occurring post-midnight or in the early morning of Pentecost Sunday.⁵¹

⁴⁸ “Presta nobis, ineffibilis et misericors deus, ut adoptio, quam in id ipsum sanctus spiritus advocavit, nihil in dilectione terrenum, nihil habeat in confessione diversum: per.” (Ve 200)

⁴⁹ “Vere dignum: qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum in filios adoptionis effudit. Unde laetantes inter altaria tua, domine virtutum, hostias tibi laudis offerimus, et cetera.” (Ve 202)

⁵⁰ “Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et spiritu sancto regenerare dignatus es, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, placatus accipias eorumque nomina ascribi jubeas in libro viventium: per.” (Ve 203)

⁵¹ “Communicantes, et diem Pentecosten sacratissimum celebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolos plebemque credentium praesentiae suae majestatis implevit, sed et memoriam venerantes.” (Ve 204)

The presence of a blessing over milk and honey, the final text in this grouping, is exceptional in that such a blessing does not appear in the sacramentaries.⁵² The placement here of this ancient ritual of Roman and North African baptismal practice, which ends after

Table 4. Occurrence of Item Numbers Ve 200-205 in the Roman Sacramentaries

Ve 200	Ve 215 – unique to the Verona Collection
Ve 201	Ve 216 – also GrP 475; GrH 533; GrT 579 (all <i>super oblata</i> , <i>Feria II ad vincula</i> – Monday after Pentecost)
Ve 202	GeV 627 (preface, <i>Item in vigilia de pentecosten ad missa</i>)
Ve 202a	up to <i>effudit</i> = GrP 462; GrH 522; GrT568 (preface, <i>Orationes de sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i> —Paduensis; <i>Oratio ad missa in sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i> – Hadrianum and Tridentium)
Ve 203	GeV 460 and 629 (<i>hanc igitur</i> – up to <i>viventium</i> – for both Easter and Pentecost vigil masses) GrP 331 and 464; GrH 381 and 524; GrT 437 and 570 (<i>hanc igitur</i> – up to <i>placates</i> – for both Easter and Pentecost vigil Masses)
Ve 204	GeV 628 and 642 (<i>communicantes</i> , repeated in both vigil and day Masses of Pentecost) GrP 463 (<i>communicantes</i> , vigil Mass of Pentecost expressly, <i>ut supra</i> at the day Mass) GrH 523 and 529, and GrT 569 and 575 (<i>communicantes</i> , repeated both in vigil and day Masses of Pentecost)
Ve 205	unique to the Verona Collection

the sixth century,⁵³ suggests that the newly baptized received this milk and honey along with the Body and Blood of Christ. While we do not possess the texts for the Easter Vigil in the Verona collection, the mention of this practice in the Pentecost section may suggest it was still observed at the time of the collection's compilation.⁵⁴ The blessing asks that the newly

⁵² A rubric appears to direct one to it, however, in the Gelasianum as we will see below, page 312.

⁵³ Robert Cabié, "Christian Initiation," in *The Sacraments*, vol. 3 of *The Church at Prayer*, ed. Aimé Georges Martimort, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1988), 61. See Tertullian on this practice: "...ut a baptisinate ingrediar... Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus" *De corona* 3 (PL 2.79a); as well as homily by John the Deacon equating this rite with the entry into the Promised Land: "Quod autem quaesistis, cur in sacratissimum calicem lac mittatur et mel, et Paschae sabbato cum sacrificiis offeratur? Illud in causa est, quia scriptum est in Veteri Testamento et novo populo figuraliter repromissum: *Introducā vos in terram repromissionis, terram fluentem lac et mel*" (Leviticus 20:24) *Epistola ad Senarium virum illustrem: De variis ritibus ad baptismum pertinentibus, et aliis observatione dignis* 12 (PL 59.405c-405d). Feltoe states that, "the custom can hardly have died out by the 9th century or even earlier," as he likens the ritual to the practice of the Roman pontiff giving "stolam, casullam et chrismale et X siliquas" to the newly baptized upon coming up from the water, which is recorded in Mabillon, *Ordo Romanus I*, (Andrieu, *Ordo Romanus* 28.78); see Feltoe, "Notes," in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 180-181.

⁵⁴ The blessing contains an ellipsis in Mohlberg's edition at line 14 (between *quaemadmodum* and *patribus*). Both Mohlberg and Feltoe note that a verb like *promisisti* has fallen out, though Mohlberg seems to place it after *quemadmodem*, while Feltoe locates it between *Jacob* and *introducere*.

baptized be joined together by the Holy Spirit just as the milk and honey are united.⁵⁵ Only the initial oration and the blessing over milk and honey are unique to the collection; the other texts are duplicated in the other sacramentaries for the vigil of Pentecost. A lone exception is Ve 201, found in the Gregorian sacramentaries on the Monday after Pentecost, indicated in Table 4 above.

The second Mass set (Ve 206-209) is titled, *Item alia*, in both Mohlberg and Feltoe. In Mohlberg the title is in half-brackets, meaning it is an enhancement added by a later hand. This may have been done to mark a distinction between this Mass set and the one preceding it. The first oration (Ve 206) is possibly a *collect*. The subject matter of the prayer combines elements both of Pentecost and of a fast period apparently preceding Pentecost. The prayer petitions for an increase of respect for the teachings of the Paraclete, and prays that in observing the fast the assembly may be more prepared for the Spirit's gifts.⁵⁶ Here is a clearer indication that at the time of this prayer's composition, a fast has some connection with the celebration of Pentecost, although the length of the fast is not stated. The prayer does not refer to candidates for baptism. In the Gelasian sacramentary, as will be shown, this text introduces the vigil of readings on Pentecost eve (GeV 618) and appears again as the second oration in an *aliter* vigil Mass for Pentecost (GeV 632). In the Hadrianum and

⁵⁵ "Benedic, domine, et has tuas creaturas fontis mellis et lactis, et pota famulos tuos ex hoc fonte aquae vitae perennis qui est spiritus veritatis, et enutri eos de hoc lacte et melle, quemadmodum...partibus nostris Abraham Isac et Jacob introducere te eos in terram promissionis, terram fluentem melle et lacte. Coniunge ergo famulos tuos, domine, spiritui sancto, sicut conjunctum est hoc mel et lac, quo caelestis terrenaque substantiae significatur unio in Christo Jesu domino nostro: per quem haec omnia." (Ve 205)

⁵⁶ "Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti nova(m) tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purgatae jejunio cunctis reddantur eius muneribus aptiores: per." (Ve 206)

Tridentinum, the text is found in a collection of *aliae orationes* following the scripture vigil (GrH 519 and GrT 565).

Following Ve 206 is another sub-heading, *In jejunio quarti mensis*. Like the titles, *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte* and *In dominicum pentecosten*, this title is noted in Mohlberg's apparatus as printed in red in the blank space after the text of Ve 206. Mohlberg believes the title should come before Ve 206, and include this prayer under its sub-heading.⁵⁷ The heading, however, describes a Mass for the Fourth Month Embertide and not Pentecost. The mention of both a fast and references to the Holy Spirit in Ve 206, may indicate that this text could have served a dual purpose as the Pentecost feast comes to initiate the Summer Embertide. The two prayers (Ve 207, 208) under the Fourth Month Fast heading may be additional orations. Both texts focus upon fasting, without any reference to Pentecost or to its vigil. They may be associated with the Fast of the Fourth Month, but do not specifically state a connection. The first prayer is found in the Paduensis, the Hadrianum, and the Tridentinum as the *Collecta ad sanctam anastasiam*, which begins the procession to Saint Sabina on Ash Wednesday.⁵⁸ The second prayer is unique to the Verona collection.

These orations are followed by a preface (Ve 209, identified by the words, "vere dignum") found only in the Veronense. The text is placed under another sub-heading:

⁵⁷ "in jejunio quarti mensis *rot im Zeilenrest nach 206, gehört schon vor 206.*" Both Feltoe and Hope believe that the title should be placed with Section XII, which on the Fourth Month Fast. See Feltoe, "Notes," in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 181; and Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 27.

⁵⁸ "Concede nobis, domine, praesidia militiae christianae sanctis incoare jejuniis, ut contra spirituales nequitas pugnaturi continentiae muniamur auxiliis: per." (Ve 207; GrP 127; GrH 153; GrT 209)

Praesumptio et reparatio primi hominis, printed in red as per Mohlberg's apparatus.⁵⁹ The prayer provides another excursus on fasting, and includes references to the Holy Spirit. It quotes the Lord's admonition that after the bridegroom has been taken away the disciples will fast, and describes fasting as providing a corrective for human concupiscence, allowing for greater integration of the Spirit's teaching.⁶⁰ Such images and metaphors appear among teachings of some communities of the early Church, though not at Rome, where fasting practices resumed following the celebration of the Ascension.⁶¹ The lack of any other discernable presidential texts make it difficult to determine how this set was used, although it may be a misplaced set for Wednesday or Friday of the Fourth Month Embertide. The prayer texts contain very little that would evoke a vigil, baptismal or otherwise. Table 5 correlates these texts with others in the Roman sacramentaries.

⁵⁹ *praesumptio...hominis rot zwischen den Zeiten, betrifft nur 209*. The title is written between the lines, and concerns only the text of Ve 209.

⁶⁰ "Vere dignum: qui post illud ineffabiliter institutum divinae humanaeque naturae consortium, sponsi filios usque ad ejus abscessum non posse jejunaere praemonuit, ne rudes animos parvulorum, supernis eruditionibus imbuendos, honeraret austerioribus disciplinis, sed proficientibus exercitia majora servaret: quibus uberiore dono spiritus sancti sufficienter instructis jejunii subsequentis primitias dedicavit; ut quia post creationem primi hominis initium peccati concupiscentia ministrarat, post reparationem generis humani continentia fieret origo virtutem: per." (Ve 209)

⁶¹ Talley notes that this tendency "seems to have begun, and to have been opposed, as early as the Council of Elvira (306)." The source of opposition to this thinking in regard to resuming fasting practices comes from a gloss one may read on one of the canons of the Council concerning "the spouse being taken away," canon 43, which stresses celebrating Pentecost and not "the false practice" of the fortieth day after Easter. See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 66. There is also the witness of Filastrius of Brescia who mentions a fast from Ascension to Pentecost; see Filastrius of Brescia *Diversarum hereseon liber* 149.121.3 (Bulhart CCL 9.312).

Only Mohlberg identifies Ve 210-214 as a Mass set. It is also set apart with a sub-heading, *Item alia*, in angled brackets indicated by a sign in the margin of the manuscript.⁶² In Feltoe's edition of the collection texts Ve 210-214 are combined with Ve 206-209.⁶³

Table 5. Occurrence of Item Numbers Ve 206-209 in the Roman Sacramentaries

Ve 206	GeV 618 (collect before the readings, <i>Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato pentecosten</i>) GeV 632 (second collect, <i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>) GrH 519 and GrT 565 (<i>alia oratione, Incipiunt orationes de pentecostes die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i>)
Ve 207	GeV 631 (first collect, <i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>) and GeV 654 (collect, <i>Incipiunt orationes et preces mensis quarti</i>) GrP 127 (<i>oratio ad collectam, Feria IV ad sanctam sabinam</i>) GrH 153 and GrT 209 (<i>collecta ad sanctam anastasiam, Feria IV</i>)
Ve 208	unique to the Verona collection
Ve 209	unique to the Verona collection

Feltoe gives no reason in his apparatus for doing this, but it seems curious, as Ve 210-214 consists of prayer texts, which could be a complete Eucharist alone. The Mass set consists of three orations (the third of which could be a *super oblata*), a preface, and what seems to an *ad complendum*, although this final prayer could also serve as an *ad populum*.⁶⁴ The combination of an emphasis on the Holy Spirit in the second (Ve 211) and third (Ve 212) prayers, and on the Ascension in the first oration (Ve 210),⁶⁵ may indicate this set was used in a period before the division of the Paschal Season into the feasts of the Ascension and of Pentecost. There are no specific references either to baptism or to a vigil in any of the texts. A mention of the “coming” of the Holy Spirit, “sancti spiritus salutaris adventus,” in Ve 212

⁶² *Formularzeichen am Rande*. See also Mohlberg's commentary on this pattern in his introduction, xxii-xxiii.

⁶³ Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 25-26.

⁶⁴ The use of the dative and petition for God to be present to his people points in this direction: “Adesto, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo, et quem mysteriis caelestibus imbuisti, ab hostium furore defende: per.” (Ve 214)

⁶⁵ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui pascalis solemnitis arcanum hodierni mysterii plenitudine perfecisti: da, quaesumus, ut filii tuae adoptionis effecti, quam dominus noster Jesus Christus ad te veniens dereliquit, mereantur et pacem: per.” (Ve 210)

may mean the prayer was used at a service anticipating the feast of Pentecost, such as at a vigil.⁶⁶

Some prayers in this Mass set display an additional nuance: phrases in Ve 211 and in Ve 214 make reference to enemy aggression. The text of Ve 211 prays that assembled in the Holy Spirit, the faithful may never be disrupted by hostile attack (“sancto spiritu congregata hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur”). The prayer at Ve 214 asks the Lord to defend the faithful against the fury of their enemies (“ab hostium furore defende”). These are references possibly to an attack upon Rome by the Vandals under Geiseric in 455.⁶⁷ This attack would have occurred during the celebration of Pentecost, which fell on 13 June that year. The inclusion of contemporary referents by the composer of these prayers demonstrates the anxiety and turmoil undergone by the faithful of Rome during this time of troubles. Further indications of this attack appear among the prayer texts of Section 11.

The purpose for which Ve 210-214 was composed, if it is a Mass set, cannot be clearly stated. The texts combine elements of the Ascension, of Pentecost, of a fast, and of a barbarian attack all in one. The set does not bear the hallmarks of a vigil (a series of orations prior to a definable *super oblata* prayer); nor are its prayer texts analogous with the Quarterly Fast group previous to it, which questions why Feltoe would have combined them. It may represent a period when Pentecost referred more to a season than a day. It may also be a primitive remnant of a day celebration on Saturday, outside of a vigil or the celebration

⁶⁶ “Hostias populi tui, quaesumus, domine, miseratus intende, et ut tibi reddantur acceptae, conscientias nostras sancti spiritus salutaris adventus emundet: per.” (Ve 212)

⁶⁷ See John Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided: 400-700* (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), 50-51. See also where Hope comments upon this attack in *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 58-60; and the note Feltoe makes on it in “Notes,” in *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 181.

of Pentecost on a Sunday. It is possible that the set may have functioned as another liturgical unit for either Wednesday or Friday of the Summer Embertide. When compared with the Roman sacramentaries, Ve 211 appears in the Gregorians for the liturgy of Wednesday of the summer Ember Week. Elsewhere, the other texts are found in sections on the Pentecost Vigil and Pentecost Sunday, while Ve 214 appears in the Gregorian sacramentaries for the Monday after Pentecost. Table 6 illustrates the distribution of the texts Ve 210-214.

Table 6. Occurrence of Item Numbers Ve 210-214 in the Roman Sacramentaries

Ve 210	unique to the Verona collection
Ve 211	GrP 484 and GrH 542 (collect, <i>Feria III ad apostolos</i> – Wednesday of the Fourth Month fast) GrT 588 (up to <i>congregata</i> – collect, <i>Feria III ad apostolos</i> – Wednesday of the Fourth Month fast)
Ve 212	GeV 633 (<i>super oblata, Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>)
Ve 213	unique to the Verona collection
Ve 214	GeV 645 (second <i>ad populum, Orationes et preces dominica pentecosten</i>) GrP 476; GrH 534; GrT 580 (<i>ad complendum, Feria II ad vincula</i> – Monday of Pentecost Week)

A final word concerning the variety of texts provided for “the day before Pentecost” in the Veronense might be helpful. Antoine Chavasse questions whether or not the Roman sacramentaries observed a Mass during the day on Saturday prior to the Sunday of Pentecost. He sees two distinct and non-parallel celebrations in Section 10. The first celebration falls under the heading, 10a. *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, comprising item numbers Ve187-199, and the second under the heading, 10b. *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, item numbers Ve 200-214. The former appears to him to be a Mass for Saturday day, while the latter serves as the vigil Mass, further complemented (and complicated) by the texts of Section 11.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 247; see also Chavasse, “Le sacramentaire, die léonien, conservé par le Veronensis LXXXV (80), in *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe siècle* (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 89-90.

Chavassee argues that no other sacramentary associated with Roman practice contains a liturgical unit for the Saturday prior to Pentecost. The other Roman documents seem to know of only two formularies one for Saturday, the vigil, and another for Sunday.⁶⁹ The presence of several formularies within Section 10 of the Veronese, therefore, may reflect a consequence of advancing the vigil from nighttime between Saturday and Sunday to earlier and earlier on Saturday evening, disturbing the structure of a Saturday to Sunday pre-Eucharistic vigil and redistributing the Masses between Saturday and Sunday.

Chavassee's theory assumes that a vigil for Pentecost is original to the celebration. Evidence in the Verona collection, in particular the *Item alia* set Ve 191-199, may support such a conclusion. Sufficient evidence is lacking to support an idea that the texts of Section 10 are supplied for a Saturday liturgy on the forty-ninth day of Pascha, with the texts under Section 11 serving for Pentecost Sunday the fiftieth and final day of Pascha. The practice of celebrating baptism on the last day of the Paschal Season for those not initiated at the Paschal Vigil, then, gives rise to the formulary *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, Ve 200-205. The purpose for the initial four orations of Section 10, Ve 187-190, remains guesswork to a degree. They may be *aliae* of the type we will encounter in the Gregorian sacramentaries, a remnant of a type of vigil liturgy, or they may simply be a set of orations an editor of the Veronese wished to preserve.

⁶⁹ Chavassee, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 247.

The Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries treat the vigil of Pentecost in a more succinct manner. There are not many options among the texts for the Pentecost Vigil in either sacramentary. Designations of *aliae* exist, however, among the texts of the Gregorian sacramentaries. These *aliae*, however, might be understood as additions to a single section of liturgical texts, and not indicative of a multiplicity of Masses within a section as we see in the Verona collection. The Gelasian tradition provides two distinct Mass texts for the Pentecost Vigil. Tables 7a and 7b, following, present the full schema of the celebration in the various documents.

We will approach our consideration of the celebration of Pentecost in light of the commonalities among the sacramentaries, and then proceed to the liturgical particulars associated within each tradition. As Tables 7a and 7b illustrate, the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries contain separate liturgical sections for a vigil and for a Eucharist on the eve of Pentecost. In the Gregorian sacramentaries these sections follow the feast of Pope Saint Urban on 25 May; a position reflecting the union of temporal and sanctoral cycles in the Gregorian tradition. The Gelasianum, which separates temporal and sanctoral cycles into separate books, places Pentecost after a sixth Sunday *post clausum paschae*⁷⁰ and three sections concerning liturgies for the Ascension. There are, as previously mentioned, two Mass sets for Pentecost in the Gelasianum, the second designated as an *alia*. Four readings are the norm for the vigil across the board in the sacramentary traditions, a schema that

⁷⁰ The phrase, *clausum paschae*, is used in the Gelasian sacramentary to refer to the Easter Octave, whose observance is marked in the calendar around the seventh century. See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 235-236.

Table 7a. Liturgical Arrangement of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 77 Nos. 618-623	Section 110 Nos. 507-519	Section 95 Nos. 553-565	Section 103 Nos. 455-459a
<i>Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato Pentecosten</i>	<i>Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i>	<i>Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i>	<i>Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis</i>
<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam</i>			
Sequitur lectio in Genesis	Lectio genesi. Deus temptavit abraham.	Lectio libri Genesis. Temptavit deus Abraham.	Genesis. Temptavit deus Abraham.
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus indeficiens lumen</i>	<i>Deus qui in abrahamae famuli tui opere</i>	<i>Deus qui in abrahamae famuli tui opere</i>	<i>Deus qui in abrahamae famuli tui opere</i>
Item de cantico Exodi			
<i>Deus qui primis temporibus impleta</i>			
Item de cantico Deuteronomii cum lectio	Lectio libri deuteronomii. Et scripsit moyses canticum hoc.	Lectio libri Deuteronomii. Et scripsit Moyses canticum.	Scripsit Moyses canticum.
<i>Deus gloriato fidelium et vitae justorum</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis per prophetarum ora</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis per prophetarum ora</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis per prophetarum ora</i>
Item de cantico Esaiae cum lectione	Lectio esaiae prophetae. Et adpraehendent septem mulieres unum hominem.	Lectio Esaiae prophetae. Et adpraehendent septem mulieres.	Esaiae. Adpraehendent septem mulieres virum.
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per unicum filium</i>	<i>Deus qui nos ad caelebrandam festivitatem</i>	<i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandam festivitatem</i>	<i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandam festivitatem</i>
	Lectio hieremiae prophetae. Audi israhel vitae.	Lectio Hieremiae prophetae. Audi Israhel mandata vitae.	Hieremiae. Audi Israhel mandata vitae.
	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum</i>	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum</i>	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum</i>
	Oratione de psalmo xli.	De psalmo XLI. Sicut cervus.	De psalmo XLI. Sicut cervus.
<i>Domine deus virtutum qui conlapsa reparas</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollemnitatem</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui hanc sollemnitatem</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sollemnitatem</i>
	<i>Aliae orationes</i>	<i>Aliae orationes</i>	
	<i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui paschale sacramentum</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui paschale sacramentum</i>	[=GrP 467]
	Alia oratio.	Alia.	[=GrP 468]
	<i>Deus qui sacramento festiviatis hodiernae</i>	<i>Deus qui sacramento festiviatis hodiernae</i>	
	Alia.	Alia.	[=GrP 473]
	<i>Annue misericors deus ut qui divina</i>	<i>Annue misericors deus ut qui divina</i>	
	Alia.	Alia.	
	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam spiritus</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam spiritus</i>	

Table 7b. Liturgical Arrangement of the Mass of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<i>Item in vigilia de pentecosten ad missa</i>	<i>Oratio ad missa in sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>	<i>Oratio ad missa in sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>	<i>Orationes de sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>
(Collect) <i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam novo semper</i>	(Collect) <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>	(Collect) <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>	(Collect) <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>
(Collect) <i>Deus cujus spiritu totum corpus</i>			
Secreta <i>Virtute sancti spiritus domine munera nostra</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>	Super oblatam <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>
(Preface) <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>	Praefatio <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>	Praefatio <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>	(Preface) <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>
Infra actionem <i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>
Item infra actionem <i>Hanc igitur sicut et in nocte sancta (prayer texts in italics at GeV 460), et de creaturis benedicendis⁷¹</i>	<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>	<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>	<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>
Post communionem <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut paschalis perfeccio</i>	Ad compl. <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>
Section 79 Nos. 631-636			
<i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>			
(Collect) <i>Concede nobis domine praesidia militiae</i>			
(Collect) <i>Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam sancti spiritus</i>			
Secreta <i>Hostias populi tui quaesumus domine miseratus intende</i>			
(Preface) <i>VD: qui sacramentum paschale consummans</i>			
Infra actionem ut supra			
Item post communionem <i>Sacris caelestibus domine vitia nostra</i>			
<Item post communionem> <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut spiritus adveniens</i>			

⁷¹ A fuller commentary on this particular rubric can be found below, pages 340-343.

mirrors the arrangement of the Gregorian Paschal Vigil. The reading from Exodus in the Gelasianum, however, is exchanged for a reading from Jeremiah (Baruch) in the Gregorians. Psalm 41 and its accompanying prayer conclude the vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries, while the Gelasian sacramentary provides a lone prayer without any specificity to a particular text. The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum list four additional prayers under a sub-heading, *aliae orationes*, without further indicating their use. The Paduensis does not reproduce the *aliae orationes* in the same place as in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, but after the day Mass where it uses three of the four and adds four more (see the notation in Table 7a. above).

The individual headings for these liturgies are particularly interesting. The Gelasian sacramentary refers to the section containing the Pentecost Vigil lesson prayers (GeV 618-623) simply as *orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato pentecosten*, without referring to a “vigil.” The Gelasianum uses the expression *sabbato sancto* on the eve of Pascha, to demonstrate the liturgy’s distinctiveness, and its connection to a vigil is clearly made (i.e. *Sequitur ordo qualiter sabbato sancto **ad vigiliam** ingrediantur*). We do not find the same characterization in the case of the Saturday of Pentecost. Neither is the heading for the Pentecost Vigil rubrical in any way. One does not appear to be “entering into” the vigil of Pentecost, as one would be on Holy Saturday in the Gelasian. Reference to the liturgy as vigil appears only in the headings of the two Eucharistic sets, *Item in vigilia de pentecosten ad missa* (GeV 624-630) and *Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten* (GeV 631-636).

The Gregorian sacramentaries refer to the liturgy on the eve of Pentecost as *Incipiunt orationes de pentecosten die sabbato ante descensum fontis*, the “beginning of the prayers of

Pentecost Saturday before going down to the font.” The heading for the Eucharistic liturgy complements the prior set accordingly, *Oratio/nes de sabbato pentecosten* (*pentecosten* in the Tridentinum) *post ascensum fontis*, the “prayer(s) on Pentecost Saturday after coming up from the font.” The place of the font figures prominently (*orationes...ante descensum fontis/post ascensum fontis*). The Gregorian sacramentaries link the liturgy to the font, and by association we may assume to baptism. Neither in the liturgy prior to the font nor in the Mass following, does the Gregorian tradition refer to this service as a vigil, which raises the question of whether or not we can assume it was. This conflicting liturgical terminology could lead one to ponder whether or not the eve of Pentecost in the Gregorian tradition was known as an occasion for “keeping vigil,” or merely a locus of events on the “Saturday before Pentecost,” not requiring an evening/nighttime setting.⁷² Recall that the terminology given to the liturgy of this day in the Verona Collection, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, also does not specify the liturgy as a vigil *per se* and may suggest the same possibility.

It may benefit our study to note one other peculiarity found in the Gelasianum. A rubric appears right after the notation for Section 66. It is given in the second person singular, which according to Chavasse demonstrates its antiquity: *Sabbato pentecosten celebrabis baptismum sicut in nocte sanctae paschae*.⁷³ A series of baptismal formularies follows from Section 66 to Section 76 (GeV 592-GeV 617) that Chavasse explains are additions to the sacramentary *after it had been organized*, and refers to them as rites for

⁷² Recall that Tertullian (*De baptismo* 18) states baptism can occur at Pentecost (it is unclear if he means here a season or day) if not at Pascha; he is not clear whether he means this as a nighttime event or otherwise.

⁷³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 174. This rubric is not provided an item number in the text.

baptism in special circumstances.⁷⁴ The texts are not Roman, and in fact they separated the rubric beneath Section 66 from its proper place just before GeV 618, *Orationes per singulas lectiones in Sabbato Sancto*.⁷⁵

We now consider the various texts, which comprise the structure of the Pentecost vigil in both the Gelasian and in the Gregorian traditions. The complete texts of these prayers may be found in Appendix Six.⁷⁶ In our analysis of these texts we should keep in mind that the Pentecost liturgy was developed to mirror that of Pascha, although with some nuances. In order to understand the Pentecost liturgy in Rome, therefore, it is necessary to return to some aspects of the Paschal liturgy we have previously examined. This will permit us also to gain deeper insights also into the theological significance of the Paschal Vigil. We will begin with an examination of the biblical vigil of the Pentecost feast in the sacramentaries, both the orations and the readings.

The Pentecost Vigil: The Lessons

The liturgy on the vigil or eve of Pentecost begins in both the Gelasian and in the Gregorian sacramentaries with the prayers that follow the scripture readings. The Gelasian Pentecost vigil does not contain elements that characterize the Paschal Vigil: a litany, candle lighting, and praeconium. The absence of a detailed “opening” for Pentecost in the

⁷⁴ Chavasse, *Le sacramentarie gélisien*, 173-174. There is a similarity between some of these rites and two blessing prayers in the *Additiones* part of the Hadrianum: 205. *Orationes ad baptizandum infirmum*, and 206. *Oratio aquae ad baptizandum infirmum*.

⁷⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentarie gélisien*, 174.

⁷⁶ See Appendix Six pages 570 to 583.

Gelasianum may signal at the heart of this liturgy a more ancient stratum, and provide evidence of the close relationship between Pascha and Pentecost, which Chavasse and Schmidt find conserved in a similar pattern of scripture readings and prayers. They maintain, however, that the Pentecost Vigil is modeled on that of the Easter Vigil.⁷⁷

The Gelasian and Gregorian traditions both agree on the number of biblical lessons proclaimed at the Pentecost Vigil as four, possible evidence that the more ancient number of the vigil readings was equally four. The choice of the lessons themselves, however, differs in each tradition. Table 8 provides the following data: First, the presence of an oration prior

Table 8. Readings and Prayers for the Vigil of Pentecost in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
(oration) <i>Da nobis, quaesumus</i>			
Sequitur lectio in Genesis 1	Lectio genesi 22 <i>Deus temptavit Abraham</i>	Lectio libri Genesis 22 <i>Temptavit deus Abraham</i>	Genesis 22 <i>Temptavit deus Abraham</i>
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, indifiens</i>	<i>Deus qui in abraham</i>	<i>Deus qui in abraham</i>	<i>Deus qui in abraham</i>
Item de cantico Exodi 14	Lectio libri deuteronomii 31 <i>Et scripsit moyses canticum hoc</i>	Lectio libri Deuteronomii 31 <i>Et scripsit moyses canticum</i>	[Deuteronomy 31] <i>Scripsit moyses canticum</i>
<i>Deus qui primis</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis</i>	<i>Deus qui nobis</i>
Item de cantico Deuteronomii 31 <cum> lectione	Lectio esaiae prophetae 4 <i>Et adpraehendent septem mulieres unum hominem</i>	Lectio Esaiae prophetae 4 <i>Et adpraehendent septem mulieres</i>	Esaiae 4 <i>Adpraehendent septem mulieres virum</i>
<i>Deus, gloriato fidelium</i>	<i>Deus qui nos</i>	<i>Deus qui nos</i>	<i>Deus qui nos</i>
Item de cantico Esaiae 4 cum lectione	Lectio hieremiae prophetae 3 <i>Audi Israhel mandata vitae</i>	Lectio Hieremiae prophetae 3 <i>Audi Israhel mandata vitae</i>	Hieremiae 3 <i>Audi Israel mandata vitae</i>
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui per</i>	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i>	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i>	<i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i>
(additional oration) <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>			
	Oratione de psalmo 41 – <i>Sicut Cervus</i>	De psalmo 41 – <i>Sicut Cervus</i>	De psalmo 41 – <i>Sicut Cervus</i>
	<i>Concede quaesumus</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hanc</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus</i>

to the first reading in the Gelasian Pentecost Vigil, just as in the Paschal Vigil. Second, the Gregorian tradition states both the name of the biblical book and an incipit, while the Gelasian tradition supplies only the book title. Third, the Gelasian tradition mentions

⁷⁷ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 107; Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 845.

canticles accompanying the second to fourth readings. Fourth, references in the accompanying prayers suggest that the scripture readings in the Gelasian sacramentary are taken from Genesis 1, Exodus 14, Deuteronomy 31, and Isaiah 4.⁷⁸ Psalm 41 is not mentioned in the Gelasianum, and an additional oration (GeV 623) follows the prayer associated with the Isaiah 4 reading (GeV 622). Fifth, the Gregorian incipits suggest the following readings: Genesis 22, Deuteronomy 31, Isaiah 4, and Jeremiah, followed by Psalm 41. Sixth, the selection from Jeremiah comes from the *Vetus Latina* rather than from the Vulgate where it appears as the third chapter of the prophet Baruch.⁷⁹ Seventh, the Gregorians use identical orations except in the case of Psalm 41, where the Tridentinum employs a different text. In light of the above, Table 9 provides the lectionary pattern for Pentecost eve in each sacramentary tradition.

Table 9. Biblical Readings of the Pentecost Vigil

Gelasian Tradition	Gregorian Tradition
Genesis 1: <i>in principio</i>	
	Genesis 22: <i>temptavit</i>
Exodus 14: <i>factum est</i>	
Deuteronomy 31: <i>scripsit</i>	Deuteronomy 31: <i>scripsit</i>
Isaiah 4: <i>adprehendent</i>	Isaiah 4: <i>adprehendent</i>
	Baruch 3 (Jeremiah): <i>audi israel</i>
	Psalm 41: <i>Sicut cervus</i>

⁷⁸ For example, the prayer following the Genesis reading mentions the Spirit of God hovering above the waters of creation: "...qui spiritum tuum sanctum, cum super aquas in mundi creationis exordio ferretur..." (GeV 619).

⁷⁹ See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 836; Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 120 n.54; and Bernard Botte, "Le choix des lectures de la veillée pascale," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 32 (1952): 65-70.

In comparison, Table 10, following, presents the reading for the Paschal Vigil in both traditions.⁸⁰

Table 10. Biblical Readings of the Paschal Vigil

Gelasian Tradition	Gregorian Tradition
Genesis 1: <i>in principio</i>	Genesis 1: <i>in principio</i>
Genesis 5: <i>Noe</i>	
Genesis 22: <i>temptavit</i>	
Exodus 14: <i>factum est</i>	Exodus 14: <i>factum est</i>
↓	Isaiah 4: <i>adprehendent</i>
Isaiah 54: <i>Est hereditas</i>	Isaiah 54: <i>Est hereditas</i>
Ezekiel 37: <i>Facta est</i>	
Isaiah 4: <i>adprehendent</i>	↑
Exodus 12: <i>Dixit dominus ad Moyses</i>	
Deuteronomy 31: <i>scripsit</i>	
Daniel 3: <i>Nabuchodonosor</i>	
Psalms 41: <i>Sicut cervus</i>	Psalms 41: <i>Sicut cervus</i>

If the lectionary system for a Pentecost Vigil emerges from the system for the Paschal Vigil, as both Schmidt and Chavasse suggest, a comparison of these systems demonstrates that the Gelasian Pentecost Vigil more faithfully imitates that of Pascha, than the corresponding system in the Gregorian sacramentaries. All the lessons selected for Pentecost are present within the Paschal set in the Gelasianum. The Gregorian tradition, on the other hand, repeats only Isaiah 4 in both its Paschal and Pentecost lists. Numerically, however, the Gregorian pattern maintains consistency in the number of readings, which the Gelasian system does not. The distribution of readings for the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions creates a complex problem for the historian of this liturgy. The organization of the Pentecost Vigil lectionary in these sacramentaries does not agree perfectly with the lists in the few Roman lectionaries that report readings for Pentecost.

⁸⁰ Arrows, ↑ or ↓, will be used to indicate different placement of the same lesson in comparison of the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions. Hopefully this will enable ease of viewing what is added, changed, left out of each schema, while respecting the order for each source.

Table 11, following, shows us the biblical readings for the vigil of Pentecost recorded in the Roman lectionaries.⁸¹

Table 11. The Biblical Readings for the Vigil of Pentecost in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary Ep and Ev	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In sabbato pentecosten</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Fer. VII sabb. Pentecosten</i> (W _{ev})	<i>Sabb. in vigil. pentect.</i>	<i>In sabbato pentecosten</i>	<i>In sabbato pentecosten</i>	<i>Sabbato in pentecoste de nona</i>
NO LIST	Genesis 1: <i>in principio</i>	NO LIST	In genesis: <i>in principio</i>	NO LIST
OF VIGIL	Genesis 22: <i>temptavit</i>	OF VIGIL	De Abraham: <i>temptavit</i>	OF VIGIL
READINGS	Exodus 14: <i>factum est</i>	READINGS	In exodo: <i>factum est (cum cantic.)</i>	READINGS
	Deuteronomy 31: <i>scripsit (cum cant.)</i>		In deuteronom.: <i>scripsit (cum cantic.)</i>	
	Isaiah 4: <i>adprehendent (cum cant.)</i>		In Isaia 4: <i>adprehendent (cum cantic. Vineae domini)</i>	
	Jeremiah (Baruch) 3: <i>audi israel</i>		In Hieremia.: <i>audi israel</i>	
	<i>De psalmo xli: sicut cervus</i>		<i>De psalmo xli: sicut cervus</i>	

Only the Lectionaries of Corbie and Murbach provide readings for the Pentecost Vigil. The other lectionaries are silent concerning the readings for the vigil, even though they do provide an epistle and gospel for the Mass of the Pentecost Vigil. As stated in Chapter Three on the Paschal Vigil, Dom Morin believes the absence of vigil lessons in the Würzburg Epistolary for the eve of Pascha is evidence of either a missing manuscript specifically used for the vigil or that the vigil is somehow independent of the Eucharist that follows it.⁸² Since the eve of Pentecost imitates that of Pascha, it appears that the earliest lectionaries follow suit in omitting the vigil lessons of Pentecost. In addition, as we will see later, the Roman antiphonals lack the canticles associated with the readings at the Pentecost Vigil, which they do not for the Paschal Vigil. The antiphonals supply only the chants for the Mass of Pentecost Saturday. However, evidence that both the readings and the canticles

⁸¹ The epistle and gospel will be treated in the section on the Mass for the Pentecost Vigil.

⁸² See above page 214.

may have been shared between the two feasts is hinted at in the section on the chants for the Paschal Vigil in the Gradual of Monza. The title of this section states, *Canticum in sabbato sancto sive in sabbato pentecostes*.⁸³ A single reference to a Pentecost vigil appears in the Roman *ordines* at OR 30B (late eighth century) that states:

“In vigilia pentecostes sicut in sabbato sancto ita agendum est, sed tantum una letania ad fontem et alia pro introitu; offertorium seu Alleluia vel antiphonia ad communionem sicut continet in Antifonarium.”⁸⁴

In the lectionary lists of Corbie and Murbach the Gelasian and Gregorian lists are combined. Schmidt believes this evidence confirms at least hypothetically the existence of a pre-Gregorian (pre-7th century) lectionary system for the Paschal Vigil in Rome, which comes to be divided between Easter and Pentecost as the need for a baptismal vigil arises in the latter. Schmidt’s hypothetical arrangement for the Paschal Vigil is presented in Table 12, following.⁸⁵

Table 12. The Pre-Gregorian Lectionary System for the Paschal Vigil in Rome according to Schmidt

LESSON	CANTICLE	PRAYER
Genesis 1		
Genesis 22		<i>Deus incommutabilis</i>
Exodus 14	<i>Cantemus</i>	
Deuteronomy 31	<i>Attende</i>	<i>Deus cujus antiqua</i>
Isaiah 4	<i>Vinea</i>	
Isaiah 54		<i>Deus qui nos</i>
	<i>Sicut cervus</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterna deus respice</i>

⁸³ Grd Modoetiensis 79a. See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 96.

⁸⁴ OR 30B.67, in Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani* vol. 3, 475. Andrieu also references here OR 11.105, a baptismal *ordo* beginning with the scrutinies of the Elect during the third week of Lent with roots in Rome around the mid-seventh century, and Gallican augmentations from the mid-eighth century. At 105, the final entry in OR 11, the *ordo* states: *Hunc autem superscriptum ordinem baptismi, sicut in sabbato sancto paschae, sic et in sabbato pentecosten omnimodis celebretur*. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 447.

⁸⁵ See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 845.

This pre-Gregorian system parallels the Pentecost list found in Corbie and Murbach, save for the substitution of Baruch 3 for Isaiah 54, which Schmidt, and also Chavasse,⁸⁶ believes was done to provide further support for baptism at Pentecost. Schmidt explains that this pre-Gregorian system of lessons is arranged in such a way that two readings speak of the origins of the people of Abraham prefiguring the origins of the Church (Genesis 1 and Genesis 22); two readings speak of the Law and of the Promised Land as the inheritance of all believers brought from exile to salvation (Exodus 14 and Deuteronomy 31); and two readings focus upon the eschatological promises (Isaiah 4 and Isaiah 54).⁸⁷ As traditions evolve, however, this structure is not always preserved. The Paschal lectionary tradition of the Gelasianum adds readings to Schmidt's paschal system. This result of non-Roman influences upon the Paschal celebration and the addition of lessons to the Paschal Vigil further differentiate the feasts of Pascha and Pentecost from one another.⁸⁸ The Gregorian tradition, according to Schmidt, rather than preserving a six-reading structure, divides the six readings between the two festal celebrations when a Pentecost Vigil is instituted at Rome (See Tables 9 and 10 above).

Chavasse's analysis of the Pentecost Vigil readings concerns their number also, but from a slightly different perspective. He supports a six-reading Roman vigil tradition based

⁸⁶ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 117.

⁸⁷ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 845-846.

⁸⁸ Schmidt locates these influences coming from East via the Gallican tradition. The particular readings in the Gelasian system, which demonstrate this for him, are the readings from Ezekiel 27, Exodus 12, Jonah 3, and Daniel 3, all of which are present in the Jerusalem lectionary for the Paschal Vigil. See Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 845. See also, Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* 2nd ed. (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1986), 47-54. For the full text of the Jerusalem lectionary, see Athanasios Renoux, *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121* 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969-1971).

upon a more ancient tradition present in the vigils of Quarterly Fasts.⁸⁹ We have already examined in Chapters One and Two how sensitivity to Greek speaking peoples during the mid-sixth to mid-eighth centuries required, for the sake of intelligibility, the proclamation of Embertide vigil readings both in Greek and in Latin. Chavasse believes that six readings were chosen for the Paschal Vigil just as six is the number for the Quarterly Fasts, which when read in Greek and in Latin amounted to twelve readings. Churches within the city of Rome that did not have need of linguistic repetition at the vigil out of deference to a primordial tradition of twelve readings either created systems of twelve individual readings, or merely doubled the number of readings, which they already had. Thus a community with five readings at their Paschal Vigil increases the number of readings to ten. Chavasse suggests that this practice explains the arrangement of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil.⁹⁰

As we saw in his consideration of the Embertide Vigils, Chavasse's computation for six vigil readings includes the Old Testament lessons and the epistle of the Mass. Where some lectionaries admit only four rather than five Old Testament readings, Chavasse finds in those lectionary lists⁹¹ the presence of two epistle readings for the Mass, maintaining a total of six. Such a pattern is consistent for him with a tradition of two readings prior to a *super oblata* prayer within the Mass, for which he presents evidence in the two prayers that introduce Mass sets in the Gelasian sacramentary. Chavasse proposes that the practice of reducing the lessons of the vigil Mass from two to one leads to the use of Psalm 41,

⁸⁹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 107.

⁹⁰ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 113-114.

⁹¹ As we saw the Würzburg Epistolary lists two epistle readings for the vigil of the Quarterly Fast of the First Month and of the Fourth Month only.

accompanied by a prayer in both the Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions (although not as clearly defined at Pentecost in the Gelasian), as a rightful member of the lectionary pattern.⁹²

Chavasse describes a two-stage development in the Gelasianum for a Paschal Vigil consisting first of five then of ten readings. Table 13, below, presents his schema for the development of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil readings and accompanying prayers.⁹³ In the

Table 13. The Two Stages of Development of the Paschal Lectionary Cycle in the Gelasianum

Gelasian Paschal Vigil – First Stage:	Gelasian Paschal Vigil – Second Stage:
Genesis 1:1---2:2 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui in omnium	Deus qui divitias Genesis 1 Deus incommutabilis Genesis 5:31 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui in omnium
Genesis 22: 1-19 Deus fidelium Pater	Genesis 22 Deus fidelium Pater
Exodus 14:24---15:1 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus spes unica	Exodus 14 Deus cujus antiqua Isaiah 54:17---55:11 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus multiplica
Isaiah 4:1-6 Deus qui in omnibus	Ezekiel 37:1-14 Deus qui nos ad celebrandum Isaiah 4 Deus qui in omnibus
Deuteronomy 31:22-30 Deus celsitudo	Exodus 12:1-11 Deus qui diversitatem Deuteronomy 31 Deus celsitudo
Psalms 41 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus respice	Daniel 3:1-24 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus spes unica Psalms 41 Omnipotens sempiterne Deus respice

first stage the same readings occur in the Gelasianum as in the Gregorian system for Pascha with the addition of Genesis 22, the sacrifice of Isaac. A total of five readings (Psalms 41 is not included at this point) from the Old Testament along with the epistle of the Mass provide the requisite six vigil readings that in turn (for Chavasse) would be read both in Greek and in Latin. The second stage develops when the readings are no longer proclaimed in a bi-lingual context, but the desire to maintain the tradition of twelve Old Testament readings

⁹² Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 113-115.

⁹³ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien* 118-119.

prior to the Mass remains. Thus ten readings, along with Psalm 41, now considered as another reading (and accompanied by a prayer), and the epistle maintain a pattern twelve readings equal to the experience of the Embertide vigils. Some of these texts Chavasse discovers are taken from other locations within the Lent-Easter cycle of the Gelasianum.⁹⁴

A similar evolution occurs at Pentecost, although here it is more peculiar. Unlike Schmidt's theory where a series of lessons, which once served the Paschal Vigil alone, were divided to supply a Paschal and a Pentecost Vigil, Chavasse believes the Gelasian Pentecost Vigil lectionary emerges as an almost exact replica of the stage one lectionary for the Paschal Vigil. The different emphases between Pascha and Pentecost are conveyed through the prayers.⁹⁵ He bases this assumption upon the principle that the Pentecost Vigil, as a baptismal vigil, must repeat the readings of Holy Saturday. Where the readings for the Paschal Vigil articulate the theology both of Pascha and of baptism, the readings for Pentecost eve are now used to reflect the descent of the Holy Spirit and baptism. The choice of Genesis 22 on the sacrifice of Abraham, however, while it may serve well for the plan of Holy Saturday it may not be appropriate for Pentecost and thus a replacement reading is required so as not to upset the balance of five Old Testament readings prior to the epistle. This is the reason Chavasse explains for the presence of the second oration in the Gelasian Pentecost eve structure, "Domine deus virtutum." At first glance this oration appears oddly

⁹⁴ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 120-121. Exodus 12 enters the Paschal Vigil list from Good Friday, Isaiah 54-55 from first Tuesday and fourth Saturday in Lent. Chavasse does not provide an origin for the Genesis 5, Ezekiel, or Daniel readings.

⁹⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 120-122.

appended to the oration for Isaiah 4, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui per unicum,” in the sacramentary list. “Domine deus virtutum,” Chavasse discloses, is an oration designed to follow a fifth lesson chosen *ad libitum* by the presider, preserving the pattern of readings.⁹⁶

Table 14 compares the structure of each set in the Gelasian.⁹⁷

Table 14. A Comparison of the lessons of the Gelasian Paschal Vigil and Pentecost Vigil

Gelasian Stage One Easter Vigil	Gelasian Pentecost Vigil
Genesis 1	Genesis 1
Genesis 22	-----
Exodus 14	Exodus 14
Deuteronomy 31	Deuteronomy 31
Isaiah 4	Isaiah 4
	(<i>lectio ad libitum</i>)

Both Schmidt and Chavasse emphasize the importance of the readings from Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah not only for the baptismal imagery they contain, but also for the ancient canticles associated with these readings.⁹⁸

Having presented two complex arguments on the nature of the scripture portion of the pre-Eucharistic vigils of the Easter and Pentecost, let us now evaluate their merits. First, Chavasse believes that confusion over the number of readings resulted from the incorporation of baptism into what was formerly a non-baptismal liturgy. This incorporation created long periods of time between the scripture vigil and the Eucharist, and disturbed the liturgical unity.⁹⁹ Schmidt does not agree with Chavasse’s assessment on the number of

⁹⁶ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 119-120.

⁹⁷ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 120.

⁹⁸ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 832-836, makes a greater deal of the canticles and their significance to the arrangement and selection of the vigil readings for both feast than it appears does Chavasse, who mentions them, but is more concerned with the scriptural readings. See *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 119. See also McKinnon, “The Gregorian canticle-tracts of the Old Roman Easter Vigil,” 262-268.

⁹⁹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 113,

lessons.¹⁰⁰ He favors a six reading vigil as the original base of Holy Saturday, he does not support the theory that a twelve reading system is the result solely of the practice of proclaiming the six scriptural lessons in two languages. While this practice was customary in the West roughly between 685 and 750, a vigil of multiple readings was a system already in existence in both the Gregorian and Gelasian traditions.¹⁰¹ Schmidt builds his assessment, however, upon an understanding that Gregory the Great (590-604) is the true author of the Gregorian systems for the Paschal and for the Pentecost vigils.¹⁰²

Second, Chavasse's manner of counting the number of readings, which comprised the vigil requires further examination, which may in turn assist in the argument proposed in Chapter Two that the epistle should not be counted as a vigil lesson. Chavasse fixes the requisite number of six readings by including the epistle with the Old Testament readings. This theory rests upon evidence in the ancient lectionaries, which list the epistle along with the Old Testament readings in the sections for the Quarter Fast vigils. While true, a corresponding practice exists in the sacramentaries that attaches the epistle reading (or

¹⁰⁰ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 846 note 2. Schmidt states that including the epistle of the Mass with the vigil readings would infer a second didactic synaxis between baptism and Eucharist, which the evidence from antiquity does not prove. He does not explain what he means by this statement, however.

¹⁰¹ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 843-844. Schmidt builds his assumption on the fact that other churches, such as Jerusalem, Spain, and Benevento, possessed ancient traditions of multiple readings for the Paschal Vigil not based upon repeating a single set in two or more languages. He sees this tradition as exerting influence on the development of multiple readings in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries rather than an imitation of the practice of the Ember Week vigils. References to this practice in the Roman *ordines*, he believes, are the result of a later period of development.

¹⁰² Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 844: "Maxima cum probabilitate, immo cum certitudine sufficienti, admittendum est, systema gregorianum (secundum GrP, etc.) esse opus S. Gregorii Magni." These types of certainties were unraveled in the work of Dom Henry Asworth with his work, "The Liturgical Prayers of Saint Gregory the Great," *Traditio* 15 (1959): 107-162. This work was published two years after Schmidt's commentary. See also Jean Deshusses, "Les sacramentaires. Etat actuel de la recherche," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982): 30-31.

readings) to an oration (or orations) contained within the Eucharist portion of the vigil liturgy. Chavasse explains this development as a consequence of the insertion of baptism into the ancient vigil, and not part of its primitive structure. Schmidt counters by noting a difference in tone and focus of the epistle reading and its “supposed” oration in comparison with that of the prayers and lessons for the vigil. Schmidt asserts that the Gregorian tradition has four readings and prayers in its vigil; including the epistle results in an abnormal count of five readings.¹⁰³

Neither Chavasse nor Schmidt appears to fully develop the evidence found in the lectionaries in their arguments. Much of our lectionary evidence is not from true “lectionaries” *per se*, but rather from lists or *comes*, and the like. These lists contain many scripture readings taken from the New Testament and represent a later movement to exclude the proclamation of the Old Testament at a liturgy. The preservation of Old Testament lessons for a festal liturgy represents an earlier stratum of the tradition.¹⁰⁴ These lectionaries also list the scripture lessons of a festal vigil separate from its Eucharistic portion. If a scripture vigil consisted primarily of readings from the Old Testament, there is no extant Roman lectionary or list that contains such readings.¹⁰⁵ There are, as we have seen, the strange occurrences of Old Testament texts in the vigil lectionary lists for the Quarterly

¹⁰³ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 846 n. 2.

¹⁰⁴ See Robert Cabié, *History of the Mass*, trans. Lawrence Johnson (Washington: Pastoral Press, 1992), 35-36; See also Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its origin and development*, vol. 1, trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benzinger Brothers, Inc., 1951), 395-396.

¹⁰⁵ G. Morin, “Le plus ancien ‘Comes’ ou lectionnaire de l’église romain,” *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 55, 57. Morin offers by way of a note to item number 85 for *Sabbato Sancto* and a note to item number 105 for *Sabbato Pentecosten* that the missing vigil readings may have been part of another lectionary system.

Fasts, which both Chavasse and Schmidt note. While Cyrille Vogel explains that, “the term ‘epistle’ comes to mean the first reading at Mass, even when it was drawn from the Old Testament,”¹⁰⁶ this clarification does not satisfactorily address why Old Testament readings are found at the vigils of the Quarterly Fasts and of some of the martyrs if these liturgies were independent of the Mass. It is especially perplexing when the lectionary lists consistently include (almost as if highlighting them) the Old Testament readings for the Quarterly Fast vigils, but not for any other vigil.

The Pentecost Vigil: The Prayers Accompanying the Scripture Lessons

We now turn to the prayers that accompanied the scripture lessons of the Pentecost Vigil. Table 15, following, presents these prayers as they occur in the Gelasian and in the Gregorian sacramentaries, and includes reference to the use of these prayers on other locations in the manuscripts, as well as where they appear in the Verona collection.

Table 15 demonstrates that a separate and distinct collection of prayers exists in each tradition, even though both traditions share readings from Deuteronomy and Isaiah in their vigils. Here again is further evidence of the unique pattern of development in the Gelasian and Gregorian systems. Among the prayer texts in the Gelasian Pentecost Vigil the only original composition is that which accompanies the reading from Genesis 1 (GeV 619). The texts of the other prayers are enhancements on orations that accompany the same readings at

¹⁰⁶ Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 391 n. 133. In addition, Vogel states that this tendency to equate any non-gospel reading with the term, epistle, is evidenced in the 12th century, much later than the period of the most ancient sacramentaries and lectionaries we possess and it would seem long after the use of the Old Testament had been employed in Roman liturgies.

Table 15. The Prayers Accompanying the Scripture Lessons of the Pentecost Vigil

Gelasian Sacramentary	Gregorian Sacramentaries (divergences among the three sacramentaries will be noted)
GeV 618: <i>Da nobis, quaesumus</i> GeV 632 – second collect, <i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i> GrH 519; GrT 565 – fourth <i>alia oratione</i> – Pentecost Vigil Ve 206 – collect, II. <i>Item alia, Orationes pridie pentecosten</i>	
<u>Genesis 1</u> GeV 619: <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus, indeficiens lumen</i>	
	<u>Genesis 22</u> GrH 508; GrP 455; GrT 554: <i>Deus qui in abraham</i>
<u>Exodus 14</u> GeV 620: <i>Deus, qui primis temporibus</i>	
<u>Deuteronomy 31</u> GeV 621: <i>Deus, gloriatio fidelium</i>	<u>Deuteronomy 31</u> GrH 510; GrP 456; GrT 556: <i>Deus qui nobis per prophetarum</i>
<u>Isaiah 4</u> GeV 622: <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui per unicum</i>	<u>Isaiah 4</u> GrH 512; GrP 457; GrT 558: <i>Deus qui nos ad celebrandum</i> GeV 437 – collect following reading from Ezekiel – Paschal Vigil GrH 367; GrP 324; GrT 423 – collect following Isaiah 4 reading – Paschal Vigil
	<u>Jeremiah (Baruch 3)</u> GrH 514; GrP 458; GrT 560: <i>Deus incommutabilis virtus</i> GeV 432 – collect following reading from Genesis 1 – Paschal Vigil – similar, but not identical
	<u>Psalms 41</u> GrH 515; GrP 459 <i>Concede quaesumus</i> GrH 371; GrP 326; GrT 427 – collect following Psalm 41 – Paschal Vigil – emphasis on Holy Spirit GrT 561 <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui hanc solemnitate</i> Second half of this text, following <i>ut</i> clause resembles the text of the Hadrianum and Paduensis section
(Additional collect) GeV 623: <i>Domine deus virtutum</i>	<u>Aliae orationes</u> GrH 516; GrT 562 <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui paschale sacramentum</i> GrP 467 – first collect, <i>Aliae orationes</i> , Pentecost Sunday GeV 637 – first collect, Pentecost Sunday Ve 191 – first collect, <i>Item alia, Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> GrH 517; GrT 563 <i>Deus qui sacramento festivitatis</i> GrP 468 – second collect, <i>Aliae orationes</i> , Pentecost Sunday GeV 638 – second collect, Pentecost Sunday GrH 518; GrT 564 <i>Annue misericors deus, ut qui</i> GrP 473 – seventh collect, <i>Aliae orationes</i> , Pentecost Sunday Ve 194 – fourth collect, <i>Item alia, Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> Gr 519; GrT 565 <i>Da nobis, quaesumus, domine</i> GeV 618 – collect prior to the readings, <i>Orationes per singulas lectiones in sabbato pentecosten</i> GeV 632 – second collect, <i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i> Ve 206 – collect, II. <i>Item alia, Orationes pridie pentecosten</i>

the Gelasian Paschal Vigil. A portion of the prayer originally associated with the lesson from Daniel 3 (GeV 441) in the Gelasian Easter Vigil is worked into the prayer that serves the reading from Exodus 14 (GeV 620) at the Pentecost Vigil. In the Gregorian sacramentaries, the text of the prayer accompanying Isaiah 4 alone is repeated from the Paschal Vigil. The prayers for Genesis 22 and Deuteronomy 31 are compositions not found in the Paschal Vigil. The text associated with the Jeremiah/Baruch 3 reading, “Deus incommutabilis virtus,” reworks a prayer connected to the reading from Genesis 1 in the Gelasian Paschal Vigil (GeV 432). Schmidt believes the Gelasian version of “Deus incommutabilis virtus” is actually a Gallicanization of the Roman original.¹⁰⁷ The prayer associated with Psalm 41 at the Paschal Vigil, “Concede quaesumus,” is used again at the Pentecost Vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries. As Table 16 shows the text of “Concede quaesumus” now makes reference to the Holy Spirit (“solemnitatem dono spiritus sancti”) rather than to Easter (“festa paschalia”).

¹⁰⁷ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 839. An examination of both prayers side by side may lead one to this conclusion, the embellishments in the Gelasian version revealing a Gallican influence upon the sobriety of the Roman original:

GrH 514 – Prayer accompanying Jeremiah/Baruch 3 – Pentecost Vigil	GeV 432 – Prayer accompanying Genesis 1 – Paschal Vigil
<p><i>Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae mirabile sacramentum et da famulis tuis ut hoc quod devote agimus etiam rectitudine vitae teneamus.</i></p> <p><i>Per dominum nostrum.</i></p>	<p><i>Deus incommutabilis virtus, lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae tuae mirabile sacramentum et opus salutis humanae perpetuae dispositionis affectu tranquillius operare, totusque mundus experiatur et videat dejecta erigi, inveterata novari, et per ipsum redire omnia in integrum, a quo sumpsere principium: per.</i></p>

Table 16. The Use of *Concede quaesumus* at both the Paschal and Pentecost Vigils in the Hadrianum and the Paduensis

Prayer following Psalm 41 – Paschal Vigil	Prayer following Psalm 41 – Pentecost Vigil
<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui <u>festa paschalia</u> agimus caelestibus desiderii accensi, fontem vitae sitiamus. Per dominum. (GrH 371; GrP 326; GrT 427)</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui <u>solemnitatem dono spiritus sancti</u> colimus caelestibus desiderii accensi fontem vitae sitiamus. Per. (GrH 515; GrP 459)</i>

The text appears only in the Hadrianum and Paduensis. The Tridentinum contains another revision of this prayer that differs in the first half of the text. The reason for the unique composition of this text is not clear, although Dell’Oro places an asterisk (*) next to the item number of the text.¹⁰⁸ Table 17, following, compares these two texts.

Table 17. A Comparison of the Prayer following Psalm 41 in the Tridentinum with the other Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Prayer following Psalm 41—Pentecost Vigil Hadrianum (GrH 515) and Paduensis (GrP 459)	Prayer following Psalm 41—Pentecost Vigil Tridentinum (GrT561)
<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, <u>ut</u> qui <u>solemnitatem dono spiritus sancti</u> colimus <u>caelestibus desiderii accensi</u> <u>fontem vitae sitiamus</u>. Per.</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hanc <u>solemnitatem adventu sancti spiritus consecrasti</u>: <u>da nobis, quaesumus, ut caelestibus desiderii accensi</u> <u>fontem vitae sitiamus</u>. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.</i>

The Gelasian and the Gregorian sacramentaries contain additional orations not attached to any particular reading. In the Gregorian sacramentaries four “extra” prayers are placed under the heading, *Aliae orationes*, these will be considered momentarily; in the Gelasian sacramentary two prayers are distributed within the vigil structure, which we will examine first. The first prayer, GeV 618, “Da nobis quaesumus domine,” is placed before the reading from Genesis. It notes the fast undertaken prior to this liturgy and petitions the

¹⁰⁸ Ferdinando Dell’Oro, ed., “Sacramentarium Tridentinum,” in *Monumenta liturgica ecclesiae Tridentinae saeculo XIII antiquiora: II/A fontes liturgici libri sacramentorum*, studia et editionem (Trento: Società Studi trentini di Scienze storiche, 1985), 203. The text of GrT 561 appears also in the tenth century recension of the Tridentinum known as the *Sacramentarium Ecclesiae Sancti Vigili* (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Cartella s.n.) located in Dell’Oro’s edition of the “Sacramentarium Tridentinum” on pages 420-545; only the incipit of the oration appears here and is noted as V 168. In cross-referencing the two texts “sitiamus” in GrT 561 is replaced with “faciemus” (in the future tense) in V 168. The prayer, V 168, is also listed as an *alia*, the first of four, and not associated with Psalm 41, which psalm is omitted from the Vercelli manuscript.

Lord for restoration of mind and heart.¹⁰⁹ The location of the prayer prior to the readings suggests the placement of the prayer that precedes the lessons at the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasianum. However, at the Paschal Vigil the prayer is more explicit in petitioning the Lord for grace to undertake this vigil in worthy service.¹¹⁰ The text of GeV 618 does not focus upon entering into the vigil, but rather upon concluding the anticipatory fast that precedes it. Nonetheless, the placement of the prayer achieves symmetry between the vigils of Pascha and Pentecost. Interestingly, the text appears again as the second collect (GeV 632) in the Pentecost Vigil Mass, *Item aliter*, in the Gelasianum. It is found also in the second set of texts following the set *In pentecostes ascendentibus a fonte* of the Verona Collection (Ve 206). Recall that at this point in the Veronese this prayer appears above the heading, *In Jejuniio Quarti Mensis*. As noted above in the section on the Verona collection, Mohlberg believes the oration should be associated with a Mass for one of the days of the Quarterly Fast following Pentecost. The versatility of this text is evidence of this prayer's prominence in the early Roman liturgy.

The second prayer, "Domine deus virtutum" (GeV 623), is found following the prayer associated with the reading from Isaiah 4 (GeV 622). The text of GeV 623 recognizes God as one who repairs what has fallen apart and preserves what has been renewed, a theme evoked by the lesson from Isaiah. The Isaiah reading prophesizes that the Lord will take away the reproach from Israel and make holy those left in Sion and remaining

¹⁰⁹ "Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti novam tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purgatae jejuniis cunctis reddantur ejus muneribus aptiores: per dominum nostrum." (GeV 618)

¹¹⁰ See pages 228-229.

in Jerusalem. The sins of the people will be washed away and the glory of the Lord shall provide protection and security from the elements. These themes are represented in GeV 623, which focuses on those awaiting renewal in baptism and prays that they be always influenced by the Lord's inspiration.¹¹¹ This prayer has no specific purpose in the Gelasian formulary unless it serves as an alternative to GeV 622 as an oration to follow Isaiah 4 and this lesson's vineyard canticle. Chavasse's theory of a fifth reading, *ad libitum*, added to the four-lesson cycle of the Gelasian Pentecost Vigil, with which to associate GeV 623, and thereby maintain a five-lesson Old Testament vigil, seems highly unlikely and without precedent in the development of the Gelasian tradition.¹¹²

The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum both provide four prayers following the prayer for Psalm 41 under the heading of *Aliae orationes*.¹¹³ The texts do not reflect ideas one finds in a *super oblata* or post-communion prayer. They are not connected to a particular reading, nor does anything in the prayer texts refer to one of the vigil readings. Each oration in one way or another emphasizes the Holy Spirit in keeping with a theological understanding of Pentecost.

¹¹¹ "Domine deus virtutum, qui, collapsa reparas et reparata conservas, auge populos in tui nominis sanctificatione renovandos, ut omnes qui diluuntur sacro baptisate, tua semper inspiratione dirigantur: per". (GeV 623)

¹¹² Chavasse attempts this reconciliation of an *ad libitum* lesson so as to maintain a six lesson vigil (with the inclusion of the epistle), whose proclamation would be repeated in Greek in some communities, and thereby reflect the same structure of the Embertide Vigils of "12 Lessons." See Chavasse, *Sacramentaire gélasien*, 119-121.

¹¹³ The Paduensis contains a set of seven *aliae*, but in the section for Pentecost day, and there it includes only three of the four found in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum.

Unlike the orations following the vigil lessons in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum¹¹⁴ there are no allusions or direct reference to the rite of baptism in the texts, save the rather oblique reference to the font of life, “fontem vitae,” in GrH 515, GrT 561. Schmidt is not definite on this, but he wonders if these prayers may have accompanied another sequence of vigil readings unknown to us from the past.¹¹⁵ Three of these texts appear in the Verona collection (GrH 516=Ve 191, GrH 518=Ve 194, and GrH 519=Ve 206), under Section 10, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*. In the Veronese, the first two texts are part of the possible six lesson vigil structure for this day. The third text is the prayer that precedes the sub-heading, *In jejuniis quarti mensis*. Three texts appear also in the Gelasianum (GrH 516=GeV 637, GrH 517=GeV 638, and GrH 519=GeV 618, 632). In the Gelasianum, the first two texts are the two initial orations of the Mass for Pentecost Sunday. The third text is, again, the prayer noted above,¹¹⁶ which either introduces the vigil or concludes the prior fast. This text, as has been noted, functions also as the second oration in the Pentecost Vigil Mass, *Item aliter*, in the Gelasianum.

Is it possible, if one considers Schmidt’s observation that these texts may represent an additional sequence of vigil readings, and given their lack of strong baptismal imagery, that the texts may have been used for a non-baptismal Pentecost Vigil? If so, then these orations may either stem from a period before baptism comes to be associated with Pentecost or may provide for another context for keeping vigil focused upon the work of the

¹¹⁴ GrH 508, GrT 554; GrH 510, GrT 556; GrH 512, GrT 558; GrH 514, GrT 560; GrH 515, GrT 561.

¹¹⁵ Schmidt, *Hebdomada sancta*, vol. 2, 836. Schmidt is quick to state that any precise answer is difficult to discern from the information provided us by these texts.

¹¹⁶ See pages 331-332.

Holy Spirit. The fact that these *aliae* do not appear linked to any specific scripture lessons may also suggest the possibility of another, perhaps more primitive, vigil structure where readings and prayers were not necessarily complementary. We have considered such a vigil structure already with the formularies of the Embertide vigils.

The Pentecost Vigil: The Vigil Mass in the Gelasian and Gregorian Traditions

The Gregorian and the Gelasian sacramentaries provide no texts for the rites of baptism following the scripture vigil. As noted above this is due to the fact that baptism was simply carried out in the same manner it would have been at the Paschal Vigil.¹¹⁷ The texts for the vigil Mass of Pentecost follow in both sacramentary traditions. The Gregorian vigil Mass consists of an *oration*, *super oblata* (*oblatam* in the Paduensis), preface (with separate *communicantes* and *hanc igitur* inserts), and an *ad complendum*. Each Gregorian sacramentary shares the same texts, without variation. The Gelasian sacramentary, as already noted, has two sections of a Pentecost Vigil Eucharist. Each section includes the customary two *orations* prior to the *secreta*, along with a preface, reference to two inserts *infra actionem*, and a post-communion prayer (a second post-communion prayer is found in Section 79, *Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten*). The texts of the two Gelasian Masses are dissimilar. Table 18, following, introduces these arrangements.

Let us examine the Gregorian texts first. These texts are oriented to the feast of Pentecost. Among them only the initial *oration*, which petitions that the Holy Spirit may

¹¹⁷ Remember that the complex of rites in the Sections 66 to 76 of the Gelasianum are a later, Gallican, addition to that sacramentary for the celebration of “clinical” baptism outside a festal context.

Table 18. The Distribution of Prayer Texts in the Mass of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 78 Nos. 624-630	Section 79 Nos. 631-636	Section 111 Nos. 520-525	Section 95 Nos. 566-571	Section 103 Nos. 460-465
<i>Item in vigilia de pentecosten ad missa</i>	<i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i>	<i>Oratio ad missa in sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>	<i>Oratio ad missa in sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>	<i>Orationes de sabbato pentecosten post ascensum fontis</i>
<i>Deus qui ecclesiam tuam novo semper</i>	<i>Concede nobis domine praesidia militiae</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut claritatis tuae</i>
<i>Deus cujus spiritu totum corpus</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam sancti spiritus</i>			
Secreta <i>Virtute sancti spiritus domine munera nostra</i>	Secreta <i>Hostias populi tui quaesumus domine miseratus intende</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>	Super oblata <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata</i>
<i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes</i>	<i>VD: qui sacramentum paschale consummans</i>	Praefatio <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>	Praefatio <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>	(Preface) <i>VD...qui ascendens super omnes caelos</i>
Infra actionem <i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	Infra actionem ut supra	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis</i>
Item infra actionem <i>Hanc igitur dicis sicut et in nocte sancta, et de creaturis benedicendis</i>		<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>	<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>	<i>Hanc igitur...pro his quoque quos regenerare</i>
Post communionem <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut paschalis perfectio</i>	Item post communionem <i>Sacris caelestibus domine vitia nostra</i>	Ad compl. <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>	Ad complendum <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet</i>
	<Item post communionem> <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut spiritus adveniens</i>			

strengthen the hearts of those who were born again through the Lord's grace;¹¹⁸ and the *hanc igitur*, identical to the text from the Paschal Vigil,¹¹⁹ supply a reference to the baptisms just performed *ad fontem*. The initial oration conveys also a sense of light and illumination ("ut

¹¹⁸ "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut claritatis tuae super nos splendor effulgeat, et lux tuae lucis corda eorum qui per gratiam tuam renati sancti spiritus illustratione confirmet. Per dominum." (GrH 520; GrP 560; GrT 566)

¹¹⁹ "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus, pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias." (GrH 524; GrP 464; GrT 570 – see then GrH 381; GrP 331; GrT 437). See above, pages 240-241, for the analysis of this prayer at the Paschal Vigil.

claritatis tuae super nos splendor effulgeat, et lux tuae lucis corda eorum qui per gratiam tuam renati sunt”), providing interesting contrasts to its use at a vigil Mass in the night. The remaining texts also refer to the purifying and illuminating aspects of the Holy Spirit, but make no reference to either the baptism of neophytes or to the feast of Pentecost itself.¹²⁰ One could make a case that the *super oblata* and *ad complendum* prayers are more “penitential” in character than the other orations. The former texts mention cleansing and purification, but this emphasis appears slight and secondary to the accent given to the Holy Spirit in the prayers.

The preface for this liturgy focuses on Christ’s Ascension and sending of the Holy Spirit upon the “children of adoption” (“in filios adoptionis”).¹²¹ The prayer highlights the unity of the Paschal Season by connecting the Ascension of Christ with his promise to send the “advocate” commemorated at Pentecost. The *communicantes* is scriptural: the appearance of the Spirit upon the apostles as tongues of flame (Acts 2:3). The insert notes that the context of the celebration is the **day** of Pentecost (“et diem sacratissimum pentecostes celebrantes”).¹²² It is odd that a prayer for an evening vigil liturgy would make reference to the day of the Pentecost. The same text appears in the Mass for Pentecost Day in all the Gregorian sacramentaries. In contrast, the Paschal *communicantes* uses the term

¹²⁰ The prayer over the gifts: “Munera domine quaesumus oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus illustratione emunda. Per dominum.” (GrH 521; GrP 461; GrT 567); and the post-communion prayer: “Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet infusio et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. Per dominum.” (GrH 525; GrP 465; GrT 571)

¹²¹ “...Qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit.” (GrH 522; GrP 462; GrT 568)

¹²² “Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecosten celebrantes quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit, sed et memoriam venerantes.” (GrH 523; GrP 463)

“noctem” at the vigil and “diem” at the Sunday morning Mass of Easter. Such a distinction is missing for Pentecost. There is also the fact that the insert uses two other participles (in addition to “communicantes”) in different manuscripts of the Gregorian sacramentaries to describe what is being done on the day of Pentecost. In the Hadrianum and the Paduensis, the second participle is “celebrantes,” which could refer either to a day celebration of Pentecost, or the vigil Mass in the early hours of Sunday morning.

In the Tridentinum, and in the Gelasianum as well, the participle used in the *communicantes* is “praevenientes,” **anticipating** of the day of Pentecost,¹²³ which also appears in several vigil celebrations of the sanctoral cycle as a recurring modifier of the celebration. If the *communicantes* is viewed in light of the preface, which precedes it, “praevenientes” may be understood not as *anticipatory*, but more fully as *leading into* something – in this context, the feast of Pentecost.¹²⁴

On the whole, the Gregorian texts for the vigil Mass of Pentecost are straightforward. While they mention the Holy Spirit, make reference to the newly baptized, and in the *communicantes* specifically mention Pentecost, there is no direct connection among these prayers to a vigil, nor is there anything in particular that differentiates this Mass from the Mass of Pentecost Sunday. We will return to this important matter in a moment.

In contrast to the Gregorian data, not only do the two Gelasian sets for the Mass of Pentecost eve contain different prayer texts, but they also appear to accent different aspects

¹²³ “Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecostes praevenientes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit. Sed et.” (GrT 569; GeV 628)

¹²⁴ It is interesting to note that in this circumstance, when usually the Tridentinum closely parallels the Hadrianum, we have a subtle divergence in the *communicantes* for the Pentecost Vigil Mass. Here the Tridentinum is similar to the Gelasianum. Might such a subtlety be an indication of a much earlier strata of liturgical structure present in the Tridentinum?

of Pentecost in the tradition. H.A. Wilson notes in his edition of the Gelasianum that Section 78, *Item in vigilia de pentecosten ad missa* should not be considered a separate liturgy of Pentecost, but rather is part of a larger unit – a full pre-Eucharistic vigil.¹²⁵ The texts of Section 78 are predominantly baptismal in character, although without any discernable nuance that these baptisms are taking place within a Pentecostal rather than Paschal setting. The first oration (GeV 624) speaks of the increase given to the Church by new offspring (“*novi foetu*”), a reference to the newly baptized.¹²⁶ The second oration (GeV 625) is no less direct, speaking of the increase to the Church brought about by the new race of the family of God (“*novam familiae tuae progeniem*”).¹²⁷ There is no overt reference to Pentecost within either text. The mention of the Spirit in the second oration may be more out of association with baptism properly speaking than with the feast. The first oration occurs also in the Gregorian sacramentaries on Tuesday of Easter Week (*Feria III ad sanctum paulum*), unconnected with Pentecost.¹²⁸ Peter Siffrin discerns elements from the blessing of the water at the Paschal Vigil from each of the two collects of the Paschal Vigil

¹²⁵ See H.A. Wilson, ed., *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894), 120-121.

¹²⁶ “Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam novo semper foetu multiplicas, concede famulis tuis, ut sacramentum tuum vivendo teneant, quod fide perceperunt: per.” (GeV 624)

¹²⁷ “Deus, cujus spiritu totum corpus ecclesiae multiplicatur et regitur, conserva in novam familiae tuae progeniem sanctificationis gratiam quam dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati in unitate fidei ferventes tibi, domine, servire mereantur: per.” (GeV 625)

¹²⁸ GrH 401; GrP 341; GrT 452.

Mass and from the first of the prayers for the Octave of Pentecost in the composition of the second oration.¹²⁹

The *secreta* mentions the feast: God is asked to take up the gifts by the power of the Holy Spirit (“Virtute sancti spiritus, domine, munera nostra contingere”) on the present solemnity (“solemnitate praesenti”).¹³⁰ The reference to the gifts being taken up by God “by the power of the Holy Spirit” is not a common element in a *secreta*. The preface (unlabeled in the Gelasian) is a duplication of the same oration found in the Gregorians and in the Verona collection (Ve 202) for this liturgy. The *communicantes*, whose text is similar to that contained in the Tridentinum, adds the phrase, that the Holy Spirit filled “the crowd of believers with the presence of his majesty” (“plebemque credentium praesentia suae majestatis”).¹³¹

Section 78 set lacks a specific *hanc igitur*. What appears in its place is a rubric, *Hanc igitur dicis sicut et in nocte sancta, et de creaturis benedicendis* (GeV 629). The rubric explains that what is done on the “holy night,” the Easter Vigil, is repeated here. The structure of the rubric is similar to one at Section 66 in the Gelasianum (*Sabbato pentecosten celebrabis baptismum sicut in nocte sanctae paschae*). Deference to the Paschal Vigil for

¹²⁹ Peter Siffrin, *Konkordanztabellen zu den Lateinischen Sakramentarien II. Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1959), 79.

¹³⁰ “Virtute sancti spiritus, domine, munera nostra contingere, ut quod solemnitate praesenti suo nomine dedicavit, et intelligibile nobis faciat et aeternum: per.” (GeV 626)

¹³¹ “Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum Pentecosten praevenientes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolos plebemque credentium praesentia suae majestatis implevit, sed et memoriam.” (GeV 628). I have corrected the text of GeV 628 based upon its parallel at GeV 642 on the advice of Mohlberg who in his apparatus of the Gelasianum notes that “presence” appears in the manuscript as “praesenci(ae) auf Rasur.” See *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli* (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56), RED Series major, Fontes 4, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1976), 99.

the prayer's text seems to imply that the celebration of baptism at Pentecost is not to be understood as taking place outside of Paschaltide. "Pentecostal" baptism is a continuation of "Paschal" baptism.

Both the instruction to use the *hanc igitur* of the Paschal Vigil and the meaning behind the second half of this rubric, "and the blessing of creatures" (*et de creaturis benedicendis*), deserve further scrutiny. The *hanc igitur* in the Gelasian Paschal Vigil is longer than its counterpart found in the Gregorian sacramentaries and even in the Verona collection. Table 19, following, compares the Gelasian text with its counterparts in these other sacramentaries.

Table 19. Comparison of the *Hanc igitur* used at the Paschal and Pentecost Vigils in the Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries and in the Verona collection

The Gelasianum GeV 460(629)	The Gregorians GrH 381(524), GrT 437(570), GrP 331(464)	The Veronese Ve 203
<p><i>Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu domino nostro, quaesumus, domine, placatus accipias.</i></p> <p><i>Pro quibus majestati tuae supplices fundimus preces, ut nomina eorum ascribi jubeas in libro viventium: diesque nostros.</i></p>	<p><i>Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus, pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum</i></p> <p><i>quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias.</i></p>	<p><i>Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et spiritu sancto regenerare dignatus es, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, placatus accipias</i></p> <p><i>eorumque nomina ascribi jubeas in libro viventium:</i></p> <p><i>per.</i></p>

As the comparisons in the table demonstrate the text of the *Hanc igitur* is longer in the Gelasianum than in either the Gregorians or in the Verona collection, although it bears more resemblance to the Verona text than to the Gregorian text. The oration in both contexts, Pascha and Pentecost, offers the oblation on behalf of those reborn from water and the Holy Spirit, and petitions the Lord to accept the offering. The Gelasian text further asks

that the newly baptized be found in Christ Jesus (“ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu domino nostro”); and both the Gelasian and Verona texts ask that their names be written in the book of the living (“ut nomina eorum ascribi jubeas in libro viventium” – GeV; “eorumque nomina ascribi jubeas in libro viventium” – Ve). The length of the Gelasian text, its parallel among the texts of the Verona collection, and its proscribed use at the Eucharistic liturgies for Pascha and Pentecost may indicate that the text belongs to a more ancient stratum of the tradition.

The second part of the rubric, “et de creaturis benedicendis,” may refer to the blessing over the milk and honey, which were given to the newly baptized.¹³² Recall that such a prayer utilizing similar words appears in the Mass set, *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, in the Verona collection (Ve 205) for prayers on the day before Pentecost.¹³³ The Gelasianum, however, does not print the prayer, nor does there appear a rubric in the baptismal rites for Pascha eve in the Gelasianum that instructs when milk and honey would be given to the neophytes. In light of this situation, Chavasse believes that the blessing’s setting within Pentecost refers not to milk and honey at baptism, but instead to the first fruits of the harvest, which harvest would have occurred in the May-June period in which Pentecost would be celebrated. The Judaic celebration of Pentecost in both Exodus 23:16 and in Leviticus 23:15 contains harvest themes. Leo the Great alludes to a probable

¹³² See commentary above, pages 302-303, on this practice.

¹³³ The text of the blessing can be found above, page 303, note 55.

connection between Pentecost and the harvest in Sermon 81.¹³⁴ Chavasse notes two prayers with harvest themes: one on Friday and another on Saturday of the week following Pentecost in the Gelasianum, the later serving at the vigil of the Fourth Month Fast.¹³⁵ A specific blessing over “new fruits” (“*fruges novas*”), however, appears among the orations for Ascension in the Gelasianum (Section 63). A rubric instructs where to place the blessing (“*Inde vero modicum ante expleto canone benedices fruges novas.*”), and the word, “*Sequitur,*” directs the presider to it, whose text is printed at GeV 577.¹³⁶ While the practice of offering milk and honey to the newly baptized appears to die out by the sixth century, the presence of an ancient rubric that may refer to it is consistent with a law of Paul Bradshaw that texts continue to publish material long after it goes out of practice.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ “*Custodienda ergo nobis est omnium germium seminumque generositas quam ex summi Agricolae plantatione concepimus et vigili sollicitudine providendum ne Dei munera aliqua invidentis inimici fraude violentur et in paradiso virtutum concreseat silva vitiorum.*” Leo I *Tractatus* 81.3 (Chavasse CCL 138A.504-505).

¹³⁵ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien*, 466-467, note 105. The texts of the Friday liturgy are GeV 661 and 662. Chavasse’s argument for understanding the rubric, *et de creaturis benedicendis*, as referring to a blessing of the first fruits of the early summer harvest, is based upon evidence that the Roman Canon often concluded with a place for blessing first fruits, olive oil, fava beans, etc. just before the doxology (See Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its origin and development*, rev. ed., trans. Francis A. Brunner, rev. by Charles K. Riepe (New York: Benzinger Brothers, Inc., 1959), 454-456. Also while Chavasse attempts, however, to demonstrate how the gospel for the Friday of the Fourth Month Fast, Matthew 6: 31-34 (seeking first the Kingdom of God), assists in centering the thematic meaning of the fast to the harvest, the text in the ancient lectionaries for the vigil is Matthew 20 (concerning the healing of the blind men), or Luke 6 (judge not, lest you be judged). These later two passages offer a more profound sense of the harvest from an eschatological viewpoint: a world healed of the obstacles that prevent it from recognizing the Messiah.

¹³⁶ “*Benedic domine et hos fruges novas fabae quos tu domine rore caelesti et inundantia pluviarum ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es ad percipiendum nobis cum gratiarum actione in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi per quem haec omnia domine semper bona usque expleto canone.*” (GeV 577)

¹³⁷ See Paul Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and methods for the study of early liturgy*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 75-76.

The post-communion prayer repeats the same prayer of the Paschal Vigil reinforcing the idea that the Pentecost Vigil replicates elements of Pascha eve.¹³⁸ The significance of this prayer shifts somewhat when applied in the context of Pentecost. The petition that the Easter sacrament persists in the lives of believers (“paschalis perceptio sacramenti mentibus nostris continua perseveret”) applies not only to the paschal season, but also to the whole of Christian life.

The prayers of Section 79, *Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten*, address the feast of Pentecost, but neglect references to baptism in their texts. The Holy Spirit is acknowledged in several prayers, as well as penitence, abstinence, and spiritual purification. This section may have a connection with an element in Leo’s preaching that Pentecost “reset” Christian disciplines following the unbridled joy of Easter. There are texts within Section 79 that appear to mark this transition down from the heights of Pascha. Wilson notes that the *Codex Sangallensis* (MS 348, a type of 8th century Gelasian sacramentary), which also contains two *Missae* for the vigil, titles the second Mass set simply, *Item alia missa*, and that an editor has added, *infra hebd.*¹³⁹ The editorial notation, “during the week,” seems to place this Mass during the week between Pentecost Sunday and the Ember vigil on Saturday, which eventually comes to follow it. Four of the texts of this Mass set repeat prayers in Section 10 of the Verona collection. Three of these prayers, the two initial orations and the *secreta* are

¹³⁸ “Concede, (quaesumus), omnipotens deus, ut paschalis perceptio sacramenti mentibus nostris continua perseveret: per dominum.” (GeV 630, see also GeV 462)

¹³⁹ Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, 121.

found in the second Mass set under *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fontis, In jejunio quarti mensis* (Ve 206-209).¹⁴⁰

The first oration (“Concede nobis domine praesidia militiae christianae sanctis inchoare jejuniis” GeV 631) seems ordered to the start of penitential routines following a period of feasting. Such a perception is affirmed by the prayer’s reappearance as the first collect in Section 83 of the Gelasianum, *Incipiunt orationes et preces mensis quarti*, the prayers for the Wednesday of the summer Embertide. The Gregorian sacramentaries adopt the prayer as the *ad collectam* at the church of Saint Anastasia prior to the procession to the church of Saint Sabina on Ash Wednesday.¹⁴¹ The second oration (“Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam,” GeV 632) has been commented upon previously concerning its curious position at the beginning of the scriptural readings for the Pentecost Vigil.¹⁴² The prayer does seem more appropriate in the setting of Section 79, some of whose prayers are more oriented to fasting. One issue remains, however: if these texts convey the resumption of fasting in the Church, each is oriented to a different aspect of the fast. “Concede nobis,” communicates the initiation of a fast, while “Da nobis,” would be more useful at the close of a fast. Their function together in Section 79 begs the question how the assemblies that heard them may have received these texts. The prayer over the gifts, “Hostias populi tui,” makes no reference to fasting, but focuses upon the healing and cleansing work of the coming Holy

¹⁴⁰ GeV 631=Ve 207; GeV 632=Ve 206; GeV 633=Ve 212.

¹⁴¹ “Concede nobis, domine, praesidia militiae christianae sanctis inchoare jejuniis, ut contra spirituales nequitas pugnaturi continentiae muniamur auxiliis: per.” (GeV 631 and GeV 654) In the Gregorian sacramentaries this prayer is found at *Feria IV collectam ad sancta anastasiam* (GrH 153; GrP 127; GrT 209).

¹⁴² See above, pages 331-332.

Spirit (“conscientias nostras sancti spiritus salutaris emundet adventus”). This prayer is oriented more to Pentecost, than to the reinstatement of fasting customs.¹⁴³

The preface is original to the Gelasianum. The content of the prayer concerns the closing of the paschal season and at the same time carries the faithful forward toward the promise of future glory. The text reaffirms the adoptive sharing by believers in the benefits of the Only-Begotten Son and now extends these benefits as a pledge of heavenly inheritance. A concluding clause prays that as long as the faithful share in the life of the Son, they may be confident of receiving this inheritance.¹⁴⁴ The text encompasses a strong eschatological element, that does not necessarily focus upon penitential practices, but rather offers a promise that the more the faithful live in Christ the more they will be prepared for his return (“ut tanto se certius ad eam confidant esse venturos, quanto in ejus participationem profecerint”).

The Mass of Section 79 contains neither a *communicantes* nor a *hanc igitur*. Instead it prints another rubric, *Infra actionem ut supra*. The presider (the text does not state whether this is a presbyter or bishop) is directed as we saw in the Mass of Section 78 to use the Eucharistic prayer inserts for the Paschal Vigil. What is odd, however, is why a presider would be directed to use Eucharistic prayer inserts that speak of Easter and of baptism in the

¹⁴³ “Hostias populi tui, quaesumus, domine, miseratus intende, et ut tibi reddantur acceptae, conscientias nostras sancti spiritus salutaris emundet adventus: per.” (GeV 633 = Ve 212). This prayer is also found in the Verona collection in the third Mass set (Ve 210-214), not among the texts for the Fourth Month Fast as are the *collects*.

¹⁴⁴ “Vere dignum: qui sacramentum paschale consummans, quibus per unigeniti tui consortium filios adoptionis esse tribuisti, per sanctum spiritum largiris dona gratiarum, et sui coheredibus redemptoris iam nunc supernae pignus hereditatis impendis, ut tanto se certius ad eam confidant esse venturos, quanto in ejus participationem profecerint. Propterea.” (GeV 634)

context of a Mass that does not fully emphasize either. Neither Mohlberg nor Wilson offers any further commentary on a directive for this rubric.

The section ends with two choices for a post-communion prayer. Wilson lists each prayer as, *Item post communionem*, and while Mohlberg does the same, the second heading he places in brackets, meaning the title appears to be an addition to the text in another hand. The first prayer (GeV 635) says nothing about fasting, but rather that by heavenly rites (“sacris caelestibus”) the faithful are purged of faults to be prepared for the Lord’s gifts.¹⁴⁵ The prayer serves also as the post-communion for Pentecost Day. In the Verona collection it is found in the post-communion position among the prayers that may typify a vigil for Pentecost (Ve191-199).¹⁴⁶ The second prayer (GeV 636) seems structured to celebrating the feast of Pentecost itself. The text asks that the coming of the Spirit may extol the majesty of the Son by revealing it to believers.¹⁴⁷ Why there are two choices for a post-communion prayer is unclear. A second post-communion also occurs in the vigil Mass set for Pascha (Section 45, *Orationes et preces ad missam in nocte*, GeV 462). The infrequent appearance of dual post-communion prayers may mean that GeV 636 may have served originally as an *ad populum* blessing or perhaps the remains of one.

¹⁴⁵ “Sacris caelestibus, domine, vitia nostra purgentur, ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari: per.” (GeV 635)

¹⁴⁶ As the post-communion for Pentecost Day in the Gelasian = GeV 643; as the post-communion in the Verona collection = Ve 198.

¹⁴⁷ “Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut spiritus adveniens majestatem nobis filii tui manifestando clarificet: per eundem.” (GeV 636)

The Pentecost Vigil: The Lectionary and Chants of the Vigil Mass

The last components we shall examine for the liturgies of the vigil Mass of Pentecost are the lectionaries and the antiphonals. Table 20, following, outlines the lessons for the vigil Mass. The readings for the vigil are consistent, where applicable, in each lectionary: the epistle is taken from Acts 19, which tells of the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the church at Ephesus, and the gospel, John 14, recounts Christ's promise to send the Paraclete. Both readings anticipate the coming of the Spirit (though in the passage from Acts, the Spirit descends upon the Ephesians in verse 6) and would be appropriate for a vigil that would lead the assembly into the feast day of Pentecost. The lectionaries assign the charter scripture passage from Acts 2 to Pentecost Day.

Table 20. Epistle and Gospel for the Vigil Mass of Pentecost

Würzburg Lectionary Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In Sabbato Pentecosten</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Fer. VII Sabb. Pentecosten</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Feria VII sabbato pentecosten</i> Λ: <i>Die sabbato in vigilia pentecosten</i> Σ: <i>Sabbato in vigilia pentecosten</i> Δ: <i>Sabbato pentecosten</i>	<i>Sabb. in vigil. pect.</i> <i>Ad missa</i>	<i>In sabbato pentecosten</i>	<i>In sabbato pentecosten</i>	<i>Sabbato in pentecoste de nona</i>
Acts 19: 1-8		Acts 19: 1	Acts 19: 1-8	Acts 19: 1-8	Acts 19: 1-8
John 14: 15-21	John 14: 15-21	John 14: 15			John 14: 15-21

The readings may not at first glance complement the Mass prayers in the sacramentaries for the Pentecost Vigil, with the latter's emphasis upon baptism or rebirth through baptism. Yet, both the epistle and the gospel imply a sense of completion, whether of baptism in the case of the epistle, or the mission of Christ in the gospel, which mission may be foundational to the development of Pentecost in the church at Rome. The readings do not seem to harmonize with the prayer texts of the *Item aliter* Mass of Pentecost Eve in

the Gelasianum, whose prayers combine elements of resuming fast practices and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

The titles given to the day on which these readings took place is also of interest. As in the Gregorian sacramentaries, the most common name for the eve of Pentecost is, *In sabbato pentecosten*. Only type Λ and Σ of the Roman gospel capitularies and the *Comes* of Murbach include a reference to the liturgy as *in vigilia*, as in the sacramentaries. Both the Würzburg gospel list and type Π of the Roman gospel capitularies mention the day of the week on which the liturgy occurs, *feria VII*. In the *Comes* of Murbach the epistle for the Mass of Pentecost eve is found under a sub-heading, *Ad Missa*, distinctly marked from the vigil in the lectionary. The Lectionary of Verona makes the only reference to the time of the Mass, *de nona*, but does not list the vigil readings or any hour at which the vigil takes place. Recall that the hour of *nona* becomes customary in monastic communities for ending a fast. If the vigil Mass occurred at *nona* in a community that used the Verona lectionary, then the vigil must have taken place at an even earlier hour.

The unique nature of the relationship of the canticles of the Paschal Vigil to the Pentecost Vigil has been explained above.¹⁴⁸ What is equally interesting is the arrangement of the antiphonals for the Vigil Mass of Pentecost. See Table 21, following, for this order. Observe the title provided for each antiphonal of the Vigil Mass. With the exception of

¹⁴⁸ See above, pages 237-248.

Monza,¹⁴⁹ the antiphonals mark the Vigil Mass as beginning with a litany, which would follow the rite of baptism, much as it does in the Mass of the Easter Vigil at Section 43 of the Gelasian

Table 21. The Vigil Mass of Pentecost in the Roman Antiphonals

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
<i>Sabbato vigilia pentecosten</i>	<i>In sabbato pentecosten ad introitum letania</i>	<i>Sabbato vigilia pentecosten statio ad sanctum johannem ad introitu. letania</i>	<i>In vigilia pentecosten ad introitum laetania</i>	<i>Sabbato in vigilia pentecosten statio ad sanctum johannem ad introitum laetania</i>	<i>Sabbato in vigilia pentecosten statio ad sanctum johannem. letania et gloria in excelsis</i>
Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Grad. Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>	Alleluia: <i>Confitemini Domino</i>
Tract: <i>Laudate dominum</i>			Tract: <i>Laudate dominum</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum</i>	Tract: <i>Laudate dominum</i>
	Off: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i>	Off: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i>	Off: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i>	Off: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i>	Off: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Ultimum festivitatis</i>	Ad Com: <i>Ultimum festivitatis</i> Psalm: <i>Benedic anima</i>	Ad Com: <i>Ultimum festivitatis</i> Psalm: <i>Benedic anima</i>	Ad Com: <i>Ultimum festivitatis</i> Psalm: <i>Emitte piritum</i>	Ad Com: <i>Ultimum festivitatis</i> Psalm: <i>Benedic anima II.</i> Ad repet. <i>Emitte spiritum</i>

sacramentary.¹⁵⁰ The liturgy takes place at the Lateran, *statio ad sanctum johannem*, the site for Paschal baptism, in Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis. The Antiphonal of Senlis provides a further detail, found also in Section 44 of the Gelasianum, which states that after the baptisms, the bishop returns to the chair and intones the *Gloria* during the litany (*cum laetania*).¹⁵¹ The other antiphonals in stating that this is the vigil on *Sabbato pentecosten*, make an apparent distinction between the biblical vigil and the Mass that followed. Monza

¹⁴⁹ Monza is representative of a “cantatory,” containing only the canticles, tracts, and alleluia for a Mass, and not an “antiphonal,” which would contains all the sung pieces of a liturgy. See Jason McFarland, “*Cantus ad introitum*: The Entrance Song in Roman Catholic Worship,” (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 2010).

¹⁵⁰ Recall that in the rubric following the prayers, which accompany the vigil readings, there is the final direction: “*Et post paulolum incipient tercia laetaniam, et ingrediuntur ad missas in vigilia, ut stella in caelo apparuerit.*” (GeV 443).

¹⁵¹ “*Inde vero cum laetania ascendit ad sedem suam et dicit: Gloria in excelsis deo.*” (GeV 452).

refers to the liturgy simply as *Sabbato vigilia pentecosten*, without any distinction. The antiphonals do not list a gradual, save for a “Grad. All.” (a “gradual alleluia?”) in the Antiphonal of Mont Blandin. The text is from Psalm 105, “Confitemini domino,” which is also the alleluia in all the antiphonals. Psalm 105 acknowledges the goodness of the Lord whose mercy endures forever. The chants themselves emphasize the sending the Spirit upon the apostles (“Emitte spiritum tuum”) in the offertory, and upon those who believe in Christ (“Ultimum festivitatis diae”) in the communion. Psalm 103 accompanies both these chants. The psalm blesses God for his mighty works and wonderful providence, which echoes both the joy of the newly baptized as well as the faithful now completing the celebration of the Paschal Season.

The Feast Day of Pentecost

The Liturgy of the Day of Pentecost: Evidence in the Verona Collection

Similar to the pattern we examined concerning the Masses of Easter Sunday in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, the Masses of Pentecost Sunday repeat many, though not all, of texts prayed during the vigil. Primarily, the texts not duplicated in these sections of the sacramentaries will occupy our consideration and analysis at present.

Section 11, *In Dominicum Pentecosten*, concerns the day of Pentecost itself in the Verona collection. In this section, Mohlberg identifies three sets of item numbers (*Formulargruppe*), though none of them appear to be complete sets of Masses. Table 22, below, provides the data on these item number sets.

The first set of item numbers (Ve 215-217) contains two orations and a preface; the latter recognized by the presence of the key phrase (*Vere dignum*). The two orations are duplicates of the first two prayers of the Mass set, *In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte*, from the previous section (Ve 200 and Ve 201).¹⁵² The preface (Ve 217) is different than the preface of Section 10 (Ve 202). The text of Ve 217 states that the work of the Holy

Table 22. Section 11. In Dominicum Pentecosten (Ve 215-225)

(No sub-heading)	II. CONTRA INIMICOS CATHOLICAE PROFESSIONIS	III. ITEM ALIA
Item numbers 215-217 two orations preface: introduced by <i>vere dignum</i>	Item number 218 one oration	Item numbers 222-225 one oration PRAECE. SF. ¹⁵³ one oration <i>communicantes</i> one oration
	CONTRA IMPETITORES	
	Item numbers 219-221 two orations preface: introduced by <i>vere dignum</i>	

Spirit undoes the arrogance of the Tower of Babel and promotes the work of unity in building up the Body of Christ.¹⁵⁴ The preface expresses this Pentecost theme in a manner

¹⁵² See the comparative table above, page 302, Table 4.

¹⁵³ This notation and variations upon it occurs sporadically throughout the Veronense. To what these rubrics refer and how they ought to be interpreted is debated among scholars of the Verona collection. For example, See Mohlberg, *Sacramentarium Veronense*, xxix-xxx; and the discussion Hope details in Appendix A of *The Leonine Sacramentary*, 145-153. In addition see H. Connolly, "On Some of the *Notae*" in the Leonine Sacramentary," *Revue bénédictine* 38 (1926): 196-204; M. Andrieu, "Les sigles du sacramentaire léonien," *Revue bénédictine* 42 (1930): 127-135; and A. Chavasse, "La sacramentaire, dit léonien, conservé par le Veronensis LXXX (80)," *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984): 151-190. Feltoe states their meaning is doubtful (Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, 27 n.4.), while Mohlberg supplies a meaning for the phrase as *preces supra factae* (See the note that Mohlberg records in his apparatus: "praeces supra facta *im Zeilenrest nach 222*," *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 29. Vogel also cites the same definition for these terms in his outline of the contents of the *Veronensis*. See Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 44.

¹⁵⁴ "Vere dignum: haec tibi nostra confessio, pater gloriae, semper accepta sit, de cordibus filiorum promissionis emissa: quia nihil sublimius collatum ecclesiae tuae probamus exordiis, quam ut evangelii tui praeconia linguis omnium credentium ora loquerentur; ut et illa sententia, quam superbae quondam turris exstructio meruit, solveretur, et vocum varietas aedificationi ecclesiasticae non difficultatem faceret, sed augeret potius unitatem: per." (Ve 217) The pertinent portion of this prayer is underscored.

the other prefaces reviewed thus far do not. The prayers contain no direct baptismal imagery.

The texts of the second set (Ve 218-221), while they make reference to the Holy Spirit, as a whole are not so much directed to the feast of Pentecost, as they are a plea for defense of the city of Rome against attack. Most probably the texts reflect the situation in Rome during the attack of the Vandal King, Geiseric, in the fifth century during Pentecost, which attack has been explained above.¹⁵⁵ The third set of item numbers, Ve 222-225, identified by a sub-heading, *Item alia*, in the manuscript might be a partial Mass for Pentecost Day. The set consists of three orations, and a *communicantes* identified by the initial word of the text. Ve 222-225 seems to be an *item alia* set to the Mass against enemies previously noted. The two formularies are not regular Pentecost texts, but rather were created to be prayed on Pentecost with attention to the critical suffering of the Roman people.

The lack of a complete Mass set among any of the item numbers of Section 11 make establishing a system for the liturgy of Pentecost Sunday in the Verona collection a complicated endeavor. However, this deficiency raises a possible further insight. The texts of Section 11 may reflect a period when a Mass for Pentecost Day is coming to be celebrated in the same manner that a Mass for the Easter Day develops in the other Roman sacramentaries. In the celebration of Pascha, Mass texts for the day celebration are

¹⁵⁵ See above page 307, note 67. Rome was under attack by the Vandals in the year 455 in June, in which month fell the observance of Pentecost or its octave; an example of the influence of context upon the text and the *lex vivendi* influencing the *lex orandi*. The Vandals embraced Arian Christianity and so put them at odds with what is termed "Catholic" Christianity at this time. In addition, the Vandals entered Rome from North Africa, particularly from Carthage, and sought to vindicate the North African cause against Rome stemming from as far back as the Punic Wars of the third century B.C. See Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided*, 54-56.

primarily duplicates of texts prayed at the vigil. The cause of this development was a desire to prolong the festivity of the vigil through Sunday, according to Pierre Jounel.¹⁵⁶ We see the same pattern develop for the celebration of Pentecost as well, as Section 11 provides evidence of a duplication of the vigil texts (Ve 215 and 216) for use on Sunday. Such evidence may in turn point to the possibility that just as Pascha was initially celebrated with a vigil alone, so too the primitive commemoration of Pentecost may have begun as vigil; the result of a desire to evoke the vigil of the apostles awaiting the promised Paraclete in the place where the Risen Christ had appeared to them. Just as the vigil for Pascha comes to be celebrated earlier and earlier on Saturday, and gives rise to the need for another liturgy during the day on Easter Sunday, so too does an earlier celebration of the Pentecost Vigil necessitate a second Mass to commemorate the fiftieth day of Pascha. This Mass, however, is shaped also by memory of Geiseric's assault on Rome the memory of which we see preserved in the *libelli* of the Veronese.

The Liturgy of the Day of Pentecost: Evidence in the Gelasian Sacramentary

The celebration of Pentecost Sunday can be found in Section 80, item numbers 637-645 in the Gelasian Sacramentary. The title of this section *Orationes et preces dominica pentecosten* is similar to the title for the Mass in the night for Holy Saturday (Section 45, *Orationes et preces ad missam in nocte*). The particular designation "*orationes et preces*" in relation to a liturgy occurs sporadically among the sections of the Gelasian manuscript. It seems to be used primarily in Book I but not in any consistent fashion. During Paschaltide it

¹⁵⁶ Jounel, "The Easter Cycle" vol 4 of *The Liturgy and Time*, 51. A Sunday celebration is well known by the time of Saint Augustine (fourth-fifth century), but was not accepted as early in Rome.

designates the Vigil Mass of Pascha, but is also found connected to the liturgy for *Pascha annotina*, the Sunday *post octavas paschae*, the first liturgy for the Ascension, and the liturgy of the Sunday *post ascensa domini*. The expression is also associated with the Vigil of Christmas, and with the vigils of the Fasts of the First, Fourth, and Tenth Months. Its limited use might signify a special emphasis for these liturgies more than a stylistic variation on titling a section.

While the prayer texts for Pentecost Sunday in the Gelasianum differ from those found in the Gregorian sacramentaries, save for the preface common to both, the Gelasian texts can be found in the other Roman sacramentaries for the vigil of Pentecost or during its octave. There are, however, some interesting features in the manner in which the prayers are utilized in the Gelasian sacramentary for Pentecost Sunday. Table 23, following, outlines the Gelasian liturgy for Pentecost Sunday and illustrates the frequency of its texts in the other sacramentaries.

The first aspect is a series of duplications in Section 80, which mirror similar duplications we encountered in Section 45, the vigil Mass of Pascha. The liturgy of Pentecost Sunday provides two secret prayers and two prayers over the people. Recall that in Section 45 of the Gelasianum we find two *secreta*, two prefaces, and two *post-communionem* prayers. Chavasse believes this duplication is a sign that Section 45 actually contains two distinct Mass sets. He further proposes that the same situation exists in Section 80.¹⁵⁷ Chavasse, however, does not say much more on the matter. The duplication of only two prayers in Section 80, which itself is concerned not with the vigil, but with the day

¹⁵⁷ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 200.

Table 23. The Orations of Pentecost Sunday in the Gelasian Sacramentary 80 (GeV 637-645)

Item number	Initial words of the text	Frequency of text in other sacramentaries
GeV 637 First oration	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui paschale sacramentum</i>	Ve 191 – <i>Item alia</i> – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> GrH 516; GrT 562 – <i>alia</i> – Pentecost Vigil GrP 467 – <i>alia</i> – Pentecost Sunday
GeV 638 Second oration	<i>Deus, qui sacramentum festivitatis</i>	GrH 517; GrT 563 – <i>alia</i> – Pentecost Vigil GrP 468 – <i>alia</i> – Pentecost Sunday
GeV 639 First <i>secreta</i>	<i>Mentes nostras, quaesumus, domine</i>	Ve 223 – <i>III. Item alia</i> – <i>In dominicum pentecosten</i> GrH 537; GrT 583 – <i>ad complendum</i> – Tuesday of Pentecost Octave GrP 479 – <i>ad complendum</i> – Tuesday of Pentecost Octave
GeV 640 Second <i>secreta</i>	<i>Purificet nos, quaesumus, domine, muneris</i>	Ve 222 – <i>III. Item alia</i> – <i>In dominicum pentecosten</i> GrH 536; GrT 582 – <i>super oblata</i> – Tuesday of Pentecost Octave GrP 478 – <i>super oblata</i> – Tuesday of Pentecost Octave
GeV 641	<i>Vere dignum: quia hodie sancti spiritus</i>	
GeV 642 <i>communicantes</i>	<i>Communicantes...quo spiritus sanctus</i>	GeV 628 – <i>communicantes</i> – <i>Item in Vigilia de Pentecosten</i> Ve 204 – <i>communicantes</i> – <i>I. In pentecosten ascendentibus a fonte</i> – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i>
GeV 643 <i>Post-communionem</i>	<i>Sacris caelestibus, domine vitia nostra</i>	GeV 635 – <i>Item post-communionem</i> – <i>Item aliter in vigilia pentecosten</i> Ve 198 – <i>Item alia</i> – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i>
GeV 644 <i>Ad populum</i>	<i>Praesta, quasumus, domine, ut a nostris</i>	GrP 472 – <i>alia</i> – Pentecost Sunday
GeV 645	<i>Adesto, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo</i>	Ve 214 – <i><III. Item alia></i> – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> GrH 534; GrP 476; GrT 580 – <i>ad complendum</i> – Monday of Pentecost Octave

celebration of Pentecost does not appear to warrant a similar interpretation. The second feature of the Gelasian Pentecost Sunday liturgy is the presence of an *ad populum* prayer, absent from the Paschal Vigil and Easter Day liturgies. We have considered these prayers and their significance above.¹⁵⁸

A third feature of the Gelasian prayer texts concerns where and how they occur in the other Roman sacramentaries. The texts appear in the Verona collection primarily in Section 10, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, with the exception, as noted in Table 23, of the prayers GeV 639 and GeV 640, which appear in Section 11, *In dominicum pentecosten*.

¹⁵⁸ See above, pages 80 and 103.

These latter two texts in the Veronense are part of a particular Mass set for the feast; in the Gregorian sacramentaries, whether on Pentecost eve or on Pentecost day, these texts are included in the *aliae* section and not specifically the Mass *proper* for either celebration. The Gregorian sacramentaries also employ these texts in liturgies other than those of Pentecost. This phenomenon, aside from highlighting probable differences in liturgical style and practice among the titular-presbyteral churches and the Lateran basilica, may reveal the existence of a single Pentecost Day celebration in the presbyteral churches of Rome before its adoption by the Lateran.

As we shall see the Gregorian tradition repeats many of the orations of the Pentecost vigil on Pentecost Sunday, a pattern that the Gelasianum does not imitate as fully. The only texts of Section 80, which repeat are the *communicantes* (GeV 642=GeV 628) and the *post-communionem* (GeV 643=GeV 635), the latter being the first of two texts found in the *Item aliter* Mass of Pentecost eve. The *hanc igitur* is identified by the first three words of the insert, “Hanc igitur oblationem” followed by the rubric: *dicis sicut in nocte sancta*. It appears on a line following the *communicantes* at GeV 642.¹⁵⁹ The rubric is similar to what is found at GeV 629 in the first Mass (Section 78) of the Pentecost Vigil and links the feasts of Pascha and Pentecost as two parts of one whole.

Finally, the texts of Section 80 lack a strong or significant mention of baptism or of the newly baptized within them. The only exception is the reference to the *hanc igitur* being prayed *sicut in nocte sancta*, where in the context of Pascha it concerns those “regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto.” But to pray this text may seem out of place in light of

¹⁵⁹ Mohlberg notes that the text is written over an erasure in his apparatus: “oblation(e auf Rasur, von u?)m.” See Mohlberg, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum*, 100.

the themes carried by the other orations. It may serve as a subtle reminder that baptism is performed during the Paschal Season. The other texts of Section 80 are oriented to celebrating the coming of the Holy Spirit, which the preface proclaims: “Vere dignum: quia hodie sancti spiritus celebramus adventum.”¹⁶⁰ The tone of the prayers points to the conclusion of the festive period of Paschaltide.

The Liturgy of the Day of Pentecost: Evidence in the Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Pentecost Day celebration in the Gregorian tradition is a bit different. The title of the section devoted to the prayers for Pentecost Sunday in each Gregorian manuscript is relatively the same: *Die dominico/a ad sanctum petrum*. What strikes one first of all by this title is the lack of any mention of the word, *pentecoste*, such as one finds in both the Gelasianum and in the Verona collection.¹⁶¹ The liturgy also takes place at Saint Peter’s in the Vatican, a location often associated with the day celebration of feasts preceded by a vigil. The simple naming of this liturgy may reveal that a liturgy during the day on Sunday has been supplied to close the fifty days of Pascha. Such a need might arise if the principal liturgy for concluding the fifty days of Pascha, a vigil, comes to be celebrated no longer from evening into morning, but takes places on the afternoon of Saturday, as we have been considering. Let us consider now the prayer texts for a Sunday liturgy for Pentecost in the

¹⁶⁰ “Vere dignum: quia hodie sancti spiritus celebramus adventum. Qui principiis nascentis ecclesiae cunctis gentibus inbuendis et deitatis scientiam indidit et loquelam, in diversitate donorum mirabilis operator unitatis, variarumque gratiarum tributor idem et unus effector, et praedicantium dispensator ipse linguarum. Quem laudant angeli.” (GeV 641).

¹⁶¹ While the word “paschae” is absent also from the title for the Easter day Mass in the Gregorian sacramentaries, in the title for the section, *Ortn. in dominica sancta ad miss.* “Holy Sunday” is an obvious reference to Easter.

Table 24. The Orations of Pentecost Sunday in the Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum Section 112 Nos. 526-531	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum Section 96 Nos. 572-577	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis Section 104 Nos. 466-473	Evidence of prayer texts in other sacramentaries
Oration (GrH 526) <i>Deus qui hodierna die corda fidelium</i>	Oration (GrT 572) <i>Deus qui hodierna die corda fidelium</i>	Oration (GrP 466) <i>Deus qui hodierna die corda fidelium</i>	
		GrP 466a <i>Super oblata, prefatio, communicantes, hanc igitur, ad complendum, omnia ut supra</i>	
Super oblata (GrH 527) <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata sanctifica</i>	Secreta (GrT 573) <i>Munera domine quaesumus oblata sanctifica</i>		GrH 521; GrP 461; GrT 567 – Pentecost Vigil
Praefatio (GrH 528) <i>...qui ascendens super omnes</i>	Praefatio (GrT 574) <i>...qui ascendens super omnes</i>		Ve 202 – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> (ascendentibus a fonte) GeV 627 – <i>In vigilia de pentecosten ad missa</i> GrH 522; GrP 462; GrT 568 – Pentecost Vigil
Communicantes (GrH 529) <i>...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris</i>	Communicantes (GrT 575) <i>...quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris</i>		Ve 204 – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> (ascendentibus a fonte) GeV 628/642 – <i>In vigilia de pentecosten ad missa</i> and <i>dominica pentecosten</i> GrH 523; GrP 463; GrT 569 – Pentecost Vigil
Hanc igitur (GrH 530) <i>...offerimus pro his quoque quo regenerare</i>	Hanc igitur (GrT 576) <i>...offerimus pro his quoque quo regenerare</i>		Ve 203 – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> (ascendentibus a fonte) GeV 460 – <i>Paschal Vigil missam in nocte</i> GrH 381/524; GrP 331/464; GrT 437/570 – <i>Paschal Vigil and Pentecost Vigil</i>
Ad complendum (GrH 531) <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra</i>	Ad complendum (GrT 577) <i>Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra</i>		GeV 650 – <i>Orationes ad vesperos</i> – Pent. Octave GrH 525; GrP 465; GrT 571 – Pentecost Vigil
		Aliae orationes	
		GrP 467 – <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui paschale</i>	Ve 191 – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> GeV 637 – <i>Pentecost Sunday</i> GrH 516; GrT 562 – <i>aliae orationes</i> – Pentecost Vigil
		GrP 468 – <i>Deus qui sacramento festivitatis</i>	GeV 638a – <i>collect</i> – Pentecost Sunday GrH 517; GrT 563 – <i>aliae orationes</i> – Pentecost Vigil
		GrP 469 – <i>Deus qui discipulis tuis</i>	GeV 464 – <i>Orationes ad vesperos</i> – Pentecost Octave
		GrP 470 – <i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus deduc nos</i>	GeV 524 – <i>Orationes paschales vespertinales</i> GrH 447; GrT 493 – <i>Aliae orationes paschales</i>
		GrP 471 – <i>Concede nobis, misericors deus</i>	GeV 651 – <i>Orationes ad vesperos</i> – Pentecost Octave
		GrP 472 – <i>Praesta quaesumus domine ut a nostris</i>	GeV 644 – <i>ad populum</i> – Pentecost Sunday

Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis	Evidence of prayer texts in other sacramentaries
		GrP 473 – <i>Annuē, misericors deus, ut qui</i>	Ve 194 – <i>Orationes pridie pentecosten</i> GrH 518; GrT 564 – <i>aliae orationes</i> – Pentecost Vigil

Gregorian tradition. Table 24 above provides the structure of the Mass *ad sanctum petrum*, its orations, and their recurrence in other sacramentaries.

Essentially the section dedicated to the liturgy of the Sunday following *Sabbato pentecosten* consists of an oration, a *super oblata/m* (*secreta* in the Tridentinum), a preface (with a *communicantes* and a *hanc igitur*); and an *ad complendum* prayer. The data in Table 24 reveals that aside from the collect (“Deus qui hodierna die”) all the other orations are taken from the Mass of Saturday night *post ascensum fontis*. The opening oration focuses upon the teaching activity of the Holy Spirit, and petitions the Lord for the Spirit’s wisdom and consolation.¹⁶² It contains no reference to the newly baptized as does the initial oration of the vigil Mass of Pentecost. The secondary nature of the liturgy of Pentecost Sunday in relation to that of Saturday night is made even clearer in the Paduensis, which does not bother to re-record the prayer texts, but simply supplies a rubric, *Super oblatam, prefatio, communicantes, hanc igitur, ad complendum, omnia ut supra*.¹⁶³

The unique nature of a repetitive liturgy for Pentecost Day in the Gregorian sacramentaries might support the possibility that the appearance of a single day of Pentecost is commemorated most primitively with a vigil that began in the night and concluded in the morning hours of Sunday, the fiftieth day of Pascha. Such a pattern would be in keeping not

¹⁶² “Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus inlustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere, et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per dominum.” (GrH 526; GrP 466; GrT 572).

¹⁶³ GrP 466a.

only with the feast of Pascha, which Pentecost comes to mirror, but also with the celebrations of some of the great martyrs, whose feasts appear marked first by evening gatherings that move into the day,¹⁶⁴ and with the Ember vigils for March and June. It would seem fitting that Pentecost, which assumes a dignity similar to that of Easter, be commemorated in a similar fashion.

The curious collection of seven *aliae orationes*, which make up the bulk of Section 104 in the Paduensis is deserving perhaps of a brief commentary. Such a collection appears neither in the Hadrianum nor in the Tridentinum on Pentecost Sunday, although three of the orations found in the Paduensis are repeated in the collection of *aliae*, which those sacramentaries list following the biblical vigil for Pentecost.¹⁶⁵ Three of the orations are found in the Gelasianum as the two initial orations for Pentecost Sunday (GrP 467=GeV 637; GrP 468=GeV 638), and one as the *ad populum* prayer for the same (GrP 472=GeV 644). The first oration, GrP 467, and the final, GrP 473, can be found in the Verona collection at Ve 191 and Ve 194 respectively. The three middle prayers (GrP 469-471) reappear in sets of vespers prayers both for Easter and for Pentecost among the sacramentaries.

Given the variety of uses for these texts, it is difficult to determine exactly why they appear in this position in the Padua sacramentary. They may merely be a treasury of great texts that an editor of the Paduensis wished to keep or are significant of some other

¹⁶⁴ For example, Sidonius Apollinaris describes the activities, both sacred and secular, that accompanied a nocturnal vigil, the conclusion of which seems to have concluded at dawn with the arrival of the bishop to preside over it. See Sidonius Apollinaris *Epistola XVII* (PL 58.547a-549b).

¹⁶⁵ These would be GrP 467, 468, and 473. This has been mentioned above in the analysis of the vigil texts, pages 328-335.

purpose.¹⁶⁶ If we employ Schmidt's very tentative proposal considered in Chapter Three – that the collections of *aliae* associated with the Paschal Vigil may be texts of another type of primitive vigil – then the Paduensis *aliae* also be have been remnant of a primitive type of Pentecost vigil. This proposition is conjecture at the present, but may be worth pursuing in future research.

The Liturgy of the Day of Pentecost: the Lectionaries and Antiphonals

The final elements to consider in this brief study of the liturgy of Pentecost Sunday are the evidence contained in the Roman lectionaries and antiphonals. Table 25, following concerns the lessons for Pentecost Sunday found in the ancient lectionaries. Only the *Comes* of Murbach and the Lectionary of Verona provide a location for this liturgy, St. Peter's in

Table 25. The Epistle and Gospel for the Mass of Pentecost Sunday

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In Dominico Pentecosten</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Ebd. VII Die Dom. Pentecosten</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Ebdomada VII die dominico pentecosten</i> Λ: <i>Die dominico pentecosten</i> Σ: <i>Die dominico pentecosten</i> Δ: <i>Ebdomada VII in pentecosten</i>	<i>Dom. pent. stati. ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>In dominica pentecosten</i>	<i>In Dom. Pentecostes</i>	<i>Dom in Pentecuste ad scm petru</i>
Acts 2: 1-11		Acts 2: 1	Acts 2: 1-12	Acts 2: 1-11	Acts 2: 1-11
John 14: 23-31	John 14: 23-31	John 14: 23			John 14: 23-31

the Vatican, as it is recorded in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The name given to the day in the lectionaries is relatively standard, *In dominico/a pentecosten/s* or a subtle variation. The name of the feast differs in the Würzburg Evangelary and in types Π and Δ of the Roman gospel capitularies. In these sources the day of Pentecost is known as *ebdomada VII*, an

¹⁶⁶ Following the Second Sunday of Easter in the Gregorians, *Die dominico post albas*, we find collections of additional prayers for Pascha: GrH 440-457; GrT 486-503; and GrP 376-380.

interesting contrast to the designation of Pentecost eve as *feria VII* in the Würzburg Evangelary and in type Π of the capitularies. This designation would not imply that Pentecost began the seventh week following Easter, but that in the Würzburg gospel list and in the capitulary types Π and Δ, Pentecost is measured from the Octave Sunday of Pascha and not from Easter Sunday itself.

The epistle and gospel in all lectionary systems are the same. The epistle is Acts 2:1-11, which recounts the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles in the upper room; and the continuation of John 14:23-31, read at the vigil, serves as the gospel, which here provides the teaching mission of the Spirit. The use of Acts 2 sets the context of the Spirit's arrival as on the "day" of Pentecost ("dies pentecostes"), and is consistent with a daytime celebration of Pentecost only if one forgets a Semitic understanding of day as evening to evening, not morning to morning. The choice of reading, then, seems to upset our prior assessment that a day celebration for Pentecost comes to be observed posterior to a vigil. However, the splitting of John 14 between the night and day celebrations may reveal something more. If the pattern of development for observing the feast of Pentecost began with a nighttime vigil, which observance grew to include a day celebration, then it might be that primitively in the single vigil celebration the entirety of John 14 was read – promise and mission of the Holy Spirit together. With the introduction of a separate day celebration, one can easily see how the passages were split between the nighttime and the day liturgies. A full appreciation of the significance of the feast can only be grasped now through participation in both the vigil and in the Mass during the day. Such a necessity may not

exist between the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil and the Mass during the day, with the resurrection accounts from Matthew and from Mark respectively supplied for each liturgy.

The evidence of the liturgy for Pentecost Sunday in the antiphonals reveals a bit more information, which may further clarify the feast's peculiarities. Table 26 provides the data for consideration. The name of the feast day is relatively consistent throughout the

Table 26. The Mass of Pentecost Sunday in the Roman Antiphonals

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
<i>In die sancto pentecosten</i>	<i>Dominico sancto pentecosten ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Dominica pentecosten ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>In die sanctum pentecosten</i>	<i>Dominica pentecosten statio ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Dominica pentecosten statio ad sanctum petrum</i>
	Ant.: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> Psalm: <i>Exsurgat deus</i>	Ant.: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> Psalm 67. Ad repet. <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	Ant.: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> Psalm: <i>Exsurgat deus.</i> Ad repet. <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	Ant.: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> Psalm: <i>Exsurgat deus</i>	Ant.: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i> Psalm: <i>Exsurgat deus.</i> Ad repet. <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>
Alleluia: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Alleluia: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i>	Alleluia: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Alleluia: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i>	Grad. Alleluia II: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Item: <i>Haec dies</i>	Alleluia: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Item Alleluia: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i>	Alleluia: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Alleluia: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i>	Alleluia: <i>Emitte spiritum tuum</i> Alleluia: <i>Spiritus domini replevit</i>
	Off: <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	Off: <i>Confirma hoc deus</i> Item Off: <i>Factus est repente</i> (a variation)	Off: <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	Off: <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>	Off: <i>Confirma hoc deus</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Factus est repente de celo sonus</i>	Ad Com: <i>Factus est repente de celo sonus anima</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Ad Com: <i>Factus est repente de celo sonus anima</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Ad Com: <i>Factus est repente de celo sonus anima</i> Psalm: <i>Dominus dabit verbum</i>	Ad Com: <i>Factus est repente de celo sonus anima</i> Psalm: <i>Exsurgat deus.</i> Ad repet.

manuscripts. The Antiphonal of Compiègne draws a line of complementarities between the night and day liturgies with its designation of *In vigilia* and *In die* for each celebration.

Neither the Compiègne manuscript nor that of Monza provides a location for the liturgy. In

the latter, the only texts we find are for the double alleluia, customary during the Sundays of the Paschal Season.¹⁶⁷

The other antiphonals begin with an introit, whose antiphon (“*Spiritus domini replevit orbem terrarum alleluia*”) and Psalm 67 (“*Exsurgat deus*”) are influenced by an ancient Gallican nocturnal office for Pentecost.¹⁶⁸ The existence of an entrance antiphon manifests a purposeful break between night and day liturgies. The double alleluia texts are the same throughout the manuscripts except in the Antiphonal of Mont Blandin. The other antiphonals list “*Emitte spiritum tuum*” (the offertory chant of the vigil) and repeat the antiphon of the introit (“*Spiritus domini replevit*”). In Mont Blandin, this second alleluia is replaced by “*Haec dies*,” the responsorial gradual from the Mass of Easter Day.¹⁶⁹ The reason for this choice in the Mont Blandin antiphonal may be another example of connecting Pentecost with Easter. The Mont Blandin manuscript also diverges from the other manuscripts in the offertory chant, for which the document provides two texts. The first is the common antiphon, “*Confirma hoc deus*”. An *Item* then appears, which itself is a

¹⁶⁷ Again, the reason for this arrangement is that Monza represents a cantatory rather than a true antiphonal. See above page 350, note 149. In his commentary on the Antiphonals, Hesbert understands the appearance of a double alleluia to serve as an element of choice from which the presider/choir was allowed to pick. See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxiii. Hesbert, however, cannot ascertain a sufficient reason why following Pentecost the alleluias are reduced from two to one. See *item*, lxviii.

¹⁶⁸ See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 313. The office itself is adopted by Rome in 13th century courtesy of the Franciscan order.

¹⁶⁹ The antiphonal of Mont Blandin also contains the confusing titles: *Resp. Grad All.*, and *Grad. All.*, which Hesbert cannot define any further than a verse of an alleluia serving as a gradual. It is interesting, though, that in the Mont Blandin manuscript an attempt to alleviate the confusion is done with the rubric concerning the alleluia, *Qualis volueris*. See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxiii-lxiv.

variation upon the communion antiphon, “Factus est repente.” Hesbert sees preserved in Mont Blandin elements of two different traditions.¹⁷⁰

In most of the manuscripts, save Monza and this time Rheinau, the psalm associated with the communion antiphon is Psalm 67, “Exsurgat deus,” from the introit; Mont Blandin and Compiègne both cited this as, *ut supra*. In the Antiphonal of Corbie, however, the initial words provided are, “Dominus dabit verbum,” which is actually the beginning of verse 12 of Psalm 67. If there is significance to this variation, Hesbert does not mention it.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxvii.

¹⁷¹ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 124-125.

Preliminary Conclusions

Despite the complex and at times confusing nature of its development at Rome, the liturgical texts for celebrating Pentecost offer important insight on the manner of keeping vigil in the ancient Roman tradition. The evidence, with which all the manuscripts tend to agree, suggests that as “Pentecost” moved from a title for the fifty day period following Easter to designating a single fiftieth day of Pascha it gives rise to a liturgy comparable to that of Pascha, a liturgy whose structure bookends the entire Paschal feast. Concurrent with this development is the practice of commemorating this fiftieth day with a Saturday into Sunday vigil in the same manner in which Pascha was celebrated. When the need arises to complete the sacramental initiation of individuals excluded from the Paschal rites, this fiftieth day becomes a preferred and/or logical occasion during which to execute the rites a second time. The rites of initiation celebrated at Pentecost take place in the same context as they were performed at Pascha, at the vigil. In both instances, Pascha and Pentecost, the importance of keeping a festal vigil is preserved in the tradition independent from its use as a background for baptism.

The question whether or not a fast was originally a constitutive element of the Pentecost Vigil is inconclusive. Scholars wrestle with this issue as a fast during or preceding the Pentecost Vigil would seem out of place during the festive Paschal season. As we saw in Chapter One on the Fourth Month Ember Vigil, Leo I mentions a fast in his sermons on Pentecost, but these are references either to resuming fast practices after the Paschal feast or to the Ember week of the Fourth Month, which comes to following

Pentecost.¹ It may be interesting to note the possibility that if a fast was not necessarily conceived as essential to the Pentecost Vigil, then fasting may not originally have been as synonymous with keeping vigil as it is sometimes thought. The prayer texts of the sacramentaries do not reference a fast or fasting either in preparation for the Pentecost Vigil or on it (save for one vigil Mass text of the Gelasianum). Thus any fasting, which may have been undertaken during the vigil of Pentecost would have been done by the candidates for baptism thereby not impinging on the festal nature of the Paschal Season, when fasting was prohibited. The nature of fasting in association with Pentecost and/or its vigil becomes equally confusing when the summer Ember Week, with its fasting proscriptions, becomes joined to or around this feast. It may be indeed that fasting, whether or not it was prescribed for all the faithful, had more to do with baptism and was not intrinsically connected to the keeping of a vigil for Pentecost.

The lectionary associated with the Pentecost Vigil assists with unlocking the significance of a more ancient system of keeping vigil at Pascha. This system is present in, though not exclusive to, the Gregorian sacramentaries, and is enhanced in the Gelasian tradition by external and non-Roman influences. Both the Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions share a structure of four scriptural lessons and prayers in the Pentecost Vigil. This detail may shape further the understanding of the number of lessons attached to the primitive Paschal Vigil. The argument that Chavasse makes for the development of a five-lesson lectionary that doubles in size to accommodate the needs of a bilingual community appears to miss a crucial point. As was shown in Chapter Three, the presence of a need for bilingual

¹ See pages 84-85.

liturgy may predate the pontificate of Pope Damasus I and is only retrieved in the sixth and seventh centuries with the arrival of the Byzantine governing officials.² Furthermore, if one considers that attending to the Byzantine population in Rome may have been a duty of the Lateran/papal church, as the central authority in Rome, rather than a responsibility of the titular-presbyteral churches it is interesting that the need for bilingual liturgy is not an outward concern of the Gregorian sacramentaries, as Chavasse considers it is for the Gelasian sacramentary. The titular-presbyteral practice of doubling the number of lessons for the Paschal Vigil on account of a bilingual liturgical tradition, therefore, may have arisen from an inaccurate assessment of the papal liturgical situation the editors of the Gelasianum may have been trying to imitate. It is equally interesting given Chavasse's understanding of a two-stage development of the number of lessons at the Paschal Vigil in the Gelasianum, from five lessons to ten, that the same augmentation does not materialize in that sacramentary's Pentecost Vigil. A fifth reading never emerges for the Pentecost Vigil in either the Gelasian or the Gregorian lectionaries, a lack that preserves the four-lesson vigil. Each tradition maintains similar arrangements, which may offer additional supporting evidence that a more primitive system for keeping vigil at both Pascha and Pentecost constituted four lessons in imitation perhaps of the four-scripture structure in the Talmudic Passover, which was mentioned in Chapter Three.³

The readings which comprise the Pentecost Vigil, therefore, might be understood in a light other than baptismal. In truth, with the exception of Exodus 14 and the image of

² See pages 221-222.

³ See pages 281-282.

deliverance through water it conveys, the themes of the other vigil readings – Genesis 1 or 22, Deuteronomy 31, Isaiah 4, and Baruch 3 – need not be limited and perhaps are best understood if not limited to an initiation context alone. Even the essential message of Exodus 14 is a proclamation of God’s ability to deliver and protect in times of adversity and struggle. The same perspective can also be applied to the lessons of the Paschal Vigil, which seem to have been chosen just as much for the already baptized as for those about to be baptized. The introduction of the celebration of baptism into these vigils modifies how these readings were understood, but their original intent is preserved. The lesson prayers, it seems, become the means for altering the emphases of the scripture readings, which may indeed pre-date the prayers themselves.

The series of *aliae orationes* preserved in the sacramentary may also prompt further inquiry. If they were meant to function as prayers associated with vigil lessons, then they may have functioned similarly to the Ember Vigil prayers, whose texts were not thematically tied to the scriptures. This arrangement may be an older pattern, pre-dating perhaps setting the prayers to readings as we see occurs at the Paschal Vigil. A design of prayers with themes independent of the biblical texts associated with them may be evidence of another stratum of liturgical prayer. Since the prayers are not oriented to the scripture reading, they may not have necessarily followed the reading as came to be the pattern for the Paschal Vigil: reading → silence → prayer. This model, inherited in many respects from the

ancient Egyptian monastic office,⁴ may have been only one of a number of models for organizing a scripture vigil.

Finally, it is important to consider Schmidt's theory of an original six-lesson vigil, which is divided between Pascha and Pentecost when the latter is established as a single feast day in the calendar. As he states, the six-lesson vigil may be possibly more primitive than the four-lesson structure, and established much earlier than six-lesson systems where the proclamation was done in two languages. Such would be the case for celebrating Pascha prior to the organization of a separate feast of Pentecost. In light of Schmidt's theory, then, we would see that an original commemoration of the fullness of salvation history celebrated at Pascha and expressed through six scripture readings comes to be shared between two feasts. An original and ancient six-lesson Paschal Vigil bears a strong resemblance to the Ember Vigils, whose celebration, as we suspect, may be just as ancient (if not more) as the keeping of vigil at Pascha.

The liturgical structure of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions affirms the Roman model for keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil. This model, even if divided into separate elements of a biblical vigil and a Eucharistic celebration in the sacramentaries, may still manifest a composition closer to the Embertide vigils, where a series of orations presumably associated with lessons, though not reflecting the scripture texts, leads to a set of prayers for the Eucharist, at its core. The absence of the introductory

⁴ See Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 60-62. As Taft reconstructs the model: the community is seated and a psalm is read by a soloist standing, the community then stands in silence with arms extended followed by prostration in prayer, concluding with a final period of silent prayer standing again with arms extended and a collect prayed by a presider. After each psalm, Taft notes, this pattern was repeated.

rituals of the Paschal Vigil at the beginning of the Pentecost Vigil in the Gelasian sacramentary provides further affirmation that Roman vigil keeping began simply with the lessons. This tradition of keeping vigil, which comes to characterize the principal feasts of the early Roman calendar, may, to a degree, be expressed best in the Gregorian tradition, whose Paschal and Pentecost Vigil structures do not diverge as they do in the Gelasian tradition. The Gelasian tradition, however, maintains a core of the primitive Roman practice even as it fosters a liturgical practice independent of the Gregorian, a practice that responds to contexts and situations particular to its own local experience of worship.

PART THREE

The Vigils of the Christmas Cycle

Introductory Comments

General Observations About the Vigils of Christmas and Epiphany

After Pascha and Pentecost a third feast of the Lord that has merited a vigil is Christmas, the Nativity of the Lord. The Vigil of Christmas, while its evolution is no less complex than that of Pascha or Pentecost, has a less defined ritual structure in the liturgical books when compared with the other two vigils. On the other hand, it is difficult to specifically identify a pre-Eucharistic vigil for Christmas, as there may be two or even three vigils operating in the celebration of the Nativity.

The origins of a feast of the Nativity lie in the West, making it a uniquely Western contribution to the liturgical calendar. The multifaceted feast not only commemorates Christ's birth in time, but also contains strong eschatological tones of the Savior's return. Such tones will come in time to supersede some of the eschatological expectations contained within the Paschal Vigil. The Christmas Vigil, however, never becomes a setting for baptism.

A full understanding as to why a pre-Eucharistic vigil exists at the feast of Christmas cannot be done without also studying a similar development regarding the feast of the Epiphany. Both feasts share similar historical and liturgical elements with Pascha, Pentecost, and the Ember Seasons; in particular Christmas and Epiphany reveal some association with the winter solstice in the Northern Hemisphere. Unlike Pascha and Pentecost, however, the observances of the Nativity and Epiphany are assigned to particular dates in the liturgical calendar, 25 December for Christmas, 6 January for Epiphany, rather

than being determined solely by lunar and solar calculations. While Christmas and Epiphany commemorate the birth of Christmas associated with an evening or nighttime context it may not follow that this context necessitated an evening vigil.

The development of the liturgical feast of Epiphany may pre-date the celebration of Christmas. Similar themes and ideas appear in both commemorations, but whereas the Nativity is Western in origin, scholars place the development of Epiphany firmly in the East. Such a conclusion is warranted given the Greek origin of the feast's name, *τά ἐπιφάνια* or *τά θεοφάνεια* (manifestation). The feast of the Epiphany served also as a context for baptism in some communities. Liturgical manuscripts do not all agree, however, on the presence of a pre-Eucharistic vigil at Epiphany.

Christmas and Epiphany developed with a unique focus. The central mystery of the Western feast of the Nativity is the birth of Christ; while in the East, the Epiphany commemorates two other mysteries in addition to the Nativity – the Baptism of Jesus and the wedding feast at Cana. The Baptism of Jesus is prominent among these mysteries. The visitation by the Magi is, surprisingly, not cited as a principal theme of the Epiphany in the East. The Magi are considered part of the unitive nature of the Nativity feast, along with the Annunciation, in the Jerusalem liturgy.¹ The emphasis on the feast as celebrating the Baptism of Jesus leads Epiphany to become an occasion for baptism in certain communities of the East, primarily Alexandria and Constantinople. In the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum sacramentaries a vigil for the Epiphany does not exist, yet one occurs in the Paduensis and in the Gelasianum.

¹ Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 132-133.

As was the case for Pascha and Pentecost a full-scale analysis of the origins of the feasts of Christmas and Epiphany go well beyond the scope of this paper. Some of the key elements of each feast's evolution, therefore, will be summarized briefly to benefit our study of their liturgical components.

The origins of Christmas in the Christian calendar are not easy to decipher, and two schools espouse different reasons why the feast was fixed to the date of December 25. Most scholars agree that the feast does not stem from the earliest layers of Christian celebration and is an addition to the ancient liturgical calendar later than Pascha or Pentecost. The earliest references in the literature to a special memorial to Christ's birth are fleeting and erratic.² Christmas appears in the West, and particularly in Rome, perhaps in the fourth century. The earliest mention of Christmas is found in a document that chronicles a variety of civic commemorations for the city of Rome, the *Chronograph* of 354.³ One particular part of this document contains a calendrical list of the burial dates of bishops, the *Depositio episcoporum*, and of martyrs, the *Depositio martyrum*. The first line in the latter supplies the entry: *VII kal. Jan. natus Christus in Bethleem Judeae*, or "On the eighth of the kalends of January (or December 25) Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea."⁴ The notation of Christ's birth at the head of the Chronograph leads us to believe that 25 December marked

² Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215) notes that a celebration of the Lord's birth was observed on several different days in the East: on 20 March, on 20 April, and on 17 November. See *Stromateis* 1.21 (PG 8:147).

³ See *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (1892-1898; repr. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1981), 71.

⁴ Martin Connell, *Eternity Today: on the Liturgical Year*, vol 1, *On God and Time, Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Candlemas* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2006), 98.

the beginning of the liturgical year in Rome, a conclusion that the sacramentaries and lectionaries of Roman practice affirm.⁵

References within the *Chronograph* are based upon an older calendar, which can be traced to the year 336. Pierre Jounel believes there is a connection between the establishment of the feast of the Nativity and the completion of St. Peter's Basilica by Constantine.⁶ Susan Roll argues against this stating that Constantine began the construction of Constantinople in 324, returning to Rome only from July to September of 326. This visitation encompasses the end of the period during which Christmas might have been inaugurated. The coincidence of the establishment of a feast of Christmas with the building of a Constantinian basilica in honor of St. Peter or any theory linking Constantine to the feast's observance in Rome does not seem plausible.⁷

The earliest evidence for the appearance of the Epiphany in the liturgical calendar is either the late second or early third century. This evidence concerns the celebration of Epiphany as a commemoration of the Baptism of the Lord. Our source for this data is Clement of Alexandria, who notes that a particular Gnostic sect celebrated the birth and

⁵ For example: the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries; the Roman lectionaries – Würzburg Epistolary and Capitulary, 'Comes' of Murbach, the Lectionary of Alcuin, the Lectionary of Corbie, the Lectionary of Verona, and the Roman Gospel Capitularies.

⁶ Pierre Jounel, "The Christmas Season," in *Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 78. John Baldovin believes some parts of the basilica were available for use by 337, but that the whole structure may have been completed under Constantius. See John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 110. There is also evidence of a mosaic in one of the tombs under St. Peter's, which identifies Christ as the *sol justitiae* (the sun of righteousness), which becomes the theme within the liturgical texts for Christmas. See Herman Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 103.

⁷ See Susan Roll, *Toward the Origins of Christmas* (Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995), 113-117.

baptism of Jesus on 6 January.⁸ Epiphany appears in Western records in Gaul in the early 300s.⁹ The feast enters into the West perhaps through Spain or Gaul, two areas influenced by Eastern practices. In the East the feast originates in Egypt as a dimension of a winter solstice festival on 6 January. Some communities in Egypt or Arabia may have transformed the worship of the Sun at this time in their calendars into the worship of an image of Christ as the Sun of Justice (see Malachi 4:2).

The reason for each feast's appearance is debated. Because the variety of positions on this matter is explained elsewhere,¹⁰ their major arguments will only be summarized here. One set of scholars believe the origins of Christmas and Epiphany lay in a concerted effort by the early Church to establish Christian feasts in opposition to the strength of some pagan celebrations resistant to Christianity. These scholars see the establishment of Christmas and Epiphany as the Church's response to solar festivals both in Rome (the cult of *Sol invictus*, the "Unconquered Sun") and in Egypt and the Near East (which festival may have celebrated the water god, Aion, whose birth of the virgin Kore bears a resemblance to that of Christ's, or a festival of Dionysius, when water was drawn from the Nile¹¹). Another set of scholars cite a current in the early Church that understood that Christ having lived a life of

⁸ See Mario Righetti, *L'anno liturgico. Il breviario*, vol. 2 of *Manuale di storia liturgica*, 3rd ed. (1969; 2nd repr., Milan: Ancora editrice, 2005), 103. Clement's comment is recorded in his *Stromateis* 1.21 (PG 8:147).

⁹ Jounel, "The Christmas Season," 79. The Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus reports that the Emperor Julian (the Apostate, 360-363) attended Epiphany services: "feriarum die quem celebrantes mense januaria christiani epiphaniae dictitant." See Ammianus Marcellinus *Rerum gestarum* 21.2.5 (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, ed. John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 101).

¹⁰ See Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 87-99; and Roll, *Toward the Origins of Christmas*, especially chapters 2 and 3.

¹¹ See Talley's observations and critiques on these festivals in *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 104-108.

perfection would have been conceived and died on the same date. The choice of 25 March as a date for the Passion (and hence also for the Annunciation) by many ancient Fathers would have naturally led to a perfect date of 25 December for Christ's birth. The use of a variety of calendrical computations around the ancient Mediterranean shifted this date to 6 January in the East. The debate favoring either position as an undisputed answer to the origin of each feast continues.

The placement of a nativity feast onto the liturgical calendar may also be connected to the Christological debates circulating throughout the Empire at the beginning of the fourth century and which would continue into the fifth century. The question of the relationship between humanity and divinity in Christ may have prompted specific attention to the Incarnation, which may not have been deemed a significant issue previously. When Pascha served as the sole annual festival of the Church, "the inclusion of the incarnation in the paschal themes would have been unavoidable," according to Thomas Talley, and thereby was sufficient to communicate both aspects of the Christ-event.¹² We can state that among the earliest Christians the interest lies not in the fact that Christ was born inasmuch as his coming to earth initiates the mystery of redemption.¹³ Likewise, Saint Augustine explains the difference in the manner of celebration between the Nativity of Christ and Pascha in Letter 55 to Januarius. The former for Augustine is a commemorative religious festival and

¹² Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 129-130. Talley quotes a text from Melito of Sardis' Paschal Homily, which speaks of Christ becoming "coming forth a man" from "a virgin's womb." See Melito of Sardis *Peri Pascha* 66. Translation: Stuart G. Hall, ed., *On Pascha and Fragments: Melito of Sardis* (Oxford University Press, 1979), 35.

¹³ See Oscar Cullmann, *Weihnachten in der alten Kirche* (Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1947), 9.

not indicative of any sacramental reality. The latter, on the other hand, celebrates the sacramental reception of the meaning of Christ's sacred *transitus* from death to life.¹⁴

Popular acceptance for commemorating a feast of the Savior's birth was gradual rather than immediate. Martin Connell argues for this position against those (Thomas Talley and Adolf Adam)¹⁵ who believe that there was widespread embracing of Christmas by the whole Church in latter fourth century. In Connell's view a fourth century feast focused upon the Incarnation that portrayed the Son of God as a vulnerable infant would have strengthened the position of the Arians and weakened that of the anti-Arians.¹⁶ There may have been greater resistance to the adoption of Christmas in the East when the two feasts of Christmas and Epiphany began a process of cross-adoption.¹⁷

The Nativity feast in Rome may have been imported from North Africa. This hypothesis surrounds the religious practices of the Donatists (fourth century) in that part of the Empire. The Donatists refused to celebrate a feast of Christ's birth, believing it to be an innovation.¹⁸ The existence of a feast of Christmas during the Donatist controversy could

¹⁴ See Augustine Letter 55.2.2 (John E. Rotelle, ed., *The Works of Saint Augustine*, vol. 2, part 1 [Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2001], 216).

¹⁵ For Talley see *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 87; for Adam, *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning After the Reform of the Liturgy*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, Inc., 1981), 124.

¹⁶ Connell, *Eternity Today*, vol. 1, 98-99. Recall that the Arian position sought to preserve the union of Christ with humanity, while its opponents upheld the unity of Father and Son.

¹⁷ See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 134-141.

¹⁸ One of Augustine's sermons (Sermon 202.2) mentions that the Donatists, with whom he has been in contention, do not appear to have celebrated any commemoration of Jesus' birth, and had taken this position for a number of years. The sermon is given on the Epiphany, but scholars believe that if Christmas predates Epiphany in the West, then the former feast's celebration must be implied. See John E. Rotelle, ed., *The Works of Saint Augustine*, vol. 3, part 6 (New Rochelle, NY: New City Press, 1993), 91-92.

push the establishment of Christmas to an earlier date than what is recorded in the *Chronograph* of 354.¹⁹ Other scholars believe that Christmas is an essentially Roman feast, imported throughout the Western and eventually Eastern Mediterranean. The popularity of following Roman customs led to a dissemination of Christmas among the calendars of various communities.²⁰

The absence of an entry for Epiphany in the *Chronograph* of 354 reveals the feast of the Nativity to be the more ancient observance in Rome. Epiphany's addition splinters a unitive sense of the Nativity feast – birth, adoration of the shepherds, and encounter with the Wise Men – which may have existed previously. While there is no evidence for this in the manuscripts, G.G. Willis affirmed that in Rome the original gospel read on Christmas Day was Matthew 2:1-12, the Visit of the Magi.²¹ With the introduction of the Epiphany feast in Rome, Luke 2: 1-20 is substituted for use on Christmas Day. It is not until the sixth century that the beginning of John's gospel (1:1-14) is appointed for the day Mass of Christmas.²²

Details on the liturgical, textual history for the celebration of either Christmas or Epiphany in the West are difficult to decipher. From the travel journal of Egeria we possess an elaborate description of the celebration of Epiphany in the Holy Land, but nothing on

¹⁹ Martin Connell, while not questioning a North African origin for Christmas, does challenge the evidence on how early we can surely state an appearance of Christmas in the liturgical calendars of the West. See Connell, *Eternity Today*, vol. 1, 107-108.

²⁰ See Bernard Botte, *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie: Étude historique*, Textes et études liturgiques 1 (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1932), 14; G.G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy* (London: The Boydell Press, 1994), 81; and Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 69-70. Willis uses as an example of Roman "Christianization" the origin of the Ember celebrations as based upon pre-Christian agricultural feasts. As I show in Chapter One, Talley has proved this a false dichotomy. See pages

²¹ See Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 82; and Willis, *Saint Augustine's Lectionary* (London: SPCK, 1962), 58.

²² Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 82.

Christmas. The observance of the Epiphany feast seems to involve a night service at Bethlehem on 5 January, though Egeria is not clear if this was a vigil, and then a procession to Jerusalem in the early morning of the sixth. A lacuna in Egeria's travelogue does not permit us to see how the night service unfolded or where it was actually held.²³ The morning service takes place in the Martyrium of the Constantinian basilica in Jerusalem.²⁴ The lectionary for Epiphany according to Egeria's account and that of the Armenian Lectionary is built upon the account of the Magi found in Matthew 2:1-12 exclusively. For information on Christmas, and also Epiphany, in the West we depend more on the liturgical texts themselves for what they relate of the celebration. We will examine the liturgies of Christmas first.

²³ The Armenian Lectionary (*Jerusalem 121*, c. 417-439) suggests that the vigil service was divided into two parts, the first was held in the "shepherds' field," *ποιμνιον*, a second in the basilica over the cave of the Nativity. See Athanase Renoux, "Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits," vol. 2 of *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 36, fasc. 2, no. 168 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1971), 211-221; see also Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 132.

²⁴ See *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25.6-12 (SC 296.250-255); and also Talley's assessment of Egeria's contribution in *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 131-133.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Vigils of the Feast of Christmas

Historical Notes on the Liturgical Celebration in Rome

The unique nature of the Christmas celebration in Rome is that it eventually comprises four, distinct liturgical celebrations. The Roman tradition designates these liturgies as a vigil service, a night service, a dawn service, and a day service. The four services cannot, however, be traced to the earliest stratum of the feast's celebration. In fact, the manner in which a vigil, as well as the other liturgies, becomes incorporated into the celebration of Christmas in the city of Rome is very peculiar. As we will see shortly, the Verona collection does not arrange Christmas liturgies according to time of day between the 24th and the 25th of December, but rather lists nine Masses for the Nativity in a section (Section 40) whose title commemorates a variety of other martyrs.¹ The division of Masses at different hours appears in the Gelasian and Gregorian texts, as well as in the lectionaries, Antiphonals, and *ordines*. Table 1 following, compares the headings for the Mass sets of the Christmas liturgies in the sacramentaries, which are similar in the other liturgical documents (save the Veronese).

The appropriate parts of the headings that refer to the time of day in which and the location at which these liturgies took place are bolded. The Gregorian sacramentaries list the locations of the celebrations on 25 December – Saint Mary Major, Saint Anastasia, and

¹ The first section under the month of December in the Veronese reads: *XL. VIII kalendas janurias. Natale domini et martyrum pastoris basilei et joviani et victorini et eugeniae et felicitatis et anastasiae.*

Saint Peter's in this order. The Paduensis provides a church, Saint Mary Major, for the first Mass of the Nativity presumably on 24 December; the Hadrianum and Tridentinum do not list a church for this liturgy. The Paduensis lists the 24 December liturgy at the ninth hour

Table 1. Headings for the Mass Sets of the Nativity of the Lord: Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<i>Orationes et preces in vigilis natalis domini ad nonam</i>	<i>IX kalendas januaris id est XXIV mense decembri orationes in vigilias domini</i>	<i>IX kalendas januaris id est die XXIV mense decembri in vigilias domini</i>	<i>In vigilia natalis domini hora nona statio ad sanctam mariam</i>
<i>Item de vigilia domini in nocte</i>	<i>VIII kalendas januaris id est XXV die mensis decembris natale domini ad sanctam mariam majorem</i>	<i>VIII kalendas januarii in natale domini die XXV mensis decembris ad sanctam mariam</i>	<i>In vigilia domini in nocte ad sanctam mariam</i>
<i>Item in vigilia domini mane prima</i>	<i>De nocte ad sanctam anastasiam</i>	<i>De nocte ad sanctam anastasiam</i>	<i>Ad sanctam anastasiam</i>
<i>Item in natale domini in die</i>	<i>In natale domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>In natale domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Item ipsa die ad sanctum petrum</i>

(*hora nona*). The Mass at Saint Anastasia occurs in the night (*in nocte*) in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum; but the Paduensis states that the second Mass at Saint Mary Major occurs also in the night. The Paduensis seems to imply two vigils, the first and second Masses of Christmas, both taking place at Saint Mary Major, one at *none* the other *in nocte*. The Gelasianum, which resembles the Paduensis as both are presbyteral sacramentaries, provides for three Christmas liturgies *in vigilia* and a fourth liturgy *in die*. The three vigils in the Gelasian sacramentary are each designated by time of celebration rather than by place – *ad nonam* (GeV 1-4), *in nocte* (GeV 5-9), *mane prima* (GeV 10-16; this last could be “early in the morning” on Christmas day), and *in die* (GeV 17-23).

While it is doubtful this four-liturgy schema is the earliest organization of the celebration of Christmas in Rome, it is equally questionable whether or not the celebration of Christmas evolved from a primitive nighttime vigil toward day, as in the Paschal Vigil.

Willis believes that the feast at Rome originally had one Mass and that liturgy was celebrated on Christmas day at Saint Peter's basilica.² The site of Saint Peter's is attested also in a December collect of the Verona collection, which appears to be for the liturgy for Christmas day.³ Saint Ambrose, in reference to Marcellina's taking the veil of virginity, also states that Pope Liberius (352-366), from whom it was received, celebrated a solemn Mass at Saint Peter's on the feast of the Nativity, which seems to be a daytime liturgy.⁴ Mario Righetti offers that from the first half of the fifth century the most primitive celebration for the Nativity in Rome begins with a usual vigil office from the ferial day on which 24 December fell, followed by a Mass for the Nativity of Christ, both of which were celebrated at Saint Peter's, attended by the Pope and the faithful.⁵ The vigil took place at the hour of *none* and it concluded a fast. Righetti cites an oration from Section 40 of the Verona collection as evidence for this fast-breaking vigil at the ninth hour:

Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors deus, et sempiternae pater, ut
nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi sollemnia, quae praesentibus officiis
praevenimus, sic nova sint nobis, et continuata permaneant; sic perpetua perseverant,
ut pro sui miraculo nova semper exsistant: per. (Ve 1240)⁶

It is not clear and rather confusing whether or not Righetti distinguishes between a vigil office and a Eucharist, or a pre-Eucharistic vigil with the evidence he presents. Only

² Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 81.

³ "Ut ad salutaris hodiernae generationis exordium pertinere mereamur apostolicis tribue nos domine quaesumus precibus adjuvari: per." (Ve 1268). See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 72.

⁴ See Ambrose of Milan, "...beatae memoriae Liberii praecepta revolvare; ut quo vir sanctior, eo sermo accedat gratior. Namque is, cum Salvatoris natali ad apostolum Petrum virginitatis professionem vestis quoque mutatione signares." *De virginibus* 3.1.1 (PL 16:173).

⁵ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 72.

⁶ See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 72. The bolded pertinent portion of the prayer that possibly refers to a vigil is the present author's.

the Gelasianum and the Paduensis refer to a Mass *in vigilia* at the ninth hour. The hour is traditional for concluding a fast, as we saw in Chapter One with Philastrius of Brescia, who writes of the four fasts of the year, one being held at Christmas.⁷ Exercising caution when cross-referencing customs practiced in Brescia and in Rome, we discover that the headings for the first liturgy of Christmas in the Gelasian and in the Paduensis do not identify the first Mass of Christmas as a liturgy to break a fast; rather it is a vigil *natalis domini*, or simply *domini*. A similar phenomenon occurs, as we will see, at *Ordo Romanus* (OR) 12.3, where the instruction on celebrating the vigil of Lord indicates that the psalms at the nocturns are to be followed with usual *daily* antiphons.⁸ This instruction appears to involve a vigil office and may not necessarily concern a pre-Eucharistic vigil. The arrangement in the *ordo* differs from that which we encountered previously in our analysis of the vigils of the Ember seasons, Pascha, and Pentecost. In these latter cases, the vigil acts as an extended Liturgy of the Word leading immediately to a celebration of the Eucharist, interrupted by a sacramental rite (Baptism and/or Confirmation) when applicable.

Righetti further states that a second vigil office and a Mass at Saint Peter's basilica followed a little later in the evening, *ad galli cantum*: a designation for an hour deep in the

⁷ Philastrius of Brescia, "Nam per annum quatuor jejunia in Ecclesia celebrantur: in Natali primum." *Liber de haeresibus* 149.3 (Bulhart CCL 9:312) While care should be taken when comparing liturgical practices in Brescia with those in Rome, Righetti sees an influential link, which may have gone from the latter to the former in this regard.

⁸ *Nam in psalmis ad nocturnos cotidianae antiphonae.* (OR 12.3). The *ordo* does refer to the liturgy as the "vigil of the Lord" (*In vigilia domini quinque lectiones cum totidem responsoria*). See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Louvain: Peeters – Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971), 459.

night, which begins the turn toward morning.⁹ The only evidence for such a liturgy among the liturgical manuscripts may be found at OR 12.4.¹⁰ This liturgy, however, may represent a truer pre-Eucharistic vigil, and may possibly be the origin of the Mass, which occurs *in nocte*.

We lack a full order for either a vigil *ad nonam* or *ad galli cantum* in the Roman sources. The Armenian Lectionary (*Jerusalem 121*, 5th century) states that a vigil composed of eleven Old Testament readings, epistle, and gospel from Saint Matthew took place at the basilica over the cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem.¹¹ It is difficult to say whether or not the evening/nighttime liturgies for the Nativity that Rhigetti says occurred at the Vatican basilica bore any resemblance to the Bethlehem vigil.

The principal liturgy for feast occurred at the third hour of day of 25 December at Saint Peter's. The Prologue of St. John's Gospel was proclaimed at this liturgy.¹² The position of Saint Peter's in the topography of Rome facing the East and the rising of the sun would have lent a powerful symbol to the rising "Sun of Righteousness" of the Christmas celebration.¹³ Evidence is lacking to prove one way or another that the scatter references to

⁹ See "Gallicinium," *DACL*, 593-596.

¹⁰ We shall discuss these elements momentarily. It is important to note that two vigil offices are provided in this *ordo*, however. By the time of the *ordo*'s recension this office has acquired elements of a later development in that it is celebrated no longer at the Vatican basilica, but at Saint Mary Major.

¹¹ See Renoux, *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121*, vol. 2, 211-221.

¹² Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 72. It was at this Mass that Pope Celestine I (422-432) read to the faithful of Rome the decisions reached at the Council of Ephesus (431) on the place of the Virgin Mary in salvation history.

¹³ John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 110, 157. Leo I in one of his Christmas homilies writes against a prayer of bowing to the rising sun upon entering St. Peter's Basilica in

evening/nighttime liturgies preceding Christmas day were the original celebration or if the former elements were accrued to an original day celebration over time. While we possess very little in the way of authoritative proof for a primitive structure of the Roman celebration of Christmas, Table 2, below, may offer at least a sketch of a possible schema.

Table 2. The Primitive Christmas Liturgies in Rome (c. 400-c. 430)

Time	Ninth Hour 24 December	<i>Ad galli cantum</i> 24/25 December	Third Hour 25 December
Place	Saint Peter's Basilica	Saint Peter's Basilica	Saint Peter's Basilica
Participants	Pope and faithful	Clergy, with Pope and faithful	Pope and all the faithful of Rome
Liturgical elements	Vigil and Mass Concludes the fast	Vigil and Mass Night service Begins the celebration of the feast of Christmas	Official Mass of the solemnity Prologue of John's Gospel

As we move into the fifth century, we find more substantial evidence of a developing observance of the Lord's Nativity. Sixtus III (432-440) introduced a new element into the liturgical observance of Christmas. In the wake of the Council of Ephesus (431) a new devotion to Mary as the Mother of God emerges, to which Sixtus pays tribute in the erection of a basilica to the Virgin Mary (*Santa Maria Maggiore*, Saint Mary Major) on the Esquiline Hill.¹⁴ Within the basilica Sixtus also builds a small subterranean oratory based upon the

an effort to disassociate the feast of Christmas from sun-worship: "...priusquam ad beati Petri apostoli basilicam, quae uni Deo vivo et vero est dedicata, perveniant, superatis gradibus quibus ad suggestum areae superioris ascenditur, converso corpore ad nascentem se solem reflectant, et curvatis cervicibus, in honorem se splendoris orbis inclinent." *Tractatus* 27.4 (Chavasse CCL 138:135)

¹⁴ Scholars believe that this basilica was either built upon or reconstructed an older basilica built by Pope Liberius (352-366). See Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, 111; Charles Pietri, *Roma Christiana : recherches sur l'Eglise de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311-440)*, vol. 1 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1976), 511. See also John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the fourth century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 136, who believes that St. Mary Major may have no connection with the Liberian basilica.

grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem. This chapel takes the name *ad praesepe* (at the crib) by which the basilica will also come to be known in the sixth century.¹⁵

It seems that a short while later Sixtus introduced a custom of celebrating the mystery of the Nativity with a Mass at midnight, 24/25 December. The liturgy was a custom peculiar to Sixtus and he still seems to have maintained the nocturnal vigil and Mass at St. Peter's. The liturgy was simple and the texts of Sixtus' Mass *ad praesepe* centered upon the Annunciation of the angel to Mary.¹⁶ Sixtus' inspiration may have stemmed from frequent exchanges during this time between Rome and Palestine, through which liturgical influences were imported into the city.¹⁷ One of these imports that impressed Sixtus was the manner in which the church at Bethlehem celebrated the eve of Christmas. The Bethlehem liturgy for the Nativity, as stated above, resembles more the pattern of a pre-Eucharistic vigil we find at Pascha, with an extended Liturgy of the Word prior to the Eucharist. There is no evidence for or against that the Mass *ad praesepe* was as elaborate as this liturgy.

As the Nativity celebration *ad praesepe* replicated the site of the Nativity itself, the liturgy at St. Mary Major gains in popularity and significance. As a part of this growing popularity, the nocturnal vigil *in galli cantu* celebrated at Saint Mary Major is replicated by the clergy serving at St. Peter's basilica.¹⁸ The celebration at St. Mary Major, however, was maintained as a private liturgy of the papal household, at which only the Pope

¹⁵ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 73.

¹⁶ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 74.

¹⁷ See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 74; and Curran, *Christian City and Pagan Capital*, 148-149. Curran see the extensive building program begun by Pope Damasus (366-384) as initiating a liturgical rapport between the Constantinian urban planning in the Holy Land and in Rome.

¹⁸ See OR 12.4: "*Item in natale domini ad vigiliis sicut agitur ad sanctam Mariam.*"

communicated. The service at Saint Peter's seems to have been on at which a greater number of the faithful of Rome attended.

The operation of two vigils at the Vatican and at St. Mary Major on Christmas eve, and recorded in the Roman *ordines*, would have seemed an odd practice.¹⁹ Righetti notes that Sixtus' addition of a vigil at Saint Mary Major represented a uniquely "Roman" manner of celebrating a major feast. On these occasions, two vigils, one at midnight, as in customary daily practice, and one early in the morning, specifically commemorating a solemnity, preceded the more important feasts.²⁰ The texts for both of these liturgies would be oriented to the feast. Thus, Sixtus kept the nocturnal liturgy at Saint Peter's, at cockcrow (*in galli cantu*) while observing his own at St. Mary Major (at midnight). This type of two-vigil pattern was unknown outside of Rome. Since a Mass followed both of these vigils we might consider these pre-Eucharistic vigils, although they may have been of a different "order" than the vigils of Pascha, Pentecost, and the Ember Saturdays. The ninth hour vigil is not included in this "two-vigil" phenomenon in Rome, occurring as it did at a much earlier hour than what was prescribed for these celebrations.

¹⁹ In the ninth century, Amalarius of Metz questioned the Roman practice of two-vigils on Christmas Eve, which he discovers in the Roman antiphonals. In *De ordine antiphonarii* 15, he inquires of a certain *clericum educatum ab incunabulis in sancta romana ecclesia* the reason for two vigils on this day and is told that the first of these offices is that which the pope is in the habit of singing at the vigil in the church of St. Mary Major at the crib (*solet Apostolicus canere in vigiliis et in ecclesia sanctae Mariae ad praesepe*). It precedes the Mass at night, *ad vigiliis*. The second takes place at Saint Peter's conducted by the clerics when the people are in the habit of rising for the office (*alterum solent clerici canere in ecclesia S. Petri cum invitatorio, quando populus solet ad officium surgere*). See Michael Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 1971), 460, no. 4.

²⁰ See Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 74, no. 10. This custom was observed Righetti believes first with the memorials of the Saints. In the liturgical texts these two vigils can be identified by their titles, *in vigilia* and *in mane prima*, generally with regard to the celebration of particular martyrs.

In the sixth century a celebration of a second Mass following the night service at the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia at the foot the Palatine hill further develops the Christmas liturgy. The cult of the saint, venerated in Constantinople on 25 December, was inaugurated in Rome during the Byzantine occupation of the city. Pope John III (561-574) began the practice of celebrating a relatively private and simple liturgy in honor of the martyr at the *titulus* as a nod to good relations with the imperial government. The Mass at first contained no direct reference to the Nativity, but these begin to appear quite shortly after the practice began.²¹ Pope Gregory I (590-604) seemed to favor the Mass at the *titulus* as a Christmas liturgy above that of commemorating the martyr. With the end of direct Byzantine governance in Rome in the eighth century the papal liturgy retained the Mass, now fully celebrated as a Christmas liturgy, with a remnant collect to Saint Anastasia included among the texts written for it. The custom of celebrating a Christmas Mass at the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia in the early morning eventually led to the elimination of the ancient Mass at Saint Peter's basilica *in galli cantu* as a useless duplication. The Vatican night liturgy had begun to suffer somewhat as the vigil and Mass at Saint Mary Major gained in popularity.²² There is, however, no record of a vigil celebrated prior to the Mass at Saint Anastasia.²³

²¹ As we will see, the Gregorian sacramentaries provide two texts for each of the presidential prayers and two prefaces for the Mass at Saint Anastasia, one text in honor of the martyr, the other in honor of the Nativity. Neither the Gelasianum nor the Veronese contain such an arrangement.

²² Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 75-76.

²³ It is interesting to note that traveling the distance from the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia to the Vatican basilica eventually proves to be too exhausting an effort for the pope, who had little rest following the night liturgies, so that by the end of the 11th century the station for the day Mass is moved back to Saint Mary Major, where it remained in the stationary reckoning of the Roman Missal under the liturgical reforms of the 20th

By the eighth century, the Roman church celebrates three Masses of Christmas – a Eucharist in the night at the church of Saint Mary Major, a Eucharist in the early morning at Saint Anastasia, and another at the third hour of the day following at Saint Peter’s basilica. A vigil office and Mass originally associated with the breaking of a fast precedes these liturgies at the ninth hour on 24 December. Pope Gregory I acknowledges the three Eucharists as a particular hallmark of the Christmas feast in a Christmas sermon, “...on this day we celebrate the Mass of the solemnity three times.”²⁴

The liturgies of the feast of Christmas develop on a scale no other liturgical feast mirrors. Unanswered, however, is the question how the evening/nighttime liturgies – *ad vigilia*, *in nocte*, and *mane prima* – relate to each other and to the liturgy in the day, and if the vigil applied to Christmas consists of one or three celebrations. Let us now turn to a consideration of the liturgical texts composed for each celebration of the Nativity of Christ in order to examine the function of a vigil for this feast and the effect of this liturgy on the feast’s theological meaning. We will begin with the Roman *ordines*.

The Vigil of Christmas in the Roman Ordines

The lack of details on the manner of celebrating a pre-Eucharistic vigil for Christmas in the liturgical texts hampers our quest to proceed with a full analysis of the ancient Christmas liturgies in Rome. The closest we may get to understanding how this complex of

century. See Rhigetti, *L’anno liturgico*, 77; and Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne, eds. *Le Liber Censuum de l’Église romaine* 2 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1910), 143-144.

²⁴ “Quia largiente domino missarum solemnitas ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de evangelica lectione non possumus.” Gregory I *Homilia* 8.1 (PL 76:1460).

liturgies was enacted is found among five Roman *ordines*, which concern readings used for the Divine Office at the Vatican basilica. These *ordines* – OR 12, OR 13A, OR 15, OR 16, and OR 17 – explain the practice of celebrating the office of vigils for the Nativity of the Lord. Table 3 outlines the aspects of keeping vigil, or vigils in some instances along with other liturgical elements, of Christmas in the Roman *ordines*.

OR 12 (c. 750-799) and OR 13A (c. 700) are the only *ordines* not to include a vigil of fasting or Mass at the ninth hour on 24 December. Let us expand, first, on the data from OR 12 we presented in the historical notes on Christmas above. OR 12.3 provides for a first vigil of Christmas (*in vigilia domini*) consisting of five lessons and responsories; the text does not say a Mass follows this vigil.²⁵ While no hour is given for when this vigil takes place, there is a reference to psalms and antiphons at *nocturns*. Then at OR 12.4 the *ordo* prescribes a second vigil entitled, *in natale domini, ad vigiliis*. The instruction directs that the vigil be celebrated “just as it is done at Saint Mary Major” (*sicut agitur ad sanctam mariam*), and yet provides specifics on how the liturgy takes place at Saint Peter’s basilica.²⁶ There is, as for the first vigil the *ordo* cites, no time indicated for this latter vigil to take place; although we may presume by its comparison to Saint Mary Major’s vigil that the Vatican basilica’s second vigil occurred at night. While OR 12 describes the celebration of the office at the Vatican basilica, it attests also to the growing influence of the liturgy at Saint Mary Major upon it. The *ordo* provides no number of readings for the night vigil, but

²⁵ “*In vigilia domini quinque lectiones cum totidem responsoria. Nam in psalmis ad nocturnos cotidiana antiphonae. In matutinis, sicut habetur in capitulare.*” (OR 12.3).

²⁶ “*Item in natale domini ad vigiliis sicut agitur ad sanctam mariam.*” (OR 12.4).

Table 3. Evidence of Vigil in the Celebration of Christmas in the Roman *Ordines*

<i>Ordo</i>	Date	Fast-Vigil	Other Vigil	Night-Vigil	Other Liturgies
12	ca. 770-795		OR 12.3 Vigil of the Lord Five lessons Five responsories	OR 12.4 Nativity of the Lord <i>at vigils</i> Eight responsories <i>Nocturn after Mass</i> Twelve psalms of the day Nine lessons Eight responsories from the Nativity	
13A	ca. 700-750			OR 13A.13 Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord Isaiah 9:1 Isaiah 40:1 Isaiah 52:1 Sermons/homilies of the <i>catholic fathers</i>	
15	ca. 750-787	OR 15.6 Day before the Nativity of the Lord At the hour celebrate the Mass		OR 15.7-8 Vigil of the Nativity of the Lord Nine psalms with readings and responsories; OR 15.9-10 Mass at midnight, when the cock crows	OR 15.11 Mass at Saint Anastasia <i>after midnight (?)</i> ----- Mass at Saint Peter's <i>when daylight comes</i>
16	ca. 750-787	OR 16.23 Day before the Nativity of the Lord Make the public fast At the ninth hour celebrate the Mass	OR 16.24 At vigil the day before the Nativity of the Lord Psalms with responsories and antiphons as at matins are sung	OR 16.25 At vigil of the Nativity of the Lord Nine psalms with responsories Solemn Mass in the night	
17	ca. 780-790	OR 17.7-9 Day before Nativity of the Lord celebrate Saint Eugenie at vigil Then fast and at ninth hour celebrate Mass after making vigil		OR 17.10-12 At vigil of the Nativity of the Lord at night celebrate vigil with nine psalms and nine readings with homilies of Augustine, Pope Leo or St. Gregory Matins follow Then at cockcrow Mass	OR 17.15-16 At daylight "proceed to another church" and celebrate Mass as previously ----- During the day "proceed to the church" and celebrate Mass of the Nativity

rather lists a set of responsories, eight in all.²⁷ The text at OR 12.4 continues with mention of the Mass in the night and then a celebration of *nocturns*. It is not clear whether or not this is another vigil service or a liturgy distinct from the two previous vigil services. The *nocturns* following Mass consist of twelve daily psalms, nine lessons, and eight responsories; these liturgical elements are taken from the feast.²⁸

OR 13A, the earliest of the *ordines* that speak of a Nativity vigil (c. 700-750) is of Roman origin according to Andrieu.²⁹ The text alludes to only one vigil for the Nativity at OR 13A.13. Rather than providing a number of lessons to be proclaimed at the vigil, the text provides specific readings. The liturgy consists of three lessons, all taken from Isaiah, and then a selection of patristic homilies.³⁰ The text only provides the incipits of the lessons, and states that they be read for as long as the prior deems appropriate.³¹ There is no mention of a Mass in conjunction with the vigil.

²⁷ The responsories are:

Ecce jam veniet hora
Hodie nobis caelorum
Beata Dei genetrix
Hic qui advenit

O regem caeli
Quem vidistis pastores
Haec est dies
Continet in gremio

These responsories will be dealt with below in relation to the *alia orationes* that follow the Christmas sections in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum.

²⁸ “*Item in media nocte post finitam missam ad nocturnos...psalmos cottidianos XII, lectiones IX, responsorias VIII de natale domini.*” (OR 12.4).

²⁹ Michael Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2, 477.

³⁰ “*In vigilia natalis domini legunt primum de Esaia lectiones tres...Deinde leguntur sermons vel omelias catholicorum patrum ad ipsum diem pertinentes, id est Agustini, Gregorii, Hieronimi, Ambrosi vel ceterorum.*” (OR 13A.13).

³¹ “*Et istae tres lectiones non terminantur sed sicut voluerit prior cui proprium est.*” (OR 13A.13).

In a puzzling entry, the text of OR 15.6 refers to the 24th of December neither as a fast nor a vigil, though it provides for a Mass *Pridie natales domini*.³² A Mass is celebrated, but it is not clear that this Mass observes the Nativity. At the beginning of the night of the 24th a vigil consisting of nine readings and nine responsories takes place in the church (OR 15.7-8).³³ Next follows a Mass at night primarily for the papal household (OR 15.9-10).³⁴ There is no suggestion in the texts of OR 15 that the evening liturgies be celebrated according to the practice at St. Mary Major, as we saw in OR 12. It is interesting, however, that in the *Sangallensis* 349 recension of the *ordo* the time for the Mass is midnight,³⁵ and in the other recensions it is cockcrow. Cockcrow was the more ancient time for this liturgy at Saint Peter's, with midnight becoming the time for the liturgy Sixtus introduces at Saint Mary Major. The nocturnal vigil matches what is represented in OR 12, and the style of both vigils seem designed to roughly approximate the Bethlehem vigil schema. A second Mass, as the light is beginning to dawn (*mox luce superveniente*), and a third Mass, presumably on the day, are held following the night vigil and Mass. These Masses take

³² "*Pridie natales domini nisi forte dominica contegeret, sicut reliquis diebus dominicis missarum solemnibus hac ora celebrantur.*" (OR 15.6, St. Gall 349). This entry Andrieu admits does not make much sense. It appears that the copyist omitted some words or a sentence. In examining other recensions as well as a similar passage in Ordo XVI, the entry appears to refer to the contingency of the vigil of Christmas falling during the week of the Embertide of December. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 56.

³³ See Michael Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 3 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense/Peeters, 2006), 60-61. OR 15.7 reads: *In vigilia vero natalis domini incipiente nocte mox ingrediuntur in ecclesia* – this is the rendering found in the manuscript Saint-Gall 349.

³⁴ "...domnus apostolicus cum omni ordine sacerdotum ad missas ingrediuntur." (OR 15.10).

³⁵ "*Media autem nocte ipso domno apostolico cum episcopis vel reliquis sacerdotibus cum cereis vel multis luminibus procedente surgentes preparant se qualiter ad missas ingrediantur.*" (OR 15.9).

place at the churches of Saint Anastasia and the Vatican basilica respectively (OR 15.11).

These latter two Masses are attended by the faithful.³⁶

OR 16, an elaboration upon OR 15 either for members of a Benedictine community in Rome³⁷ or as a companion to the Gelasian Sacramentary for use in the presbyteral *tituli* of Rome,³⁸ reveals that the Roman celebration of Christmas has been influenced by Gallican customs. A number of events occur on the 24th of December. At 16.23, the *ordo* references a time, *pridie natalis domini*, on which a fast is kept, broken by Mass at the ninth hour.³⁹ While the *ordo* lists the time in relation to the Nativity, it is not clear whether or not this liturgy is considered a part of the festal celebration. Next follows a *vigilia pridie natalis domini* (OR 16.24) consisting of a series of psalms, responsories, and antiphons similar to what was done at *matins* pertaining to the day.⁴⁰ The entries at 16.23 and 16.24 suggest the observance of a vigil and Mass breaking a pre-festal fast. This pattern matches the structure proposed by Rhigetti for a first liturgy of Christmas at Saint Peter's basilica, and is similar to the entry at OR 13A.13 and partially at OR 12.3.

A vigil "office" follows at OR 16.25, characterized as a *vigilia natalis domini*. This vigil is composed of nine psalms with antiphons, responsories, and versicles, but nothing is

³⁶ "...cum multa turba populi ad sanctam anastasiam procedunt et ibidem <iterum> missas celebratas mox luce superviente ad sanctum petrum omnes accedunt et missas ibidem sacre nativitatis domini cum magno decore celebrantur." (OR 15.11).

³⁷ See Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. William G. Storey and Neils Krogh Rasmussen (Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 168.

³⁸ See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 134-144.

³⁹ "Pridie natalis domini nisi forte dominica contegerit omnes publicum jejunium faciunt et ora nona missas celebrantur humiliis." (OR 16.23).

⁴⁰ "In vigilia pridie natalis domini humiliis cum responsoriis suis vel antephonis in matutinis laudibus de ipsa die pertinentes canuntur." (OR 16.24).

said concerning scripture lessons or their number. There is also no mention of a nocturnal Mass; instead the entry goes on to mention praying *matins* as a morning office (*matutinis laudibus*) followed by the solemn Mass of the Nativity on Christmas Day.⁴¹ We may infer that this is the Mass of the day because the *ordo* instructs at 16.26: *Corpus autem domini in ipsa nocte expletis missarum solemniiis omnis communicant*. The fact that everyone communicates reveals this Mass was celebrated at Saint Peter's. The absence of any mention of a nocturnal Mass also discloses that by the time of the *ordo*'s recension the evening Mass at Saint Peter's has been suppressed in favor of that which occurred at Saint Mary Major. Finally, OR 16.25, OR 12 and OR 15, all have notes to pray "matins" (*matutinis laudibus*) prior to the Mass. Matins, a term that can refer to a night office as well as an office early in the morning,⁴² appears in the context of the *ordines* to refer to a separate office from the vigil more akin to Lauds.

OR 17, an eighth century Gallican and monastic compilation of OR 15 and OR 16, contains the same information previously mentioned for the Christmas liturgies. The *ordo*, while redacted in imitation of the rites of Rome, affirms the pattern of Roman celebration we have been examining. At OR 17.8-9 a Eucharist concluding a fast is celebrated at the ninth hour on the vigil of the Nativity of the Lord.⁴³ The *ordo* does not make clear if a vigil

⁴¹ "In vigilia natalis domini tam psalmi novem cum antepionis vel humilias cum responsorii suis seu et versibus et matutinis laudibus expletis vel missarum solemniiis ordine quo in priore capitolare memoravimus cum magno decore celebrantur." (OR 16.25).

⁴² See A.J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 7-15.

⁴³ "Ipsa vero die nisi forte dominica contigerit omnes publicum jejunium faciunt. Et ora nona vigilia natalis domini missas celebrentur." (OR 17.8).

preceded this Mass, although it seems to speak of one held *pridie natalis domini*.⁴⁴ At OR 17.10 a brief rest for the monks (*paulolum requiescunt*) follows the Mass, after which they celebrate the nocturnal vigil of nine lessons and responsories, and patristic homilies.⁴⁵ Matins⁴⁶ and the first Mass of Christmas begin after this vigil; the latter is celebrated *ut gallus cantaverit*.⁴⁷ As soon as light dawns (*deinde mox luce superveniente*) on Christmas Day all process to another church (*ad aliam ecclesiam*) for another Mass⁴⁸ celebrated similarly (*similiter celebrantur aliam missam sicut et prius*). This second Mass must be the liturgy at Saint Anastasia. A third and final Mass of the holy Nativity of the Lord (*missas sacre nativitatis domini*) celebrated at the appropriate hour of the day (*cumpetente hora diei*) completes the celebration. A location for this third church is not given in the *ordo*, although it may have been held at St. Peter's in the Vatican. Thus, OR 17 mentions three Masses for the feast of Christmas and, at OR 17.16, pronounces its adherence to Roman custom by quoting Gregory I, "on this day we celebrate the Mass of the solemnity three times."⁴⁹ The appearance in the text prior to the Christmas liturgies of a commemoration of Saint Eugenie

⁴⁴ On the same day, 24 December, the text notes a commemoration to Saint Eugenia, who is remembered at a Mass at *terce*: "*Gesta sanctae eugeniae vel ejus commemorationem pridie natalis domini tantum ad vigilias celebrantur matutinis vero de supradicto die pridie natalis domini ejus missa ora tertia canuntur et celebrantur.*" (OR 17.7).

⁴⁵ "*In ipsa vero vigilia natalis domini...expletis novem psalmis cum antefonis aut novem lectionibus de humiliis sancti augustini vel pape leonis aut sancti gregorii cum responsoriis.*" (OR 17.10).

⁴⁶ "*Deinde secuntur matutine cum antefonis.*" (OR 17.11).

⁴⁷ "...*Et ut gallus cantaverit mox cum omne decore vel ordine sacerdotum ad missas ingrediuntur.*" (OR 17.12).

⁴⁸ "*Deinde mox luce superveniente procedunt ad aliam ecclesiam et similiter celebrantur aliam missam, sicut et prius.*" (OR 17.15)."

⁴⁹ op. cit. Gregory I *Tractatus* 8.

during the day of December 24 (OR 17.7)⁵⁰ demonstrates how the celebration of the Nativity entered into established calendars. The feast's introduction required in turn some jockeying around to accommodate the observance, but not to the diminishment of previous feasts.

While the *ordines*, which deal with a vigil or vigils on the eve of Christmas do not provide great detail on the liturgical celebration, one aspect stands out: the vigil at the ninth hour and before the Mass in the night seems a distinct liturgical element and not a component of a patterned pre-Eucharistic vigil as we find with Pascha and the Ember Days. It also appears that the *ordines* consider the vigil in light of its function in the daily round of prayer with elements both common (ferial) and extraordinary (festal) to the hour. They do not reveal a pattern of pre-Eucharistic vigil as we find at Pascha or the Ember Days.

The Vigil of Christmas in the Roman Lectionaries

Placing the contents of the Roman gospel capitularies aside for the moment, elements of the four liturgies of Christmas appear in each lectionary. Table 4, following, presents the lectionary data for our consideration. The feast of the Nativity also opens the yearly liturgical calendar in all the lectionaries. The first liturgy listed for the Nativity appears to be the vigil at the ninth hour, but is only so named in the *Comes* of Murbach: *In vigilia domini ad nonam ad sanctam mariam*. In the Würzburg Epistolary, the liturgy is, *In natale domini ad sanctam mariam*, and in the *Comes* of Alcuin it is simply, *In vigilia domini*. There is no heading for this liturgy in either the *Liber Comitis* or in the Lectionary

⁵⁰ “*Gesta sanctae eugeniae vel ejus commemorationem pridie natalis domini tantum ad vigiliis celebrantur matutinis vero de supradicto die pridie natalis domini ejus missa ora tertia canuntur et celebrantur.*” (OR 17.7).

Table 4. The Vigil Liturgies of Christmas in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
Vigil at the Ninth Hour <i>In natale domini ad sanctam mariam</i> (W _{ep})	Vigil at the Ninth Hour Δ: <i>In vigilia natalis domini</i>	Vigil at the Ninth Hour <i>In vigilia domini ad nonam ad sanctam mariam</i>	Vigil at the Ninth Hour <i>In vigilia domini</i>	Vigil at the Ninth Hour [no heading provided]	Vigil at the Ninth Hour [no heading provided]
Romans 1:1		Romans 1:1 Isaiah 62:1	Romans 1:1-6	Romans 1:1-6	Romans 1:1-6 <i>Ubi supra</i> Isaiah 62:1-4
	Matt 1:18-21	Matt 1:18			Matt 1:18-21
				<i>Item lectione esaie proph.</i> Isaiah 62:1-4	
Vigil Mass in the Night <i>Ad sancta maria</i> (W _{ep}) <i>In natale domini ad sancta maria majore</i> (W _{ev})	Vigil Mass in the Night Π: <i>In natale domini ad sanctam mariam</i> Λ: <i>In natale domini ad sanctam mariam majorem</i> Σ: <i>In natale domini ad sanctam mariam majorem</i> Δ: <i>Item in vigilia natalis domini in nocte</i>	Vigil Mass in the Night <i>Item in vigilia de nocte ad sanctam mariam</i>	Vigil Mass in the Night <i>Ad sanctam mariam</i>	Vigil Mass in the Night <i>Item ad sanctam mariam. De nocte.</i>	Vigil Mass in the Night <i>De nocte item sanctam mariam</i>
Titus 2:11 Isaiah 9:2 Luke 2:1		Titus 2:11 Isaiah 9:2 Luke 2:1		Titus 2:11-15 [Isaiah 9:2-7]	Titus 2: 11-15 <i>Item ubi supra</i> Isaiah 9:2-7 Luke 2:1-14
	Luke 2:1-14				
Mass at Dawn <i>Ad sancta anastasia</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Item ad sancta anastasia</i> (W _{ev})	Mass at Dawn Π: <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam</i> Λ: <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam</i> Σ: <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam</i> Δ: <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam mane prima</i>	Mass at Dawn <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam mane prima</i>	Mass at Dawn <i>Item ad sanctam</i> [mariam]	Mass at Dawn <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam. Mane prima.</i>	Mass at Dawn <i>Item ad sanctam anastasiam prima mane</i>
Titus 3:4 Isaiah 61:1 Luke 2:15		Titus 3:4 Isaiah 61:1 Luke 2:15	Titus 2:11-15a	Titus 3:4-7 [Isaiah 61:1-3 Isaiah 62:11,12]	Titus 3:4-7 <i>Ubi supra</i> Isaiah 61:1-62:12 Luke 2:15-20

of Verona; these lectionaries list only the incipit for Romans 1, which is the common New Testament passage for the ninth hour vigil in the other epistolaries. Only the Würzburg Epistolary and the *Comes* of Murbach provide a location for the vigil: Saint Mary Major. The Roman gospel capitularies offer a different arrangement for this initial liturgy. Only Roman gospel capitulary type Δ begins its calendar with the vigil at the ninth hour, which it lists *In vigilia natalis domini*, providing the gospel pericope from Matthew 1:18-21. The other gospel capitulary types begin their calendars with the Mass in the night at Saint Mary Major. These other capitularies along with those in type Δ list the same pericope for a liturgy on December 24th, commonly titled: *Die xxiv mensis decembris vigiliae domini*. This liturgy concludes, rather than initiates, the liturgical calendar in capitulary types Π, Λ, and Σ. The duplication of the reading in type Δ (Romano-Frankish after 750) may manifest a desire of the redactor to frame the whole of the liturgical year with the expectation of the coming Christ.⁵¹

The lessons⁵² for the ninth hour vigil do not focus upon a fast, if breaking this activity was indeed the original purpose for celebrating the liturgy, but rather they anticipate the events the Nativity commemorates. The reading from Romans 1:1-6 recalls the predestination of Christ in the flesh to be the Son of God; the gospel passage from Matthew is Joseph's dream not to divorce Mary, who has been found with child. Only the *Comes* of

⁵¹ See Theodor Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner Ältesten Geschichte* (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), 138.

⁵² As has been stated in examining the scripture lessons of the other vigils, translations are taken from the Vulgate, which may have been in use in the time of the lectionaries. The edition used for this study is *Biblia Sacra Vulgata (Latin Vulgate Bible)*, 4th ed. Edited by R. Gryson, B. Fischer, H.I. Frede, H.D.F. Sparks, W. Thiele. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006.

Murbach (late 8th century) and the Lectionary of Verona (8th-9th centuries) provide an Old Testament reading – Isaiah 62:1-4 – foreshadowing the vindication of Jerusalem. The *Comes* of Murbach supplies a rubric beneath the entry for the ninth hour vigil that if the vigil falls on a Sunday the reading from the Apostle is read, but if it falls on another day then only the reading from the prophet is read.⁵³ This rubric may reflect the loss of the Old Testament reading at Mass during this period. As Table 4 shows, the lectionaries list the Old Testament reading, where it appears, second after the epistle reflecting the secondary nature the Old Testament reading comes to hold. The Würzburg Epistolary enters the prophetic readings apart from the epistle readings; and the *Comes* of Alcuin no longer mentions them.⁵⁴ The Würzburg Epistolary lists no prophetic reading for the ninth hour vigil; and the Würzburg Evangelary does not contain a liturgy for a ninth hour vigil on the 24th.

The second liturgy of Christmas occurs in the nighttime hours. This liturgy, according to Dom Morin, is the first Mass of Christmas and originally recorded as such in the lectionaries influenced by a passage from *praefatio* of the *Liber comitis* of pseudo-Jerome, which directs the Christmas celebration to begin with the ninth hour vigil.⁵⁵ The lectionaries place the liturgy at Saint Mary Major. Only the *Comes* of Murbach and gospel

⁵³ “*Si venerit vigil. vel natl. domini in dominica leg. apostolum si autem in alia die legis prophetam tantum.*” (‘*Comes*’ of Murbach 1)

⁵⁴ G. Morin, “Le plus ancien ‘*Comes*’ ou lectionnaire de l’église romaine,” *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 46.

⁵⁵ See G. Morin, “Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle d’après d’évangiles de Würzburg,” *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 297. The passage from the *Liber comitis* reads: “Incipiens itaque a Nativitate Christi, quod est VIII kalendas Januarias, in Vigiliis ad Nonam per ordinem.” pseudo-Jerome *Liber comitis* (PL 30:488). Morin believes that the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries, which begin their Christmas units with the ninth hour vigil reflect this development.

capitulary Δ refer to the liturgy as a vigil.⁵⁶ These two manuscripts, along with the Epistolary of Corbie and the Lectionary of Verona, specifically assign this liturgy to the night. The scripture lessons from Titus, Isaiah, and Luke (The *Comes* of Alcuin lists only the prophetic lesson from Isaiah 9) initiate the Nativity feast properly speaking and link an eschatological element with it. Titus 2:11-15 alludes to the revelation of the first and second comings of Christ into the world. Isaiah 9:2-7 proclaims the promise of a light to those who walk in darkness, and the birth of a child upon whose shoulders is placed a government of peace. The gospel, Luke 2:1-14, recalls the announcement to the shepherds of Christ's birth.

The Mass at dawn, referred to as *mane prima* in some manuscripts, is the third Christmas liturgy in the lectionary systems. The place of the liturgy per its original purpose is the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia in all the lectionaries except for the *Comes* of Alcuin, where a redactor seems to have placed the liturgy at Saint Mary Major.⁵⁷ The readings reflect elements of the mystery of the Nativity and do not highlight the life of the martyr. The passages from Titus 3:4-7, Isaiah 61:1-3, and Luke 2:15-20 continue to announce the mystery of the Incarnation. Titus declares that with the appearance of Christ humanity is justified and has hope of everlasting life. The passage from Isaiah continues to chapter 62:12 and speaks of the mission of Christ. Luke continues the Nativity account with the shepherds coming to adore the newborn child in the manger. It is interesting to note that the *Comes* of Alcuin does not list Titus 3:4-7 as the epistle reading, but rather Titus 2:11-15, the

⁵⁶ Gospel capitulary type Δ begins the heading for this liturgy with *Item*, as it is the second vigil on the 24th of December.

⁵⁷ Dom André Wilmart cites a gap in the text as a reason for this and that the heading should properly read *sanctam anastasiam*. See A. Wilmart, "Le Lectionnaire d'Alcuin," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 151.

epistle for the vigil in the night according to the other lectionaries. The reason for this arrangement may be that Alcuin did not originally recognize a liturgy *mane prima* for the Nativity, but only celebrated the Mass in the night. The redactors in order to accommodate a Nativity Mass at Saint Anastasia may have elided the night with the dawn liturgy so as to share the same readings. If this is so, then Alcuin may not necessarily acknowledge a Nativity Mass *mane prima* contrary to Wilmart's analysis.

Table 5 demonstrates the lectionary arrangement for the Mass of Christmas Day in the Roman lectionaries. The day liturgy presents its own unique characteristics when compared with the three nocturnal/early morning liturgies of Christmas. The Mass of Christmas Day takes place at Saint Peter's basilica. The readings move from the historical context of Christ's birth to the theological meaning it represents. Hebrews 1:1-12 and Isaiah 52:6-10 speak of Christ in terms of the Father's glory. The gospel taken from John's prologue (1:1-14) proclaims Christ eternally begotten of the Father, the act through which all creation came into being. If this liturgy was originally the only celebration for the Nativity of Christ it is interesting to wonder if its readings underwent any adjustment as other liturgies began to complement it. Recall that Willis believes the passage from Matthew 2:1-12, the Visit of the Magi, may have been the primitive gospel for Christmas day. The significance given to Matthew 2 as revealing Christ to the nations is more profoundly communicated in John 1 where Christ is the light who enlightens all people. The highly theological expression of the Incarnation in the passage from John 1 would have been an appropriate response to those who opposed or questioned the feast during the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Table 5. The Day Liturgy for Christmas in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	<i>Liber Comitis</i> (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
Mass during the Day <i>Ad sanctum petrum</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i> (W _{ev})	Mass during the Day Π: <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i> Λ: <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i> Σ: <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i> Δ: <i>Item in die</i> <i>natalis domini ad</i> <i>sanctum petrum</i>	Mass during the Day <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum in die</i>	Mass during the Day <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i>	Mass during the Day <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum. In die.</i>	Mass during the Day <i>Item ad sanctum</i> <i>petrum</i>
Hebrews 1:1 Isaiah 52:6 John 1:1	 John 1:1-14	Hebrews 1:1 Isaiah 52:6 John 1:1	Hebrews 1:1-12	Hebrews 1:1-12 [Isaiah 52:6-10]	Hebrews 1:1-12 <i>Ubi supra</i> Isaiah 52:6-10 John 1:1-14
	Final Entry in the Calendar Π: <i>Die xxiv mensis</i> <i>decembris vigiliae</i> <i>domini</i> Λ: <i>Die xxiv mensis</i> <i>decembris vigilia</i> <i>domini</i> Σ: <i>Die xxiv mensis</i> <i>decembri vigilia</i> <i>domini</i> Δ: <i>Die xxiv mensis</i> <i>decembris vigilia</i> <i>domini</i>				
	Matt 1:18-21				

Aside from the choice of scripture proclaimed at these liturgies, the lectionaries provide little additional information on how the ninth hour and nighttime liturgies constitute themselves as a vigil, how these Masses differ from the Mass *mane prima*, or the day Mass of Christmas. We have seen with the Paschal and Pentecost vigils that the Würzburg Epistolary omits the vigil readings, the other lectionaries provide for them. While this is not the case for the vigils of Christmas, there is no implication that an extended Liturgy of the

Word in the manner of the Paschal and Pentecost vigils preceded the Eucharist for the Nativity.⁵⁸ Can the vigil of Christmas, therefore, be termed a pre-Eucharistic vigil?

The Vigil of Christmas in the Roman Antiphonals

Table 6. The Liturgies of the Eve of Christmas in the Roman Antiphonals⁵⁹

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
8. <i>In vigilia natalis domini ad noman</i>	8. <i>In vigilia natalis domini statio ad sanctam mariam</i>	8. <i>In vigilia natalis domini hore none statio ad sanctam mari[am]</i>	8. <i>In vigilia domini hora nona statio ad sanctam mariam</i>	8. <i>In vigilia natalis domini statio ad sanctam mariam hora nona</i>	8. <i>In vigilia domini hore none statio ad sanctam mariam</i>
	Ant.: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Psalm 23: <i>Domini est terra</i>	Ant.: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Psalm 23: <i>Domini est terra</i>	Ant.: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Psalm 23: <i>Domini est terra</i>	Ant.: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Psalm 23: <i>Domini est terra</i>	Ant.: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Psalm 23: <i>Domini est terra</i>
Resp. Grad. <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i>	Grad: <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Si dominica evenerit ipsa vigilia alleluia de adventu domini quale volueris	Resp. Grad. <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Si dom[in]ica evenerit ipsa vigilia alleluia de adventum domini quale volueris sin autem non cantatur alleluia	Resp. Grad. <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Si in dominica evenerit alleluia de adventu domini quale volueris sin autem non cantatur alleluia	Resp. Grad. <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Hodie scietis quia venit Dominus</i> Si in dominica evenerit ipsa vigilia all. <i>Crastina die</i> <i>delebitur</i> sin autem non cantatur alleluia
	Off: <i>Tollite portas principes</i>	Off: <i>Tollite portas principes</i>	Off: <i>Tollite portas principes</i>	Off: <i>Tollite portas principes</i>	Off: <i>Tollite portas principes</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Revelabitur gloria domini</i>	Ad Com: <i>Revelabitur gloria domini</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Com: <i>Revelabitur gloria domini</i> Psalm: <i>Domini est terra</i>	Com: <i>Revelabitur gloria domini</i> Psalm: <i>Domini est</i>	Com: <i>Revelabitur gloria domini</i> Psalm: <i>Jubilare deo omnis terra</i>

⁵⁸ The only pattern of pre-Eucharistic vigil for Christmas Eve of several scripture readings prior to a Mass is found in the Lectionary of Luxeuil (Paris, Biblio. Nat., *codex latinus* 9427), a Frankish manuscript of the late seventh or early eighth century. Vogel states that it is a pure Gallican book untouched by Roman influences (Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, 322). The Vigil of Christmas in Luxeuil provides for four Old Testament readings – three from Isaiah and one from Malachi, a passage from a sermon of Saint Augustine, and the prologue from John 1. The passages from Isaiah differ from those in the Roman lectionaries, and the gospel from John's prologue is proclaimed on Christmas Day in Rome. Interestingly, Luxeuil places the proclamation of Luke 2, the Infancy Narrative, on Christmas Day. See Pierre Salmon, ed., *Le Lectionnaire de Luxeuil* (Paris, ms. Lat. 9427), *Collectanea Biblica Latina* 8, 9 (Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1944-1953).

⁵⁹ As in the case of the lectionaries, the full bibliographic detail is found in the Introduction. For convenience the edited source for the Antiphonals is R. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1935; repr., Fribourg en Brisgau: Herder, 1967).

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
9. In vigilia natalis domini in nocte	9. Item missa de vigilia natalis domini prima gollo cantu statio ad sanctam mariam	9. In primo galli canto	9. Media nocte statio ad sanctam mariam ad presepe	9. In nocte	9. In vigilia domini primo gallorum cantu. Statio ad hierusalem
	Ant.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me filius meus</i> Psalm 2: <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>	Ant.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me filius meus</i> Psalm 2: <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>	Ant.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me filius meus</i> Psalm 2: <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>	Ant.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me filius meus</i> Psalm 2: <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>	Ant.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me filius meus</i> Psalm 2: <i>Quare fremuerunt gentes</i>
Resp. Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>	Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Tecum principium</i>
All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>	All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>	All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>	All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>	All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>	All.: <i>Dominus dixit ad me</i>
	Off: <i>Letentur caeli et exultet terra</i>	Off: <i>Letentur caeli et exultet terra</i>	Off: <i>Letentur caeli et exultet terra</i>	Off: <i>Letentur caeli et exultet terra</i>	Off: <i>Letentur caeli et exultet terra</i>
	Ad Com: <i>In splendoribus sanctorum ex</i>	Ad Com: <i>In splendoribus sanctorum ex</i> Psalm: <i>Dixit dominus</i>	Com: <i>In splendoribus sanctorum ex</i>	Com: <i>In splendoribus sanctorum ex</i> Psalm: <i>Dixit dominus</i>	Com: <i>In splendoribus sanctorum ex</i> Psalm: <i>Dixit dominus</i>
10. Mane prima	10. Item ad missam mane prima in die natalis domini	10. Mane prima ad sanctam anastasiam	10. Mane prima statio ad sanctam anastasiam	10. In vigilia mane prima statio ad sanctam anastasiam	10. In vigilia mane prima. Statio ad hierusalem
	Ant.: <i>Lux folgebit hodie super nos</i> Psalm 92: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	Ant.: <i>Lux folgebit hodie super nos</i> Psalm 92: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	Ant.: <i>Lux folgebit hodie super nos</i> Psalm 92: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	Ant.: <i>Lux folgebit hodie super nos</i> Psalm 92: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	Ant.: <i>Lux folgebit hodie super nos</i> Psalm 92: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>
Resp. Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>	Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini</i>
All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>	All.: <i>Dominus regnavit decore</i>
	Off: <i>Deus enim firmavit orbem</i>	Off: <i>Deus enim firmavit orbem</i>	Off: <i>Deus enim firmavit orbem</i>	Off: <i>Deus enim firmavit orbem</i>	Off: <i>Deus enim firmavit orbem</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Exulta filia sion</i>	Ad Com: <i>Exulta filia sion</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Ad Com: <i>Exulta filia sion</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Ad Com: <i>Exulta filia sion</i>	Ad Com: <i>Exulta filia sion</i> Psalm 147: <i>Lauda gerusalem</i>

Akin to the lectionary evidence for Christmas, the Roman antiphonals provide for four separate celebrations of the feast, although under a variety of headings and titles. Table 6, above, will assist us in our consideration of the antiphonal evidence for the Christmas liturgies. The Roman antiphonals begin the liturgical year with the season of Advent and

not with the Nativity of the Lord. Given this circumstance, the information within the antiphonals comes from a much later stratum than that which we find in the lectionaries. Essentially, the manuscripts do not manifest signs of an extended Liturgy of the Word along the lines of Pascha, Pentecost, or the Saturday Ember vigils. A single gradual is provided for the ninth hour and nighttime vigils, which chant, as we saw with the Paschal cycle and Ember cycle vigils, was indicative of the number of readings preceding the Eucharist.

The chants are oriented toward the Nativity, including those for the ninth hour vigil, which we assume broke the fast prior to the feast. The antiphonals of Rheinau, Mont Blandin, Compiègne, and Senlis contain a rubric on chanting the alleluia: “If the vigil falls on a Sunday, then an “Advent” alleluia, of the presider’s or cantor’s choice, is chanted; if the vigil does not fall on a Sunday, then the alleluia is not sung.”⁶⁰ The rubric does not appear in the antiphonal of Corbie; and the antiphonal of Senlis provides a specific alleluia: *Crastina die delebitur*. The presence of the rubric raises an interesting question on how the ninth hour vigil might be perceived in relation to the Ember Saturday vigil of the Tenth Month, which in some other liturgical manuscripts seems to occur on Christmas Eve. The question whether or not to include an alleluia at the ninth hour vigil may reflect the tension that arises with the institution of a feast of the Nativity upon a more ancient tradition of the December Embertide. Hesbert comments that the ninth hour vigil on Christmas Eve may have originally been composed as a Mass set for the *Dominica vacat* of the December Ember season. Only the antiphonal of Compiègne provides a Mass set for the *Dominica*

⁶⁰ “*Si dominica evenerit ipsa vigilia alleluia de adventu domini quale volueris sin autem non cantatur alleluia.*” The latter portion of this rubric, *sin autem...*, is not printed in the Monza cantatory.

vacat in the December Embertide,⁶¹ which does not resemble the chants for the ninth hour vigil. There is no indication, either, in the manuscripts that if the vigil of Christmas fell on a Sunday, then two Masses would be celebrated: one during the day at the hour of *terce* and a second at the hour of *none*.⁶² *Ordines* 15 and 16 also hint the confusion brought about when the Ember Saturday vigil falls on Christmas Eve; in particular how to deal with the fast and the celebration of ordination in such instance.⁶³

If the chants by themselves contribute little to the nature of the Christmas liturgies as vigils, the liturgical headings offer some interesting insights. This is the area where Hesbert focuses his own analysis of the texts. Hesbert views the vigil at the ninth hour on Christmas Eve as a separate liturgical unit from the core Christmas liturgies, which begin with the nighttime Mass. He notes that the Mass *in nocte* deserves to be called a vigil by the nature of the hour in which it occurs; and that tendencies to equate the early morning Mass as a vigil have been corrected in some of the manuscripts by the designation: *mane prima*.⁶⁴ For Hesbert, therefore, the time at which a Mass takes places, and not the content of liturgical elements, determines whether or not it can be identified as a pre-Eucharistic vigil.

⁶¹ The next entry following the December Embertide in the Antiphonal of Rheinau is the Mass of the Sunday prior to Christmas, *Dominica I ante natale domini*. The chants for the Mass do not resemble those of the *Dominica vacat* in the Compiègne antiphonal.

⁶² See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, xlv.

⁶³ “*Si autem evenerit ut vigilia natales domini sabbato incurrant precedente ebdomada omnem celebrationem vel ordinationem quam diximus usque in sabbato consumentur.*” (OR 15.5).

“*Pridie natales domini nisi forte dominica contegeret sicut reliquis diebus dominicis missarum solemnibus hac ora celebrantur.*” (OR 15.6).

“*Pridie natalis domini nisi forte dominica contingerit, omnes publicum jejunium faciunt et ora nona missas celebrantur.*” (OR 16. 23).

⁶⁴ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, xlv.

The vigil at the ninth hour takes place at Saint Mary Major; this is noted in all the manuscripts except for Monza. The liturgy is specifically stated as a “vigil” in all the manuscripts. Conversely, only the cantatory of Monza, the antiphonal of Rheinau, and the antiphonal of Senlis refer to the Mass in the night as a vigil. The antiphonal of Corbie cites the Mass simply as, *in nocte*, perhaps in an effort to link the ninth hour and nighttime vigils. The Rheinau and Compiègne manuscripts alone give the location of the liturgy as Saint Mary Major; Compiègne states specifically *ad presepe*. The ancient designation of the nighttime Mass as *in galli cantu* is acknowledged in the antiphonals of Rheinau, Mont Blandin, and Senlis. This last antiphonal also records the nighttime, as well as the Mass *mane prima*, taking place at the church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. There is no explanation for this location and Hesbert only points out that this is irregular.⁶⁵ The antiphonals of Corbie and Senlis refer to the early morning liturgy on Christmas Day at the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia as a “vigil;” the other manuscripts do not. There is no notice of the martyr within the chants. Except for the cantatory of Monza, the location for the Mass of Christmas Day is Saint Peter’s basilica. The antiphonals of Rheinau, Corbie, and Senlis alone provide the date for the feast, *VIII kalendas januaris*. Table 7, following, outlines Christmas day in the antiphonals.

The evidence in the antiphonals for the various liturgies of Christmas provides little additional information on the specific elements of their celebration except to reinforce an understanding that the practice of keeping vigil at Christmas is of a different order than what we have seen at Pascha, Pentecost, and the Ember seasons. This may be because at

⁶⁵ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, xlv.

Table 7. Christmas Day in the Roman Antiphonals

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
11. <i>In die natalis domini</i>	11. <i>VIII kalendas januaris natale domini ad missam in die ad sanctum petrum</i>	11. <i>Die natalis domini statio ad sanctum petrum</i>	11. <i>In die natalis domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	11. <i>VIII kalendas januaris in die natalis domini statio ad sanctum petrum</i>	11. <i>In die natalis domini que est viii kalendas januaris. Statio ad sanctum petrum</i>
	Ant.: <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> Psalm 97: <i>Cantate domino canticum</i>	Ant.: <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> Psalm 97: <i>Cantate domino canticum</i>	Ant.: <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> Psalm 97: <i>Cantate domino canticum</i>	Ant.: <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> Psalm 97: <i>Cantate domino canticum</i>	Ant.: <i>Puer natus est nobis</i> Psalm 97: <i>Cantate domino canticum</i>
Resp. Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>	Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>	Resp. Grad. <i>Viderunt omnes fines terra salutare</i> All.: <i>Dies sanctificatus inluxit nobis</i>
	Off: <i>Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra</i>	Off: <i>Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra</i>	Off: <i>Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra</i>	Off: <i>Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra</i>	Off: <i>Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Viderunt omnes fines terre</i>	Ad Com: <i>Viderunt omnes fines terre</i> Psalm: <i>ut supra</i>	Ad Com: <i>Viderunt omnes fines terre</i>	Ad Com: <i>Viderunt omnes fines terre</i> Psalm: <i>Salvavit sibi</i>	Ad Com: <i>Viderunt omnes fines terre</i> Psalm: <i>Salvavit sibi</i>

Christmas the design for keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil, as distinct from an hour of daily prayer, enters into the liturgical celebration at a later date from what was originally a daytime feast only. It is interesting that in both the lectionary and in the antiphonal sources where it is mentioned, the only Christmas liturgy in the night occurs at Saint Mary Major. There is no reference to a nighttime vigil and Mass at Saint Peter's basilica.

The Vigil of Christmas in the Roman Sacramentaries: The Verona Collection

Let us turn now to the sacramentary evidence and view what insight the prayer texts for Christmas may shed upon the liturgical development and theology of the feast as a vigil.⁶⁶ The information provided in the initial commentary on the feast at the beginning of

⁶⁶ The Verona Collection texts can be found in Appendix Seven, pages 584 to 596.

the chapter will be expanded at this point. The Christmas vigil liturgies in the Verona collection will be treated first and separate from the other sacramentaries as the collection presents the feast in a manner different from the other manuscripts. Table 8 provides the data for two liturgies in the collection, which may be vigil liturgies for Christmas.

Table 8. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Liturgies of Christmas: The Verona Collection

Section 40 Nos. 1239-1243	Section 40 Nos. 1253-1257 v. Item alia
<i>VIII kalendas januiarias natale domini et martyrum pastoris basilei et joviani et victorini et eugeniae et felicetatis et anastasiae</i>	
<i>Deus qui in humanae substantiae</i>	<i>Da nobis omnipotens deus ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia praevenimus</i>
<i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens et misericors deus et sempiternus pater ut nativitatis domini</i>	<i>Tanto nos domine quaesumus promptiore servitio haec praecurrere concede sollemnia</i>
<i>VD: quoniam quidquid christianae professionis devotione celebratur</i>	<i>VD: sollemnitas enim domine caelestis pacis ingreditur</i>
<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine deus noster ut qui nativitatem domini nostri</i>	<i>Deus qui nos sacramenti tui participatione contingis virtutis ejus effectus in nostris cordibus</i>
<i>Largire, quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum</i>	<i>Benedictio tua domine super populum supplicantem copiosa descendat ut qui te factore conditus</i>

Section 40 of the Verona collection is the first section for the month of December, which month occurs at the end of the manuscript. As commented above, the section consists of nine Mass sets all of which relate to the feast of the Nativity. The title for the section lists the Nativity, and also lists seven other martyrs, none of which have a commemoration in December save for Anastasia.⁶⁷ For the purposes of this study, however, we will examine Mass sets 1 and 5, which seem to be oriented to the celebration of a vigil. There is nothing specific in the ideas the prayers convey that suggest this, but rather it is the presence of the words, *praevenimus* and *praecurrere* – to anticipate, to move toward – which may reveal that these sets were used prior to the arrival of the feast. They are not “Advent” sets as the

⁶⁷ See Charles Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 217.

Verona collection comes from a period prior to the establishment of Advent in the calendar. The sets do not exhibit any of the characteristics of the pre-Eucharistic vigils of Pascha and Pentecost, nor for the Ember Saturdays. The sets may have been executed either for the fast-breaking Mass at *none*, though there is little in the texts that reference a fast, or for a Mass in the night, which from references in some of the prayers seems to have been celebrated at Saint Peter's basilica.

Each set consists of two orations prior to a discernable preface and followed by two other prayers, possibly an *ad complendum* and an *ad populum*. A secret prayer is not easily identified. There is also nothing in the texts that indicates the time at which the liturgy took place. The second oration of the first Mass set (Ve 1240) calls to mind anticipating the solemnity of the Incarnation with a sense of newness.⁶⁸ The two initial orations in the fifth Mass set (Ve 1253 and Ve 1254) accent (1.) anticipating the birth of the Son so as to rejoice in his everlasting gifts,⁶⁹ and (2.) running toward that feast, which is the beginning of humanity's redemption.⁷⁰ Other than these examples possibly connoting a vigil context, the subject matter of the prayers is fundamentally expressive of the Birth of Christ. The sets are not related, but appear to be truly *libelli*, collected together by reason of their thematic content. The sets may come, however, from a stratum in the tradition before the

⁶⁸ "Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors deus, et sempiternae pater, ut nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi sollemnia, quae praesentibus officiis **praevenimus**, sic nova sint nobis, et continuata permaneant; sic perpetua perseverant, ut pro sui miraculo nova semper existant: per..." (Ve 1240 – emphasis is the present author's).

⁶⁹ "Da nobis, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia **praevenimus**, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes: per..." (Ve 1253 – emphasis is the present author's).

⁷⁰ "Tanto nos, domine, quaesumus, promptiore servitio haec **praecurrere** concede sollemnia, quanto in his constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis: per..." (Ve 1254 – emphasis is the present author's).

multiplication of liturgies for Christmas. A more systematic order for celebrating the feast of the Nativity occurs in the Gelasian and Gregorian Roman sacramentaries.

The Vigil of Christmas in the Roman Sacramentaries: The Gelasian and Major Gregorian

The feast of the Nativity of Christ in the Gelasian and the major Gregorian Sacramentaries includes four separate liturgical services – a vigil on 24 December; a second liturgy, not equally designated as a vigil in all the sacramentaries, during the night from 24 to 25 December; a third liturgy either *mane prima* or *in nocte*, and located in the Gregorian manuscripts only at the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia; and a fourth and final liturgy presumably during the day at Saint Peter’s basilica. We will examine each of these liturgies in turn. A table describing the liturgical arrangement for each of these Masses will accompany each consideration.⁷¹

The Vigil of Christmas at the Ninth Hour. Table 9 summarizes the sacramentary data for this liturgy. The Gelasian and the Gregorian manuscripts associate a vigil with this liturgy, as *in vigilia domini*; the Gelasianum and the Paduensis add that it is *in natalis domini*. We find an hour for the liturgy only in the Gelasianum and the Paduensis; and the Paduensis alone locates it at Saint Mary Major. The fact that the Paduensis does so may indicate a later evolution of this liturgy in that tradition, as in its most primitive stage the ninth hour vigil may

⁷¹ The sacramentary texts are found in Appendix Seven, pages 584 to 596.

Table 9. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Ninth Hour Vigil of Christmas: The Gelasian and Major Gregorian Traditions

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Book I -Section 1 Nos. 1-4	Section 5 Nos. 33-35	Section 2 Nos. 87-89	Section 1 Nos. 1-3
<i>Orationes et preces in vigiliis natalis domini ad nonam</i>	<i>IX kalendas janurias id est XXIV mense decembri orationes in vigiliis domini</i>	<i>IX kalendas janurias id est die XXIV mense decembri in vigilia domini</i>	<i>In vigilia natalis domini hora nona statio sanctam mariam</i>
<i>Da nobis omnipotens deus ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalitia</i>	<i>Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione</i>	<i>Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione</i>	<i>Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione</i>
<i>Praesta misericors deus ut ad suscipiendum filii tui singulare</i>			
Secreta <i>Tanto nos domine quaesumus promptiore servitio hujus sacrificia</i>	Super oblata <i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sicut adoranda filii tui</i>	Super oblata <i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sicut adoranda filii tui</i>	Super oblatum <i>Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui sicut adoranda filii tui</i>
Post communionem <i>Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper natalis instauret</i>	Ad completa <i>Da nobis domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita</i>	Ad complendum <i>Da nobis domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita</i>	Ad complendum <i>Da nobis domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita</i>

have been held at Saint Peter's basilica. Both the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum state that the vigil takes place on December 24. The Gelasianum contains two collects prior to a secret and a *post communionem* prayer. The Gelasian texts are anticipatory in nature, which can be seen in the two initial orations (GeV 1 and GeV 2), both of which speak of anticipating and preparing for the birth of the Son.⁷² The secret prayer points the assembly forward to that event, which marks the beginning of redemption.⁷³ The first oration (GeV 1) and the secret prayer are both taken from Mass set 5 in the Verona collection (Ve 1253 and Ve 1254). If this vigil is meant to break a fast at this hour, there is nothing within these prayer texts referencing it.

⁷² "Da nobis, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalitia **praevenimus**, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes: per dominum nostrum. (GeV 1); Praesta, misericors deus, ut ad suscipiendum filii tui singulare nativitatis mysterium et mentes credentium **praeparentur** et non credentium corda subdantur: per." (GeV 2). The bolded portion of these texts is the present author's.

⁷³ "Tanto nos, domine, quaesumus, promptiore servitio hujus sacrificii **praecurrere** concede solemnna, quanto in hoc constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis: per dominum." (GeV 3) The bolding is the present author's.

The Gregorian sacramentaries offer an oration (possibly a *collect*), a *super oblata*, and an *ad completa* prayer for this liturgy. These texts, also, focus upon anticipating the birth of Christ, without any indication of a fast preceding it. The oration and the *super oblata* prayers in particular express a sense of anticipation for the feast at this liturgy.⁷⁴ The *super oblata* prayer in the Gregorian sacramentaries repeats the text of GeV 1, which does not serve as a *super oblata* in that instance. While the liturgical format of the vigil in both traditions may be inconsistent with what we encounter at the Paschal, Pentecost, or Ember Saturday vigils, the texts still evoke an eschatological context, characteristic of keeping vigil.

The first Gelasian oration (GeV 1) connects the anticipation of Christ's birthday with the joy of receiving his everlasting gifts (*sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes*). The second oration (GeV 2), the *oblata* prayer in the Gregorians, prepares for both the Nativity and the day when believers and non-believers alike will welcome the coming of the Lord (*et mentes credentium praeparentur et non credentium corda subdantur*). The Gelasian secret prayer (GeV 3) unites the journey to Christmas day with the journey toward final redemption (*hujus sacrificia praecurrere concide solempnia, quanto in hoc constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis*). The initial oration in the Gregorian sacramentaries relates the coming of Christ's birth to his coming at the end of

⁷⁴ Collect: "Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua **expectatione** laetificas praesta ut unigenitum tuum quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus. Per." (GrH 33; GrT 87; GrP 1)

Super oblata: "Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia **praevenimus** sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes. Per dominum." (GrH 34; GrT 88; GrP 2) Bolding in bold instances is the present author's.

time (*praesta ut unigenitum tuum quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus*).

The Vigil in the Night. Table 10 will assist in our consideration of the nocturnal vigil of Christmas. Only the Gelasianum and the Paduensis refer to this liturgy as a vigil. The Gelasianum provides no location for it, but does state that it takes place in the night, *in nocte*. The Paduensis alone of the Gregorians also states that the liturgy occurs in the night. The three Gregorian sacramentaries locate the liturgy at Saint Mary Major, and reveal that by the time of the recension of these manuscripts a night vigil at Saint Peter's basilica has either become secondary or has been eliminated. The Hadrianum and Tridentinum also record that this liturgy takes place on December 25th, *VIII kalendas januiarias*, distinctly

Table 10. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Nocturnal Vigil of Christmas: The Gelasian and Major Gregorian Traditions

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<u>Book I -Section 2</u> Nos. 5-9	<u>Section 6</u> Nos. 36-40	<u>Section 3</u> Nos. 90-94	<u>Section 2</u> Nos. 4-8
<i>Item de vigilia domini in nocte</i>	<i>VIII kalendas januiarias id est XXV die mensis decembris natale domini ad sanctam mariam majorem</i>	<i>VIII kalendas januiarii in natale domini die XXV mensis decembris ad sanctam mariam</i>	<i>In vigilia domini in nocte ad sanctam mariam</i>
<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti</i>	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti</i>	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti</i>	<i>Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti</i>
<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut unigeniti tui nova</i>			
Secreta <i>Munera nostra domine quaesumus nativitatis hodiernae</i>	Super oblata <i>Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festivitatis oblatio</i>	Secreta <i>Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festivitatis oblatio</i>	Super oblatum <i>Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festivitatis oblatio</i>
<i>VD: et justum est...Quem semper filium et ante tempora aeterna</i>	Praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis</i>	Praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis</i>	<i>VD: et justum est...Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis</i>
	<i>Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes quo beatae mariae intemerata</i>	<i>Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes quo beatae mariae intemerata</i>	<i>Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes quo beatae mariae intemerata</i>
Post communionem <i>Laeit domine frequentamus salutis humanae principia</i>	Ad completa <i>Da nobis quaesumus domine deus ut qui nativitatem domini</i>	Ad complendum <i>Da nobis quaesumus domine deus ut qui nativitatem domini</i>	Ad complendum <i>Da nobis quaesumus domine deus ut qui nativitatem domini</i>

marking it apart from the ninth hour vigil, which in these documents occurs on December 24th, *IX kalendas januaris*. If we consider the second Christmas liturgy in these manuscripts a nighttime vigil, then the vigil in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum occurs sometime after midnight.

The same number of presidential texts for the ninth hour vigil occur in the Gelasianum for the nighttime vigil, with a preface now added to the set. The first oration (GeV 5) is common to both the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions. It locates the liturgy in the night (*Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem*) and prays that the recognition of Christ's light on earth may grant happiness also in heaven, an eschatological allusion.⁷⁵ The second oration (GeV 6) requests that the feast liberate humanity from the burden of that "ancient enslavement," an inference to original sin.⁷⁶ The prayer serves also as the initial oration for Christmas Day in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The secret prayer makes reference to the feast day and petitions that the birth of Christ in the flesh may unite humanity with that which is divine.⁷⁷ The Gregorian sacramentaries use this prayer as the *alia super oblata* for the Mass at Saint Anastasia. The preface is unique to the Gelasianum and affirms the relationship of Father, Son and Spirit in triune majesty. The post-communion prayer announces that the feast celebrates the beginning of human salvation, through means of a

⁷⁵ "Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere, da, quaesumus, ut cujus lucis mysterium in terra cognovimus, ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur: per." (GeV 5; GrH 36; GrT 90; GrP 4)

⁷⁶ "Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet, quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet: per." (GeV 6). This text is also found among the collection of Advent orations, GeV 1148.

⁷⁷ "Munera nostra, domine, quaesumus, nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta perveniant, ut sicut homo genitus id est praefulsit et deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est: per." (GeV 7).

triple celebration, which complements the Blessed Trinity.⁷⁸ The reference to a “triple celebration” (*trina celebratio*) Chavasse understands as an acknowledgement of Gregory the Great’s observation that the mystery of Christmas is communicated through the three Masses of Christmas eve/day.⁷⁹

In addition to the standard presidential texts, the Gregorian manuscripts include a preface and a *communicantes* insert for the Eucharistic Prayer. The *super oblata* reworks a similar text found in the Verona collection of Christmas Masses (Ve 1249). The prayer asks the Lord to receive the offering and through it to reveal the one who now shares our human nature.⁸⁰ The preface emphasizes the Incarnation making visible now what previously had been invisible.⁸¹ Unlike the Gelasian preface, the text does not comment on the Trinity. The *communicantes* draws attention to that “holy night” (*noctem sacratissimam*) when Mary without loss of her virginity gave the world its Savior. The *ad completa/complendum* prayer petitions that rejoicing in the feast of the Nativity may lead to greater fellowship with Christ.⁸²

⁷⁸ “Laeti, domine, frequentamus salutis humanae principia, quia trina celebratio beatae competit mysterio trinitatis: per dominum nostrum.” (GeV 9).

⁷⁹ Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien: Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au vii^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée et Cie., 1958), 211.

⁸⁰ “Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festivitatis oblatio, ut tua gratia largiente, per haec sacrosancta commercia in illius inveniamur forma in quo tecum est nostra substantia. Per dominum.” (GrH 37; GrT 91; GrP 5).

⁸¹ “VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis, lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur, et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus ymnus gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.” (GrH 38; GrT 92; GrP 6).

⁸² “Da nobis quaesumus domine deus ut qui nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi nos frequentare gaudemus dignis conversationibus ad ejus mereamur pertinere consortium. Per.” (GrH 40; GrT 94; GrP 8).

The Mass at Saint Anastasia/*Mane prima*. The particulars on the arrangement of the celebration *mane prima* in the sacramentaries are contained in Table 11. We encounter the third liturgy of Christmas in both the Gelasian and the Gregorian traditions. The celebration is linked to the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia only in the Gregorian sacramentaries. The Gelasian sacramentary labels this liturgy *Item in vigilia domini mane prima*; the liturgy

**Table 11. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Early Morning Mass of Christmas Day:
The Gelasian and Major Gregorian Traditions**

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Book I -Section 3 Nos. 10-16	Section 7 Nos. 41-48	Section 3 (con't.) Nos. 95-102	Section 3 Nos. 9-16
<i>Item in vigilia domini mane prima</i>	<i>De nocte ad sanctam anastasiam</i>	<i>De nocte ad sanctam anastasiam</i>	<i>Ad sanctam anastasiam</i>
<i>Deus qui per beatae mariae sacrae virginis partum sine humana</i>	<i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beatae anastasiae</i>	<i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beatae anastasiae</i>	<i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui beatae anastasiae</i>
	Alia <i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui nova incarnatione verbi tui</i>	Alia <i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui nova incarnati verbi tui</i>	Alia <i>Da quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui nova incarnatione verbi tui</i>
<i>Respice nos omnipotens et misericors deus et mentibus clementer</i>			
Secreta <i>Da nobis domine ut nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi sollemnia</i>	Super oblata <i>Accipe quaesumus domine munera dignanter oblata et beatae anastasiae</i>	Secreta <i>Accipe quaesumus domine munera dignanter oblata et beatae anastasiae</i>	Super oblata <i>Accipe quaesumus domine munera dignanter oblata et beatae anastasiae</i>
Item alia <i>Cuncta domine quaesumus his muneribus a nobis semper diabolica</i>	Alia super oblata <i>Munera nostra quaesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae</i>	Alia <i>Munera nostra quaesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae</i>	Alia <i>Munera nostra quaesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae</i>
<i>VD: nos sursum cordibus erectis divinum adorare mysterium quo humana</i>	Praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur</i>	Praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur</i>	<i>VD: et justum est...qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur</i>
	Alia praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...quia nostri salvatoris hodie lux vera processit</i>	Item praefatio <i>VD: et justum est...quia nostri salvatoris hodie lux vera processit</i>	<i>VD: et justum est...quia nostri salvatoris hodie lux vera processit</i>
Post communionem <i>Concede nobis domine quaesumus ut sacramenta quae</i>	Ad completa <i>Satiasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris ejus quaesumus semper</i>	Ad complendum <i>Satiasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris ejus quaesumus semper</i>	Ad complendum <i>Satiasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris ejus quaesumus semper</i>
	Item alia ad completa <i>Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper natalis instauret</i>	Item alia ad complendum <i>Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper novitas natalis instauret</i>	Alia <i>Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper [novitas] natalis instauret</i>
Ad populum <i>Populum tuum domine quaesumus tueantur santificent et gubernent</i>			

is not marked as a vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries. In the Gelasianum the Christmas Mass *mane prima* is distinct from the other vigils by a time-reference to the early morning (*mane prima*). This is the same reference the Roman antiphonals add to distinguish the time of this liturgy from the ninth hour and nighttime vigils. Recall that among the lectionaries only the *Comes* of Murbach, the *Liber Comitis*, and the Lectionary of Verona use this terminology. The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum alone of the Gregorians state this liturgy occurs *de nocte*. The reference is odd, as these sacramentaries supply no time for the prior liturgy at Saint Mary Major, even though the Mass appears to fall during the night. This aspect makes for a confusing development of two liturgies *de nocte* in these manuscripts.

The Gregorian Mass sets substitute a second prayer text in commemoration of Saint Anastasia for each of the presidential prayers, including the preface. In the Gelasianum the only duplication exists concerning the secret prayer, which has no relationship to a commemoration of Saint Anastasia. Chavasse believes such an arrangement is understandable given the primary design of the Gelasianum for presbyteral use, while the commemoration of Saint Anastasia was a papal development.⁸³

The Gelasian texts focus particularly on the Nativity. The first oration prays that the birth of Christ without human concupiscence may release humanity from the contagion of

⁸³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 210.

former ways.⁸⁴ The second oration asks that the birth of Christ bring the light of highest truth into the minds of believers.⁸⁵ The first secret prayer is taken from the Verona collection (Ve 1240), from a Mass set identified as possibly belonging to a vigil for the feast. The *alia* secret is unique to the Gelasianum. The prayer focuses upon the Nativity indirectly, asking that all diabolical influences be kept away so that in purity the assembly may celebrate the beginning of redemption.⁸⁶ There is no reason provided why this *alia* exists, and exists only for the secret prayer. The preface recognizes that what was previously held back in human nature is now brought forward to a new and heavenly nature by the birth of Christ and so should be met with great rejoicing.⁸⁷ The post communion prayer appears in the same place in the Mass set for the Purification of Mary on February 2 in the Gelasianum (*Orationes in purificatione sanctae mariae, III nonas februarias*, GeV 831). The prayer is not Nativity-themed, but asks that by receiving the remedy of the sacraments, vices might be cured.⁸⁸ This Mass set is exceptional in that it also includes a *super populum* prayer, absent from the previous two Christmas sets. The prayer requests divine protection over the people and that the birth of Christ may aid them in living

⁸⁴ “Deus, qui per beatae Mariae sacrae virginis partum, sine humana concupiscentia procreatum, in filii tui membra venientes paternis fecisti praeiudiciis non teneri: praesta, quaesumus, ut huius creaturae novitate suscepta vetustatis antiquae contagii exuamur: per eundem dominum.” (GeV 10).

⁸⁵ “Respice nos, omnipotens et misericors deus, et mentibus clementer humanis nascente Christo summae veritatis lumen infunde: per.” (GeV 11).

⁸⁶ “Cuncta, domine, quaesumus, his muneribus a nobis semper diabolica figmenta secluide, ut nostri redemptoris exordia purificatis mentibus celebremus: per.” (GeV 13).

⁸⁷ “Vere dignum: nos sursum cordibus erectis divinum adorare mysterium, quo humana conditio veteri terrenaque lege cessante nova caelestisque substantia mirabiliter restaurata profertur, ut quod magno dei munere geritur, magnis ecclesiae gaudiis celebretur: per.” (GeV 14).

⁸⁸ “Concede nobis, domine, quaesumus, ut sacramenta quae sumpsimus, quicquid in nostra mente vitiosum est (ipsius) medicationis dono curetur: per.” (GeV 15).

righteously.⁸⁹ The presence of a *super populum* prayer indicates that this set may be from an earlier stratum than the previous two sets in the Gelasianum.⁹⁰ If this is so, then the Mass set, unrelated as it is to the development of a commemoration of Saint Anastasia inserted into the Christmas observance, may be an even more ancient remnant from the original vigil practiced at Saint Peter's on Christmas Eve.

As explained in the introduction to this chapter, the Gregorian sacramentaries include a commemoration to Saint Anastasia on December 25 in deference to the Byzantine political establishment in Rome, which celebrated her feast on this day. Following the conclusion of the Byzantine centuries, the liturgy reverts to a Christmas Mass, with only a mention of Saint Anastasia in the prayers. The Gregorian sacramentaries reflect a time of transition when one or the other commemorations – Saint Anastasia or the Nativity – could be celebrated. For this reason, perhaps, the Tridentinum does not place the Mass at Saint Anastasia in a separate section, as it appears in the Hadrianum and in the Paduensis, but rather the Mass appears under the same section, Section 3, which contains the Mass for the vigil at Saint Mary Major. It is interesting that the sacramentaries begin each of the doublets with the prayer for the martyr, and in doing so reveal the original purpose for this liturgy. The content of the Nativity texts does not reveal them as written for a vigil, but rather for an early morning liturgy on Christmas Day. For example, references to Christ as the new light of God's Word shining upon the minds of believers and upon the world

⁸⁹ "Populum tuum, domine, quaesumus, tueantur sanctificent et gubernent aeternumque perficiant tam devotionibus acta solemnibus, quam natalitiis agenda divinis Iesu Christi domini nostri." (GeV 16).

⁹⁰ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 210.

abound.⁹¹ The preface comes from the Verona collection of Christmas texts (Ve 1266). It, too, echoes the appearance of that light, which brings forth clarity in understanding and vision.⁹² The *ad completa/complendum* prayer repeats the Gelasian post communion prayer for the ninth hour vigil of Christmas.

The Mass during the Day. A summary of this liturgy in the Roman sacramentaries is provided in Table 12. The daytime celebration of the Nativity of Christ is the last entry in the Gelasian and Gregorian sacramentaries for the feast of Christmas. The liturgy's location at the Vatican basilica is mentioned in the Gregorian sacramentaries only; and only the Gelasianum and the Paduensis expressly state that it is a liturgy *in die*.

The Gelasianum adds a preface, *communicantes*, and, like the vigil *mane prima*, a *super populum* prayer. The two initial orations pray that by the birth of the Son of God all those redeemed by grace may become God's children by adoption,⁹³ and that all believers be given the gift of immortality.⁹⁴ The first oration supplies a reference to the day, which is made holy by the Incarnation (*hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui...consecrasti*). The

⁹¹ Collect: "Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui nova incarnatione verbi tui luce perfundimur, hoc in nostro resplendeat opere quod per fidem fulget in mente. Per." (GrH 42; GrT 96; GrP 10). Super oblata: "Munera nostra quaesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta proveniant ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est. Per dominum." (GrH 44; GrT 98; GrP 12).

⁹² "VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia nostri saluatoris hodie lux vera processit, quae clara nobis omnia et intellectu manifestavit et visu. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus ymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus." (GrH 46; GrT 100; GrP 14).

⁹³ "Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et per partum beatae virginis Mariae consecrasti, da populis tuis in hac celebritate laetitiae, ut et qui tua gratia sunt redempti tua adoptione sint filii: per dominum." (GeV 17).

⁹⁴ "Praesta, misericors deus, ut natus hodie saluatar, sicut divinae generationis est auctor, ita et immortalitatis sit ipse largitor: per." (GeV 18).

second oration is taken from the Verona collection (Ve 1271), where it functions as a post communion prayer in one of the Christmas sets; the prayer serves this same purpose in the Gregorian Mass sets for Christmas Day (GrH 53; GrT 107; GrP 19). The secret prayer asks that the offering be received

Table 12. The Sacramentary Evidence for the Mass of Christmas Day: The Gelasian and Major Gregorian Traditions

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Book I – Section 4 Nos. 17-23	Section 8 Nos. 49-53	Section 4 Nos. 103-107	Section 4 Nos. 17-19
<i>Item in natale domini in die</i>	<i>In natale domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>In natale domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	<i>Item ipse die ad sanctum petrum</i>
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut nos unigeniti tui nova per</i>	<i>Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce</i>	<i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut nos unigeniti tui nova per</i>
<i>Praesta misericors deus ut natus hodie salvator sicut divinae generationis</i>			
Secreta <i>Oblatio tibi sit domine hodierna festivitatis accepta quia et nostrae</i>	Super oblata <i>Oblata domini munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica</i>	Secreta <i>Oblata domini munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica</i>	[Super oblata] <i>Oblata domini munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica</i>
VD: <i>tui laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes cujus figuram abel justus</i>	Praefatio VD: <i>Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis</i>	Praefatio VD: <i>Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis</i>	
Intra actionem <i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...in quo incontaminata virginitas</i>	<i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo beatae mariae intemerata</i>	<i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo beatae mariae intemerata</i>	
Post communionem <i>Da nobis domine quaesumus ipsius recensita nativitate</i>	Ad completa <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut natus hodie salvator mundi</i>	Ad complendum <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut natus hodie salvator mundi</i>	Ad complendum <i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut natus hodie salvator mundi</i>
Ad populum <i>Praesta quaesumus deus noster ut familia tua quae filii tui domini nostri</i>			

as pleasing to the Lord in light of the day's feast. The preface is proper to the day. The text speaks of the birth of Christ fulfilling the sacrifice of praise foretold in the works of Abel, Melchizedek, and Abraham.⁹⁵ A *communicantes* insert, omitted in the other Gelasian

⁹⁵ "Vere dignum: tuae laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes, cujus figuram Abel justus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit, celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus, aeternus

Nativity sets, repeats the formula found in the Gregorian sacramentaries for the nighttime vigil at Saint Mary Major. The Gelasianum orients the text now to Christmas Day.⁹⁶ The post communion prayer utilizes an *ad completa* text found in the Gregorian Nativity Mass sets for the ninth hour vigil. The references to eating and drinking of Christ's heavenly mystery during the Christmas celebration might seem more appropriate, however, to the context of the ninth hour vigil, if this latter vigil did concluded a special fast prior to the feast. The *super populum* prayer requests that by the saving birth of the Lord, the assembly may be granted the security of redemption.⁹⁷ As noted above, the presence of a *super populum* prayer denotes the antiquity of this Mass set, which may retain elements of the ancient liturgy for Christmas Day in Rome. The presence, too, of a *communicantes* insert may privilege this Mass set over the others as the principal and perhaps original celebration of the Christmas feast.

The Hadrianum and Tridentinum contain a preface and a *communicantes* in their Mass sets for Christmas Day, while the Paduensis does not. It was noted above that the initial oration, "Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut nos unigeniti tui," appears in the Gelasianum as the second oration for the vigil in the night. The *super oblata* in the Gregorian sacramentaries asks

pontifex, hodie natus Christus implevit. Et ideo cum angelis." (GeV 20). The text is also found in the Verona collect, Ve 1250.

⁹⁶ "Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum caelebrantes, in quo incontaminata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem, Jesum Christum dominum nostrum: sed et memoriam." (GeV 21).

⁹⁷ "Praesta, quaesumus, deus noster, ut familia tua, quae filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi est nativitate saluata, ejus etiam sit perpetua redemptione secunda: per dominum." (GeV 23).

that the offering be sanctified and the stains of sin be cleansed.⁹⁸ The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum repeat the preface and the *communicantes* from the Mass at Saint Mary Major in the night. The *ad completa/complendum*, as stated above, uses the same text from the second collect of the Gelasian Mass set for Christmas Day.

The Aliae Orationes of the Nativity in the Roman Sacramentaries

The feast of Saint Stephen follows the Mass sets for Christmas Day in the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions (Mass texts for Saint John the Evangelist follow in the Verona collection). Prior to the texts for Saint Stephen, however, appear a number of *aliae orationes*. These occupy a separate section in the Gelasianum and in the Hadrianum, and follow the texts for the Mass of Christmas Day in the Tridentinum and in the Paduensis. The number of texts is the same only in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, eight; in the Gelasianum there are six and in the Paduensis, five. Only a few texts of the *aliae orationes* are shared across the sacramentaries. Table 13 provides us with an outline of these *aliae*. The Gelasianum alone provides a possible use for these orations in the heading under which they are placed: *Item orationes de natale domini ad vespers sive matutinos*. The number of the texts seems oriented for use at either vespers or matins during the days of the Christmas Octave. With a total of six prayers, they could be used for each day leading to the octave Mass on January 1 (Section 9 in Book I of the Gelasianum). It is not clear, however, if the intervening feasts of Stephen, Saint John, and the Holy Innocents during this week had their own orations for vespers and matins, and whether or not these would

⁹⁸ “Oblata domine munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.” (GrH 50; GrT 104; Grp 18).

Table 13. Additional Prayer Texts found after the Mass Sets for Christmas

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Book I – Section 5 Nos. 24-29	Section 9 Nos. (53 bis) 54-61	[Section 4] Nos. 108-115	[Section 4] Nos. 20-24
<i>Item orationes de natale domini ad vespersos sive matutinos</i>	<i>Aliae orationes de natale domini</i>	<i>Aliae orationes de natale domini</i>	<i>Aliae orationes de natale domini</i>
	[Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quos sub peccati iugo vetusta]		
<i>Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris et populum tuum qui te</i>			
	<i>Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis</i>	<i>Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis</i>	<i>Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis</i>
<i>Largire quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum</i>	Alia oratio <i>Largire quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum</i>	Alia <i>Largire quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum</i>	Alia <i>Largire quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum</i>
	Alia oratio <i>Deus qui per beatae mariae virginis partum sine humana</i>	Alia <i>Deus qui per beatae mariae virginis partum sine humana</i>	Alia <i>Deus qui per beatae mariae virginis partum sine humana</i>
<i>Deus qui populo tuo plene prestitisti redemptionis effectum</i>			
	Alia <i>Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce</i>		Alia <i>Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce</i>
	Alia <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui</i>	Alia <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui</i>	Alia <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui</i>
		Alia (↑ - In GrH) <i>Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quos sub peccati iugo vetusta</i>	
<i>Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitate et mirabiliter condedisti</i>	Alia <i>Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitate et mirabiliter condedisti</i>	Alia <i>Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitate et mirabiliter condedisti</i>	
<i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus creator humanae reformatorqui naturae</i>			
<i>Deus qui nativitatis tuae exordio pro nostra necessarium salvatione</i>			
	Alia <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui in filii tui domini nostri nativitate tribuisti</i>	Alia <i>Omnipotens sempiternae deus qui in filii tui domini nostri nativitate tribuisti</i>	
	Alia <i>Da quaesumus domine populo tuo inviolabilem fidei firmitatem</i>	Alia <i>Da quaesumus domine populo tuo inviolabilem fidei firmitatem</i>	

have interfered with an ordered use of the orations in Section 5. The texts themselves are not written to the time of day for which they may have been used, but rather express different theological aspects of the Nativity.

The first oration, “Adesto domine supplicationibus,” prays that having been fashioned and restored by their Creator, the people may be saved through God’s constant help.⁹⁹ Portions of text also appear as a *super populum* in the Verona collection for a Christmas Mass set (Ve 1257) and in one of the December Ember vigil sets (Ve 1324). The second oration, “Largire quesumus domine famulis tuis,” is one of two orations in the Gelasianum, which appear in the Gregorian manuscripts. The text prays for an increase in faith and security among those who celebrate the Lord’s birth and that the troubles of the world may not affect them.¹⁰⁰ The Verona collection also contains this text among its Christmas prayers (Ve 1243). References in the prayer to the troubles of the world (“adversa mundi”) may allude to a period of turmoil and severe strife experienced by the Roman community after the election of Pope Symmachus (498-514).¹⁰¹

The third oration, “Deus qui populo tuo,” links the birth of Christ to his ultimate work of salvation on the Cross, and makes petition for strength and steadfastness among the

⁹⁹ “Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris et populum tuum, qui te factore conditus teque est reparatus auctore, te etiam jugiter operante salvetur: per dominum.” (GeV 24)

¹⁰⁰ “Largire, quesumus, domine, famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum, ut qui de nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi gloriantur, et adversa mundi te gubernante non sentiant, et quae temporaliter celebrare desiderant sine fine percipiant: per dominum.” (GeV 25)

¹⁰¹ Symmachus opposed some Byzantine policies and was challenged by an anti-pope Laurentius, who himself was elected by a minority of Byzantine sympathizers in Rome. Symmachus’ election occurred in late November 498, prior to the Nativity feast, and some of the opposition that would form against his pontificate may have begun during this period. See D.M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 69-77.

faithful to reach this same goal.¹⁰² It is the only prayer to clearly join the Incarnation to the Crucifixion. The fourth prayer, “Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitatem,” is the second text found also among the Gregorian sacramentaries. The text emphasizes the work of God in creating and restoring human nature in Christ, and asks that humanity be made sharers in Christ’s divinity.¹⁰³ The beginning of the prayer (“Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti”) occurs in a slightly altered state in the prayer that follows Genesis in the Gregorian Paschal Vigil. The fifth oration, “Omnipotens sempiternae deus creator humanae reformatorqui naturae,” repeats the same sentiment as the fourth oration citing God as creator and transformer of human nature. The text also petitions that the work of the Incarnation make the faithful more deserving to be counted as members of Christ’s body.¹⁰⁴ The sixth and final oration, “Deus qui nativitatis tuae exordia,” considers the *imago dei* in humanity in light of the birth of Christ.¹⁰⁵ The prayer asks that by observing the commandments those fashioned in the likeness of God may become more like their Creator.

¹⁰² “Deus, qui populo tuo plene prestitisti redemptionis effectum, ut non solum unigeniti tui nativitate corporea, sed etiam (et) crucis ejus patibulo salvaretur: hujus, quaesumus, fidei famulis tuis tribue firmitatem, ut usque ad promissum gloriae praemium ipso quoque gubernante perveniant: per.” (GeV 26)

¹⁰³ “Deus, qui humanae substantiae dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti: da, quesumus, ut ejus efficiamur in divina consortes, qui nostrae humanitatis fieri dignatus est particeps, Christus filius tuus: per eundem dominum nostrum.” (GeV 27)

¹⁰⁴ “Omnipotens sempiternae deus, creator humanae reformatorqui naturae, quam unigenitus tuus in utero perpetuae virginitatis assumpsit: respice nos propitius, ut filii tui incarnatione suscepta inter ipsius mereamur membra numerare: per eundem.” (Gev 28)

¹⁰⁵ “Deus, qui nativitatis tuae exordia pro nostra necessarium salvatione duxisti, respice nos propitius et quos similes ad imaginem tuam fecisti, similiores observatione perface mandatorum: per.” (GeV 29)

While they may have served as prayers for the office during the Octave Week of Christmas, the number of prayers might suggest a use at a longer scripture-based vigil. The prayers number six, the same number that becomes customary in the Embertide vigils. The prayer texts are thematic in those vigils and not tied to passages of sacred scripture. It is difficult, because of their context, to state categorically that the Gelasian Christmas *aliae* are not connected to a scripture passage. These texts do, however, repeat a common emphasis on the union of humanity and divinity in Christ. The Gelasianum's designation that they be used as prayers at vespers or matins may indicate an earlier origin for these prayers in an evening/nighttime service, which could have been a more elaborate vigil. An obstacle to further affirming such a theory, however, is the lack of noting a vigil comprising six elements in the Roman *ordines*. Those *ordines*, which speak of a vigil prior to a Mass for the Nativity, state invariably that it is composed of "nine psalms with responsories and readings."¹⁰⁶ The *ordines* may concern a variation on the Divine Office, rather than a pre-Eucharistic vigil. The number of prayers found in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum seems to complement a nine-psalm/nine-lessons arrangement.

The Gregorian sacramentaries label this section of additional Christmas prayers: *Aliae orationes de natale domini*; there is no reference to their use during the Christmas octave at either vespers or matins. The lack of designation prompts one to ask why they are collected at the end of the Christmas Masses. They may be simply a collection of texts, which the editors of the Gregorian sacramentary believed too valuable to edit out of the recensions. The prayers, however, seem distinct in their own way. The texts are not styled

¹⁰⁶ See OR 12, OR 15, OR 16, and OR 17.

in a way that would make them useful as *super oblata* or *ad complendum* prayers; in fact, they resemble the *collecta* more than any other type of text. Yet, a cluster of stray *collecta* at the conclusion of the Gregorian Christmas sections would seem odd, for why preserve this type of prayer and not any others?¹⁰⁷ A more probable answer why these prayers exist may lie in their use at the vigil preceding the nighttime Masses of Christmas.

The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum, both with eight prayers under this heading, appear to follow a pattern described in the Roman *ordines* for an office vigil that preceded Mass on Christmas Eve.¹⁰⁸ OR 12.4, as we saw above, states that, “On the vigil of the Nativity of the Lord it is done as at Saint Mary Major.” The *ordo* goes on to provide some specifics, and then lists eight responsorial antiphons for use, presumably, at this vigil. The passages relate to the feast at hand. They have been footnoted earlier, but it seems good to bring them out in the present text.

<i>Ecce jam veniet hora</i>	<i>O regem caeli</i>
<i>Hodie nobis caelorum</i>	<i>Quem vidistis pastores</i>
<i>Beata Dei genetrix</i>	<i>Haec est dies</i>
<i>Hic qui advenit</i>	<i>Continet in gremio</i>

¹⁰⁷ André Wilmart believes that these texts serve the Sundays intervening after Christmas and points out that following the Mass set for the Octave of Christmas in the Hadrianum are two sections titled, *Oratio in alia dominica* (Section 15, GrH 85) and *Item alia in dominica* (Section 16, GrH 86), each section contains only one prayer. These prayers become *collecta* in full Mass sets for Sundays following Christmas in the Tridentinum and in the Paduensis, but Wilmart believes their primitive origin is found in the Hadrianum. See André Wilmart, “Le Lectionnaire d’Alcuin,” *Emphermides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 172, n.72.

¹⁰⁸ The Hadrianum does contain a ninth oration (GrH 53*bis*), which leads the list of prayers in that sacramentary. It is a rewritten version of the collect for Christmas Day (GrH 49). The prayer does not appear in every recension of the Hadrianum and there is no explanation given for its presence in the lists where it does.

These antiphons are not found among the Roman antiphonals for the Masses of Christmas, but latter become attached to praying nocturns at Christmas.¹⁰⁹ In numbering eight, they correspond to the number of prayers in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum. If the pattern of following a psalm with responsories and then a prayer holds for a vigil office, as it seems to for the pre-Eucharistic vigils of Pascha and Pentecost, then we may be able to link the *aliae orationes* to the responsories in this context. The lack of a list of scripture lessons for the vigil office is, however, a detriment to a full appreciation or affirmation of this theory.

The prayers express the mystery of the Nativity, but it is difficult to state if they were associated with any particular scripture passage. The first oration, “Respice nos misericors deus,” petitions for divine care and the light of highest truth as the Christ is born into the world.¹¹⁰ The next oration, “Largire quaesumus domine famulis,” we have examined already in the Gelasianum. The third oration, “Deus qui per beatæ mariæ virginis,” is found in the Gelasianum as the first collect *in vigilia mane prima*. The theme of this oration seems aptly matched with the title of the antiphon, “Beata dei genetrix.” The fourth oration, “Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare,” acclaims the salvific light of Christ, which renews the world.¹¹¹ The content of the fifth oration, “Omnipotens sempiternæ deus qui

¹⁰⁹ These responsories will become incorporated into the monastic cursus where the nocturns of Christmas Eve are observed in later centuries. See Renato-Joanne Hesbert, ed., *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, vol. 1, *Manuscripti “cursus romanus”* (Rome: Herder, 1963-1979).

¹¹⁰ “Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis, nascente Christo summae veritatis lumen ostende. Per.” (GrH 54; GrT 108; GrP 20).

¹¹¹ “Concede nobis omnipotens deus, ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce mirabili quod ad salutem mundi hodierna festivitate processit, nostris semper innovandis cordibus oriatur. Per dominum.” (GrH 57; GrT 112; GrP 23).

hunc diem,” asks that the faithful sharing in the celebration of the Nativity of Christ may be redeemed by grace and liberated through adoption.¹¹² The prayer serves also as the first oration on Christmas Day in the Gelasianum. The sixth oration, “Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitate,” we have already examined among the *orationes de natale domini* of the Gelasianum. The seventh prayer, “Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui in filii tui,” recognizes the birth of Christ as the beginning and perfection of all worship and petitions that the faithful be given a share in the salvation he brings.¹¹³ The final prayer, “Da quaesumus domine populo tuo,” seeks that those who confess the birth of the Only-Begotten Son of God may be liberated from present adversities and experience eternal joy.¹¹⁴ The content of this oration could fit well with the antiphon, *Continet in gremio*.

The existence of only five *aliae* in the Paduensis, contrary to what we find in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, may be an incomplete rendering of the texts listed in the Hadrianum, or they may serve another vigil office found at OR 12.3. Recall that OR 12 provides for a vigil of five lessons with as many responsories prior to the office of nine-psalms.¹¹⁵

¹¹² “Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et partum beatæ mariæ virginis consecrasti, da populis tuis in hac celebritate consortium, ut qui tua gratia sunt redempti, tua sint adoptione securi. Per.” (GrH 58; GrT 111; GrP 24).

¹¹³ “Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui in filii tui domini nostri nativitate tribuisti totius religionis initium perfectionemque constare, da nobis quaesumus in ejus portione censer, in quo totius salutis humanae summa consistit. Per dominum.” (GrH 60; GrT 114).

¹¹⁴ “Da quaesumus domine populo tuo inviolabilem fidei firmitatem, ut qui unigenitum tuum in tua tecum gloria sempiternum in veritate nostri corporis natum de matre virgine confitentur, et a praesentibus liberentur adversis, et mansuris gaudiis inserantur. Per dominum nostrum.” (GrH 61; GrT 115).

¹¹⁵ “In vigilia domini quinque lectiones cum totidem responsoria. Nam in psalmis ad nocturnos cotidiana antiphonae. In matutinis sicut habetur in capitulare.” (OR 12.3).

Still, the presence of these orations in the sacramentary seems odd. Although we encounter prayers for vespers and/or matins among the sacramentary texts, it is rare if at all that we find prayers for a vigil *office*.¹¹⁶ If we are not too quick in interpreting through an early or late Medieval lens the presence of these *aliae* and their association with a separate vigil office in the *ordines*, it is possible that these texts may have served originally as a pre-Eucharistic vigil. The preservation of these texts may reflect an earlier stratum of the tradition when a distinction between vigil as an office and the pre-Eucharistic vigil had yet to take shape. Recall from a point made in the Introduction to this thesis that hours of vespers and matins do not attach themselves to a celebration of the Eucharist in the manner of a vigil. The collection of *aliae orationes* in the Christmas Masses of the sacramentaries may be remnants of a more ancient pre-Eucharistic vigil of Christmas.

The *aliae* found in the Paduensis could point also to a primitive practice of the Roman observance of Christmas. If what pertains to the office of the Nativity in the *ordines* existed previously as elements of a Eucharistic celebration, then it seems possible that what OR 12 describes might be aspects of the the Christmas Mass *in galli cantu*, which originally initiated the feast of the Nativity. This liturgy may have occurred at Saint Peter's basilica outside the realm of Lateran and papal practice. The Paduensis, representing a presbyteral type of the papal liturgy preserved in the Gregorian tradition, has conserved a part of this ancient vigil in its text. That this sacramentary shares the first five prayers as appear in the Hadrianum attests to a similiar core in these two manuscripts, which core is extended to eight when the papal vigil at Saint Mary Major replaces the ancient presbyteral vigil at Saint

¹¹⁶ Unless the Paschal Vigil could just as easily be interpreted to be an "office" as in a "prolonged Liturgy of the Word."

Peter's basilica as the principal liturgy of Christmas eve. OR 12 possibly represents a period when both vigils occurred simultaneously. The *aliae orationes* of the Paduensis may share also with the vigil *mane prima* of the Gelasianum a similar origin, both being remnants of the ancient Nativity vigil *in galli cantu*.

Preliminary Conclusions

The evidence we have examined in the liturgical texts on the existence of a liturgical vigil associated with the Nativity of Christ has yielded three possibilities: a vigil that broke a fast kept until the ninth hour on 24 December; a Mass “in the night” celebrated between 24 and 25 December; and a Mass “in mane prima,” the early hours of the morning, on 25 December. While the Gelasian sacramentary and the Antiphonal of Senlis consistently label these liturgies as vigils, there is general agreement among the sources for naming the liturgy breaking the fast on 24 December a vigil. Aside from the titles given the liturgies in the liturgical texts, there is no evidence of an extended Liturgy of the Word such as comprise the vigils of Pascha, Pentecost, and the Quarterly Fast Saturdays. One clue that points, however, to a possible extended Word service is found in a collection of orations that follow the Mass texts for Christmas Day in the sacramentaries. These orations are provided for vespers or matins according to the Gelasianum, and are called “*aliae*” for the Nativity of the Lord in the Gregorian sacramentaries. None of the texts refer to specific readings from scripture, nor do the lectionary lists provide scripture pericopes with which to pair them. Another clue occurs in the list of eight antiphons associated with the vigil celebrated on Christmas Eve in OR 12. These antiphons match in number with the *aliae* prayers in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum, but not every antiphon can be linked to a particular prayer text.

Roman tradition appears to favor a celebration of the Nativity of the Lord during the day of 25 December as the original celebration of the feast in Rome. There is no

explanation given for the reason a fast is associated with the vigil on 24 December, although fasting comes to be a preparation to celebrating a feast. The origin of the nocturnal Mass is a desire to imitate the celebration of the Nativity observed in Bethlehem, and the liturgy *in mane prima* originally develops to serve the needs of the Byzantine officials stationed in Rome who commemorated Saint Anastasia on 25 December. A vigil associated with a commemoration of the Nativity of the Lord appears as a later development in the Roman manner of celebrating the feast. The orations of the vigil Masses speak of anticipating the feast of Christmas and some are composed to reflect eschatological themes such as the return of Christ and the fulfillment of God's promises and plan for creation. It is notable that by the time of Gregory I the celebration of three liturgies for the feast of Christmas expresses the fullness of celebrating the feast. The lectionaries contribute to communicating this fullness in the manner in which they arrange the proclamation of the Nativity in Luke's gospel over the vigil, nighttime, and early morning liturgies.

The evidence for a celebration of a vigil in association with the feast of Epiphany is not as extensive as it is for Christmas in the tradition of Rome. Where it does exist the data provide additional understanding of the role of a vigil in the liturgical celebrations of the Christmas cycle of feasts. A consideration of this evidence will further aid our investigation of the earliest practices of keeping vigil in Rome. We will now turn to a study of the vigil at Epiphany.

CHAPTER SIX

The Vigil of Epiphany

Historical Notes on the Liturgical Celebration in Rome

Contrary to what we encountered in our consideration of the liturgy of Christmas, an examination of the liturgy for the celebration of the Epiphany is much less complex. Yet, if the feast's liturgical development is not as elaborate as that of Christmas its celebration echoes many similar themes. While Epiphany in Rome comes to center upon the visit of Magi, in parts of the East the feast seems originally equated with the Baptism of Christ. Still other churches associated the first miracle at Cana, the Transfiguration, or even the genealogy of Christ with Epiphany, each of these expressions of τὰ θεοφάνεια as the manifestation of a god in human form.¹ The celebration of a vigil in conjunction with a commemoration of the Epiphany is inconsistent in the liturgical tradition of Rome. The presence of a vigil prior to a day celebration for the Epiphany in the liturgical books, while rare, does exist. Those patterns, however, which associate a vigil with the Epiphany, may not necessarily be celebrations of a pre-Eucharistic vigil. The purpose of this chapter will be to consider, given Epiphany's connection to Christmas, whether or not evidence of its festal vigil may shed any further light on the unique vigil celebration associated with Christmas.

I have commented in Chapter 5 on the beginnings of an observance of Epiphany and on its introduction into the West. The feast appears in Gaul in the mid-fourth century, and

¹ Thomas Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2nd ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 146.

as Talley points out, given the oriental influences operating in this part of the continent it is not surprising that it is in Gaul that we lack evidence for an observance on December 25 during this time.² It is not clear exactly when the feast enters into Rome, but Philastrius of Brescia (ca. 385-391) and Ambrose of Milan (339-387) refer to its celebration in Northern Italy, and the sermons of Augustine (345-430) indicate that it is a feast separate from the Nativity in North Africa. It might be possible that the feast enters Rome, by way of North Africa, during the liturgical program that progressed under the pontificate of Damasus I (366-384).³ An earlier dating for the establishment of Epiphany on the Roman liturgical calendar does not seem possible. Talley suggests that the feast's absence from the Chronograph of 354, which by listing the feast of Chair of Saint Peter (*Natale Petri de cathedra*) on 22 January appears to highlight festivals of fixed date, may signal it was not recognized at this point.⁴ The adoption of Epiphany in Rome and the West appears more the product of the liturgical cross-fertilization between East and West in the fourth century, than of a recognition that the visitation of the Magi before the Christ child deserved its own commemoration.⁵

When Rome begins to observe the feast of 6 January in its calendar the portion of the Infancy Narrative, which dealt with the adoration of the Magi was transposed from 25

² See Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 141; see also A.M. Dubarle et. al., *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ: semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 25-42.

³ See Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 145; and also Massey Shepherd, "The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2, ed. Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann (Münster: Aschendorff, 1970), 853-855.

⁴ Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 144-145.

⁵ Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 145-146.

December to this date.⁶ The adoration of the Magi becomes the principal theme for the Epiphany celebration in a Roman context.⁷ There is no consistent witness from Rome of a fast preceding the celebration of Epiphany, which itself may have been conceived there originally as a daytime festival. It is interesting to note that Philastrius wrote that Epiphany did not hold the same high significance as accorded to the Nativity of the Lord in Brescia, and he specifically states that unlike Christmas, Epiphany is not preceded by a fast.⁸ It may have been possible that the same was true also of the feast's celebration in Rome.

The Vigil of Epiphany: The Roman Ordines

Let us begin our investigation of the liturgy of Epiphany and the function of its vigil with the information we find in the Roman *ordines*. Table 1, following, will assist us. Little detailed information exists on the particulars of the liturgical celebration for Epiphany in Rome. Righetti believes that two nocturnal offices along the lines of what we saw for the feast of the Nativity preceded the day commemoration. These offices took place at Saint Peter's basilica, the first at midnight, consisting of three psalms and three lessons, and the second presumably at cockcrow and made up of nine lessons. It is not clear, as I mention above, that these nocturnal liturgies were part of a pre-Eucharistic vigil.⁹

⁶ Pierre Jounel, "The Christmas Season," in *Liturgy and Time*, vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), 80-81.

⁷ Mario Righetti, *L'anno liturgico, il breviario*, vol. 2 of *Manuale di Storia liturgica*, 3rd ed. (1969; 2nd repr., Milan: Ancora editrice, 2005), 107.

⁸ Philastrius of Brescia *Diversarum hereseon liber* 149.3 (Bulhart CCL 9.312); see also Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 142.

⁹ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 106.

From a cursory glance at the data contained in them, the *ordines* do not help clarify the situation of a vigil prior to the day celebration of the Epiphany. Only four *ordines* touch on the subject of the Epiphany, and what they relate may be more instructional for praying the Divine Office than expressive of a pre-Eucharistic vigil. Unlike the material the *ordines* assigned for the Nativity, there is no specific mention of a celebration for Epiphany *in vigilia*. OR 12.6 may witness to a celebration of *nocturns* for Epiphany. Interestingly, the

Table 1. Evidence of the Vigil of Epiphany in the Roman *Ordines*

<i>Ordo</i>	Date	Night-Vigil	Other Liturgies
12	ca. 770-795	<p>OR 12.6 <i>In theophania</i> [Nocturns for Epiphany Eve?]</p> <p>The invitatory is not said, nor is <i>Domine labia mea</i> Immediately begin with psalms and antiphons Rest as contained in the <i>capitularie</i></p>	
13A	ca. 700-750	<p>OR 13A.18 <i>In theophania</i></p> <p>Isaiah 55:1 Isaiah 60:1 Isaiah 61:10 Sermons/homilies of the <i>catholic fathers</i></p>	
15	ca. 750-787	<p>OR 15.69 <i>Pridie theophanie</i></p> <p>Make the fast with Mass at <i>none</i></p> <p>At midnight enter into vigil psalms, lessons, responsories pertaining to the Magi, to baptism, and to the wedding at Cana</p>	<p>OR 15.70-77 Celebration of baptism</p> <p>OR 15.78 Follows with Mass <i>In ordinem quod diximus in domini natalem secuntur</i></p>
17	ca. 780-790	<p>OR 17.66 <i>Pridie theofanie</i></p> <p>Make the fast with Mass at <i>none</i></p> <p>At midnight enter into vigil psalms, lessons, responsories pertaining to the Magi, to baptism, and to the wedding at Cana</p>	<p>OR 17.67 Mass <i>Ordine quod diximus domini natalem secuntur</i></p>

ordo provides a similar instruction for beginning the prayer immediately with the psalms and omitting the invitatory, which is the pattern we see in the same *ordo* (OR 12.4) for the

Nativity vigil in imitation of the liturgy at Saint Mary Major.¹⁰ The remainder of the entry goes on to explain vespers on Epiphany day, presumably, and during the Epiphany octave. There is nothing said about the celebration of the Mass in the *ordo*.

Similar to the data contained in OR 12, the ritual instruction for the Epiphany at OR 13A.18 mirrors what this same *ordo* prescribes for the vigil of Christmas at OR 13A.13. There is nothing said about psalms or responsories, but the *ordo* instead provides three specific incipits from scripture: “Omnes sicientes venite ad aquas” (Isaiah 55:1, “All you that thirst, come to the waters”); “Surge inluminare hierusalem” (Isaiah 60:1, “Arise, shine Jerusalem”); and “Gaudens gaudebo in domino” (Isaiah 61:10, “I will rejoice heartily in the Lord”). The instruction then says that sermons, concerning the Epiphany one surmises, from Augustine, Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose, or others are read,¹¹ just as at OR 13A.13. The *ordo* provides no information about a Eucharistic celebration in the night or during the day.

Ordines 15 and 17 contain almost identical information for Epiphany; understandable since OR 17 is an expansion upon OR 15 primarily for monastic use.¹² Both *ordines* make a reference to the day before Epiphany as *pridie theophanie*, but whether or not this implies a vigil or something during the day of 5 January is not clear. A fast, the only mention of such an observance, is kept by the community and concludes with a Mass at

¹⁰ “*In theophania domine labia mea non dicunt nec invitatorium cantant statim antiphonam cum psalmo incipient. Reliqua omnia sicut in capitulare continentur.*” (OR 12.6).

¹¹ “*Deinde legunt sermones agustini, gregorii, hieronimi, ambrosii vel ceterorum.*” (OR 13A.18).

¹² Michael Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 3 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 2006), 170-171.

the hour of *none* (OR 15.69; OR 17.66).¹³ We saw a comparable fast and Mass at *none* on Christmas Eve in the *ordines*, prior to the vigil services at midnight. Similarly a vigil follows the fast and Mass at *none* on Epiphany in OR 15 and OR 17 (*ingrediuntur ad vigiliis*) at midnight or during the middle of the night (*medium nocte tempore*). The vigil takes the shape of the customary pattern of psalms, lessons, and responsories, but the *ordines* mention also that these liturgical elements ought to emphasize certain themes – the gifts of the Magi, baptism, and the wedding at Cana.¹⁴ These three themes form the *tria miracula* of the feast, a longtime content of the Epiphany festival in Gaul.¹⁵

OR 15 follows this vigil with an elaborate instruction on baptism (OR 15.70-77), similar to what we have seen in descriptions of the Paschal Vigil in the *ordines*. Contrary to the thinking of some scholars that this baptismal rite is a Gallican interpolation,¹⁶ Andrieu believes that nothing in the arrangement of the text affirms such an understanding. Rather, he discerns a consistency in the movement from OR 15.69 to OR 15.70, and remarks that all manuscripts of OR 15 contain this passage.¹⁷ If we follow Andrieu's rejection that OR 15.70-77 is not a Gallican insertion into the text, then its presence at this point in the *ordo* could be explained as the remnant of a tradition of Epiphany baptismal practice in Rome.

¹³ “*Pridie theophanie jejunium publicum faciunt et hora nona missas celebrantur.*” (OR 15.69); “*Pridie theofanie jejunium publicum faciunt. Et hora nona missa celebrant.*” (OR 17.66).

¹⁴ “*...psalmos quoque aut lectiones vel responsoria de ipso die canentes tantum de muneribus Magorum et baptismum de nupciis vero que facte sunt in Cana Gallileae.*” (OR 17.66).

¹⁵ Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 142.

¹⁶ Andrieu points out that Carlo Silva-Tarouca is one scholar who believes that OR 15.70-78 is an interpolation into the text. See Carlo Silva-Tarouca, “Giovanni ‘Archicantor’ di S. Pietro a Roma e l’‘Ordo romanus’ da lui composto (anno 680),” in *Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, serie III, Memorie, vol. I, pt. I (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta vaticana, 1923), 186.

¹⁷ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 110.

Talley recognizes that some communities in the West adopted the Eastern practice of baptism on Epiphany. It is, however, difficult to firmly identify Rome as one of these communities given that condemnation of this practice by popes such as Siricius, Gelasius I, and Leo I is directed specifically to the bishops of Spain and Sicily.¹⁸ The text of OR 15 states that the ritual of baptism begins after completing *nocturns* and *matins*.¹⁹ This instruction suggests a vigil context even if it is not clearly the usual “Eucharistic vigil.” OR 17 omits the passages concerning the celebration of baptism at Epiphany.

The baptismal ritual concludes at OR 15.77, and OR 15.78 follows with an instruction for the celebration of the Mass, which the *ordo* states is enacted in the same manner as on the Nativity.²⁰ This same instruction immediately follows the entry concerning the vigil at OR 17.67. While it is not fully clear from the instruction at OR 15.78 that this Mass has any connection to the baptismal celebration preceding it, Andrieu believes that “number 78 is quite naturally attached to number 77,” just as number 69 fits perfectly with 70 without any sign of discord.²¹ Any thought that OR 15.70-77 is an interpolation, as

¹⁸ The Egyptian church, as well as the early Syrian and Armenian churches, may have practiced baptism on Epiphany as a celebration of Christ’s baptism in the Jordan. See Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their evolution and interpretation*, rev. ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2007), 66-75, 209-210.

¹⁹ “*Expletis igitur nocturnis et matutinis mox cum cereis et candelabris seu et turabulis...incipient letania...ipsa letania finita statim episcopus benedicit fontes.*” (OR 15.70-71). The second half of OR 15.71 (“*finita statim episcopus benedicit fontes*”) is found only in the St. Gall Sacramentary Fragment known as MS G (Saint-Gall 349, late 8th or early 9th century) of this *ordo*. Andrieu believes that MS G is least influenced by subsequent Carolingian corrections, although this may not necessarily be so. (Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 57-58).

²⁰ “*Missas vero in ipsa die ordinem quod diximus in domini natalem secuntur.*” (OR 15.78).

²¹ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 110. The full text of Andrieu’s commentary on OR 15.70-78 reads as follows: “Selon le P. Silva-Tarouca ici commencerait une interpolation, allant jusqu’au n. 77

mentioned above and according to Andrieu, can be refuted. In both OR 15 and OR 17 this direction is the only reference to a Mass for the feast, which Mass appears to occur between the night of 5 January and the morning of 6 January, hence the designation of *in ipsa die*.²² The Eucharist, again, is not necessarily directly connected with the vigil that precedes it.

The data contained in the *ordines* concerned with the Epiphany does not provide for two vigil services corresponding to the Christmas pattern as per Righetti's observation. OR 15 and 17 alone seem to mention a fast-breaking Mass at *none*, which does not include a vigil, and a nighttime vigil. The scripture passages from Isaiah supplied in OR 13A focus upon the Epiphany and could have been used at the midnight vigil of three lessons and psalms, which Righetti proposes. While Righetti is of the opinion that a vigil of nine lessons occurred in the early morning hours of 6 January, the *ordines* direct only that a vigil of psalms, lessons, and responsories takes place, and no number is given as to the quantity of any of these elements. The direction to celebrate the Mass of the Epiphany as on the Nativity of the Lord in OR 15 and OR 17 demonstrates the link between the two feasts. Other than these details, it is difficult to determine any further conclusions on the use of a nighttime vigil for the Epiphany from the evidence in the *ordines*. As a final note, the question of how "Roman" is OR 15 and its presentation of Epiphany deserves closer attention. While Andrieu believes the *Sangallensis* manuscript (Saint-Gall 349, late 8th or early 9th century, known as MS G) of the *ordo* included all the material in OR 15.70-77, and

inclusivemnt. Mais rien, dans le texte, n'autorise cette hypothèse. Le n. 70 se rattache très naturellement au n. 69, comme le n. 78 au n. 77. Tous les manuscrits de l'*Ordo* ont ce passage."

²² Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 90-91. Andrieu believes that the blessing of the font and baptisms recounted in OR 15 would occur at dawn on Epiphany. Whether these baptisms follow an all-night vigil he does not say.

that this is not an addition to the manuscript, he states that the manuscript does not necessarily represent Roman practice.²³

The Vigil of Epiphany: The Roman Lectionaries

Let us now turn to the Roman lectionaries and inspect their specifics for the celebration of the Epiphany. Table 2, following, outlines this information for our consideration. The data in the Roman lectionaries for the Epiphany and its vigil provides additional information on the liturgical construction of each of these celebrations.

From the liturgical headings we can determine the following details concerning the observance of the Epiphany feast. The only lectionary that does not provide for an Epiphany liturgy *in vigilia* is the Würzburg Epistolary. The other lectionaries appear to distinguish two liturgies for Epiphany, one: *in vigiliis de theophania*, and a second, simply: *in theophania*. The terminology for the feast is consistently “The Theophany,” which designation follows the pattern in the Roman *ordines*. The Vatican basilica is cited as the location for the celebration of the festal vigil in the Würzburg Evangelary and in the Roman gospel capitularies; the basilica is mentioned only in the A group of the Roman gospel capitularies and also in the *Comes* of Murbach for feast day itself.

The Lectionary of Verona alone supplies a time of day for the vigil, at *none*, which time OR 15 and OR 17 give for a Mass breaking a fast the day before Epiphany (OR 15.69; OR 17.66). The *ordines* do not exclusively refer to this Mass as a vigil, but note that it takes

²³ Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 3, 57-58.

Table 2. The Vigil and Day Liturgies of Epiphany in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Capitulary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
Vigil of the Epiphany <i>In vigiliis de theophania in aeclesia sci. petri (W_{ev})**</i>	Vigil of the Epiphany Π: <i>In vigiliis de theophania in ecclesia sci petri</i> Λ: <i>In vigiliis de theophania – ipsa legitur dominica prima post natale domini – in ecclesia sci petri</i> Σ: <i>In vigiliis de theophania in ecclesia sci petri</i> Δ: <i>In vigiliis de theophania in basilica sci petri</i>	Vigil of the Epiphany <i>In vigil. theuphanie</i>	Vigil of the Epiphany <i>In vigilia teophaniae</i>	Vigil of the Epiphany <i>In vigil. teophaniae</i>	Vigil of the Epiphany <i>In vigil theo de nona</i>
Matt 2:19-23**	Matt 2:19-23	Titus 3:4 Matt 2:19	Titus 3:4-7	Romans 3:19-26	Titus 3:4-7 Matt 2:19-23
Epiphany <i>In theophania (W_{ep})</i> <i>In theophania (W_{ev})**</i>	Epiphany Π: <i>In theophania</i> Λ: <i>In theophania scum petrum</i> Σ: <i>In theophania</i> Δ: <i>In theophania in die</i>	Epiphany <i>In theuphania domini ad sanctum petrum</i>	Epiphany <i>In teophania</i>	Epiphany <i>In teoph. domini. viii idus jan.</i>	Epiphany <i>In theo.</i>
Titus 3:4-7 Isaiah 60:1-6 Matt 2:1-12**	Matt 2:1-12	Isaiah 60:1 Matt 2:1	Isaiah 60:1-6	Isaiah 60:1-6	Isaiah 60:1-6 Matt 2:1-12

place *in ipsa die ordinem*. The only document to specifically refer to a liturgy *in die* and to one *in vigilia* for Epiphany is the Δ collection of gospel capitularies. The Epistolary of Corbie provides a date for the liturgy *In theophania* as the 8th of the ides of January (*In teoph. domini. viii idus jan.*). In the Λ collection of Roman capitularies between the title for the liturgical day and the stational announcement is a parenthetical comment that instructs “the same is read the first Sunday following the Nativity of the Lord” (*ipsa legitur dominica*

prima post natale domini). Klauser does not provide further comment on this interpolation except to acknowledge that it is there.²⁴

Dom Morin finds it odd that the Würzburg Epistolary does not contain a specific entry for a vigil of the Epiphany. He believes that its absence proves the observance of a vigil for Epiphany is an addition to the celebration of the feast more recent than the feast itself.²⁵ The Würzburg Epistolary provides two separate entries for scripture lessons under the heading, *In theophania*, W_{ep} 18 and W_{ep} 19. The two readings, Titus 3 and Isaiah 60, are inverted in the epistle list in a fashion we see also for the Masses of Christmas in the same list. The peculiar arrangement possibly signifies, as it appears to with the texts of the Christmas liturgies, a transition away from proclaiming the Old Testament texts at the Epiphany celebration. The two lessons continue to appear in the other lectionaries that include an epistle reading. In these lectionaries, however, the two readings are divided between the vigil and the day liturgies, with the Titus reading proclaimed at the vigil (save the Epistolary of Corbie where Romans 3:19-26 replaces Titus 3) and the Isaiah reading at the Mass during the day.

The passage from Titus 3 repeats the reading found in the lectionaries for the Mass at the *titulus* of Saint Anastasia at Christmas, that with the appearance of Christ in the flesh believers have hope of justification and everlasting life. The Isaiah 60 reading is found in the Epiphany vigil outline of OR 15 and OR 17, the coming of the light through which the

²⁴ Theodore Klauser, *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte*, I Typen (Münster: Verlag der Aschendorfschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), 49.

²⁵ G. Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romain," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 47.

glory of God shines upon Jerusalem. It is the only lesson among those provided in OR 13A.18 that appears in the lectionary lists. Both readings draw out themes appropriate for both the Nativity and for Epiphany, but Isaiah 60 is most apt for the feast centered upon theophany.

The Romans 3 reading in the Epistolary of Corbie articulates the same sentiments concerning justification as in Titus 3, though the emphasis in Romans may be more universal than in Titus. Frere gives no reason why the Corbie manuscript changes the reading, though it may be the result of wanting to differentiate the Epiphany feast from that of the Nativity. The reading is not found elsewhere in the Epistolary of Corbie.

The gospel pericopes for the vigil and the day liturgies are also inverted like the two non-gospel readings. Matthew 2:19-23 is placed before Matthew 2:1-12 at the vigil of Epiphany in all the lectionaries. The passage from Matthew 2:19-23 concerns the return of the Holy Family from Egypt after the death of Herod and their settlement in Nazareth. The gospel for the day, Matthew 2:1-12, recounts the journey of the Magi, their encounter with Herod, and their adoration of the newborn Christ child. No scholar comments on the unusual nature of this arrangement, furnishing a chronology out of sequence with the events comprised by the feast. Morin does comment that the vigil gospel is proclaimed also on the feast of Holy Innocents (28 December), but in this context the pericope begins at verse 13, the massacre of the Innocents.²⁶

²⁶ G. Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle," *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 298.

The lack of a vigil in the Würzburg Epistolary and the inversion of the epistle and gospel readings may indicate that the evolution of the liturgies of Epiphany involved the addition of a vigil to the feast originally comprising a single celebration, and appears to prove Morin's theory.²⁷ He suggests, however, that the presence of two readings prior to the gospel in the Würzburg Epistolary list reveals the original construction of the Epiphany celebration in Rome, which Morin concedes could have been a single liturgical vigil from the night of 5 January into the dawn of 6 January.²⁸ The vigil was the feast in this case, and not an addendum to it. The imagery of dawning light in Isaiah and of the *apparuit* of the Savior could be applied in a very profound manner to a liturgy moving through the night to the dawn.

While Morin seems to hedge on affirming the practice of keeping vigil on the eve of Epiphany as original to the celebration in Rome, another non-Roman manuscript tradition, not included in Table 2 above, suggests an early date for the celebration of an Epiphany vigil. In the Capua Epistolary (*Codex Bonifatianus* 1, ca. 545)²⁹ an entry titled, *In jejunio epiphaniarum*, with an epistle from Colossians 1:9-19, could signal a vigil of the feast, as in some contexts a vigil comes to be synonymous with a fast.³⁰ The Capua Epistolary

²⁷ Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome," 298; and "Le plus ancien 'Comes,'" 47-48. Morin bases his conclusion on the recent addition of a vigil to the feast on the fact that the Würzburg Epistolary is earlier (beginning of the 7th century) than the Würzburg Evangelary (mid-seventh century).

²⁸ Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes,'" 48.

²⁹ See Klaus Gamber, "Die kampanische Lektionsordnung," *Sacris erudiri* 13 (1962): 327-334.

³⁰ See Chapter 3 on the Paschal Vigil, pages 27-271 above, and Adrien Nocent, "La semaine sainte dans la liturgie romaine," in *Hebdomadae sanctae celebratio: Conspectus historicus comparativus*, ed. Antony George Kollamparampil (Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1997), 279-280.

represents a tradition from southern Italy around Naples.³¹ Three other Epiphany entries follow the one on the fast: *In epiphania mane*, with the epistle, II Corinthians 4:6-18; *In eodem die epiphaniarum*, with the epistle, Titus 2:11—3:6; and a second, *In eodem die epiphaniarum*, with the epistle, Galatians 3:27—4:7. The pattern of the festal celebration in this South Italian lectionary parallels that of the Roman celebration for Christmas, with a vigil, an early morning, and a daytime Eucharist. The double entry for the day of Epiphany may designate a second daytime liturgy, although this may be irregular, or it could signal a double epistle tradition at a Mass. Chavassee comments on this same possibility when he analyzes the organization of the Ember celebrations³² The scripture selections do not mirror those found in the Roman lectionaries, except for the reading from Titus in the first entry, *In eodem die epiphaniarum*, which precedes the selection we find in the Roman lectionaries with verses 11-15 of chapter two and verses one to three of chapter three. All the selections for Epiphany in the Capua Epistolary emphasize adoption imagery on a universal scale over that of light as we find in the Roman selections.³³

³¹ See A.G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), 27, 45, 50-51.

³² Antoine Chavassee, *Le sacramentaire gélisien: Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au vii^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée et Cie., 1958), 113-115. See my own evaluation of Chavassee's argument in Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

³³ The Lectionary of Luxeuil contains an entry for an Epiphany vigil (*In vigiliis epiphaniae*) and an entry for a day liturgy (*In epiphania ad missam*). The selections at the vigil are both non-biblical: A passage from life of Saint Julian and an excerpt from a sermon of Saint Augustine. The daytime liturgy proclaims Isaiah 60 as we see in the Roman lectionaries, but the pericope from Titus replicates the Capuan selection. Luxeuil's gospel pericope is a combination of three gospels, none of which treat the adoration of the Magi: Matthew 3:13-17 on Jesus' baptism; Luke 3:32 on Jesus' genealogy; and John 2:1-11 on the wedding at Cana. Luxeuil combines the other themes of Epiphany into its gospel proclamation, themes present in the Eastern churches whose influence was felt in the Gallican churches in which Luxeuil originates.

If Epiphany was celebrated through the night of 5-6 January it bears a striking resemblance to the ancient liturgy of Christmas observed in the same manner at Saint Peter's basilica. This structural link in liturgical celebration helps to keep united two celebrations of a single Theophany of God to believers. Morin identifies such a link in the Würzburg Epistolary where the presence of an octave celebration of the Nativity on 1 January does not exist. The time from 25 December to 6 January, therefore, would have been considered in the primitive calendar as one great, uninterrupted feast.³⁴

The Vigil of Epiphany: The Roman Antiphonals

The Roman antiphonals do not contain an entry for a vigil of Epiphany. The manuscripts move from the first Sunday following Christmas (*Dominica I post Natale Domini*), in the case of Rheinau and Mont Blandin it is the Octave Sunday,³⁵ to the entry for the Epiphany. Except for the Antiphonal of Rheinau, where the feast is known as *Theophania*, the manuscripts designate it as *Epiphania*. The sources demonstrate the interchangeability of the term by the time of these document's recensions according to Hesbert.³⁶ The station for the liturgy in the Mont Blandin, Compiègne, and Senlis manuscripts is Saint Peter's basilica. The Antiphonal of Rheinau offers the additional allocation for the liturgy *ad missam*, perhaps to differentiate it from another liturgical unit,

³⁴ Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes,'" 47.

³⁵ *Kalendas januaris octava domini*, Rheinau; *Dominica octava domini ad sanctam mariam*, Mont Blandin.

³⁶ René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex: d'après Le Graduel de Monza et Les Antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis* (1935; repr., Fribourg in Brisgau: Herder, 1967), xlv.

which the antiphonal does not include. The following serves as the festal gradual in all the manuscripts:

Omnes de Saba venient aurum & thus deferentes & laudem domino adnuntiantes.
V. Surge & inluminare hierusalem quia gloria domini super et orta est.

The text echoes the passage from Isaiah 60 and must itself be linked to a very early stratum in the development of the liturgy for the feast before the diminishment of proclamations from the Old Testament in the Mass.

The Vigil of Epiphany: The Roman Sacramentaries

The sacramentary evidence is equally inconclusive on affirming the presence and role of a vigil prior to an Epiphany day celebration.³⁷ We do not know whether or not the tradition associated with the Verona collection celebrated either a vigil of Epiphany or even knew of the feast itself, as the folios that deal with the month of January in the manuscript

Table 3. Evidence of the Vigil of Epiphany in the Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<u>Book I – Section 11</u> Nos. 57-60			<u>Section 11</u> Nos. 55-57
<i>In vigiliis de theophania</i>			<i>In vigilia epiphaniae</i>
<i>Corda nostra quaesumus domine venturae festivitatis splendor</i>			<i>Corda nostra quaesumus domine venturae festivitatis splendor</i>
Secreta <i>Tribue quaesumus domine ut eum praesentibus immolemus</i>			Super oblatam <i>Tribue quaesumus domine ut eum praesentibus immolemus</i>
VD: <i>quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantiae nostrae mortalitatis</i>			
Post communionem <i>Inlumina quaesumus domine populum tuum et splendore gratiae tuae</i>			Ad complendum <i>Inlumina quaesumus domine populum tuum et splendore gratiae tuae</i>

³⁷ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of Epiphany can be found in Appendix Eight, pages 697 to 602.

are missing. The other sacramentaries, however, provide a variety of Mass sets on the liturgies of Epiphany. We will turn to Table 3 in our consideration of the witness of these liturgical texts. The sacramentary traditions favor one title over another for this feast: the Gelasian sacramentary refers to it as “Theophany” and the major Gregorian sacramentaries use the term, “Epiphany.”

The only sacramentaries that include a Mass set for a vigil of Epiphany are the Gelasianum and the Paduensis; both sacramentaries for use in a presbyteral church. The papal sacramentaries, Hadrianum and Tridentinum, do not seem to have known of a vigil prior to Epiphany. It is interesting, however, that the liturgical structure for the vigil in the Gelasianum, with the exception of the addition of a preface, mirrors the liturgical structure of the Gregorian sacramentaries with a single oration (possibly a *collecta*), a *secreta*, and a *post communionem*. Chavasse believes that the lack of an *ad populum* prayer in the Gelasian set is evidence that the celebration of a vigil on the eve of Epiphany is a later addition to the calendar than the feast itself.³⁸ He imagines also that the practice of observing an Epiphany vigil in the Gelasian tradition in Rome may have entered the presbyteral churches of the city by way of Southern Italy, possibly through the tradition connected to the Lectionary of Capua.³⁹

The prayer texts are the same in both the Gelasianum and in the Paduensis, a circumstance that occurs without much frequency between the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions. The initial oration anticipates the feast (“*venturae festivitatis*”) and asks that the

³⁸ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 208.

³⁹ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 208.

Lord illumine the hearts of the faithful and to liberate them from the darkness of this world and come to their eternal homeland; a strong eschatological theme.⁴⁰ The *secreta/super oblatam* prayer equates the offering of the gifts with the gift of Christ, but not necessarily the gifts of the Magi; it speaks, too, of anticipating the feast (“*venturae sollemnitatis*”).⁴¹ The *post communionum/ad complendum* prayer asks that the assembly again be illumined, and also that their hearts be set on fire (“*cor ejus semper accende*”). The prayer echoes the birth of Christ and makes reference to the star, which manifested his birth.⁴² The preface, found at the vigil only in the Gelasianum, proclaims the renewal of humanity in immortality by the appearance of Christ in our own mortality.⁴³ Strangely, this text serves as the preface for the Mass on Epiphany itself in the Gregorian sacramentaries, but not in the Gelasianum. The references to the upcoming feast in the texts provide the sole indication that this liturgy could be considered a vigil. The texts contain no evidence of a more prolonged vigil or provide any clues as the shape of a more elaborate vigil celebration; there is also nothing in

⁴⁰ “*Corda nostra, quaesumus, domine, venturae festivitatis splendor illustret, quo mundi hujus tenebras carere valeamus, et perveniamus ad patriam claritatis aeternae: per.*” (GeV 57; GrP 55).

⁴¹ “*Tribue, quaesumus, domine, ut eum praesentibus immolemus sacrificiis et sumamus, quem venturae sollemnitatis pia munera prae loquuntur: per.*” (GeV 58; GrP 56).

⁴² “*Illumina, quaesumus, domine, populum tuum et splendore gratiae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatoris mundi stella famulante manifestata nativitas mentibus eorum et reveletur semper et crescat: per.*” (GeV 60; GrP 57).

⁴³ “*Vere dignum: quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantiae nostrae mortalitatis <apparuit, in novam nos immortalitatis suae> lucem reparavit: per quem laudant angeli.*” (GeV 59). Mohlberg does not explain the reason for the angled brackets in this item number in the apparatus of the Gelasianum. Recall that such brackets are used in the Verona sacramentary for elements of texts thought to be conjecture on the part of the editors of the manuscript. The fragment of words may be missing from some manuscripts of the Gelasianum, although they appear in the same text used for the preface of Epiphany day in the Hadrianum. See above, pages 265-266.

the prayer texts, which highlights the possible themes of Epiphany – Magi (except obliquely in the *secreta/super oblatam*), baptism, or the miracle at Cana.

Mass on the Day of Epiphany

Let us now turn to the Mass formularies for the feast of Epiphany/Theophany. The Gelasian sacramentary is alone in distinguishing this feast day liturgy from that of the previous vigil. The Paduensis does not make such a distinction, and the other major Gregorian sacramentaries, would have no need as they lack a section for the vigil in their manuscripts. The Hadrianum alone provides a station for the Mass – the Vatican basilica. The Gregorian texts all date the feast according to the *ides* of January. The superfluous *i* in the date for the feast, *VIII idus januaris id est vi[i] die mensis januarii epiphania*, is set off in square brackets in Dell’Oro’s critical edition of the Tridentinum.⁴⁴ Table 4 below will attend to our consideration of these texts.

The prayers for Epiphany day differ from those used in the Mass of the vigil in the Gelasianum. The Mass set (GeV 61-68) opens with three orations prior to the *secreta*. As has been the case previously it is difficult to pinpoint the precise use of these prayers. We may have here one of the most ancient sections in the Gelasianum where two orations, possibly *collectae*, precede an *oratio super sindonem* prior to the offering of the gifts.⁴⁵ The first and third orations (GeV 61 and GeV 63) refer to the Magi and to the star, and are filled

⁴⁴ See Ferdinando Dell’Oro, ed., *Sacramentarium Tridentinum, Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, M. N. 1590* (Trent: Società Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 1985), 66.

⁴⁵ See Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 213.

with imagery of illumination and light.⁴⁶ The second oration (GeV 62) emphasizes the reform of human nature

Table 4. Evidence of the Feast of the Epiphany in the Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Book I – Section 12 Nos. 61-68	Section 17 Nos. 87-91	Section 12 Nos. 146-150	Section 12 Nos. 58-62
<i>Item in theophania in die</i>	<i>VIII idus januarias id est vi de mensis januarii epiphania ad sanctam petrum</i>	<i>VIII idus januarias id est vi[fi] die mensis januarii epiphania</i>	<i>VIII idus januarii epiphaniae domini</i>
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui verbi tui incarnationem</i>	<i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce</i>	<i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce</i>	<i>Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce</i>
<i>Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit</i>			
<i>Deus inluminator omnium gentium da populis tuis perpetua</i>			
Secreta <i>Hostias tibi domine pro nati tui filii apparitione deferimus suppliciter</i>	Super oblata <i>Ecclesiae tuae quaesumus domine dona propitius intuere</i>	Super oblata <i>Ecclesiae tuae quaesumus domine dona propitius intuere</i>	Super oblatam <i>Ecclesiae tuae quaesumus domine dona propitius intuere</i>
VD: <i>te laudare mirabilem deum in omnibus operibus tuis</i>	Praefatio VD: <i>quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis</i>	Praefatio VD: <i>quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis</i>	Praefatio VD: <i>quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis</i>
Infra actionem <i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo unigenitus tuus in tua</i>	<i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo unigenitus tuus in tua</i>	<i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo unigenitus tuus in tua</i>	<i>Communicantes et diem sacratissimum...quo unigenitus tuus in tua</i>
Post communionem <i>Caelesti lumen quaesumus domine semper et ubique nos</i>	Ad completa <i>Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster ut quae sollemni</i>	<Ad complendum> <i>Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster ut quae sollemni</i>	Ad complendum <i>Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster ut quae sollemni</i>
Ad populum <i>Deus qui per hujus caelebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen</i>			

⁴⁶ “Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui verbi tui incarnationem praeclari testimonio sideris indicasti, quod videntes magi oblati majestatem tuam muneribus adorarunt: concede, ut semper in mentibus nostris tuae appareat stella justitiae et noster in tua sit confessione thesaurus: per. (GeV 61); Deus illuminator omnium gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere et illud lumen splendidum infunde cordibus nostris, quod trium magorum mentibus aspersisti: per.” (GeV 63).

through the appearance of the Only Begotten Son in the flesh.⁴⁷ The *secreta* states that the gifts are offered in preparation of Christ's birth ("pro nati tui filii apparitione") an interesting connection to the Nativity feast.⁴⁸

The preface, different from that which appears in the vigil set, recounts the adoration of the Magi and makes the profound statement that God uses things of a temporal nature to manifest his revelation to the world.⁴⁹ The *communicantes* states that the liturgy occurs on this "most holy day" ("diem sacratissimum caelebrantes") and repeats the theme of God's revelation to the Magi. The *post communionem* is the only prayer not to express clearly a theme of the feast; rather, it petitions the Lord to guide the faithful by heavenly light to be worthy participants in the mysteries they celebrate.⁵⁰ The same text appears in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum under the heading *Ad complendum diebus festis*, which appears at the conclusion of a series of orations for Pascha.⁵¹ The *ad populum*, as with other liturgies in the Gelasianum a sign of a Mass set's antiquity, petitions the Lord that this feast

⁴⁷ "Deus, cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit, praesta, quaesumus, ut per eum quem similem nobis foras agnovimus intus reformari mereamur: per dominum nostrum." (GeV 62).

⁴⁸ "Hostias tibi, domine, pro nati tui filii apparitione deferimus suppliciter exorantes, ut sicut ipse nostrorum auctor est munerum, ipse sit misericors et susceptor, Jesus Christus dominus noster: qui tecum vivet." (GeV 64).

⁴⁹ "Vere dignum: te laudare mirabilem deum in omnibus operibus tuis, quibus regni tui mysteria revelasti. Hanc(que) enim festivitatem index puerperae virginalis stella praecessit, quae natum in terra caeli dominum magis stupentibus nuntiaret, ut manifestandus mundo deus et caelesti denuntiaretur indicio, et temporaliter procreatus signorum temporalium ministerio panderetur. Et ideo." (GeV 65).

⁵⁰ "Caelesti lumine, quaesumus, domine, semper et ubique nos praeveni, ut mysterium cujus nos participes esse voluisti, et puro cernamus intuitu et digno percipiamus effectum: per." (GeV 67).

⁵¹ See GrH 459 and GrT 505.

may bring God's people to recognize the Redeemer and grow in understanding.⁵² These texts are highly influenced by the appearance of the star, the revelation to the Magi, and the impact of this revelation not only upon believers, but also upon all nations.⁵³

The Gregorian sacramentaries open the Epiphany section with the customary single oration. The single oration refers to the star, which guided the Gentiles to the revelation of the Only-Begotten Son and petitions that the faithful may be led to a deeper understanding of God's greatness.⁵⁴ The time of the liturgy is certainly during the day ("hodierna die"). The *super oblata* prayer expands on the *secreta* in the vigil Mass of the Gelasianum making the connection between the gifts of the Magi – gold, frankincense, and myrrh – and the one symbolized by these gifts that the assembly now offers.⁵⁵

As note above in our consideration of the vigil texts in the Gelasianum, the Gregorian sacramentaries repeat the preface of the Gelasian vigil, a proclamation on the renewal of humanity in Christ's own immortality. The *communicantes*, also, replicates the same found in the Gelasianum. The *ad completa/ad complendum* prayer does not mention

⁵² "Deus, qui per hujus celebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen cunctis gentibus suscitasti, da plebi tuae redemptoris sui plenum cognoscere fulgorem, ut ad perpetuam claritatem per ejus incrementa perveniat: per." (GeV 68).

⁵³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 213. Chavasse believes also that this emphasis may stem from an association of the Gelasian tradition with a Neapolitan evangelary (*codex amiatinus*, Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, ms. *amiatinus* 1, ca. 678-715) of the same lineage as the Capua Epistolary. In the evangelary there are series of Masses for Epiphany that focus upon the star: *In jejuniis de stella domini; In stella domini nocte; In stella domini ad missa publica*. See also Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd ed., vol. 1., part 1 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968), 228.

⁵⁴ "Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti, concede propitius ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. Per." (GrH 87; GrT 146; GrP 58).

⁵⁵ "Ecclesiae tuae quaesumus domine dona propitius intueri, quibus non jam aurum, tus, et murra profertur, sed hisdem muneribus declaratur immolatur et sumitur. Per dominum" (GrH 88; GrT 147; GrP 59).

either Magi or star, but offers a rather generic petition for further clarity and purification through the celebration of the unspecified solemn mystery.⁵⁶ This prayer seem a rather inadequate and overly simplified conclusion to as great a solemnity as Epiphany becomes in the Roman tradition; although it is also possible that the *ad completa* represents a stratum of an earlier celebration of Epiphany, before it gains in popularity and devotion. The text, like the *post communionem* of the day celebration in the Gelasianum, appears also among a list of orations for Pascha in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum under the heading, *Ad completum diebus festis*.⁵⁷

Aliae Orationes Connected with the Liturgical Texts for Epiphany

After the texts for the Mass of Epiphany properly speaking a series of *aliae orationes* follows in the Gregorian sacramentaries. Table 5 contains these orations, following. We saw the same phenomenon following the Mass sets for the Nativity in the Gregorians.⁵⁸ These texts follow upon the *ad complendum* prayer in the Tridentinum and in the Paduensis, separated by a heading, *Aliae orationes*. In the Hadrianum they occupy another section,

⁵⁶ “Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster, ut quae solemniter celebramus officio purificatae mentis intellegentiam consequamur. Per.” (GrH 91; GrT 150; GrP 62).

⁵⁷ GrH 458; GrT 504.

⁵⁸ Recall that the Gelasianum also contains a section of orations following the Mass for Christmas Day, but these are specifically (and interestingly) titled for the use *ad vespere sive matutinos*.

Table 5. The *Aliae Orationes* for the Feast of the Epiphany in the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gelasianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
	Section 18 Nos. 92-98	Section 12 (con't.) Nos. 151-156	Section 12 (con't.) Nos. 63-65
		<i>Aliae orationes</i>	<i>Aliae orationes</i>
	<i>Deus inluminator omnium gentium da populis tuis perpetua</i>	<i>Deus inluminator omnium gentium da populis tuis perpetua</i>	<i>Deus inluminator omnium gentium da populis tuis perpetua</i>
	<i>Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit praesta</i>	<i>Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit praesta</i>	<i>Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit praesta</i>
			<i>Deus qui per hujus caelebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen</i>
	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus fidelium splendor animarum qui hanc</i>	<i>Omnipotens sempiterne deus fidelium splendor animarum qui hanc</i>	
	<i>Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare tuum nova</i>		
	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine digne caelebrare mysterium quo in nostri</i>	<i>Da nobis quaesumus domine digne celebrare mysterium quod in nostri</i>	
	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut salvatoris mundi stella</i>	<i>Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut salvatoris mundi stella</i>	
	<i>Inlumina domine quaesumus populum tuum et splendore</i>	<i>Inlumina quaesumus domine populum tuum et splendore</i>	

Section 18, but unlike the list following the Nativity sets it is not provided with a heading.

An unequal number of prayers appear in each of the sacramentaries – seven in the Hadrianum, six in the Tridentinum, and only three in the Paduensis. As with the *aliae*, which accompanied the Nativity Masses it is not clear why these prayers appear where they do. There is no Epiphany Octave in the Gregorian tradition, so they cannot have been used for either matins or vespers during the week that followed 6 January; only the list in the Hadrianum could supply such an arrangement if it was warranted. They could, as noted above in our analysis of the *aliae* associated with the Christmas texts, be simply a list of prayers deemed too valuable to eliminate by the redactors of the manuscripts. As with the Nativity *aliae* these texts, too, appear to be suited more to an initial oration or *collecta* in the Mass sets than to any of the other presidential prayers.

Using the orations in the Hadrianum as a “master list,” it is interesting to note that the prayers in the Tridentinum and Paduensis, such as they are, seem to match up one against the other, without any prayers out of place, only texts that are missing. The third prayer in the Paduensis (GrP 65) appears only in that sacramentary, and likewise the fourth prayer in the Hadrianum (GrH 95) is found only in that Gregorian sacramentary. It is possible to posit, if taken together, that all these prayers represent various stages in the development of another set of liturgical formularies for use on Epiphany. Recall that the *ordines*, which indicate a vigil of psalms, lessons, and responsories during the eve of Epiphany, do not provide information on the number of texts used at the night vigil service. These *aliae* texts in the Gregorian sacramentaries may be prayers for the lessons during the vigil service, appended to the end of the liturgical cycle. The vigil service itself may have taken a variety of formats, such as we saw at OR 13A.18, whose vigil consisted of three texts from Isaiah, with readings from the patristic fathers. If OR 13A represents the non-papal liturgy at Saint Peter’s basilica, then it may be possible that the three *aliae* in the Paduensis, a presbyteral sacramentary, may have been used to follow the proclamation of the Isaiah passages at its vigil. The additional texts in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum may represent further adaptations or enhancements in other contexts.

All the texts are oriented to the feast, and include prayers found in the Gelasian cycle for Epiphany. The first two orations, “Deus inluminator omnium gentium” and “Deus cujus unigenitus,” are the third and second orations, respectively, that open the section for the Epiphany day Mass. The third prayer found only in the Paduensis, “Deus qui per hujus caelebritatis,” serves as the Epiphany *ad populum* prayer in the Gelasianum. The third

prayer in the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum praises God for adding people to himself through the light of the day's revelation.⁵⁹ The next prayer, found only in the Hadrianum, "Concede nobis omnipotens deus ut salutare," repeats a text from the *aliae* list for the Nativity. The prayer, "Da nobis quaesumus domine digne caelebrare," fifth in the Hadrianum fourth in the Tridentinum, petitions the Lord for worthiness to celebrate the birth of Christ in the flesh.⁶⁰ The prayer makes necessary a point to stress that Christ grows through physical development ("corporalibus incrementis manifesta designatur humanitas"), a possible response to debates, which attempted to undervalue the humanity of Christ. The sixth *alia* in the Hadrianum, fifth in the Tridentinum, "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus ut saluatoris," asks that as a star revealed the birth of Christ to the world, it may continue to reveal and give birth to that mystery in the hearts of the faithful.⁶¹ The final *alia* prayer in both the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum, "Illumina domine quaesumus populum tuum," petitions the Lord to illumine the faithful to recognize Christ always and to reach toward him in truth.⁶²

⁵⁹ "Omnipotens sempiterne deus, fidelium splendor animarum qui hanc solemnitatem electionis gentium primitiis consecrasti, imple mundum gloria tua et subditis tibi populis per luminis tui appare claritatem. Per." (GrH 94; GrT 153).

⁶⁰ "Da nobis quaesumus domine digne caelebrare mysterium, quo in nostri saluatoris infantia miraculis coruscantibus declaratur, et corporalibus incrementis manifesta designatur humanitas. Per." (GrH 96; GrT 154).

⁶¹ "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut saluatoris mundi stella duce manifestata nativitas mentibus nostris reveletur semper et crescat. Per dominum." (GrH 97; GrT 155).

⁶² "Illumina domine quaesumus populum tuum et splendore gloriae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatorem suum et incessanter agnoscat, et veraciter adpraehendat. Per." (GrH 98; GrT 156).

Preliminary Conclusions

The emphases upon illumination, revelation, and transformation we find in the prayer texts for Epiphany attune well with the themes of the Christmas cycle observed in Rome. These prayers, however, make no mention of the other themes associated with Epiphany in the East – the baptism of Jesus or the wedding feast at Cana. When the celebration of Epiphany makes its way into Roman practice, it seems limited to a daytime celebration similar to the evolution of Christmas. Both feasts express the Incarnation as a new dawn, and the liturgical celebration reflects this dimension at the time of day at which the celebration took place. A pre-Eucharistic vigil does not seem intrinsic to the papal celebration of the feast and the Hadrianum and the Tridentinum do not record one. The presence of a stray collection of orations following the Epiphany Mass sets in each of these sacramentaries, however, leaves open a definitive conclusion on the use of a pre-Eucharistic vigil as these texts may have supplied either a daily vigil of the hours or a vigil Mass.

The evidence of a vigil for Epiphany in the Paduensis, like that in the Gelasianum, points to their use as presbyteral sacramentaries. If the Gallican elements in the Gelasianum reveal the influence of Eastern liturgical practices, then it is quite possible that the practice of keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil on the eve of Epiphany stems from an Eastern Mediterranean context. The question concerning this vigil, however, is whether or not it is the liturgy Egeria and the Armenian Lectionary associates with Epiphany.⁶³

⁶³ See *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25.7-11 and Athanase Renoux, "Edition comparée du texte et de deux autres manuscrits," vol. 2 of *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 36, fasc. 2, no. 168 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 1971), 211-215.

As we considered in Chapter 5 on the Christmas Vigil,⁶⁴ the earliest sources on the Eastern practice of a commemoration of the birth and infancy of Christ (fourth century) do not document a specific celebration of Christmas, but speak only of Epiphany. This Epiphany feast contains features alluding to Christ's birth, however. It may be that the liturgical calendar of Gaul, which appears to have celebrated Epiphany much earlier than Rome, influences the development of the Type II non-papal Gregorian calendars. The Roman presbyteral celebration of Epiphany, then, begins to include a vigil replicated along the lines of the vigil celebrated during the night of 24-25 December for the Nativity. The celebration of a vigil shapes Epiphany in the presbyteral churches with a new liturgical character in light of the shift to keeping a more important vigil at Christmas in Rome.

⁶⁴ See pages 374-382 above.

PART FOUR

The Vigils of the Sanctoral Cycle

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Pre-Eucharistic Vigils of the Sanctoral Cycle

Introductory Comments

The last set of pre-Eucharistic vigils we will consider are those connected with the saints in the Roman calendar. The few sanctoral vigils that appear in the liturgical documents display a pattern distinct from the major liturgical vigils. A cursory study of these festal celebrations will aid in our assessment of the vigil in Roman practice. Included will be a consideration of a pre-Eucharistic vigil associated with the Ascension of the Lord. This feast is placed at this point in our study rather than in Part II, the Paschal Cycle, because the feast is much later in origin and follows the ritual pattern of the vigils associated with the memorials of the saints rather than those of Pascha and Pentecost. The liturgical elements of these vigils will be briefly described, with commonalities and differences noted.

Our first concern is with the festivals of the saints, whose vigils occur most frequently in the liturgical documents associated with Rome. These are the vigils and feasts of Saint John the Baptist, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint Lawrence, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Saint Andrew. The few other sanctoral feasts having a vigil within the calendar of the liturgical documents are not Roman in origin, but are added to the calendar from non-Roman sources. They will not be the concern of this excursus.¹

¹ These vigils of a non-Roman origin appear only in the Gelasianum and in neither the Verona nor Gregorian manuscripts. While the following feasts are recorded in all the sacramentaries, only in the Gelasianum do we find a vigil on the feast of Saints Gervase and Protase on 18-19 June; a vigil for the feast of Saints John and Paul on 25-26 June; an undated vigil for a feast of All Saints in June; and a probable vigil for

The practice of commemorating the martyrs and saints in the Church's calendar may be as ancient as is the celebration of an annual Pascha, and the Embertides. It is possible that the practice formed the original core of the early Church's annual calendar.² The earliest stage of making memorial of the lives of saints was in all probability a local phenomenon, where the faithful gathered at the tomb of a martyr on the anniversary of his or her death, now understood to be a *natale*, a second "birthday" into everlasting life.³ The memorial might consist of some manner of reading of the *acta* of his/her martyrdom, and the sharing of a meal, a *refrigerium* or refreshment,⁴ that eventually comes to be replaced by the Eucharist.⁵ Adolf Adam offers that the unique and cultic character of remembering the martyrs takes shape around the second century, with Polycarp of Smyrna (martyred ca. 155) perhaps one of the first martyrs whose memory was recalled in this manner.⁶

the feast of Saint Cecilia on 21-22 November. This last feast is not designated specifically with a vigil although two entries for separate Masses on *XI kalendas decembris* and on *X kalendas decembris* occur in the sacramentary. Chavasse believes this to be a copyist's error as the prayer texts for the Mass on 21 November make reference to vigil themes of anticipating the feast (See Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélasien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958), 287, n. 22). H.A. Wilson also notes that the first of the Mass sets for Saint Cecilia ought to be designated as the vigil for her feast (See H.A. Wilson, ed., *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 203-204).

² Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 2011), 193.

³ Adolph Adam, *The Liturgical Year: Its history and its meaning after the reform of the liturgy* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 206-207.

⁴ The *refrigerium* is an interesting assimilation by the early Christians of a pagan practice for remembering the deceased during which even the departed were given a libation of wine to drink through holes in the tomb. There is evidence that such libation-sharing was practiced even by the early Christians. See Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*, 174; and Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity AD 200-400* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 77-80.

⁵ Bradshaw and Johnson, *Origins of Feasts*, 174.

⁶ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 206.

According to Lucy Grig an observance of a martyr's feast day began with a nighttime vigil preceding the feast day proper.⁷ She suggests that a vigil was constitutive of any martyrial memorial itself and not necessarily indicative of a special type or character of the martyr being commemorated. Antoine Chavasse concurs in his description that a martyr's commemoration consisted of a nocturnal vigil *ad corpus* followed by a "first Mass" on the day of the feast, without any indication that this liturgical pattern was reserved only for certain martyrs.⁸ The popular roots of the observation of the martyr's feasts made for a variety of expressions in the celebration. Augustine is noted for criticizing the celebration of the nocturnal revels that preceded the martyr's feast days, some of which might approximate the raucous, contemporary experience of an all-night block party or "rave."⁹ Robert Taft relates an account of a Gallican vigil from Sidonius Apollinaris (fifth century) where some

⁷ Lucy Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 2004), 37.

⁸ Antoine Chavasse, "La Célébration *In vigilia*, veille du *natale* d'un saint," in *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du Ve au VIIIe siècle*, *Studia Anselmiana* 112, *Analecta Liturgica* 18 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 247.

⁹ See Carlo Marcora, *La vigilia nella liturgia: Ricerche sulle origine e sui primi sviluppi*, *Archivio Ambrosiano* VI (Milan: S.A. Tipografica Sociale, 1953), 87-88. Augustine explains that wild and lewd behavior at the nighttime vigils was a concession of sorts to pagan converts to Christianity, who would have celebrated similar nocturnal rituals to the heroes in this way. Once, however, a person became a Christian, such behavior needed to be curtailed: "...scilicet post persecutiones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbae Gentilium in christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his perniciosissimis et tam vetustissimis voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse majoribus nostris, ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honorem sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur: jam Christi nomine colligatis, et tantae auctoritatis iugo subditis salutaria sobrietatis praecepta traderentur, quibus jam propter praecipientis honorem ac timorem resistere non valerent." Augustine *Epistola* 29.9 (PL 33:119).

attendees decide to play a ball game when the press of the bodies of the faithful in the martyr's shrine becomes too oppressive.¹⁰

Evidence for martyrial commemorations in Rome before the fourth century are sparse. The earliest record we have of an annual commemoration of the martyrs is found in the *Depositio martyrum* of the *Chronograph* of 354. We have considered the *Chronograph* previously in Chapter Five because at the head of the *Depositio martyrum* is an entry commemorating the Birth of Christ.¹¹ The *Depositio martyrum* appears in full in Table 1, below. While neither an exhaustive nor complete list of the saints associated with the Roman church, the *Despositio martyrum* provides the name of the saint or saints on the particular day they are to be commemorated as well as the added detail of the location of his or her place of burial.¹² The manner in which the Verona collection notes those sections of the collection concerning the martyrs follows a similar pattern.¹³ The list does not differentiate between a celebration *in vigilia* and a celebration *in die* for the saints, which may indicate that a nocturnal vigil for the sanctoral feasts

¹⁰ See Robert Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The origins of the Divine Office and its meaning for today*, 2nd rev. ed. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993), 184-185. The text is found in Sidonius Apollinaris *Letters* 5.17, an English translation is provided by O.M. Dalton, *The Letter of Sidonius Apollinaris* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 71-75.

¹¹ See above, page 376.

¹² See Mario Righetti, *L'anno liturgico. Il breviario*, vol. 2 of *Manuale di Storia liturgica*, 3rd ed. (1969; 2nd repr., Milan: Ancora editrice, 2005), 411-412, for a general discussion of the *Depositio*.

¹³ For example, Section 17, the Feast of the Seven Brothers, supposedly martyred during the reign of Antonius Pius (c. 150) is titled as: *VI Iduum Juliarum. Natale Sanctorum Martyrum Felicis Filippi in Cymeterio Priscillae. Vitalis et Martialis et Alexandri in Cymeterio Jornarum. Et Silani in Cymeterio Maximi Via Salaria. Et Januari in Cymeterio Pretextate Via Appia*, and bears a remarkable similarity to the entry in the *Despositio*: *VI Idus Jul. Felicis et Filippi in Priscillae et in Jordanorum. Martialis Vitalis Alexandri et in Maximi Silani. hunc Silanum martyrem Novati Furati sunt et in Pretextate. Januari.*

Table 1. The Depositio martyrum from the Chronography of 354 A.D.¹⁴

VIII kal. Jan.	Natus Christus in Betleem Judeae.
XIII kal. Feb.	Fabiani in Callisti. et Sebastiani in Catacumbas.
XII kal. Feb.	Agnetis in Nomentana.
VIII kal. Martias	Natale Petri de cathedra.
non. Martias.	Perpetuae et Felicitatis, Africae.
XIII kal. Jun.	Partheni et Caloceri in Callisti, Diocletiano VIII et Maximiano VIII.
III kal. Jul.	Petri in Catacumbas. et Pauli Ostense, Tusco et Basso cons.
VI idus Jul.	Felices et Filippi in Priscillae. et in Jordanorum, Martialis Vitalis Alexandri. et in Maximi Silani. hunc Silanum martirem Novati furati sunt.
III kal. Aug.	Abdos et Semnes in Pontiani, quod est ad ursum piliatum.
VIII idus Aug.	Xysti in Callisti. et in Praetextati Agapiti et Felicissimi.
VI idus Aug.	Secundi Carpori Victorini et Severiani Albano. et Ostense VII ballistaria Cyriaci Largi Crescentiani Memiae Julianetis et Ixmaracdi.
IV idus Aug.	Laurenti in Tiburtina.
idus Aug.	Ypoliti in Tiburtina. et Pontiani in Callisti.
XI kal. Septemb.	Timotei, Ostense.
V kal. Sept.	Hermetis in Basillae Salaria vetere.
non. Sep.	Aconti, in Porto, et Nonni et Herculani et Taurini.
V idus Sept.	Gorgoni, in Lavicana.
III idus Sept.	Proti et Jacinti, in Basillae
XVIII kal. Octob.	Cypriani, Africae. Romae celebratur in Callisti.
X kal. Octob.	Basillae, Salaria vetere, Diocletiano IX et Maximiano VIII consul.
pri. idus Octob.	Callisti in via Aurelia. miliario III
V idus Nov.	Clementis Semproniani Clai Nicostrati in comitatum.
III kal. Dec.	Saturnini in Trasonis.
idus Decem.	Ariston in pontum.

was more prevalent in the primitive church than in later centuries. Of those saints whose vigils appear in the liturgical books, only the combined feast of Peter and Paul (III kal. Jul.) and the feast of Lawrence (IV idus Aug.) are mentioned in the Depositio. Nonetheless, there is trace evidence in the Verona collection for a vigil in honor of Saint Felix (one of the Seven Martyrs commemorated on 10 July), and another for Saint Xystus (commemorated on 6 August). It is not clear why general practice comes to restrict keeping vigil on the feast of a saint to “the very special dead,” to use a characterization of Peter Brown’s for the cult of martyrs,¹⁵ but the reason may be because these martyrs held an exceptional place in the Church.

¹⁴ See *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, ed. Theodor Mommsen (1892-1898; repr. München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1981), 71-72.

¹⁵ See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 69-85.

Chavasse notes that the liturgical texts distinguish a celebration *in vigilia* from one *in die* for those martyrs whose commemoration merits a vigil. A third distinction sometimes appears in the texts to designate the vigil of a saint, *in jejunio*, on the fast, which may be descriptive of a practice originally connected with keeping a martyr's vigil.¹⁶ The label does not occur extensively in the Roman documents, appearing only in the Verona Collection and in the Paduensis.¹⁷ Reference to a fast or some type of fasting will emerge in some of the prayers of the sanctoral vigil, but we cannot conclude that a fast necessarily constituted every vigil kept at Rome. The evidence in the oldest sanctoral texts we have, i.e. those in the Verona collection, may convey the idea that fasting has an ancient association with the vigil for a saint, although it is unclear whether fasting was a constitutive element of keeping vigil or rather was a means to distinguish Christian nocturnal observances from pagan ones.¹⁸

Another heading for a vigil that appears in the liturgical texts is the phrase *ad nonam*. We have previously studied this term in relation to keeping vigil concerning the time at which the Easter Vigil began in the *ordines*. The hour is connected with breaking the

¹⁶ See Chavasse, "La célébration *in vigilia*," 247-248.

¹⁷ In the Verona collection the phrase, *In jejunio*, appears in between the texts of some prayers in a given section. We saw this with the texts in Section 10, *Orationes pridie pentecosten*, where "In jejunio quarti mensis," occurs between Ve 206 and Ve 207, see above, page 304. The phrase also appears within the section of texts for Peter and Paul, the section on the Seven Brother Martyrs, and in connection with the Fourth, Seventh, and Tenth Month Embertides. The phrase occurs in the Paduensis only once as the title for the vigil of Saint John the Baptist.

¹⁸ See above footnote 17. See also a sermon given by Augustine on feast of Saint Cyprian in which he laments "nefarious acts" being praised in song and acted out in dance at Cyprian's tomb on the vigil: "Istum tam sanctum locum, ubi iacet tam sancti Martyris corpus, sicut meminerunt multi qui habent aetatem; locum, inquam, tam sanctum invaserat pestilentia et petulantia saltatorum. Per totam noctem cantabantur hic nefaria, et cantantibus saltabatur. Quando voluit Dominus per sanctum fratrem nostrum episcopum vestrum, ex quo hic coeperunt sanctae vigiliae celebrari, illa pestis aliquantulum reluctata, postea cessit diligentiae, erubuit sapientiae." Augustine *Sermo* 311.5 (PL 38:1415).

preparatory fast at the principal meal of the day. Chavasse explains that the meal began towards the ninth or tenth hour, which hour could vary considerably depending on the season. A celebration of the Eucharist formally closing the fast appears to have preceded the meal. In some of the liturgical documents the hour is associated with the vigil, though it is clear to Chavasse that what is being emphasized is the hour at which the Eucharist takes place and not necessarily that it is a vigil.¹⁹ As with the description, *in jejunio*, it is difficult to say definitively that *ad nonam* always identifies a vigil celebration.

We do not possess records for the enactment of a pre-Eucharistic vigil in Rome prior to the eighth century. *Ordo romanus* (OR) 12, from the late 8th or early 9th century,²⁰ describes, it seems for a non-Roman audience, a practice of keeping vigil that took place at the great feasts of the Roman church.²¹ In his commentary on this *ordo* Andrieu interprets the text to mean that two vigils were observed on the same night prior to these feasts. This may not be the case, however, as a closer reading of the *ordo* suggests to the present author that two vigils took place on successive nights: an office of vigils on the day before the feast as was done on other fast days, and then on the night that introduces the feast itself a vigil ordered to the feast.²² Unlike the Milanese rites of keeping vigil, Rome lacked processions

¹⁹ Chavasse, “La célébration *in vigilia*, 248-250.

²⁰ See Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, vol. 2 (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971), 455.

²¹ OR 12.23-25. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 454-455.

²² “In primis congregant se ad ecclesiam sero ad vigilias peragendas illius sancti cujus natalis fuerit. Ingredientesque ad vigilias *Dominie labia mea aperies* et invitatorium non dicunt...Item in nocte festivitatis ipsorum, ad nocturnas, in *Venite*, antiphonam de sanctorum minorem.” (OR 12.23-24) The confusion as to the number of vigils arises it seems from a commentary of Amalarius of Metz, which Andrieu quotes, on a double vigil phenomena that he witnessed for the feasts of Peter and Paul, Lawrence, Assumption, and Andrew in

and employed with caution the reading of the *Acta* of the martyrs so as to avoid embarrassment that occurred with an unedited reading of the martyr's life in other churches.²³ Nonetheless, this caution appears to have been lifted around the time of Pope Hadrian I (772-795), and the reading of the *Acta* is permitted at OR 12.25.²⁴ The practice appears at first to have been limited to the titular churches of the saints, then extended by Hadrian to Saint Peter's basilica.

The Gelasian sacramentary contains an interesting set of "announcements" at the beginning of Book II, the Sanctoral Cycle, GeV 804-805. These announcements are reminiscent of the proclamation of the Embertide found at the conclusion of several of Leo the Great's sermons and as a formula in both the Veronese and the Gelasianum. The proclamation at GeV 804 announces the day and the place for celebrating the feast of one or several martyrs.²⁵ GeV 805 notifies the faithful of the date and place when the relics of a

Rome. See Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 465; and Amalarius of Metz *De ordine Antiphonarii* 59-63 (PL 105:1305B-1306C).

²³ Marcora, *La Vigilia nella Liturgia*, 196. The prohibition on reading of the *acta* at liturgy Marcora traces back to a document entitled *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* attributed to Gelasius I (492-496). Scholarship on this document, however, dates it to the 6th century, although there may be elements contained within it dating to the time of Damasus I (366-384). Of particular note is the entry on not reading the *acta* at liturgy: "item gesta sanctorum martyrum, quae multiplicibus tormentorum cruciatibus et mirabilibus confessionum triumphis inradiant. quis catholicorum dubitet maiora eos in agonibus fuisse perpassos nec suis viribus sed dei gratia et adiutorio universa tolerasse? sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem singulari cautela in sancta Romana ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscripsere nomina penitus ignorantur et ab infidelibus et idiotis superflua aut minus apta quam rei ordo fuerit esses putantur." *Decretum Gelasianum* 4.4 (<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/decretum.html>).

²⁴ "Passiones sanctorum vel gesta ipsorum usque Adriani tempora tantummodo ibi legebantur ubi ecclesia ipsius sancti vel titulus erat. Ipse vero tempore suo renovare jussit et in ecclesia sancti Petri legendas esse instituit." (OR 12.25) For Andrieu's commentary on this see, *Les Ordines Romani*, vol. 2, 454.

²⁵ "Noverit vestra devotio, sanctissimi fratres, quod beati martyris **Illius** anniversarius dies intrat, quo diaboli tentationes exsuperans universitatis Creatori gloriosa passione conjunctus est. **Item pluraliter** Quo diaboli tentamenta vincentes universitatis Creatori gloriosa passione conjuncti sunt: Ideoque Dominum collaudemus, qui est mirabilis in sanctis suis: ut qui illis victoriae coronam contulit nobis eorum meritis

martyr will be interred in a shrine or church.²⁶ The time of day when these gatherings will take place is not mentioned, but the announcements direct the faithful to the tomb of the martyr. The time of the assembly may then have been a nocturnal vigil, if such a component was common to the celebration. With this background information in mind, let us concisely examine those major vigils outside the Ember, Paschal, and Christmas Cycles of the Roman calendar. We begin with the evidence of a vigil associated with the Feast of the Lord's Ascension.

The Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord

A commemoration of the Ascension of the Lord forty days after Easter Sunday is one of the developments that contributed to the disruption of the Paschal Season as a single festal period.²⁷ The pilgrim Egeria (late 4th century) explains that in Jerusalem the Ascension and Pentecost are celebrated together on the fiftieth day. She also mentions a certain liturgical gathering in Bethlehem on the fortieth, which does not appear to have any connection to the Ascension.²⁸ In other places, however, an observance of the Ascension

delictorum indulgentiam largiatur. In **illo** igitur loco (vel in **illa** via) **illa** feria hanc eandem festivitatem solita devotione celebremus.” (GeV 804).

²⁶ “Dilectissimi fratres, inter caetera virtutum solemnna, quae ad gloriam pertinent Christi domini nostri hoc quoque praestetit martyribus, <qui> pro nomine ejus confessionem morte suscepta caelestia praemia merverunt; ut fidelium votis eorum praeclaris reliquiis conlocatis integritas sancti corporis esse credatur. Et ideo commonemus dilectionem vestram, quoniam **illa** ferme **illo** loco reliquiae sunt sancti **illius** martyris conlocandae; quaesumus, ut vestram praesentiam nobis admonentibus non negetis.” (GeV 805).

²⁷ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 88.

²⁸ *Itinerarium Egeriae* 42-43 (SC 296.296-303).

seems well established by the fifth century.²⁹ It is not clear when the feast enters the Roman calendar, but Section 9 in the Verona collection (6th century) is headed, *Preces in Ascensa Domini*. The Würzburg Epistolary (early 7th century) also lists an entry for the Ascension. A vigil associated with the feast is as problematic as a vigil at Pentecost, given that the Ascension occurs with ten days remaining in the Paschal Season. If observance of a vigil at the Ascension includes a fast, the relationship of this fast to a festal season is perplexing. Fortunately, evidence for a vigil in the liturgical documents is sparse and apparently a later development, not accepted by all levels of the tradition.³⁰

Section 9 of the Verona collection provides six groups of item numbers, not all of them complete Mass sets. The first group, Ve 169-175, consists of six orations followed by a preface (Ve 175) identified by the words, “vere dignum.” All the prayers focus upon the feast, although there is no mention of a fast in the texts. Our study concerns the pattern of the orations in the set. The arrangement of the six orations (Ve 169-174), the last perhaps a *super oblata* as it refers to a “holy exchange” (“haec sacrosancta mysteria |:commercia:|”),³¹

²⁹ See Augustine *Epistola* 55.28 (PL 33.217-218). Augustine writing to the bishop Januarius on how the feast of the Ascension, as well as the Resurrection and the outpouring of the Spirit are celebrated throughout the whole world.

³⁰ Sacramentary texts for the Vigil of the Ascension can be found in Appendix Nine, pages 603 to 606.

³¹ “Exaudi nos, deus salutaris noster, ut per haec sacrosancta mysteria |:commercia:| in totius aeclesiae confidimus corpore faciendum, quod ejus praecessit in capite: per eundem Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.” (Ve 174). Mohlberg, in his Introduction to the Verona collection, explains that the reason for the odd marks, |:|, around the word *commercia* is his way of distinguishing various “points” used before and after words to be used as variants in the manuscript. There are several ways in which the editor of the collection identified variants, all inconsistent, and Mohlberg wishes to distinguish as far as possible this reality in his edition. See Leo Mohlberg, “Beschreibung der Handschrift” and “Grundsätze der Ausgabe,” in *Sacramentarium Veronense*, 3rd ed. (Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria, 1976), xxiii-xxiv and cxii. Feltoe notes that *commercia* is surrounded by a “point” on either side in the manuscript. See Charles L. Feltoe, ed., *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), 20 n.4.

is similar to the pattern we found in the Embertide vigils, which in the latter may have been associated with biblical texts of an extended scripture vigil.

The other sacramentaries do not incorporate a vigil into the celebration of the Ascension. There are interesting elements, however, found among the prayer texts for Ascension in these documents. The Gelasianum produces two Mass sets for the Ascension, Section 63 (GeV 572-579), *Orationes et preces in ascensa domini*, and Section 64 (GeV 580-585), simply, *Item alia missa*. Chavasse believes that the sections represent two different layers of texts, which when they are found in other sections of the Gelasian sacramentary have been combined into one, but are left as separate units in this instance. The title of the second section, *Item alia missa*, explicitly states that it is an exchange formulary.³² There is nothing extraordinary among these texts, with the exception of a blessing of new fruits before the end of canon (GeV 577). The lack of an explicit vigil demonstrates for Chavasse that these Mass sets belong to a very ancient period of the Roman liturgy.³³

The major Gregorian sacramentaries, while lacking a vigil liturgy, list two or three *alia* orations following the *ad complendum* prayer. Table 2, following, lists these orations. All the prayers occur in the Gelasian sections on the Ascension. “Deus cujus filius,” is the post-communion prayer in Section 63. The oration, “Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris,” is found in the Verona collection (Ve 169). While we have noted above that *aliae*, which appear at the end of the Mass or vigil sets for Pascha or Pentecost may be remnants of

³² Antoine Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle* (Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958), 245-246.

³³ Chavasse, *Le sacramentaire gélisien*, 246.

another vigil for these feasts,³⁴ we lack substantial evidence to assert the same for these texts. It may be that these orations form another layer of the tradition preserved by the editors of the various Gregorian sacramentaries.

Table 2. The *Alia* Orations Appended to the Ascension Mass Sections of the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
Section 108 Nos. 502-503	Section 93 Nos. 548-549	Section 100 Nos. 445-447
		<i>Alia</i>
		<i>Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nostrae mentis intentio, quo solemnitatis hodiernae gloriosus auctor ingressus est semper intendat, et quo fide pergit, conversatione perveniat. Per eundem.</i>
<i>Aliae orationes</i>	<i>Aliae orationes</i>	<i>Alia</i>
<i>Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum, quemammodum est pollicitus, sentiamus. Per.</i>	<i>Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum, quemammodum est pollicitus, sentiamus eundem dominum nostrum</i>	<i>Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum, quemammodum est pollicitus, sentiamus. (Qui tecum vivit.)</i>
<i>Alia</i>	<i>Alia</i>	<i>Alia</i>
<i>Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens, captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam, tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis. Per.</i>	<i>Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens, captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam, tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis. Qui tecum vivit.</i>	<i>Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens, captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam, tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis Jesus Christus.</i>

Table 3. Evidence in the Roman Lectionaries for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Α, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In vigiliis de ascensa dni</i> (W _{ev} ONLY)	Π: <i>In vigiliis de ascensa domini</i> Α: <i>In vigilia de ascensa domini</i> Σ: <i>In vigilia de ascensa domini</i> Δ: <i>In vigilia de ascensa domini</i>	<i>In vigiliis de ascensa domini</i>	<i>In vigilia ascensionis</i>	<i>In vig. Ascensa domini</i>	<i>In vigiliis de ascensa dni</i>
		Acts 4:32-35	Ephesians 4:7-13	Acts 4:32-45	
John 17:1-11	John 17:1-11	John 17:1-11			John 17:1-11

Unlike the sacramentaries, the Roman lectionaries, with the exception of the Würzburg Epistolary, assert the existence of a vigil prior to the feast of the Ascension. The data on the vigil is presented above in Table 3. The fact that the Würzburg Epistolary, the

³⁴ See above pages 333-335.

most ancient of the extant Roman lectionaries, does not include a vigil for the Ascension suggests that it must have been introduced after the Epistolary and the Evangelary were completed (post 645 and before 700) and not an ancient practice in the Roman church. None of the Roman lectionaries that affirm a vigil for the Ascension, however, contain any other biblical lesson except an epistle and a gospel. While the gospel is common throughout the lectionaries, John 17, part of the farewell discourse where Jesus prays for the perseverance of the apostles, the epistle differs in Alcuin from that which appears in Murbach and the *Liber Comitis*. The *Comes* of Alcuin employ Ephesians 4, in which Paul speaks of Christ leading captive humanity's captivity and preparing those to serve others until his return. Murbach and the *Liber Comitis*, on the other hand, cite Acts 4, a description of the first Christian community. With a lack of prayer texts to accompany these lessons, one may wonder how the readings were employed in liturgy.

Some Roman antiphonals provide for a vigil of the Ascension, although less common than in the lectionaries. Table 4 provides the information on the vigil in the antiphonals for our consideration. Only three of the six antiphonals lists an entry for the vigil of the Ascension, and the information contained in these entries does not shed much light upon the practice of a pre-Eucharistic vigil. It may be noted that with the exception of the communion antiphon it shares with Senlis the antiphonal of Rheinau contains texts that differ from Compiègne and Senlis; there is no gradual either in any of the antiphonals for the vigil. In the Embertide vigils a gradual appears to follow each of the lessons, which the lectionaries identify were proclaimed at those vigils. The lack of evidence for a gradual or

series of graduals leaves the question of type or number of lessons at the Ascension vigil an open question.

Table 4. Evidence in the Roman Antiphonals for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord

Cantatorium of Monza	Antiphonal of Rheinau	Antiphonal of Mont Blandin	Antiphonal of Compiègne	Antiphonal of Corbie	Antiphonal of Senlis
	<i>I[n] vigilia ascensa domini.</i>		<i>In vigilia ascensione domini</i>		<i>In vigilia ascensionis domini.</i>
	Ant.: <i>Narrabo nomen tuum</i> Psalm: <i>Deus, deus meus respice</i>		Ant.: <i>Omnes gentes</i> Psalm: <i>Subjecit</i>		Ant.: <i>Omnes gentes</i> <i>plaudite manibus</i>
	Alleluia: <i>Qui posuit fines tuos pacem</i> verse: <i>Epulemur in azimis sinceritatis</i>		Alleluia: <i>Omnes gentes</i>		Alleluia: <i>Omnes gentes</i> <i>plaudite</i>
	Off: <i>Deus deus meus ad te de luci vigilo</i>		Off: <i>Viri galylei</i>		Off: <i>Viri galylei</i>
	Ad Com: <i>Pater cum essem cum eis ego servabo</i>		Ad Com: <i>Nos vos relinquam</i>		Ad Com: <i>Pater cum essem cum eis</i> Psalm: <i>Dominus inluminato mea</i>

The Vigil of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist

The sanctoral vigils will be considered in the order in which they occur in the calendar, beginning with the Vigil of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist on 23 June. The *memoria* of Saint John the Baptist is celebrated in churches of the East and the West at least as early the fourth century. The selection of 24 June in the West for celebrating the Baptist's birth was calculated on the basis of the visitation pericope in Luke's gospel (Luke 1:26-58).³⁵ The nativity of the Baptist was designed in the West to mirror that of the

³⁵ See Luke 1:36, and Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 442.

nativity of the Lord and so both feasts occur on the eighth of the kalends of their respective birth months in the ancient Roman form of calculating dates.³⁶

We cannot be certain at what date the practice of keeping vigil before the feast of John the Baptist takes hold in Rome. The liturgical documents contain sometimes two, other times three, entries associated with celebrating the feast of John the Baptist from the 23rd to the 24th of June.³⁷ Saint Augustine has seven sermons associated with the feast;³⁸ he does not specifically mention that these sermons are given in the context of a vigil, however a passage in Sermon 289 may refer to some sort of nocturnal gathering associated with the feast.³⁹ Section 13 under the month of June in the Verona collection, *VIII kalendas julias. Natale sancti johannis baptistae*, contains five Masses in honor of the Baptist. The first set of item numbers, Ve 232-236, may refer to a vigil since the text of the preface, Ve 234, speaks not only of anticipating the feast, but also of a fast that has preceded it.⁴⁰ None of the other texts makes such references. The fourth set of item numbers, Ve 247-250, is further classified as *Ad fontem*, or in a baptistery. The particular designation of this set may imply it

³⁶ See Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 232-233 and Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 441-444, for a discussion on the history of this feast.

³⁷ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of Saint John the Baptist are located in Appendix Eleven, pages 609 to 615.

³⁸ These are sermons 287-293 (PL 38.1301-1335); see G.G. Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary* (London: SPCK, 1962). 32-33.

³⁹ "Lucerna in nocte fontem tibi ostendit, inde et ipse bibit: *Nos enim*, inquit, *de plenitudine ejus omnes accepimus. Nos omnes*: ille fons, nos vasa: ille dies, nos lucernae. Magna infirmitas hominum: per lucernam quaeritur dies." Augustine *Sermo* 289.5 (PL 38:1311).

⁴⁰ "Vere dignum: exhibentes sollemne jejunium, quo beati Johannis baptistae natalicia praevenimus." (Ve 234).

was used for the baptism of children on the feast,⁴¹ a practice that was not a Roman custom,⁴² or that a Mass was celebrated at one of the chapels surrounding the Lateran font particularly dedicated to the memory of the Baptist. No other information suggests that this set of texts was used at a vigil.

Book II of the Gelasian sacramentary provides two Mass sets for the nativity of the Baptist. Section 25, *In vigilia sancti johannis baptistae. VIII kalendas julias*. (GeV 896-900), and Section 26, *Item in natale unde supra* (GeV 901-906). The titles suggest that these are two liturgical units of one celebration for the Baptist. Evidence of a series of prayers, such as we have seen in the Paschal, Pentecost, and Emberide vigils, or of a separate collection of prayer texts as we saw in the sections on the Christmas vigil, which texts might be associated with biblical lessons or prayed following the lessons, is missing. Other than the title of Section 25, there are two other aspects that identify this Mass set as a vigil. The first oration (GeV 896) and the *secreta* (GeV 898) of the vigil liturgy use respectively the words *praeparetur* and *praeire* in reference to the feast, commonly used in many of the vigil Masses for the saints.⁴³ There are no specific references to night as the

⁴¹ For example, “Da, quaesumus, domine, lumen intellegentiae parvulis tuis, ut pro veteris gratia sacramenti praesentis sacrificii gratia succedente sic gloriemur novis, ut non abutamur antiquis: per...” (Ve 248), emphasis is the present author’s.

⁴² Righetti, *L’anno liturgico*, 443, n. 15.

⁴³ “Praesta, quaesumus, domine, ut populus tuus ad plenae devotionis effectum beati baptistae Johannis natalitiis **praeparetur**, quem praemisisti filio tuo parare plebem perfectam, Jesu Christo. (GeV 896); Munera populi tui, domine, placatus intende, et beati baptistae Johannis, cujus nos tribuis **praeire** solemnna, fac gaudere suffragiis: per.” (GeV 898), emphasis is the present author’s.

context for the liturgy, although the post-communion prayer contains reference to the “anger of coming judgment,” an interesting eschatological twist.⁴⁴

The texts of the day liturgy do not refer back to the vigil, but rather focus upon the joy of the feast. An *ad populum* prayer, although untitled, appears in each section (GeV 900 and GeV 905), which according to Chavasse’s research identifies the antiquity of these Mass sets. The most interesting item within Section 26, however, is a prayer, GeV 906, titled *Ista in vigilia sancti johannis*, a prayer at the vigil of Saint John (the Baptist, understood in the context of the prayer) remarkably similar to the second oration of the vigil, GeV 897. The prayer petitions the Lord that the Baptist intercede on behalf of the people for aid from the one he foretold.⁴⁵ While the title of the prayer explicitly ties it to the vigil, the text of the prayer does not mention it. The peculiarity of finding this “vigil prayer” in Section 26, a set for the celebration during the day, may reveal the text as a remnant of a much larger or more primitive vigil. The appearance of GeV 906 at the end of the texts for the day celebration may also prompt further investigation as to the nature and purpose of those orations found at the end of Mass sets for Pascha, Pentecost, and the Ascension in other sacramentaries. These texts may have served a greater purpose than the preservation of mere nostalgia.

The celebration of the feast of John the Baptist found in the major Gregorian sacramentaries differs from that found in the Gelasianum. Three Mass sets with similar texts appear in each Gregorian sacramentary, Hadrianum, Tridentinum, and Paduensis: one

⁴⁴ “Da, quaesumus, misericors Deus, ut mysticis ecclesia tua beati baptistae Johannis exordiis et sacris erudita praeconiis ad iram venturi iudicii declinandam dignos salutis fructus jugiter operetur: per.” (GeV 899).

⁴⁵ “ISTA IN VIGILIA SANCTI JOHANNIS: Beati Johannis baptistae nos, quaesumus, domine, praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis ab eo sempiternum remedium: per.” (GeV 906).

for the vigil, one for a liturgy *in prima missa*, and one *ad missas*. The pattern of a vigil and a liturgy *in prima missa* follows the schema for a sanctoral commemoration, which we have described above.⁴⁶ The Sacramentary of Padua is alone in naming the liturgy on the eve of the saint's feast *in jejunio* rather than *in vigilia*;⁴⁷ the prayer texts are, however, the same as those found *in vigilia* in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum. The orations for the nocturnal vigil and for the liturgy *in prima missa* express neither anticipation nor preparation

Table 5. The Vigil and Feast of John the Baptist in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Α, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In Vig Sci Johan Bab</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Die XXIII Men. Jun. Vigiliae Joh. Bap. tistae</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Die XXIII mensis juni vigiliae sci Johannis Baptistae</i> Α: <i>Die XXIII mensis supra scripti vigilia sci Johannis Baptistae</i> Σ: <i>Die XXIII mensis supra scripto vigilia sci Johannis Baptistae</i> Δ: <i>Die XXIII mensis juni vigilia sci Johannis Baptistae</i>	<i>In vig. sancti johan. bap. t.</i>	<i>In vigilia sancti Johannis baptistae.</i>	<i>In vig. S. Johannis Bap. VIII KAL. JUL.</i>	<i>Ad Nonam in vigiliis sci johannis baptistae</i>
Jeremiah 1:4-10		Jeremiah 1:4-10	Jeremiah 1:4-10	Jeremiah 1:4-10	Jeremiah 1:4-10
Luke 1:5-17	Luke 1:5-17	Luke 1:5-17			Luke 1:5-17
<i>In Nat Subi Supra</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Die XXIV Men. Jun. Nt. Sci. Joh. Bap. t.</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Die XXIV mensis juni natale sci. Johannis Baptistae</i> Α: <i>Die XXIV natale sci. Johannis Baptistae</i> Σ: <i>Die XXIV natale sci Johannis Baptistae</i> Δ: <i>Die XXIV mensis juni natale sci Johannis Baptistae</i>	<i>In natl. sancti johannis bap. t.</i>	<i>In natale ubi supra.</i>	<i>In die nat. S. Johannis Baptistae</i>	<i>In nat sci johannis bap t.</i>
Isaiah 49:1-7		Isaiah 49:1-7	Isaiah 49:1-7	Isaiah 49:1-7	Isaiah 49:1-7
Luke 1:57-68	Luke 1:57-68	Luke 1:57-68			Luke 1:57-68

for the feast. The celebration of the vigil at an early hour on the day prior to the feast may then have resulted in the need for a second Mass that occurred during the day itself, the

⁴⁶ See above, pages 471-472.

⁴⁷ *VIII kalendas julii in jejunio sancti johannis baptistae* (GrP, Section 118).

liturgy *ad missas* in the Gregorian sacramentaries. A set of two to three vespers prayers concludes the section *ad missas*.⁴⁸

The Roman lectionaries record a liturgy for the vigil and for the feast day of the Baptist. Table 5, previous page, includes their data for our consideration. The lectionaries list only an epistle and a gospel and offer no other evidence of additional biblical lessons for an extended vigil. It is interesting that the gospel account of John's birth is divided between the vigil and the day feast, where the vigil focuses upon the prophecy to Zechariah of the forerunner's birth, and the festal gospel recounts his naming. It may have been that the full account was originally proclaimed at one liturgy, which was celebrated throughout the night. The Verona Lectionary is the only manuscript to designate the vigil liturgy taking place *ad nonam*, perhaps a later notation when the celebration of the vigil comes to be observed earlier on the eve of the feast.

The antiphonals are inconsistent in their presentation of texts for the Baptist's feast. The Cantatory of Monza, and the antiphonals of Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis record three Masses, a vigil, a liturgy *prima missa de/in nocte*, and a Mass for the feast day.⁴⁹ The antiphonals of Rheinau and Compiègne list only a vigil and a Mass *in die*. The Rheinau antiphonal, however, places the celebration of the Baptist within the cycle of Sundays

⁴⁸ One of the vespers prayers is labeled *ad fontes*, perhaps harkening to the Mass set identified in the same manner in the Verona collection. The text in the Gregorian sacramentaries while appearing in the Verona collection, does not occur under the Mass set *ad fontem* in the Veronese.

⁴⁹ Hesbert believes that the liturgy *in prima missa* took place on the morning of the feast, although the antiphonals point out that it is a liturgy *in nocte*. See René-Jean Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Rome: Herder, 1967), xcvi.

following the Octave of Pentecost, between the Fifth and Sixth Sundays.⁵⁰ The designation of the liturgy *prima missa* as occurring at night may indicate a more primitive reference to when the feast was observed as a single nocturnal celebration. The antiphonals share common texts and save for the Monza Cantatory are composed of a full Mass set of chants including a gradual, although only one gradual appears in the documents. The pattern of three liturgies for the Baptist observed in some of the antiphonals and in the Gregorian sacramentaries mimic the Nativity of Christ, which itself comes to include three separate liturgical units, apart from the dawn Mass that originally served for Anastasia. This structure in commemoration of the John the Baptist may be a later and a purposeful development in the evolution of the feast.

The Vigil of Saints Peter and Paul

A memorial to the apostles Peter and Paul occurs quite early in the Church's observance of the saints. Recall that the *Depositio martyrum* commemorates Peter and Paul on 29 July (*III Kal. Jul. Petri in Catacumbas. et Pauli Ostense, Tusco et Basso cons.*). The reference to the consulship of Tusco and Basso places part of the commemoration to at least the middle of the third century.⁵¹ From an early period both apostles have been commemorated together as the foundation upon which the Church is built. In a homily on

⁵⁰ Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 178 (item numbers 177^{bis} and 177^{ter}). This is the only time a sanctoral feast interrupts the Sunday cursus within the antiphonals, although there is reference to a celebration of the Dedication of the Basilica to Saint Michael listed before the 18th Sunday. The only other interruption among the Sunday Masses is the September Embertide as we saw above in Chapter Two, pages 102-103.

⁵¹ The date of Tusco and Basso's consulship is given as 258-259 and corresponds to the translation of the bodies of Peter and Paul after the Persecution of Decius. See G.G. Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy: To the death of Pope Gregory the Great* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1994), 109.

their feast Leo the Great grants both apostles equal standing and honor for the contribution to spreading the faith.⁵²

The celebration of their feast comprised originally three distinct services, one for Saint Peter at his shrine on the Via Aurelia (the northern route from Rome to Pisa), one for Saint Paul at this shrine outside the walls of the city on the Via Ostiense, and one *ad catacumbas* on the Via Appia. The last site for a liturgical commemoration was located near the church of Saint Sebastian where the bodies or the heads of the apostles were kept until the translation of their remains to their particular shrines in the third century.⁵³ A hymn attributed to Saint Ambrose confirms the three-part celebration: “*antae per urbis ambitum stipata tendunt agmina, trinis celebratur viis festum sacrorum martyrum.*”⁵⁴ The difficulty with travelling to three separate stational services on a single day resulted in moving the commemoration of Saint Paul to 30 June in the eighth century, although he continued to be remembered at the liturgy on 29 June.⁵⁵

⁵² “De quorum meritis atque virtutibus, quae omnem loquendi superant facultatem, nihil diversum, nihil debemus sentire discretum: quia illos et electio pares, et labor similes, et finis fecit aequales.” Leo I *Tractatus* 82.7 (Chavasse CCL 138A.517).

⁵³ See Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 236; Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 451. The Gallican Martyrologium Hieronymianum (c. 6th century) records the following for the feast, “*Romae, via Aurelia, natale Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Petri in Vaticano, Pauli in via Ostiensi, utriusque in Catacumbas, passi sub Nerone, Basso et Tusco consulibus.*” See Giovanni Battista de Rossi and Louis Duchesne, ed., “Martyrologium Hieronymianum,” in *Acta Sanctorum* LXXXII November, part II (1894; reprint 1971), 84. On the tomb of Saints Peter and Paul and the cult surrounding the tomb, see Margherita Guarducci, *The Tomb of St. Peter: New discoveries in the sacred grottoes of the Vatican*, trans. Joseph McLellan (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960), 173-187.

⁵⁴ PL 17.1215.

⁵⁵ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 236.

The Verona collection⁵⁶ does not specify a particular liturgy as a vigil to Saints Peter and Paul. Section 15 is titled, *In natale apostolorum petri et pauli*, and consists of two orations and a preface only. Section 16 following is titled, *Conjunctio oblationis virginum sacratarum*, and contains 28 groups of item numbers, not all of them full Mass sets; some, however, note the Apostles in their prayer texts. In group 21 (Ve 351-356) we find a sub-heading, *In jejunio*, written in red in between the lines of Ve 352 and Ve 353, but attached to Ve 353.⁵⁷ The group concerns a Mass for the apostles, though Peter and Paul are not mentioned by name. Ve 353 appears to be a *super oblata* prayer and mentions a fast having been kept, but little else.⁵⁸

In the Gelasianum we find four Mass sets: Section 29, *In vigilia apostolorum petri et pauli. III kalendas julias*; Section 30, *Item in natale sancti petri propriae. III kalendas julias*; Section 31, *In natale apostolorum petri et pauli. III kalendas julias*; and Section 32, *Item in natale sancti pauli propriae. III kalendas julias*. All the Masses are set for same day, 29 June, including the vigil. There is no evidence of an extended Liturgy of the Word at the vigil, and Section 29 lists only one rather than the customary two orations before the *secreta* prayer. The oration (GeV 915) and the *secreta* prayer (GeV 916) of the vigil set speak of anticipating the feast; there is no mention of a fast.⁵⁹ Section 33 is titled *Orationes*

⁵⁶ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of Saints Peter and Paul can be found in Appendix Twelve, pages 616 to 624.

⁵⁷ “In jejunio rot zwischen den Zeilen.” See Mohlberg, ed., *Sacramentarium veronense*, 48.

⁵⁸ “*IN JEJUNIO*. Munera, domine, tuae glorificationis offerimus, quae tibi pro nostris grata jejuniis eorum, quaesumus, deprecatio, quorum sollemnia celebramus, efficiat: per.” (Ve 353)

⁵⁹ “Deus, qui nobis apostolorum beatorum Petri et Pauli natalitia gloriosa **praeire** concedis, tribue, quaesumus, eorum nos semper et beneficiis **praeveniri** et orationibus adjuvari: per.” (GeV 915); *SECRETA*.

ad vesperum and provides eight orations. These may be used during the octave of the feast, however they may also have served as orations for the lessons of an elongated vigil. The vigil, as it is inclusive of both apostles, may be the most primitive element of the feast, which evolves to include a tripartite celebration on the feast day.

The major Gregorian sacramentaries demonstrate a different pattern, and list only three Mass sets. Table 6, following, presents a brief outline of the arrangement of the festal liturgies. The vigil in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum corresponds to Peter alone; that in the Paduensis includes both Peter and Paul, as in the Gelasianum. Each apostle is provided his own feast day liturgy in the sacramentaries. The vigil in the Gregorian sacramentaries occurs on 28 June (*iv kalendas julii/julias*), unlike in the Gelasianum where the vigil and the feast are both identified with 29 June. The Gregorian vigil lacks the extra orations that often accompany an extended Liturgy of the Word in the greater vigil celebrations. A part of the title of the vigil liturgy in the Hadrianum, *oratio ad missas*, and the sub-heading of the vigil in the Tridentinum, *Oratio ad missa*, may reveal that these texts stood apart from a biblical vigil, and were relevant only to the Mass that concluded the vigil. An additional oration follows the *ad complendum* prayer, *Ad vigiliis nocte*,⁶⁰ in all three sacramentaries which, as with the Gelasian commemoration of John the Baptist, may be a remnant of the vigil service preserved at the end

“Munera, domine, tuae glorificationis offerimus, quae tibi pro nostris grata jejuniis sanctorum apostolorum, quaesumus, deprecatio, quorum sollemnia **praevenimus**, efficiat: per.” (GeV 916). The emphasis is the present author’s.

⁶⁰ *Ad vigiliis nocte*. “Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui Petri fide et nomine consecrasti, quique beatum illi Paulum ad praedicandum gentibus gloriam tuam sociare dignatus es, concede ut omne qui ad apostolorum tuorum sollemnia convenerunt spiritali remuneratione ditentur. Per.” (GrH 593; GrT 636; GrP 542).

Table 6. The Feast of Saints Peter and Paul in the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<p>Section 128 <i>IV kalendas julias id est xxviii die mensis junii vigilia sancti petri oratio ad missas</i> Nos. 589-593</p>	<p>Section 111 <i>IV kalendas julii id est xxviii die mensis junii vigilia sancti petri</i> Nos. 632-636</p>	<p>Section 123 <i>IV kalendas <julii> vigilia apostolorum petri et pauli</i> Nos. 538-542</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Praefatio Ad compl. Ad vigiliis nocte</p>	<p>Oratio ad missa Oration Super oblata Praefatio Ad complendum Ad vigiliis nocte (the text of prayer follows)</p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam (preface) Ad complendum Ad vigiliis nocte</p>
<p>Section 129 <i>III kalendas julias id est xxix die mensis junii natale sancti petri</i> Nos. 594-603</p>	<p>Section 112 <i>III kalendas julii id est xxix die mensis junii natale sancti petri</i> Nos. 637-646</p>	<p>Section 124 <i>IV kalendas julii in natalis sancti petri</i> Nos. 543-547</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Praefatio Ad compl. Ad vespers – <i>Deus qui apostolo</i> Alia oratione – <i>Omnipotens</i> Alia oron. – <i>Familiam tuam</i> Alia oron. – <i>Exaudi nos</i> Alia – <i>Protege domini</i> Alia – <i>Esto domine</i></p>	<p>Oration Secreta Praefatio Ad complendum Ad vespers – <i>Deus qui apostolo</i> Alia – <i>Omnipotens</i> Alia – <i>Familiam tuam</i> Alia – <i>Exaudi nos</i> Alia – <i>Protege domini</i> Alia – <i>Esto domine</i></p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam <i>Praefatio et Ad complendum ut supra</i> Ad vespers – <i>Deus qui apostolo</i> Alia oratio – <i>Omnipotens</i> <i>Exaudi nos</i></p>
<p>Section 130 <i>Pridie kalendas julias id est xxx die mensis junii natale sancti pauli</i> Nos. 604-606</p>	<p>Section 113 <i>II kalendas julii id est xxix die mensis junii natale sancti petri</i> Nos. 647-649</p>	<p>Section 125 <i>Pridie kalendas julii natalis sancti pauli</i> Nos. 548-550</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Ad complendum</p>	<p>Oration Super oblata Ad complendum</p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam Ad complendum</p>

of the vigil Mass texts. The text mentions both saints and distinguishes their respective missions in the early Church. The prayer asks that those who observe their feast be given a spiritual reward. There is no reference to nighttime in the text, although it does note an assembly takes place. None of the other texts speaks of preparing or anticipating the apostolic feast.

A number of orations follow the *ad complendum* prayer in the Mass set for the feast day of Saint Peter; there are no such prayers in the Mass set for Saint Paul. The first text is designated *ad vespers/vesperum*, followed by several *alia*. A total of six prayers occur in

the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum, and three in the Paduensis. While they are attached to the Mass set for Saint Peter only the prayer *ad vespere*s specifically mentions the saint; the other texts speak of “the apostles” in general. It is possible that the six prayers together served at vespere for each day of the octave of the feast; however, as we saw for the celebration of John the Baptist, where a collection of *alia orationes* occurs, it is also possible that these texts may be a remnant of a primitive extended vigil service.

The Roman lectionaries provide little information on the liturgical structure of the Peter and Paul feast, except on a lack of agreement on the manner of celebrating the apostles. There is no evidence of an extended biblical vigil in any of the lectionaries. Table 7 following, permits us to consider the data for the feast of Peter and Paul in the lectionaries.

The data shows the feast of the two apostles is commemorated in a variety of ways. Morin notes that those lectionaries that maintain a separate feast for Saint Peter and for Saint Paul represent an older stratum of the tradition, and that the Evangelary of the Würzburg system, the Roman gospel capitularies, and the Verona Lectionary specify a later evolution of the feast.⁶¹ A separate feast day for Saint Paul is commemorated even when Paul’s name is joined to Peter’s feast. The lack of a gospel text for the vigil of Saint Paul in the *Comes* of Murbach and in the Lectionary of Verona (which lectionary systems generally include the gospel) may witness, however, to a transition away from a separate liturgical celebration of

⁶¹ G. Morin, “Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle,” *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 309, n. 1. Morin also notes the omission of a feast in honor of the translation of the body of Pope Leo I introduced by Pope Sergius I (687-701) on the eve of the apostle’s feast. The feast appears in the Rheinau Antiphonal and in the Hadrianum alone of the Gregorian sacramentaries. The lack of noting the feast provides further evidence that the Evangelary and the Epistolary are older than the late seventh century.

Table 7. The Vigil and Feast of Saint Peter and Paul in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitatus (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In vigilias sci petri</i> (W _{ep})		<i>In vigil. sancti petri</i> <i>ap.</i>	<i>In vigilia sancti</i> <i>petri.</i>	<i>In vigilia s. petri.</i> <i>III kal. jul.</i>	
<i>Die XXVIII men. jun.</i> <i>vigiliae apost. petri et</i> <i>pauli</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Die XXVIII</i> <i>mensis juni vigiliae</i> <i>apostolorum petri et</i> <i>pauli</i> Λ: <i>Die XXVIII</i> <i>mensis supra scripti</i> <i>vigilia apostolorum</i> <i>petri et pauli</i> Σ: <i>Die XXVIII</i> <i>mensis supra</i> <i>scripto vigilia</i> <i>apostolorum petri et</i> <i>pauli</i> Δ: <i>Die XXVIII</i> <i>mensis juni vigilia</i> <i>apostorum petri et</i> <i>pauli</i>				<i>In vigiliis</i> <i>apostolorum petri et</i> <i>pauli de nona</i>
Acts 3:1-10 (W _{ep})		Acts 3:1-10	Acts 3:1-10	Acts 3:1-10	Acts 3:1-10
John 21:15-19 (W _{ev})	John 21:15-19	John 21:15-19			John 21:15-19
<i>In nat sci petri</i> (W _{ep})		<i>In nat. sancti petri</i>	<i>In natale sancti</i> <i>petri.</i>	<i>In nat. s. petri.</i>	<i>In nat sci petri</i>
<i>Die XXIX men. jun. nt.</i> <i>apost. petri et pauli</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Die XXIX mensis</i> <i>juni natale</i> <i>apostolorum petri et</i> <i>pauli</i> Λ: <i>Die XXIX natale</i> <i>supra scriptorum</i> Σ: <i>Die XXIX natale</i> <i>supra scriptorum</i> Δ: <i>Die XXIX mensis</i> <i>juni natale</i> <i>apostolorum petri et</i> <i>pauli</i>				
Acts 12:1-11 (W _{ep})		Acts 12:1-11	Acts 12:1-11	Acts 12:1-11	Acts 12:1-11
Matthew 16:13-19 (W _{ev})	Matthew 16:13-19	Matthew 16:13-19			Matthew 16:13-19
<i>In Vigiliis Sci Pauli</i> (W _{ep})		<i>In vig. sancti pauli</i> <i>ap.</i>	<i>In vigilia sancti</i> <i>pauli.</i>	<i>In vigilia s. pauli</i> <i>apostoli.</i>	<i>In vigiliis sci pauli</i>
Galatians 1:11-20		Galatians 1:11-20	Galatians 1:11-20	Galatians 1:11-24	I Corinthians 15:1-10
		(no gospel text provided)			(no gospel text provided)
<i>In nat sci pauli</i> (W _{ep})	Π: <i>Die XXX mensis</i> <i>supra scripti ad</i> <i>scum paulum</i> Λ: <i>Die XXX mensis</i> <i>supra scripti ad</i> <i>scum paulum</i> Σ: <i>Die XXX mense</i> <i>supra scripto ad</i> <i>scum paulum</i>	<i>In natal. unde</i> <i>supra</i>	<i>In natale sancti</i> <i>pauli.</i>	<i>In nat. s. pauli.</i> <i>Prid. kal. jul.</i>	<i>In nat sci pauli</i> <i>apostoli</i>

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
	Δ: Die XXX mensis juni ad scum paulum				
Acts 9:1-22		Acts 9:1-22	Acts 9:1-22	Acts 9:1-23	Acts 9:1-22
	Matthew 19:27-29	Matthew 19:27-29			Matthew 19:27-29

Saint Paul. There is no explanation for the use of I Corinthians 15 rather than Galatians 1 as the epistle at the vigil Mass of Saint Paul in the Lectionary of Verona.

The Roman antiphonals, save for the Rheinau Antiphonal, record three liturgies for the feast of Peter and Paul: a vigil for Saint Peter on 28 June (*IV kalendas julias*), a feast day liturgy for Saint Peter on 29 June (*III kalendas julias*), and a feast day liturgy for Saint Paul on 30 June (*Pridie kalendas julias*).⁶² The antiphonals preserve the ancient tripartite liturgical structure of the feast. There is no evidence in the chants for the vigil of an extended biblical service, and only one gradual is provided.

The Vigil of Saint Lawrence

Like Peter and Paul the *Depositio martyrum* lists a commemoration to Saint Lawrence at his tomb located on the road to the Tiber (*IV idus aug. Laurenti in Tiburtina*).⁶³ Lawrence's commemoration is ancient; he is regarded along with the principal apostles as a patron of the city of Rome and in some of the liturgical manuscripts an octave follows his feast day of 10 August.⁶⁴ Tradition holds that Lawrence was a deacon of Pope Sixtus II

⁶² See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (nos. 121, 122a, 122b, 123), 136-139.

⁶³ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 244. See also see Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2nd ed, vol 1 (Paris: Etudes de Boccard, 1955), 155.

⁶⁴ Willis, *History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 109.

(257-258), and along with him suffered martyrdom during the persecution of Emperor Valerian in 258. The shrine dedicated to Lawrence's memory consisted of two basilicas, one over the tomb of the martyr and a second constructed to the west of it, outside the city walls on the northeastern side of Rome. The Emperor Constantine built the first basilica and connected it to the tomb by a special passageway.⁶⁵ The second basilica was constructed by Pope Sixtus III (432-440).⁶⁶ The liturgy for the feast of Lawrence took place among these two basilicae.

The sacramentary evidence for the commemoration of the feast is varied.⁶⁷ The Verona collection provides fourteen groups of prayer texts in Section 21, *IV idus augustas. Natale sancti laurenti*, not all of them complete Mass sets. The fourteenth set is reserved for the octave of the feast. The section is dated to the day of the feast, the fourth of kalends of August. According to Bourque the elements of Section 21 can be dated not before the beginning of the fifth century and after the year 400.⁶⁸ Some of the texts in groups 1 (Ve 739-742), 10 (Ve 770-773), and 12 (Ve 777-781) appear oriented toward a celebration of the vigil of Lawrence. The preface of group 1,⁶⁹ the second of two orations prior to the preface

⁶⁵ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 244. The basilica-tomb, originally small and cramped, was later embellished by Pope Pelagius (579-590); see Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, 309.

⁶⁶ Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome," 312, n. 2.

⁶⁷ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of Saint Lawrence appear in Appendix Thirteen, pages 625 to 631.

⁶⁸ Emmanuel Bourque, *Les texts primitifs*, vol. 1 of *Étude sur les sacramentaires romain* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia christiana, 1948), 138-139, 143.

⁶⁹ "Vere dignum: praevenientes natalem diem beati Laurenti, qui levita simul martyrque venerandus et proprio claruit gloriosus officio, et memoranda refulsit passione sublimis: per..." (Ve 740).

and the post-communion prayer of group 10,⁷⁰ and the first two orations of group 12⁷¹ mention in some way anticipating or preparing for the feast of Lawrence.

The Gelasian sacramentary offers two sections for the feast: Section 42, *In vigilia sancti laurenti. V idus agustas* (GeV 968-973), and Section 43, *Item in natale ejusdem. IV idus agustas* (GeV 974-981). The Gelasianum places the vigil on 9 August before the feast day on 10 August. A unique element of the vigil in the Gelasian sacramentary is the presence of three orations prior to the *secreta* prayer. The first three orations, as well as the preface of the vigil liturgy speak of anticipating and preparing for the feast.⁷² The three initial orations may have been used to accompany an extended biblical vigil. Following the *post communionem* prayer of the feast day is a sub-heading, *Orationes ad vesperum*. Only three texts are provided, not enough to serve a full octave. These texts may have primitively served a vigil at the tomb of Saint Lawrence. If so, adding them to the three texts that open the vigil liturgy would bring the total of prayers to six, a number consistent with the composition of orations one finds at the Embertide vigils.

⁷⁰ “Perfice nobis, domine, fructum gratulationis hodiernae, ut precibus beati Laurenti martyris tui, ejus natalicia votiva praecurrens perfectis gaudiis expleatur oblatio: per...” (Ve 771); “Gratias tibi, domine, quoniam sanctum Laurentium martyrem tuum te inspirante diligimus; ut ejus natalicia praeceuntes, piis semper intercessionibus foveamur et meritis: per...” (Ve 773).

⁷¹ “Annue, quaesumus, domine, precibus nostris, ut sancti Laurenti martyris tui sollemnia, quae cultu tibi debito praevenimus, prospero suscipiamus effectu: per...” (Ve 777); “Muneribus nostris, domine, sancti Laurenti martyris tui festa praecedimus, ut quae conscientiae nostrae praepediuntur obstaculis, illius meritis grata reddantur: per...” (Ve 778).

⁷² “Da, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut beati Laurenti martyris tui quam praevenimus veneranda solemnitas et devotionem nobis augeat et salutem: per.” (GeV 968); “Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nostra devotio quae natalitia beati Laurenti martyris antecedit, patrocinia nobis ejus accumulet: per.” (GeV 969); “Beati Laurenti martyris tui, domine, geminata gratia nos refoveat, quam glorificationis ejus et optatis praeimus officiis et desideranter expectamus adventuram: per.” (GeV 970); “Vere dignum: gloriosi Laurenti martyris pia certamina praecurrendo, cujus honorabilis annua recursione solemnitas et perpetua semper et nova est, quia et in conspectu tuae majestatis permanet mors tuorum praetiosa justorum et restaurantur incrementa laetitiae, quum felicitatis aeternae recoluntur exordia. Et ideo cum angelis.” (GeV 972).

The feast of Saint Lawrence comprises three liturgical units in the major Gregorian sacramentaries. Table 8 following, provides for us the headings and structures of the Gregorian Mass sets for Lawrence. The liturgical vigil occurs on 9 August (*v idus augustas/i*). No other texts save for the presidential prayers appear in the sacramentaries, and as with the other sanctoral vigils we have considered there is no evidence of an extended biblical vigil. Two Masses, one *in prima missa* and a second *ad missa(s)*, bearing a similar structure to the feast of John the Baptist, constitute the feast day celebration. The vigil and the liturgy *in prima missa* may correspond to the most primitive elements of a sanctoral commemoration. The vigil texts do not mention anticipating or preparing for the feast, and the Gregorian sacramentaries lack a prayer *ad vigiliis nocte* as in the liturgical celebrations

Table 8. The Feast of Saint Lawrence in the Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

Gregorian Sacramentary – Hadrianum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Tridentinum	Gregorian Sacramentary – Paduensis
<p>Section 141 <i>V idus augustas id est dies ix mensis augusti vigilia sancti laurenti</i> Nos. 639-641</p>	<p>Section 123 <i>V idus augusti id est die ix mensis augusti vigilia sancti laurentii</i> Nos. 682-684</p>	<p>Section 141 <i>V idus augusti vigilia sancti laurentii</i> Nos. 597-599</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Ad completa</p>	<p>Oration Super oblata Ad complendum</p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam Ad complendum</p>
<p>Section 142 <i>IV idus augustas id est x die mense augusto natale sancti laurenti in prima missa</i> Nos. 642-644</p>	<p>Section 124 <i>IV idus augusti id est x die mensis augusti natale sancti laurentii</i> Nos. 685-687</p>	<p>Section 142 <i>IV idus augusti natalis sancti laurentii in prima missa</i> Nos. 600-602</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Ad completa</p>	<p>In prima missa Oration Secreta Ad complendum</p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam Ad complendum</p>
<p>Section 143 <i>Item ad missas</i> Nos. 645-648</p>	<p>Nos. 688-691</p>	<p>Section 143 <i>Item ad missas</i> Nos. 603-608</p>
<p>Oration Super oblata Ad completa Alia – <i>Deus cujus caritatis</i></p>	<p>Item ad missa Oration Super oblata Ad complendum Alia – <i>Deus cujus caritatis</i></p>	<p>Oration Super oblatam (preface) Ad complendum Alia – <i>Deus cujus caritatis</i> Alia – <i>Sancti laurentii nos</i></p>

of both John the Baptist and Peter and Paul. It may be that the antiquity of the vigil and *in prima missa* texts preserve a practice from a time when these units constituted one liturgical movement for the celebration of Lawrence without the need for a separate feast day commemoration.

A single *alia* oration (GrH 648; GrT 691; GrP 607) appears following the *ad complendum* of the feast day liturgy. A second *alia* is found in the Paduensis alone (GrP 608), which sacramentary includes the only preface for Lawrence among the major Gregorians. Both *aliae* are identified in the Gelasianum: one, “Deus cujus caritatis,” as the first oration of the feast day liturgy, the other, “Sancti laurentii nos,” as the first oration *ad vesperum*. Each text may be a remnant of a primitive extended biblical vigil for Lawrence.

The Würzburg Evangelary and the Roman gospel capitularies alone of the lectionaries preserve a tripartite liturgical structure for the feast of Saint Lawrence as seen among the major Gregorian sacramentaries. The Würzburg Epistolary, on the other hand, as well as the other lectionary systems may preserve a more ancient structure of the feast, which in these lectionaries encompasses two liturgies, a vigil and one *in natale*. Table 9, below, arranges the feast as found in the lectionaries. These liturgies may have served originally as the vigil and *prima missa* celebrations at Lawrence’s tomb. Morin suggests that the existence of a liturgy *in prima missa* and one *ad missa publica(m)* found in the Würzburg Evangelary and in the gospel capitularies may reflect a change in celebrating the feast of St. Lawrence after the erection of the greater basilica to the west of Lawrence’s tomb by Sixtus III in the fifth century. The liturgy *in prima missa* would have been held at the shrine-tomb, and the liturgy *ad missa publica* may have taken

Table 9. The Vigil and Feast of Saint Lawrence in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Λ, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In vigiliis sci laurenti</i> (W _{ep}) <i>In vigiliis ubi supra</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Die ix men. aug. vigiliae sci. laurenti</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Die IX mensis augusti vigiliae sci laurenti</i> Λ: <i>Die IX mensis supra scripti vigilia sci laurenti</i> Σ: <i>Die IX mense augusto vigilia sci laurenti</i> Δ: <i>Die IX mensis augusti vigilia sci laurenti</i>	<i>In vigil. sancti laurentii</i>	<i>In vigilia sancti laurentii</i>	<i>In vig. s. laurentii</i>	<i>In vigiliis sci laurenti de nona</i>
II Timothy 4:1-8					
Sirach 51:1-12		Sirach 51:1-12	Sirach 51:1-12	Sirach 51:1-12	Sirach 51:1-12
Matthew 16:24-28	Matthew 16:24-28	Matthew 16:24-28			Matthew 16:24-28
<i>In nat sci laurenti</i> (W _{ep}) <i>In nat ubi supra</i> (W _{ep}) <i>Item alia in prima missa</i> (W _{ev})	Π: <i>Item alia in prima missa</i> Λ: <i>Item die X natale sci laurenti ad prima missa</i> Σ: <i>Item alia die X natale sci Laurenti ad primam missam</i> Δ: <i>Item ad prima missa ejusdem</i>				
II Corinthians 9:6-10					
Wisdom 10:10-14					
Matthew 10:37-42	Matthew 10:37-42				
[<i>Item ad missam publicam</i>] (W _{ev})	Π: <i>In natale sci Laurenti</i> Λ: <i>Die supra scripto natale sci laurenti ad missa publica</i> Σ: <i>Die supra scripto ad missam publicam in natale sci laurenti</i> Δ: <i>In natale ut supra</i>	<i>In nat. sancti laurentii</i>	<i>In natale sancti laurentii</i>	<i>In nat. s. laurentii</i>	<i>In nat sci laurenti</i>
		II Corinthians 9:6-10	II Corinthians 9:6-10	II Corinthians 9:6-10	II Corinthians 9:6-10
John 12:24-26	John 12:24-26	John 12:24-26			John 12:24-26

place in the basilica.⁷³ Morin notes also that the presence of an Old Testament lesson from the Book of Sirach for the vigil and again for the feast in the Würzburg Epistolary further

⁷³ Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome," 312, n. 2.

indicates the antiquity of this celebration as the Old Testament reading is dropped in later documents.⁷⁴

The feast of Saint Lawrence is found only in the Cantatory of Monza and in the antiphonals of Mont Blandin, Corbie, and Senlis. These documents maintain only a vigil and a celebration *in natale*, just as in the Würzburg Epistolary. Hesbert understands that the pattern of Lawrence's celebration comes to involve a vigil, an early morning Mass, a feast day Mass, and an octave.⁷⁵ If the Würzburg Epistolary, however, reveals the extant ancient pattern of celebration with only two liturgies, it may be possible that the antiphonals also preserve something of this celebration.

The Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

A feast in honor of the death of the Blessed Virgin Mary is most probably Eastern in origin coming to celebrate her κοιμήσις or *dormitio*, her "falling asleep," by the mid-fifth century. The Emperor Maurice (582-602) extends this celebration, occurring on 15 August, to the entire Byzantine Empire.⁷⁶ The feast enters into the liturgical practice of the West only in the seventh century via the Gallican liturgy.⁷⁷ Pope Sergius I (687-701), a pope during the Byzantine occupation of Rome, did much to introduce Eastern feasts of Mary into

⁷⁴ Morin, "Le plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de l'église romaine," *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 61. The readings in the Epistolary are at numbers 139 for the vigil and at 141 for the feast day liturgy. Morin's commentary on this arrangement is found at the bottom of page 61.

⁷⁵ Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, cii.

⁷⁶ Righetti, *L'anno liturgico*, 372.

⁷⁷ Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 109-110.

Roman practice and so may have promoted the commemoration of Mary's Assumption in Rome.⁷⁸

In those liturgical books where the feast appears (the Würzburg Epistolary and the Verona collection do not contain the feast) the commemoration is limited to 15 August, 14 August being the feast of Saint Eusebius.⁷⁹ In the Hadrianum at Section 147 we find a vigil preceding the feast, *XVIX kalendas septembres id est xiv die mensis augusti vigilia adsumptio sanctae mariae*. This Mass set is the only indication of a vigil for the Assumption among the extant ancient manuscripts. It appears on the same day as the commemoration to Saint Eusebius. The prayers of this section are found only in the Hadrianum, and are directed toward celebrating the feast rather than anticipating or preparing for it.

Hesbert proposes an interesting explanation as to why a vigil comes to be associated with the Assumption. In the Antiphonal of Mount Blandin the feast of Saint Eusebius and the Assumption are celebrated on the same day: no. 139, *XVIII kalendas septembres natale sancti eusebii*; and no. 140, *Eodem die adsumptio sanctae mariae*.⁸⁰ Hesbert believes that a copyist error placed the two feasts on the same day, 14 August. Another or perhaps the same copyist corrected this error, but then placed both feasts on 15 August. The transition between the two dates may have given rise then to the belief a vigil preceded the feast of the

⁷⁸ Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 215.

⁷⁹ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of the Assumption are located in Appendix Ten, pages 607 to 608.

⁸⁰ In the Cantatory of Monza, one finds the Assumption placed between the fifth and the fourth of the kalends of September following the feast of Saint Hermes. It is titled in this document, *In natale sanctae mariae* (no. 144^{bis}).

Assumption as the Hadrianum records.⁸¹ A vigil does not appear to have been either a primitive nor constitutive unit of the Assumption.

Vigil of Saint Andrew

The final vigil we will consider is perhaps the most puzzling. One might rightfully question why Andrew of all the apostles would merit a vigil from a very early period. A memorial to Andrew is ancient and his relics were transported to many different cities in both the East and the West. At Rome veneration of Andrew began at an early date and Pope Simplicius (468-483) is believed to have dedicated a church to him, Saint Andrew *in Catabarbara*, near Saint Mary Major.⁸² Gregory the Great (590-604) is credited with introducing a feast for Andrew into the Roman calendar as Gregory had a special devotion to the saint.⁸³

The feast comprises a vigil and a day liturgy in the liturgical manuscripts.⁸⁴ An interesting feature is that the vigil, 29 November or the 3rd of the kalends of December, is celebrated on a day already occupied by the commemoration of a saint, Saturninus, mentioned in the *Depositio martyrum*. In some of the liturgical documents the feast of

⁸¹ Hesbert, ed., *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, ciii.

⁸² See Adam, *The Liturgical Year*, 246-247; and Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 111. It is believed that Andrew's head was the principal relic brought to Rome.

⁸³ See Willis, *A History of Early Roman Liturgy*, 57, 111. Gregory dedicated a monastery on the Caelian Hill to Andrew and had an arm of the saint brought from Byzantium to become the patrimony of the new foundation.

⁸⁴ The sacramentary texts for the Vigil of Saint Andrew are located in Appendix Fourteen, pages 632 to 637.

Saturninus takes precedence on 29 November, while the vigil of Andrew is placed second in relation to it.

Section 39 of the Verona collection is titled, *Pridie kalendas decembres. Natale sancti andreae apostoli*. The section, oriented to the feast on 30 November, consists of four sets of prayer texts. Set III *Item alia* (Ve 1229-1233) is designed, however, for a celebration of a vigil for Andrew. The texts refer either to the coming feast⁸⁵ or speak of preparing for and anticipating the solemnity.⁸⁶ The preface (Ve 1231) of this Mass set is especially interesting as it refers to the keeping of a fast in connection with the vigil, a practice we have seen previously only in relation to the vigil of John the Baptist.

In the Gelasian sacramentary the vigil of Andrew occurs on the feast of Saturninus. Section 68 is titled, *In vigilia sancti andreae. III kalendas decembris* (GeV 1076-1079); Section 67, however, is named, *In natale sanctorum martyru<m> saturnini crisanti mauridarie e<t> aliorum. III kalendas decembris*. The sacramentary offers no explanation how one would celebrate two different commemorations on the same day. Three of the four prayers for the vigil are anticipatory and preparatory in context; the preface (GeV 1078)

⁸⁵ “Omnium virtutum, deus, bonorumque largitor: da, quaesumus, ut beati apostoli tui Andreae semper nobis adsint et **honoranda sollemnia** et desiderata praesidia: per.” (Ve 1229). Emphasis is the present author’s.

⁸⁶ “Vere dignum: qui per cultum nominis tui, venerationemque sanctorum nobis remedia mirabiliter operaris. Hoc ipso namque jejunio, quod beati apostoli tui Andreae festa **prevenientes** oculis tuae majestatis offerimus, simul et continentiam salutarem capiamus mentis et corporis; et profutura nobis observatione proficiamus, et mitigatis sensibus corporis puriores tantis nataliciis **praeparemur**: per.” (Ve 1231); “Erudiamur, domine, quaesumus, his celebritatibus et juvemur, quibus beati apostoli Andreae caelestem nobis tribuant **martyria praeventa** laetitiam: per.” (Ve 1232); “Referat, domine, populus christianus, quos pia devotione **praesumpsit**, sancte gratulationis effectus: ut beati apostoli tui Andreae simul fiat et veneratione jucundus et intercessione securus: per.” (Ve 1233). Emphases are the present author’s.

makes reference to a fast undertaken in anticipation of the feast.⁸⁷ The section contains no other data on the vigil. Section 69 serves the feast day, *Item in natale ejusdem. Pridie kalendas decembris*. There are no *alia* orations, specifically marked for the vigil or not, following either the vigil or the feast day liturgical sets. The Gelasianum notes an octave for Andrew, which the Gregorian sacramentaries and the Verona collection do not acknowledge.

The Gregorian sacramentaries are more direct in assessing the nature of a separate vigil for Saint Andrew as an addition to the calendar. At Section 183, the Hadrianum has, *Item die suprascr. Vigilia sancti Andreae* (GrH 766-769), the feast “written above” to which the title refers is that for Saturninus, *III kalendas decembres*. The Paduensis employs the same title for the vigil as the Hadrianum at Section 193 (GrP 771-773); the Tridentinum, however, does not, but rather includes the vigil as a separate heading, *Item eodem die vigilia sancti andreae* (GrT 805-808) under Section 156, *III kalendas decembris id est xxix die mensis novembris natale sancti saturnini*. The Gregorian sacramentaries share the same texts for the vigil, with the exception that the Paduensis lacks a preface. The vigil texts say nothing about anticipating or preparing for the feast, nor do they mention a fast, which has been undertaken. The Hadrianum and the Tridentinum utilize the same preface for the vigil and the feast day, perhaps another indication that separate vigil and festal celebrations are a more recent configuration of the commemoration.

Appended to the feast day set, as we have seen with some other sanctoral feasts, is an oration *ad vesperum* (GrH 774; GrT 812; GrP 778), in turn followed by various *alia* texts:

⁸⁷ “Vere dignum: reverenciae tuae dicato jejunio gratulantes, quo apostolica beati Andreae merita desideratis praevenimus officiis et ad eandem celebranda solemniter praeparemur: per.” (GeV 1078).

three in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum (GrH 775-777; GrT 813-815), and two in the Paduensis (GrP 779-780). Since the Gregorian sacramentaries do not state that an octave followed the feast of Saint Andrew it may be unlikely that these *aliae* served for vespers services in the succeeding week. The texts center upon Andrew and implore the Lord for protection and aid through his intercession. As we have examined with the liturgical sets for Pascha and Pentecost, these orations may reflect another layer of the tradition, though we cannot say for certain that they were used in the context of an extended scripture vigil.⁸⁸

Table 10. The Vigil and Feast of Saint Andrew in the Roman Lectionaries

Würzburg Lectionary: Ep and Ev	Roman Gospel Capitularies Type: Π, Α, Σ, Δ	Comes of Murbach	Comes of Alcuin	Liber Comitis (Epistolary of Corbie)	Lectionary of Verona
<i>In vigiliis sci andreae</i> (W _{ep})	Π: <i>Item die supra scripta vigiliae sci andreae</i>	<i>In vig. sancti andreae</i>	<i>In vigilia sancti andreae</i>	<i>In vig. s. andree apostoli. III kal. dec.</i>	<i>In vigiliis sci andreae de nona dec.</i>
<i>In vigiliis suprascripta</i> (W _{ep})	Α: <i>Die supra scripto vigiliae sci andreae</i>				
<i>Item die supradicta vigiliae sci andreae</i> (W _{ev})	Σ: <i>Die supra scripto vigiliae sci andreae</i>				
	Δ: <i>Die XXIX mensis (novembris) vigilia sci andreae</i>				
Ephesians 1:3-8			Ephesians 1:3-8		
Sirach 31:8-11		Sirach 44:26		Proverbs 10:6; Sirach 44:26—45:9	Sirach 44:25
	John 1:35-51	John 1:35-51			John 1:35-51
<i>In nat sci andreae</i> (W _{ep})	Π: <i>Die XXX mensis novembris natale sci andreae</i>	<i>In natl. sancti andreae ap.</i>	<i>In natale sancti Andreae</i>	<i>In nat. s. andree apostoli. prid. kal. dec.</i>	<i>In nat sci andreae</i>
	Α: <i>Die XXX mensis supra scripti natale sci andreae</i>				
	Σ: <i>Die XXX mensis novembris natale sci andreae</i>				
	Δ: <i>Die XXX mensis (novembris) natale sci andreae</i>				
Romans 10:10-18		Romans 10:10-18	Romans 10:10-18	Romans 10:10-18	Romans 10:10-18
Sirach 45:1-9					
<no gospel text>	Matthew 4:18-22	Matthew 4:18-22			Matthew 4:18-22

⁸⁸ The four of these texts in the Hadrianum and in the Tridentinum (GrH 777 and GrT 815) is found also in the Gelasianum, but in the latter as an initial oration within a probable common for several saints (Section 72, *Orationes in natale pluriorum sanctorum*, GeV 1091).

Table 10, above, provides the data on the feast of Saint Andrew found in the Roman lectionaries. While the lectionaries frame Andrew's feast with a vigil and a day celebration, only a few of the documents relate the vigil to a feast for Saint Saturninus: the Würzburg Evangelary, and in the type II, A, and Σ gospel capitularies. The Würzburg Epistolary, while it may rank as the oldest extant lectionary system, does not record a commemoration of Saturninus. It is not clear why the feast is missing from the other lectionaries as it appears in all the Roman sacramentary traditions. The Würzburg Evangelary concludes its liturgical cycle with the vigil of Saint Andrew and does not list a gospel for the feast *in natale*. Morin notes that this lacuna is resolved in other later editions of the Evangelary, which also supply data on the December feasts and observances.⁸⁹ As with the feast of Saint Lawrence, two lessons are included in the Würzburg Epistolary for both the vigil and the feast day, a sign of the antiquity of this commemoration. Morin indicates that the lessons are inverted to reference current practice of reading the epistle alone.⁹⁰

The information on the feast of Saint Andrew preserved in the Roman antiphonals, save the antiphonals of Rheinau and of Compiègne, reveals a vigil and a day celebration, as do the lectionaries and sacramentaries. The antiphonals that witness to a vigil for Andrew do not have a feast for Saturninus competing with it on 29 November. Considered as a whole, the liturgical documents dealing with the celebration of Saint Andrew at Rome appear to indicate that a desire to incorporate a vigil into the memorial caused the feast to happen upon a more primitive festal celebration for Saturninus. A result of this evolution

⁸⁹ Morin, "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome," 317-318.

⁹⁰ Morin, "Le plus ancien '*Comes*,'" 63.

gave rise to two separate celebrations on 29 November, one for Saturninus in the morning and another for Andrew at night. It is interesting to wonder if this development proved helpful for the preservation of a nocturnal vigil context for Andrew's feast as any movement to celebrate the vigil earlier would have coincided with the celebration for Saturninus.

Preliminary Conclusions

The sanctoral vigil represents a third stratum of vigil practice in the early Roman liturgical tradition. Unlike the Embertide vigils or the Paschal and Pentecost vigils there is no evidence of an extended scripture vigil in the liturgical documents prior to the prayers for the Eucharist that seems would concluded it. The sanctoral vigils more closely resemble the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany when their elements are compared. One does not find, however, separate sections of *aliae* orations that may have been used at a primitive vigil, as one does with the Christmas cycle vigils. Confirming the hypotheses of scholars like Lucy Grig, Antoine Chavasse, Paul Bradshaw, and Maxwell Johnson, the celebration of a vigil comprised the most primitive layer of memorializing the martyrs of the early Church. The development of such celebrations into a vigil and a feast day component are a later evolution. Such a development stands to reason especially in light of vigil prayer texts that refer to anticipating and preparing for the feast to come rather than celebrating it. The liturgical texts, therefore, have the unintended result of presenting these sanctoral commemorations as consisting of two different liturgical experiences: one in anticipation and another in celebration of the feast. Where they exist in the liturgical texts, the presence of a single oration or a group of *aliae* orations appended to the feast day Mass of a saint

indicate that they could have been used at a more extensive vigil commemorating the martyr.

After a cursory consideration of the data we can state that a vigil for the Ascension and for the Assumption are both more recent and perhaps inadvertent additions to the calendar brought about by copyist error or misrepresentation of the feast. The lack of pre-Eucharistic vigils for the Ascension and the Assumption in the Würzburg Epistolary (which does not even include the latter feast) reveal that primitively these feasts either were not preceded by an anticipatory celebration or were not considered in need of two liturgical expressions. It may be that as the calendar and liturgical practice evolve, the association of an anticipatory vigil prior to a feast gave weight to the celebration.

Of the most ancient Roman martyrial commemorations that come to be associated with a pre-Eucharistic vigil, those for Peter and Paul and for Lawrence, stand out for special recognition. Both feasts are found in the fourth century *Depositio martyrum*, and both exhibit a unique structure. The feast of Peter and Paul was formerly observed as a series of three liturgies: a vigil, a liturgy for Peter, and a liturgy for Paul, all of which occurred on 30 July. These liturgies originally existed as single unit of stational liturgy involving a grand procession through the city of Rome to the two sites the *Depositio* identifies with the apostles: *in catacumbas* and on the *via Ostiensis*. The memorial of Saint Lawrence is arranged, particularly in the sacramentaries, with a tripartite structure: a liturgy *in vigilia*, a liturgy *in prima missa*, and a liturgy *in natale* or *in die natalis*. The first two liturgies reflect the ancient form of memorializing the martyrs: a nocturnal biblical vigil that led to a Eucharist as day dawned. It is not clear whether these were considered separate liturgical

units or comprised two halves of a single celebration. The fact that the Würzburg Epistolary does not recognize a liturgy for Lawrence *in prima missa*, but rather only records a vigil and liturgy *in natale* may suggest the preservation of an intermediate stage of the feast's organization after the nocturnal vigil alone ceases to be the principal venue and before the evolution of a separate day celebration. Our research suggests that the liturgical documents reflect a state of decomposition of the festal observance into separate assemblies, each constituting a Eucharist. The designation of the feast day liturgy as *in natale*, rather than more specifically *in die*, reveal an equal sense, however, that the festal celebration depended less on the time at which it took place than on the nature of what was being celebrated. A nocturnal vigil, therefore, may have expressed the *natale* of the saint, just as well as a celebration during the day.

The lack of more specific data in the liturgical documents on the primitive sanctoral/martyrial vigil makes it difficult to determine how the liturgy was shaped or at least how it differed from the celebration that comes to take place during the day. The pattern of a nocturnal service of remembrance not only of the deeds of saints, but also of their promised rewarded for faithfulness in the midst of trial characterizes the earliest accounts we possess of a cult of the saints. The role of the vigil, whether leading to a Eucharistic banquet or sufficing in itself to communicate a victory over sin and corruption, after a time ceases to be used as a principal venue for edifying the faithful with the saint's memory.⁹¹ What is certain is that the pivotal place held by particular martyrs, Peter and

⁹¹ There is evidence, according to Hesbert in the antiphonals and Mohlberg in the Verona collection, of saints whose vigils cease to be celebrated. For example, in some of the Roman antiphonals two Mass sets occur for the feast of Saint John on 27 December, a first entry *In prima missa sancti johannis* (or a variation

Paul, Lawrence, John the Baptist, and Andrew, in the evolution of early Christianity was reflected in the preservation of ancient cultic forms of devotion to them such as the vigil. While the vigil ceases to stand as the central liturgical act in commemorating the martyrs, the importance of the nocturnal ritual carries over as the style of remembering the life of these individuals evolves with multiple Masses.

This excursus demonstrates the dynamic role of keeping vigil in Roman practice. A full chapter on the details of each sanctoral observance would have extended this study and made it too cumbersome without adding much new material to the issue at hand. Each brief summary of these feasts, therefore, has shed light on the pattern of celebrating a pre-Eucharistic vigil and a feast day Eucharist for the major celebrations of the ancient Roman liturgical year. These sanctoral celebrations while differing in scope and complexity from the major feasts of the calendar still reveal in themselves the seeds of pre-Eucharistic vigil practice in Rome.

thereof) followed by a second entry *In natale sancti johannis*. While the liturgy *in prima missa* may not be a vigil its pattern echoes the feasts of John the Baptist and Lawrence. See Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, lxxxiv. A vigil also appears to have accompanied the feast of Saint Xystus in August. Evidence exists in the Verona collection in a preface of a Mass set that cites anticipating the martyr's feast day, "qua sancti Xysti praesulis apostolici natalicia praelibantes," (Ve 723) and in a possible *ad populum* blessings of the same set that petitions for security on the coming solemnity of the saint "veneranda sollemnia securo possint frequentare contentu," (Ve 725).

CONCLUSION

This dissertation undertook the task of surveying the practice of keeping vigil in Rome during those centuries when the Roman liturgy began to assume its own particular shape and ethos. The goals of this survey have been to better understand why some feasts attracted vigils to their celebration and what relationship these vigils had to the day celebrations that followed them. We began our inquiry by defining the nature of a “vigil” in the liturgical life of the Church at Rome and found that the earliest pattern for celebrating a vigil, as with the vigils of the Ember tides, Pascha, and Pentecost, was in a nocturnal or in a pre-dawn setting. Several examples of keeping vigil were studied. These examples in turn revealed that while ancient writers such as Augustine affirmed the existence of liturgies termed “vigils,” they were often less descriptive in what they meant by this term. The title could be applied to liturgies that were particular to praying the Office as well as to those liturgies we have identified to be “pre-Eucharistic.” The latter often meant a nocturnal Eucharist that preceded another on a feast day. For the intent of this dissertation we limited our study to the pre-Eucharistic expression of keeping vigil, as a little-explored dimension of liturgical practice. Through examination and analysis of the ancient liturgical texts wherein vigils are mentioned – the sacramentaries, the lectionaries, the antiphonals, and the *ordines* – it was shown that the practice of keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil in Rome comprised at least three different “types.”

The first type was a vigil of Old Testament readings, with selections of psalms and prayers, followed by a celebration of the Eucharist, with its own independent New

Testament lessons. This structure is found in the Ember vigils and in the vigils of Pascha and of Pentecost. It appears that at a later stage of evolution the rites of baptism and of ordination are added between the two liturgical elements of vigil and Eucharist. A vigil of the first type is both an extended Old Testament service of readings and a nocturnal celebration culminating in a nocturnal Eucharist that suffices for the day it initiates. The first type of vigil celebration is the most developed in the extant documents of the Roman tradition.

The second type of vigil pattern our research revealed has no separate Word service. A vigil of this second type is the Christmas Vigil on which pattern the later Epiphany Vigil is modeled. The vigil is structured as a Mass with its expected Word service followed by the Eucharist. This is simply a nocturnal Eucharistic celebration of the feast. At a later stage in its historical development the second type vigil will be held in the afternoon or even in the morning of the day preceding the feast. This would result in the identification of the whole day of 24 December as the vigil of Christmas. In the sacramentaries we find collections of *aliae* orations for Christmas and Epiphany under a separate heading, which *aliae* may allude to a more developed vigil at one time celebrated in connection with these feasts.

The third type of vigil appears among selected commemorations of the sanctoral cycle. In the liturgical documents the sanctoral cycle vigils are celebrated on the day before the feast with no reference to either an extended service of readings or to a nocturnal beginning to the feast day at about midnight. The sanctoral vigils are simply a Mass the day before the feast day of a martyr. Sometimes a prayer labeled *in vigilia* or a series of orations

each titled *alia* appear following the set of texts for the liturgy of the feast day in the sacramentaries. These texts could have constituted an extended vigil service at some point in the liturgical evolution of the feast.

The four parts of this dissertation considered the particular aspects of these three types of vigil practice. Differences in development and style between the Ember Saturday vigils and the Paschal and Pentecost vigils led us to survey their liturgies in two parts. Part One considered the four vigils of the Quarterly Fasts and Part Two considered the vigils of the Paschal Cycle. Whereas some authors might begin a study on the nature of keeping vigil with the “mother of all vigils,” the Paschal Vigil, we began our investigation in Part One with a consideration of the vigil associated with the Quarterly Fasts or Embertides. The reason for leading with the Saturday Ember vigil lay in our realization that these liturgies capture a primitive sense of keeping vigil in the Roman tradition due to their own antiquity and an arrangement that pre-dates the incorporation of the rites of ordination into them. The texts we have for the Ember vigils allow us a look into the practice as it existed at a very early stage of its development, namely the vigil by itself and independent of the later addition of ordination rites. The Paschal Vigil on the other hand is known to us only in its later stage of development, namely as a vigil including the rites of baptism. This is what makes the Ember material more primitive. It reveals the first stage.

Our research and analysis of the Embertide vigils led to a number of important conclusions concerning not only keeping vigil in Rome, but also the nature of the Embertides. First, our study affirmed Thomas Talley’s conclusion that in origin the Quarterly Fast consisted of four periods rather than primitively three periods that later

acquired a fourth. Second, our research also confirmed with Talley that the fasts were not agriculturally based, but rather based on the periodic cycling of the year and of Sunday within it. Our research strengthens Talley's position and suggested that these fast periods were ultimately concerned with concentrating an eschatological focus on the most powerful moments of ancient timekeeping, the solstices and equinoxes. Our consideration of the liturgical texts revealed an emphasis on renewal, the process of God's continual recreation of the cosmos and the fulfillment that awaits all believers. The texts also conveyed the truth of this renewal as a present reality. In this manner our study furthered a third conclusion that contained within these formularies and Mass sets is a core of the eschatological nature of all vigil liturgies. The setting of the Embertide liturgy, Saturday into Sunday, supported its eschatological purpose, as Sunday became truly an engagement of anticipating and enacting the "Day of the Lord." The eschatological focus of this celebration was so pronounced that texts for a liturgy on Sunday are deemed unnecessary and it becomes an "empty day," *Die dominica vacat*, which title remains in force long after texts for celebrating a second Mass during the day are added.

A fourth conclusion based on the preceding findings holds that the celebration of a vigil during the Embertides may be as old a practice as a vigil at Pascha. A complementarity existed between these two vigils. As Pascha celebrated the memorial of the definitive act of God in recreating the world, recalled on every Sunday, the Embertides and their vigils celebrated this act as the process of re-creation. The Ember seasons, therefore, represent an expression of Sunday on a very profound scale. In fact, the importance of Saturday night not only for the Ember vigils, but also for Pascha, is much

more significant in remembering the transformative event from which all other transformation descends, the resurrection.¹

Having established the connection between the Ember vigils and the vigil at Pascha, our attention turned naturally to a consideration of the elements of the latter's vigil. We did this in Part Two, which focused upon the earliest vigils of the Paschal cycle, Pascha and Pentecost. Our examination of the liturgical texts concerned with the Paschal Vigil in Chapter Three yielded six conclusions. The first conclusion affirmed the existence of distinct traditions for celebrating the Paschal Vigil in the Roman tituli and at the Lateran basilica. While it is not possible to identify a "pure" Roman core from which these traditions grew, the Gelasian tradition in the tituli reflects an independence more open to absorbing new customs and texts. The presence of four lessons both in the Gregorian tradition of the Paschal Vigil and in the lectionaries associated with the Embertide vigils affirms a four-scripture-lesson design as a primitive element of the vigil. These lessons also pre-date the orations joined to them.

A second conclusion found that differences in the number and type of scripture readings in the Gelasian and Gregorian traditions of the Paschal Vigil pointed to the influence of local needs and theologies upon the liturgical evolution in each tradition. The

¹ See for example Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 11-13; and Josef Maria Nielen, *The Earliest Christian Liturgy*, trans. Patrick Cummins (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941), 345. The Ember vigil may offer also another contradiction to Willy Rordorf's conclusion that Sabbath gathering was not the norm for the early Christians. Rordorf uses Acts 20, Paul's lengthy preaching event in Troas, as a reference for early Christian worship. He believes that this account represents a Christian gathering, in opposition to the Sabbath, on a Sunday and then into Monday, because such gatherings reflect the timeline of the resurrection appearances to the disciples (on Easter night). These appearances were transformative for their educational as well as revelatory meaning. See Willy Rordorf, *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church*, trans. A.A.K. Graham (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968), 208-211.

difference was more notable in the lessons associated with the Gelasian vigil, which while it shared the same four lessons with the Gregorian vigil, also contains six other readings. The expanded Gelasian system of readings is most likely the result of revisions and additions to the Roman system as it moved from Rome into Gaul in the seventh to eighth centuries. The strong influences of Eastern practices upon the Gallican church may have led to the desire to incorporate those practices into an original Roman core.

Our analysis of the lessons in the Gregorian tradition disclosed an important third conclusion, that the subject of these lessons is not so much baptism as a privileged theological locus as it is a reconfiguration and recasting of the four nights of creation found in Talmudic interpretations of Passover. In this manner the Gregorian tradition captures the understanding of keeping vigil as God's re-creative activity that is also expressed in the vigils of the Embertides.

A fourth conclusion arose from an analysis of the arrangement of the Paschal Vigil in the liturgical texts. Our research here demonstrated the unique nature of the scripture vigil as an event in itself, distinct though not separate from the Eucharist that concludes it. Most importantly, the scripture vigil of Pascha is distinct from the Office of Vigils in the Liturgy of the Hours.

Our fifth conclusion built upon the accepted consensus that primitively there was only one Eucharist for Pascha and this occurred *in nocte*. Our analysis and comparison of the liturgical texts for both the vigil and day celebrations of Pascha demonstrated that very often liturgical texts were shared between the vigil and day Masses for Pascha substituting

die or *diem* for *nocte* or *noctem*. This discovery furthered the belief that a day celebration was a much later, possibly a fifth century, development.

The focus upon a nocturnal setting for the first Eucharist of Pascha also affirmed the re-creative and transformative activity of God in this feast, as night becomes the setting for divine activity at the beginning of creation, in the Exodus from Egypt, and in the Resurrection. This was the sixth and final conclusion we drew from our study of this vigil.

Chapter Four considered the Pentecost Vigil, which bears a strong resemblance to the Paschal Vigil. Here, our analysis focused on two questions. The first question asked whether it was contradictory to hold a vigil at the end of the Paschal season since a vigil bears the marks of anticipation and fasting. The second question inquired how baptism related to the Pentecost vigil. Concerning the first question, our research affirmed the premise that Pentecost originates as a season that concludes with a day of the same name. Only at a later stage does the day become an independent feast. At this later stage the celebration of this fiftieth day gains stature and gives rise to a liturgy comparable to that of Pascha, complete with a Saturday into Sunday vigil, thereby bookending the entire Paschal feast. Our study of the liturgical evolution of this single day of Pentecost revealed that the celebration of a vigil at Pentecost pre-dates the inclusion of baptismal practice at this vigil. Concerning the second question on the place of baptism within the Pentecost vigil, we found that when the need to complete the sacramental initiation of individuals excluded from the Paschal rites surfaces, this fiftieth day with a vigil already established becomes the preferred and/or logical occasion during which to execute these rites a second time.

The available evidence leaves us wondering whether fasting was part of this vigil at its earliest stage. On the other hand once baptism is added in the second stage of development of the liturgy for the eve of Pentecost, fasting may have been required primarily for candidates for baptism at this vigil. This fast would not have impinged upon the festive nature of the Paschal Season. At a third stage of transformation the Summer Embertide observance and its own fasting proscriptions fall on the heels of Pentecost and cause the former's penitential customs to be intertwined with the celebration of the latter.

Another conclusion emerged when the lectionary systems for celebrating Pascha and Pentecost in the Gelasian and in the Gregorian traditions were compared. We found that each system consisted of four scripture lessons. That both traditions contained a four-lesson arrangement provided further evidence that a more primitive system for keeping vigil at both feasts was done in imitation of the Talmudic Passover. The lessons, as was discovered with the lessons used at Pascha, could be understood as a proclamation of God's ability to deliver and protect in times of adversity and struggle, and not necessarily understood only in a baptismal light alone. Our research confirmed that the introduction of baptism into the vigils of Pentecost and Pascha modified how these readings were understood, but their original intent was also preserved.

Our study also raised important questions concerning the conclusions drawn by Antoine Chavasse in determining the number of lessons at the Pentecost and Paschal vigils. Chavasse argued that the needs of a bilingual community, which required repeating the Latin lessons in Greek at the Paschal and Embertide vigils for example, were mimicked in the presbyteral churches that utilized the Gelasian sacramentary resulting in the doubling of

the number of lessons. Thus, as Chavasse posits, an original number of five lessons in the Paschal Vigil is increased to ten given that the original five readings would have been repeated in a mixed language assembly. Chavasse based his assessment on papal practice, which the presbyteral churches were attempting to model. Our research, however, uncovered no evidence of a concern for bilingual liturgy in the Gregorian sacramentaries. In truth, we determined, a titular-presbyteral practice for doubling the number of lessons may have been the result of an inaccurate assessment of papal liturgical practice. Chavasse's position that the Gelasian Paschal and Pentecost vigils both consisted of five lessons originally and later were extended to ten for the Paschal Vigil, was also difficult to substantiate as a fifth reading never emerges for the Pentecost Vigil.

A final conclusion arose when we examined collections of *aliae* orations among the Pentecost sets in the sacramentaries. Our research proffers a possible reason why these prayers appear in this odd place. These collections could be tied to an older pattern of celebration where the prayer texts are not necessarily tied to a particular scripture reading, much like the pattern observed among the Embertide vigils. The existence of the possibility of other patterns for celebrating the Pentecost Vigil as revealed by these collections led us to confirm a theory of Herman Schmidt that suggests a more primitive arrangement of a six-lesson Paschal Vigil that would pre-date a four-lesson structure in the Gregorian tradition. According to Schmidt this six-lesson vigil is divided between Pascha and Pentecost, both feasts sharing Exodus 14, when Pentecost is installed at the conclusion of the Paschal Season. A six-lesson Paschal Vigil would demonstrate an even closer affinity to the structure of the Ember vigils confirming their antiquity alongside that of Pascha. Our

analysis of the prayer texts of the Pentecost Vigil affirmed at its core the Roman model for keeping a pre-Eucharistic vigil as a series of orations associated with lessons that led to a set of prayers for the Eucharist.

The vigils of the Christmas cycle were considered in Part Three of this dissertation. The texts for these vigils provide only limited information. They represent a later stratum of development for keeping vigil, when the desire to link a vigil with major commemorations of the liturgical year is influenced by practices from other Christian centers. It was shown in Chapter Five that a single liturgy on Christmas day first characterized the celebration in Rome. The presence of a vigil prior to the day celebration is a more complex phenomenon. Three sets of Masses that depict a vigil setting for Christmas appear in the liturgical texts. The first is named in connection with the vigil of Christmas and takes place sometime on 24 December. It is not necessarily a nocturnal liturgy. This Mass also includes mention of a fast in some texts, although a reason for this fast is inconclusive. We confirmed the research of other scholars that this liturgy, while it bears the title of vigil and is placed first in the arrangement of Christmas Masses is part of a later evolution of the feast.

The second set is in actuality the oldest of the three prior to the feast day. It was decidedly a nocturnal liturgy, often carrying the words, *in nocte*, in its title, occurring between 24-25 December. Celebrated in imitation of the liturgy that occurred at the cave in Bethlehem associated with the Nativity of the Lord, the second Mass of Christmas was originally celebrated at the Lateran basilica. Later, it would be replicated at the Vatican. The third Mass set for Christmas, *in mane prima*, took place sometime prior to or around dawn on 25 December. The liturgy was conceived originally to commemorate St. Anastasia

with the Byzantine emissaries in residence at Rome at the *titulus* that bore her name on the Palatine Hill, and becomes associated with Christmas at the end of the Byzantine period (6th to 8th centuries). Several of the Mass prayer texts for the vigil of Christmas and for the Mass in the night speak in anticipation of the feast and offer eschatological themes consistent with the nature of Christmas. The fact that the eschatological themes are most present during the vigil liturgies reflects a further understanding of the meaning behind keeping vigil.

As a vigil of the second type there are no signs of an extended Word service among the liturgical texts. Our research concluded that a collection of *aliae* prayers following the Masses for Christmas day in the sacramentaries, as well as references to antiphons at the vigil in the *ordines* may point to a more primitive practice. These orations were not tied to any specific scripture text and so represent a pattern similar to the type of primitive vigil keeping practice in Rome shown in the Embertide vigils.

As was stated above, the vigil of the Epiphany is patterned after that of the Christmas Vigil in the Roman tradition. Evidence for it is found only in the Gelasianum and the Paduensis among the sacramentaries, and it is absent from the Würzburg Epistolary, the oldest extant Roman lectionary. The antiphonals also do not mention it. The vigil's presence in the Gelasianum and in the Paduensis points to their use as presbyteral sacramentaries, and the vigil in the Gelasianum is certainly influenced by Eastern practices imported through the Gallican elements in the sacramentary. There is no extended Word service among the texts, although a collection of *aliae* orations occurs in the Hadrianum and Tridentinum. These texts are not provided with any heading in the Hadrianum. We concluded that these *aliae* may possibly reflect an ancient papal vigil of the Epiphany that

continued to be imitated in the presbyteral churches long after it was dropped from papal practice. The Paduensis also contains a series of three *aliae*, of which only two are shared with the Hadrianum and Tridentinum collections. Our research suggested the possibility that the Paduensis received its texts from an early Roman version of the Gelasianum rather than from the Hadrianum or the Tridentinum. This conclusion opened the way for considering that the Vigil of Epiphany is early and papal rather than late and presbyteral.

Part Four of this dissertation examined the vigils affiliated with the saints. The possibility of a vigil connected with the feast of the Ascension was also considered, as well as a vigil of the Assumption. The lack of consistent information on a vigil for either Ascension or Assumption in the earliest liturgical documents concludes that these vigils result either from copyist's error or a misunderstanding of the nature of the feasts. Our analysis of the liturgies associated with the festal vigils of John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Lawrence, and Andrew confirmed the research of such scholars as Lucy Grig, Antoine Chavasse, Paul Bradshaw and Maxwell Johnson that the celebration of a vigil comprised the most primitive layer of memorializing the saints. Several conclusions were brought out through our own research of the texts. First, the development of vigil and feast day components in the celebration of the saints is a later evolution and should not present these commemorations as consisting of two different liturgical experiences. As we mentioned, our research showed that the presence of an oration for use at a vigil appended to the feast day Mass of a saint indicated the use of a more extensive vigil to honor the martyr.

Second, if used in a nocturnal setting the vigil prayers conveyed not only the deeds of the martyr, but also the eschatological and promised reward for faithfulness in the life to

come. Third, those sanctoral commemorations where two liturgies, *in vigilia* and *in prima missa*, precede the feast day, suggest the preservation of an intermediate stage after the nocturnal vigil ceases to be the principal venue for celebrating the memory of the saint. Fourth, the tendency in the liturgical documents to designate the feast day of the martyr not *in die* but rather *in natale* reveals that the celebration depended less on the time at which it took place than on the nature of what was being celebrated; hence a nocturnal vigil could express the *natale* of the saint just as well as a day celebration. Our study of the vigil liturgies of the saints affirmed the use of ancient cultic forms of devotion to the saints as well as the pivotal place held by them in the life of the Roman community.

This survey of the pre-Eucharistic vigils practiced in the early calendar of Rome has drawn out their unique character and celebration. The original purpose of the vigil was not to anticipate a future event, such as the daytime solemnization of a feast, but rather to be that particular setting for welcoming the promised eschaton. Linking the practice of keeping vigil with the principal Christological feasts of the calendar, with the cosmological celebrations of the Embertides, and with the memorials of those martyrs dear to the community of Rome provides appropriate venues for awaiting the moment when Christ “will be all in all.” The emphasis upon nightfall and nighttime as the setting for the observance of the pre-Eucharistic vigil accords well with the understanding that scripture often paints God’s comings taking place at night.² The vigil comes to play a secondary role to the daytime celebration that follows it only when the vigil comes to be celebrated outside

² See Adrian Nocent, “Sundays Nine to Thirty-Four in Ordinary Time,” vol. 4 in *The Liturgical Year*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1977), 170-171. This would be the case with such events as the Exodus (Ex. 11:14; 12:12, 19) and with Jesus’ predictions of the eschaton (Mt. 24:43-44; Mt. 25:1-13; Mk. 13:35-36; Lk. 12:20; Lk. 12:39-40).

of a nocturnal setting or when the daytime celebration becomes associated with the fullness of the festal mystery. Even so, the liturgy of the pre-Eucharistic vigil, while it preceded and harmonized with the feast day that follows it, contained its own distinct liturgical texts unlike those used on the feast day.

While it garnered a place of privileged solemnity in the ancient liturgical customs of the Roman church, the pre-Eucharistic vigils that continue to exist in the contemporary liturgical calendar often serve a secondary role in the celebration of the great feasts. With the exception of the Easter Vigil and to a lesser extent the Christmas Vigil, most liturgical vigils are seen as alternatives to the liturgy of the day and are regarded as anticipatory in nature. The strong eschatological components of keeping vigil contained in them have been muted. Most problematic is the popular practice of assigning the title of “vigil” to those Masses that anticipate Sunday on Saturday evening. The use of the term in these instances would not designate a vigil in any of the senses we discerned from the historical texts and facts of Roman practice. It is rather an anticipation of the Sunday Eucharistic Liturgy but not a vigil in the classical sense.

This dissertation has contributed to furthering the understanding of the role played by liturgical vigils in the earliest centuries of Roman Christianity. It has also served to unravel some of the puzzling characteristics of the variety of vigil keeping found among the liturgical texts. We have shown that the vigil was not a minor phenomenon in the life of a faith community, but rather constituted a principle embodiment of the mystery celebrated in the great feasts of the calendar.

APPENDICES

Appendix One

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil of the First Month Fast

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 19

ISTAE ORATIONES QUAE SEQUUNTUR PRIMO SABBATO IN MENSE PRIMO SUNT DICENDAE

ORATIONES ET PRECES IN XII LECTIONES MENSE PRIMO (134-139)

134. *Deus, qui delinquentes perire non pateris, donec convertantur et vivant: debitam, quaesumus, peccatis nostris suspende vindictam et praesta propitius, ne dissimulatio cumulet ultionem, sed potius per jejunium emendatio prosit ad veniam: per dominum nostrum.*

135. *Omnium nostrum, domine, quaesumus, ad te corda converte; et ab his quibus offenderis abstinentes non iram tuam sed misericordiam sentiamus: per.*

136. *Jejunia, quaesumus, domine, nos sacrata laetificent, ut imbecillitate nostrae tribuatur auxilium et mentibus desideratus virtutum succedat affectus: per dominum.*

137. *Adesto, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ac jejunio corporali mentem nostram operibus tuorum refice mandatorum: per dominum.*

138. *Da nobis observantiam, domine, legitimam devotione perfectam, ut cum refrenatione carnalis alimoniae sancta tibi conversatione placeamus: per.*

139. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui per continentiam salutarem corporibus mederis et mentibus, majestatem tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut pia jejunantium precatione placatus et temporalia subsidia nobis tribuas et aeterna: per.*

Book I, Section 24

ITEM ORATIONES ET PRECES AD MISSAM (157-162)

157. *Exaudi, domine, supplicum preces, et devoto tibi pectore famulantes perpetua defensione custodi, ut nullis perturbationibus impediti, liberam servitatem tuis semper exhibeamus officiis: per.*

158. **SECRETA.** *Tuis domine quaesumus operare mysteriis, ut haec tibi munera dignis mentibus offeramus: per.*

159. *Vere dignum: Qui rationabilem creaturam ne temporalibus dedita bonis ad praemia sempiterna non tendat ea dispensatione dignaris erudire, ut nec castigatione deficiat nec prosperitatibus insolescat, sed hoc potius fiat ejus gloriosa devotio, quo nullis adversitatibus obruta superetur: per quem majestatem tuam.*

160. *INFRA ACTIONEM. Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis tuis, quos ad presbyterii, vel diaconatus, gradus promovere dignatus es, quaesumus, domine, placatus suscipias: et quod eis divino munere contulisti, in eis propitius tua dona custodi: per Christum dominum nostrum. Quam.*

161. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Hos quos reficis domine sacramentis attolle benignus auxiliis, et tuae redemptionis effectum et mysteriis capiamus et moribus: per.*

162. *AD PLEBEM. Da quaesumus domine populis christianis et quod profitentur agnoscere, et caeleste munus diligere quod frequentant: per.*

Book I, Section 25

SECUNDA DOMINICA IN QUADRAGESIMA (163-167)

163. *Praesta nobis, omnipotens dues, ut quia vitiis subjacet nostra mortalitas, tua nos et medicina purificet, et potentia tueatur: per dominum.*

164. *Praesta nobis, misericors Deus, ut placationem tuam promptis mentibus exoremus, et peccatorum veniam consequentes, a noxiis liberemur incursibus: per.*

165. *SECRETA. Ecclesiae tuae, domine, munera placatus assume, quae et misericors offerenda tribuisti, et in nostrae salutis potenter efficis transire mysterium: per.*

166. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Refecti, domini, pane caelesti, ad vitam, quaesumus, nutriamur aeternam: per.*

167. *AD POPULUM. Familiam tuam, quaesumus, domine, propitiatus illustra, ut beneplacitis inhaerendo, cuncta quae bona sunt mereatur accipere: per.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

TEMPORE QUADRAGESIMALI

Section 44

SABBT. IN XII LECTIONES AD SANCTUM PETRUM (192-201)

192. *Populum tuum domine quaesumus propitius respice atque ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte. Per.*

193. ALIA ORTN. *Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos, pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere, da nobis salutem mentis et corporis, ut ea quae pro peccatis nostris patimur, te adjuvante vincamus. Per.*

194. ALIA ORT. *Protector noster aspice deus, et qui malorum nostrorum pondere praemimur, percepta misericordia libera tibi mente famulemur. Per dominum.*

195. ALIA ORTN. *Adesto quaesumus domine supplicationibus nostris, ut esse te largiente mereamur, et inter prospera humiles, et inter adversa securi. Per.*

196. ALIA. *Preces populi tui domine quaesumus clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur. Per dominum.*

197. ALIA. *Quaesumus omnipotens deus, vota humilium respice, atque ad defensionem nostram dexteram tuae majestatis extende. Per.*

198. ALIA. *Actiones nostras quaesumus domine et aspirando praeveni, et adjuvando proseguere ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat, et per te cepta finiatur. Per.*

199. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium concede propitius ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

200. SUPER OBLATA. *Praesentibus sacrificiis domine jejunia nostra sanctifica, ut quod observantia nostra profitetur extrinsecus interius operetur. Per.*

201. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sanctificationibus tuis omnipotens deus, et vitia nostra curentur, et remedia nobis aeterna proveniant. Per.*

Section 45

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (202-204)

202. *Deus qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui interius exteriusque custodi, ut et ab omnibus adversitatibus muniamur in corpore et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. Per dominum.*

203. **SUPER OBLATA.** *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende placatus ut devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

204. **AD COMPLENDUM.** *Supplices te rogamus omnipotens deus, ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis, tibi etiam placitis moribus deservire concedas. Per.*

The Tridentinum

TEMPORE QUADRAGESIMALI

Section 36

SABBATO IN XII LECTIONES AD SANCTUM PETRUM (248-257)

248. *Populum tuum, quaesumus, domine, propitius respice, atque ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte. Per.*

249. **ALIA.** *Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos, pro humana scis fragilitate non posse subsistere, da nobis salutem mentis et corporis, ut ea quae pro peccatis nostris patimur, te adjuvante vincamus. Per dominum.*

250. **ALIA.** *Protector noster aspice deus, et qui malorum nostrorum pondere praemimur, percepta misericordia libera tibi mente famulemur. Per dominum.*

251. **ALIA.** *Adesto, quaesumus, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut esse te largiente mereamur et inter prospera humiles et inter adversa securi. Per dominum.*

252. **ALIA.** *Preces populi tui, domine, quaesumus, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur. Per.*

253. **ALIA.** *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, vota humilium respice, atque ad defensionem nostram dexteram tuae majestatis extende. Per.*

254. **ALIA.** *Actiones nostras, quaesumus, domine, et aspirando praeveni, et adjuvando proseguere, ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat et per te coepta finiatur. Per.*

255. **ALIA.** *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium: concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum, sed tui nos brachii protectio defendat. Per.*

256. *SECRETA. Praesentibus sacrificiis, domine, jejunia nostra sanctifica, ut quod observantia nostra profitetur extrinsecus, interius operetur. Per.*

257. *AD COMPLENDUM. Sanctificationibus tuis, omnipotens deus, et vitia nostra curentur, et remedia nobis aeterna proveniant. Per dominum.*

Section 37

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (258-260)

258. *Deus, qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui, interius exteriusque custodi, ut et ab omnibus adversitatibus muniamur in corpore et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. Per.*

259. *SUPER OBLATA. Sacrificiis praesentibus, domine, quaesumus, intende placates, ut devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per dominum.*

260. *AD COMPLENDUM. Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, ut quos tuis reficis sacramentis, tibi etiam placitis moribus deservire concedas. Per.*

The Paduensis

TEMPORE QUADRAGESIMALI

Section 40

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES (164-173)

164. *Populum tuum, domine, quaesumus propitius, respice, atque ab eo flagella tuae iracundiae clementer averte. Per.*

165. *(ALIA.) Protector noster, aspice, deus, et qui malorum nostrorum pondere praemimur, percepta misericordia libera tibi mente famulemur. Per.*

166. *ALIA. Adesto quaesumus, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut esse te largiente mereamur et inter prospera humiles et inter adversa securi. Per.*

167. *ALIA. Preces populi tui, domine, quaesumus, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pro tui nominis gloria misericorditer liberemur. Per.*

168. *(ALIA.) Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, vota humilium respice, atque ad defensionem nostram dexteram tuae majestatis extende. Per.*

169. ALIA. *Actiones nostras, quaesumus, domine, et aspirando praeveni, et adjuvando proseguere, ut cuncta nostra operatio et a te semper incipiat, et per te cepta finiatur. Per dominum.*

170. ALIA. *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium, concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

171. SUPER OBLATAM. *Praesentibus sacrificiis, domine, jejunia nostra sanctifica, ut quod observantia nostra proficitur extrinsecus, interius operetur. Per.*

172. VD aeternae deus. *Majestatem tuam suppliciter deprecantes, ut mentibus nostris medicinalis observantiae munus infundas, et qui negligentibus etiam subsidia ferre non desinis, beneficia praebeas potiora devotis. Per Christum.*

173. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sanctificationibus tuis, omnipotens deus, et vitia nostra curentur, et remedia nobis aeterna proveniant. Per.*

Section 41

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (174-176)

174. *Deus qui conspicias omni nos virtute destitui, interius exteriusque custodi, ut et ab omnibus adversitatibus muniamur in corpore et a pravis cogitationibus mundemur in mente. Per.*

175. (SUPER OBLATAM.) *Sacrificiis, domine, praesentibus, quaesumus intende placates, ut devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

176. AD COMPLENDUM. *Refecti, domine, pane caelesti, ad vitam, quaesumus, nutriamur aeternam. Per dominum.*

Appendix Two

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil of the Fourth Month Fast

The Veronense

Section 10

ORATIONES PRIDIE PENTICOSTEN

IN JEJUNIO QUARTI MENSIS (207-209)

207. *Concede nobis, domine, praesidia militiae christianae sanctis incoare jejuniis, ut contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturi continentiae muniamur auxiliis: per...*

208. *Deus, cuius mysteriis mundamur et pascimur: presta, ut eadem sic temporaliter celebremus, ut nobis experiamur aeterna: per...*

209. **PRAESUMPTIO ET REPARATIO PRIMI HOMINIS.** *Vere dignum: qui post illud ineffabiliter institutum divinae humanaeque naturae consortium, sponsi filios usque ad ejus abscessum non posse jejunare praemonuit, ne rudes animos parvulorum, supernis eruditionibus imbuendos, honeraret austerioribus disciplinis, sed proficientibus exercitia majora servaret: quibus uberiore dono spiritus sancti sufficienter instructis jejunii subsequentis primitias dedicavit; ut quia post creationem primi hominis initium peccati concupiscentia ministrarat, post reparationem generis humani continentia fieret origo virtutem: per.*

Section 12

IN JEJUNIO MENSIS QUARTI (226-231)

226. *Adesto, domine, supplicibus tuis, ut hoc sollemne jejunium, quod animis corporibusque curandis salubriter institutum est, devoto servitio celebremus: per...*

227. *Presta, domine deus noster, ut contra omnes fremitus impiorum mentis puritate vincamus; et qui nos in sua confidentes virtute moliuntur affligere, a nobis jejunantibus subjugentur: per...*

228. *Offerimus tibi, domine, quae dicanda tuo nomine tu dedisti, suppliciter exorantes, ut sicut eadem nobis efficis sacramentum, ita fieri tribuas remedium sempiternum: per...*

229. *Vere dignum: post illos enim laetitiae dies, quos in honorem domini a mortuis resurgentis et in caelos ascendentis exigimus, postque perceptum sancti spiritus donum necessarie nobis haec jejunia sancta provisa sunt, ut pura conversatione viventibus quae divinitus ecclesiae sunt collata permaneant: per...*

230. *Refecti participatione muneris sacri quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut cujus exsequimur cultum, sentiamus effectum: per...*

231. *Adesto, domine, populis tuis tua protectione fidentibus, et tuae se dexterarum suppliciter inclinantes perpetua defensione conserva. Percipiant, quaesumus, domine, vitae praesentis auxilium, et gratiam repperiant sempiternam: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 82

DENUNTIATIO JEJUNIORUM QUARTI SEPTIMI ET DECIMI MENSIS (652-653)

652. *Anniversarii, fratres carissimi, jejunii puritatem, qua et corporis acquiritur et animae sanctitas, nos commonet illius mensis instaurata devotio. Quarta igitur et sexta feria, sollicite convenientes occursu, offeramus deo spiritale jejunium; die vero sabbati apud beatum Petrum, cujus nos intercessionibus credimus adjuvandos, sanctas vigilias christiana pietate celebremus: ut per hanc institutionem salutiferam peccatorum sordes, quas corporis fragilitate contrahimus, jejuniis et eleemosynis abluamus: auxiliante domino nostro Jesu Christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.*

653. *ITEM ALITER. Illi(us) mensis jejunia in hac nobis sunt hebdomada tenenda; ideoque hortamur sanctam fidem vestram, ut quarta sexta vel septima feria jejunemus, quatenus divinis inhaerendo mandatis propitiationem dei nostri perseverantia debitae servitutis obtineat: per.*

Book I, Section 83

INCIPIUNT ORATIONES ET PRECES MENSIS QUARTI SABBATO IN XII LECTIONES (666-675)

666. *Praesta, domine, quaesumus, famulis tuis talesque nos concede fieri tuae gratiae largitate, ut bona tua et fiducialiter imploremus et sine difficultate sumamus: per.*

667. *Da, nobis, domine, quaesumus, regnum tuum justitiamque semper inquirere, ut quibus indigere nos perspicis, clementer facias abundare: per.*

668. *Deus, qui nos de praesentibus adjumentis esse vetuisti sollicitos, tribue, quaesumus, ut pie sectando quae tua sunt universa nobis salutaria condonentur: per.*

669. *Deus, qui misericordiam tuam praevenis non petentes, da nobis affectum majestatem tuam jugiter deprecandi, ut pietate perpetua supplicibus potiora defendas: per.*

670. *Deus, qui non despicias corde contritos et afflictos miseriis, populum tuum jejunii ad te devotione clamantem propitiatus exaudi, ut quos humiliavit adversitas, adtollet reparationis tuae prosperitas: per.*

671. **ITEM POST BENEDICTIONEM.** *Deus, cuius adorandae potentia majestatis flammae saevientis incendium sanctis tribus pueris in splendore demutatum est animarum, ecclesiae tuae similibus adesto remediis, ut de gravioribus mundi hujus adversitatibus propitiatione caelesti populus tuus ereptus exultet: per.*

672. **SECRETA.** *Domine deus noster, qui in his potius creaturis, quas ad fragilitatis nostrae praesidium condidisti, tuo quoque nomini munera jussisti dedicanda constitui: tribue, quaesumus, ut et vitae nobis praesentis auxilium et aeternitatis efficiant sacramentum: per.*

673. *Vere dignum: tibi sanctificare jejunium quod nos ad aedificationem animarum et castigationem corporum servare docuisti, quia strictis corporibus animae saginantur; in quo exterior homo noster affligitur, dilatatur interior. Memento, domine, jejunii nostri et misericordiarum tuarum, quas peccatoribus pie semper jejunantibus contulisti, ut non solum a cibis, sed a peccatis omnibus abstinentes devotionis tibi jejunio placeamus. Et ideo cum angelis.*

674. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Sumptum, quaesumus, domine, venerabile sacramentum et praesentis vitae subsidiis nos foveat et aeternae: per.*

675. **AD POPULUM.** *Proficiat, domine, quaesumus, plebs tibi dicata piae devotionis affectu, ut sacris actibus erudita, quanto majestati tuae fit gratior, tanto donis potioribus augeatur: per.*

Book I, Section 84

ORATIONES ET PRAECIS IN DOMINICA OCTAVORUM PENTECOSTEN (676-682)

676. *Timentium (te), domine, salvator et custos, averte ab ecclesia tua mundanae sapientiae oblectamenta fallaciae, ut spiritus tui eruditione formandos prophetica et apostolica potius instituta quam philosophiae verba delectent, ne vanitas mendaciorum decipiat quos eruditio veritatis illuminat: per.*

677. *Sensibus nostris, domine, spiritum tuum sanctum benignus infunde, ut tibi semper simus devoti, cujus sapientia creati sumus et providentia gubernamur: per.*

678. *Omnipotens et misericors deus, ad cujus beatitudinem sempiternam non fragilitate carnis sed alacritate mentis ascenditur, fac nos atria supernae civitatis et te inspirante semper ambire et tua indulgentia fideliter introire: per.*

679. *SECRETA. Remotis obumbrationibus carnalium victimarum spiritalem tibi, summe pater, hostiam supplici servitute deferimus, quae miro ineffabilique mysterio et immolatur semper et eadem semper offertur, pariterque et devotorum munus et remunerantis est praemium: per.*

680. *Vere dignum: qui cum unigenito filio tuo et sancto spiritu unus es deus, unus es dominus, non in unius singularitate personae, sed in unius trinitate substantiae. Quod enim de tua gloria revelante te credimus, hoc de filio tuo, hoc de spiritu sancto sine differentia discretionem sentimus, ut in confessione verae sempiternae deitatis et in personis proprietates et essentiae unitas et in maiestate adoretur aequalitas. Quem laudant angeli.*

681. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Laetificet nos, quaesumus, domine, sacramenti veneranda solemnitas, pariterque mentes nostras et corpora spiritali sanctificatione fecundet, et castis gaudiis semper exerceat: per.*

682. *AD POPULUM. Ecclesia tua, domine, caelesti gratia repleatur et crescat atque ab omnibus vitiis expiata percipiat sempiternae redemptionis augmentum, ut quod in membris suis copiosa temporum prorogatione veneratur, spiritali capiat largitate donorum: per dominum nostrum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

IN PENTECOSTE

Section 117

SABBT. XII LECTIONES MENSIS QUARTI (545-552)

545. *Mentibus nostris domine spiritum sanctum benignus infunde, cujus et sapientia conditi sumus et providentia gubernamur. Per.*

546. *ALIA. Illo nos igne quaesumus domine spiritus sanctus inflammet, quem dominus noster Jesus Christus misit in terram, et voluit vehementer accendi. Per.*

547. *ALIA. Deus qui ad animarum medellam jejunii devotione castigari corpora praecepisti, concede nobis propitius et mente et corpore semper tibi esse devotos. Per dominum.*

548. *ALIA. Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut salutaribus jejuniis eruditi, ab omnibus etiam vitiis abstinentes propitiationem tuam facilius impetremur. Per.*

549. *ALIA. Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, sic nos ab aepulis carnalibus abstinere, ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per dominum.*

550. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium, concede propitius ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

551. SUPER OBLATA. *Ut accepta tibi sint domine nostra jejunia, praesta nobis quaesumus hujus munere sacramenti, purificatum tibi pectus offerre. Per.*

552. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praebeant nobis domine divinum tua sancta fervorem quo eorum pariter et actu delectemur et fructu. Per.*

Section 118

DIE DOM. VACAT (553-555)

553. *Deprecationem nostram quaesumus domine benignus exaudi, et quibus supplicandi praestas affectum, tribue defensionis auxilium. Per.*

554. SUPER OBLATA. *Munera domine oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiat. Per.*

555. AD COMPLENDUM. *Haec nos communio domine purget a crimine, et caelestibus remediis faciat esse consortes. Per dominum.*

The Tridentinum

Section 102

IN PENTECOSTE

SABBATO IN XII LECTIONES MENSIS IIII (591-598)

591. *Mentibus nostris, domine, spiritum sanctum benignus infunde, cujus et sapientia conditi sumus et providentia gubernamur. Per dominum nostrum. In unitate ejusdem.*

592. ALIA. *Illo nos igne, quaesumus, domine, spiritus sanctus inflammet, quem dominus misit in terram et voluit vehementer accendi: Jhesus Christus filius tuus, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

593. ALIA. *Deus, qui ad animarum medellam jejunii devotione castigari corpora praecepisti, concede nobis propitius et mente et corpore semper tibi esse devotos. Per.*

594. ALIA. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut salutaribus jejuniis eruditi, ab omnibus etiam vitiis abstinentes, propitiationem tuam facilius impetremus. Per dominum.*

595. ALIA. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, sic nos ab epulis carnalibus abstinere, ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per.*

596. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium: concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum, sed tui nos brachii protectio defendat. Per dominum nostrum.*

597. SECRETA. *Ut accepta tibi sint, domine, nostra jejunia, praesta nobis, quaesumus, hujus munere sacramenti purificatum tibi pectus offerre. Per.*

598. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praebeant nobis, domine, divinum tua sancta fervorem, quo eorum pariter et actu delectemur et fructu. Per dominum.*

Section 103

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (599-601)

599. *Deprecationem nostram, quaesumus, domine, benignus exaudi, et quibus supplicandi praestas affectum, tribue defensionis auxilium. Per dominum.*

600. SUPER OBLATA. *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiat. Per eundem.*

601. AD COMPLENDUM. *Haec nos communio, domine, purget a crimine, et caelestis remedii faciat esse consortes. Per.*
The Paduensis

Section 109

IN PENTECOSTE

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES MENSIS QUARTI (487-495)

487. *Mentibus nostris, domine, spiritum sanctum benignus infunde, cujus et sapientia conditi sumus et providentia gubernamur. Per dominum.*

488. ALIA. *Illo nos igne, quaesumus domine, spiritus sanctus inflammet, quem dominus noster Jesus Christus misit in terram, et voluit vehementer accendi. Per eundem.*

489. ALIA. *Deus qui ad animarum medelam jejunii devotione castigari corpora praecepisti, concede nobis propitius, et mente et corpore semper tibi esse devotos. Per dominum.*

490. <ALIA.> *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut salutaribus jejuniis eruditi, ab omnibus etiam vitiis abstinentes, propitiationem tuam facilius impetremur. Per.*

491. ALIA. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, sic nos ab epulis carnalibus abstinere, ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per dominum.*

492. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per dominum.*

493. [ALIA.] SUPER OBLATA. *Ut accepta tibi sint, domine, nostra jejunia, praesta nobis, quaesumus hujus munere sacramenti purificatum tibi pectus offerre. Per dominum.*

494. VD aeternae deus. *Post illos enim laetitiae dies, quos in honore domini a mortuis resurgentis et in caelos ascendentis exigimus, postque preceptum spiritus sancti donum necessaria nobis haec jejunia sancta provisa sunt, ut pura conversatione viventibus quae divinitus ecclesiae sunt conlata permaneant. Per Christum.*

495. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praebeant nobis, domine, divinum tua sancta fervorem, quo eorum pariter et actu delectemur et fructu. Per dominum.*

Section 110

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (496-498)

496. *Deprecationem nostram, quaesumus, domine, benignus exaudi, et quibus supplicandi praestas affectum, tribue defensionis auxilium. Per.*

497. SUPER OBLATAM. *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, ut tui nobis unigeniti corpus et sanguis fiat. Per eundem.*

498. AD COMPLENDUM. *Haec nos communio, domine, purget a crimine, et caelestis remedii facias esse consortes. Per.*

Appendix Three

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil of the Seventh Month Fast

The Veronese

Section 27

ADMONITIO JEJUNII MENSIS SEPTIMI ET ORATIONES ET PRAECES

860. *Annua nobis est, dilectissimi, jejuniorum celebranda festivitas, quam mensis septimi sollemnis recursus indicit. Quarta igitur et sexta feria succedente solitis eamdem conventibus exsequamur, sabbatorum die hic sacras acturi vigilias; ut per obsevantiam competentem, domino purificatis mentibus supplicantes, beatissimo Petro apostolo suffragante, et praesentibus periculis exui mereamur pariter et futuris: per...*

xi. ITEM ALIA. (916-925)

916. *Concede, quaesumus, domine, ut ad preces tuas corda nostra flectamus; et esse tibi possibilia cuncta fidentes, non de elementorum profutura nobis speremus effectum, sed de tua virtute suppliciter inploremus: per...*

917. *Virtutum caelestium deus, qui plura praestas, quam petimus aut meremur: tribue, quaesumus, ut tua nobis misericordia conferatur, quod nostrorum non habet fiducia meritorum: per...*

918. *Deus, qui praevenis vota poscentium, tribue, quaesumus, ut et corporeis non destituamur alimentis, et ab hostium formidine liberemur: per...*

919. *Domine deus, qui fragilitati nostrae quae congruant et praevides solus et provides: presta, ut et praesentibus fulciamur auxiliis, et instruamur aeternis: per...*

920. *Tua nos, domine, quaesumus, pietate dispone: quia nullis egebimus adjumentis, si tuae providentiae clementia gubernemur: per...*

921. *Dirige, domine, quaesumus, ecclesiam tuam dispensatione caelesti; ut quae ante mundi principium in tua semper est praesentia praeparata, usque ad plenitudinem gloriamque promissam te moderante perveniat: per...*

922. *Tanto, quaesumus, domine, placatus adsume, quanto sacrandas nomini tuo has specialiter hostias indixisti; ut quicquid nostrae non expletur servitutis officio, indulgentiae tuae dignatione pensetur: per...*

923. *Vere dignum: quia tuae rationis imaginem mundanis regionibus constitutam, et humanis non desinis fovere subsidiis et reformare divinis. Consequens enim fuit, ut transactis terrae fructibus caeleste semen oreretur, et alimonia vitae mortalis expleta germen immortalitatis exsisteret, atque escis carnalibus expeditis cibus nasceretur mirabiliter animarum, ac tempore frumenti vini et olei mox peracto ineffabiliter ederetur, qui filiis dei ad similitudinem proficienitibus angelorum, hoc totum non solum de caelo substantia deferret et nomine, sed panem praeberet aeternum: per...*

924. *Gratiam tuam nobis, domine, semper accumulet divini participatio sacramenti et sua nos virtute mundando tanti muneris capaces efficiat: per...*

925. *Absolve, domine, quaesumus, tuorum delicta populorum, et quod mortalitatis contrahit fragilitate purifica; ut cuncta pericula mentis et corporis te propellente declinans, tua consolatione subsistat, tua gratia promissae redemptionis perficiatur hereditas: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book II, Section 60

ORATIONES IN JEJUNIO MENSIS SEPTIMI

IN XII LECCIONES DIE SABBATI (1044-1052)

1044. *Tribue, quaesumus, domine, fidelibus tuis, et jejunio mensis septimi convenienter aptentur, et suscepta solemniter castigatio corporalis ad fructum cunctarum transeat animarum: per.*

1045. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui se affligendo carnem ab alimentis abstinet, sectando iustitiam culpa jejundet: per dominum nostrum.*

1046. *Deus, humanae salutis operator, da nobis exercere jejunia congruenter, quibus nostrae substantiae sempiterna remedia providisti: per.*

1047. *Suscipe, domine, preces populi supplicantis et nostri vota jejunii salutaris tui perface sacramentum: per.*

1048. *Omnipotentiam tuam, domine, prompta mente laudantes jejunia tibi sacrata deferimus, ut dum grati de perceptis existimus, efficiamur percipiendis fructibus gratiores: per dominum.*

1049. *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam igneam, concede, quaesumus, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum: per.*

1050. SECRETA. *Haec hostia, domine, quaesumus, et vincula nostrae iniquitatis absolvat et tuae nobis misericordiae dona conciliet: per.*

1051. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Perficient in nobis, domine, quaesumus, tua sacramenta quod continent, ut quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus: per.*

1052. AD POPULUM. *Auxiliare, domine, populo tuo, ut sacrae devotionis proficiens incrementis et tuo semper munere gubernetur et ad redemptionis aeternae pertineat te docente consortium: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

MENSE SEPTEMBRI

Section 166

SABBT. AD SANCTUM PETRUM XII LECTIONES (712-719)

712. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui per continentiam salutare et corporibus mederis et mentibus, majestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut pia jejunantium depraeatione placatus, et praesentia nobis subsidia praebeas et futura. Per.*

713. ALIA ORATIO. *Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus ut jejunando tua gratia satiemur, et abstinendo cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores. Per.*

714. ALIA. *Tuere quaesumus domine familiam tuam ut salutis aeternae remedia quae te aspirante requirimus te largiente consequamur. Per.*

715. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus domine sic nos ab aepulis abstinere carnalibus ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per.*

716. ALIA. *Ut nos domine tribuis solemne tibi deferre jejunium sic nobis quaesumus indulgentiae praesta subsidium. Per dominum.*

717. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium concede propitius ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

718. SUPER OBLATA. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut oculis tuae majestatis munus oblatum et gratiam nobis devotionis obtineat, et effectum beatae perennitatis adquirat. Per dominum.*

719. AD COMPLETA. *Perficient in nobis domine quaesumus tua sacramenta quod continent, ut quae nunc specie gerimus rerum veritate capiamus. Per.*

At the completion. May your sacraments bring about in us, O Lord, we beg, what they contain, that what now we now carry in appearance we may capture in the truth of things. Through...

Section 167

DIE DOM. VACAT (720-722)

720. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, misericordiam tuam ostende supplicibus, ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum sed indulgentiam sentiamus. Per.*

721. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine quaesumus intende placates ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per dominum.*

722. AD COMPLETA. *Quaesumus omnipotens deus ut illius salutaris capiamus effectum, cujus per haec mysteria pignus accepimus. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum.*

The Tridentinum

MENSE SEPTEMBRI

Section 142

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES (751-758)

751. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui per continentiam salutarem et corporibus mederis et mentibus, majestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut pia jejunantium depraeatione placatus et praesentia nobis subsidia praebeas et futura. Per.*

752. ALIA. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut jejunando tua gratia satiemur, et abstinendo cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores. Per.*

753. ALIA. *Tuere, quaesumus, domine, familiam tuam, ut salutis aeternae remedia, quae te aspirante requirimus, te largiente consequamur. Per dominum.*

754. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus, domine, sic nos ab epulis abstinere carnalibus, ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per.*

755. ALIA. *Ut nos, domine, tribuis solemne tibi deferre jejunium, sic nobis, quaesumus, indulgentiae praesta subsidium. Per dominum.*

756. ALIA. *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium: concede famulis tuis, ut nos flammam vitiorum non exurat, quos igne tuae caritatis inluminare voluisti. Per dominum.*

757. SECRETA. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut oculis tuae majestatis munus oblatum et gratiam nobis devotionis optineat et effectum beatae perennitatis adquirat. Per dominum.*

758. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perficient in nobis, domine, quaesumus, tua sacramenta quod continent, ut quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus. Per dominum.*

Section 143

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (759-761)

759. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, misericordiam tuam ostende supplicibus, ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum sed indulgentiam sentiamus. Per dominum.*

760. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus, domine, quaesumus, intende placatus, ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per dominum.*

761. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut illius salutaris capiamus effectum, cujus per haec mysteria pignus accepimus. Per dominum.*

The Paduensis

MENSE SEPTEMBRI

Section 168

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES (686-693)

686. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui per continentiam salutarem et corporibus mederis et mentibus, majestatem tuam supplices exoramus, ut pia jejunantium depraeatione placatus, et praesentia nobis subsidia praebeas et futura. Per.*

687. ALIA. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut jejunando tua gratia satiemur, et abstinendo cunctis efficiamur hostibus fortiores. Per dominum.*

688. ALIA. *Tuere, quaesumus, domine, familiam tuam, ut salutis aeternae remedia quae te aspirante requirimus, te largiente consequamur. Per dominum.*

689. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus, domine, sic nos ab epulis abstinere carnalibus, ut a vitiis inruentibus pariter jejunemus. Per.*

690. ALIA. *Ut nos domine tribuis, solemne tibi deferre jejunium, sic nobis, quaesumus, indulgentiae praesta subsidium. Per.*

691. ALIA. *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium, concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

692. SUPER OBLATAM. *Concede quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut oculis tuae majestatis munus oblatum, et gratiam nobis devotionis obtineat et effectum beatae perennitatis adquirat. Per.*

693. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perficient in nobis, domine, quaesumus, tua sacramenta quod continent, ut quae nunc specie gerimus, rerum veritate capiamus. Per.*

Section 169

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (694-696)

694. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, misericordiam tuam ostende supplicibus, ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum sed indulgentiam sentiamus. Per.*

695. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrificiis praesentibus, domine, quaesumus, intende placates ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

696. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut illius salutaris capiamus effectum, cujus per haec mysteria pignus accepimus. Per.*

Appendix Four

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil of the Tenth Month Fast

The Veronese

Section 27

ADMONITIO JEJUNII MENSIS SEPTIMI ET ORATIONES ET PRAECES

Invitatio plebes in jejunio mensis decimi

905. *Hac hebdomade nobis mensis decimi sunt recensenda jejunia. Quapropter fidem vestrae dilectionis hortamur, ut eadem quarta et sexta feria solitis processionibus exsequentes, sabbatorum die hic ipsum vigiliis sollemnibus expleamus; quatenus apostolicis suffragantibus meritis propitiationem dei nostri perseverantia debitae servitutis obtineat: per...*

Section 43

IN JEJUNIO MENSIS DECIMI

iii. ITEM ALIA (1306-1315)

1306. *Supplices, domine, te rogamus, ut fructuum terrenorum commodis sufficienter adjuti, ad te omnium proficiamus auctorem: per...*

1307. *Cordibus nostris, quaesumus, domine, benignus infunde, ut sicut ab escis corporalibus temperamus, ita sensus quoque nostros a noxio retrahamus excessu: per...*

1308. *Hujus nobis parsimoniae, quaesumus, domine, praebe mensuram; ut quod licentiae carnis auferimus, salutare nobis fructum mentis adquirat: per...*

1309. *Subde tibi nostras, quaesumus, domine, voluntates; ut semper et fide, quae praecipis, et actione sectemur: per...*

1310. *Precamur, omnipotens deus, ut de transitoriis opibus ea potius operemur, quibus ad aeterna gaudia consequenda et spes nobis suppetat et facultas: per...*

1311. *Pacem nobis tribue, domine, mentis et corporis, ut nostrae fragilitati et manifesti subiciantur hostes, et invisibiles excludantur: per...*

1312. *Presta, domine, quaesumus, ut dicato muneri congruentem nostrae devotionis offeramus affectum: per...*

1313. *Vere dignum: quoniam salubri meditante jejunio necessaria curationi tractamus, et per observantiae competentis obsequium de perceptis grati muneribus de percipiendis efficimur gratiores; ut non solum terrena fertilitate laetemur, sed nativitatem panis aeterni purificatis suscipiamus mentibus honorandam: per...*

1314. *Sumpsimus, domine, celebritatis annuae votiva sacramenta. Presta, quaesumus, ut et temporalis vitae nobis remedia praebeant et aeternae: per...*

1315. *Tuere, domine, plebem tuam, et sacram sollemnitatem recolentem caelestis gratiae largitate proseguere; ut visibilibus adjuta solaciis, ad invisibilia bona promptius incitetur: per...*

iv. ITEM ALIA (1316-1324)

1316. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, firmitatem religionis et pacis, ut quanto tibi devotius famulamur, tanto diebus nostris prospera cunctaque succedant: per...*

1317. *Respice, domine, propitius ad plebem tuam; et quam divinis tribuis proficere sacramentis, ab omnibus absolve peccatis: per...*

1318. *Succurre, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo, et nullum sequi patiaris errorem, quem tuae vis complicem fieri veritatis: per...*

1319. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ecclesiae tuae tempora clementi gubernatione dispensa: ut cum sollemnitatum multiplicatione sanctarum et intellectum rerum caelestium capiat et profectum: per...*

1320. *Presta, quaesumus, domine, spiritualibus gaudiis nos reple, ut quae actu gerimus, mente sectemur: per...*

1321. *Offerimus tibi, domine, munera supplicantes, ut quae subditis (piis/subditi piis-Ambrosian Missal 322 Pam.) celebramus officiis, plenius affectibus exsequamur: per...*

1322. *Vere dignum: qui non solum ineffabilis in excelsis, sed etiam inmensus probaris in minimis. Nam cum filius tuus dominus noster Jesus Christus mundum diceret universum in suum nomen esse cessurum, quis non veluti putaret absurdum? Quis, cum fieri videat, neget esse divinum? Cernensque promissa compleri, merito secutura non dubitet, quae partier praedicata sunt esse ventura. Sicut autem beatiore illi qui nondum apparentia crediderunt (John 20:29), ita nos et inexcusabiliores, si nec experta fateamur; et nihilominus gratiores existimus, si quae manifestata non sunt, confidimus adfutura: per...*

1323. *Refecti vitalibus alimentis quaesumus, domine: quod tempore nostrae mortalitatis exequimur, immortalitatis tuae munere consequamur: per...*

1324. *Super populum tuum, domine, quaesumus, benedictio copiosa descendat, indulgentia veniat, consolatio tribuatur, fides sancta succrescat, redemptio sempiterna firmetur: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book II, Section 85

ORATIONES ET PRECES MENSIS DECIMI

SABBATO IN XII LECTIONES (1169-1177)

1169. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris et praesentis vota jejunii placita tibi devotione exhibere concede: per.*

1170. *Converte nos, deus salutaris noster, et ut nobis jejunium corporale proficiat, mentes nostras caelestibus institue disciplinis: per.*

1171. *Deus, qui pro animarum expiatione nostrarum sacri jejunii instituta mandasti, fragilitati nostrae adjumenta concede et effectum caelestium mandatorum benignus inspira: per dominum.*

1172. *Miserationum tuarum, domine, quaesumus, praeveniamur auxilio et in hujus solemnitate jejunii omnium tibi sit devotio grata fidelium: per.*

1173. *Preces populi tui, quaesumus, deus, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur: per.*

1174. **POST BENEDICTIONEM.** *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam igneam, concede, quaesumus, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum: per.*

1175. **SECRETA.** *Ecclesiae tuae, domine, munera sanctifica et concede, ut per haec veneranda mysteria pane caelesti refici mereamur: per.*

1176. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Prosint nobis, domine, sumpta mysteria pariter quae nos et a peccatis exuant et praesidiis tuae propitiationis attollant: per.*

1177. **AD POPULUM.** *Veniat, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo supplicanti tuae benedictionis infusio, quae diabolicas ab eodem repellat insidias, quae fragilitatem mundet et protegat, quae inopem sustentet et foveat: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

MENSE DECEMBRI

Section 191

SABBT. AD SANCTUM PETRUM XII LECTIONES (797-804)

797. *Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Per.*

798. ALIA. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quia sub peccati juga ex vetusta servitute deprimimur, expectata unigeniti filii tui nova nativitate liberemur. Per.*

799. ITEM ALIA. *Indignos nos quaesumus domine famulos tuos quos actionis proprie culpa contristat unigeniti filii tui nos adventu laetifica. Per.*

800. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut filii tui ventura solemnitas et praesentis nobis vitae remedia conferat et praemia aeterna concedat. Per dominum.*

801. ALIA. *Preces populi tui quaesumus domine clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur. Per.*

802. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium concede propitius ut nos famulas tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per.*

803. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

804. AD COMPLETA. *Quaesumus domine deus noster ut sacrosancta mysteria quae pro reparationis nostrae munimine contulisti, et praesens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum. Per.*

Section 192

DOM. VACAT (805-807)

805. *Excita domine potentiam tuam et veni, et magna nobis virtute succurre, ut per auxilium gratiae tuae quod nostra peccata praepediunt indulgentia tuae propitiationis acceleret. Per dominum.*

806. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

807. AD COMPLETA. *Sumptis muneribus domine quaesumus, ut cum frequentatione mysterii crescat nostrae salutis effectus. Per dominum.*

The Tridentinum

MENSE DECEMBRI

Section 164

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES (835-842)

835. *Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur : concede propitius, ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Per.*

836. ALIA. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut quia sub peccati jugo ex vetusta servitute deprimimur, expectata unigeniti filii tui nova nativitate liberemur. Per eundem.*

837. ALIA. *Indignos nos, quaesumus, domine, famulos tuos, quos actionis propriae culpa contristat, unigeniti filii tui adventu laetifica. Per eundem.*

838. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut filii tui ventura solemnitas et praesentis nobis vitae remedia conferat et praemia aeterna concedat. Per eundem.*

839. ALIA. *Preces populi tui, quaesumus, domine, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur. Per dominum.*

840. ALIA. *Deus, qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium: concede famulis tuis, ut nos flammam vitiorum non exurat, quos igne tuae caritatis inluminare voluisti. Per dominum.*

841. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende, ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

842. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut sacrosancta mysteria, quae pro reparationis nostrae munimine contulisti, et praesens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum. Per.*

Section 165

DOMINICA VACAT (843-845)

843. *Excita, domine, potentiam tuam et veni, et magna nobis virtute succurre, ut per auxilium gratiae tuae quod nostra peccata praepediunt, indulgentia tuae propitiationis acceleret. Per.*

844. SECRETA. *Sacrificiis praesentibus, domine, placatus intende, ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

845. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumptis muneribus, domine, quaesumus, ut cum frequentatione mysterii crescat nostrae salutis effectum. Per dominum.*

The Paduensis

MENSE DECEMBRI

Section 201

SABBATO AD SANCTUM PETRUM IN XII LECTIONES (800-807)

800. *Deus qui conspicias quia ex nostra pravitate affligimur, concede propitius, ut ex tua visitatione consolemur. Qui vivis.*

801. ALIA. *Concede quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut quia sub peccati iugo ex vetusta servitute deprimimur, expectata unigeniti filii tui nova nativitate liberemur. Per eundem.*

802. ALIA. *Indignos nos, quaesumus, domine, famulos tuos, quos actionis propriae culpa contristat, unigeniti filii tui adventu laetifica. Per eundem.*

803. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut filii tui ventura solemnitas, et praesentis nobis vitae remedia conferat et praemia aeterna concedat. Per eundem.*

804. ALIA. *Preces populi tui, quaesumus, domine, clementer exaudi, ut qui juste pro peccatis nostris affligimur, pietatis tuae visitatione consolemur. Per dominum.*

805. ALIA. *Deus qui tribus pueris mitigasti flammam ignium, concede propitius, ut nos famulos tuos non exurat flamma vitiorum. Per dominum.*

806. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrificiis praesentibus domine placatus intende, ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

807. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut sacrosancta mysteria, quae <pro> reparationis nostrae munimine contulisti, et praesens nobis remedium esse facias et futurum. Per.*

Section 202

DIE DOMINICO VACAT (808-810)

808. *Excita, domine, potentiam tuam et veni, et magna nobis virtute succurre, ut per auxilium gratiae tuae quod nostra peccata praepediunt, indulgentia tuae propitiationis acceleret. Per.*

809. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrificiis praesentibus, domine, placatus intende, ut et devotioni nostrae proficiant et saluti. Per.*

810. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumptis muneribus, domine, quaesumus, ut cum frequentatione mysterii crescat nostrae salutis effectus. Per dominum.*

Appendix Five

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Day of Pascha

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 42

SEQUITUR ORDO QUALITER SABBATO SANCTO AD VIGILIAM INGREDIANTUR (425-430)

425. *Primitus enim viiia hora diei mediante procedunt ad ecclesiam et ingrediuntur in sacrario et induunt se vestimentis sicut mos est. Et incipit clerus laetania et procedit sacerdos de sacrario cum ordinibus sacris. Veniunt ante altare stantes inclinato capite usquedum dicent Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere. Deinde surgens sacerdos ab oratione vadit retro altare, sedens in sede sua. Deinde veniens archidiaconus ante altare, accipiens de lumine quod VI feria absconsum fuit, faciens crucem super cereum et inluminans eum, et completur ab ipso benedictio cerei.*

426-428. *Deus, mundi conditor, auctor luminis, siderum fabricator, deus qui jacentem mundum in tenebras luce perspicua retexisti, deus, per quem ineffabili potentia omnia claritas sumpsit exordium: te in tuis operibus invocantes, in ac sacratissima noctis vigilia de donis tuis caereum tuae suppliciter offerimus majestati, non adipe carnis pollutum, non profana unctione vitiatum, non sacrilego igne contactum, sed cera oleo atque papiro constructum in tui nominis honore succensum, obsequio relegiosae devotionis offerimus. Magnum igitur mysterium et noctis huius mirabile sacramentum dignis necesse est laudibus cumulari. In quo dominicae resurrectionis miraculo diem sibi introductum tenebrae inveteratae senserunt, et mors quae olim fuerat aeterna nocte damnata, inserto viri fulgoris lumine captivam se trahi dominicis triumphis obstipuit, et quod praevaricante primoplausto tenebrosa praesumptione fuerat in servitute damnatum, hujus noctis miraculo splendore libertatis inradiat. Ad hujus ergo festivitatis reverentiam fervore spiritus descendentes, quantum devotio humana exigit, tibi deo fulgore flammaram placida luminaria exhibemus, ut dum haec fide integra persolvuntur, creaturae tuae etiam praeconia extolluntur. Flammae lux quippe dicenda est, per quem potestas deitatis Moyse apparere dignata est, quae de terra servitutis populo exeunti salutifero lumine ducatum exhibuit, quae tribus pueris in camino sententia tyranni depositis vitam blandimentis mollioribus reservavit. Nam ut praecedente hujus luminis gratia tenebrarum horror excluditur, ita, domine, luciscente majestati tuae imperro peccatorum sarcinae diluantur. Cum igitur hujus substantiae miramur exordium, apium necesse est laudemus originem. Apes vero sunt frugalis in sumptibus, in procreatione castissimae. Aedificant cellulas caereo liquore fundatus, quarum humanae peritiae ars magistra non quoequat. Legunt pedibus flores et nullum damnum in floribus invenitur. Partus non aedunt, sed ore legentes concepti faetus reddunt examina, sicut exemplo mirabili Christus ore paterno processit. Fecunda est in his sine partu virginitas, quam utique dominus sequi dignatus, carnalem se matrem habere virginitatis*

amore constituit. Talia igitur, domine, dignae sacris altaribus tuis munera offeruntur, quibus te laetari relegio christiana non ambigit.

429. **BENEDICTIO SUPER INCENSUM.** *Veniat ergo, omnipotens deus, super hunc incensum larga tuae benedictionis infusio et hunc nocturnum splendorem, invisibilis regnator, intende, ut non solum sacrificium quod ac nocte litatum est arcana luminis tui admixtione refulgeat, sed quocumque loco ex hujus aliquid sanctificationis fuerit mysterio deportatum, expulsa diabolicae fraudis nequitia virtus tuae majestatis adsistat: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate spiritus sancti per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

430. ***Post hoc surgens sacerdos a sede sua et dicit orationes de vigilia paschae, sicut in sacramentorum continetur.***

Book I, Section 43

ORATIONES PER SINGULAS LECTIONES IN SABBATO SANCTO (431-443)

431. *Deus, qui divitias misericordiae tuae in ac praecipuae nocte largiris, propitiare universo ordini sacerdotalis officii, et omnes gradus famulatus nostri perfecta delictorum remissione sanctifica, ut ministraturos regeneratrici gratiae tuae nulli esse obnoxios patiaris offendi: per.*

432. ***Sequitur lectio: In principio fecit deus.***

Deus incommutabilis virtus, lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae tuae mirabile sacramentum et opus salutis humane perpetuae dispositionis effectum tranquillius operare, totusque mundus experiatur et videat dejecta erigi, inveterata novari, et per ipsum redire omnia in integrum, a quo sumpseret principium: per.

433. ***Sequitur de Noe***

Omnipotens sempiternus deus, qui in omnium operum tuorum dispensatione mirabilis es, intellegant redempti tui non fuisse excellentius quod initio factus est mundus, quam quod in finem saeculorum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus: per eundem dominum.

434. ***De Abraham tertia***

Deus, fidelium pater summe, qui in toto orbem terrarum promissionis tuae filios diffusa adoptione multiplicas et per paschale sacramentum Abraham puerum tuum universarum, sicut jurasti, gentium efficis patrem: da populis tuis digne ad gratiam tuae vocationis intrare: per.

435. ***In Exodo quarta cum cantico:*** Cantemus domino.

Deus, cuius antiqua miracula etiam nostris saeculis coruscare sentimus, dum quod uni populo a persecutione aegyptia liberando dexterarum tuae potentia contulisti, id in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris: praesta, ut et in Abrahae filios et in israheliticam dignitatem totius mundi transeat plenitudo: per.

436. In Esaia v

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, multiplica in honore nominis tui quod patrem fidei spondisti et promissionis filios sacra adoptione dilata, ut quod priores sancti non dubitaverunt futurum, ecclesia tua magna iam parte cognoscat impletum: per.

437. In Ezechiel vi

Deus, qui nos ad caelebrandum paschale sacramentum utriusque testamenti paginis imbuisti, da nobis intellegere misericordias tuas, ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum: per.

438. vii in Esaia cum cantico. Vineam domini.

Deus, qui in omnibus ecclesiae tuae filiis sanctorum prophetarum voce manifestasti in omni loco dominationis tuae satorem te bonorum seminum et electorum palmitum esse cultorem: tribue populis tuis qui et vinearum apud te nomine censentur et segitum, ut spinarum et tribulorum squalore resecato digni efficiantur fruge fecundi: per.

439. Item in Exodo viii

Deus, qui diversitatem omnium gentium in confessione tui nominis unum esse fecisti, da nobis et velle et posse quod praecepis, ut populo ad aeternitatem vocato una sit fides mentium et pietas actionum: per.

440. ix In Deuteronomio cum cantico

Deus, celsitudo humilium et fortitudo rectorum, qui per sanctum Moysen puerum tuum ita erudire populos tuos sacri carminis tui decantatione voluisti, ut illa legis iteratio fieret etiam nostra directio: excita in omnem justificatarum gentium plenitudinem potentiam tuam, et (da) laetitiam mitigando terrorem, ut omnium peccatis tua remissione deletis quod denuntiatum est in ultionem transeat in salutem: per.

441. In Danihelo x

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, spes unica mundi, qui prophetarum tuorum praeconio praesentium temporum declarasti mysteria, auge populi tui vota placatus, quia in nullo fidelium nisi ex tua inspiratione proveniunt quarumlibet incrementa virtutum: per.

442. Oratione post psalmum xli

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, respice propitius ad devotionem populi nascentis, qui sicut cervus aquarum expectat fontem, et concede propitius, ut fidei ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque sanctificet: (per)

443. Inde procedunt ad fontes cum litaniam ad baptizandum. Baptismum expletum consignantur ipsi infantes ab episcopo, dum accipiunt septem dona gratia spiritus sancti, et mittit chrisma in frontibus eorum. Postea vero ipse sacerdos revertit cum omnibus ordinibus in sacrario. Et post paululum incipiunt tertia litaniam, et ingrediuntur ad missas in vigilia, ut stella in caelo apparuerit. Et sic temperent, ut in trinitate numero ipsae litaniae fiant.

Book I, Section 44

INDE DISCENDIS CUM LAETANIA AD FONTE. BENEDICTIO FONTIS (444-452)

444. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, adesto magne pietatis tuae mysteriis, adesto sacramentis et ad creandos novos populos, quos tibi fons baptismatis parturit, spiritum adoptionis emitte, et quod humilitatis nostrae gerendum est ministerio, tuae virtutis compleatur effectus: per*

445. **ITEM CONSECRATIO FONTIS.** *Deus, qui invisibili potentia tua sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris affectum, et licet nos tantis mysteriis exequentis simus indigni, tu tamen gratiae tuae dono non deseres etiam ad nostras preces aures tuae pietatis inclina: deus, cujus spiritus super aquas inter ipsa mundi primordia ferebatur, ut iam tunc virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet: deus, qui nocentis mundi crimina per aquas abluens regenerationis speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti, (ut) unius ejusdemque elementi mysterio et finis esset vitiis et origo virtutum; respice, domine, in faciem ecclesiae tuae et multiplica in ea generationes tuas, quae gratiae tuae effluentis impetu laetificas civitatem tuam, fontemque baptismatis aperis toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis, ut tuae majestatis imperio sumat unigeniti tui gratiam de spiritu sancto. Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus praeparatam arcana sui luminis admixtione fecundet, ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato divini fontis utero in novam renatam creaturam progenies caelestis emergat, et quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, omnis in una pareat gratia mater infantia. Procul ergo hinc jubente te, domine, omnis spiritus immundus abscidat, procul tota nequitia diabolicae fraudis absistat, nihil hic loci habeat contrariae virtutis ammixtio, non insidiando circumvolet, non latendo subripiat, non inficiendo corrumpat. Sit haec sancta et innocens creatura libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu, et totius nequitiae purgata discessu. Sit fons vivus, aqua regenerans, unda purificans, ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi operante in eis spiritu sancto perfectae purgationis indulgentiam consequantur.*

446. **Hic signas.** *Unde benedico te, creatura aquae, per deum vivum, per deum sanctum, per deum qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida et in quatuor fluminibus totam terram rigare praecepit, qui te in deserto amaram suavitate indita fecit esse potabilem et sitiienti populo de petra produxit. Benedico te et per Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum, qui te in Cana Gallileae signo ammirabili sua potentia convertit in vinum, qui pedibus super te ambulavit et a Joanne in Jordane in te baptizatus est, qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit et discipulis suis jussit, ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens: Ite, docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*

447. **Hic sensum mutabis.** *Haec nobis praecepta servantibus tu, deus omnipotens, clemens adesto, tu benignus aspira, tu has simplices aquas tuo ore benedicito, ut praeter naturalem emundationem, quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces.*

448. *Discendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus spiritus tui et totam hujus aquae substantiam regenerandis fecundet effectum. Hic omnium peccatorum maculae deleantur. Hic natura ad imaginem tuam condita et ad honorem sui reformata principiis cunctis vetustatis squaloribus emundetur, ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus in vera innocentia nova infantia renascatur: per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum, qui venturus est in spiritu sancto judicare vivos et mortuos et saeculum per ignem.*

449. ***Inde benedicto fonte baptizas unumquemque in ordine suo sub has interrogationes:***

Credis in deum patrem omnipotentem?

Respondet: *Credo.*

Credis et in Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum natum et passum?

Respondet: *Credo.*

Credis et in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem?

Respondet: *Credo.*

Deinde per singulas vices mergis eum tertio in aqua.

Postea cum ascenderit a fonte infans, signatur a praesbytero in cerebro de chrismate his verbis:

450. *Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancto quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum, ipse te linit chrisma salutis in Christo Jesu domino nostro in vitam aeternam.*

Respondet: *Amen.*

Deinde ab episcopo datur eis spiritus septiformis. Ad consignandum inponit eis manum in his verbis:

451. *Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui regenerasti famulos tuos ex aqua et spiritu sancto quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum: tu domine, immitte in eos spiritum sanctum tuum paraclitum et da eis spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, spiritum scientiae et pietatis; adimple eos spiritum timoris dei: in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi, cum quo vivis et regnas deus semper cum spiritu sancto per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

Postea signat eos in fronte de chrismate dicens:

452. *Signum Christi in vitam aeternam.*

Respondet: *Amen.*

Pax tecum.

Respondet: *Et cum spiritu tuo.*

*Inde vero cum litanis ascendit ad sedem suam et dicit:
Gloria in excelsis deo.*

Book I, Section 45

ORATIONES ET PRAECES AD MISSAM IN NOCTE (453-462)

453. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem per universa mundi spatia gloriae dominicae resurrectionis illustras, conserva in nova familiae tuae progenie sanctificationis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi animam et purum pectus semper exhibeant: per dominum.*

454. *Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem gloriosae dominicae resurrectionis illustras, conserva, in nova familiae tuae progenie adoptionis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi exhibeant servitatem: per dominum.*

455. **SECRETA.** *Suscipe, quaesumus, domine, et plebis tuae et tuorum hostias renatorum, ut et confessione tui nominis et baptismo renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur: per dominum.*

456. **ITEM ALIA.** *Suscipe, domine, preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant: per dominum.*

457. *Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare: adest enim nobis optatissimum tempus, et desideratae noctis lumen advenit. Quid enim majus vel melius inveniri poterit, quam domini resurgentis praedicare virtutem? Hic namque inferorum claustra disrumpens, clarissima nobis hodie suae resurrectionis vexilla suscepit atque hominem remeans invidia inimici dejectum mirantibus intulit astris. O noctis istius mystica et veneranda commercia! O sanctae matris ecclesiae pia sempiterna beneficia! Non vult habere quod perimat, sed cupit invenire quod redimat. Exultavit Maria in sacratissimo puerperio, exultat ecclesia in filiorum suorum generationis specie. Sic fons ille beatus qui dominico lateri circumfluxit, moles exceptit vitiorum, ut his sacris altaribus vitales escas perpetua vita conferat renatorum. Et ideo cum angelis.*

458. *Vere dignum: te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potentissimam noctem gloriosius praedicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi; qui mortem nostram moriendo distruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Propveree profusis paschalibus gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat. Set et supurnae virtutes atque angelis concinunt potestates hymnum gloriae tuae sine fine dicentes.*

459. **INFRA ACTIONEM.** *Communicantes, et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes resurrectionis domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum carnem: sed et memoriam.*

460. ITEM INFRA ACTIONEM. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, ut invenires eos in Christo Jesu domino nostro, quaesumus, domine, placatus accipias. Pro quibus majestati tuae supplices fundimus preces, ut nomina eorum ascribi jubeas in libro viventium: diesque nostros.*

461. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut divino munere satiati et sacris mysteriis innovemur et moribus: per.*

462. ITEM ALIA. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut paschalis perceptio sacramenti continuata in nostris mentibus perseveret: per.*

Book I, Section 46
DOMINICUM PASCHAE (463-467)

463. *Deus, qui per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, da nobis, quaesumus, ut qui resurrectionis sollempnia colimus, per innovatione tui spiritus a morte animae resurgamus: per dominum.*

464. *Deus, qui nos resurrectionis, dominicae annua solempnitate laetificas, concide propitius, ut per temporalia festa quae agimus pervenire ad gaudia aeterna mereamur: per dominum.*

465. SECRETA. *Suscipe, domine, propitius munera famulorum tuorum ut confessione tui nominis et baptismo renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur: per dominum.*

466. *Vere dignum: te quidem omni tempore, sed in hoc praecipue die laudare benedicere et praedicare, quod pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Per quem in aeternam vitam filii lucis oriuntur, fidelibus regni caelestis atria reserantur et beati lege commercii divinis humana mutantur. Quia nostrorum omnium mors cruce Christi redempta est et in resurrectione ejus omnium vita resurrexit. Quem in susceptione mortalitatis deum majestatis agnoscimus et in divinitatis gloriam deum et hominem confitemur. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo restituit, Jesus Christus dominus noster. Et ideo cum angelis.*

Infra actionem ut supra in nocte sancta. Sequitur

467. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui ad aeternam vitam in Christi resurrectione nos reparas, custodi opera misericordiae tuae et suavitatem corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti filii tui nostris infunde pectoribus: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 84

ORATIONES QUAE DICUNTUR AD LECTIONES IN ECCLESIA (362-372)

362. ***Lectio libri genesi.*** In principio fecit deus caelum et terram.

363. *Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem et mirabilius redemisti, da nobis quaesumus contra oblectamenta peccati mentis ratione persistere, ut mereamur ad gaudia aeterna pervenire. Per dominum.*

364. ***Lectio libri exodi.*** Factum est autem in vigilia matutina.

365. *Deus cujus antiqua miracula in praesenti quoque saeculo coruscare sentimus, praesta quaesumus ut sicut priorem populum ab aegyptis liberasti, hoc ad salutem gentium per aquas baptismatis opereris. Per.*

366. ***Lectio esaiae prophetae.*** Et adpraehendent VII mulieres unum hominem.

367. *Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale sacramentum, utrisque testamenti paginis instruis, da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per dominum.*

368. ***Lectio esaie prophetae.*** Est hereditas credentibus in domino.

369. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium vocatione multiplicas, concede propitius ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis continua protectione tuearis. Per dominum.*

370. ***De psalmo xli.*** Sicut cervus desiderat.

371. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui festa paschalia agimus celestibus desideriis accensi, fontem vitae sitiamus. Per dominum.*

372. ***Alia oratione in eodem psalmo xli.*** Omnipotens sempiternae deus respice propitius ad devotionem populi renascentis qui sicut cervus, aquarum tuarum expetit fontem, et concede propitius ut fidei ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque sanctificet. Per dominum.

Section 85
BENEDICTIO FONTIS (373-375)

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

373. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus adesto magnae pietatis tuae mysteriis, adesto sacramentis, et ad creandos novos populos quos tibi fons baptismatis parturit spiritum adoptionis emitte, ut quod nostrae humilitatis gerendum est ministerio tuae virtutis impleatur effectum. Per.*

374a. *Per omnia saecula saeculorum.*

Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad dominum.

Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.

Dignum et justum est.

Deus qui invisibili potentia sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris effectum, et licet nos tantis mysteriis exsequendis simus indigni tu tamen gratiae tuae dona non deserens, etiam ad nostras preces aures tuae pietatis inclinas. Deus cujus spiritus super aquas inter ipsa mundi primordia ferebatur, ut virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet: Deus qui nocentis mundi crimina, per aquas ablucens regenerationis speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti, ut unius ejusdemque elementi mysterio, et finis esset vitiis et origo virtutis. Respice domine in faciem ecclesiae tuae et multiplica in ea generationes tuas qui gratiae tuae affluentis impetu laetificas civitatem tuam fontemque baptismatis aperis toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis, ut tuae majestatis imperio sumat unigeniti tui gratiam de spiritu sancto.

374b. *Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus praeparatam arcana sui luminis ammixtione fecundet, ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato divini fontis utero, in novam renatam creaturam progenies caelestis emergat, et quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, omnes in unam pariat gratia mater infantiam. Procul ergo hinc jubente te domine, omnis spiritus inmundus abscedat, procul tota nequiti diabolicae fraudis absistat. Nihil hic loci habeat contrariae virtutis ammixtio, non insidiando circumvolet non latendo subripiat, non inficiendo corrumpat. Sit haec sancta et innocens creatura libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu, et totius nequitiae purgata discessu, sit fons vivus aqua regenerans unda purificans, ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi operante in eis spiritu sancto perfectae purgationis indulgentiam consequantur.*

374c. *+ Unde benedico te creatura aquae + per deum vivum + per deum sanctum qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida, et in quattuor fluminibus totam terram rigari praecepit. Qui te in deserto amaram suavitate indita fecit esse potabilem, et sitiienti populo de petra produxit. + Benedico te et per Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum qui te in chanaan galileae, signo ammirabili sua potentia convertit in vinum. Qui pedibus super te ambulavit et a Johanne in Jordane in te baptizatus est. Qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit, et discipulis suis jussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens: Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*

374d. *<Hic muta vocem quasi lectionem legens.>*

Haec nobis praecepta servantibus tu deus omnipotens clemens adesto, tu benignus aspira, tu has simplices aquas, tuo ore benedicito, ut praeter naturalem emundationem quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces.

374e. *<Hic suffla tribus vicibus in aqua.>*

Descendat in hac plenitudine fontis virtus spiritus tui, totamque hujus substantiam, regenerandi fecundet effectum. Hic omnium peccatorum maculae deleantur, hic natura ad imaginem tuam condita, et ad honorem sui reformata principii, cunctis vetustatis squaloribus emundetur, ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus, in vere innocentiae, novam infantiam renascatur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem.

375. *Baptizat et linit eum presbiter de chrismate in cerebro, et dicit:*

Deus omnipotens pater domini nostri Jesu Christi qui te regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, qui tibi remisit omnium peccatorum ipse te linet chrismate salutis, in vitam aeternam.

Section 86

ORATIO AD INFANTES CONSIGNANDOS (376)

376. *Omnipotens sempiternus deus qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos et famulas tuas ex aqua et spiritu sancto, qui tibi remisit omnium peccatorum, emitte in eos septiformem spiritum tuum sanctum paraclitum de caelis, <spiritum sapientiae et intellectus> spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, spiritum scientiae et pietatis, adimple eos spiritu timoris domini et consigna eos signo crucis in vitam propitiatus aeternam.*

Section 87

ORATIO IN SABBATO SANCTO NOCTE AD MISSAM (377-382)

377. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem gloriae dominicae resurrectionis inlustras, conserva in novam familiae tuae progeniem, adoptionis spiritum quem dedisti ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi exhibeant servitutem. Per.*

378. *SUPER OBLATA. Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medellam te operante proficiant. Per dominum.*

379. *PRAEFATIO. Venerabile et justum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore sed in hanc potissimam noctem gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*

380. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes, resurrectionis domini dei nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosae semper virginis mariae genetricis ejusdem dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum.*

381. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus, pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias.*

382. AD COMPLENDUM. *Spiritum in nobis domine tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti tua, facias pietate concordēs. Per.*

Section 88

ORTN. IN DOMINICA SANCTA AD MISS. (383-391)

383. *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, vota nostra quae praeveniendo adspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere. Per eundem dominum nostrum.*

384. SUPER OBLATA. *Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medellam te operante proficiant. Per dominum.*

385. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore sed in hanc potissimam diem gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.*

386. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimam caelebrantes, resurrectionis domini dei nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam venerantes, imprimis gloriosae semper virginis mariae genetricis ejusdem dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum.*

387. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus, pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias.*

389. AD COMPLETA. *Spiritum in nobis domine tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordēs. Per.*

390. AD SANCTUM JOHANNEM AD VESPR. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solennia colimus innovatione tui spiritus, a morte animae resurgamus. Per eundem.*

391. AD FONTES. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solennia colimus ereptionis nostrae suscipere laetitiam mereamur. Per eundem dominum.*

392. AD SANCTAM ANDREAM. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui gratiam dominicae resurrectionis agnovimus ipsi per amorem spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per.*

The Tridentinum

Section 73

ORATIONES QUAE DICUNTUR AD LECTIONES IN ECCLESIA (418-428)

418. ***Lectio libri Genesis.*** In principio fecit deus caelum et terram.

419. *Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem et mirabilius redemisti: da nobis, quaesumus, contra oblectamenta peccati mentis ratione persistere, ut mereamur ad gaudia aeterna pervenire. Per.*

420. ***Lectio libri Exodi.*** Factum est autem in vigilia matutina.

421. *Deus, cujus antiqua miracula etiam nostris saeculis coruscare sentimus, dum quod uni populo a persecutione aegyptia liberando dexteræ tuæ potentia contulisti, id in salutem gentium per aquam regenerationis operaris: praesta, ut in Abrahae filios et in israheliticam dignitatem totius mundi transeat plenitudo. Per dominum.*

422. ***Lectio Esaiæ prophetae.*** Et adpræhendent septem mulieres unum hominem.

423. *Deus, qui nos ad celebrandum paschale sacramentum utrisque testamenti paginis instruis, da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam, ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per.*

424. ***Lectio Esaiæ prophetae.*** Hec est hereditas credentibus in domino.

425. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium vocatione multiplicas: concede propitius, ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis, continua protectione tuearis. Per.*

426. ***De psalmo XLI.*** Sicut cervus desiderat.

427. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui festa paschalia agimus, caelestibus desideriis accensi fontem vitae sitiamus. Per.*

428. *Alia oratione in eodem psalmo XLI. Omnipotens sempiternae deus, respice propitius ad devotionem populi renascentis, qui sicut cervus aquarum tuarum expectat fontem: et concede propitius, ut fidei ipsius sitis baptismatis mysterio animam corpusque sanctificet. Per dominum.*

BENEDICTIO FONTIS (429-431)

429. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, adesto magnae pietatis tuae mysteriis, adesto sacramentis: et ad creandos novos populos quos tibi fons baptismatis parturit spiritum adoptionis emitte, ut quod nostrae humilitatis gerendum est ministerio, tuae virtutis impleatur effectum. Per dominum.*

430a. *Deus qui invisibili potentia sacramentorum tuorum mirabiliter operaris effectum: et licet nos tantis mysteriis exsequendis simus indigni, tu tamen gratiae tuae dona non deserens, etiam ad nostras preces aures tuae pietatis inclinas. Deus cujus spiritus super aquas inter ipsa mundi primordia ferebatur, ut virtutem sanctificationis aquarum natura conciperet; deus qui nocentis mundi crimina, per aquas abluens regenerationis speciem in ipsa diluvii effusione signasti, ut unius ejusdemque elementi mysterio, et finis esset vitiis et origo virtutis. Respice, domine, in faciem ecclesiae tuae et multiplica in ea generationes tuas: qui gratiae tuae affluentis impetu laetificas civitatem tuam fontemque baptismatis aperis toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis, ut tuae majestatis imperio sumat unigeniti tui gratiam de spiritu sancto.*

430b. *Qui hanc aquam regenerandis hominibus praeparatam arcana sui luminis ammixtione fecundet, ut sanctificatione concepta ab immaculato divini fontis utero, in novam renatam creaturam progenies caelestis emergat: et quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, omnes in unam pariat gratia mater infantiam. Procul ergo hinc jubente te, domine, omnis spiritus inmundus abscedat, procul tota nequitia diabolicae fraudis absistat. Nihil hic loci habeat contrariae virtutis ammixtio: non insidiando circumvolet, non latendo subripiat, non inficiendo corrumpat. Sit haec sancta et innocens creatura libera ab omni impugnatoris incursu, et totius nequitiae purgata discessu: sit fons vivus aqua regenerans, unda purificans, ut omnes hoc lavacro salutifero diluendi operante in eis spiritu sancto perfectae purgationis indulgentiam consequantur.*

430c. *Unde benedico te, [+] creatura aquae, per deum vivum, per deum sanctum; qui te in principio verbo separavit ab arida, et in quattuor fluminibus totam terram rigari praecepit; qui te in deserto amaram suavitate indita fecit esse potabilem, et sitiendi populo de petra produxit. Benedico te et per Jesum Christum filium ejus unicum dominum nostrum: qui te in chanaan galileae, signo ammirabili sua potentia convertit in vinum; qui pedibus super te ambulavit et a Johanne in Jordane in te baptizatus est; qui te una cum sanguine de latere suo produxit, et discipulis suis jussit ut credentes baptizarentur in te dicens: Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos + in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*

430d. *Haec nobis praecepta servantibus tu, deus omnipotens, clemens adesto; tu benignus aspira, tu has simplices aquas, tuo ore benedicito, ut praeter naturalem emundationem, quam lavandis possunt adhibere corporibus, sint etiam purificandis mentibus efficaces.*

430e. *Descendat in hac plenitudine fontis virtus spiritus tui, totamque hujus substantiam, regenerandi fecundet effectum. Hic omnium peccatorum maculae deleantur; hic natura ad imaginem tuam condita, et ad honorem sui reformata principii, cunctis vetustatis squaloribus emundetur, ut omnis homo hoc sacramentum regenerationis ingressus, in vere innocentiae, novam infantiam renascatur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos et seculum per ignem.*

431. ***Baptizat et linit eum presbiter de chrysmo in cerebro et dicit:***

Deus omnipotens pater domini nostri Jesu Christi qui te regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum ipse te linet chrysmo salutis, in vitam aeternam.

ORATIO AD INFANTES CONSIGNANDUM (432)

Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui regenerare dignatus es hos famulos et famulas tuas ex aqua et spiritu sancto, quique dedisti eis remissionem omnium peccatorum emitte in eos septiformem spiritum tuum sanctum paraclitum de caelis: spiritum sapientiae et intellectus, spiritum consilii et fortitudinis, spiritum scientiae et pietatis; adimple eos spiritu timoris domini et consigna eos signo crucis in vitam propitiatus aeternam. Per dominum.

ORATIO[NES] IN SABBATO SANCTO NOCTE AD MISSAM (433-438)

433. *Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem gloria dominicae resurrectionis inlustras, conserva in nova familiae tuae progenie adoptionis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi exhibeant servitutem. Per.*

434. **SUPER OBLATA.** *Suscipe, domine, quaesumus, preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant. Per.*

435. **PRAEFATIO.** *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum nocte gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis.*

436. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam venerantes inprimis gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis ejusdem dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi. Sed et beatorum.*

437. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus accipias.*

438. AD COMPLENDUM. *Spiritum nobis, domine, tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordēs. Per.*

Section 74

ORATIO IN DOMINICA SANCTA AD MISSAM (439-447)

439. *Deus, qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti, vota nostra quae praeveniendo adspiras, etiam adjuvando prosequere. Per eundem.*

440. SUPER OBLATA. *Suscipe, domine, quaesumus, preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant. Per.*

441. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore, sed in hac potissimum die gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis.*

442. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes resurrectionis domini nostri Jhesu Christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam venerantes inprimis gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis ejusdem dei et domini nostri Jhesu Christi. Sed et beatorum.*

443. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus accipias.*

444. AD COMPLENDUM. *Spiritum nobis, domine, tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordēs. Per.*

445. AD SANCTUM JOHANNEM AD VESPERUM. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solemnia colimus, innovatione tui spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per.*

446. AD FONTES. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solemnia colimus, ereptionis nostrae suscipere laetitiam mereamur. Per dominum.*

447. AD SANCTAM ANDREAM. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens <deus>, ut qui gratiam dominicae resurrectionis agnovimus, ipsi per amorem spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per.*

Section 74

ORATIONES QUAE DICUNTUR AD LECTIONES IN ECLESIA (322-326a)

322. *In Genesim.* In principio creavit deus caelum.

322a. *Deus qui mirabiliter creasti hominem et mirabilius redemisti: da nobis, quaesumus, contra oblectamenta peccati mentis ratione persistere, ut mereamur ad gaudia aeterna pervenire. Per dominum.*

323. *Factum est autem in vigilia matutina.*

323a. *Deus cujus antiqua miracula **etiam** in praesenti quoque saeculo coruscare sentimus: praesta quaesumus, ut sicut priorem populum ab Egyptis liberasti, hoc ad salutem gentium per aquas baptismatis opereris. Per.*

324. *Et adpraehendent septem mulieres.*

324a. *Deus qui nos ad celebrandum paschale sacramentum utrisque testamenti paginis imbuisti: da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam, ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per dominum.*

325. *Haec est hereditas servorum domini.*

325a. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam semper gentium vocatione multiplicas: concede propitius, ut quos aqua baptismatis abluis, continua protectione tuearis. Per.*

326. *In psalmo xli.* Sicut cervus.

326a. *Concede quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui festa paschalia agimus, celestibus desideriis accensi, fontem vitae sitiamus. Per.*

Section 85

IN SABBATO SANCTO IN NOCTE (327-329)

327. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem gloria dominicae resurrectionis inlustras, conserva in nova familiae tuae progenie adoptionis spiritum quem dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati puram tibi exhibeant servitutem. Per **eundem** dominum.*

328. **SUPER OBLATAM.** *Suscipe, domine, quaesumus, preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum, ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medelam te operante proficiant. Per dominum.*

329. *VD aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore, sed in hanc potissimam noctem gloriosius predicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Ipse enim verus est agnus qui abstulit peccata mundi, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit et vitam resurgendo reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes: Sanctus.*

330. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes resurrectionis domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam venerantes inprimis gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis ejusdem dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi. Sed et beatorum.*

331. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus accipias.*

332. *AD COMPLENDUM. Spiritum nobis, domine, tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordes. Per dominum.*

Section 86

IN DOMINICO SANCTO AD SANCTAM MARIAM IN LATERANIS (333-336)

333. *Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum devicta morte reserasti: vota nostra quae praeveniendo adspiras, etiam adjuvando proseguere. Per eundem.*

333a. ***Super oblatam, Praefatio, Hanc igitur, Ad complendum, et omnia ut supra per ordinem in nocte sancta.***

334. *AD VESPEROS: AD SANCTUM JOHANNEM. Concede quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solemnia colimus, innovatione tui spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per **eundem** dominum.*

335. *AD FONTES. Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae solemnia colimus, ereptionis nostrae suscipere laetitiam mereamur. Per eundem.*

336. *AD SANCTAM ANDREAM. Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui gratiam dominicae resurrectionis agnovimus, ipsi per amorem spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per eundem.*

Appendix Six

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Day of Pentecost

The Veronese

Section 10

ORATIONES PRIDIE PENTECOSTEN (187-190)

187. *Deus, qui si velis reddere quod meremur, prius deficimus, quam merita supplicia perferamus: quaesumus, absolve nostros placatus errores, et ut possimus ad tua praecepta converti, copiosa propitiatione nos praeveni: per...*

188. *Clemens, omnipotens et misericors deus, duritiam nostri cordis averte, qua nec verbera multiplicata metuimus, nec tantis mysteriis collata dona sentimus; et tua nobis inspiratione concede, ut et delictis veniam postulemus, et gratias pro nostra salvatione reddamus: per...*

189. *Domine deus noster, cujus est prima causa miserendi, qua nomen tuum timeamus et amemus, cordibus nostris miseratus infunde, ut quae tibi non placent refutantes, sincera tibi voluntate subdamur: per...*

190. *Parce, domine, parce peccantibus; et ut ad propitiationem tuam possimus accedere, spiritum nobis tribue corrigendi: per...*

ITEM ALIA (191-199)

191. *Omnipotens, sempiterna deus, qui pascale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri: presta, ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregetur: per...*

192. *Supplices tuam, domine, clementiam depraecamur, ut qui praevenis semper mala merita nostra miserando, tibi placita fieri...piis actibus et ieiuniis salubribus expiando: per...*

193. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut dignitas condicionis humanae per inmoderantiam sauciata, medicinalis parsimoniae studiis reformetur: per...*

194. *Annue, misericors deus, ut qui divina praecepta violando paradisi felicitate decidimus, ad aeternae beatitudinis redeamus accessum per tuorum custodiam mandatorum: per...*

195. *Adesto, domine, fidelibus tuis, adesto supplicibus: et terrestribus non deseras adjumentis, quos caelestium rerum facis esse participes: per...*

196. *Sacri nos, domine, muneris operatio mundet et foveat, renovet et donis societ sempiternis: per...*

197. *Vere dignum: qui, ut ad id quod facta est, reparetur humana condicio, in uno eodemque homine suum cuique convenienter adtribuis. Corpus alitus aescis, anima jejuniis saginatur: nisi competentibus sustentata cibus membra non serviunt, absque continentia non viget mentis imperium. In qua diversitate substantiae sic tuo moderamine nos gubernas, ut quia sine his non potest constare, quibus refovetur alterutrum, hac temperie sumi praecipias, qua utrumque vegetetur: ac simul alimonia carni non desit unde subsistat, et adsit observantia unde mens polleat: per.*

198. *Sacris caelestibus, domine, vitia nostra purgentur, et ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari: per...*

199. *Supplicem tibi, domine, plebem placatus intende, et in tua misericordia confidentem clementia largiore comitare; ut quia sine te non potest omnino consistere, tuis beneficiis temporalibus gubernetur, ut proficiat ad aeterna: per...*

i. IN PENTECOSTEN ASCENDENTIBUS A FONTE (200-205)

200. *Presta nobis, ineffibilis et misericors deus, ut adoptio, quam in id ipsum sanctus spiritus advocavit, nihil in dilectione terrenum, nihil habeat in confessione diversum: per...*

201. *Propitius, domine, quaesumus, haec dona sanctifica, et hostiae spiritalis oblatione suscepta nosmet ipsos tibi perface munus aeternum: per...*

202. *Vere dignum: qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum in filios adoptionis effudit. Unde laetantes inter altaria tua, domine virtutum, hostias tibi laudis offerimus, et cetera.*

203. *Hanc igitur oblationem, quam tibi offerimus pro his quos ex aqua et spiritu sancto regenerare dignatus es, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, placatus accipias eorumque nomina ascribi jubeas in libro viventium: per.*

204. *Communicantes, et diem Pentecosten sacratissimum celebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolos plebemque credentium praesentiae suae majestatis implevit, sed et memoriam venerantes.*

205. *Benedic, domine, et has tuas creaturas fontis mellis et lactis, et pota famulos tuos ex hoc fonte aquae vitae perennis qui est spiritus veritatis, et enutri eos de hoc lacte et melle, quemadmodum...partibus nostris Abraham Isaac et Jacob introducere te eos in terram promissionis, terram fluentem melle et lacte. Conjunge ergo famulos tuos, domine, spiritui sancto, sicut conjunctum est hoc mel et lac, quo caelestis terrenaque substantiae significatur unio in Christo Jesu domino nostro: per quem haec omnia.*

ii. [ITEM ALIA] (206)

Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti nova(m) tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purgatae jejunio cunctis reddantur eius muneribus aptiores: per...

The texts that follow in this sub-section (Ve 207-209)
are located under another heading, *In jejunio quarti mensis*,
and are found above in Appendix Two

<iii. ITEM ALIA> (210-214)

210. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui pascalis solemnitatis arcanum hodierni mysterii plenitudine perfecisti: da, quaesumus, ut filii tuae adoptionis effecti, quam dominus noster Iesus Christus ad te veniens dereliquit, mereantur et pacem: per...*

211. *Da, quasumus, ecclesiae tuae, misericors deus, ut sancto spiritu congregata hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur: per...*

212. *Hostias populi tui, quaesumus, domine, miseratus intende, et ut tibi reddantur acceptae, conscientias nostras sancti spiritus salutaris adventus emundet: per...*

213. *Vere dignum: in die sollemnitatis hodiernae, quo humanam de varia superstitione substantiam spiritu verae perficis religionis unitam: per...*

214. *Adesto, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo, et quem mysteriis caelestibus imbuisti, ab hostium furore defende: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 77

**ORATIO<NES> PER SINGULAS LECTIONES IN SABBATO PENTECOSTEN
(618-623)**

618. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti novam tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purgatae jejunio cunctis reddantur ejus muneribus aptiores: per dominum nostrum.*

619. *Sequitur lectio in Genesis*

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, indeficiens lumen, qui spiritum tuum sanctum, cum super aquas in mundi creationis exordio ferretur, humanae declarasti salutis auctorem: praesta quaesumus, ut idem spiritus veritatis ecclesiae tuae dona multiplicet: per dominum.

620. Item de cantico Exodi

Deus, qui primis temporibus impleta miracula novi testamenti luce reserasti, quod mare rubrum forma sacri fonti existeret, et liberata plebs ab aegyptia servitute christiani populi sacramenta praeferret: da, ut omnes gentes Israhelis privilegium meritum fidei consecutae spiritus tui participatione regenerentur: per.

621. Item de cantico Deuteronomii <cum> lectione

Deus, gloriatio fidelium et vitae justorum, qui per Moysen famulum tuum nos quoque modulatione sacri carminis erudisti: in universis gentibus misericordiae tuae munus operare tribuendo beatitudinem auferendo terrorem, ut quod praenuntiatum est ad supplicium, in remedium transferatur aeternum: per dominum.

622. Item de cantico Esaiae cum lectione

Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui per unicum filium tuum ecclesiae tuae demonstrasti te esse cultorem, ut omnem palmitis fructum in eodem Christo tuo, qui vera vitis est, efferentem clementer excolens, fructus afferat ampliores: fidelibus tuis, quos velut vineam ex Aegypto per fontem baptismi pertulisti, nullae peccatorum spinae praevaleant, ut Spiritus tui sanctificatione muniti perpetua fruge ditentur: per.

623. Domine deus virtutum, qui, collapsa reparas et reparata conservas, auge populos in tui nominis sanctificatione renovandos, ut omnes qui diluuntur sacro baptismo, tua semper inspiratione dirigantur: per.

Book I, Section 78

ITEM IN VIGILIA DE PENTECOSTEN AD MISSA (624-630)

624. Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam novo semper foetu multiplicas, concede famulis tuis, ut sacramentum tuum vivendo teneant, quod fide perceperunt: per.

625. Deus, cuius spiritu totum corpus ecclesiae multiplicatur et regitur, conserva in novam familiae tuae progeniem sanctificationis gratiam quam dedisti, ut corpore et mente renovati in unitate fidei ferventes tibi, domine, servire mereantur: per.

626. SECRETA. Virtute sancti spiritus, domine, munera nostra continge, ut quod solempnitate praesenti suo nomine dedicavit, et intelligibile nobis faciat et aeternum: per.

627. Vere dignum: per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum spiritum sanctum in filios adoptionis effudit. Unde laetantes inter altaria tua, domine virtutum, hostias tibi laudis offerimus: per Christum Dominum. / Quem laudant.

628. INFRA ACTIONEM. Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum Pentecosten praevenientes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis plebemque credentium praesentiae suae majestatis implevit, sed et memoriam.

629. ITEM INFRA ACCIONEM. Hanc igitur *dicis sicut et in nocte sancta, et de creaturis benedicendis.*

630. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Concede, (quaesumus), omnipotens deus, ut paschalis perceptio sacramenti mentibus nostris continua perseveret: per dominum.*

Book I, Section 79

ITEM ALITER IN VIGILIA PENTECOSTEN (631-636)

631. *Concede nobis, domine, praesidia militiae christianae sanctis inchoare jejuniis, ut contra spirituales nequitias pugnaturi continentiae muniamur auxiliis: per.*

632. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam sancti spiritus novam tui paracliti spiritualis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostrae sacro purificatae jejunio cunctis reddantur ejus muneribus aptiores: per dominum.*

633. SECRETA. *Hostias populi tui, quaesumus, domine, miseratus intende, et ut tibi reddantur acceptae, conscientias nostras sancti spiritus salutaris emundet adventus: per*

634. *Vere dignum: qui sacramentum paschale consummans, quibus per unigeniti tui consortium filios adoptionis esse tribuisti, per sanctum spiritum largiris dona gratiarum, et sui coheredibus redemptoris iam nunc supernae pignus hereditatis impendis, ut tanto se certius ad eam confidant esse venturos, quanto in ejus participationem profecerint. Propterea.*

Infra actionem ut supra.

635. ITEM POST COMMUNIONEM. *Sacris caelestibus, domine, vitia nostra purgentur, ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari: per.*

636. < ITEM POST COMMUNIONEM. > *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut spiritus adveniens majestatem nobis filii tui manifestando clarificet: per eundem.*

Book I, Section 80

ORATIONES ET PRAECES DOMINICA PENTECOSTEN (637-645)

637. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui paschale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri, praesta, ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregetur. Per.*

638. *Deus, qui sacramento festivitatis hodiernae universam ecclesiam tuam in omni gente et natione sanctificas, in totam mundi latitudinem spiritus tui sancti dona defunde, ut quod inter ipsa evangelicae praedicationis exordia operata est divina dignatio, nunc quoque per credentium corda defunde: per.*

639. **SECRETA.** *Mentes nostras, quaesumus, domine, spiritus sanctus divinis praeparet sacramentis, quia ipse est omnium remissio peccatorum: per dominum nostrum.*

640. *Purificet nos, quaesumus, domine, muneris praesentis oblatio et dignos sacra participatione perficiat: per dominum.*

641. *Vere dignum: quia hodie sancti spiritus celebramus adventum. Qui principiis nascentis ecclesiae cunctis gentibus inbuendis et deitatis scientiam indidit et loquelam, in diversitate donorum mirabilis operator unitatis, variarumque gratiarum tributor idem et unus effector, et praedicantium dispensator ipse linguarum. Quem laudant angeli.*

642. **INFRA ACTIONEM.** *Communicantes, et diem pentecosten sacratissimum celebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolos plebemque credentium praesentia suae majestatis implevit; sed et memoriam.*

Hanc igitur oblationem ***dicis sicut in nocte sancta.***

643. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Sacris caelestibus, domine, vitia nostra purgentur, ut muneribus tuis possimus semper aptari: per*

644. **AD POPULUM.** *Praesta, quaesumus, domine, ut a nostris mentibus et carnales amoveat spiritus sanctus affectus et spiritalia nobis dona potenter infundat: per dominum nostrum.*

645. *Adesto, domine, quaesumus, populo tuo et quem mysteriis caelestibus satiasti, ab hostium incursione defende: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 110

INCIPIUNT ORATIONES DE PENTECOSTEN DIE SABBATO ANTE DESCENSUM FONTIS (507-519)

507. ***Lectio genesi.*** Deus temptavit abraham.

508. *Deus qui in abrahamae famuli tui opere humano generi oboedientiae exempla praebuisti, concede nobis et nostrae voluntatis pravitatem frangere, et tuorum praeceptorum rectitudinem adimplere. Per dominum.*

509. ***Lectio libri deuteronomii.*** Et scripsit moyses canticum hoc.

510. *Deus qui nobis per prophetarum ora praecepisti temporalia relinquere atque ad aeterna festinare, da famulis tuis ut quae a te jussa cognovimus implere caelesti inspiratione valeamus. Per.*

511. ***Lectio esaiae prophetae.*** Et adpraehendent septem mulieres unum hominem.

512. *Deus qui nos ad celebrandam festivitatem utriusque testamenti paginis instruis, da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per dominum.*

513. ***Lectio hieremiae prophetae.*** Audi israhel mandata vitae.

514. *Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae mirabile sacramentum et da famulis tuis ut hoc quod devote agimus etiam rectitudine vitae teneamus. Per dominum nostrum.*

515. ***Oratione de psalmo xli.*** Sicut cervus. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui solemnitatem dono spiritus sancti colimus caelestibus desideriis accensi fontem vitae sitiamus. Per.*

Aliae orationes.

516. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui paschale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri, praesta ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregentur. Per dominum.*

517. ***ALIA ORATIO.*** *Deus qui sacramento festivitatis hodiernae universam ecclesiam tuam in omni gente et natione sanctificas, in totam mundi latitudinem spiritus tui dona diffunde. Per dominum.*

518. ***ALIA.*** *Annuere misericors deus, ut qui divina praecepta violando paradisi felicitate decidimus ad aeternae beatitudinis redeamus accessum per tuorum custodiam mandatorum. Per.*

519. ***ALIA.*** *Da nobis quaesumus domine per gratiam spiritus sancti, novam tui paracliti spiritalis observantiae disciplinam ut mentes nostras sacro purificante jejunio cunctis reddantur eius muneribus aptiores. Per.*

Section 111

ORATIO AD MISSA IN SABBATO PENTECOSTEN POST ASCENSUM FONTIS (520-525)

520. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut claritatis tuae super nos splendor effulgeat, et lux tuae lucis corda eorum qui per gratiam tuam renati sancti spiritus illustratione confirmet. Per dominum.*

521. SUPER OBLATA. *Munera domine quaesumus oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus illustratione emunda. Per dominum.*

522. PRAEFATIO. *VD et iustum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae Deus per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbem terrarum mundus exultat, sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates, hymnum gloriae tuae concinnunt sine fine dicentes.*

523. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecosten celebrantes quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit, sed et memoriam venerantes.*

524. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus domine ut placatus. [per.]*

525. AD COMPL. *Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet infusio et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. Per dominum.*

Section 112

DIE DOMC. AD SANCTUM PETRUM (526-531)

526. *Deus qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus inlustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere, et de ejus consolatione gaudere. Per.*

527. SUPER OBLATA. *Munera domine quaesumus oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus inlustratione emunda. Per.*

528. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus, per christum dominum nostrum, Qui ascendens super omnes caelos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbem terrarum mundus exultat, sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates, hymnum gloriae tuae concinnunt sine fine dicentes: Sanctus.*

529. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecosten caelebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit, sed et memoriam.*

530. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum quaesumus domine ut placatus.*

531. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sancti spiritus domine corda nostra mundet infusio et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. Per.*

The Tridentinum

Section 95

INCIPIUNT ORATIONES DE PENTECOSTEN DIE SABBATO ANTE DESCENSUM FONTIS (553-561)

553. ***Lectio libri Genesis.*** Temptavit deus Abraham.

554. *Deus, qui in Abrahae famuli tui opere humano generi oboedientiae exempla praeuisti, concede nobis et nostrae voluntatis pravitatem frangere, et tuorum praeceptorum rectitudinem in omnibus adimplere. Per dominum.*

555. ***Lectio libri Deuteronomii.*** Et scripsit Moyses canticum.

556. *Deus, qui nobis per prophetarum ora praecepisti temporalia relinquere atque ad aeterna festinare: da famulis tuis, ut quae a te jussa cognovimus, implere caelesti inspiratione valeamus. Per.*

557. ***Lectio Esaiæ prophetae.*** Et adpraehendent septem mulieres.

558. *Deus, qui nos ad celebrandam festivitatem utriusque testamenti paganis instruis, da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam, ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per dominum nostrum.*

559. ***Lectio Hieremiae prophetae.*** Audi Israhel mandata vitae.

560. *Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae mirabile sacramentum: et da famulis tuis, ut hoc quod devote agimus, etiam rectitudine vitae teneamus. Per.*

561. ***De psalmo XLI.*** Sicut cervus.

561*. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hanc solemnitatem adventu sancti spiritus consecrasti: da nobis, quaesumus, ut caelestibus desideriiis accensi fontem vitae sitiamus. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

ALIAE ORATIONES (562-565)

562. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui paschale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri: praesta, ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregentur. Per.*

563. *ALIA. Deus, qui sacramento festivitatis hodiernae universam ecclesiam tuam in omni gente et natione sanctificas, in totam mundi latitudinem spiritus tui sancti dona diffunde. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

564. *ALIA. Annue, misericors deus, ut qui divina praecepta violando a paradisi felicitate decidimus, ad aeternae beatitudinis redeamus accessum per tuorum custodiam mandatorum. Per...*

565. *ALIA. Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, per gratiam spiritus sancti tui paracliti novam spiritalis observantiae disciplinam, ut mentes nostras sacro purificante jejunio cunctis reddamur ejus muneribus aptiores. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

ORATIO AD MISSAM IN SABBATO PENTECOSTES POST ASCENSUM FONTIS (566-571)

566. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut claritatis tuae super nos splendor effulgeat, et lux tuae lucis corda eorum, qui per gratiam tuam renati sunt, sancti spiritus inlustratione confirmet. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum. In unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

567. *SUPER OBLATA. Munera, domine, quaesumus, oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus inlustratione emunda. Per dominum. In unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

568. *PRAEFATIO. VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes caelos, sedens<que> ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis, totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat: sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates hymnum gloriae tuae concinunt sine fine dicentes.*

569. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecostes praevenientes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit. Sed et.*

570. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus.*

571. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sancti spiritus, domine, corda nostra mundet infusio et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

Section 96

DIE DOMINICA AD SANCTUM PETRUM (572-577)

572. *Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus inlustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere, et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

573. SUPER OBLATA. *Munera, domine, quaesumus, oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus inlustratione emunda. Per dominum. In unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

574. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes caelos, sedensque ad dexteram tuam promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis, totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat: sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates hymnum gloriae tuae concinunt sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*

575. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecostes caelebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit. Sed et memoriam.*

576. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque, quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus, domine, ut placatus.*

577. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sancti spiritus, domine, corda nostra mundet infusio et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. Per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat deus in unitate ejusdem spiritus sancti.*

Section 103

**INCIPIUNT ORATIONES DE PENTECOSTEN DIE SABBATO ANTE
DESCENSUM FONTIS (455-459a)**

455. **Genesis.** Temptavit deus Abraham.

455a. *Deus qui in Abrahae famuli tui opere humano generi oboedientiae exempla praebuisti, concede nobis et nostrae voluntatis pravitatem frangere, et tuorum praeceptorum rectitudinem in omnibus adimplere. Per.*

456. **Scriptis moyses canticum.**

456a. *Deus, qui nobis per prophetarum ora praecepisti temporalia relinquere atque ad aeterna festinare: da famulis tuis, ut quae a te jussa cognovimus, implere caelesti inspiratione valeamus. Per.*

457. **Esaiiae.** Adpraehendent septem mulieres virum.

457a. *Deus, qui nos ad celebrandam festivitatem utriusque testamenti paganis instruis: da nobis intellegere misericordiam tuam, ut ex perceptione praesentium munerum firma sit expectatio futurorum. Per.*

458. **Hieremiae.** Audi israhel mandata vitae.

458a. *Deus incommutabilis virtus et lumen aeternum, respice propitius ad totius ecclesiae mirabile sacramentum, et da famulis tuis, ut hoc quod devote agimus, etiam rectitudine vitae teneamus. Per.*

459. **De psalmo XLI.** Sicut cervus.

459a. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui solemnitatem doni spiritus sancti colimus, caelestibus desideriis accensi, fontem vitae sitiamus. Per dominum.*

ORATIONES DE SABBATO PENTECOSTEN POST ASCENSUM FONTIS (460-465)

460. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut claritatis tuae super nos splendor effulgeat, et lux tuae lucis corda eorum qui per gratiam tuam renati sunt, sancti spiritus illustratione confirmet. Per dominum.*

461. SUPER OBLATAM. *Munera domine, quaesumus, oblata sanctifica, et corda nostra sancti spiritus illustratione emunda. Per dominum.*

462. *VD per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui ascendens super omnes caelos sedensque ad dexteram tuam, promissum spiritum sanctum hodierna die in filios adoptionis effudit. Quapropter profusis gaudiis, totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat. Sed et supernae virtutes atque angelicae potestates hymnum gloriae tuae concinunt, sine fine dicentes.*

463. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum pentecosten celebrantes, quo spiritus sanctus apostolis innumeris linguis apparuit, sed et memoriam venerantes.*

464. *Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium peccatorum, quaesumus domine, ut placates accipias.*

465. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sancti spiritus, domine, corda nostra mundet infusio, et sui roris intima aspersione fecundet. <Per.> In unitate.*

Section 104

DIE DOMINICO AD SANCTUM PETRUM (466-466a)

466. *Deus, qui hodierna die corda fidelium sancti spiritus inlustratione docuisti, da nobis in eodem spiritu recta sapere, et de ejus semper consolatione gaudere. Per dominum.*

466a. *Super oblatam, Praefatio, Communicantes, Hanc igitur, Ad complendum, omnia ut supra.*

ALIAE ORATIONES (467-473)

467. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui paschale sacramentum quinquaginta dierum voluisti mysterio contineri: praesta, ut gentium facta dispersio divisione linguarum, ad unam confessionem tui nominis caelesti munere congregentur. Per.*

468. *Deus qui sacramento festivitatis hodiernae universam ecclesiam tuam in omni gente et natione sanctificas, in totam mundi latitudinem spiritus tui dona diffunde. Per dominum nostrum.*

469. *Deus qui discipulis tuis spiritum sanctum paraclytum in ignis fervore tui amoris mittere dignatus es, da populis tuis in unitate fidei esse ferventes, ut in tua semper dilectione permanentes, et in fide inveniantur stabiles et in opere efficaces. Qui cum patre vivis et regnas deus in <unitate>.*

470. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, deduc nos ad societatem caelestium gaudiorum, ut spiritu sancto renatos regnum tuum facias introire, atque eo perveniat humilitas gregis, quo praecessit celsitudo pastoris. Per eundem.*

471. *Concede nobis, misericors deus, ut sicut in nomine patris et filii divini generis intellegimus veritatem, sic in spiritu sancto totius cognoscamus substantiam trinitatis. Qui vivis et regnas deus.*

472. *Praesta quaesumus, domine, ut a nostris mentibus carnales amoveat spiritus sanctus affectus, et spiritualia nobis dona potenter infundat. Per dominum.*

473. *Annue, misericors deus, ut qui divina praecepta violando paradissi felicitate decidimus, ad aeternae beatitudinis redeamus accessum per tuorum custodiam mandatorum. Per dominum.*

Appendix Seven

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Day of Christmas

The Veronese

Section 40

VIII KALENDAS JANUARIAS. NATALE DOMINI ET MARTYRUM PASTORIS BASILEI ET JOVIANI ET VICTORINI ET EUGENIAE ET FELICITATIS ET ANASTASIAE (1239-1243)

1239. *Deus, qui humanae substantiae dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti: da, quaesumus, nobis (Jesu Christi filii tui) ejus divinitatis esse consortes, qui humanitatis nostrae fieri dignatus est particeps: per...*

1240. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens et misericors deus, et sempiternus pater, ut nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi sollemnia, quae praesentibus officiis praevenimus, sic nova sint nobis, et continuata permaneant; sic perpetua perseverant, ut pro sui miraculo nova semper exsistant: per...*

1241. *Vere dignum: quoniam quicquid christianae professionis devotione celebratur, de hac sumit sollemnitate principium et in hujus muneris mysterio continetur. Hoc in ipsis generis humani parentibus declaratum est, apostolo protestante cum de primis hominibus loqueretur: sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia (Ephesians 5:32). Hoc patriarchae diversis actionibus et vocibus signaverunt. Hoc illa legis observantia figuralis adservit. Hoc praedixerunt cunctorum praeconia prophetarum. In hoc caeremoniarum veterum plenitudo est. In hoc praesens caelestium ministration gratiarum. In hoc bonorum pollicitatio futurorum. In quo, dum manifestissime conprobantur quae fuerant praedicta conpleri, rationabiliter credimus et prudenter, quae promittuntur esse ventura: per...*

1242. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut qui nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi nos frequentare gaudemus, dignis conversationibus ad ejus mereamur pertinere consortium: per...*

1243. *Largire, quaesumus, domine, famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum; ut qui de nativitate domini nostris tui filii gloriantur, et adversa mundi te gubernante non sentiant, et quae temporaliter celebrare desiderant, sine fine percipient: per...*

v. <ITEM ALIA> (1253-1257)

1253. *Da nobis, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia praevenimus, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes: per...*

1253. *Tanto nos, domine, quaesumus, promptiore servitio haec praecurrere concede sollemnia, quanto in his constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis: per...*

1255. *Vere dignum: sollemnitas enim, domine, caelestis pacis ingreditur. Quaesumus, ut per eam gratiam, per quam tibi reconciliatus est mundus peccatorum remissione cunctorum, nos quoque delictis omnibus expiate remedies tuae pietatis aptemur; et mysterium, quod extetit mundo salutare, principalis recordatione muneris adsequamur: per...*

1256. *Deus, qui nos sacramenti tui participatione contingis, virtutis ejus effectus in nostris cordibus operare, ut suscipiendo muneri tuo per ipsum munus aptemur: per...*

1257. *Benedictio tua, domine, super populum supplicantem copiosa descendat: ut qui te factore conditus, te reparatus auctore, te jugiter operante salvetur: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 1

ORATIONES ET PRECES IN VIGILIIS NATALIS DOMINI AD NONAM (1-4)

1. *Da nobis, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalitia praevenimus, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes: per dominum nostrum.*

2. *Praesta, misericors deus, ut ad suscipiendum filii tui singulare nativitatis mysterium et mentes credentium praeparentur et non credentium corda subdantur: per*

3. **SECRETA.** *Tanto nos, domine, quaesumus, promptiore servitio hujus sacrificia praecurrere concide solemnia, quanto in hoc constare principium nostrae redemptionis ostendis: per dominum.*

4. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Hujus nos, domine, sacramenti semper natalis (novitas) instauret, cujus nobilitas singularis humanam repulit vetustatem: per dominum.*

Book I, Section 2

ITEM DE VIGILIA DOMINI IN NOCTE (5-9)

5. *Deus, qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere, da, quaesumus, ut cujus lucis mysterium in terra cognovimus, ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur: per.*

6. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet, quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet: per.*

7. **SECRETA.** *Munera nostra, domine, quaesumus, nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta perveniant, ut sicut homo genitus id est (idem) praefulsit et deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est: per.*

8. *Vere dignum et justum est, aequum et salutare: cujus divinae nativitatis potentiam ingenita virtutis tuae genuit magnitudo. Quem semper filium et ante tempora aeterna generatum, quia tibi pleno atque perfecto aeternae patris nomen non defuit, praedicamus. Verum etiam honore majestate atque virtute aequalem tibi cum sancto spiritu confitemur, dum trino vocabulo unicam credimus majestatem. Quem laudant angeli.*

9. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Laeti, domine, frequentamus salutis humanae principia, quia trina celebratio beatae competit mysterio trinitatis: per dominum nostrum.*

Book I, Section 3

ITEM IN VIGILIA DOMINI MANE PRIMA (10-16)

10. *Deus, qui per beatae Maria sacrae virginis partum, sine humana concupiscentia procreatum, in filii tui membra venientes paternis fecisti praejudiciis non teneri: praesta, quaesumus, ut hujus creaturae novitate suscepta vetustatis antiquae contagiis exuamur: per eundem dominum.*

11. *Respice nos, omnipotens et misericors deus, et mentibus clementer humanis nascente Christo summae veritatis lumen infunde: per.*

12. **SECRETA.** *Da nobis, domine, ut nativitatis domini nostri Jesu Christi solemnia, quae praesentibus sacrificiis praevenimus, sic nova sint nobis ut continuata permaneant, sic perpetua perseverent ut (per) suo miraculo nova semper existant: per eundem.*

13. **ITEM ALIA.** *Cuncta, domine, quaesumus, his muneribus a nobis semper diabolica figmenta secluide, ut nostri redemptoris exordia purificatis mentibus celebremus: per.*

14. *Vere dignum: nos sursum cordibus erectis divinum adorare mysterium, quo humana conditio veteri terrenaque lege cessante nova caelestisque substantia mirabiliter restaurata profertur, ut quod magno dei munere geritur, magnis ecclesiae gaudiis celebretur: per.*

15. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Concede nobis, domine, quaesumus, ut sacramenta quae sumpsimus, quicquid in nostra mente vitiosum est (ipsius) medicationis dono curetur: per*

16. **AD POPULUM.** *Populum tuum, domine, quaesumus, tueantur sanctificent et gubernent aeternumque perficiant tam devotionibus acta solemnibus, quam natalitiis agenda divinis Iesu Christi domini nostri.*

Book I, Section 4

ITEM IN NATALE DOMINI IN DIE (17-23)

17. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et per partum beatae virginis Mariae consecrasti, da populis tuis in hac celebritate laetitiae, ut et qui tua gratia sunt redempti tua adoptione sint filii: per dominum.*

18. *Praesta, misericors deus, ut natus hodie saluatar, sicut divinae generationis est auctor, ita et immortalitatis sit ipse largitor: per.*

19. **SECRETA.** *Oblatio tibi sit, domine, hodierna festivitatis accepta, qua et nostrae reconciliationis processit perfecta placatio, et divini cultus nobis est indita plenitudo Jesu Christi domini nostri: qui tecum vivit.*

20. *Vere dignum: tuae laudis hostiam iugiter immolantes, cujus figuram Abel justus instituit, agnus quoque legalis ostendit, celebravit Abraham, Melchisedech sacerdos exhibuit, sed verus agnus, (et) aeternus pontifex, hodie natus Christus implevit. Et ideo cum angelis.*

21. **INTRA ACTIONEM.** *Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum caelebrantes, in quo incontaminata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem, Jesum Christum dominum nostrum: sed et memoriam.*

22. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Da nobis, domine, quaesumus, ipsius recensita nativitate vegetari, cujus caelesti mysterio et pascimur et potamur, Jesu Christi domini nostri filii tui: qui tecum vivit.*

23. **AD POPULUM.** *Praesta, quaesumus, deus noster, ut familia tua, quae filii tui domini nostri Jesu Christi est nativitate saluata, ejus etiam sit perpetua redemptione secunda: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 5

IN NOMINE DOMINI

VIII KALENDAS JANUARIAS ID EST XXIII MENSE DECEMBRI ORATIONES IN VIGILIAS DOMINI (33-35)

33. *Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione laetificas praesta ut unigenitum tuum quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus. Per.*

34. SUPER OBLATA. *Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui sicut adoranda filii tui natalicia praevenimus sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes. Per dominum.*

35. AD COMPLETAM. *Da nobis domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita nativitate respirare, cujus caelesti mysterio pascimur et potamur. Per.*

Section 6

VIII KALENDAS JANUARIAS ID EST XXV DIE MENSIS DECEMBRIS NATALE DOMINI AD SANCTAM MARIAM MAJOREM (36-40)

36. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere, da quaesumus ut cujus lucis mysteria in terra cognovimus ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur. Per dominum.*

37. SUPER OBLATA. *Accepta tibi sit domine quaesumus hodiernae festivitatis oblatio, ut tua gratia largiente, per haec sacrosancta commercia in illius inveniamur forma in quo tecum est nostra substantia. Per dominum.*

38. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis, lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur, et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus ymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*

39. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam caelebrantes, quo beatae mariae intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem, sed et memoriam venerantes ejusdem gloriosae semper virginis mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi sed et beatorum.*

40. AD COMPLETA. *Da nobis quaesumus domine deus ut qui nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi nos frequentare gaudemus dignis conversationibus ad ejus mereamur pertinere consortium. Per.*

Section 7

DE NOCTE AD SANCTAM ANASTASIAM (41-48)

41. *Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beatae anastasiae martyris tuae solemnia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per.*

42. ALIA. *Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui nova incarnatione verbi tui luce perfundimur, hoc in nostro resplendeat opere quod per fidem fulget in mente. Per.*

43. SUPER OBLATA. *Accipe quaesumus domine munera dignanter oblata, et beatae anastasiae suffragantibus meritis ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. Per.*

44. ALIA SUPER OBLATA. *Munera nostra quaesumus domine nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta proveniant ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est. Per dominum.*

45. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus. Qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur, non solum per viros virtutem martyrii, sed de eo etiam per feminas triumphasti. Et ideo cum angelis.*

46. ALIA PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia nostri saluatoris hodie lux vera processit, quae clara nobis omnia et intellectu manifestavit et visu. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus ymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*

47. AD COMPLETA. *Satiasti domine familiam tuam muneribus sacris ejus quaesumus semper interventione nos refove cujus solemnina celebramus. Per dominum.*

48. ITEM ALIA AD COMPLETA. *Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper natalis instauret cujus nativitas singularis humanam repulit vetustatem. Per.*

Section 8

IN NATALE DOMINI AD SANCTUM PETRUM (49-53)

49. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut nos unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet, quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet. Per eundum nostrum Jesum Christum.*

50. SUPER OBLATA. *Oblata domine munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

51. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis, lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur, et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sauctus, sauctus, sauctus.*

52 *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam caelebrantes, quo beate mariae intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem, sed et memoriam venerantes ejusdem gloriosae semper virginis mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi sed et beatorum.*

53. AD COMPLETA. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut natus hodie salvator mundi, sicut divinae nobis generationis est auctor, ita et immortalitatis sit ipse largitor. < Per. >*

Section 9

ALIAE ORATIONES DE NATALE DOMINI (53 bis-61)

53bis. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus ut quos sub peccati juga vetusta servitus tenet, eos unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet. Qui tecum.*

54. *Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis, nascente Christo summae veritatis lumen ostende. Per.*

55. ALIA ORATIO. *Largire quaesumus domine famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum, ut qui nativitate filii tui domini nostri gloriantur et adversa mundi te gubernante non sentiant, et quae temporaliter celebrare desiderant sine fine percipiant. Per dominum.*

56. ALIA ORATIO. *Deus qui per beatae mariae virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum in filii tui membra venientis paternis fecisti praejudiciis non teneri, praesta quaesumus ut huius creaturae novitati suscepti, vetustatis antiquae contagiis exuamur. Per.*

57. ALIA. *Concede nobis omnipotens deus, ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce mirabili quod ad salutem mundi hodierna festivitate processit, nostris semper innovandis cordibus oriatur. Per dominum.*

58. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et partum beatae mariae virginis consecrasti, da populis tuis in hac celebritate consortium, ut qui tua gratia sunt redempti, tua sint adoptione securi. Per.*

59. ALIA. *Deus qui humanae substantiae dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti, et mirabilius reformasti, da nobis quaesumus ejus divinitatis esse consortes qui humanitatis nostrae fieri dignatus est particeps. Per dominum.*

60. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui in filii tui domini nostri nativitate tribuisti totius religionis initium perfectionemque constare, da nobis quaesumus in ejus portione censi, in quo totius salutis humanae summa consistit. Per dominum.*

61. ALIA. *Da quaesumus domine populo tuo inviolabilem fidei firmitatem, ut qui unigenitum tuum in tua tecum gloria sempiternum in veritate nostri corporis natum de matre virgine confitentur, et a praesentibus liberentur adversis, et mansuris gaudiis inserantur. Per dominum nostrum.*

Section 2

IN NOMINE DOMINI

**VIII KALENDAS JANUARIID EST DIE XXIII MENSE DECEMBRI IN
VIGILIA DOMINI (87-89)**

87. *Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione laetificas: praesta, ut unigenitum tuum, quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus: dominum nostrum.*

88. SUPER OBLATA. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalitia praevenimus, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes. Per eundem.*

89. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da nobis, domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita nativitate respirare, cujus caelesti mysterio pascimur et potamur. Per eundem.*

Section 3

**VIII KALENDAS JANUARIID IN NATALE DOMINI DIE XXV MENSIS
DECEMBRIS AD SANCTAM MARIAM (90-94)**

90. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti inlustratione clarescere: da quaesumus, ut cujus lucis mysteria in terra cognovimus, ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur. Qui tecum.*

91. SECRETA. *Accepta tibi sit domine, quaesumus, hodiernae festivitatis oblatio, ut tua gratia largiente per haec sacrosancta commercia in illius inveniamur forma, in quo tecum est nostra substantia. Qui tecum vivit.*

92. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.*

93. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes, qua beatæ Mariae intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem. Sed et memoriam venerantes ejusdem gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi, sed et.*

94. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut qui nativitatem domini nostri Ihesu Christi nos frequentare gaudemus, dignis conversationibus ad ejus mereamur pertinere consortium. Qui tecum.*

DE NOCTE AD SANCTAM ANASTASIAM (95-102)

95. *Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beatae Anastasiae martyris tuae sollemnia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per.*

96. ALIA. *Da, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui nova incarnati verbi tui luce perfundimur, hoc in nostro resplendeat opera, quod per fidem fulget in mente. Per eundem.*

97. SECRETA. *Accipe, quaesumus, domine, munera dignanter oblata, et beatae Anastasiae suffragantibus meritis ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. Per dominum.*

98. ALIA. *Munera nostra, quaesumus, domine, nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta proveniant, ut sicut homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est. Per eundem.*

99. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur, non solum per viros virtutem martyrii, sed de eo etiam per feminas triumphasti. Et ideo cum angelis.*

100. ITEM PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Quia nostri salvatoris hodie lux vera processit, quae clara nobis omnia et intellectu manifestavit et visu. Et ideo cum angelis.*

101. AD COMPLENDUM. *Satiasti, domine, familiam tuam muneribus sacris: ejus, quaesumus, semper interventione nos refove, cujus sollemnia celebramus. Per dominum.*

102. ITEM ALIA AD COMPLENDUM. *Hujus nos, domine, sacramenti semper novitas natalis instauret, cujus nativitas singularis humanam repulit vetustatem. Per.*

Section 4

IN NATALE DOMINI AD SANCTUM PETRUM (103-107)

103. *Concede nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce mirabili, quod ad salutem mundi hodierna festivitate processit, nostris semper innovandis cordibus oriatur. Per eundem.*

104. SECRETA. *Oblata, domine, munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per eundem.*

105. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur. Et ideo cum angelis.*

106. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo beatae Mariae intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem. Sed et memoriam venerantes ejusdem gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri Jhesu Christi, <sed> et beatorum apostolorum.*

107. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut natus hodie salvator mundi, sicut divinae nobis generationis est auctor, ita et immortalitatis sit ipse largitor. Qui tecum vivit.*

ALIAE ORATIONES DE NATALE DOMINI (108-115)

108. *Respice nos misericors deus, et mentibus clementer humanis, nascente Christo, summae veritatis lumen ostende. Per eundem.*

109. ALIA. *Largire, quaesumus, domine, famulis tuis fidei et securitatis augmentum, ut qui nativitate filii tui domini nostri gloriantur, et adversa mundi te gubernante non sentiant, et quae temporaliter celebrare desiderant, sine fine percipiant. Per eundem.*

110. ALIA. *Deus qui beatae virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum in filii tui membra venientis paternis fecisti praejudiciis non teneri: praesta, quaesumus, ut hujus creaturae novitate sussepta, vetustatis antiquae cunctis exuamur. Per eundem.*

111. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et partum beatae Mariae virginis consecrasti; da populis tuis in hac celebritate consortium, ut qui tua gratia sunt redempti, tua sint adoptione securi. Per eundem.*

112. ALIA. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet, unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet. Per eundem.*

113. ALIA. *Deus, qui humanae substantiae dignitatem et mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti: da nobis, quaesumus, ejus divinitatis esse consortes, qui humanitatis nostrae fieri dignatus est particeps. Qui tecum...*

114. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui in filii tui domini nostri nativitate tribuisti totius religionis initium perfectionemque constare: da nobis, quaesumus, in ejus portione censari, in quo totius salutis humanae <summa> consistit. Qui tecum.*

115. ALIA. *Da, quaesumus, domine, populo tuo inviolabilem fidei firmitatem, ut qui unigenitum tuum in tua tecum gloria sempiternum in veritate nostri corporis natum de matre virgine confitentur, et a praesentibus liberentur adversis, et mansuris gaudiis inserantur. Per eundem.*

The Paduensis

Section 1
IN VIGILIA NATALIS DOMINI HORA NONA
STATIO AD SANCTAM MARIAM (1-3)

1. *Deus qui nos redemptionis nostrae annua expectatione laetificas praesta, ut unigenitum tuum, quem redemptorem laeti suscepimus, venientem quoque judicem securi videamus.*

2. SUPER OBLATAM. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut sicut adoranda filii tui natalitia praevenimus, sic ejus munera capiamus sempiterna gaudentes. Per eundem.*

3. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da nobis domine quaesumus unigeniti filii tui recensita nativitate respirare, cujus caelesti mysterio pascimur et potamur. Per eundem.*

Section 2
IN VIGILIA DOMINI IN NOCTE AD SANCTAM MARIAM (4-8)

4. *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere, da quaesumus, ut cujus lucis mysteria in terra cognovimus, ejus quoque gaudiis in caelo perfruamur. Per.*

5. SUPER OBLATAM. *Accepta tibi sit domine, quaesumus, hodiernae festivitatis oblatio, ut tua gratia largiente per haec sacrosancta commertia in illius inveniamur forma, in quo est nostra substantia. Per eundem.*

6. PRAEFATIO. VD <**usque ad**> *omnipotens deus. Quia per incarnati verbi mysterium nova mentis nostrae oculis lux tuae claritatis infulsit, ut dum visibiliter deum cognoscimus, per hunc invisibilium amore rapiamur. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis, cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, ymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.*

7. *Communicantes et noctem sacratissimam celebrantes, qua beatae Mariae intemerata virginitas huic mundo edidit salvatorem. Sed et memoriam venerantes ejusdem gloriosae semper virginis Mariae genetricis dei et domini nostri Jesu Christi.*

8. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut qui nativitatem domini nostri Jesu Christi nos frequentare gaudemus, dignis conversationibus ad ejus mereamur pertinere consortium. Per eundem.*

Section 3

AD SANCTAM ANASTASIAM (9-16)

9. *Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beatae Anastasiae martyris tuae solemnia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per dominum.*

10. ALIA. *Da quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui nova incarnatione verbi tui luce perfundimur, hoc in nostro resplendeat opere quod per fidem fulget in mente. Per eundem.*

11. SUPER OBLATAM. *Accipe quaesumus, domine, munera dignanter oblata, et beatae Anastasiae suffragantibus meritis ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. Per dominum.*

12. ALIA. *Munera nostra, quaesumus, domine, nativitatis hodiernae mysteriis apta proveniant, (et sicut) homo genitus idem refulsit deus, sic nobis haec terrena substantia conferat quod divinum est. Per eundem.*

13. PRAEFATIO. *VD aeternae deus. Qui ut de hoste generis humani major victoria duceretur, non solum per viros virtutem martyrii, sed de eo etiam per feminas triumphasti. Et ideo.*

14. *VD aeternae deus. Quia nostri salvatoris hodie lux vera processit, quae clara nobis omnia et intellectu manifestavit et visu. Et ideo.*

15. AD COMPLENDUM. *Satiasti, domine, familiam tuam muneribus sacris; ejus, quaesumus, semper interventione nos refove, cujus solemnia celebramus. Per dominum.*

16. ALIA. *Hujus nos domine sacramenti semper natalis instauret cujus nativitas singularis humanam repulit vetustatem. Per eundem.*

Section 4

ITEM IPSA DIE AD SANCTUM PETRUM (17-19)

7. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nos unigeniti tui nova per carnem nativitas liberet, quos sub peccati jugo vetusta servitus tenet. Per eundem.*

8. (SUPER OBLATAM.) *Oblata, domine, munera nova unigeniti tui nativitate sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per eundem.*

9. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut natus hodie salvator mundi, sicut divinae nobis generationis est auctor, ita et immortalitatis sit ipse largitor Jesus Christus. < Qui tecum. >*

ALIAE ORATIONES DE NATALE DOMINI (20-24)

20. *Respice nos misericors deus et mentibus clementer humanis, nascente Christo summae veritatis lumen ostende. Per eundem.*

21. ALIA. *Largire quaesumus, domine, famulis tuis fidei <et securi>tatis augmentum, ut qui nativitate filii tui domini nostri gloriantur, et adversa mundi te gubernante non sentiant, et quae temporaliter celebrare desiderant sine fine percipiant. Per eundem.*

22. ALIA. *Deus qui beatae virginis partum sine humana concupiscentia procreatum, in filii tui membra venientis paternis fecisti praejudiciis non teneri, praesta quaesumus, ut hujus creaturae novitati suscepta, vetustatis antiquae contagiis exuamur. Per eundem.*

23. ALIA. *Concede nobis, omnipotens deus, ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce mirabile, quod ad salutem mundi hodierna festivitate processit, nostris semper innovandis cordibus oriatur Jesus Christus. <Qui tecum>*

24. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui hunc diem per incarnationem verbi tui et partum beatae Mariae virginis consecrasti: da populis tuis in hac celebritate consortium, ut qui tua gratia sunt redempti, tua sint adoptione securi. Per eundem.*

Appendix Eight

The Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Day of Epiphany

The Gelasianum

Book I, Section 11

IN VIGILIIS DE THEOPHANIA (57-60)

57. *Corda nostra, quaesumus, domine, venturae festivitatis splendor illustret, quo mundi hujus tenebras carere valeamus, et perveniamus ad patriam claritatis aeternae: per.*

58. **SECRETA.** *Tribue, quaesumus, domine, ut eum praesentibus immolemus sacrificiis et sumamus, quem venturae sollemnitatis pia munera praeloquuntur: per.*

59. *Vere dignum: quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantiae nostrae mortalitatis <apparuit, in novam nos immortalitatis suae> lucem reparavit: per quem laudant angeli.*

60. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Illumina, quaesumus, domine, populum tuum et splendore gratiae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatoris mundi stella famulante manifestata nativitas mentibus eorum et reveletur semper et crescat: per.*

Book I, Section 12

ITEM IN THEOPHANIA IN DIE (61-68)

61. *Onnipotens sempiternus deus, qui verbi tui incarnationem praeclari testimonio sideris indicasti, quod videntes magi oblatis majestatem tuam muneribus adorarunt: concede, ut semper in mentibus nostris tuae appareat stella justitiae et noster in tua sit confessione thesaurus: per.*

62. *Deus, cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit, praesta, quaesumus, ut per eum quem similem nobis foras agnovimus intus reformari mereamur: per dominum nostrum.*

63. *Deus illuminator omnium gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere et illud lumen splendidum infunde cordibus nostris, quod trium magorum mentibus aspersisti: per.*

64. **SECRETA.** *Hostias tibi, domine, pro nati tui filii apparitione deferimus suppliciter exorantes, ut sicut ipse nostrorum auctor est munerum, ipse sit misericors et susceptor, Jesus Christus dominus noster: qui tecum vivet.*

65. *Vere dignum: te laudare mirabilem deum in omnibus operibus tuis, quibus regni tui mysteria revelasti. Hanc(que) enim festivitatem index puerperae virginis stella praecessit, quae natum in terra caeli dominum magis stupentibus nuntiaret, ut manifestandus mundo*

deus et caelesti denuntiaretur indicio, et temporaliter procreatus signorum temporalium ministerio panderetur. Et ideo.

66. INFRA ACTIONEM. *Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum caelebrantes, quo unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria sempiternus in veritate nostrae carnis natus magis de longinquo venientibus visibilis et corporalis apparuit: sed et memoriam.*

67. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Caelesti lumine, quaesumus, domine, semper et ubique nos praeveni, ut mysterium cuius nos participes esse voluisti, et puro cernamus intuitu et digno percipiamus effectum: per.*

69. AD POPULUM. *Deus, qui per hujus celebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen cunctis gentibus suscitasti, da plebi tuae redemptoris sui plenum cognoscere fulgorem, ut ad perpetuam claritatem per ejus incrementa perveniat: per.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

*The Hadrianum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Epiphany,
but rather the sacramentary reveals the following*

Section 17

VIII IDUS JANUARIAS ID EST VI DIE MENSIS JANUARI EPIPHANIA AD SANCTUM PETRUM (87-91)

87. *Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti, concede propitius ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. Per.*

88. SUPER OBLATA. *Ecclesiae tuae quaesumus domine dona propitius intueri, quibus non jam aurum, tus, et murra profertur, sed hisdem muneribus declaratur immolatur et sumitur. Per dominum.*

89. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, in nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus ter.*

90. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum caelebrantes quo unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria quoad aeternum in veritate carnis nostrae visibiliter corporalis apparuit, sed et memoriam.*

91. AD COMPLETA. *Praesta quaesumus domine deus noster, ut quae solemni celebramus officio purificatae mentis intelligentiam consequamur. Per.*

Section 18 (92-98)

92. ALIA. *Deus inluminator omnium gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere, et illud lumen splendidum infunde in cordibus nostris quem trium magorum mentibus aspirasti. Per.*

93. ALIA. *Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit, presta quaesumus ut per eum quem similem nobis foras agnovimus, intus reformari mereamur. Per.*

94. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, fidelium splendor animarum qui hanc solemnitate electionis gentium primitiis consecrasti, imple mundum gloria tua et subditis tibi populis per luminis tui appare claritatem. Per.*

95. ALIA. *Concede nobis omnipotens deus, ut salutare tuum nova caelorum luce mirabili quod ad salutem mundi hodierna festivitate processit nostris semper innovandis cordibus oriatur. Per dominum.*

96. ALIA. *Da nobis quaesumus domine digne caelebrare mysterium, quo in nostri saluatoris infantia miraculis coruscantibus declaratur, et corporalibus incrementis manifesta designatur humanitas. Per.*

97. ALIA. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut saluatoris mundi stella duce manifestata nativitas mentibus nostris reveletur semper et crescat. Per dominum.*

98. ALIA. *Illumina domine quaesumus populum tuum et splendore gloriae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatorem suum et incessanter agnoscat, et veraciter adpraehendat. Per.*

The Tridentinum

*The Tridentinum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Epiphany,
but rather the sacramentary reveals the following*

Section 12

VIII IDUS JANUARIi ID EST VI[I] DIE MENSIS JANUARIi EPIPHANIA (146-150)

146. *Deus, qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius, ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. Per eundem.*

147. SUPER OBLATA. *Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, dona propitius intueri, quibus non jam aurum, tus et murra profertur, sed quod eisdem muneribus declaratur, immolatur et sumitur. Per dominum.*

148. *Praefatio. VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agree, domine, sanctae pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, in nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo cum angelis.*

149. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria coaeternus, in veritate carnis nostrae visibiliter corporalis apparuit. Sed et memoriam.*

150. <AD COMPLENDUM.> *Praesta, quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut quae solemni celebramus officio, purificatae mentis intelligentia consequamur. Per dominum.*

ALIAE ORATIONES (151-156)

151. *Deus inluminator omnium gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere, et illud lumen splendidum infunde in cordibus nostris, quod trium magorum mentibus aspirasti. Per dominum.*

152. ALIA. *Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit: praesta, quaesumus, ut per eum, quem similem nobis foras agnovimus, intus reformari mereamur. Per eundem.*

153. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, fidelium splendor animarum, qui hanc solemnitatem electionis gentium primitiis consecrasti, imple mundum gloria tua, et subditis tibi populis per luminis tui appare claritatem. Per.*

154. ALIA. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine, digne celebrare mysterium, quod in nostri salvatoris infantia miraculis coruscantibus declaratur, et corporalibus incrementis manifesta designatur humanitas. Per eundem.*

155. ALIA. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut salvatoris mundi stella duce manifestata nativitas mentibus nostris reveletur semper et crescat. Per eundem.*

156. ALIA. *Illumina, quaesumus, domine, populum tuum, et splendore gloriae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatorem suum et incessanter agnoscat et veraciter adpraehendat. Per dominum nostrum.*

Section 11

IN VIGILIA EPIPHANIAE (55-57)

55. *Corda nostra, quaesumus, domine, venturae festivitatis splendor inlustret, quo mundi hujus tenebris carere valeamus et perveniamus ad patriam claritatis aeternae. Per dominum.*

56. SUPER OBLATAM. *Tribue, quaesumus, domine, ut eum praesentibus immolemus sacrificiis et sumamus, quem venturae solemnitatis pia munera praelocuntur: Jesum Christum dominum nostrum. Qui tecum.*

57. AD COMPLENDUM. *Illumina, quaesumus, domine, populum tuum, et splendore gratiae tuae cor ejus semper accende, ut salvatoris mundi stella famulante manifestata, nativitas mentibus eorum et reveletur semper et crescat. Per eundem.*

Section 12

VIII IDUS JANUarii EPIPHANIA DOMINI (58-62)

58. *Deus qui hodierna die unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius, ut qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem tuae celsitudinis perducamur. Per eundem.*

59. SUPER OBLATAM. *Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, dona propitius intueri, quibus non jam aurum, tus et murra profertur, sed hisdem muneribus declaratur, immolatur et sumitur, Jesus Christus.*

60. VD aeternae deus. *Quia cum unigenitus tuus in substantia nostrae mortalitatis apparuit, in nova nos immortalitatis suae luce reparavit. Et ideo.*

61. *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo unigenitus tuus in tua tecum gloria coaeternus in veritate carnis nostrae visibiliter corporalis apparuit. Sed et memoriam.*

62. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praesta quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut quae solemni celebamus officio, purificatae mentis intelligentia consequamur. Per dominum.*

ALIAE ORATIONES (63-65)

63. *Deus inluminator omnium gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere, et illud lumen splendidum infunde in cordibus nostris, quod trium magorum mentibus aspirasti. Per dominum.*

64. *Deus cujus unigenitus in substantia nostrae carnis apparuit: presta quaesumus, ut per eum quem similem nobis foras agnovimus, intus reformari mereamur. Per eundem.*

65. *Deus, qui per hujus celebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen cunctis gentibus suscitasti: da plebi tuae redemptoris sui plenum cognoscere flugorem, ut ad perpetuam claritatem per ejus incrementa peveniat, per quem eadem sumpsit exordia. Per eundem.*

Appendix Nine

Possible Prayer Texts for the Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord

The Veronese

Section 9

PRAECES IN ASCENSA DOMINI (169-178)

169. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum, quemadmodum es pollicitus, sentiamus: per...*

170. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, tribue nobis munere festivitatis hodiernae, ut illuc filiorum tuorum dirigatur intentio, quo in tuo unigenito tecum est nostra substantia: per...*

171. *Exaudi nos, misericors deus, et da mentibus nostris, quo redemptor noster conscendit ad tolli; ut secundo mediatoris adventu manifesto munere capiamus, quod nunc audemus sperare promissum: per...*

172. *Presta nobis, omnipotens et misericors deus, ut quae visibilibus mysteriis celebrando suscepimus, invisibili consequamur effectum: per...*

173. *Da nobis, domine, non terrene sapere, sed amare caelestia, et inter praetereuntia constitutos iam nunc inherere mansuris: per...*

174. *Exaudi nos, deus salutaris noster, ut per haec sacrosancta mysteria |:commercium:| in totius ecclesiae confidimus corpore faciendum, quod ejus praecessit in capite: per eundem Jesum Christum dominum nostrum.*

175. *Vere dignum: qui post resurrectionem saeculis omnibus gloriosam discipulis suis visu conspicuus tantoque palpabilis usque in quadragensimum diem manifestus apparuit, ipsisque cernentibus est elevatus in caelum: in id proficientibus per has moras ecclesiae primitivis, ut et certius fierent quod credidissent, et plenius discerent quod docerent: per...*

176. *Vere dignum: justa enim nobis exultatione laetandum est inter gaudia festivitatis hodiernae, quia in caelos ascensio mediatoris dei et hominum hominis Jesu Christi a nostra non est humilitate discessio, dum et in ea gloria, quam tecum semper habuit, et in ea natura est, quam suam fecit ex nobis: ac sic homo dignatus exsistere est, ut et nos divinitatis suae tribueret esse participes. Propterea.*

177. *Vere dignum: qui mirantibus angelis angelorumque principibus rex gloriae dominusque virtutum resurrectionis beatae primitias, throno tuae maiestatis oblatas, in tua secum (secus?) dextera collocavit. Et ideo.*

178. *Communicantes, et diem sacratissimum celebrantes ascensionis in caelum domini nostril Jesu Christi: sed et memoriam venerantes.*

The Gelasianum

The Gelasianum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord, but rather the sacramentary reveals the following

Book I, Section 63

ORATIONES ET PRAECES IN ASCENSA DOMINI (572-579)

572. *Deus, qui ad declaranda tua miracula majestatis post resurrectionem a mortuis hodie in caelos, apostolis adstantibus, ascendisti, concede nobis tuae pietatis auxilium, ut secundum tuam promissionem et tu nobiscum semper in terris et nos tecum in caelo vivere mereamur: per.*

573. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens pater, ut nostrae mentis intentio quo solemnitatis hodiernae gloriosus auctor ingressus est, semper intendat, et quo fide pergit, conversatione perveniat: per.*

574. **SECRETA.** *Sacrificium, domine, pro filii tui supplices venerabili nunc ascensione deferimus; praesta, quaesumus, ut et nos per ipsum his commercii sacrosanctis ad caelestia consurgamus: per.*

575. *Vere dignum: per Christum dominum nostrum. Qui saluti humanae subvenire dignatus est: nascendo etenim nobis donavit gloriam, patiendo diabolum vicit, resurgendo a mortuis vitae aeternae aditus praestitit, ascendendo ad patrem caelestes januas reseravit. Quem laudant angeli.*

576. **INFRA ACTIONEM.** *Communicantes et diem sacratissimum celebrantes, quo dominus noster unigenitus filius tuus unitum sibi hominem nostrae substantiae in gloriae tuae dextera collocavit sed et memoria.*

Inde vero modicum ante expleto canone benedices fruges novas. Sequitur

577. **BENEDICTIO.** *Benedic, domine, et has fruges novas fabae, quas tu, domine, rore caelesti et inundantia pluviarum ad maturitatem perducere dignatus es, ad percipiendum nobis cum gratiarum actione in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi: per quem haec omnia, domine, semper bona usque expleto canone.*

578. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam, tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis. per dominum nostrum.*

579. AD POPULUM. *Erectis sensibus et oculis cordis ad sublimia elevantes, quaesumus, ut quae in precum vota detulimus, ad impetrandi fiduciam referamus: per.*

Book I, Section 64

ITEM ALIA MISSA (580-585)

580. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidemus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum quemadmodum est pollicitus sentiamus: per.*

581. *Tribue, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut munere festivitatis hodiernae illuc filiorum tuorum dirigatur intentio, quo in tuo unigenito tecum est nostra substantia: per.*

582. SECRETA. *Sacrificia nos, domine, immaculata purificent, et mentibus nostris supernae gratiae dent vigorem: per dominum.*

583. *Vere dignum: in hac praecipue die, qua Jesus Christus filius tuus dominus noster, divini consummato fine mysterii, dispositionis antiquae munus explevit, ut scilicet et diabolus, caelestis operis inimicus, per hominem quem subjugarat elideret et humanam reduceret ad superna dona substantiam. Et ideo cum angelis.*

Infra actionem, ut supra. Sequitur

584. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Tribue, quaesumus, domine, ut per haec sacra quae sumpsimus, illuc tendat nostrae devotionis affectus, quo tecum est nostra substantia: per dominum.*

585. AD POPULUM. *Da, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, illuc subsequi tuorum membra fidelium quo caput nostrum principium (que) praecessit: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

The Hadrianum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord

The Tridentinum

The Tridentinum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord, however two ALIAE appear following the AD COMPLENDUM for the liturgy of the day

Section 93

IN ASCENSA DOMINI (548-549)

548. ALIA. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum quemammodum est pollicitus sentiamus eundem dominum nostrum.*

549. ALIA. Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam: tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis. Qui tecum vivit

The Paduensis

The Paduensis does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Ascension of the Lord, however three ALIAE appear following the AD COMPLENDUM for the liturgy of the day

Section 100

IN ASCENSIONE DOMINI (445-447)

445. ALIA. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nostrae mentis intentio, quo solemnitatis hodiernae gloriosus auctor ingressus est semper intendat, et quo fide pergit, conversatione perveniat. Per eundem.*

446. ALIA. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, ut sicut humani generis salvatorem consedere tecum in tua maiestate confidimus, ita usque ad consummationem saeculi manere nobiscum, quemammodum est pollicitus, sentiamus. (Qui tecum vivit.)*

447. ALIA. *Deus, cujus filius in alta caelorum potenter ascendens, captivitatem nostram sua duxit virtute captivam, tribue, quaesumus, ut dona quae suis participibus contulit, largiatur et nobis Jesus Christus.*

Appendix Ten

Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The Veronese

The Veronese does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The Gelasianum

The Gelasianum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 147

XIX KALENDAS SEPTEMBRES ID EST XIV DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI VIGILIA ADSUMPTIO SANCTAE MARIAE (658-660)

658. *Deus qui virginalem aulam beatæ Mariæ in quam habitare eligere dignatus es, da quaesumus ut sua nos defensione munitos, jocundos faciat suae interesse festivitati. Per.*

659. SUPER OBLATA. *Magna est domine apud clementiam tuam dei genetricis oratio, quam idcirco de praesenti seculo transtulisti, ut pro peccatis nostris, apud te fiducialiter intercedat. Per.*

660. AD COMPL. *Concede misericors Deus fragilitati nostrae praesidium, ut qui sanctae dei genetricis requiem caelebramus, intercessionis ejus auxilio a nostris iniquitatibus resurgamus. Per dominum.*

Section 148

XVIII KALENDAS SEPTEMBRES ID EST XV DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI ADSUMPTIO SANCTAE MARIAE (661-664)

661. *Veneranda nobis domine hujus est diei festivitas in qua sancta dei genetrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, qui filium tuum dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum. Per dominum.*

ALIA AD MISSAM

662. *Famulorum tuorum domine delictis ignosce, et qui placere de actibus nostris non valemus, genetricis filii tui domini dei nostri intercessionem salvemur. Per.*

663. SUPER OBLATA. *Subveniat domine plebi tuae dei genetricis oratio, quam etsi pro conditione carnis migrasse cognoscimus, in caelesti gloria apud te pro nobis orare sentiamus. Per dominum.*

664. AD COMPLETA. *Mensae caelestis participes effecti imploramus clementiam tuam domine Deus noster, ut qui festa dei genetricis colimus, a malis inminetibus, ejus intercessione liberemur. Per.*

The Tridentinum

The Tridentinum does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The Paduensis

The Paduensis does not contain a section for a Vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Appendix Eleven

Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Feast of Saint John the Baptist

The Veronese

Section 13

VIII KALENDAS JULIAS. NATALE SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE (232-236)

232. *Virtutum caelestium deus, qui nos annua beati Johannis baptistae sollemnia frequentare concedis: presta, quaesumus, ut et securis eadem mentibus celebremus, et eorum patrocinio promerente plene capiamus securitatis augmentum: per...*

233. *Ad offerenda munera, domine, laeti concurrimus, supplices implorantes, ut [et] venerando gloriam nuntiantis sumamus gratiam nuntiati: per...*

234. *Vere dignum: exhibentes sollemne jejunium, quo beati Johannis baptistae natalicia praevenimus. Cujus genitor et verbi dei nuntium dubitans nasciturum vocis est privatus officio, et eodem recepit nascente sermonem; quique angelo promittente dum non credit obmutuit, magnifici praeconis exhortu et loquens factus est et profeta: materque pariter sterilis aevoque confecta non solum puerperio fecunda processit, sed etiam, quo beatae Mariae fructum sedula voce (benedictione) susciperet, spiritu divinitatis impleta est; ipseque progenitus, utpote viae caelestis assertor, viam domino monuit praeparari, seraque in (suprema) parentum aetate concretus et editus, procreandum novissimis temporibus humani generis disseruit redemptorem: per...*

235. *Sanctorum tuorum nos, domine, patrocinia collata non deserant, quae fragilitatem nostram et precibus tueatur et meritis: per...*

236. *Omnipotens et misericors deus, qui beatum baptistam Johannem tua providentia destinasti, ut perfectam plebem Christo domino praepararet: da, quaesumus, ut familia tua hujus intercessione praeconis et a peccatis omnibus exuatur, et ad eum quem profetavit inveniant: per...*

iv. ITEM ALIA. AD FONTEM. (247-250)

247. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui instituta legalia et sanctorum praeconia prophetarum in diebus beati famuli tui Johannis implesti: presta, ut cessantibus significationum figuris ipsa sui manifestatione veritas eloquatur: per...*

248. *Da, quaesumus, domine, lumen intellegentiae parvulis tuis, ut pro veteris gratia sacramenti praesentis sacrificii gratia succedente sic gloriemur novis, ut non abutamur antiquis: per...*

249. *Vere dignum: quoniam plena sunt omnia saecula misericordia tua, quam recurrentibus data lege temporibus etiam in hujus diei festivitate veneramur: agnoscentes ad magnum pietatis tuae pertinuisse consilium, ut sanctus tuus Iohannis, cujus natalem ad nominis tui gloriam celebramus, tot donis mirabilis nasceretur: per...*

250. *Annue, domine, precibus nostris, ut sicut de praeteritis ad nova sumus sacramenta translati, ita vetustate deposita sanctificatis mentibus innovemur: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book II, Section 25
IN VIGILIA SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE.
VIII KALENDAS JULIAS (896-900)

896. *Praesta, quaesumus, domine, ut populus tuus ad plenae devotionis effectum beati baptistae Iohannis natalitiis praeparetur, quem praemisisti filio tuo parare plebem perfectam, Jesu Christo.*

897. *Beati Iohannis baptistae nos, domine, praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis favere placatum: per.*

898. **SECRETA.** *Munera populi tui, domine, placatus intende, et beati baptistae Iohannis, cujus nos tribuis praeire solemnia, fac gaudere suffragiis: per.*

899. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Da, quaesumus, misericors Deus, ut mysticis ecclesia tua beati baptistae Iohannis exordiis et sacris erudita praeconiis ad iram venturi iudicii declinandam dignos salutis fructus jugiter operetur: per.*

900. *Beati nos, domine, baptistae Iohannis oratio et intelligere Christi tui mysterium postulet et mereri: per.*

Book II, Section 26
ITEM IN NATALE UNDE SUPRA (901-906)

901. *Deus, qui praesentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati Iohannis nativitate fecisti, da populis tuis spiritalium gratiam gaudiorum et omnium fidelium mentes dirige in viam salutis et pacis: per dominum.*

902. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui instituta legalia et sanctorum praeconia prophetarum in diebus beati baptistae Iohannis implesti, praesta, quaesumus, ut cessantibus significationum figuris ipsa sui manifestatione veritas eloquatur, Jesus Christus dominus noster: qui tecum.*

903. *SECRETA. Tua, domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus sancti Johannis nativitatem honore debito celebrantes, qui salvatorem mundi et cecinit adfuturum et adesse monstravit, Jesum Christum.*

904. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Sumat ecclesia tua, deus, beati Johannis baptistae generatione laetitiam, per quem suae regenerationis cognovit auctorem: per.*

905. *Sancti Johannis natalitia celebrantes supplices te, domine, deprecamur, ut hoc idem nobis semper et indulgentiae causa sit et salutis: per.*

906. *ISTA IN VIGILIA SANCTI JOHANNIS: Beati Johannis baptistae nos, quaesumus, domine, praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis ab eo sempiternum remedium: per.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 123

IX KALENDAS JULIAS ID EST XXIII DIE MENSIS JUNII VIGILIA SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE (568-570)

568. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut familia tua per viam salutis incedat, et beati Johannis praecursoris hortamenta sectando, ad eum quem praedixit segura perveniat. Per.*

569. *SUPER OBLATA. Munera domine oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne Baptista, nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

570. *AD COMPL. Beati Johannis Baptistae nos domine praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis favere placatum. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.*

Section 124

VIII KALENDAS JULIAS ID EST XXIII DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI JOHANNIS IN PRIMA MISSA (571-573)

571. *Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui beati Johannis Baptistae solemnia colimus, ejus apud te intercessione muniamur. Per.*

572. *SUPER OBLATA. Munera domine oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne Baptista, nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

573. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui caelestia alimenta percepimus, intercedente beato Johanne Baptista per haec contra omnia adversa muniamur. Per.*

Section 125

ITEM AD MISSAS (574-582)

574. *Deus qui praesentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati Johannis nativitate fecisti, da populis tuis spiritalium gratiam gaudiorum, et omnium fidelium mentes dirige in viam salutis aeternae. Per.*

575. SUPER OBLATA. *Tua domine muneribus altaria cumulamus, illius nativitatem honore debito celebrantes, qui salvatorem mundi et cecinit adfuturum, et adesse monstravit. Per.*

576. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumat ecclesia tua Deus beati Johannis Baptistae generatione laetitiam per quem suae regenerationis cognovit auctorem. Per.*

577. AD VESPER. UBI SUPRA. *Deus qui nos beati Johannis baptistae concedis natalicia perfrui, ejus nos tribue meritis adjuvari. Per.*

578. AD FONTES. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, da cordibus nostris illam tuarum rectitudinem semitarum, quam beati Johannis Baptistae in deserto vox clamantis edocuit. Per dominum.*

ALIAE ORATIONES

579. *Deus qui conspicias quia nos undique mala nostra contristant, per praecursorem gaudii corda nostra laetifica. Per.*

580. ALIA. *Da quaesumus omnipotens Deus, intra sanctae ecclesiae uterum constitutos, eo nos spiritu ab iniquitate nostra justifica, quo beatum Johannem intra viscera materna docuisti. Per dominum.*

581. ALIA. *Deus qui nos annua beati Johannis Baptistae solemnia frequentare concedis, praesta quaesumus ut et devotis eadem mentibus celebremus, et ejus patrocinio promerente, plene capiamus securitatis augmentum. Per.*

582. ALIA. *Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui beatum Johannem Baptistam tua providentia destinasti, ut perfectam plebem Christo domino praepararet, da quaesumus ut familia tua hujus intercessione praeconis et a peccatis omnibus exuatur, et ad eum quem prophetavit pervenire mereatur. Per.*

Section 108

VIII KALENDAS JULII ID EST XXIII DIE MENSIS JUNII VIGILIA SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE (614-616)

614. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut familia tua per viam salutis incaedat, et beati[s] Johannis praecursoris hortamenta sectando ad eum, quem praedixit segura perveniat: eundem dominum.*

615. **SECRETA.** *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne baptista nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per dominum.*

616. **AD COMPLENDUM.** *Beati Johannis baptistae nos, domine, praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis favere placatum dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum.*

Section 109

VIII KALENDAS JULII ID EST XXIII DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE

IN PRIMA MISSA (617-619)

617. *Concede, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui beati Johannis baptistae solemnia colimus, ejus apud te intercessionem muniamur. Per dominum.*

618. **SECRETA.** *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne baptista nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per dominum.*

619. **AD COMPLENDUM.** *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui caelestia alimenta percipimus, intercedente beato Johanne baptista per haec contra omnia adversa muniamur. Per.*

ITEM AD MISSAS (620-624)

620. *Deus qui praesentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati Johannis nativitate fecisti, da populis tuis spiritalium gratiam gaudiorum, et omnium fidelium mentes dirige in viam salutis aeternae. Per.*

621. **SECRETA.** *Tua, domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus, illius nativitatem honore debito celebrantes, qui salvatorem mundi et cecinit adfuturum et adesse monstravit dominum.*

622. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumat ecclesia tua, deus, beati Johannis baptistae generatione laetitiam, per quem suae regenerationis cognovit auctorem: dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum.*

623. AD VESPERUM UBI SUPRA. *Deus qui nos beati Johannis baptistae concedis natalicio perfrui, ejus nos tribue meritis adjuvari. Per.*

624. AD FONTES. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, da cordibus nostris illam tuarum rectitudinem semitarum, quam beati Johannis baptistae in deserto vox clamantis edocuit. Per.*

ALIAE ORATIONES (625-628)

625. *Deus qui conspicias quia nos undique mala nostra contristant, per praecursorem gaudii corda nostra laetifica. Per.*

626. ALIA. *Da, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, intra sanctae ecclesiae uterum constitutos eo nos spiritu ab iniquitate nostra sanctificari, quo beatum Johannem intra viscera materna docuisti. Per dominum.*

627. ALIA. *Deus qui nos annua beati Johannis Baptistae solemnia frequentare concedes: praesta, quaesumus, ut et devotis eadem mentibus celebremus, et ejus patrocinio promerente plene capiamus securitatis augmentum. Per dominum.*

628. ALIA. *Omnipotens et misericors deus, qui beatum Johannem baptistam tua providentia destinasti, ut perfectam plebem Christo domino praepararet: da, quaesumus, ut familia tua hujus intercessione praeconis et a peccatis omnibus exuatur, et ad eum quem prophetavit pervenire mereatur. Per eundem.*

The Paduensis

Section 118

VIII KALENDAS JULIAS IN JEJUNIO SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE (520-522)

520. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut familia tua per viam salutis incedat, et beati praecursoris hortamenta sectando, ad eum quem praedixit secunda perveniat, dominum (nostrum Jesum Christum).*

521. SUPER OBLATAM. *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne baptista, per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

522. AD COMPLENDUM. *Beati Johannis baptistae nos, domine, praeclara comitetur oratio, et quem venturum esse praedixit, poscat nobis favere placatum. Per dominum.*

Section 119

VIII KALENDAS JULII NATALIS SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTAE

IN PRIMA MISSA (523-525)

523. *Concede quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui beati Johannis baptistae sollemnia colimus, ejus apud te intercessione muniamur. Per dominum.*

524. SUPER OBLATAM. *Munera, domine, oblata sanctifica, et intercedente beato Johanne baptista, nos per haec a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

525. AD COMPLENDUM. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui caelestia alimenta percepimus, intercedente beato Johanne baptista, per haec contra omnia adversa muniamur. Per dominum.*

Section 120

AD MISSAS (526-531)

526. *Deus qui praesentem diem honorabilem nobis in beati Johannis nativitate fecisti: da populis tuis spiritualium gratiam gaudiorum, et omnium fidelium mentes dirige in viam salutis aeternae. Per.*

527. SUPER OBLATAM. *Tua, domine, muneribus altaria cumulamus, illius nativitatem honore debito celebrantes, qui salvatorem mundi et cecinit adfuturum, et adesse monstravit. Per dominum.*

528. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumat ecclesia tua, deus, beati Johannis baptistae generatione laetitiam, per quem suae regenerationis cognovit auctorem, dominum.*

529. AD VESPERUM. *Da quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, intra sanctae ecclesiae uterum constitutos, eo nos spiritu ab iniquitate nostra justificari, quo beatum Johannem intra viscera materna docuisti. Per dominum.*

530. AD FONTES. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, da cordibus nostris illam tuarum rectitudinem semitarum, quam beati Johannis baptistae in deserto vox clamantis edocuit. Per dominum.*

531. ALIAE ORATIO. *Deus qui nos beati Johannis baptistae concedis natalicio perfrui, ejus nos tribue meritis adjuvari. Per.*

Appendix Twelve

Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Feast of Saints Peter and Paul

The Veronese

The Veronese does not contain an identifiable Mass set for a Vigil of Saints Peter and Paul, however, in group 21 among the sets of Section 16, "Conjunctio oblationis virginum sacratarum," appears a title "In jejunio" for a Mass of the apostles, although neither Peter nor Paul are mentioned by name

Section 15 IN NATALE APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI

No discernable vigil texts

Section 16 CONJUNCTIO OBLATIONIS VIRGINUM SACRATARUM

xxi. ITEM ALIA. (351-356)

351. *Placatus, quaesumus, domine, quidquid pro peccatis meremur averte; nec aput te delicta nostra praevalcant, sed misericordia tua semper exorta praevincat: per.*

352. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui nos omnium apostolorum merita sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari: quaesumus, ut celerem nobis tuae propitiationis abundantiam multiplicatis intercessoribus largiaris: per.*

353. [IN JEJUNIO.] *Munera, domine, tuae glorificationis offerimus, quae tibi pro nostris grata jejuniis eorum, quaesumus, deprecatio, quorum sollemnia celebramus, efficiat: per.*

354. *Vere dignum: qui in montibus (Mohleber substitutes here, omnis, which Feltoe mentions Bianchini corrected) sanctis caelestis Hierusalem fundamenta posuisti, quae duodecim solidata lapidibus apostolorum chorus ecclesiae tuae spiritali constructione declarat: ostendens nobis et in trinitate quadriformis evangelii constare mysterium, et in unoquoque evangeliorum trinitatis plenitudinem contineri; simulque fragilitatis nostrae per tuam gratiam fuisse provisos hujus dispensationis magistros, suffragatores et praesules; ut sacri muneris venerabile sacramentum nihil amplius, nihil minus, nossemus esse quaerendum: per.*

355. *Sanctificati, domine, salutari mysterio quaesumus, ut pro nobis eorum non desit oratio, quorum nos donasti patrociniis gubernari: per.*

356. *Presta populo tuo, domine, quaesumus, consolationis auxilium, et diuturnis calamitatibus laborantem respirare concede. Da veniam peccatis, et cor ejus ab iniquitate custodi; ut quia humana fragilitas incessabiliter meretur offensam, intervenientibus sanctis tuis indulgentia lapsis continuata subveniat: per.*

The Gelasianum

Book II, Section 29

IN VIGILIA APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI. IV KALENDAS IULIAS

(915-917)

915. *Deus, qui nobis apostolorum beatorum Petri et Pauli natalitia gloriosa praeire concedis, tribue, quaesumus, eorum nos semper et beneficiis praeveniri et orationibus adjuvari: per.*

916. **SECRETA.** *Munera, domine, tuae glorificationis offerimus, quae tibi pro nostris grata jejuniis sanctorum apostolorum, quaesumus, deprecatio, quorum sollemnia praevenimus, efficiat: per.*

917. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Beatorum Petri et Pauli honore continuo plebs tua semper exultet, et his praesulibus gubernetur, quorum doctrinis gaudet et meritis: per dominum.*

Book II, Section 30

ITEM IN NATALE SANCTI PETRI PROPRIAE. III KALENDAS IULIAS (918-920)

918. *Deus, qui beato apostolo tuo Petro collatis clavibus regni caelestis animas ligandi adque solvendi pontificium tradidisti, concede, ut intercessionis ejus auxilio a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur: per.*

919. **SECRETA.** *Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus, domine, preces et hostias beati Petri apostoli commendet oratio, ut quod pro illius gloria celebramus, nobis prosit ad veniam: per.*

920. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Laetificet nos domine, munus oblatum, ut sicut in apostolo tuo Petro te mirabilem praedicamus, sic per illum tuae sumamus indulgentiae largitatem: per.*

Book II, Section 31

IN NATALE APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI. III KALENDAS JULIAS

(921-926)

921. *Deus, qui hunc diem beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti, da ecclesiae tuae toto terrarum orbe diffusae eorum semper magisterio gubernari, per quos sumpsit religionis exordium: per.*

922. *Largiente te, domine, beati Petri et Pauli natalitium nobis (lumen) effulsit; concede, quaesumus, ut hodierna gloria passionis sicut illis magnificentiam tribuit sempiternam, ita nobis munimen operetur perpetuum: per.*

923. *SECRETA. Oblationes populi tui, domine, quaesumus, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli passio beata conciliet, et quae nostris non apta sunt meritis, fiant tibi placita tuorum deprecatione justorum: per.*

924. *PRAEFACIO. Vere dignum: apud quem quum beatorum apostolorum continuata festivitas et aeterna celebritas adque triumphus caelestis perpetuus sit natalis, nos tamen beatae confessionis initia recolentis frequenti tribuis devotione gaudere, ut crebrior honor sacratissimae passioni repensus majorem nobis retributionis gratiam largiatur: per.*

925. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Sumtis, domine, remediis sempiternis tuorum mundentur corda fidelium, ut apostolici Petri et Pauli natalis insignia, quae corporalibus officiis exsequuntur, pia cordis intelligentia comprehendant: per.*

926. *ITEM ALIA. Sumpsimus, domine, pignus salutis aeternae celebrantes apostolorum Petri et Pauli votiva solemnitas et perpetua merita venerantes: per.*

Section 32

ITEM IN NATALE SANCTI PAULI PROPRIAE. III KALENDAS JULIAS (927-930)

927. *Deus, qui multitudinem gentium beati Pauli apostoli praedicatione docuisti, da nobis, quaesumus, ut cujus natalitia colimus, eius apud te patrocinia sentiamus: per.*

926. *Majestatem tuam, domine, supplices exoramus, ut sicut ecclesiae tuae sanctus apostolus Paulus extitit praedicator, ita sit (pro) nobis perpetuus suffragator: per.*

927. *SECRETA. Praeveniant nobis, domine, quaesumus, apostoli tui desiderata commercia, ut quorum perpetuam dignitatem sacro mysterio frequentamus in terris, et praesentia nobis subsidia postulent et aeterna: per.*

928. *POST COMMUNIONEM. Perceptis, domine, sacramentis subdito corde rogamus et petimus, ut intercedente beato Paulo apostolo tuo nobis proficiant ad medelam, quae pro illius gesta sunt passione: per.*

Section 33

ORATIONES AD VESPERUM (931-938)

931. *Deus, qui ligandi solvendiue licentiam tuis apostolis contulisti, da, quaesumus, ut per ipsos a terrenis vitiis expediti liberi possimus caelestibus interesse mysteriis: per.*

932. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui nos beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli multiplici facis celebritate gaudere, da, quaesumus, ut eorum saepius iterata solemnitas nostrae sit tuitionis augmentum: per.*

933. *Apostolicis nos, domine, quaesumus, beatorum Petri et Pauli attolle praesidiis, ut quanto fragiliores sumus, tanto validioribus auxiliis foveamur: per dominum.*

934. *Concede, quaesumus, domine, apostolos tuos intervenire pro nobis, quia tunc nos salvari posse confidimus, si eorum precibus tua gubernetur ecclesia, quibus utitur te constituyente principibus: per dominum.*

935. *Omnipotens sempiternae deus, qui nos omnium apostolorum merita sub una tribuisti celebritate venerari, quaesumus, ut celeriter nobis tuae propitiationis abundantiam multiplicatis intercessoribus largiaris: per.*

936. *Exaudi nos, deus salutaris noster et apostolorum tuere praesidiis, quorum donasti fideles esse doctrinis: per.*

937. *Solemnitatis apostolicae multiplicatione gaudentes clementiam tuam deprecamur, omnipotens deus, ut tribuas jugiter nos eorum et confessione benedici et patrociniis confoveri: per.*

938. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut qui jugiter apostolica defensione munimur, nec succumbamus vitiis nec opprimamur adversis: per.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 128

IV KALENDAS JULIAS ID EST XXVIII DIE MENSIS JUNII VIGILIA SANCTI PETRI ORATIO AD MISSAS (589-593)

589. *Praesta quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ut nullis nos permittas perturbationibus concuti quos in apostolicae confessionis petra solidasti. Per.*

590. **SUPER OBLATA.** *Munus populi tui domine quaesumus apostolica intercessione santifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per dominum.*

591. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est, aequum et salutare. Te domine suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae non deseras, sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias, ut hisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti praeesse pastores. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.*

592. AD COMPL. *Quos caelesti domine alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum*

593. AD VIGILIAS NOCTE. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui Petri fide et nomine consecrasti, quique beatum illi Paulum ad praedicandum gentibus gloriam tuam sociare dignatus es, concede ut omne qui ad apostolorum tuorum sollemnia convenerunt spiritali remuneratione ditentur. Per.*

Section 129

III KALENDAS JULIAS ID EST XXVIII DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI PETRI (594-603)

594. *Deus qui hodierna diem apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti, da ecclesiae tuae eorum in omnibus sequi praeceptum, per quos religionis sumpsit exordium. Per.*

595. SUPER OBLATA. *Hostias domine quas nomini tuo sacrandas offerimus, apostolica prosequatur oratio, per quam nos expiari tribuis et defendi. Per dominum.*

596. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est, aequum et salutare. Te domine suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae non deseras, sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias, ut hisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti praeesse pastores. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.*

597. AD COMPL. *Quos caelesti domine alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum.*

598. AD VESPEROS. *Deus qui apostolo Petro collatis clavibus regni caelestis, ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti, concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio, a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per dominum.*

599. ALIA ORATIONE. *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica soliditate fundatam, ab infernorum erues terrore portarum, praesta ut in tua veritate persistens nulla recipiat consortia perfidorum. Per dominum.*

560. ALIA ORTN. *Familiam tuam domine propitius intueri, et apostolicis defende praesidiis, ut eorum precibus gubernetur, quibus nititur te constituyente principibus. Per dominum.*

561. ALIA ORT. *Exaudi nos Deus salutaris noster, et apostolorum tuorum nos tuere praesidiis quorum donasti fideles esse doctrinis. Per.*

562. ALIA. *Protege domine populum tuum, et apostolorum patrocinio confidentem perpetua defensione conserva. Per.*

563. ALIA. *Esto domine plebi tuae sanctificator et custos ut apostolicis munita praesidiis, et conversatione tibi placeat et secunda deserviat. Per.*

Section 130

PRIDIE KALENDAS JULIAS ID EST XXX DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI PAULI (604-606)

604. *Deus qui multitudinem gentium beati pauli apostoli praedicatione docuisti, da nobis quasumus ut cujus natalicia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per.*

605. SUPER OBLATA. *Ecclesiae tuae quasumus Domine, preces et hostias apostolica commendat oratio, ut quod pro illorum gloria caelebramus nobis prosit ad veniam. Per.*

606. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perceptis domine sacramentis beatis apostolis intervenientibus depraecamur ut quae pro illorum caelebrata sunt gloria nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per dominum.*

The Tridentinum

Section 111

III KALENDAS JULII ID EST XXVIII DIE MENSIS JUNII VIGILIA SANCTI PETRI (632-635)

ORATIO AD MISSA

632. *Praesta, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nullis nos permittas perturbationibus concuti, quos in apostolicae confessionis petra solidasti. Per.*

632. SUPER OBLATA. *Munus populi tui, domine, quaesumus, apostolica intercessione sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per.*

633. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te, domine, suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae, non deseras, sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias: ut eisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti praeesse pastores. Et ideo cum angelis.*

634. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quos caelesti, domine, alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum.*

AD VIGILIAS NOCTE (636)

636. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui Petri fide et nomine consecrasti, quique beatum illi Paulum ad praedicandum gentibus gloriam tuam sociare dignatus es: concede, ut omnes qui ad apostolorum tuorum sollemnia convenerunt, spiritali remuneratione ditentur. Per.*

Section 112

III KALENDAS JULII ID EST XXVIII DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI PETRI (637-646)

637. *Deus qui hodiernam diem apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti: da ecclesiae tuae eorum in omnibus sequi praeceptum, per quos religionis sumpsit exordium. Per.*

638. SECRETA. *Hostias, domine, quas nomini tuo sacrandas offerimus, apostolica prosequatur oratio, per quam nos expiari tribuis et defendi. Per.*

639. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare. Te, domine, suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae, non deseras, sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias: ut eisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti praeesse pastores. Et ideo cum.*

640. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quos caelesti, domine, alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni adversitate custodi. Per dominum.*

641. AD VESPERUM. *Deus qui apostolo Petro collatis clavibus regni caelestis ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti: concede, ut intercessionis ejus auxilio a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per.*

642. ALIA. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica soliditate fundatam ab inferorum eruis terrore portarum: praesta, ut nulla recipiat consortia perfidorum, sed in tua semper veritate persistat. Per.*

643. ALIA. *Familiam tuam, domine, propitiatus intueri et apostolicis defende praesidiis, ut eorum precibus gubernetur, quibus innititur te constituyente principibus. Per dominum.*

644. ALIA. *Exaudi nos, deus salutaris noster, et apostolorum tuorum nos tuere praesidiis, quorum donasti fideles esse doctrinis. Per.*

645. ALIA. *Protege, domine, populum tuum, et apostolorum tuorum patrocinio confidentem perpetua defensione conserva. Per.*

646. ALIA. *Esto, domine, plebi tuae sanctificator et custos, ut apostolicis munita praesidiis, et conversatione tibi placeat et secunda deserviat. Per.*

Section 113

II KALENDAS JULII ID EST XXX DIE MENSIS JUNII NATALE SANCTI PAULI (647-649)

647. *Deus qui multitudinem gentium beati Pauli apostoli praedicatione docuisti: da nobis, quaesumus, ut cujus natalitia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per.*

648. SUPER OBLATA. *Ecclesiae tuae, quasumus domine, preces et hostias apostolica commendet oratio, ut quod pro illorum gloria celebramus, nobis prosit ad veniam. Per.*

649. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perceptis, domine, sacramentis, beatis apostolis intervenientibus deprecamur, ut quae pro illorum celebrata sunt gloria, nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per dominum.*

The Paduensis

Section 123

III KALENDAS <JULII> VIGILIA APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI (538-542)

538. *Praesta quaesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut nullis nos permittas perturbationibus concuti, quos in apostolicae confessionis petra solidasti. Per.*

539. SUPER OBLATA. *Munus populi tui, domine, quaesumus, apostolica intercessionem sanctifica, nosque a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda. Per dominum.*

540. PRAEFATIO. *VD aequum et salutare. Te domine, suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae non deseras, sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias, ut hisdem rectoribus gubernetur, quos operis tui vicarios eidem contulisti praeesse pastores. Et ideo cum angelis.*

541. AD COMPLENDUM. *Quos caelesti, domine, alimento satiasti, apostolicis intercessionibus ab omni adversitate custodi. Per.*

542. AD VIGILIAS NOCTE. *Deus qui ecclesiam tuam apostoli tui Petri fide et nomine consecrasti, quique beatum illi Paulum ad praedicandum gentibus gloriam tuam sociare dignatus es: concede ut omnes qui ad apostolorum tuorum sollemnia convenerunt, spiritali remuneratione ditentur. Per.*

Section 124

III KALENDAS JULII NATALIS SANCTI PETRI (543-547)

543. *Deus qui hodierna diem apostolorum tuorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecrasti: da ecclesiae tuae eorum in omnibus sequi praeceptum, per quos religionis sumpsit exordium. Per.*

544. SUPER OBLATAM. *Hostias, domine, quas nomini tuo sacrandas offerimus, apostolica prosequatur oratio, per quam nos expiari tribuis et defendi. <Per>.*

Praefatio et Ad complendum ut supra.

545. AD VESPERUM. *Deus qui apostolo Petro collatis clavibus regni caelestis ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti: concede ut intercessionis ejus auxilio, a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per dominum.*

546. ALIA ORATIO. *Omnipotens sempiterne deus, qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolica soliditate fundatam ab infernorum eruis terrore portarum, praesta, ut in tua veritate persistens, nulla recipiat consortia perfidorum. <Per>.*

547. *Exaudi nos, deus salutaris noster, et apostolorum tuorum nos tuere praesidiis, quorum donasti fideles esse doctrinis. Per.*

Section 124

PRIDIE KALENDAS JULII NATALIS SANCTI PAULI (548-550)

548. *Deus qui multitudinem gentium beati Pauli apostoli praedicatione docuisti: da nobis, quaesumus, ut cujus natalitia colimus, ejus apud te patrocinia sentiamus. Per dominum.*

549. SUPER OBLATAM. *Ecclesiae tuae, quasumus domine, preces et hostias apostolica commendet oratio, ut quod pro illorum gloria celebramus, nobis prosit ad veniam. Per.*

550. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perceptis, domine, sacramentis, beatissimis apostolis intervenientibus deprecamur, ut quae pro illorum celebrata sunt gloria, nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per.*

Appendix Thirteen

Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Feast of Saint Lawrence

The Veronese

Section 21

III IDUS AUGUSTUS. NATALE SANCTI LAURENTI

(739-742)

739. *Deus, qui nos sanctorum martyrum munitione conservas, da ecclesiam tuam digne talium celebrare sollemnia, et illos tibi jugiter supplicare pro nobis: per...*

740. *Vere dignum: praevenientes natalem diem beati Laurenti, qui levita simul martyrque venerandus et proprio claruit gloriosus officio, et memoranda refulsit passione sublimis: per...*

741. *Sumpsimus, domine, pignus redemptionis aeternae. Sit nobis, quaesumus, intervenientibus sanctis tuis vitae praesentis auxilium pariter et futurae: per...*

742. *Adesto, domine, populo tuo, et quem sanctorum tuorum tribuis frequentationibus interesse, protectione perpetua fac securum: per...*

x. ITEM ALIA (770-773)

770. *Laeta nos, domine, quaesumus, sancti Laurenti martyris tui festivitas semper excipiat; quae et jucunditatem nobis suae glorificationis infundat, et tibi nos reddat acceptos: per...*

771. *Perfice nobis, domine, fructum gratulationis hodiernae, ut precibus beati Laurenti martyris tui, ejus natalicia votiva praecurrens perfectis gaudiis expleatur oblatio: per...*

772. *Vere dignum: tuam misericordiam deprecantes, ut mentibus nostris beati Laurenti martyris tui tribuas jugiter suavitatem, qua et nos amemus ejus meritum passionis, et indulgentiam nobis semper fidelis ille patronus obtineat: per...*

773. *Gratias tibi, domine, quoniam sanctum Laurentium martyrem tuum te inspirante diligimus; ut ejus natalicia praevenientes, piis semper intercessionibus foveamur et meritis: per...*

xii. ITEM ALIA (777-781)

777. *Annue, quaesumus, domine, precibus nostris, ut sancti Laurenti martyris tui sollemnia, quae cultu tibi debito praevenimus, prospero suscipiamus effectum: per...*

778. *Muneribus nostris, domine, sancti Laurenti martyris tui festa praecedimus, ut quae conscientiae nostrae praepediuntur obstaculis, illius meritis grata reddantur: per...*

779. *Vere dignum: quamvis enim sanctorum tuorum propagante te, domine, toto orbe clara sit gloria, de beati tamen sollemnitate Laurenti peculiarius prae ceteris Roma laetatur; cujus nascendo civis, sacer minister, et dicatum nomini tuo munus est proprium. Qui per tuam gratiam commissae sibi dispensationis exsecutor egregius, ut ad martyrium perveniret, emeruit; et pro praemio, qua caelestis existeret, consecutus est passionem: per...*

780. *Intercessio beati Laurenti martyris tui, domine, de sua nobis confessione nascentium mereatur plenitudinem gaudiorum: per...*

781. *Exultet populus tuus, domine, quaesumus, in sancti commemoratione Laurenti; et cujus de votivo laetatur officio, suffragio relevetur optato: per...*

The Gelasianum

Book II, Section 42

IN VIGILIA SANCTI LAURENTI. V IDUS AUGUSTAS (968-973)

968. *Da, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut beati Laurenti martyris tui quam praevenimus veneranda solemnitatis et devotionem nobis augeat et salutem: per.*

969. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut nostra devotio quae natalitia beati Laurenti martyris antecedit, patrocinia nobis ejus accumulet: per.*

970. *Beati Laurenti martyris tui, domine, geminata gratia nos refoveat, quam glorificationis ejus et optatis praeimus officiis et desideranter expectamus adventuram: per.*

971. **SECRETA.** *Magnifica, domine, beati Laurenti solemnia recensemus, quae promptis cordibus ambientes oblati muneribus et suscipimus et praeimus: per.*

972. *Vere dignum: gloriosi Laurenti martyris pia certamina praecurrendo, cujus honorabilis annua recursione solemnitatis et perpetua semper et nova est, quia et in conspectu tuae majestatis permanet mors tuorum praetiosa justorum et restaurantur incrementa laetitiae, quum felicitatis aeternae recoluntur exordia. Et ideo cum angelis.*

973. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Sancta tua, domine, beati Laurenti martyris praetiosa passio et solemnia quae praeimus nos refovent, quibus et jugiter satiamur et semper desideramus expleri: per.*

Book II, Section 43

ITEM IN NATALI EJUSDEM. IV IDUS AUGUSTAS (974-981)

974. *Deus, cujus caritatis ardore beatus Laurentius edaces incendii flammam contempto persecutore devicit, concede propitius, ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramur, protectionis tuae auxilio muniamur: per.*

975. *Deus, qui mundi creator et rector es et qui hunc diem in levitae tui Laurenti martyrio consecrasti, concede propitius, ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramur intercessionibus ejus ab aeternis gehennae incendiis liberemur: per.*

976. **SECRETA.** *Praesta, quaesumus, domine, ut beati sancti Laurenti suffragiis in nobis tua munera tuearis, pro cujus honoranda confessione hostias tibi laudis offerimus: per.*

977. *Vere dignum: in die solemnitatis hodiernae, qua beati Laurenti hostiam tibi placitam et castam corporis glorioso certamine suscepisti. Prunis namque superposita stridebant membra viventia, nec tamen erat poena patientis, sed pia confessionis incensum, neque terreno liberari cruciatu martyr optabat, sed coronari deprecabatur in caelis: per Christum dominum.*

978. **POST COMMUNIONEM.** *Votiva, domine, pro beati martyris tui Laurenti passione dona percepimus; quaesumus, ut ejus precibus et praesentis vitae nobis pariter et aeternae tribuas conferre praesidium: per.*

ORATIONES AD VESPERUM.

979. *Sancti Laurenti nos, domine, sancta precatio tueatur, et quod nostra conscientia non meretur, ejus nobis qui tibi placuit oratione donetur: per.*

980. *Adsit nobis, domine, quaesumus, sancti Laurenti martyris in tua glorificatione benedictio, cujus nobis est hodie facta suffragium in tua virtute confessio: per.*

981. *Praesta, quaesumus, domine, ut semper nos beati Laurenti laetificent votiva mysteria, quae semper esse non desinunt admiranda: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 141

V IDUS AUGUSTAS ID EST DIES VIII MENSIS AUGUSTI VIGILIA SANCTI LAURENTI (639-641)

639. *Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris, et intercessione beati Laurentii martyris tui perpetuam nobis misericordiam benignus inpende. Per dominum.*

640. SUPER OBLATA. *Hostias domine quas tibi offerimus propitius suscipe, et intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo vincula peccatorum nostrorum absolve. Per.*

641. AD COMPLETA. *Da quaesumus domine Deus noster ut sicut beati Laurentii martyris tui commemoratione temporali gratulamur officio, ita perpetuo laetemur aspectu. Per.*

Section 142

III IDUS AUGUSTAS ID EST DIE X MENSE AUGUSTO NATALE SANCTI LAURENTI

IN PRIMA MISSA (642-644)

642. *Excita domine in ecclesia tua spiritum, cui beatus Laurentius levita servivit, ut eodem nos replente studeamus amare quod amavit, et opere exercere quod docuit. Per.*

643. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi domine quaesumus beati Laurentii praecatio sancta conciliet ut cujus honore sollemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per.*

644. AD COMPLETA. *Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus et quos donis caelestibus satiasti, intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo perpetua protectione custodias. Per.*

Section 143

ITEM AD MISSAS (645-648)

645. *Da nobis quaesumus omnipotens Deus, vitiorum nostrorum flammam extinguere, qui beato laurentio tribuisti, tormentorum suorum incendia superare. Per dominum.*

646. SUPER OBLATA. *Accipe quaesumus domine munera dignantur oblata, et beati Laurentii suffragantibus meritis, ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. Per dominum.*

647. AD COMPLETA. *Sacro munere satiati supplices te domine depraecamur, ut quod debitae servitutis caelebramus officio, intercedente beato Laurentio salvationis tuae sentiamus augmentum. Per dominum.*

648. ALIA. *Deus cujus caritatis ardore beatus Laurentius edaces incendii flammis contempto persecutore devicit, concede ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramur protectionis tuae auxilio muniamur. Per.*

The Tridentinum

Section 123

V IDUS AUGUSTI ID EST DIE VIII MENSIS AUGUSTI VIGILIA SANCTI LAURENTI (682-684)

682. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, et intercessionem beati Laurentii martyris tui perpetuam nobis misericordiam benignus impende. Per.*

683. SECRETA. *Hostias, domine, quas tibi offerimus, propitius suscipe, et intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo, vincula peccatorum nostrorum absolve. Per.*

684. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da, quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut sicut beati Laurentii martyris tui commemoratione temporali gratulamur officio, ita perpetuo laetemur aspectu. Per.*

Section 124

III IDUS AUGUSTI ID EST DIE X MENSIS AUGUSTI NATALE SANCTI LAURENTI

IN PRIMA MISSA (685-687)

685. *Excita, domine, in ecclesia tua spiritum cui beatus Laurentius levita servivit, ut eodem nos replente studeamus amare quod amavit, et opere exercere quod docuit. Per.*

686. SECRETA. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi, domine, quaesumus, beati Laurentii praecatio sancta conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per dominum.*

687. AD COMPLENDUM. *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, et quos donis caelestibus satiasti, intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo, perpetua protectione custodias. Per.*

ITEM AD MISSAS (688-691)

688. *Da nobis, omnipotens, quaesumus, deus, vitiorum nostrorum flammam extinguere, qui beato Laurentio tribuisti tormentorum suorum incendia superare. Per dominum.*

689. SUPER OBLATA. *Accipe, quaesumus, domine, munera dignantur oblata, et beati Laurentii suffragantibus meritis ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. Per dominum.*

690. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sacro munere satiati supplices te, domine, deprecamur, ut quod debitae servitutis celebramus officio, intercedente beato Laurentio salvationis tuae sentiamus augmentum. Per.*

691. ALIA. *Deus, cujus caritatis ardore beatus Laurentius edaces incendii flammam contempto persecutore devicit: concede, ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramur, protectionis tuae auxilio muniamur. Per.*

The Paduensis

Section 141

V IDUS AUGUSTI VIGILIA SANCTI LAURENTI (597-599)

597. *Adesto, domine, supplicationibus nostris, et intercessionem beati Laurentii martyris tui, perpetuam nobis misericordiam benignus impende. Per.*

598. SUPER OBLATAM. *Hostias, domine, quas tibi offerimus, propitius suscipe, et intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo, vincula peccatorum nostrorum absolve. Per.*

599. AD COMPLENDUM. *Da quaesumus, domine deus noster, ut sicut beati Laurentii martyris tui commemoratione temporali gratulamur officio, ita perpetuo laetemur aspectu. Per.*

Section 142

III IDUS AUGUSTI NATALIS SANCTI LAURENTI

IN PRIMA MISSA (600-602)

600. *Excita, domine, in ecclesia tua spiritum cui beatus Laurentius levita servivit, ut eodem nos replente studeamus amare quod amavit, et opere exercere quod docuit. Per dominum.*

601. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi, domine, quaesumus, beati Laurentii praecatio sancta conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per dominum.*

602. AD COMPLENDUM. *Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens deus, et quos donis caelestibus satiasti, intercedente beato Laurentio martyre tuo, perpetua protectione custodias. Per.*

Section 143

ITEM AD MISSAS (603-608)

603. *Da nobis, quaesumus, omnipotens deus, vitiorum nostrorum flammam extinguere, qui beato Laurentio tribuisti tormentorum suorum incendia superare. <Per>.*

604. SUPER OBLATAM. *Accipe, quaesumus, domine, munera dignantur oblata, et beati Laurentii suffragantibus meritis, ad nostrae salutis auxilium provenire concede. <Per>.*

605. VD aeternae deus. *Cujus gratia beatus Laurentius dispensator egregius, et usque ad sanguinem nominis tui confessor eximius, simul in alendis pauperibus ecclesiasticae pietatis et testificatione filii tui domini nostri praebuit martyr beatus exemplum. Per Christum.*

606. AD COMPLETA. *Sacro munere satiati supplices te, domine, deprecamur, ut quod debitae servitutis celebramus officio, intercedente beato Laurentio salvationis tuae sentiamus augmentum. Per.*

607. ALIA. *Deus, cujus caritatis ardore beatus Laurentius edaces incendii flammam contempto persecutore devicit, concede ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramur, protectionis tuae auxilio muniamur. Per.*

608. ALIA. *Sancti Laurentii nos, domine, sancta precatio tueatur, et quod nostra conscientia non meretur, ejus nobis qui tibi placuit oratione donetur. Per.*

Appendix Fourteen

Prayer Texts for the Vigil and Feast of Saint Andrew

The Veronese

Section 39

PRIDIE KALENDAS DECEMBRES, NATALE SANCTI ANDREAE APOSTOLI

iii. ITEM ALIA (1229-1233)

1229. *Omnium virtutum, deus, bonorumque largitor: da, quaesumus, ut beati apostoli tui Andreae semper nobis adsint et honoranda sollemnia et desiderata praesidia: per...*

1230. *Oblatis muneribus, domine, plebs fidelis exultet: quia pariter apostolicae gaudia passionis (celebrare?) et in eis te praedicare mirabilem confidit ad suae pertinere salutis augmenta: per...*

1231. *Vere dignum: qui per cultum nominis tui, venerationemque sanctorum nobis remedia mirabiliter operaris. Hoc ipso namque jejunio, quod beati apostoli tui Andreae festa prevenientes oculis tuae majestatis offerimus, simul et continentiam salutarem capiamus mentis et corporis; et profutura nobis observatione proficiamus, et mitigatis sensibus corporis puriores tantis nataliciis praeparemur: per...*

1232. *Erudiamur, domine, quaesumus, his celebritatibus et juvemur, quibus beati apostoli Andreae caelestem nobis tribuant martyria praeventa laetitiam: per...*

1233. *Referat, domine, populus christianus, quos pia devotione praesumpsit, sancte gratulationis effectus: ut beati apostoli tui Andreae simul fiat et veneratione jucundus et intercessione securus: per...*

The Gelasianum

Bool II, Section 68

IN VIGILIA SANCTI ANDREAE. III KALENDAS DECEMBRIS (1076-1079)

1076. *Tuere nos, misericors deus, et beati Andreae apostoli tui cujus natalitia praevenimus, semper gubernare praesidiis: per.*

1077. *SECRETA. Apostolicae reverentiae culmen offerimus sacris mysteriis inbuendum; praesta, domine, quaesumus, ut beati Andreae suffragiis cujus natalitia praeimus, hic plebs tua semper et sua vota depromat et desiderata percipiat: per dominum.*

1078. *Vere dignum: reverenciae tuae dicato jejunio gratulantes, quo apostolica beati Andreae merita desideratis praevenimus officiis et ad eandem celebranda solemniter praeparemur: per.*

1079. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Purificent semper et muniant tua sacramenta nos, domine, et beati Andreae apostoli tui intercessione ad perpetuae ducant salvationis effectum: per.*

Book II, Section 69

ITEM IN NATALI EJUSDEM. PRIDIE KALENDAS DECEMBRIS (1080-1084)

1080. *Majestatem tuam, domine, suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut ecclesiae tuae sanctus Andreas apostolus extitit praedicator et rector, ita sit pro nobis perpetuus suffragator: per dominum nostrum.*

1081. *Beatus Andreas pro nobis, domine, quaesumus, imploret apostolus, ut et nostris reatibus absoluti cunctis etiam periculis eruamur: per.*

1082. SECRETA. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi, domine, quaesumus, beati Andreae precatio conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum: per.*

1083. *Vere dignum: qui aecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis; de quorum collegio beati Andreae solemniter celebrantes tua, domine, praeconia non tacemus. Et ideo cum.*

1084. POST COMMUNIONEM. *Beati Andreae apostoli tui, domine, quaesumus, intercessione nos adjuva, pro cujus solemnitate percepimus tua sancta laetantes: per dominum.*

The Major Gregorian Sacramentaries

The Hadrianum

Section 183

ITEM DIE SUPRASC. VIGILIA SANCTI ANDREAE (766-769)

766. *Quaesumus omnipotens deus ut beatus Andreas apostolus pro nobis imploret auxilium, ut a nostris reatibus absoluti a cunctis etiam periculis exuamur. Per dominum.*

767. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrandum tibi domine munus offerimus quod beati Andreae solemniter recolentes, purificationem quoque nostris mentibus imploramus. Per.*

768. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte pater omnipotens aeternae deus, per Christum dominum nostrum. Quia ecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis de quorum collegio beati Andreae sollemnia caelebrantes tua domine praeconia non tacemus. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.*

769. *Perceptis domine sacramentis suppliciter exoramus ut intercedente beato Andreae apostolo tuo quae pro illius veneranda gerimus passione, nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per.*

Section 184

PRIDIE KALENDAS DECEMBRES ID EST XXX DIE MENSIS NOVEMBRIS NATALE SANCTI ANDREAE APOSTOLI (770-777)

770. *Majestatem tuam domine suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut ecclesiae tuae beatus Andreas apostolus extitit praedicator et rector, ita apud te sit pro nobis perpetuus intercessor. Per.*

771. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi domine quaesumus beati Andreae precatio sancta conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per dominum.*

772. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sanctae pater omnipotens aeternae Deus per Christum dominum nostrum. Quia ecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis de quorum collegio beati Andreae sollemnia caelebrantes tua domine praeconia non tacemus. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omni militia caelestis exercitus hymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes: Sanctus ter.*

773. AD COMPLETA. *Sumpsimus domine divina mysteria beati andreae festivitate laetantes quae sicut tuis sanctis ad gloriam, ita nobis quaesumus ad veniam prodesse perficias. Per dominum.*

774. AD VESP. UBI SUPRA. *Da nobis quaesumus domine deus noster beati apostoli tui Andreae intercessionibus sublevari ut per quos ecclesiae tuae superni muneris rudimenta donasti, per eos subsidia perpetuae salutis impendas. Per dominum.*

775. ALIA. *Adjuvet ecclesiam tuam tibi domine supplicando beatus Andreas apostolus et pius interventor efficiat quod tui nominis extitit praedicator. Per.*

776. ALIA. *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis, qui hunc diem beati Andreae martyrio consecrasti, da ecclesiae tuae de ejus natalicia semper gaudere ut apud misericordiam tuam exemplis ejus protegamur et meritis. Per.*

777. ALIA. *Exaudi domine populum tuum cum sancti apostoli tui Andreae patrocínio supplicantem, ut tuo semper auxilio, segura tibi possit devotione servire. Per dominum nostrum.*

The Tridentinum

Section 156

(III KALENDAS DECEMBRIS)

ITEM EODEM DIE VIGILIA SANCTI ANDREAE (805-808)

805. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut beatus Andreas apostolus tuum nobis imploret auxilium, ut a nostris reatibus absoluti a cunctis etiam periculis exuamur. Per dominum.*

806. SECRETA. *Sacrandum tibi, domine, munus offerimus, quo beati Andreae solennia recolentes, purificationem quoque nostris mentibus imploramus. Per dominum.*

807. PRAEFATIO. *VD et justum est aequum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine, sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus. Qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis, de quorum collegio beati Andreae solennia celebrantes te, domine, suppliciter conlaudamus. Per Christum.*

808. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perceptis, domine, sacramentis suppliciter exoramus, ut intercedente beato Andrea apostolo tuo quae pro illius veneranda gerimus passione, nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per dominum.*

Section 157

II KALENDAS DECEMBRIS ID EST XXX DIE MENSIS NOVEMBRIS NATALE SANCTI ANDREAE (809-815)

809. *Majestatem tuam, domine, suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut ecclesiae tuae beatus Andreas apostolus extetit praedicator et rector, ita apud te sit pro nobis perpetuus intercessor. Per dominum.*

810. SUPER OBLATA. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi, domine, quaesumus, beati Andreae precatio sancta conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per dominum.*

Praefatio ut supra in vigilia.

811. <AD COMPLENDUM.> *Sumpsimus, domine, divina mysteria beati Andreae festivitate laetantes, quae sicut tuis sanctis ad gloriam, ita nobis, quaesumus, ad veniam prodesse perficias. Per.*

812. AD VESPERUM UBI SUPRA. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine deus noster, beati apostoli tui Andreae intercessionibus sublevari, ut per quos ecclesiae tuae superni muneris rudimenta donasti, per eos subsidia perpetuae salutis inpendas. Per dominum.*

813. ALIA. *Adjuvet ecclesiam tuam tibi, domine, supplicando beatus Andreas apostolus, et pius interventor efficiatur, quod tui nominis extitit praedicator. Per dominum.*

814. ALIA. *Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis quique hunc diem beati Andreae martirio consecrasti: da ecclesiae tuae de ejus natalicia semper gaudere, ut apud misericordiam tuam exemplis ejus protegamur et meritis. Per dominum.*

815. ALIA. *Exaudi, domine, populum tuum cum sancti apostoli tui Andreae patrocinio supplicantem, ut tuo semper auxilio secunda tibi possit devotione servire. Per dominum.*

The Paduensis

Section 193

(III KALENDAS DECEMBRIS)

ITEM DIE SUPRASCRIPTO VIGILIA SANCTI ANDREAE (771-773)

771. *Quaesumus, omnipotens deus, ut beatus Andreas apostolus pro nobis imploret auxilium, ut a nostris reatibus absoluti a cunctis etiam periculis exuamur. Per dominum.*

772. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrandum tibi, domine, munus offerimus, quo beati Andreae solemnities recolentes, purificationem quoque nostris mentibus imploramus. Per.*

773. AD COMPLENDUM. *Perceptis, domine, sacramentis suppliciter exoramus, ut intercedente beato Andrea apostolo tuo quae pro illius veneranda gerimus passione, nobis proficiant ad medelam. Per dominum.*

Section 194

IN NATALE SANCTI ANDREAE PRIDIE KALENDAS DECEMBRES (774-780)

774. *Majestatem tuam, domine, suppliciter exoramus, ut sicut ecclesiae tuae beatus Andreas apostolus extitit praedicator et rector, ita apud te sit pro nobis perpetuus intercessor. Per.*

775. SUPER OBLATAM. *Sacrificium nostrum tibi, domine, quaesumus, beati Andreae precatio sancta conciliet, ut cujus honore solemniter exhibetur, meritis efficiatur acceptum. Per.*

776. *VD aeternae deus. Qui ecclesiam tuam in apostolicis tribuisti consistere fundamentis, de quorum collegio beati Andreae solemnities celebrantes, qui mox ut vocem domini salvatoris audivit, unigeniti tui divina vestigia comitatus, relictis retibus suis, quorum usu actuque*

vivebat, aeternae vitae secutus est largitorem. Et cujus praecepto terrene in semetipso crucifixerat desideria, ejus exemplo ipse crucis patibulo figeretur. Cujus hodie natalem passionis diem annua devotione recolentes, hostias tibi, domine, laudi offerimus. Per Christum.

777. AD COMPLENDUM. *Sumpsimus, domine, divina mysteria beati Andreae festivitate laetantes, quae sicut tuis sanctis ad gloriam, ita nobis, quaesumus, ad veniam prodesse perficias. Per.*

778. AD VESPERUM. *Da nobis, quaesumus, domine deus noster, beati apostoli tui Andreae intercessionibus sublevari, ut per quos ecclesiae tuae superni muneris rudimenta donasti, per eos subsidia perpetuae salutis impendas. Per.*

779. (ALIA.) *Deus qui humanum genus tuorum retibus praeceptorum capere consuesti, respice propitius ad tanti solemnia piscatoris, et tribue, ut natalitio ejus munere gratulantes, aeternae vitae praemia consequamur. Per.*

780. ALIA. *Adjuvet ecclesiam tuam tibi domine supplicando beatus Andreas apostolus et pius interventor efficiat quod tui nominis extitit praedicator. Per.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources – Antiphonaries

Hesbert, René-Jean, ed. *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, vol. 1, *Manuscripti "cursus romanus."* Rome: Herder, 1963-1979.

Hesbert, René-Jean, ed. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex: d'après Le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis.* 1907. Reprint, Rome: Herder, 1967.

Primary Sources – Lectionaries

Amiet, Robert. "Un 'Comes' carolingien inedit de la haute-italie." *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959): 335-367.

Gamber, Klaus. "Die kampanische Lektionsordnung." *Sacris erudiri* 13 (1962): 327-334.

Klauser, Theodor. *Das Römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte.* I Typen. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorrschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935

Morin, G. "Le plus ancien 'Comes' ou lectionnaire de L'église romain." *Revue bénédictine* 27 (1910): 41-74.

_____. "Liturgie et basiliques de Rome au milieu du VII^e siècle." *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911): 296-330.

Renoux, Anthanase. *Le codex arménien jérusalem 121.* Patrologia Orientalis 35, no. 163, and Patrologia Orientalis 36, no. 168. Turnhout: Brepols, 1969-1971.

Salmon, Pierre, ed. *Le lectionnaire de Luxeuil* (Paris, ms. Lat. 9427). Collectanea Biblica Latina 8, 9. Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1944-1953.

Wilmart, André. "Le Comes de Murbach." *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 25-69.

_____. "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin." *Empherides liturgicae* 51 (1937): 136-197.

Primary Sources – Ordines

Andrieu, Michel, ed. *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23-24, 28-29. Lovain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931-1961. Reprint, Lovain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1971-1985.

Primary Sources – Sacramentaries

Feltoe, Charles L., ed. *Sacramentarium Leonianum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896.

Férotin, Marius, ed. “*Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum:*” *et les manuscrits Mozarabes*. Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1912. Reprint, Anthony Ward and Cuthbert Johnson, ed., Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 1995.

Hadrianum ex authentico. Vol. 1 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 3e éd. revue et corrigée, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28. Edited by Jean Deshusses, 85-348. Fribourg: Editions Saint-Paul, 1992.

Hadrianum revisum anianense cum supplemento. Vol. 1 of *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 3e éd. revue et corrigée, Spicilegium Friburgense 16, 24, 28. Edited by Jean Deshusses, 349-605. Fribourg: Editions Saint-Paul, 1992.

Liber sacramentorum paduensis (Padova, Biblioteca Capitulare, cod. D 47). Edited by Alceste Catella, Ferdinandus Dell’Oro, and Aldus Martini, with Fabritio Crivello. BELS 131. Rome: C.L.V.-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2005.

Liber sacramentorum Romanae aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316/Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56). RED Series major, Fontes 4. Edited by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg, with Leo Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1976.

Missale romanum, Editio Typica Tertia. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2002, 2008.

Sacramentarium tridentinum, (Trento, Museo Provinciale d’Arte, Castello del Buonconsiglio, M. N. 1590). Edited by Ferdinando Dell’Oro and Hyginus Rogger. *Monumenta Liturgica Ecclesiae Tridentinae saeculo XIII antiquiora*, II/A. 73-310. Trent: Società Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche, 1985.

Sacramentarium veronense, Cod. Bibl. Capit. Veron. LXXXV (80). Edited by Leo Cunibert Mohlberg. RED, Series major, Fontes 1. 3rd ed. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1976.

Siffrin, Petrus, ed. *Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae (Cod. Vatican. Regin. lat. 316) sacramentarium gelasianum*. Vol. 2 of *Konkordanztabellen zu den lateinischen Sakramentarien*. Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1959.

Wilson, Henry Austin, ed. *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber sacramentorum Romanae ecclesiae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894.

Primary Sources – Varia

Edmund Hill, trans., John E. Rotelle, ed. *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*. New Rochelle, NY: New City Press, 1993.

Martyrologium romanum: Gregorii papae XIII jussu editum, Urbani VIII et Clementis X auctoritate recognitum, ac deinde anno MDCCXLIX Benedicti XIV opera ac studio emendatum et auctum. 4th editio typica. Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1956.

Mommsen, Theodor, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*. 1892-1898. Reprint, München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1981.

Sickel, Theodor E. Von, ed. and trans. *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum*. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1966.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCB). *Norms Governing Liturgical Calendars*. Liturgy Documentary Series 6. Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Adam, Adolph. *The Liturgical Year: Its History and Its Meaning after the Reform of the Liturgy*. Translated by Matthew J. O’Connell. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990.

Asworth, Henry. “The Liturgical Prayers of Saint Gregory the Great.” *Traditio* 15 (1959): 107-162.

Baldovin, John. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 228. Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987.

Barros-Morrais, Celestino de. “La vigilia litúrgica.” *Cuadernos Monasticos* 17 (1982): 89-93.

Battifol, Pierre. *History of the Roman Breviary*. 3rd ed. Translated by Atwell M.Y. Baylay. New York: Longmans, Green, 1912.

Battista de Rossi, Giovanni and Louis Duchesne, eds. “Martyrologium hieronymianum,” in *Acta sanctorum* 82, part 2. 1894. Reprint, Brussels: Brepols Publishers, 1971.

- Baumstark, Anton. *Nocturna laus: Typen frühchristlicher Vigilienfeier und ihr Fortleben vor allem im römischen und monastischen Ritus*. (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 32). Münster: Aschendorff, 1957.
- Beard, Mary, John North, and Simon Price. *Religions of Rome*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Beissel, Stephan. *Entstehung der Perikopen des römischen Messbuches: zur Geschichte der Evangeliabücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters*. 1907. Reprint, Rome: Herder, 1967.
- Berti, Giovanni. *La settimana santa: Commento storico, dogmatico e pastorale al nuovo ordo*. Monza: Tipografia Monzese, 1957.
- Bishop, Edmund. "The Genius of the Roman Rite." In *Liturgica Historica*, 1-19. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918.
- Bispham, Edward. *Roman Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Blaise, Albert Blaise. *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi: Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs du moyen-âge*. Turnholt: Brepols, 1975.
- Botte, Bernard. *Les origines de la Noël et de l'épiphanie: Etude historique, textes et études liturgiques 1*. Louvain: Abbaye du Mont César, 1932.
- _____. "Le choix des lectures de la veillée pascale." *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 32 (1952): 65-74.
- Bourque, Emmanuel. *Les texts primitifs*. Volume 1 of *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*. Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia christiana, 1948.
- Bradshaw, Paul. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and methods for the study of early liturgy*. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. and Maxwell E. Johnson. *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*. London: SPCK, 2011.
- Brou, Louis. "Une ancienne station romaine à Saint-Pierre pur le dimanche précédant les quatre-temps." *Ephemerides liturgicae* 60 (1946): 143-150.
- _____. "Étude historique sur les oraisons des dimanches après la pentecôte dans la tradition romaine." *Sacris erudiri* 2 (1949): 123-224.

- Brown, Peter. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Cabié, Robert. *La pentecôte: L'évolution de la cinquante pascalle au cours des cinq premiers siècles*. Tournai: Desclée & Co., 1965.
- _____. *History of the Mass*. Translated by Lawrence J. Johnson. Portland, OR: Pastoral Press, 1992.
- Callewaert, Camillus. "La semaine mediana dans l'ancien carême romain et les quatre temps." *Revue bénédictine* 36 (1927): 200-228.
- Cameron, Averil. *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: AD 395-600*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Cantalamessa, Raniero. *Easter in the Early Church: An Anthology of Jewish and Early Christian Texts*. Translated by James M. Quigley and Joseph T. Lienhard. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993.
- Chadwick, Henry. *The Church in Ancient Society: From Galilee to Gregory the Great*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Chapman, John. *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.
- Chavasse, Antoine. "La préparation de la pâque, à Rome, avant le V^e siècle: Jeûne et organisation liturgique." In *Mémorial J. Chaine*. 61-80. Lyon: Facultés catholiques, 1950.
- _____. "Messés du Pape Vigile dans le leonine." *Ephemerides liturgicae* 64 (1950): 161-213.
- _____. "Les plus anciens types du lectionnaire et de l'antiphonaire romain de la messe." *Revue bénédictine* 62 (1952): 1-91.
- _____. *Le sacramentaire gélasien* (Vaticanus Reginensis 316): *Sacramentaire presbytéral en usage dans les titres romains au VII^e siècle*. Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1958.
- _____. "Le sermon III de saint Léon et la date de la célébration des quatre-temps de septembre." *Revue des sciences religieuses* 44 (January-April 1970): 77-84.
- _____. "La sacramentaire, dit léonien, conservé par le *Veronensis* LXXX (80)." *Sacris erudiri* 27 (1984): 151-190.

- _____. "Après Grégoire le Grand l'organisation des évangéliaries au VII^e et au VIII^e siècle." In *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy, o.p.*, edited by Paul De Clerk and Eric Palazzo, 125-130. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
- _____. *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du V^e au VIII^e siècle: une liturgie conditionnée par l'organisation de la vie in urbe et extra muros*. Studia Anselmiana 112. Analecta Liturgica 18. Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993.
- _____. *Les lectionnaires romains de la messe au VII^e le et au VIII^e siècle: Sources et dérivés*. 2 vols. Spicilegii Friburgensis "Subsidia" 22. Freiburg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1993.
- _____. *Textes liturgiques de l'église de Rome: Le cycle liturgique romain annuel selon le sacramentaire du Vaticanus Reginensis 316*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1997.
- Chupungco, Anscar J. *The Cosmic Elements of Christian Passover*. Analecta Liturgica 3. Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1977.
- _____. *Shaping the Easter Feast*. Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1992.
- Clavier, Michèle. "La messe dominicale anticipée au samedi soir: evolution historique et théologique de la question." *Mélanges de science religieuse* 64 no. 3 (July-September 2007): 34-44.
- Connell, Martin. *Eternity Today: On the Liturgical Year*. 2 vols. New York: Continuum, 2006.
- Cullmann, Oscar. *Weihnachten in der alten Kirche*. Basel: Heinrich Majer, 1947.
- Curran, John. *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Dalmais, Irénée, Pierre Jounel, and Aimé Georges Martimort. *The Liturgy and Time*. Vol. 4 of *The Church at Prayer*. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986.
- Davis, Raymond, trans. *The Book of Pontiffs: The ancient biographies of the first ninety Roman bishops to AD 715*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000.
- de Clerck, Paul and Eric Palazzo, eds. *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
- Deshusses, Jean. "Les sacramentaires. Etat actuel de la recherche," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 24 (1982): 19-46.

- Dubarle A.M. et. al. *Noël, épiphanie, retour du Christ: semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint Serge*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967.
- Dubois, R. "Hatte die römische Messe je eine dreigliedrige Leseordnung?" *Heiliger Dienst* 18 (1964): 129-137
- Duchesne, Louis. *Le liber censuum de l'église romaine*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905-1952.
- _____. *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution. A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*. 5th ed. Translated by M.L. McClure. London: SPCK, 1949.
- _____. *Le liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire*, 2nd ed.. 3 vols. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1955-1957.
- Edwards, Catherine and Greg Woolf, ed. *Rome the Cosmopolis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Ekonomou Andrew J. *Byzantine Rome and the Greek Popes*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.
- Evenepoel, Willy. "La delimitation de <<l'année liturgique>> dans les premiers siècles de la chrétienté occidentale. *Caput anni liturgici*." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 83, no. 3-4 (1988): 601-616.
- Fowler, W. Warde. *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic: An Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans*. London: Macmillan, 1899.
- Frank, Hieronymus. "Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Messkanons," *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 1 (1950): 107-119.
- Frere, Walter Howard. *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy*, 3 vols. Alcuin Club Collections, 28, 30, 32. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930-1935.
- Gamber, Klaus. *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, 2nd ed. Vol. 1., part 1. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1968.
- Gerlach, Karl. *The Antenicene Pascha: A Rhetorical History*. Liturgia Condenda 7. Louvain: Peeters, 1998.
- Grig, Lucy. *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity*. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 2004.
- van Goudoever, Jan. *Biblical Calendars* 2nd rev. ed. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.

- Guarducci, Margherita. *The Tomb of St. Peter: New discoveries in the sacred grottoes of the Vatican*. Translated by Joseph McLellan. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1960.
- Guiver, George. *Company of Voices: Daily Prayer and the People of God*. Norwich, England: Canterbury Press, 2001.
- Hall, Stuart George, ed. and trans. *Melito of Sardis: On Pascha and Fragments*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Hanssens, Jean Michel. "Nocturna laus." *Gregorianum* 39 (1958): 747-756.
- Helms, Mary W. "Before the Dawn: Monks and the Night in Late Antiquity and Early Medieval Europe." *Anthropos* 99, no. 1 (2004): 177-191.
- Holl, Karl Holl. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*. Vol. 2: *Der Osten*. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1928.
- _____. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*. Vol. 3: *Der Westen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964.
- Hope, David M. *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of its Nature and Purpose*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Huber, Wolfgang. *Passa und Ostern: Untersuchungen zur Osterfeier der alten Kirche*. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969.
- Hughes, Andrew. *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Irwin, Kevin W. *Advent-Christmas: A Guide to the Eucharist and Hours*. Collegeville, The Liturgical Press, 1986
- _____. *Easter: A Guide to the Eucharist and Hours*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991.
- Janini, José. *S. Siricio y las cuatro témporas: una investigación sobre las fuentes de la espiritualidad seglar y del sacramentario leoniano*. Valencia: Seminario Metropolitano de Valencia, 1958.
- Jaubert, Annie. "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumrân: ses origines bibliques." *Vetus Testamentum* 3 no. 3 (July 1953): 250-264.
- Johnson, Maxwell. *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their evolution and interpretation*, rev. ed. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2007.

- Jungmann, Joseph A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its origin and development (Missarum Sollemnia)*. 2 vols. Trans. Francis A. Brunner. New York: Benzinger Brothers, Inc., 1950.
- _____. *The Early Liturgy to the Time of Gregory the Great*. Translated by Francis A. Brunner. Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959.
- _____. *Pastoral Liturgy*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1962.
- _____. *Christian Prayer through the Centuries*. Translated by John Coyne. London: SPCK, 2007.
- Kelly, Thomas Forrest. *The Exultet in Southern Italy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- _____. "Candle, Text, Ceremony: The Exultet at Rome." *Études gregoriennes* 32 (2004): 7-68.
- Kirsch, Joh. Peter. *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum*. Münster in Westf.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924.
- Kollamparampil, Antonii Georgii ed. *Hebdomadae Sanctae Celebratio: The Celebration of Holy Week in Ancient Jerusalem and its Development in the Rites of East and West*. Rome: C.L.V.-Edizione Liturgiche, 1997.
- Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Kretschmar, Georg. "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66, no. 3 (1954-1955): 209-253.
- Kulikowski, Michael. *Rome's Gothic Wars: From the Third Century to Alaric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Lafferty, Maura K. "Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: Romanitas and Christianitas in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 21-62.
- Lançon, Bertrand. *Rome in Late Antiquity: Everyday Life and Urban Change, AD 312-609*. Translated by Antonia Nevill. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- LaPiana, George. "The Roman Church at end of the Second Century," *Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925): 201-207.

- Lietzmann, Hans. *A History of the Early Church*. Vol. 2 of *The Founding of the Church Universal*, 3rd ed. Translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961.
- Lohse, Bernhard. *Das Passafest der Quartadecimaner*. Gütersloh, Germany: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953.
- MacGregor, A.J. *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992.
- MacMullen, Ramsey. *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Marcora, Carlo. *La vigilia nella Liturgia: Recherche sulle origini e sui primi sviluppi*, sec i-vi. Archivio Ambrosiano 6. Milan: S.A. Tipografica Sociale, 1954.
- Martelli, A. Massimo. "I formulari della messa con due o tre orazioni prima della segreta nei sacramenti romani: Che valore ha l'ipotesi della "super sindonem" nella liturgia romana?" *Studia Patavina* 19 (1972): 539-579.
- _____. "Un fenomeno della liturgia gallicana e del gelasiano: Le messe con piu' orazioni prima della segreta." *Studia Patavina* 20 (1973): 546-569.
- Martimort, A.G. *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- Maertens, Thierry. *A Feast in Honor of Yahweh*. Translated by Kathryn Sullivan. Notre Dame, IN: Fides Publishers, Inc., 1965.
- McGeough, Kevin M. *The Romans: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- McKinnon, James. "The Gregorian canticle-tracts of the Old Roman Easter Vigil." In *Festschrift Walter Wiora zum 90. Geburtstag (30. Dezember 1996)*, edited by Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Ruth Seiberts, 254-269. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997.
- McManus, Frederick R. *Handbook for the New Rubrics*. Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1961.
- Metzger, Marcel. *History of the Liturgy: The Major Stages*. Translated by Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1997.
- Mitchell, Leonel L. "Deus Mundi Conditor." In *Creation and Liturgy: Studies in Honor of H. Boone Porter*, edited by Ralph N. McMichael, Jr., 43-53. Washington: The Pastoral Press, 1993.

- Mitchell, Stephen, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284-641: The Transformation of the Ancient World*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Mohrmann, Christine. "Pascha, Passio, Transitus." *Emphemerides liturgicae* 66 (1952): 37-52.
- _____. "Le conflit pascal au II^e siècle: note philologique," *Vigiliae christianae* 16, no. 3-4 (September-December 1962): 154-171.
- Moorhead, John. *The Roman Empire Divided 400-700*. London: Pearson Education Limited, 2001.
- Morais, Celestino de Barros. "La vigilia liturgica." *Cuadernos monásticos* 17 (1982): 89-93.
- Morin, G. "L'origine des quatre-temps." *Revue bénédictine* 14 (1897): 337-346.
- _____. "Notes liturgiques 3: Un opuscule de l'époque carolingienne sur la raison d'être des quatre-temps," *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 231-234.
- Nardone, Richard M. *The Story of the Christian Year*. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.
- Nielsen, Josef Maria. *The Earliest Christian Liturgy*. Translated by Patrick Cummins. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941.
- Nocent, Adrian. *The Liturgical Year*, 4 vols. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1977.
- _____. "La semaine sainte dans la liturgie romaine." In *Hebdomadae Sanctae Celebratio: The Celebration of Holy Week in Ancient Jerusalem and its Development in the Rites of East and West*, edited by Antonii Georgii Kollamparampil, 277-310. Rome: C.L.V.-Edizione Liturgiche, 1997.
- North, John. *Roman Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- O'Connell, J.B. *The Roman Martyrology*. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1962.
- Palazzo, Eric. *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Madeleine Beaumont. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998.
- Pietri, Charles. *Roma Christiana: Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Milade à Sixte III (311-440)*. 2 vols. Rome: École française de Rome, 1976.

- _____. "Liturgy, Culture and Society: The Example of Rome at the End of the Ancient World (Fourth-Fifth Centuries)." In *Liturgy: A Creative Tradition*. Edited by Mary Collins and David Power. Consilium 162. 38-46. New York: Seabury Press, 1983.
- _____. "L'Évolution du culte des saints aux premiers siècles chrétiens: Du témoin à l'intercesseur." In *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle)*. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome avec le concours de l'Université de Rome <<La Sapienza>>. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 149. 15-36. Palais Farnèse: École Française de Rome, 1991.
- Post, Paul, Gerard Rouwhorst, Louis van Tongeren, and Ton Sheer, editors. *Christian Feast and Festival: The Dynamics of Western Liturgy and Culture*. Leuven: Peeters, 2001.
- Quasten, Johannes. *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity*. Translated by Boniface Ramsey. Washington: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983.
- Radó, Polikárp. *Enchiridion liturgicum: complectens theologiae sacramentalis et dogmata et Leges. Iuxta codicem rubricarum*, 2 vols. Rome: Herder, 1961.
- Ravid, Liora. "The Book of Jubilees and its calendar: a reexamination." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10, no. 3 (2003): 371-394.
- Regan, Patrick. "The Fifty Days and the Fiftieth Day." *Worship* 55 no. 3 (May 1981): 194-218.
- _____. "Paschal Vigil: Passion and Passage." *Worship* 79, no. 2 (March 2005): 98-130.
- _____. "Paschal *Lucernarium*: Structure and Symbolism." *Worship* 82, no. 2 (March 2008): 98-118.
- Righetti, Mario. *L'anno liturgico, il breviario*. Vol. 2 of *Manuael di Storia liturgica*. 3rd ed. 1969. 2nd Reprint, Milano: Editrice Ancora, 2005.
- Rives, James B. *Religion in the Roman Empire*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.
- Roll, Susan K. *Toward the Origins of Christmas*. Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos Publishing House, 1995.
- Rordorf, Willy. *Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church*. Translated by A.A.K. Graham. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968.

- Rusch, William G. "A Possible Explanation of the Calendar in the Würzburg Lectionary." *Journal of Theological Studies* 21, no. 1 (1970): 105-111.
- Schmidt, Herman A. P. *Hebdomada sancta: fontes historici, commentarius historicus*, 2 vols. Rome: Herder, 1957.
- Scullard, H.H. *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic: Aspects of Greek and Roman Life*. Cornell, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Serra, Dominic. "Baptism: Birth in the Spirit or Dying with Christ." *Ecclesia orans* 22 (2005): 295-314.
- Shepherd, Massey. "The Liturgical Reform of Damasus I." In *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2, edited by Patrick Granfield and Josef A. Jungmann, 847-848. Münster: Aschendorff, 1970.
- Snyder, Graydon F. *Ante Pacem: Archeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2003.
- Stringer, Martin D. *A Sociological History of Christian Worship*. Cambridge: University Press, 2005.
- Taft, Robert. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and its Meaning for Today*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1993. (Taft 1993)
- Talley, Thomas J. "The Development of the Ember Days to the Time of Gregory VII." Th.D. diss., General Theological Seminary, 1969.
- _____. "History and Eschatology in the Primitive Pascha." *Worship* 47, no. 4 (April 1973): 212-221.
- _____. "Liturgical Time in the Ancient Church." *Studia Liturgica* 14 (1982): 34-51.
- _____. *The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 2d emended ed. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986.
- _____. "Origins of the Ember Days: Inconclusive Postscript." In *Rituels: Mélanges offerts à Pierre-Marie Gy*, edited by Paul de Clerck and Eric Palazzo, 465-472. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990.
- Tirot, Paul. "Vigiles et matines: liturgie monastique et liturgie cathédrale." *Études grégoriennes* 22 (1988): 24-30.

Tyrer, John Walton. *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Vogel, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*. Translated and revised by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen. Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1986.

Wegman, Herman. *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*. Translated by Gordon W. Lathrop. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990.

Willis, Geoffrey Grimshaw. *St. Augustine's Lectionary*. Alcuin Club Collections, 44. London: S.P.C.K., 1962.

_____. "Ember Days." In *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*. Alcuin Club Collections, 46. London: S.P.C.K., 1964.

_____. *Further Essays in Early Roman Liturgy*. London: S.P.C.K., 1968.

_____. *A History of Early Roman Liturgy: To the Death of Pope Gregory the Great*. London: The Boydell Press, 1994.

Woolfenden, Graham. *Daily Prayer in Christian Spain*. Alcuin Club Collections 76. Denver, CO: International Academic Publishers Ltd., 2000.