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Chant and Urban Procession in Rouen 1150–1450

A dissertation presented
by
Emerson Albert Morgan
to the
Department of Music

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the subject of
Music

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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Thomas Forrest Kelly (adviser) Emerson Albert Morgan

Chant and Urban Procession in Rouen 1150–1450

ABSTRACT

A rich body of processional chants from Rouen cathedral, the metropolitan church of the province of Normandy, survives from the beginning of the thirteenth century, a period defined roughly by the fall of the duchy of Normandy and the first building campaigns of the Gothic edifice at Rouen. These processions, performed from within the cathedral choir to beyond the city walls, reveal a great deal about musical life at Rouen, not only the inner workings of the liturgy of the cathedral chapter, but also its ceremonial engagement with the archbishop of Rouen, monastic communities, lay confraternities, and the general public. Based on three sources in particular—gradual BnF lat 904, processional BmR A. 551, and ordinal BmR Y. 110—this study presents a range of processions from simple to complex: processions before Mass, after Vespers, and after Matins; archiepiscopal processions, particularly Palm Sunday; and the lengthy processions of the Rogation Days. Its culmination is a detailed examination of these three Rogation days, which in Rouen, as in many cities and towns, were rituals expansive in terms of time, distance, and participation. I discuss some unexpected particularities of Rouen: the marshy, mountainous topography encountered east of the city wall on Rogation Wednesday, the impact of topographical elevation on the function or experience of procession, and the culmination of the three Rogation Days in the ceremonial release, a privilege unique to Rouen, of one prisoner on Ascension Thursday during the singing of the hymn *Salve festa dies*.

Thomas Forrest Kelly (directeur de thèse) Emerson Albert Morgan

Chant and Urban Procession in Rouen 1150–1450

RÉSUMÉ

Un répertoire abondant des chants pour la procession fut attesté à la cathédrale de Rouen, l'église métropolitaine de la province de Normandie, à partir du XIII^e^ siècle, une période marquée par l'annexation du duché de Normandie et la première campagne de construction de l'édifice gothique à Rouen. Les processions, réalisées, tant au chœur de la cathédrale que hors des murs de la cité, révèlent beaucoup sur la vie musicale à Rouen, pas seulement sur la liturgie du chapitre de la cathédrale, mais également sur son engagement cérémonial avec l'archevêque de Rouen, les communautés religieuses, les confréries laïques, et le public général. Fondée sur trois sources en particulier—le graduel BnF lat 904, le processionel BmR A. 551, et l'ordinaire BmR Y. 110—cette étude présente une variété de processions de la plus simple à la plus complexe: les processions avant la messe, après les vêpres, et après l'office des matines; les processions archiépiscopales, en particulier celle du dimanche des Rameaux; et les longues processions des jours des Rogations. Les trois jours de Rogations sont examinés en détails, rituels étendus en matière de temps, de distance, et de la participation à Rouen comme ailleurs. L'auteur fait référence aux particularités rouennaises: la topographie du marais et du Mont Sainte-Catherine à l'est de l'enceinte de la cité, rencontrés le mercredi des Rogations; l'effet de l'élévation topographique sur la fonction ou l'expérience de la procession; et l'aboutissement des trois jours de Rogations à la libération cérémoniale, par un privilège unique de Rouen, d'un prisonnier le jeudi de l'Ascension en chantant l'hymne *Salve festa dies*.

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Preface

This work is the culmination of inspiration and insight experienced over several years of formation as a historical musicologist. I sincerely thank Thomas Forrest Kelly, Suzannah Clark, and Kate van Orden for the guidance extended to me on this project from prospectus to dissertation. My most special thanks to Thomas Forrest Kelly, my dissertation adviser, whose example as a researcher and a teacher it has been my great honor and pleasure to follow. The best parts of my work are a result of the wisdom and courtesy he extended to me. It has been a gift to share seminar tables with the members of my dissertation committe, and with professors Margot Fassler, Jeffrey Hamburger, Robin Leaver, Brian Mann, Michael McCormick, Sally Promey, Markus Rathey, Alexander Rehding, Sindhumathi Revuluri, Kay Kaufman Shelemay, Anne Shreffler, and Christoph Wolff. My sincere gratitude and admiration are extended to faculty members with whom I have taught music history and theory courses. The brilliant colleagues of my own cohort and others of the Harvard Department of Music have had a deep effect on my formation as a thinker, teacher, and writer. The librarians of the Eda Kuhn Loeb Music Library and the Isham Memorial Library of Harvard College Library provided an extraordinary breadth of acquisitions and research services with expertise and efficiency: Sarah Adams, Christina Linklater, Sandi-Jo Malmon, Kerry Masteller, Joshua Kantor, Liza Vick, and Doug Freundlich. My research at Harvard and abroad was made possible through the generosity of the Richard F. French Prize Fellowship, the Ferdinand Gordon and Elizabeth Hunter Morrill Fellowship, the Oscar S. Schafer Award, the Helen L. and Benjamin J. Buttenwieser Scholarship Fund, and the H. Colin Slim Fellowship.

I must express sincere gratitude to the librarians and staff of the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, not least Sophie Étiemble-Lebret and Michael Monnier, and especially Claire Basquin,

Conservateur responsable du Patrimoine et des Maisons littéraires of the Bibliothèque patrimoniale Jacques Villon, who accommodated a foreign researcher for several months, providing access to long-awaited manuscripts and reproductions even during a period of closure for renovations. Marie Blaise-Groult of the Direction des Archives at the Pôle culturel Grammont of the Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime offered generous expertise and assistance with the vast corpus of the Rouen cathedral chapter deliberations. Claude Chaumat extended kind hospitality to me in Bonsecours, both to obtain copies of the 2009 edition of the medieval triple-chronicle of Rouen and to talk with me about the Rogation processions of Rouen so near the summit where those ceremonies culminated. After Rouen, the Centre Félix-Grat of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT) in Paris was a second research home, and I would like to express my warmest thanks to the supervisor of the reading room who pointed David Grattan Hughes in my direction in March 2015—along with my apology for the way I lept to my feet at the microfilm reader for this special encounter with the *maître* of my own doctoral adviser.

More loved ones, family members, friends, and colleagues have supported my years of work and research than I could possibly name here. Across the ocean Raynald Bernard, Marie-Ange Payet, Zachary Wilder, and Benoît Puttemans have been angels to me and this project. Rafael Fernandez scored a bullseye on our first date during my coursework years by raising a question about the difference between history and historiography. I could have never predicted the ways he would anchor my studies and my life in the years to follow.

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List of abbreviations and conventions

MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
Ant.	antiphon
BMV	Beata Maria Virgo, Beatae Mariae Virginis
Ps.	psalm
Resp.	responsory
V.	verse, versicle
Bib. mun.	Bibliothèque municipale
BmR	Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen
BL	London, British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
G	Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, série G.
lat	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds latin
NAL	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, nouvelles acquisitions latines
AH	*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. Dreves et al., 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1915)
CAO	*Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. Hesbert, 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–79)
CGM	Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, vols. 1–2: Rouen (Paris, 1886–88)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (1826–)
PL	*Patrologia latina*, ed. Migne (Paris, 1841–65)

Latin abbreviations

The texts of medieval Latin liturgical manuscripts can be heavily abbreviated and idiosyncratic. I prefer to show my interventions in the transcription of lengthier passages in the appendices. But for ease of legibility I have left the shorter excerpts in the body of the dissertation without editorial marks.

Shelfmarks and manuscript numbers

Manuscripts conserved at the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, to which I refer frequently, have been identified since the late nineteenth century by *two* numbering systems: the shelfmark, which is typically alphanumeric, for instance A. 551; and the number from the CGM, for instance 222. I prefer to give both numbers when I first mention a manuscript, for instance

A. 551 (222), and tend to refer to a manuscript thereafter by its book-genre and shelfmark, for instance processional A. 551. Some authors, including Leroquais, refer to A. 551 (222) as MS. 222; this can be useful since consecutive CGM numbers tend to group first by genre and then by chronology, but historiography, including Hesbert, tends to favor the shelfmark.

Dates

Expressing the year in a standardized form can be complicated from sources such as the thirteenth-century register of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and the Rouen cathedral chapter deliberations. The fiscal year frequently began on the quarter-day of Michaelmas (September 29); the liturgical year began with Advent; the kalendars of liturgical books began with January; and the ecclesiastical year was reckoned from Easter, a moveable feast dependent on solar and lunar calendars. I express years three ways, dependent on the date of Easter: 1346 means 1346; 1346 (V.S.) means that part of the year 1347 in modern reckoning between January 1 and Holy Saturday, a continuation of the medieval year 1346, which had begun the previous Easter; and 1346/7 means the year January 1, 1346 (V.S.) to December 31, 1347, or the year 1347 in the modern sense.

Saints' names

Inhabited places, institutions, and events were named after holy men and women. I use two forms of saints' names: the hyphenated form, Saint-Ouen, to refer to an inhabited place like a town or institution like a monastery, and the punctuated form St. Ouen to refer to a holy person, his or her relics, and the cult developed in his or her honor.

Chapter One. Rouen and Its Church

New books for a new building

The fire of 1200

Calamity struck in the year 1200: a great fire in the center of Rouen, which destroyed the cathedral of Rouen and much within the city walls. The entry from the chronicle of Rouen conveys the extent of damage:

> 1200. This year on the ides of April during the night of Easter, the entire church of Rouen was burned, along with all bells, books, and equipment of the church, and the greatest part of the city, as well as many churches. The same year in the month of July peace was made between the aforementioned kings, such that the city of Évreux continued to belong to the King of the Franks: but this peace did not last the year.
>
> —Chronicon Rothomagense[1]

Fire was an emergency in Rouen, a city whose entire built environment was structured densely with wood, so famous for its timber-framed *maisons à colombage*. The timber rooves of Romanesque basilicas were notoriously susceptible to flame: the Norman collegiate church of Gisors had burned in 1189, witnessed by Richard Lionheart, and Chartres cathedral had been

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[1] "Chronicon Rothomagense, sublatis minus necessariis ab anno Christi primo ad 1344," in *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manvscript[orum] Librorvm, Tomvs Primvs: Historias, Chronica, Sanctorvm, Sanctarvmqve Vitas, Translationes, Miracula, Stemmata Genealogica, ac similia Antiquitatis, præsertim Francicæ,* ed. P. Labbé and N. Foucquet, 364–390 (Paris: Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. Cramoisy, 1657), p. 370: "1200. hoc anno quarto idus aprilis in nocte pasche combusta est tota ecclesia rothomagensis cum omnibus campanis libris et ornamentis ecclesie et maxima pars ciuitatis et multe ecclesie. eodem anno in mense iulii facta est pax inter predictos reges ita quod ciuitas ebroicensis remansit regi francorum. sed illa pax non durauit per annum." (All translations from Latin to English in the dissertation are mine unless otherwise noted.)

badly damaged by fire in 1194.[2] Between 1200 and 1225, as Achille Luchaire and Arthur Kingsley Porter each observed in 1909, Rouen burned six times.[3] In this chronicle entry it is possible to detect something portentious about the year 1200: a round number, the last year of the twelfth century. This sense is heightened by Easter as the apex of the liturgical year and a celebration of renewal. But it is also possible to detect a connection between the two parts of this terse chronicle entry, the fire and the precarious peace made between two kings at Évreux. By Easter 1200 John Lackland was still two weeks shy of completion of his first year of his reign as King of England and Duke of Normandy. After the death of his brother Richard, and the burial of the latter's heart at Rouen cathedral, John made entrance to Rouen on April 25, 1199 to receive the ducal sword from Archbishop Gaultier.[4] Normandy had been a quasi-independent duchy since the year 911, and after the Norman conquest of England in 1066, Normandy and England, lying on either side of the English Channel, had operated as a unified cultural circuit, really more connected than separated by the Channel. But in 1200 King Philip Augustus of France took control of Évreux after making incursions against the Normand border for almost a decade. This was a concession for peace, but it would turn only four years later: John would lose the entire duchy to Philip, and Normandy would thereafter remain part of France. When Philip II

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[2] Achille Luchaire, *La société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste,* 2e éd. (Paris: Librairie Hachette et cie, 1909), p. 4.

[3] Luchaire, op. cit., ibid: "De 1200 à 1225, Rouen brûla six fois." Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Medieval Architecture: Its Origin and Development,* vol. 2: Normandy and the Île de France (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1909), p. 149: "Rouen was burned six times between 1200 and 1225."

[4] François Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Roven: divisee en trois parties: La premier contient la fondation, les accroissemens, les privileges ... Les seconde, l'origine de les Eglises paroissiales & collegiales, chapelles & hôpiteaux. La troisiéme, les fondations & antiquitez de les monasteres ...,* 3 vols. (A Roven: Chez Iacques Heravlt ..., 1668), p. 117.

Augustus made his triumphal entry in 1204 at Rouen the west façade of the Gothic cathedral as we know it was already underway, but much of the surroundings must have looked like a war scene. The great damage sustained to the Romanesque basilica required a new building campaign, which lasted into the early decades of the thirteenth century. The new edifice, with its pointed arches, colonettes, buttresses, and thin, pierced walls, began from both the western and eastern ends. The two met at the transept by the 1220s, where slightly misaligned longitudinal axes intersect at the crossing and distinct building phases are visible in the elevations of the nave to the west and the choir to the east.

A very small number of books from Rouen cathedral prior to the thirteenth century do survive,[5] including the precious *Livre d'ivoire,* BmR Y. 27 (1405), a early corpus of Norman saints' lives, including the eleventh-century Office of St. Romain with alphabetic music notation, unnotated Offices for the Rouennais saints Gildard and Ansbert, and *gesta* of the archbishops of Rouen. The *Livre d'ivoire* also includes an inventory of the library from the time of Archbishop Geoffroi le Breton, 1111–28 (*in aecclesia Rothomagi tempore Gaufridi archiepiscopi*) (Table 1.1).

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
[7]	Breviarium quod fuit Radulfi Longi
[9–13]	Benedictionarius Roberti archiepiscopi et IIIIor alii
[14]	Breviarium quod vocatur Ricardus. Liber de capitulo.
[15–18]	Troparii IIIIor.
[43]	Breviarium Iohannis archiepiscopi de communi servitio aecclesiae[6]

TABLE 1.1. LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, CA. 1111–1128, FROM THE *LIVRE D'IVOIRE*, BMR Y. 27 (CGM 1405).

[5] P. Langlois, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques des archevêques et du chapître de Rouen* (Rouen: Fleury, 1853), pp. 61–62.

[6] *Livre d'ivoire*, BmR Y. 27 (1405), f. 128r.

A rather clear picture emerges of how this cathedral library grew from this point until just before fire of 1200 based on a second inventory from the archiepiscopate of Rotrou (†1183), in the late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century chapter cartulary, BmR MS. Y. 44 (1193), ff. 50r–54r.[7] This library was separate from or a superset of the books used in the choir, but it nevertheless includes an array of liturgical books: benedictionals, graduals, tropers, missals, pontifical, homilaries, psalters, antiphoners, and collectars (Table 1.2). None seems to have survived, unless the *liber episcopalis*, no. 54, is the twelfth-century pontifical BnF NAL 306, which contains neumed rites of the Dedication of a Church and Consecration of a King or Queen,[8] discussed in connection with archiepiscopal rites in chapter two.

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
[12–14]	Libri capelle sunt isti: Benedictionarius, gradale et troparium. Habet Robertus capellanus.
[20–24]	Quinque omeliarii.
[25–27]	Breviarium Radulfi Longi, alterum in choro, et tercium Hugonis Ancheri et Borgnet.
[28–34]	Septem missalia.
[54]	Liber episcopalis.
[55]	Omeliarius vetus.
[59]	Psalterium cum expositione antiqua.
[61]	Glose super Psalterium.
[62]	Psalterium cum ymnario.
[64]	Psalterium glosatum.
[66]	Breviarium tocius cantus.
[77]	Antiphonarius per usum.
[79]	Gradale cum antiphonario per usum.

[7] Léopold Delisle, "Appendix C. Rotomagensis ecclesiae thesauri inventarium, saeculo XIImo, exaratum," in *Normanniae nova chronica: ab anno Christi CCCCLXXIII ad annum MCCCLXXVIII e tribus chronicis MSS.*, ed. Adolph Chéruel, 42–44 (Caen: Hardel, 1850), p. 42-44; *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 1849, p. 216–218, reproduced in part by Langlois, pp. 62–4.

[8] Beyond this, a book of medicine from the archiepiscopate of Geoffroi le Breton (1111–28) seems to have survived from the cathedral library; see *Acta SS. Bened.* Saec. 4, par 2a, p. 409.

[82] Orationes per annum in quaternis unius voluminis.
[84–87] Quatuor troparii, et epistole canonice, duo libri in capitulo.
[113] Collectarium cum institutione religionis Rothomagensis ecclesie.[9]

TABLE 1.2. LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, CA. 1183, FROM THE CHAPTER CARTULARY, BMR MS. Y. 44 (CGM 1193).

Books for the Office

The surviving Office manuscripts with music notation prior to the era of print are regrettably few and the repertory conveyed ruefully thin. No fully-notated manuscript breviary or antiphoner of Rouen cathedral exists, to my knowledge, prior to the print breviary of Martin Morin in 1491.[10] The earliest fully-notated Office manuscript to which I have found reference in the Supplément to the CGM is the five-volume noted antiphoner of 1684, copied by the priest and chaplain Robert Le Peinteur, BmR MS p30–34 (Suppl. 154–158) bearing the inscription, "Scribebat Robertus Le Peinteur, presbiter, capellanus chorista dictae ecclesiae, anno Domini 1684."[11] This large antiphoner remains unedited and inaccessible for examination, presumably due to a poor state of conservation, and has not been photographed by the Bibliothèque

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[9] Cartulary BmR Y. 44 (1193), ff. 50r–54r.

[10] *Breviarium Rothomagense* (Rouen: Guillaume Le Talleur & Martin Morin, 1491). The breviary BnF NAL 1083, catalogued as a *Breviarium ad usum Rothomagensem*, is not a cathedral book, but a monastic book with twelve lessons; although it contains Offices for St. Austreberte, St. Wandrille, and St. Ouen, Leroquais observed no exact match of its series of responsories for Matins of Triduum with those from Fécamp, Jumièges, Bec, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Wandrille, or Sainte-Catherine (*Les bréviaires*, vol. 3, no. 677, pp. 418–20). An incunable antiphoner printed on vellum, ca. 1500, survives without colophon or precise date; see Collette, "Mémoire sur quelques anciens livre de chœur de l'église de Rouen des treizième, seizième, et dix-septième siècles," in *Mémoire sur la musique sacrée en Normandie*, ed. Pothier, p. 17–20 at 18.

[11] BmR MS p 30–34 (Suppl 154–158). The incommunicability of this breviary was confirmed to me by on April 13, 2015 by Claire Basquin, Conservateur responsable du Patrimoine et des Maisons littéraires of the Bibliothèque patrimoniale Jacques Villon.

municipale de Rouen or the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes. The earliest Office manuscript for the entire year is the two-volume breviary BmR Y. 95 (195–196), dated around 1338 by Leroquais. The summer part, MS. 196, contains no notation, but the winter part, MS. 195, includes a small number of notated antiphons for the Benedictus of Lauds and for the Magnificat of Vespers for Advent (ff. 8v, 14r–v, 17r, 26r, 33r, 45v), Christmas Eve (f. 51v), St. John the Evangelist (ff. 58v–59r), and St. Stephen (ff. 67r–68v). Chronologically after the breviary Y. 95, six prominent breviaries, alas without notation, survive: breviary BmR Y. 238 (199), after 1347; breviary A. 45 (383), after 1361; breviary A. 563 (198), after 1454; breviary Y. 22 (200–201), after 1474; breviary A. 574 (202), second half of fifteenth century; breviary BnF lat 759, third quarter of fifteenth century. Outside those few passages in breviary Y. 95, all other notated chants found in Office books from Rouen of which I am aware are few, brief, relatively late, and *de rigeur*: a small number of notated incipits to responsories for Easter, Marian feasts, and the Office of the Dead. These are found in one psalter and three collectars dated from the fourteenth to seventeenth century, two of which bear the incipit "Collectarium curiose compositum ad usum chori ecclesie Rothomagensis." The fourteenth-century psalter BmR A. 580 (197) includes notated incipits and termination formulas for antiphons to various psalms, with a litany that includes St. Médard and St. Romain. The fifteenth-century collectar BmR A. 221 (234) contains notated incipits and a few fully-notated chants for Easter Day (f. 79v), Nativity of BMV (ff. 166f–167f), Office of the Dead (ff. 181–183v), and votive BMV (ff. 199v–221). Another fifteenth-century collectar, BmR Y. 5 (235), bears notated responsories for Easter (f. LI-v), votive BMV (XCVI–C), Mass for the Dead, CIIIV–CIXV; hymn, *Ave cujus conceptio*, CLXXVIIV–CLXXVIII,). Finally, the seventeenth-century collectar BmR Y. 10 (378) contains a few notated responsory incipits for Easter (f. 67v), Nativity of BMV (ff. 129v–130v), Office of the

Dead (ff. 144r–146r), and votive BMV (159v–163r). The functions performed by canons or chaplains as cantors for the Office is documented to a degree by the first part of the sixteenth-century manual, which has no music notation, BmR A. 284 (256), ff. 1r–160v.[12] The name inscription of Jean Le Sueur, f. 136r, may be that of the copyist.

Books for Mass and for procession

The gaping hiatus in the notated repertory of chants for the cathedral Office is slightly less immense for the Mass. Fully-notated books with music for the Mass at the cathedral of Rouen survive beginning the first third or middle of the thirteenth century. The earliest, the thirteenth-century gradual BnF lat 904,[13] has long been regarded as a great jewel among manuscripts from the metropolitan church of Normandy, possessed as royal treasure and as national patrimony. It left Rouen in 1706 as one volume of the vast library of the Bigot family acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi, and remaining on the Rue Vivienne in Paris through the Revolution and nationalization of the royal institutions.[14] The gradual is notated throughout with

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[12] Henri Loriquet demonstrated that this manual is not an antiphoner, as cataloged; see Loriquet, "Étude historique & liturgique sur le Ms. 904 du Fonds latin de la Bibliothèque nationale," in *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIII^e^ siècle,* vol. 1 (Rouen: Typographie et phototypie J. Lecerf, 1907), p. 74.

[13] Henri Loriquet, "Étude historique & liturgique sur le Ms. 904 du Fonds latin de la Bibliothèque nationale," Joseph Pothier, "Remarques sur la liturgie, le chant & le drame," and Amand Collette, "'Brève officiorum,'" in *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen au XIII^e^ siècle,* vol. 1 of 2. (Rouen: Typographie et phototypie J. Lecerf, 1907).

[14] Léopold Delisle, head of the manuscripts division of the Bibliothèque nationale de France from 1874 to 1905, Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta: catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés au XVIIe siècle par les Bigot, mis en vente au mois de juillet 1706, aujourd'hui conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, Société des bibliophiles normands 28 (Rouen: impr. de H. Boissel, 1877); Manuscrits latins et français ajoutés aux fonds des Nouvelles acquisitions pendant les années 1875–1891, 2 volumes (Paris: H. Champion, 1891).

Mass propers, sequences, tropes, and rich processional material.[15] More than a typical book of music for the Mass, this book is rich for its ritual descriptions and notated chants for processions. These were performed in spaces from the rarified precinct of the cathedral choir to vast public routes far beyond the city walls, with participants ranging from a small number of canons in chapter, to the archbishop and assembled public, to monastic and lay confraternal agents playing key roles. These traditions were innately local, differing from the topographies and ceremonies of Rome and northern France. By virtue of the richness of the gradual 904, it would be impossible to give a full history of musical life in Rouen without giving an account of its processions.

The rich processional material of gradual 904, in turn, is corroborated by the thirteenth-century processional BmR A. 551 (222).[16] The only surviving book of its genre from the

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[15] Loriquet et al., *Le Graduel*. In addition to its Mass propers and rich processional material, gradual 904 also transmits genealogies for Christmas (ff. 10v–11v) and Epiphany (ff. 27v–28v) and liturgical dramas for Christmas (ff. 11v–14), Epiphany (ff. 28v–30), and Easter (ff. 101v–103), a genre for which Rouen was an important center.

[16] A diachronic study of the development of the processional of Rouen necessarily would begin with manuscript A. 551 (222) and proceed to processionals printed after the Council of Trent: the unidentified processional of 1588 referenced by Le Prévost in his edition of *R. P. Johannis Abrincensis episcopi, Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis...* (Rotomagi:...Bonaventuræ le Brun,...1679), p. 136; *Processionale ecclesiae Rothomagensis...Francisci II, Normaniae primatis, jussu, recognitum et edit* (Rothomagi: apud Societatem typographicam librorum officii ecclesiastici, 1645); *Processionale ecclesiae Rotomagensis, autoritate...Patris D. D. Dominici de La Rochefoucauld...* (Rotomagi: apud J.-J. Le Boullenger, 1763); *Processionale ecclesiae Rotomagensis, autoritate...D. D. Stephani-Huberti Cambacerès...archiepisco* (Rotomagi: J. B. P. S. Megard, 1811); *Processionale ecclesiae Rotomagensis...* (Rothomagi: Vid. Trenchard-Behourt, 1827); *Processionale ecclesiae Rotomagensis, editum sub autoritate Eminentissimi Principis de Croÿ* (Rotomagi: apud Mégard...typographum, 1828); *Processionale ecclesiae Rotomagensis...* (Rothomagi: Mégard, 1841). A comparitive study of cathedral and monastic processions in Rouen would include BmR A. 548 (223), a processional from Saint-Ouen abbey, s. XIV; a processional from Saint-Lô of Rouen, Caen, Archives départementales, Chapitre de Bayeux 94, and another processional or antiphoner from Saint-Lô, BmR A. 455 (255), olim BnF NAL 491; and the third volume of the notated antiphoner copied in 1684 by Robert Le Painteur, chaplain of the choristers of the cathedral, BmR CGM Supplément 156. The notated processional from 1779

cathedral, the portable format of the book, 94 ff., long and narrow at 17 × 11 cm, rendered it suitable to procession. This processional was identified near the turn of the twentieth century by Karl Young as a source for liturgical drama,[17] and was partially inventoried by Michel Huglo in his volumes on processional manuscripts for RISM.[18] But for the musical and ritual detail that it conveys about processions of many varieties at Rouen cathedral, this small book has not yet received its due attention. To a high degree it corresponds to the processional material of gradual 904, of which it is a close contemporary, but the processional often includes additional antiphons (*aliae*) that might have been required when processional movement, especially over large distances outside the cathedral, moved more slowly than expected. In certain points one manuscript or the other is the sole witness of a ritual detail, a minor detail such as whether the cantor decides on which responsory should be sung while passing a church in procession, or major, some detail that is the sole clue to the route of a procession. I will rely heavily on this processional manuscript in conjunction with the gradual in my exposition and analysis of

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of the parishes of Saint-Vivien and Saint-Nicaise serves as a point of comparison for the coordination of cathedral and parish processions within the urban infrastructure; it gives the stations, antiphons, prayers, and other ceremonial details of the processions of the Greater Litany (feast of St. Mark) and the Lesser Litanies of the Rogation Days as practiced by two parishes of the diocese: *Prieres qui se chantent aux processions des rogation & de S. Marc, notées en pleinchant, à l'usage des Paroisses de Saint Viven & de Saint Nicaise* (Rouen: De l'Imprimerie de J. J. le Boullenger,...1779). For reference to processionals of other Uses, Roman, Gallican, and Insular: Clyde Brockett, *Letania and Preces: Music for Lenten and Rogations Litanies* (Ottawa: Institute for Mediaeval Music, 2006); *Processionale monasticum ad usum congregationis gallicae ordinis sancti benedicti* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1893), pp. 69–74; Malcolm Floyd, "Processional Chants in English Monastic Sources," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 13 (1990): 1–48.

[17] Karl Young, "A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen," *Modern Philology* 6, no. 2 (October 1908): 201–27.

[18] Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processionnal*, vol. 1, Répertoire international des sources musicales, series b, XIV (München: Henle, 1999–2004), pp. 150–1.

processions inside and outside the cathedral in chapters three and four. The contents of processional A. 551, like all others, is limited to the material most useful during the course of processional movement. Certain feasts are included because of their processional ceremony. These include feasts from the Proper of Time: Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Holy Week, Easter Week, Rogation Days, Ascension, Pentecost, and Trinity; and from the Proper of Saints: St. Andrew, Conception of BMV, Conversion of St. Paul, St. Sever, Purification of BMV, Annunciation of BMV, St. Mark the Evangelist (Greater Litany), Invention of the Cross, Translation of St. Romain, SS. Peter and Paul, Assumption of BMV, St. Ouen, Nativity of BMV, Exaltation of the Cross, Dedication of a Church, St. Romain, All Saints; and additional Rogations for favorable weather, for rain, against plague and pestilence and famine, for healthy crops, and for peace. Although cataloged by Omont as a processional of the abbey of Saint-Ouen of Rouen, due to its provenance,[19] the manuscript obviously originated at the cathedral of Rouen from rubrics specifying the *archiepiscopus* throughout: Sundays from Epiphany to Septuagesima (f. 6r), Ash Wednesday (f. 8r), Palm Sunday (ff. 15v, 18v, 21r, 23r), Maundy Thursday (ff. 26v, 27v), Good Friday (ff. 30v–32r, 34r–v), Easter Sunday (ff. 40v, 41v), and Ascension (f. 56r).

The ordinal and gradual in modern history

The early fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110 was the book by which liturgy and history first began to overlap at Rouen. This source for the rituals of cathedral chapter Office, Mass, and processions presented a snapshot of the complex ritual and ceremonial at a particular moment in time, and surely transmitted practices of earlier periods. It was known to the early modern historians of Rouen and was the first liturgical book to be used extensively as a source by them.

[19] Processional BmR A. 551 (222).

Beginning with the Maurists and continuing into the nineteenth century, the historiography of Rouen consisted of the histories of its ecclesiastical and monastic institutions. And with Rouen as an important center of print, there must have been a degree of self-consciousness on the parts of historians whose works were printed in the very city: François Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Roven* (1668) and Antoine-Nicolas Servin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen* (1775) laid the foundations for Pierre Langlois and Léon Fallue.[20] With Pierre Langlois and Édouard Frère the historiography departed from the institutional model of history for the first time; instead for Langlois liturgy was the object.[21] And both Langlois and Frère developed bibliographic history: authors, literary critics, rare books and manuscripts, the printing press in Normandy.[22] Langlois treated the history of the library of the cathedral chapter, which situated its collection at in interior of the north transept of the cathedral, at the exterior of which lay the *Portail des Librairies* and the rue Saint-Romain with the publishers and the booksellers of the city. I will highlight throughout the chapters several instances in which the archbishop, canons, diocesan

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[20] Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Roven*; Antoine-Nicolas Servin, *Histoire de la ville de Rouen, capitale de pays et duché de Normandie, depuis sa fondation jusqu'en l'année 1774*, 2 vols. (Rouen: Le Boucher, le jeune, 1775); Pierre Langlois, *Discours de réception de M. l'abbé Langlois, contenant la revue des maîtres de chapelle et musiciens de la métropole de Rouen, prononcé dans la séance du 28 juin 1850* (Rouen: impr. de A. Peron); *Recherches sur les bibliothèques des archevêques et du chapître de Rouen* (Rouen: Fleury, 1853); *Nouvelles recherches sur les bibliothèques des archevêques et du chapître de Rouen* (Rouen: Fleury, 1854); Leon Fallue, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'église métropolitaine et du diocèse de Rouen*, 4 vols. (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1850).

[21] *Mémoire sur les variations de la liturgie de Rouen, ouvrage posthume de M. l'abbé Langlois* ..., ed. abbé S.-F.-A. Delalonde (Rouen: impr. de E. Cagniard, 1861); *Officia propria ad usum ecclesiae rotomagensis* (Rennes: impr. de H. Vatar, s.d.).

[22] Édouard Frère, *Manuel du bibliographe normand* (Rouen, A. Le Brument, 1858–1860); *Catalogue des livres rares et curieux* (Rouen: Métérie, 1874); *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen relatifs à la Normandie* (Rouen: impr. de H. Boissel, 1874); *De l'imprimerie et de la librairie à Rouen, dans les XVe et XVIe siècles et de Martin Morin, célèbre imprimeur rouennais* (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1843).

priests, women officials of the confraternity of a cathedral chapter, and other persons associated with the cathedral were the collectors, lenders, borrowers, donors, regulators, and commissioners of liturgical books. There is a continuity of relationship between these authors and the archives and libraries of Rouen, even as the histories shifted from Maurist project of documenting the Rule of St. Benedict to the post-Revolutionary project of institutionalizing public patrimony. The former is reflected in the transcription and publication of sources for Rouennais saints' Offices, which I discuss in chapters three and four, and later in the institutional histories of Rouen—its cathedral, its main abbey church, its archbishops, and its patron saints—by François Pommeraye; the later is reflected in the catalogs of the newly-institutionalized national and municipal libraries, the efforts of cataloging undertaken by the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen, such as its manuscript series Y, begun by Langlois-Prévôt, and completed by Frère,[23] and by the collaboration in the nineteenth centuries of the canons, abbots, liturgists, librarians, and savants to document the history of the liturgy and its music at Rouen, epitomized by the edition in 1907 of the gradual BnF lat 904.

The facsimile edition of gradual 904, published in Rouen in 1907, is remarkable as one of the collaborations among prominent monastic and capitulary figures in Normandy during the *belle époque*.[24] Henri Loriquet, director of the Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, presented codicology, comparative analysis, and history in "Étude historique et liturgique"; Dom Joseph Pothier, abbé of Saint-Wandrille a *précis* with theological interpretation in "Remarques sur la

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[23] Frère, *Catalogue des MSS*. This catalog completes series Y of cataloged by Langlois-Prévôt.

[24] The liturgical collaborations of the *belle époque* that I discuss here were anticipated in the 1850s by the collaboration on the *Calendrier normands*, by Auguste Le Prévost; Charles Ouin-La-Croix, canon of Saint-Denis; and Charles de Beaurepaire, Archiviste de la Seine-Inférieure; and Adolphe Charma, Secretary of the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.

liturgie, le chant et le drame," and systematic inventory of the "'Breve officiorum,'" by Amand Collette, canon of Rouen. Loriquet in particular drew detailed comparisons across a great number of texts, especially the chants, texts, rubrics of gradual 904, and missal Y. 50, and ordinal Y. 110, all from Rouen cathedral; and the fourteenth-century monastic gradual from Jumièges, BmR A. 233 (250). Pothier's authority on Norman and northern French music of the middle ages had wide effects on the publication of music and the history of notation. He was a monk at Solesmes under abbot Dom Prosper Guéranger, and then its subprior (1862–3, 1866–93). During this time at Solemes Pothier collaborated with the publisher Desclée of Tournai ("imprimerie liturgique de S. Jean l'Ev[angeliste] Desclée, Lefebvre et cie.") on a typeface for printing music notation after medieval sources, for *Les Mélodies gregoriennes d'apres la tradition* (Tournai, 1879) and on *Paléographie musicale*, volumes 2–3 on the gradual *Justus ut palma* (1891–2).[25] And at the same time that he was collaborating with Loriquet and Collette on the gradual 904 edition (1907) he was directing the edition of the Vatican gradual (1908).[26] Of all three, Amand Collette was the most prolific in terms of collaborative authorship. Over his career Collette also collaborated or co-authored with A. Candard; abbé Legris;[27] abbé Sauvage; abbé Vacandard, honorary canon of Rouen and chaplain (*aumônier*) of the Lycée de Rouen; abbé Tougard, honorary canon, at the petit Séminaire. After his book *Histoire de la maîtrise de Rouen*

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[25] David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 397.

[26] *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae Ecclesiae de tempore et de sanctis, SS-D-N. Pii X,... jussu restitutum et editum, cui addita sunt festa novissima* (Romae: typis Vaticanis, 1908).

[27] Albert Legris (abbé) reviewed the 904 edition: "Le graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen à la fin du XII^{e} siècle," *Revue des questions historiques* 88 = nouvelle série 44 (1910): 135–48.

(1892),[28] Collette co-authored with A. Bourdon. "Notice historique sur les orgues et les organistes de la cathédrale de Rouen" (1894).[29] In his next book *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (1894), Collette traced the development of the Rouennais liturgy from its origins through the seventeenth century via roughly one dozen extant manuscript sources for the Office at Rouen. Although he said he was able to write the book by virtue of access to "les anciens bréviaires et livres liturgiques manuscrits et imprimés, que conservent nos bibliothèques publiques et privées,"[30] it was also in cooperation with abbé Legris, curé-doyen of Envermeu, who had made a study of the propers of Rouen, and shared his notes directly with him. Two years later Collette published with Joseph Pothier and A. Bourdon, *Mémoires sur la musique sacrée en Normandie* (1896). Although Collette's contribution to the edition of gradual 904 is not a reconstruction of the complete Use of Rouen, its inventoried texts and prayers of Office and Mass, as well as special rubrics for processions, is analogous to the six-volume edition of the Use of Salisbury by Nick Sandon.[31] Collette was recognized by Frédéric Fuzet, Archbishop of Rouen, as the heir and perfector of the Maurists, in a letter to Collette published at the beginning of the *Histoire du bréviaire*: "Au XVII^{e} siècle, nos savants français avaient abordé l'étude de nos anciens rites avec une ardeur et une science dignes d'admiration. Toutefois, pour n'avoir pas suffisamment

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[28] Amand-Romain Collette (abbé), *Histoire de la maîtrise de Rouen: première partie, depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Rouen: Imprimerie Espérance Cagniard, 1892); *Histoire du bréviaire de Rouen* (Rouen: L. Mégard, imprimeur de l'archevêché, 1902).

[29] Armand-Romain Collette (abbé), and Adolphe Bourdon (abbé), "Notice historique sur les orgues et les organistes de la cathédrale de Rouen," in *La vie musicale dans les provinces françaises*, vol. 3, 218–313 (Rouen: E. Cagniard, 1894).

[30] Collette, *Histoire de la maîtrise*, p. 30

[31] *The Use of Salisbury*, ed. Nick Sandon, 6 vols., Antico Church Music (North Hartin, Devon, England: Antico Edition, 1984).

particularisé leurs recherches, ils n'étaient arrivés qu'à des conclusions indistinctes."[32] The conclusion for the study of the liturgy of Rouen was developed by Collette to its culmination in the facsimile edition of 904.

On a Norman Use

Defining Norman, defining Use

Scholarship of the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century has critiqued the breadth, limits, stability, and precision of the concept of a liturgical Use. This has moved away from a stable, normative model of Use across large stretches of time and region—the Use of Rome, the Use of Sarum, and so on—and returned to the role of books in constituting a Use. Matthew Cheung Salisbury argued that any Use has been abstracted from a rich diversity of texts that do not always fit into a picture of uniformity or coherence.[33] Richard Pfaff preferred the openness of the term *totality* over *system* to refer to the superset of services comprised of various related instantiations in books.[34] These perspectives retain the possibility of viewing of each manuscript as "a petite édition critique" that makes interventions on behalf of some person or group for some purpose.[35] David Hiley has proposed that liturgical books and their repertories

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[32] "Lettre de S. Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. Mgr Fuzet, Archevêque de Rouen à l'auteur," in Collete, *Histoire du bréviaire*, pp. 9–16, at 12.

[33] Matthew Cheung Salisbury, "Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: A Historiographical Essay," *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016).

[34] Richard William Pfaff, "Introduction: Study of Liturgy," in *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England*, Variorum Collected Studies CS610, I (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 3–4.

[35] Christopher E. Hohler, "Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church," in *Tenth-century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis*

serve a more reliable basis than the biography of archbishops for attributing the influence of one center over another.[36] That is to specify that, while the personal experiences and motivations of a powerful individual may leave an impact, the measure of impact can be gauged from liturgical texts. The first Franciscan archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, for instance, instituted the feast of St. Francis of Assisi. Helen Gittos suggested that Use depends on comparisons among texts and practices, with varying degrees of similarity and differences, and has suggested four contexts into which studies of rite have fallen: (a) comparison with other versions of the same rite; (b) comparison with other rites; (c) the manuscript context; (d) the settings in which it was written and read.[37]

From such perspectives, the applicability of the term *Norman* begins to fracture into particular geographies, periods, and institutional types. These particularities—geography, time period, and institutional type—deserve development in order to frame the possibilities, limits, and importance of the study of the liturgy of a metropolitan cathedral with sources from relatively late periods. Normandy, in its boundary and in its parts, seems a resilient social-geographical fact. Daniel Power has observed the congruence of three stages of Norman frontier: the Roman province of *Lugdunensis secunda* (*le second lyonnais*), the ecclesiastical province of

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concordia, ed. David Parsons, 60–83 (London: Phillimore, 1975), 80–1; James R. Ginther, "Between Plena Caritas and Plenitudo Legis: The Ecclesiology of the Norman Anonymous," *The Haskins Society Journal* 22 (2013): 141–62.

[36] David Hiley, The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centered on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1981, p. 97; "Post-Pentecost Alleluias in Medieval British Liturgies," in *Music in the Medieval English Liturgy: Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society Centennial Essays*, ed. Susan Rankin and David Hiley, 145–74 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[37] Helen Gittos, "Researching the History of Rites," in *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation,* ed. Helen Gittos and Sarah Hamilton, 13–38 (Farham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2016), p. 23.

Rouen, and the duchy of Normandy; and that these stages corresponded at the divisions, too: the suffragan dioceses of Rouen, the cathedral cities of Normandy, were the *civitates* (in contrast to *oppida*) that fell to Philip II Augustus: first Évreux and Séez fell; then Coutances, Bayeux, Lisieux, and Avranches.[38] Unity and division must have been the preoccupation of Archbishop Walter of Coutances in the years leading up to the thirteenth century. Born in England, he had been repeatedly involved in maintaining the tenuous peace between King John "Lackland" of England and King Philip II Auguste of France. Under his term the cathedral burned in 1200 and the duchy fell to France in 1204. Unity was a theme of the council he held at Rouen in 1189, at which he established the observance of the Rouen Use by its suffragan dioceses:

> Adhering to the traces of our ancient fathers, we declare, above all, that our suffragan churches should follow the Use of the most holy metropolitan church on that which is read and that which is sung.
>
> Antiquorum patrum nostrorum uestigiis adhaerentes imprimis decernimus ut omnes suffraganae ecclesiae nostrae in legendo et psallendo usum sacrosanctae ecclesiae metropolitanae imitentur.

As the metropolitan seat, the church at Rouen exerted considerable influence upon the liturgical practices of its suffragan dioceses. Archbishop Guillaume Bonne-Âme had ordered near the turn of the twelfth century that churches not only in the diocese of Rouen but also in the ecclesiastical province of Normandy conform to the Use of the cathedral.[39] This describes the model of a Use which cascaded from the metropolitan cathedral to its suffragan cathedral and

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[38] Daniel Power, "The Church and the Norman Frontier," in *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, pp. 113–42; "What Did the Frontier of the Angevin Normandy Comprise?" in *Anglo-Norman Studies* 17, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, 181–201 (Woodbridge, 1995). François Lemarignier, *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, Travaux et mémoires de l'Université de Lille, nouv. sér. Droit et lettres 24 (Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1945): 70–71. Lemarignier modified the idea of a precise linear boundary to Normandy, but a province with frontier zones.

[39] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 330.

each cathedral to the churches of its diocese, an effect whose real contours are difficult to trace because of the absence of adequate liturgical sources from the diocese.

The overriding desideratum denoted by the term *Norman* seems to be temporal; that is, the recuperable world of the ducal period, 911–1204. This desire is revealed in moments such as Loriquet's use of the qualifier, "sûrement antérieur à 1204," to secure the "Normanness" of the attribution of a paricular form of the *laudes regie* to Saint-Ouen abbey.[40] It hints to the premise that historical projects based on evidence postdating a major inflection point become less meaningful, even when traces of an earlier world may be recuperable from it. For this reason, Rouen cathedral has remained a challenging musicological subject: it cannot directly answer questions from earlier periods comparable to the monastic contexts. Its number of surviving sources from periods prior to the thirteenth century are simply incomparable to those from monastic institutions.

After time and geography, then institution type: it is possible for deployment of the term *Norman* to strategically or inadvertently privilege monastic culture while occluding ecclesiastical culture. Between Rouen and the mouth of the river at the Channel, the undulating Lower Seine Valley (*les boucles de la Seine*) was the site of several ancient and influential monastic communities of Normandy: Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, Saint-Pierre of Jumièges, Saint-Ouen of Rouen, and La-Trinité-du-Mont (Sainte-Catherine) near Rouen;[41] and farther from

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[40] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, p. 68.

[41] *Aspects du monachisme en Normandie: IVe–XVIIIe siècles: actes du Colloque scientifique de l'"Année des abbayes normandes," Caen, 18-20 octobre 1979*, ed. Lucien Musset, Bibliothèque de la Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France (Paris: J. Vrin, 1982); *Les Abbayes de Normandie: actes du XIIIe congrès des Sociétés Historiques et Archéologiques de Normandie, Caudebec-en-Caux, 1978* (Rouen: Société libre d'émulation de la Seine-Maritime, 1979); Michel Nortier, "Les sources de l'histoire de la Normandie (et du monachisme normand en particulier) à la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Aspects du monachisme*, 159–83; *Manuscrits normands, XI–XIIème*

Rouen the abbeys of Saint-Taurin of Évreux, Saint-Wandrille of Fontenelle, and La Trinité of Fécamp, foundations estimated by Frère to date to the seventh century.[42] Michel Huglo characterized the immense influence of monasteries of Normandy in the period following Norman conquests abroad: "À la fin du XIe siècle, à la suite de la conquête de 1066, l'influence de la Normandie est prépondérante dans les usages liturgiques, les coutumes monastiques et jusque dans la notation musicale."[43] The figure of William of Volpiano or Dijon lies immediately behind Huglo's allusions to liturgical Use, monastic customs, and alphabetic music notation. William was the abbot and Cluniac reformer of St. Bénigne of Dijon, who arrived at La Trinité of Fécamp in the eleventh century by the invitation of Duke Richard II of Normandy.[44] Indeed, the connection of ducal patronage and monastic efflourescence in Normandy was better symbolized nowhere than at Fécamp, where the ducal palace directly faced La Trinité.[45]

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siècles, ed. François Avril, catalog accompanying exposition at the Musée des beaux-arts, February–March, 1975 (Rouen: Musée des beaux-arts, 1975); Cassandra Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 11 (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 1997).

[42] Frère, "Introduction," in *Manuel*. The history of Norman liturgy is self-reflexive: Dom Hesbert left the abbey of Solesmes in order to live in Saint-Wandrille of Fontenelle.

[43] Michel Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental fasc. 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1988), p. 114.

[44] William of Dijon or of Volpiano was one of several eminent persons for whom Richard II, according to chronicles, provided generous protection in the duchy, including Armenians and Greeks (Frère, "Introduction," in *Manuel*, p. iv). Lucien Musset, whose work on the archiepiscopal court poet Warner of Rouen is discussed in chapter two, compared and contrasted Frankish and ducal patronage in Normandy: "Monachisme d'époque franque et monachisme d'époque ducale en Normandie: le problème de la continuitié," in *Aspects du monachisme*, 55–74.

[45] Annie Renoux, *Fécamp du Palais ducal au palais de Dieu: bilan historique et archéologique des recherches menées sur le site du château des ducs de Normandie, IIe siècle A. C.–XVIIIe siècle P. C.* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991).

Jumièges abbey experienced an explosion of scholarly attention following its thirteenth centenary in 1954, including musicological attention. Hesbert inventoried and published the two-volume compilation of existing music manuscripts, with photoreproductions, once owned by the abbey of St. Pierre of Jumièges deposited after the Revolution in the municipal library of Rouen.[46] A three-day congress was held in Rouen in June 1954 on the history and liturgy of Jumièges, published in two volumes. Contributions included studies of music: Jean Marilier on the versified Offices of St. Philibert at Tournus and Dijon, and by Hesbert on the Offices of St. Philibert and St. Aycadre.[47] A vast literature antedated and postdates the 1954 congress on the relationship between Jumièges and England.[48] Jumièges counted as one of eight Benedictine institutions in Geneviève Nortier's study of medieval libraries.[49] Twelve early Office books from Jumièges (breviaries, antiphoner, psalter-hymnary, capitulary-collectar, homilary, and

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[46] *Les manuscrits musicaux de Jumièges*, ed. René-Jean Hesbert, Monumenta musicae sacrae 2 (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1954).

[47] Marjorie Chibnall, "Les relations entre Jumièges et l'Angleterre, du XI^{e} au XIII^{e} siècles," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique*, vol. 1, 269–75; Jean Marilier, "L'office rhythmé de Saint Philibert à Tournus et Dijon," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique*, vol. 1, pp. 335–42; and René Jean Hesbert, "La composition musicale à Jumièges: les offices de S. Philibert et de S. Aycadre," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique*, vol. 1, pp. 977–90.

[48] Chibnall, "Les relations"; David Douglas, "Robert de Jumieges, archeveque de Cantorbery, et la conquete de l'Angleterre par les Normands," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique*, vol. 1, pp. 283–286; David Hiley, "Chant Composition at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest," in *Max Lütolf zum 60. Geburtstag: Festschrift*, ed. Bernard Hangartner and Urs Fischer, 31–46 (Basel: Wiese Verlag, 1994); Eugène Sauvage, *Note sur les manuscrits anglo-saxons et les manuscrits de Jumièges conservés à la Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen* (Le Havre: Imprimerie Lepelletier, 1883). For further literature on Anglo-Saxon Uses prior to the Norman conquest: David Hiley, "Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 72 (1986): 57–90; *Pre-conquest Antiphons*, ed. Hughes.

[49] Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie: Fécamp, Le Bec, Le Mont Saint-Michel, Saint-Évroul, Lyre, Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Ouen* (Caen: Caron et Cie, 1966).

lectionaries) dating beginning the tenth century were transcribed in their entirety and cross-referenced with the CAO by Olivier Diard; this volume was the first publication of the project *Répertoire des manuscrits liturgiques en Haute-Normandie*, under the auspices of the Groupe de Recherche d'Histoire (GRHIS) at the University of Rouen.[50]

A number of studies of musical repertories from the ecclesiastical province of Normandy or dioceses within it have been based mostly or exclusively on monastic sources; that is, monasteries situated within those geographies. This is understandable, since the monastic institutions tend to have the earliest surviving sources. For the music books from Rouen cathedral, the possibility of an origin-study comparable to Diard's project for Jumièges, for instance, is foreclosed from the outset. Studies based mostly or exclusively on monastic sources claiming to represent "Norman" music repertories include "le sanctoral normand" promoted by Diard in his dissertation on rhymed Offices of saints with relics possessed by monasteries (St. Taurin, bishop of Évreux, translated to Fécamp; St. Nicolas, relic at Jumièges; St. Catherine, relic at St. Catherine of Rouen);[51] the expansion of this study to that by Diard and Gazeau of Office Propers for saints from the dioceses of Évreux and Rouen (St. Taurin; St. Romain; St. Ouen; St. Aichard, abbot of Jumièges; St. Filibert, abbot of Jumièges; and Leufroy of the abbey of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy), based exclusively on monastic liturgical books (Saint-Ouen,

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[50] Olivier Diard, *Sources fondamentales des offices (Xe–XVe siècle),* Répertoire des manuscrits liturgiques en Haute-Normandie, part 1: *Jumièges*, vol. 1 (Mont-Saint- Aignan: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2011). In preparation, however, is the volume on Upper and Lower Normandy due for preparation in *Catalogue des manuscrits notés du Moyen Age des bibliothèques publiques de France*, edited by Christian Meyer, (Turhout: Brepols, forthcoming); series currently at five volumes.

[51] Diard, Les offices, diss; Diard, "Aspects de la centonisation dans les antiennes de Magnificat en premier mode dans le sanctoral normand," in *Histoire, humanisme et hymnologie: mélanges offerts au professeur Edith Weber*, 341–53 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1997).

La Trinité-du-Mont, Fécamp, Jumièges, Bec, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Taurin, Conches, La-Croix-Saint-Leufroy, and Saint-Évroult);[52] and Goudesenne, who developed concept of a Norman school of liturgical chant by "reuniting the principal Offices of the province of Rouen."[53] The potential problem when the "Norman" is invoked to refer to a Use, or Office, or textual or melodic variant, or style of notation is the assumption that the music repertories held in early monastic books match those of later books from cathedrals and parish churches, and this is not necessarily so. Sometimes this problem is broached, for instance when Loriquet referred to "numerous points of contact" between the abbeys of Fécamp and Saint-Ouen with the churches of the diocese of Rouen, without evidence showing the effects of such contact.[54]

One key example of the represent the "Norman" was Kantorowicz on the Rouennais version of the *laudes regiae*, also known by their incipit, the *Christus vincit*. The *laudes* were a rare addition to the Mass, associated with churches where coronations were performed.[55] The form of the *laudes* is comparable to a litany, an invocation of saints, which may be quite long. The manuscript sources, textual structure, and distinctions among various versions of the *laudes*

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[52] Olivier Diard, Les offices propres dans le sanctoral normand: étude liturgique et musical (x^{e}–xv^{e} siècle), thèse de doctoroat, 4 vols., Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2000; Olivier Diard and Véronique Gazeau, "Histoire et chant liturgique en Normandie au xie siècle: les offices propres particuliers des diocèses d'Évreux et de Rouen," *Annales de Normandie* 53/3 (2003): 195–223.

[53] Jean-François Goudesenne, *Les offices historiques ou Historiae composés pour les fêtes des saints dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims (775–1030)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p. 3

[54] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, p. 72: "il ne faut pas perdre de vue que l'abbaye de Fécamp faisait partie du diocèse de Rouen, tout comme celle de Saint-Ouen, et que sa liturgie offrait de nombreux points de contact avec la nôtre."

[55] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 77.

are thoroughly analyzed by Edward Cowdrey.[56] They were sung in at least five northern French cathedrals: Rouen, Soissons, Beauvais, Troyes, and Paris. At Rouen the *laudes* were sung at Easter Vigil, at the Feast of the Assumption, and on the Feast of Dedication of the Cathedral of Rouen. See Y. 110, ff. 212r (Dedication of Cathedral): "Et χρistus vincit cantetur ut notatur in die assumpcionis beate marie." The ritual context is given in the thirteenth-century gradual 904 and fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110, which specify that the *laudes* were to be sung if and only if the archbishop were present. When present, the *laudes* were sung before the Epistle, along with spoken collects for the pope and for the king.[57] The liturgical books do not specify which members of the choir should sing the *laudes*, only using the passive finite verb form, *cantetur*, 'should be sung.' But accounts from the cathedral treasury in 1403 show that on Easter Day the *laudes* were sung by two canons, who were paid 10 *solidos* for doing so.[58] Accounts from that year also show that the *laudes* were similarly sung on Corpus Christi ("Le jeudi, jour du

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[56] Following the lead of these authors I refer to these sung acclamations as *laudes*, rather than by the incipit; however the liturgical sources I draw upon refer to them exclusively by the incipit *Christus vincit*: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship,* University of California Publications in History 33 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), esp. "Normandy," pp. 166–71, and "The Music of the Laudes," by Manfred F. Bukofzer, pp. 199–221; Edward Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman *Laudes regiae*," *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 12 (1981): 37–78.

[57] Gradual 904, f. 108v: "Si archiepiscopus presens fuerit cantetur ante epistolam *χρistus vincit*" (here Kantorowicz added "ad vesperas," but this indication surely marked the beginning of a new rubric, "ad uesperas ij de maiori sede in cappis incipiant ante candelabra *Salue festa dies*", since the ordinal Y. 110 specifies that the *laudes* were sung after the entrance of the canons into the choir for Mass); ordinal Y. 110, f. 84r: "Quo finito archiepiscopus si presens fuerit benedicat populum et statim incipiatur missa. Et archiepiscopus si fuerit habeat secum vij dyaconos et totidem subdyaconos revestitos, de quibus duodecim sint de secunda sede. Et debent predicti duodecim prandere con domino archiepiscopo vel habere quibus duos solidos de bursa predicti domini. Et cantetur. *χρistus vixit* [*sic*] ante epistolam. et fiat memoria pro domino pape et rege tantum. Si non fuerit nec *χρistus uincit* nec memoria fiat."

[58] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 18.

Sacrement") and on All Saints' Day by two canons, paid accordingly.[59] In general the litany-like invocations of the laudes could be numerous and the entirety quite long, so payment seems reasonable; however, as discussed in chapter one, the earliest documented *laudes* source from the cathedral dates from the sixteenth century, by which point in time, in Loriquet's judgment, it was relatively abbreviated. The question bears speculation whether the sixteenth-century version known to Loriquet was the *laudes* sung in these chapter accounts, or if the payments were for longer *laudes* that were abbreviated in the following century.

Among the five versions examined from these cathedral cities Kantorowicz proclaimed, "we may maintain that of all *laudes* forms hitherto inspected that of Rouen is by far the most balanced and artful specimen."[60] By comparison to Gallo-Frankish and Franco-Roman *laudes*, the version from Normandy exhibits "the extravagant use made of the *Christus vincit*" and by comparison is "very artful and symmetrical." The version from the "Church of Rouen," as Kantorowicz called it,[61] was in fact redacted from two sources: an eleventh-century *laudes* with unheightened neumes from Fécamp, BmR A. 254 (489), f. 71r, bound into a volume of Boethius; the second a twelfth-century book from St. Ouen, BmR A. 438 (537), f. 90r, a small collection of hymns. These two sources had been known to Loriquet, who before Kantorowicz had transcribed and compared the contents of the two and published typographic reproductions of the manuscripts.[62] But these versions differ significantly from the first known *laudes* from Rouen

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[59] Ibid.; Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 19.

[60] Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, p. 168

[61] Ibid., p. 166

[62] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, pp. 65–78.

cathedral, which date from the sixteenth-century, BmR A. 284 (256), ff. 134v–136r.[63] Significantly abbreviated relative to the earlier monastic *laudes*, to the despair of Loriquet, the version of the *laudes* actually from the church of Rouen actually satisfied few of the aesthetic criteria praised by Kantorowicz. It lacked, for the instance, the repetition of "Feliciter" twelve times;[64] and the figures it invoked were fewer and different. The superset of saints invoked in the eleventh- and twelfth-century monastic *laudes* praised by Kantorowicz: *Petre,* Paule, Johannes, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Dionisi,* Guillelmo Normannorum duci, Maurici, Sebastiane, Adriane, Stephane, Vincenti, Maria,* Andrea, Johannes, Ambrosi, Martine,* Romane,* Benedicte,* Maurici,* Sebastiane, Georgi,* Tiburci, Frodmunde*. Asterisks indicate the saints that remained in the sixteenth-century *laudes* from the cathedral. Additionally, the cathedral invoked *Regi francorum* (a transformation, perhaps, of the monastic *Guillelmo Normannorum duci*) and *Augustine*. It is difficult to know in such a case how much the problem of conflation is a function of time: perhaps the cathedral *laudes* closely resembled the monastic versions around the twelfth century. But to name them collectively as being of the church of Rouen, or worse excluding the one exemplar actually from it, is to gloss over the meaningful differences between the differences in monastic and secular texts and practices.

It may well be that filial relationships within institution types— mother and daughter monastery; or metropolitan church to suffragan cathedral to parish church—transmit practices more consistently. David Hiley argued that these hypotheses could best be tested with the books themselves:

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[63] Ibid., pp. 74–76

[64] Ibid., p. 78

> We know little of the likely influences operating on the liturgy of the cathedrals of Normandy when worship was restored after the Norman settlement. Our best evidence lies in the liturgical books themselves, and these will be discussed in due course. There is no medieval account of the uses adopted or created in the rehabilitated dioceses. With the monasteries it is otherwise. In particular we have a good idea of the extent of the influence of William of Volpiano. Some Norman houses were refounded before William's advent: Jumièges, c. 940, with monks from Aquitaine; and between 961 and 963 St. Wandrille, Mont-St.-Michel, and St. Ouen at Rouen. These houses remained isolated and unimportant, however, until William's time. After being settled at Fécamp in 1001, William founded Bernay, c. 1025–7, and reformed Jumièges, Mont-St.-Michel and St. Ouen. St. Wandrille came into the family c. 1060, when Gerbert of Fécamp refounded it….[65]

The paucity of sources in earlier periods from the secular institutions, as opposed to the monastic, is not unique to Rouen. One could imagine paraphrasing Hiley on Paris by substituting the names of Rouen cathedral and the monasteries of Fécamp, Jumièges, and Saint-Wandrille:

> Little is known about the origins and development of the plainchant repertory in the cathedral and other churches of Paris before the late twelfth century, for older chant sources have not survived. Only monastic books, from St. Denis, St. Magloire and St. Maur des Fossés, remain to illuminate the earlier period, but they are of limited relevance to the secular churches. The situation is regrettable.…[66]

The broadest illustration of the differing correspondences between monastic and secular musical repertories was made by Hiley, in response to his provocative question, "Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?" (*How much of the Norman is there in the Norman-Sicilian tropers*?) His analyses reveal that certain genres of the "Norman" chant repertory in Sicily break cleanly between monastic and secular *cursus*. Among secular institutions, variants of Mass-Proper chants in Madrid Vitrina 20-4 and Palermo, Archivio Storico Diocesano 8,

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[65] Hiley, Norman Sicily, diss., p. 108.

[66] David Hiley, "Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 249 (A. 280) and the Early Paris Repertory of Ordinary of Mass Chants and Sequences," *Music & Letters* 70/4 (Nov. 1989): 467–82 at 467. This assessment concerning monastic books and secular institutions was with respect to BmR 249 (A. 280), a Parisian notated antiphoner from the twelfth to fourteenth century.

match closely those of Évreux cathedral; the post-Pentecost Alleluia series of Madrid 288 (Palermo cathedral), which Hiley speculated to be the origin of this series for other Sicilian books, matches those of Rouen and Évreux cathedrals; and the *Humili prece* of MS. Vitrina 20-4 contains not Palermitan saints, but those of Rouen: St. Romain, St. Ouen, St. Nicaise.[67] Sequences and Mass-Ordinary chants from Sicily tend to match Norman monastic books most closely. A rich point of comparison is the fourteenth-century gradual from Jumièges, BmR A. 233 (250). The same gradual was used by Loriquet as a point of comparison with the Rouen gradual 904, often to infer the full texts and melodies of Mass-Ordinary chants and tropes referenced but not given.[68] Hiley's comparison extended outside Normandy, between Normandy and Sicily, showing that the sequence repertory of twelfth-century Sicilian books matched this gradual from Jumièges closely: 92% in Madrid 19421 (troper from Catania, third quarter of twelfth century), 84% in Madrid 289 (troper from Palermo, Capella Palatina, ca. 1140), and 80% of those in Madrid MS 288 (troper from Palermo, ca. 1100).[69] Although the Sicilian books antedate the Norman book by roughly two centuries, the underlying principle of the comparison

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[67] Hiley, "Quanto c'è di normanno?": 22–6.

[68] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, mentions the Jumièges gradual in connection to several Mass-Ordinary chants and their tropes: pp. 17–18 (*Kyrie rex genitor* and the *Sanctus* of Christmas Eve, ff. 14r–15v), pp. 20–21 (troped *Gloria* and *Agnus Dei* of Christmas Day, ff. 19r–20r), p. 24 (*Kyrie summe pater* of feast of St. Jean the Evangelist, f. 25r), p. 30 (troped *Gloria* of feast of Circumcision, f. 29), pp. 33–4 (*Kyrie fons bonitatis* of Epiphany, ff. 32v–33v), pp. 64–5 (*Gloria* and *Agnus Dei* of Easter Sunday, f. 101r–4r), p. 80–1 (*Gloria* of Easter Monday and Tuesday, and Sunday after Easter, ff. 105r–7v, 115r), p. 118 (*Gloria* of Pentecost and prosula, *Regnum tuum solidum*, f. 128v), p. 121 (*Gloria* of Trinity Sunday, f. 136r); Mass-Proper chant: pp. 36–7 (Communion of Passion Sunday, f. 79v); and prosa: pp. 119–20 (*Alma chorus* for Octave of Pentecost, f. 132v).

[69] Hiley, "Quanto c'è di normanno?": 15–6. Madrid 19421 matches with a smaller degree of correspondence, two-thirds of its sequences, with gradual 904 and missal Y. 50 from Rouen cathedral.

is that the later book transmitted an earlier body of chant in high fidelity. The match extended to certain other Norman monasteries. The sequences of the troper from Catania, Madrid 19421, showed a high degree of correspondence with Saint-Ouen (thirteenth-century missal, BmR A. 459 (276)), Saint-Évroult (twelfth-century troper, BnF lat 10508), and also with Saint-Bénigne of Dijon (thirteenth-century gradual, Brussels, Bib. Roy. II 3824), whence William of Volpiano arrived in Normandy.

The Use of Rouen cathedral: characteristic features

Alleluia-verse series for Sundays after Pentecost

Certain layers of chant repertory have long been recognized as keys to a particular Use, because they were assigned to liturgical observances at a relatively late date and in a different way from place to place. One layer comes from the Office, namely the responsory series from Matins at certain times in the liturgical year; and the other from the Mass, the series of verses to the Alleluia of the Sundays after Pentecost. The stabilization of both of these series varied from place to place. The principle of identity and similarity is that dependent communities or churches (daughter monastic houses, priories, suffragan cathedral churches, parish churches, and so on) adopted the repertory of the communities upon which they depend (mother monastic houses, abbeys, cathedral churches, metropolitan churches), while perhaps making small adjustments to them for local custom. This is not a model of strict transmission and mutation, but a kind of profile of local practice. For example, Naples and Cologne, two geographically distant Uses have practially no Alleluia verses in common, whereas Rouen cathedral or Jumièges bears a high degree of resemblance to others in its province, but in distant locales where Normand had spread and brought their liturgy with them, such as Sicily, Cosenza, and Jerusalem.

Researchers since the early twentieth century have compiled large lists of these chant series, a cooperative effort that spanned generations and nationalities, including Walter Howard Frere, Gabriel Beyssac, Victor Leroquais, Michel Huglo, Jeremy Noble, and David Hiley. David Hiley has pointed out that the earliest recognition of the Alleluia series as a key criterion for localizing a Mass book may have been Walter Howard Frere in his edition of the Sarum gradual,[70] but that the gold standard was Husmann in his analysis of the Use of Copenhagen.[71] Michel Huglo traced the methodology, especially in the detailed inventories of Dom Gabriel Beyssac,[72] who occasionally published in *Révue bénédictine,* but much of whose work remains unpublished.[73]

Much of Hiley's research, beginning with his doctoral thesis, has used this comparative methodology. For instance, Hiley emphasized the close similarity of the "Lytlington missal" from Westminster abbey, edited by Legg,[74] to the "Norman" Alleluia series. In this case the "Norman" series was monastic: Fécamp, Jumièges, Saint-Évroult, and Mont-Saint-Michel. These

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[70] *Graduale Sarisburiense: A Reproduction in facsimile of a manuscript of the Thirteenth Century, with a Dissertation and Historical Index Illustrating its Development from the Gregorian Antiphonale Missarum*, ed. Walter Howard Frere (London: B. Quaritch, 1894), cited by Hiley, "Post-Pentecost Alleluias."

[71] Heinrich Husmann, "Studien zur geschichtlichen Stellung der Liturgie Kopenhagens: Die Oster- u. Pfingstalleluia der Kopenhagener Liturgie u. ihre historischen Beziehungen," *Dansk Aarbog for Musikforskning* (1962): 3–58, and (1964–5): 3–62.

[72] Michel Huglo, "Les listes alléluiatiques dans les témoins du graduel grégorien," *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Becker and R. Gerlach (Munich, 1970), pp. 219–27.

[73] For instance, Dom Gabriel M. Beyssac, "Note sur un graduel-sacramentaire de St-Pierre-St-Denys de Bantz, du XII^{e} siècle," *Revue Bénédictine* 31 (1921): 190–200.

[74] *Missale ad usum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis*, ed. John Wickham Legg, Henry Bradshaw Society 1 (1891), 5 (1893), 12 (1897).

in turn were highly similar to Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, surely due to the arrival of William of Volpiano in monasteries in Normandy from Burgundy in the eleventh century. And beyond Normandy there were high degrees of similarity to sources; in the British Isles this was explained by the investiture of Norman Archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc of Bec and Anselm of Bec.

Ps.	incipit	Rouen	Évreux	Séez	Lisieux	Bayeux	Coutances	Avranches
5	*Verba mea auribus*	1	1	1			1	1
7a	*Domine deus meus*		2				2	2
7b	*Deus judex justus fortis*	2	3	2	1	1	3	3
17	*Diligam te domine*	3	4	3	2	2	4	4
20	*Domine in virtute tua*	4	5	4	3	3	5	5
30	*In te domine...libera me*	5	6	5	4	4		6
46	*Omnes gentes plaudite*	6		6	5	5		7
47	*Magnus dominus*						6	
58	*Eripe me de inimicis*	7	7	7	6	6	7	8
64	*Te decet hymnus*	8	8	8	7	7	8	9
70	*In te domine...et eripe*						9	
77	*Attendite popule*	9	9	9	8	8	10	10
80	*Exsultate deo*	10	10	10	9	9	11	11
87	*Domine deus salutis*	11	11	11	10	10	12	12
89	*Domine refugium factus*	12	12	12	11	11	13	13
92	*Dominus regnavit*				12	12		
94a	*Venite exsultemus*	13	13	13	13	13	14	14
94c	*Quoniam deus magnus*	14	14	14	14	14	15	15
96	*Dominus regnavit*			15	15	15		
99	*Jubilate deo...servite*			16	16	16		
101a	*Domine exaudi*						16	16
104	*Confitemini domino*	15	15	17	17	17	17	17
107	*Paratum cor meum*	16	16	18	18	18	18	18
110	*Confitebor tibi*				19	19		
113a+	*In exitu Israel*							19
113c	*Qui timent dominum*	17	17	19	20	20	19	20
116a	*Laudate dominum omnes*			20				
117c	*Dextera dei fecit*	18	18		21		20	
121	*Laetatus sum*			21				
124	*Qui confidunt*	19	19				21	21
129	*De profundis*	20	20	22	22	21	22	22
145	*Lauda anima mea*	21	21				23	
146b	*Qui sanat contritos*	22	22	23		22	24	23
147b	*Qui posuit fines tuos*	23	23		23	23	25	

TABLE 1.3. ALLELUIA-SERIES FROM ROUEN AND ITS SUFFRAGAN CATHEDRALS.

The general impression from a comparison of the Alleluia series from Rouen, Évreux, Séez, Lisieux, Bayeux, Coutances, and Avranches, is one of high similarity (Table 1.3). All assigned Alleluia verses to the Sundays of Pentecost in psalter-order. The greatest degree of similarity between suffragan cathedrals and Rouen were Sundays 1–14 among Évreux, Séez,

Lisieux, and Bayeux. Évreux and Séez followed Rouen more closely than others at beginning; Coutances followed most closely at the end. High degrees of similarity are perceptible among pairs and trios of cathedrals. There is a kind of geographic fittingness to these correspondences, which may be a happy accident: Rouen—Évreux—Séez; Séez—Lisieux—Bayeux; Coutances—Avranches.

Rouen and Évreux are very similar. The psalm verses selected are almost the same, except Evreux sings Ps. 7a in week 2 (as do Coutances and Avranches), whereas Rouen sings Ps. 46 on week 6. The assignments of psalm verses to Sundays are very close; they are shifted by one week during weeks 2–6 because Évreux sang Ps. 7a on Sunday 2; but Sundays 7–23 match exactly. Séez can be seen as a pivot between two groups: Rouen and Évreux on one side; and Lisieux and Bayeux on the other. Séez matches Rouen exactly for Sundays 1–14. It assigned Ps. 96 and 99 to Sundays 15 and 16, respectively (as do Lisieux and Bayeux). After Sunday 20 Séez is somewhat different from others. Lisieux and Bayeux both assigned Ps. 92 to Sunday 12, and no other cathedral did so. Coutances and Avranches both assigned Ps. 101a to Sunday 16, and no other cathedral did so.

Coutances is the only cathedral to actually assign 25 different verses, the maximum number of Sundays possible in Pentecost (actually gradual 904 gives up to 27 Sundays, but after week 23 the last one repeats); all other cathedrals assigned 23, with the possibility for some that the verse from Sunday 23 would repeat in subsequent weeks during long Pentecost years. Rouen, Évreux, and Coutances close the summer with Ps. 145, 146b, and 147b on the final three Sundays, respectively. This is the only point when verses from three consecutive psalms of the psalter were assigned. These verses are also were sung as those of the third, fourth, and fifth responsories of Vespers on Saturday in the cathedral *cursus*. In Rouen, Évreux, and Coutances

this must have given a particular sense of closure to the summer, since these chants, sung at the closure of the week at Vespers on Saturday night, were also heard at the Sunday Masses of those final three weeks of summer.

The selection and ordering of verses of long strophic chants may support other signs of similar Use. The long *Benedictus* after the fifth lesson at Mass on Saturday of the Ember Week of Lent was sung by two priests of the lower row with chorus responding (gradual 904, ff. 52r–52bis-v). The selection and ordering of verses sung at Rouen cathedral are given in Appendix 1. The version of Rouen matches the expert analysis of the melodic formulas given by Ferretti.[75] Additional points of comparison of a given Use include proper prayers of the Mass. The incipit of the collect following the introit is often given in gradual 904, but other propers useful for comparison, such as the secret following the offertory or the postcommunion, are generally are absent from the gradual.[76]

Matins responsories series

Similar to the series of Alleluia verses in Sundays after Pentecost, the series of responsories from Matins on certain occasions also acts as an identity marker and indicator of similarity between Uses.[77] The responsories-series are those for Sundays in Advent; the three

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[75] Paolo Maria Ferretti, *Esthétique grégorienne, ou Traité des formes musicales du chant grégorien*, trans. A. Agaësse (Paris: Société de Saint Jean l'Évangéliste, 1938), pp. 203–14.

[76] Observed by Hiley, Norman Sicily, diss., p. 156. Typically these were gathered into the book genre of the sacramentary, although I have identified none from Rouen cathedral or its diocese. I know of two sacramentaries from Normandy of monastic cursus: BmR Y. 196 (272) from Fontanelle, eleventh century; BmR A. 287 (273) from Saint-Évroult, eleventh century. However a great number of these prayers are found in the gradual 904 and ordinal Y. 110. I have restricted my study of Mass propers to chanted portions of the Mass, chapter three.

[77] See Appendix 1 for the characteristic series of Matins responsories for the Use of Rouen cathedral.

Ember Days of the third week of Advent; the Triduum of Holy Week (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday); Annunciation; Assumption; All Saints; Office for the Dead; and Dedication of a Church. At Matins responsories were sung after lessons, of which on Sundays and principal feasts there were nine in the secular *cursus*, three in each of the three nocturnes of Matins; or twelve in the monastic *cursus*, four in each nocturne. Exceptions were the Office for the Dead, which had nine responsories in both *cursus*; the Ember Days of Advent which had three responsories for each of the three days in both *cursus*; and each day of the Triduum, which had three responsories for each day in both *cursus*.

In addition to my key observations here, the Appendix 1.2 shows the responsories-series of Rouen cathedral compared to two sets of others: a Norman monastic set, comprised of the series from Jumièges and Fécamp; and an English secular set, comprised of Salisbury cathedral and Hereford cathedral. My comparison of the Rouen series against those of Jumièges and Fécamp confirms that the normal organizing principle within an Office was the uninterrupted sequence of responsories, the same sequence for both the secular *cursus* (which had three fewer responsories total) and the monastic (which had three more). The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth responsories of the monastic *cursus* tended to be the "surplus" not matched by the secular *cursus*. Because of the differing numbers of responsories per nocturne, this also meant that the second and third nocturnes of the two *cursus* began with different responsories.

On those occasions when the monastic *cursus* had only three or nine responsories, it matched the secular *cursus* perfectly. The responsories of the Triduum matched closely between *cursus*; Le Roux references the body of other sources matching the Triduum series of Rouen.[78]

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[78] Raymond Le Roux, "Répons du Triduo Sacro et de Pâques," *Études grégoriennes* 18 (1979): 157–76.

The greatest between secular and monastic *cursus* were the Ember Days of Advent and All Saints. The monastic series for All saints invoked saints: Fécamp invoked St. Taurin, of whom it possessed relics, and Jumièges invoked St. Pierre, to whom it was dedicated.

The Office for the Dead was contained not only in cathedral and monastic books—and among Rouen cathedral, Fécamp, and Jumièges this series matched—but also often in books of private devotion. When present in a book of hours, its responsories-series can be an indicator of Use. Knud Ottosen made good use of these books precisely because they included an Office for the Dead. His project has shown not only how widely Rouennais books of hours circulated (England, Denmark, Spain),[79] but that the responsories-series of the Office of the Dead from Rouen is found in books of hours of other Uses, including a book of hours of the Use of Lisieux, a suffragan diocese of Rouen, and a breviary from Dol cathedral in Brittany.[80] In the sixteenth century Rouen was a center of production for books of hours.[81] Because of a prolific atelier or ateliers in Rouen, including the Master of the Rouen Échevinage, a large number of Rouennais books of hours were found from Salamanca to Cambridge. Although books of hours are outside of the scope of this study, I made an exception for Verdun MS 148, a fourteenth- or fifteenth-

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[79] Manchester, John Rylands University Library, MS lat 52; Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1609 4to (Rouen, ca. 1510, Masters of the Playfair Hours); Montserrat, Biblioteca Monasterio, 851 (*Liber horarum ad usum ecclesiae Rothomagensis*).

[80] Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, Denmark: Aarhus University Press, 1993).

[81] Georges Ritter and Jean Lafond, *Manuscrits à peintures de l'école de Rouen: livres d'heures normands: recueil de fac-similés et texte*, Societé de l'histoire de Normandie (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1913); Gerard Austin, "Liturgial Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974): 92–100 at 94 n. 15. Austin reported Leroquais in his opening address to l'École Pratique des Hautes Études on the book of hours as a different kind of object than a liturgical book: "C'étaient en effet des recueils privés, à l'usage des laïques; leur texte échappait au contrôle de l'autorité ecclésiastique. Malgré cela, ils ont tenu une telle place dans la vie religieuse du moyen âge et dans l'histoire de la miniature, que nous les étudierons quelque jour."

century unnoted book of hours, with psalter, Office for the Dead with responsory series matching exactly that of the cathedral of Rouen (ff. XLVI-V – VLVII-V), and "Officium beate marie virginis secundum usum ecclesie Rothomagensis" (f. 140v). What made this book exceptional was the naming of a certain Francisco Carazolo, canon of Rouen from Naples, in rhymed salutations accompanying Marian proses; I discuss this in more detail in the context of canons as patrons, in chapter three.

Kalendar and sanctorale of the Use of Rouen cathedral

The two thirteenth-century Mass books from Rouen cathedral—the missal BmR Y. 50 (277), notated throughout, including also the so-called Norman finale to the *Exultet*, and 80 sequences, ff. 367r–405v,[82] and the gradual 904—both lack kalendars, but their sanctorales are intact, notated throughout, and largely consistent with each other. Because the kalendars and sanctorales of liturgical manuscripts tended to grow over time, as new feasts were added, and others were elevated in degree of solemnity, they are a useful tool for estimating the period or date of a manuscript. Gradual 904, regrettably lacking a kalendar, defies datation on the basis of its sanctorale. The latest datable feast in the sanctorale of gradual 904 seems not to be uniquely Rouennais, and distant in time by one century or more: Thomas of Canterbury, murdered in 1170 and to whom a chapel was erected in 1174 on the Mont-aux-Malades, to the northwest of the city wall of Rouen.[83] Only five characteristic feasts of Rouen are found in the sanctorale: SS. Godard,

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[82] Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), cited in David Hiley, Western Plainchant: A Handbook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 335 on the missal BmR Y. 50 and its claimed copying in Paris.

[83] Loriquet, in *Le graduel*, p. 10: Loriquet mentions the chapel dedicated to Thomas of Canterbury, and its date, but elides the fact that it may be the last datable feast in the sanctorale of MS lat. 904. Instead he demonstrates datation on a different book, the missal Y. 50,

bishop of Rouen, and Médard, bishop of Noyon (June 8); St. Ouen (August 24); St. Mellon (October 22); St. Romain (October 23); translation of the relics of the church of Rouen (December 3) (f. 188v). Although these quintessentially Rouennais feasts locate the origin of the manuscript to the cathedral, the dates of adoption of these feasts are so distant from MS. lat. 904 and the presence of the feasts so common to cathedral books as to be unhelpful in datation of a thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century source. St. Godard, St. Ouen, and St. Romain, in particular, already figured in the *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis of Jean d'Avranches* in the 1060s.[84] By paleographical assessment Loriquet wished to date gradual 904 at very beginning of the thirteenth century, possibly even the late twelfth. This seems to have been guided by the rough rule that earlier sanctorales tend to be more sparse than later sanctorales. Here Loriquet compared Jean d'Avranches to the missal Y. 50, and saw gradual 904 as a middle point between the two, although obviously much closer to the missal, but seeing fewer feasts (French, Norman, Rouennais) than in the missal. For instance, St. Francis of Assisi is missing from gradual 904, but present in missal Y. 50 and also the Rouennais missal BnF NAL 541; one can be certain as a result that Y. 50 postdates the institution of the feast of St. Francis at Rouen by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud in 1247, but the converse is not necessarily true for gradual 904. Only one definitive diocesan marker from the thirteenth century is found in the sanctorale of 904, however: the feast of St. Éloi, bishop of Noyon (December 1), instituted under Archbishop Eudes Clément in 1247, shortly before the canonization of St. Francis by his predecessor, Eudes

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comparing the contents of sanctorales, and showing how key dates for the adoption, institution, or elevation of a feast can help zero in on the date.

[84] Johannis Abricensis episcopi, *Liber de Officiis ecclesiasticis*, pp. 79–84, cited in Loriquet, *Le graduel*, p. 10.

Rigaud.[85] The gradual therefore likely dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, although perhaps not too late, since no later definitive diocesan markers from are present in the sanctorale: [86] St. Francis of Assisi (October 4) under Archbishop Eudes Rigaud in 1247,[87] St. Hugues, abbot of Jumièges and Fontenelle (April 9), by decree of the chapter in 1309,[88] or St. Didier, bishop of Langres and martyr (May 23), under Archbishop William of Durfort in 1322,[89] or the elevation of St. Ansbert to triplex feast (February 9) under Archbishop William of Flavacourt in 1230.[90]

Pfaff viewed liturgical kalendars in two ways: "as the aggregate of the occasions entered in them or used as quarries out of which to extract information about a particular entry or group of entries."[91] In the first sense, a kalendar serves as a profile of a place, and in the second a

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[85] The elevation of the feast of St. Éloi to triplex was the foundation of dean Hugues I in 1245, confirmed in 1247 by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud: *Chronicon triplex*, p. 22; Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, p. 192, cited in René-Jean Hesbert, "Les manuscrits liturgiques de l'église de Rouen," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1955–1956): 441–83, at 449.

[86] The chronology of institutions and elevations of feasts is given in detail by Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," who in turn adapted a number of details from abbé Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. and atlas (Paris, 1924); *Les bréviaires manuscrits de bibliothèques publiques de France*, 5 vols. (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1934); *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris: Macon, Protat frères, imprimeurs, 1937); *Les psautiers: manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols. (Mâcon: Protat frères, 1940–1941).

[87] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 22, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 450.

[88] Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, p. 164, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 450.

[89] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 31; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 601, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 450.

[90] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 28, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 450.

[91] Pfaff, "Introduction: Study of Liturgy," in *Liturgical Calendars*, I, p. 5.

network of coordinates, for datation, for instance. Those places where lists of saints are recorded or recited give the best indication of a local Use, since these vary from place to place, based on the presence of relics and saints' cults, institutional histories, especially leadership and other reasons. These include kalendars of liturgical books; sanctorales of liturgical books; litanies and the like, such as the *laudes regie*, from particular feasts. To some degree Leroquais found the diocese to be an identifiable and defining feature of kalendars from both secular and monastic *cursus*. His localization of the fourteenth-century breviary BmR A. 575 (193) to a monastic institution of the diocese of Rouen was based on the contents of its kalendar: "enfin les nombreuses mentions de saints régionaux situent ce monastère au diocèse de Rouen."[92] This suggests a kernel shared by both *cursus* with additional inclusions for abbots, bishops, and so on.

The great collation of diocesan saints of Rouen was prepared by Albert Tougard in 1872.[93] This is a contribution to the history of the Rouennais kalendar, both for its scope and its reference to sources. Tougard built a kernel of early Norman saints from the Gallican martyrologies edited by Du Saussay and the council of Rouen in 687 as reported by Longueval, with later chronological layers from abbé Malais, du Moustier, and others.[94] It included saints throughout the diocese; his criteria were that the saints had been born or lived in the diocese or that their relics were currently possessed in the diocese. The saints of Rouen inspired monograph-length studies among the early historians of Rouen. Alongside his histories of the

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[92] Leroquais, *Bréviaires*, IV, no. 742, p. 80.

[93] Albert-Eugène-Ernest Tougard (abbé), *Catalogue des saints du diocèse de Rouen d'après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Rouen, les Bollandistes, etc.* (Rouen: Fleury, 1872).

[94] Du Saussay, *Martyrologe gallican*; Jean-François Godescard, *Les vies des saints pères et martyrs* (Paris: Furne, 1844); Jacques Longueval, *Histoire de l'Église gallicane*, vol. 5 (Paris: Bibliothèque catholique, 1826), p. 397; Armand-Jean-Édouard Malais (abbé), *Calendrier normand et analectes* (Paris: Derache, 1860).

cathedral, major abbey church, and archbishops of Rouen, Pommeraye wrote a life of St. Romain with his miracles.[95] Like Pommeraye, Farin wrote a monograph-length life St. Romain, which was edited and published posthumously by Tougard over two centuries after Farin's death.[96] Hercule Grisel at the time of the publication of Tougard's edition of Farin had set the saints of the entire liturgical kalendar Rouen in rhymed metrical verse.[97] By comparison to Grisel, my synopsis of kalendars and sanctorales from Rouen my be less poetic, but I believe it illuminates in some ways. I selected early representatives of several genre of book: Mass books, Office books, and ordinals (Table 1.4). These span the thirteenth and fifteenth century, and indeed the trend is toward greater population of calendar entries the later in time. I have also included two monastic books by way of comparison.

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[95] Jean-François Pommeraye, *La Vie et miracles de saint Romain archevesque de Rouen, patron de ladite ville et du diocèse, dédiée à Monseigneur le reliogissime & reverendissime archevesque de Rouen, et Primat de Normandie, avec un discours de l'ancienne origine de la procession du Corps saint, faite tous les ans par Messieurs du Chapitre en l'Eglise de saint Godard, où sont contenues plusieurs antiquités et recherches curieuses* (A Rouen: chés Jean Le Boullenger, 1652).

[96] François Farin, *La vie de saint Romain*, ed. A. Tougard (Rouen, Imprimerie Léon Gy, 1899).

[97] Hercule Grisel, *Les Fastes de Rouen: poème latin*, ed. François Bouquet (Rouen: H. Boissel, 1866–1870).

GENRE	SHELFMARK (OR PRINTER)	ORIGIN	DATE
kalendar	BnF lat 15697	monastic	S. XII
gradual	BnF lat 904	Rouen cathedral	S. XIII
missal	BmR Y. 50 (277)	Rouen cathedral	S. XIII
missal	BmR Y. 173 (284)	Rouen cathedral	S. XV
breviary	BmR A. 531 (192)	Saint-Ouen	S. XIII
breviary	BmR A. 575 (193)	Rouen cathedral	S. XIV
breviary	BmR Y. 95 (196)	Rouen cathedral	S. XIV
ordinal	BmR Y. 108 (382)	Rouen cathedral	S. XV
ordinal	BmR Y. 110 (384)	Rouen cathedral	S. XV
breviary	Soc. typ. librorum officii ecclesiastici		1675

TABLE 1.4. EARLY KALENDARS AND SANCTORALES OF ROUEN CATHEDRAL AND MONASTERIES IN THE DIOCESE OF ROUEN.

Relics and their origins and translations may be used as a rough taxonomy of the aggregate picture: relics of saints from Normandy which remain in Normandy; Norman saints' relics translated into or out of Normandy; non-Norman saints' relics translated into Normandy; non-Norman saints with no relics in Normandy but venerated in Normandy. These become increasingly pertinent categories for the kalendar and sanctorale while moving forward through time.

Sanctorales that survive from the period of the duchy differ from those that follow the end of the duchy. In the decade following the Norman Conquest of England the earliest list of Norman saints was given by the *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches (Jean de Bayeux), Archbishop of Rouen. There is a twelfth-century kalendar fragment that comes next chronologically. It consists of two bifolia, used as flyleaves for BnF MS lat 15697, a thirteenth-century volume of Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Song of Songs. The months included in these two bifolia—May, June, July August—are rich in saints, and indeed several of them are Rouennais. The presence of St. Leufroy, abbot (June 21) and St. Mayeul, abbot of Cluny (May 14) suggest a monastic origin; other saints not typically found in a cathedral book are

St. Augustin (May 26) and St. Germain (May 28). Among liturgical books, the next kalendar after Jean d'Avranches may well be the missal Y. 50 (gradual 904 lacks a kalendar).

SAINTS OF ROUEN

Hesbert's study, "Les manuscrits liturgiques de l'église de Rouen," (1955–6), provides codicological descriptions of liturgical books across several genres, many conveying the most useful portions of Leroquais, and often reattributing the date or the book genre on the basis of its contents. The introduction of the article gives the dates and sources for the endowment, institution, adoption, and elevation of all the Rouennais feasts from the translation of St. Romain by Archbishop Rotrou in 1179 to the foundation by canon Robert de Nagerel for the elevation to double rite SS. Côme and Damien in 1541. The essential feasts of Rouen identified by Hesbert are as follows:[98]

Jan 30. Translation of the relics of St. Anne, mother of BMV.

Feb 9. St. Ansbert, bishop of Rouen.

April 9. St. Hughes, bishop of Rouen (instituted 1309).[99]

May 5. Translation of St. Ouen.[100]

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[98] Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 445. The comparable list of saints from the diocese of Évreux include bishops of Rouen: St. Ansbert, St. Godard, St. Nicaise, St. Mellon, St. Romain, St. Ouen; and also St. Éloi and St. Médard of Noyon, St. Crépin and Crépinien of Soissons, St. Firmin of Amiens, St. Thurien and St. Samson of Dol, St. Julien of Le Mans, St. Brice of Tours, St. Aubin of Angers, St. Hilaire of Poitiers, St. German of Auxerre, St. Léger of Autun, St. Sulpice of Bourges, St. Denis of Paris, St. Désir of Vienne, St. Prix of Clermont, St. Quentin of Vermandois, St. Lambert of Trèves, St. Arnoult of Metz, and St. Amand of Maëstricht (René Delamare, *Le calendrier de l'église d'Évreux: étude liturgique et hagiographie*, Bibliothèque liturgique publiée par Ulysse Chevallier 21 (Paris: Librarie Auguste Picard, 1919), p. 23.)

[99] Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, p. 164.

[100] BmR A. 531 (192), f. 2v: this thirteenth-century noted breviary from Saint-Ouen marks the translation of St. Ouen not on May 5, as is customary, but as a duplex feast on February 1.

May 10. Translation of St. Laurent d'Eu (1226).[101]

May 23. St. Didier, bishop of Langres (instituted 1322).[102]

Jun 7. SS. Godard, bishop of Rouen, and Médard, bishop of Noyon.

Jun 12. Translation of St. Ursin, bishop of Bourges (1055?).[103]

Jun 17. Translation of St. Romain, bishop of Rouen (1179).[104]

Jul 8. Translation of St. Évode, bishop of Rouen (1244/6).[105]

Aug 7. St. Victrice, bishop of Rouen.

Aug 24. St. Ouen, bishop of Rouen.

Sep 4. Translation of St. Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne.

Oct 1. Dedication of the cathedral (1063).[106]

Oct 8. St. Évode, bishop of Rouen.

Oct 22. St. Mellon, bishop of Rouen.

Oct 23. St. Romain, bishop of Rouen.

Nov 14. St. Laurent d'Eu, bishop of Dublin (1180).

Dec 3. Translation of the relics of the Church of Rouen.

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[101] Jean-François Pommeraye, *Histoire des archevêques de Rouen, dans laquelle il est traité de leur Vie & de leur Mort, de leurs differens Emplois, des Affaires qu'ils ont negotiées auant & depuis leur Promotion* (Rouen: Laurens Maurry, 1667), p. 448.

[102] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 31.

[103] Act. ss. Nov., t. IV, p. 105

[104] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 14

[105] Act. ss. Oct. IV, 243

[106] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 7

These include different types of feast: the dedication of the cathedral, the translation of its relics, saints of whom it possessed relics, bishops of Rouen, and other bishops. My study of kalendars, sanctorales, litanies, and processions suggests that Hesbert's list, while the great core of the Rouennais kalendar, is incomplete and should include a number of additional saints prominent at Rouen: St. Edward the Confessor, King of England (October 13); St. Thomas Becket, bishop of Canterbury (December 29); St. Taurin, bishop of Évreux (August 11); St. Julian, bishop of Le Mans (January 27), triplex feast by the fifteenth century;[107] St. Sever, bishop of Avranches (February 1), of whom the cathedral possessed the relics of the head and body, which joined the Rogation Monday procession;[108] St. Éloi, bishop of Noyon (December 1), parish church as station of Rogation Monday procession, with antiphon, versicle, suffrage;[109] St. Catherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr (November 25), Rogation Wednesday Resp. *Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum* V. *Eructauit cor meum*,[110] abbey church as station of Rogation Wednesday procession;[111] St. Martin, bishop of Tours (November 11), antiphon *O martine o pie* sung on Rogation Monday,[112] invoked in the Rogation Monday litany,[113] *Ardua spes* V. *Huic martine comeis pariter nicholae beate* sung on Rogation Wednesday,[114] Octave of

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[107] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 155v.

[108] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104v.

[109] Gradual 904, ff. 137v–138v.

[110] Gradual 904, ff. 136r–137r; ordinal Y. 110, f. 106r

[111] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 106r.

[112] Gradual 904, f. 137v.

[113] Gradual 904, f. 128r.

[114] Gradual 904, f. 136v; processional A. 551, f. 54r.

whom celebrated by the fifteenth century;[115] St. Nicholas, bishop of Myra and confessor (December 6), invoked in the Rogation Monday litany,[116] *Ardua spes* V. *Huic martine comeis pariter nicholae beate* sung on Rogation Wednesday.[117] Veneration of St. Martin and St. Nicholas was widespread, but there were early parish churches dedicated to both saints close to the city center, which were visited on processional routes discussed in chapter four.

In the rhythm of the liturgical year, the close juxtapositions of similar feasts produced meaning: the patron saint of the royal abbey, St. Ouen (August 24), and St. Louis (August 25) fell on successive days; as also two of the most ancient patron saints, St. Mellon (October 22) and St. Romain (October 23). The juxtaposition of St. Mary Magdalen (July 22) and St. Wandrille (July 23) were so close that the later as subsumed under the former in the rubric of gradual 904: "In natiuitate sancte marie magdalene et sancti wandregissilli officium" (f. 211v), whereas two feasts are normally indicated simply, "eodem die," such as for Sixtus, on the same day as the Transfiguration (August 6). The suffrage was made to St. Wandrille but the chants are Marian, including the noted sequence *Mane prima sabbati surgens.* And a short rubric for the following day provides nine lessons for St. Wandrille, "secundum rothomagensem usum" (f. 212r).

SIGNS OF ARCHIEPISCOPAL BIOGRAPHY

The Rouen kalendar and sanctorale after 1200 increasingly bears marks of the biography of its archbishops. Starting the middle of the thirteenth century, the archbishops of Rouen took

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[115] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 226v.

[116] Gradual 904, f. 128r.

[117] Gradual 904, f. 136v; processional A. 551, f. 54r.

an increasingly active role in shaping the cultic veneration of the cathedral. In 1226 Thibaut of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, in cooperation with Geoffroi, bishop of Amiens, translated (May 10) part of the relics of St. Laurent d'Eu, (Laurence O'Toole, Bishop of Dublin during the Norman invasion), from Eu, where he died, to Rouen.[118] During his archiepiscopy Thibaut instituted at Rouen the feast of St. Firmin (September 25), a saint of his native Picardy, at triple rank—the first feast from the Sanctoral to be celebrated at triple rank at Rouen aside from those of BMV, SS Peter and Paul, and St. Romain—and elevated to triple rank the feasts of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and St. John the Evangelist (December 27).[119] Similarly, Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, formerly bishop of Le Mans, instituted the feast of St. Julien du Mans at triple rank in the early 1230s.[120] The legacies were not limited to saints of archbishops' native regions, but also affinities with particular religious orders. Eudes Rigaud, the first Franciscan archbishop of Rouen, instituted in 1247 the feast of St. Francis of Assisi at triplex rank upon his institution as archbishop.[121] This year is a key date for Leroquais and Hesbert in the datation of thirteenth-century manuscripts. It would be eighteen years before Rigaud would be present in Rouen to celebrate the feast: "October 3, 1265. We celebrated, by the grace of God, the feast of Blessed Francis in the church of Rouen. On which day, the office of the said saint, with the proper readings, took place for the first time in this church."[122]

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[118] Pommeraye, *Archevêques*, p. 448.

[119] Chron. Roth. Labbe, Nova bibl. mss., I, 375, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 449.

[120] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 600, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 449.

[121] *Chronicon triplex*, p. 22.

[122] BnF lat 1245, f. 306v: "iiij. Non. octobris celebravimus per dei gratiam festum beati francisci in ecclesia Rothomagensi. qua die primitus factum fuit officium de dicto sancto in ipsa ecclesia cum historia propria."

If the kalendar of the middle of the thirteenth century was characterized by the addition of foreign saints to the list of Norman saints in eleventh- and twelfth-century kalendars, then it also was characterized by the inclusion of Norman saints in foreign territories. Thus the relics of St. Évode, bishop of Rouen, were introduced into the Rouennais kalendar in 1244 or 1246, even though the translation of relics was made between the bishops of Soissons and Laon.[123]

The rate of institution of feasts in the first half of the thirteenth century was unprecedented, as were the foreign hagiographical profiles of some of the new saints. Like the translation of relics from one church to another, requiring in most cases permission and cooperation of the donor church to its dedicatee, these feasts of saints' births and their relics can be seen as the marker of a prominent bishops legacy, a kind of ecclesiastical diplomacy. The kalendar was shaped not only by archbishops, but also by canons of the cathedral chapter. Acting collectively, they issued decrees, such as the adoption in 1455 of the feast of Notre-Dame des Neiges (August 5).[124] High-ranking members of the cathedral personnel endowed observances that required only ratification from the archbishop, such as the endowment by Hughes I in 1245 of the feast of St. Éloi.[125] This burst of activity, particularly in the decade of the 1220s under Thibaut of Amiens, was born of the same impulse as the major building campaign of the Gothic edifice after the fire of 1200. A new church celebrating new feasts marked a new institution, indeed a new era, one in which the kalendar reflected earlier hagiographies of Norman saints and the later biographies of archbishops.

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[123] *Acta sanctorum*, oct. IV, p. 243; cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 449.

[124] Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, pp. 176–7, cited in Hesbert, "Les manuscrits," p. 452.

[125] The number of foundations endowed by canons increased greatly after the sixteenth century; these are well documented under personal names in Beaurepaire, *Obituaire*, "Notes biographiques sur les fondateurs marqués dans l'obituaire," pp. i–lxxv.

Chapter Two. Archbishop

A perennial debate separated the monks of Saint-Ouen abbey and the canons of the cathedral, namely which was the first bishop of Rouen: St. Nicaise or St. Mellon. The monks of St. Ouen named St. Nicaise, who had proselytized the Vexin (*Wlcassini*) and had been martyred on the banks of the Epte (at which river King Charles III of France granted Rollo the right to settle Neustria, the Epte ever after forming part of the boundary of Normandy). The chapter, however, venerated St. Mellon as the first bishop, since Nicaise was believed to have been ordained bishop but never to have actually arrived in Rouen, and St. Mellon was the first to inhabit the city and the episcopal seat.[126] These two points of view were synthesized in the opening of the *Acta archiepiscoporum*, the *gesta* of the bishops of Rouen written ca. 1070 by a cleric of the cathedral chapter and revised one generation later by a monk of St. Ouen:

> In this city of Rouen the excellent Mallonus ranked first. Some people may be disturbed to read these words here, not observing that there is nothing contrary to their wish, namely that the most blessed Nicasius ranked as the first bishop of this city, which is not disputed here, if it were supported by a well worked statement.... It is rightly said that Mallonus was first in the seat of Rouen, for no other preceded him with regards to the use and enjoyment of the archbishopric. Nor those who proclaim that blessed Nicasius was the first archbishop of this same seat are entirely wrong, for I think that there are many who know he was ordained in Rome by the blessed Pope Clement as the bishop of the city of Rouen, which until then had never been controlled by a pastor.... Thus, of Nicasius or Mallonus, it is true to say, but in a different sense, that both were the first bishop of Rouen: Nicasius for the ordination, Mallonus for inhabiting the place. It may be said,

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[126] The chapter evidently made a procession on the feast of St. Mellon, judging from the upper marginal inscription in a later hand in A. 551 at f. 80v, at the Mass procession for St. Romain: "Quere processio de sancto mellono in fine libri." Whatever processional material for St. Mellon had been attached at the end of this book is now lacking, alas, and there is no processional material for the saint in gradual 904.

> therefore, that Nicasius was the first to be ordained bishop of Rouen, but Mallonus was the first placed on the seat.[127]

Modern historiography of the archbishops of Rouen was established by Jean Dadré, canon and penitentiarius of the cathedral, by the work published one year after his death, *Chronologie historiale des archevesqves de Roven* (1618).[128] This work included several errors of chronology,[129] which Pommeraye believed would not have made it to press had it not been published posthumously.[130] François Farin, *La Normandie chrestienne* (1659), narrated the lives of the early bishops of Rouen would came to be celebrated as saints in the diocese: St. Nicaise, St, Mellon, St. Victrice, St. Godard, St. Évode, St. Prétextat, St. Romain, St. Ouen, St. Ausbert,

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[127] "The *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: study and edition." = "Les *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*: étude et édition." *Tabularia: Documents* 9 (December 18, 2009): 1–66, pp. 32, 46 (transcription and translation by R. Allen): "In prefata Rothomagensi civitate, extitit egregius Mallonus in ordine primus. Nonnullos horum positio verborum perturbat, non satis idonee speculantes, quoniam eorum velle, scilicet beatissimum Nigasium prenominatę civitatis primum antistitem extitisse, nullatenus hac repugnatur, si expositione quantulumcumque subtili fulciatur.... Decenter inquam, inquiunt, qui Mallonum in sede Rothomagensi fuisse primum asserunt. Nullus enim eum preivit, quantum ad archiepiscopatus usumfructum. Nec tamen male predicant, qui beatum Nigasium eiusdem sedis archiepiscopum fuisse primum comprobant. Quippe iam non paucis reor manifestatum esse, hunc Romę a beato papa Clemente Rothomagensium urbis antistitem ordinatum fuisse, nondum iugo pastorali cuiuspiam obnoxię.... Quo fit, ut de utroque sed alio et alio modo, vera predicatione predicetur primus. De Nigasio quidem secundum ordinationem, de Mallono secundum loci inhabitationem. Ut sic dicatur, Nigasius fuit Rothomagensis urbis antistes primus ordinatus. At Mallonus, fuit primus in sede locatus. Sic is non versus, poterit consistere versus."

[128] Jean Dadré, *Chronologie historiale des archevesqves de Roven* (À Rouen: Chez Iean Creuel, 1618). The posthumous publication was moved through production by his nephew, Gilles Dadré. Frère noted that two small works on the privilege of St. Romain also had been attributed to Dadré, but also to the great archdeacon of Rouen, Adrien Behotte (*Manuel du bibliographe*, v. 1, p. 310.)

[129] Dadré, *Chronologie historiale*.

[130] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 285.

St. Hugues, St. Remy, St. Léon.[131] Pommeraye, in Histoire des archevêques de Rouen (1667) narrated from the earliest bishops, St. Nicaise and St. Mellon, through Archbishop François III de Harlay, invested in 1651, especially the translation of relics and which feasts were adopted and in degree of solemnity under each bishop.[132]

Archbishop as liturgist and liturgical actor

Archbishop Rémy and Frankish chant (753–762)

It has been proposed that the vector by which Roman chant entered the Frankish kingdom was by the medieval mode of transmission *par excellence*: pilgrimage. A closer reading of Kenneth Levy's narration of the "impulse for change" of Frankish chant shows an ordered series of events: contact between Rome and Aachen at the highest level; the diplomatic envoy of liturgical books from the former to the latter; and the teaching and practicing of singing at Metz:

> The impulse for change came with the visit of Pope Stephen II to Francia in 753–54. When Stephen's successor Paul I sent liturgical books to the Frankish court in about 760, the list was headed by an *antiphonale* and *responsale*. At Metz in the 750s and 760s, Bishop Chrodegang oversaw instruction in Roman ritual singing. There was similar activity at Rouen under Bishop Remigius, who was Pippin's half brother.[133]

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[131] François Farin, *La Normandie chrestienne: ou l'histoire des archevesques de Roüen qui sont au catalogue des saints; avec un ample discours du privilege de sainct Romain, & de plusieurs choses remarquables qui se sont passées dans la pratique de ses ceremonies* (À Roüen: chez Louys du Mesnil, 1659). This was supplemented posthumously by François Farin, *Le château fortifié: éclaircissements de Farin sur un chapitre de sa Normandie chrétienne* (Rouen: Impr. de E. Cagniard, 1884).

[132] Pommeraye, *Archevesques*.

[133] Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 214.

The Transalpine journey of Pope Stephen II from Rome to Francia was reversed by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (bishop 742/8–766) on a pilgrimage to the Holy See in 754. When Chrodegang returned to Metz he brought back with him a precious object: a book of the *ordo* of the Office as it was celebrated in Rome. He founded a community of religious men at Metz, and used as the book as its liturgical *cursus*. This pilgrimage happened first, it was separated by only a short time from a second, undertaken from Rouen by Archbishop Rémy (bishop 755–762) in the year 760. Levy treated the outcome of Rémy's journey, from which he returned not only with books but a singing instructor from the *Roman schola*, simply as "similar activity at Rouen." But Rouen deserves a reevaluation in the historiography. It was in no uncertain terms that Pommeraye, writing from the walls of Saint-Ouen abbey in 1667, asserted that the cathedral of Rouen was the first church in the Frankish kingdom to receive the Roman chant:

> It is with a stronger basis that he [Sir Duplex] adds, according to Choppin in his *Monasticon*, book 2, title 3,[134] that Pippin charged Rémy with bringing back with him on his return to France the ceremonies of the Roman church, but this was while this prelate was traveling in Italy under the pontificate of Pope Paul. Some historians, including Paul Émile, cited by Sir Dadré, state that our archbishop was the first who received the chant of the Use of the church of Rome, which is certain....[135]

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[134] Renati Choppini Andegavi I. C...., "De commvnibvs monasticæ sectæ cvm clero secvli prærogativis," in *MONASTICΩN, sev, De Iure Cœnobitarum, libri dvo* (Parisiis: apud M. Sonnium, 1601), titvulus tercius, no. 15, p. 231: "Ac ne longiùs à nostrate digrediar Francorum Ecclesia, Pipinus Rex in Gallias primus inuexit Ecclesiasticos Romanorum ritus ac ceremonias: curante rem Ægidio Rothomagensi Archiepiscopo, circa Annum 755. Pipini rursùm Magnus filius ægrè tulit de vario canendi genere certantes inuicem Sacerdotes: ideóque Ambrosianum morem promiscuè, & Gregorianum tenente Clero, obtinuit Magnus, vtì Ambrosiano quidem Mediolanensis Ecclesia, sed Gregoriano reliquus Orbis vteretur."

[135] Pommeraye, *Archevesques,* p. 187: "C'est auec plus de fondement qu'il adjouste aprés Choppin en son Monasticon l. 2. t. 3. que Pippin donna charge à Remy de rapporter en France à son retour les ceremonies de l'Eglise Romaine, mais ce fut lors que ce Prelat alla en Italie sous le Pontificat du Pape Paul. Quelques Historiens, & entr'autres Paul Emile, cité par le sieur Dadré, disent que nostre Archeuesque fut le premier qui receut le chant à l'vsage de l'Eglise de Rome; ce qui est certain...."

In citing Dadré, who had in turn cited Emile (the "Escriuain Estranger," or foreign writer),[136] Pommeraye placed himself in a genealogy of historians in Normandy, who, unsurprisingly, made little if any reference to Chrodegang; probably not out of lack of knowledge of Metz,[137] but as an article of faith concerning Rémy. The accrual of status to Metz as the origin-point for Romanization of the west depended on, as Rosemann articulated, a "mythology of power," in texts such as the new genre of the *gesta* of bishops introduced north of the Alps by Paul the Deacon, a mythology which failed, despite the close connection between Metz and the Carolingian dynasty.[138]

The great fortune of Rémy in fulfilling the request to bring back the ceremonies of Rome was not only texts, but a singing instructor, the prior of the Roman *schola cantorum*. With the authorization of Pope Paul I, this instructor, Symeon, was to dwell at Rouen for a period of time in order to teaching singing in the manner of the Roman *cantilena*. The papal missive from Paul reveals two details about this teaching, first that what was being taught was the singing of psalms (*modulatio psalmodii*), and this surely meant the singing of the Office, since the psalter lies at its heart; and second, that the pupils of Symeon in Rouen were monks, referred to as the monks of Pippin's brother Rémy, that is, monks from the diocese or from Normandy more generally. Regrettably, due to the untimely death of George, Symeon's superior in Rome, Paul withdrew Symeon from Rouen so that he might take over George's duties. But noting the unfortunate

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[136] Ibid., p. 181.

[137] On the contrary, Pommeraye referred to Amalarius, for instance, on the order of the O antiphons (*Histoire de l'église*, p. 619).

[138] Philipp W. Rosemann, foreword, in Kempf, *Mettensibus,* p. vii. See Gautier, *Tropes*, pp. 15–16, which offers a different take on the origin myth: two schools, at Metz and St. Gallen, were founded by two monks, Pierre and Romain, repectively.

timing relayed by Pippin, that the monks at Rouen had not yet completed their singing instruction, Paul provided the Rouennais monks the opportunity to continue their study with Symeon in Rome:

> In these we find written accordingly that the present monks of your brother Rémy, beloved of God, should be assigned to Symeon, prior of the *schola cantorum,* for their instruction in the singing of psalmody, which they were unable to learn from him during the time in which he was in your kingdoms.... Therefore we have assigned your brother's aforesaid monks to Symeon and ordered that they, assembled most agreeably by expert diligence, be taught the very same singing of psalmody, and frequently in it, until they should be made skilled in its perfections.[139]

The generosity of this exchange must have required enormous resources of cost, effort, time; not to mention risk. Among the three parties —Archbishop Rémy, Symeon of the Roman *schola*, and the Norman monks—six distinct one-way Transalpine journeys were made (or no less than five, if we take Symeon as Rémy' traveling companion from Rome to Rouen).

The *Acta archiepiscoporum* presents an alternative life of Rémy having nothing at all to do with the Roman *schola cantorum*, the bringing books or singers to Rouen, or the reform of liturgy. The filial relationship of Rémy and King Pippin is presented at the outset, but Rémy' trip is different. Instead of Rome, he is sent to nearby Fleury at Pippin's request, in order to remove the relics of St. Benedict of Nursia there and reunite them with the relics at Montecassino. That crossing of the Alps never happened, since, at Fleury, Rémy and his entourage were struck blind upon approaching the relics and they retreated in humility.[140] What the two versions of the life of

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[139] MGH *Epp.* 3:553–4: "In eis siquidem conperimus exaratum, quod presentes Deo amabilis Remedii germani vestri monachos Symeoni scole cantorum priori contradere deberemus ad instruendum eos psalmodii modulationem, quam ab eo adprehendere tempore, quod illic in vestris regiminibus extitit, nequiverunt…. Propter quod et prefatos vestri germani monachos sepe dicto contradimus Simeoni eosque obtime collocantes sollerti industria eandem psalmodii modolationem instrui praecepimus et crebro in eadem, donec perfectae eruditi efficiantur."

[140] AA, pp. 36–37, 50.

Rémy have in common is the emphasis on Rémy' piety as a pilgrim and the *topos* of holy origin; there is an emphasis on seeking original objects outside of Francia, in one the holy relics in the other divinely-inspired chant.

The term *germanus* (brother) written by Pope Paul suggests nothing less than full kinship between King Pippin and Archbishop Rémy, although as the illegitimate son of Charles Martel, Rémy was the half-brother of Pippin. Depending how much interpretive weight should be put on the role of kinship between the Frankish monarchy and the Rouennais archiepiscopate, these terms can matter. By comparison, the sense of a shared lineage between Frankish kings and Messine bishops promoted by Paul the Deacon—a sense not mirrored in royal literature[141]—seems undermined by the ultimate establishment of the Frankish royal chapel at Aachen, rather than Metz.[142] One generation after King Pippin, Charlemagne celebrated his first Easter as King of the Franks in 769 at the cathedral of Rouen.[143] Twenty years later in the *Admonitio generalis* Charlemagne affirmed his father's call to the reform of chant.[144]

> TO ALL CLERGY. That they should fully learn Roman chant and should celebrate in good order the night and day offices, following that which our father of blessed memory, King Pippin, set out to be done when he abandoned the Gallican [chant] for the sake of unity with the apostolic seat and pacific concord within the holy church of God.[145]

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[141] Ibid.

[142] Kempf, *Mettensibus,* pp. 30–33.

[143] Pommeraye, Histoire de la cathédrale de Rouen, p. 603.

[144] MGH, *Epistolae mer. et kar. aevi,* III, 553–4 (Paul I to Pippin); Cyrille Vogel, "La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne," in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels, 5 vols. (Düsseldof, 1965–1968), vol. 2, pp. 217–32.

[145] MGH, *Legum,* 1. IV: 52: "OMNI CLERO. Ut cantum romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster

This abandonment of Gallican chant was complete by the time the earliest notated chant books appeared in the ninth century, save for those traces of hybritidies that can be uncovered from the Frankish adoption of Gregorian repertory.[146] This musical reform was wide-sweeping, and its gravity in the historiography is strengthened by recourse to etiology. The lives of Archbishop Rémy of Rouen and Chrodegang of Metz have been deployed by Pommeraye and Levy alike for this purpose. Perhaps more interesting than the fact of parallel pilgrimages from Metz and Rouen to Rome is how the pilgrimage of Chrodegang in the eighth century can also be seen to set up an antetype for Amalarius of Metz in the ninth. This reformer traveled from Aachen to Rome in 831 whereupon he was redirected to Corbie in search of authentic sources for the Roman antiphoner.[147]

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pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae dei aeclesiae pacificam concordiam."

[146] Craig Wright, "Traces of a Gallican Liturgy" and "Vestiges of Gallican Chant," in *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1500* (Cambridge, 1989). Albertus Marcellinus Josefus Zijlstra, *Zangers en schrijvers: de overlevering van het Gregoriaans van ca. 700 tot ca. 1150 = Singers and Writers: The Tradition of Gregorian Chant from c.700 to c.1150,* 2 vols., doctoral thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 1997. Zijlstra has shown that Office chants in particular represent a Frankish form of Roman-Gallican hybridity.

[147] Michel Huglo, "Les remaniements de l'antiphonaire grégorien au IXe siècle: Hélisachar, Agobard, Amalaire," in *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolingia: 9–12 ottobre 1977,* 87–120, Convegni del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale 18 (Todi: 1979). Hanssens reconstructed Amalarius' antiphoner and Hesbert showed that "it was closer to Use of Lyon than that of Metz."

Archbishop Jean d'Avranches and the Rouen Use (1067–1079)

The earliest liturgical source proper to Rouen cathedral[148] was the *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* of Johannes Abrincensis, or Jean d'Avranches, bishop of Avranches 1060–1067, who became archbishop of Rouen in 1067 after the archiepiscopal seat of Rouen was turned down by Lanfranc for that of Canterbury.[149] While bishop of Avranches, Jean had taken part in the consecration of Rouen cathedral in 1063 under Archbishop Maurille, and Jean wrote *De officiis* under the encouragement of Maurille, who was its dedicatee. It is possible that the *De officiis* of Jean was based on that of Amalarius of Metz, modifying it to the Use of Rouen. The cathedral possessed an excerpt of Amalarius' text, *Instituto beati amalari de ecclesiastics officiis*, in its eleventh-century *vitae sanctorum*, BmR U. 109 (1382).[150] And if the *De officiis* of Jean d'Avranches were the book referred to in the inventory of the cathedral library under Archbishop Geoffroi le Breton, no. 43, *Breviarium Ioannis archiepiscopi de communi servitio Ecclesie*, which seems likely, then it would have been a fresh copy indeed, because of the date of the inventory to the first third of the twelfth century.

The *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis* has been known since the seventeenth century from the following sources: Montpellier MS H. 304; an early twelfth-century fragment at Llanthony

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[148] Batiffol, *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1911), p. [iv, unnumbered]: "le plus ancien témoin de la liturgie normande, ou, pour parler plus exactement, de la liturgie romaine telle qu'on la pratiquait en Normandie."

[149] Lanfranc, 5 letters *ad Ioannem Northmannorum archiepiscopum*. One (Epistul. XIII) "is a consultation on two points of pontifical liturgy. Thus Lanfranc takes recourse to the archbishop of Rouen."

[150] *Vitae sanctorum*, BmR U. 109 (1382), ff. 173–183.

monastery, under the title *Ex consuetudinario Rotomagensi*;[151] and a manuscript from the priory of Sausseuse, near Vernon; a copy of president Bouhier in Dijon; M. Bigot in Rouen, and the Bodleian.[152] In 1642 Dom Hugues Ménard published part of Jean's work in his notes on the *Liber sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great.[153] The full text was edited by Le Brun des Marettes in 67 pages of text and 15 pages from notes by three canons of Rouen cathedral[154]— Georges Ridel, Jacques Malet, and Jean LePrevost—and the result presented to Archbishop François II de Harlay in 1642.[155] It was edited, originally from the Sausseuse source, with reference to a book from the Bigot library ("nunc ex MS codice bibliothecae Bigotianae auctus et emendatus").[156] The second edition of Le Brun des Marettes in 1679 was given a *compte-rendu* in the *Journal*

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[151] Edmund Bishop, "Holy Week Rites of Sarum, Hereford, and Rouen Compared," in *Liturgica historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, 276–300 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), p. 299.

[152] Jean Mabillon, *Ouvrages posthumes*, vol. 2 (Paris: François Babuty et al., 1724), p. 9: "Guillelmmi Abrincensis librum de diversis consuetudinibus ecclesiarum in Officiis divinis."

[153] *Diui Gregorii Papae huius nominis primi cognomento magni: liber sacramentorum nunc demum correctior at locupletior editus: ex Missali ms. Sancti Eligii*, ed. Hugues Ménard (Parisiis: apud Dionysium Moreau, 1642).

[154] *Joannis Abrincensis episcopi qui postea II, eo nomine Rotomagensis archiepiscopus fuit, liber de officiis Ecclesiasticis, ad Mavrilivm Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, nunc primum e codice ms. cœnobii Salicosam in lucum editus, cum notis* (Rotomagi: ex typis archiepiscop[i], apud Lavr. Mavrry typogr., 1642).

[155] Frère, *Manuel du bibliographie*, v. 2, p. 104.

[156] PL 147, cols. 15–116.

des Savants in September that year. Montpellier MS H. 304 remained unedited until René Delamare's edition with a study of its liturgy in 1923.[157]

Referred to in the twelfth-century cathedral library inventory as a breviary, the text of the *De officiis* is a series of liturgical *ordines* accompanied by various modes of interpretation, including allegory. For instance, Jean likened certain portions of the sung Mass to the virtues and lots of terrestrial and celestial life: the alternated singing of the responsory observed for its energy, likened to the church and its good works; the plaintive quality of the tract the penitential life and rejection of sin; and the untexted melody (*pneuma*) of the sequence the beatific reflection, beyond words, of the divine:

> The epistle, responsory proper to the time, and tract or Alleluia follow. Through the responsory, which is sung in alternation, the active life is denoted, in which the church, to the doer of good things, deserves eternal glory, which is represented by the Alleluia; through the tract, which is sung with no response, conveys in its melodies the likeness of a groan, the contemplative life, in which perfected men, devoted to deploring sin, only emptying themselves to God, deserve that same most excellent glory. The pneuma of the sequence, which is sung after the Alleluia, signifies the praise of eternal glory, in which no articulation of words shall be necessary, but only reflection that is pure and fixed on God. Through the hardened tablets held in cantors' hands, firm steadfastness to good works is denoted, to which it is right to hold with divine praises.
>
> Epistolam, responsorium opportunis temporibus, tractus vel Alelluia sequuntur. Per responsorium, quod alternatim cantatur, activa vita designatur, in qua ecclesia, bona operando, promeretur eternam gloriam, que per Alleluia figuratur; per tractum, qui nullo respondente cantatur, et in melodiis suis similitudinem fert gemitus, vita comtemplativa, in qua perfecti viri peccata plorando, soli Deo vacando, morantes, eamdem excellentius quidem gloriam promerentur. Pneuma sequentie, quod post Alleluia cantatur, laudem eterne glorie significat, ubi nulla erit necessaria verborum locutio, sed sola pura et in Deo semper intenta cogitatio.

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[157] *Le 'De officiis ecclesiasticis' de Jean d'Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067–79): Étude liturgique et publication du texte inédit du manuscrit H. 304 de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Montpellier*, ed. René Delamare, Bibliothèque liturgique 22 (Paris: A. Picard, 1923).

> Per tabulas osseas, quas cantores tenent in manibus, fortis bonorum operum perseverantia, quam divinis oportet inhere laudibus, designatur.[158]

A number of uniquely Rouennais features are found in this earliest liturgical source for the cathedral, including the liturgical dramas for Christmas, Epiphany, Holy Innocents, and Easter; the Office for deacons on the feast of St. Stephen; the Office for priests on the feast of St. John the Baptist. On Ash Wednesday while the Passion was sung a veil before the altar was torn down ("cortina ante altare deponatur"), a practice not known elsewhere to Batiffol.[159] At Pentecost, colorful flowers thrown during the singing of *Veni creator*.[160] After the eleventh centuries, these liturgical dramas and special aspects of ceremonial were developed, and I will discuss them in chapter three.

The twelfth-century Rouennais pontifical

The pontifical BnF NAL 306 brings together two chronological and institutional layers of material. The majority of its contents date from the middle of the twelfth century and were certainly for the use of the archbishop at Rouen cathedral. Later additions from the fourteenth century, fascicles bound to the end of the book, ff. 215–236, are of the Use of Saint-Denis abbey in Île-de-France, where this book had moved by that time. A pontifical gives the prayers, chants, manual actions, and processional direction proper to a bishop and the rites at which a bishop acts as celebrant. In addition to ceremonies for the Proper of Time and the Proper of the Saints, the *ordines* in this book include the ordination of a bishop (ff. 79), the blessing of an abbot (ff. 101),

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[158] Batiffol, *Bréviaiare*, p. 11.

[159] Ibid., p. 29.

[160] Ibid., p. 44.

the ordination of clerics (ff. 107), the consecration of a church (ff. 135–156v, 180v–187), the consecration of a king (ff. 159–170), and others. The manuscript can be localized to Rouen on the basis of its two litanies for the Dedication of a Church. The general format of the litany is recitation of the Kyrie followed by an invocation of BMV and several series of saints: archangels, all angels, patriarchs and prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and All Saints. The first litany from the Dedication rite is sung near the opening of the ceremony, during the procession made around the church exterior in order to place twelve lit candles along its circumference. The confessors of this litany include Rouennais patrons: St. Rémi, St. Martin, St. Mellon, SS. Gildard and Médard, St. Romain, St. Ouen, St. Ansbert, St. Sever, St. Catherine, St. Austrebarta, etc., ff. 135v–137v. The second Dedication litany takes place after the bishop has circulated the interior of the church three times, before the blessing of the water. It is sung while the bishop and his priests prostrate themselves at the altar, and for the duration of the litany they silently recite the seven penitential psalms with suffrages. This litany is shorter than the first; its confessors include several, but fewer, Rouennais saints: St. Romain, St. Ouen, St. Victrice, St. Évode, St. Sever (*Sancte Seneri*), etc., ff. 140v–141v.

Because the bishop was an important liturgical actor during certain processions, they are well described in pontificals. MS NAL 306 includes processional material for the most solemn holy days: Purification of BMV, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday. Episcopal processions represent a different category from other large public processions, such as those for the Rogation Days. Because the thirteenth-century gradual 904 is especially rich in processional material, it provides a fruitful point of comparison to this pontifical, which will be made in chapter three, along with a discussion of the topography of the cathedral, including the altars and chapels mentioned in the processional rubrics. Two special

episcopal processions particular to Rouen, discussed in greater detail in chapter three, and of which NAL 306 represents the earliest attestation, are for Purification and Ash Wednesday. At Purification a procession was made to the altar of the Cross, west of the choir in the nave of the cathedral, at which altar the candles for Purification are blessed (ff. 35r–37r). Purification is followed in NAL 306 by Ash Wednesday, at which procession was made to the crucifix and clerics wore the cilice, and it returned to the chapel of St. Stephen.

The pontifical contains neumes for one rite: the Dedication of a Church, which I discuss shortly in detail. But a number of details of *mise-en-page* suggest that other sections may have been intended to be notated as well. The striking vacancy of the upper left corner of f. 173r, nearly one quarter of the page, was intended for a large, sumptuously decorated *T*, never executed, for the incipit *Te igitur* beginning the canon of the Mass. It would have been even larger than the four-line decorated initials of f. 1r and the extraordinary zoomorphic initial *E* spanning five lines, at the beginning of the *ordo* for the ordination of a bishop, f. 79r. This copying scenario, in which scribes differentiated their efforts, is supported at a more modest scale as well. The space left for an initial *T*, in the small script for the antiphon, *Trium puerorum*, f. 99v, from the special Mass for consecration of a bishop, was never filled. More than four dozen texts of antiphons and responsories appear in NAL 306, most differentiated from the main body of the text by a smaller script. Only the antiphons of the Dedication rite were given music notation, in heightened neumes. The horizontal spacing of antiphon texts elsewhere suggests that they were not necessarily intended to be notated; certain moments of irregular spacing could not have been driven by melodic length; for instance, the long space between the syllables of *deum* of in the responsory *Sacerdotes dei benedicite*, f. 95v, do not correspond to a lengthy melodic

segment, whereas the long melisma on the word *corde* was left little space by the text scribe.[161] And unlike the Dedication antiphons, the antiphon texts elsewhere in the pontifical were rarely ruled with staves; even the few Dedication antiphons left unnotated, such as *Tollite portas principes*, f. 138r, show ruling of staves in drypoint. The text incipits of some antiphons and responsories did not differ in style or size of script from the main body of the text, for instance the antiphon *Cor mundum crea in me*, f. 58v.

Putting aside the Dedication rite, to be discussed shortly, the rites in the pontifical containing antiphons included episcopal blessings for the Proper of Time, the Proper of Saints, and the Common of Saints: First Sunday of Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter Day, Pentecost, Octave of Pentecost, Second Sunday of Pentecost, Twenty-sixth Sunday of Pentecost; St. Andrew, Assumption of BMV, All Saints. The manuscript also contains rites for the ordination of a bishop, a special Mass for the consecration of a bishop, Dedication of a Church, consecration of a king or queen, and others. An *ordo* for the blessing of an abbot beginning f. 97v is a slightly later insertion into the book.[162] The *ordo* for the making of priests, beginning f. 107r, is a ceremony of giving the tonsure, called the crown (*ad clericum faciendum, id est ad coronas benediciendas*) (Table 4.1).

IN PURIFICATIONE SANCTE MARIE
f. 36v *Ant*. Lumen ad reualationem *Ps*. Nunc dimittis
37r *Ant*. Adorna thalamum

IN CAPITE IEIUNII
41r *Ant*. Inmutemur habitu
41v *Ant*. Iuxta uestibulum et altare *Ps*. Miserere mei deus miserere mei
44v *Ant*. Propicius est domine

[161] cf. antiphoner from Saint-Maur-des-Fossées, BnF lat 12044, f. 239v.

[162] Leroquais dates this ordo to the thirteenth century: *Les Pontificaux*, vol. 2, p. 223.

44v *Resp*. In sudore uultus tui *V*. Pro es quod oboedisti uoci uxoris tue plusquam mee maledicta
44v–45r *Ant*. Ne irascaris domine [*in entirety, explicit* iniquitates nostras] *Ps*. Deus misereatur nostri
45r *Resp*. Ecce adam quasi *V*. Cherubin et flameum
45r *Resp*. Tribularer sine scirem *V*. Et petrum lacrinmantem
45 *Ps*. Miserere mei deus
45v *Ant*. Ne irascaris

IN DIE PALMARUM
64r *V*. O redemptor [*incipit only*]
64v–65r *Ant*. O redemptor sume carmen [*entirety, explicit* nec senescat tempore redemptor]

MISSA SPECIALIS EPISCOPI IN DIE CONSECRATIONIS SUE
95r–v *Resp*. Sacerdotes dei benedicite dominum sancti
96r *Resp*. Sacerdotes eius induant salutari
96r Alleluia *V*. Posui adiutorium super potentem
96r *Tract* Beatus uir qui timet dominum
96r *vel* Desiderium
97r *Offert*. Inueni dauid seruum meum
99r *Comm*. Fidelis seruus et prudens quem constituit
99v *Ant*. Trium puerorum cantemus ymnum

AD CLERICUM FACIENDUM
107v *Ant*. Hic accipiet benedictionem a domino
[135r Dedication ordo, notated*]*

CONSECRATIO REGIS
159r *Ant*. Firmetur manus tua. Gloria patri
163r *Ant*. Unxerunt Salomonem Sadoc sacerdos
164v *Ant*. Confortare et esto uir
168v Viuat rex uiuat rex uiuat rex in eternum
[180v Dedication ordo, resumption, notated*]*

IN CONSECRATII CIMITERII
188v *Ant*. In pace inidipsum dormam *Ps*. Cum inuocarem
188v Kyrrieleison. Xρisteleison. Kyrrieleison.
188bis-v *Ant*. Habitabit in tabernaculo tuo
189r *Ant*. Caro mea requiescat *Ps*. Conseruame
189v *Ant*. Credo uidere bona domini
190r *Ant*. Deus adiuuat me dominus susceptor
190v *Ant*. Inpace factus est locus eius *Ps*. Notus in iudea

IN RECONCILIATIONE ATRII
193v *Resp*. Domine si conuersui
193v *Ant*. Ab insurgentibus in me *Ps*. Eripe me deum

193v *Ant*. Liberasti uirgam *Ps*. Vtquid
193v *Ant*. Propicius *Ps*. Deus uenerunt
193v *Ant*. Tu solus altissimus *Ps*. Deus quis similis
193v *Ant*. Domine refugium
193v *Ant*. Bonum est *Ps*. Idipsum
193v *Ant*. Captabunct *Ps*. Deus ultionum
193v *Ant*. Dum sanctificatis fuero *Ps*. Benedicam dominum
193v *Resp*. [i.e. Grad.] Adiutor inopor *V*. Quoniam non infinem
193v Alleluia *V*. Eripe me
193v *Off.* Benedictus es domine
193v *Comm*. Accepta

AD SIGNUM ECCLESIE BENEDICENDUM
208v *Ant*. Inciuitate domini clara sonant
209v *Ant*. Vox domini super aquas
210v Deus insancto uia tua *Ps*. Viderunt te aque

IN CONSECRATIONE CRUCIS ET CRUCIFIXI
211r *Resp*. O crux
211r *Ant*. Adoremus
211r *Ps*. Notus iniudea
211v *Ant*. Salua nos χριste saluator *Ps*. Confitebuntur

AD CLERICUM FACIENDUM
212v *Ant*. Hic accipiet benedictionem a domino *Ps*. Deum est terra. Pater noster.

TABLE 2.1. ANTIPHONS AND RESPONSORIES WITHOUT NOTATION IN TWELFTH-CENTURY PONTIFICAL BNF NAL 306.

The coronation rites for king and queen (ff. 159r–171r) is intercalated within the rite of the Dedication (ff. 135r–187r). The presence of a Coronation rite in NAL 306 points to a creation date at a relatively early point relative to the process of reform of pontificals that emanated out from Rome in the twelfth century. This reform included the elimination of the *ordo* for royal coronations, "which neither Rome nor its suffragans needed."[163] But a coronation *ordo* is hardly to be expected in a pontifical from Rouen. Although Dukes of Normandy received their ducal sword from the archbishop of Rouen, and although Rouen was the site of triumphal entries of

[163] Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: And Introduction to the Sources*, NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1986), p. 251.

many French and English monarchs, for its strategic location on the Seine near the mouth of the English Channel and as seat of the metropolitan church of Normandy, it was, however, never the site of a French royal coronation. Beginning with the coronation of Hugues Capet in 987, coronations of French monarchs, with few exceptions, occurred in Reims, and were officiated by its archbishop. If this *ordo* did not originate in Rouen, then where? The opening of the prayer of consecration names God as the creator and governor of heaven and earth, founder and orderer of the English (*Omnipotens sempiterne deus creator ac gubernator celi et terre, conditor et dispositor anglorum*), f. 161r. In the continuation of the prayer, the kingdom of the Angles and Saxons is named twice (*respice post pitius adpreces nostre humilitatis, et super hunc famulum tuum .N. quem supplici deuotione in regnum anglorum siue saxonum pariter elegmius*), f. 161v; (*ut regale solum uidelicet anglorum uel saxonum sceptro non deferat*), f. 162r. After the bestowing of the ring, sword, crown, scepter, and rod, the newly consecrated king is blessed in a formulation that includes the Christianizer of England, Pope Gregory the Great: *sancte MARIE ac Beati petri apostolorum principis, sanctique GREGORII ANGLORUM apostolici*, f. 167r. This coronation rite, therefore, seems to have nothing to do with Rouen. Richard Jackson has proposed that this form of the rite was that of King Edgar of England, who reigned in the third quarter of the tenth century.[164] These contents in NAL 306 would therefore represent a layer of Anglo-Saxon ritual prior to the Norman conquest of England.

The *ordo* for the Dedication of a Church is divided into two sections by the coronation *ordo*; the first part of the Dedication *ordo* contains the notated text of antiphons (ff. 135–156v), the latter contains antiphons without notation (ff. 180v–187). This is an important specification,

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[164] Richard A. Jackson, "Manuscripts, texts, and enigmas of medieval French coronation 'ordines,'" *Viator* 23 (1992), p. 481 n. 52.

because the neumed antiphons of the first part of the Dedication rite are the only music notation in this pontifical, and in turn the earliest notation that can be attributed to the cathedral. The selection and ordering of the Dedication antiphons as well as the orthography of its neumes help contextualize the book. The antiphon series for the Dedication in NAL 306 corroborates early date indicated by the Coronation rite relative to the reform of pontificals. The selection and order of antiphons represent a snapshot of a practice that would later be changed to adhere to that of the Holy See. The antiphons at the page turn f. 148r–v seem to have reordered by the scribe after their copying by prefixing them with letters a–d (Table 2.2).

INCIPIT ORDO QUALITER DOMUS DEI CONSECRANDA EST

f. 135r	*Ant*. Zacheę festinans descende. Sęculorum amen
138r	[*unnotated*] *Ant*. Tollite portas principes. *Ps*. Domini est terra
139v	*Ant*. Pax huic domui et omnibus. Alleluia.
139v	*Ant*. Benedic domine domum istam. *Ps*. Fundamenta. Sęculorum amen.
142r	*Ant*. Fundamentum aliud nemo potest. *Ps*. [*lacking initial; unnotated*] [F]undamenta eius
142r	*Ant*. Hęc aula accipiat adeo graciam. *Ps*. Magnus dominus et.
147r	*Ant*. Sanctificauit dominus tabernaculum. *Ps*. Deus noster refugium
147r–v	*Ant*. In dedicatione huius templi. *Ps*. Laudate dominum de cęlis
147v	*Ant*. Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi. *Ps*. Dicet domino susceptor
148r	.a. [antiphon missing] .c. *Ant*. Exurgat deus ad nostri famulatus. *Ps*. Exurgat deus et [.d. *Ant*. Qui regis Israel intende]
148r–v	.b. *Ant*. Fundamenta templi huius. *Ps*. Fundamenta eius
148v–9r	*Ant*. Benedic domine domum istam. *Ps*. Magnus dominus et laudabilis.
149r	*Ant*. Benedictus es in templo sancto. *Ps*. Benedicite omnia
151v	*Ant*. Introibo ad altare dei mei. *Ps*. Iudica me deus et discerne
151v	*Ant*. Ecce tabernaculum dei cum hominibus. *Ps*. Laudate dominum omnes
153r	*Ant*. Erexit Iacob lapidem. *Ps*. Quam dilecta
153v	*Ant*. Mane surgens Iacob. *Ps*. Deus noster refugium
154v	*Ant*. Vidit Iacob scalam. *Ps*. Fundamenta eius
155v–6v	*Ant*. O quam metuendus est. *Ps*. Magnus dominus et laudabilis
[157v	*Dedication ordo breaks and continues ff. 178–187]*
180v	[*with ruling*] *Ant*. Ornauerunt faciem templi. Alleluia
181r	[*with ruling*] *Ant*. Confirma hoc deus. Alleluia alleluia
182v	[*with ruling, unnotated*] *Ant*. Sanctum et uerum lumen
183r	[*with ruling, unnotated*] *Ant*. Ingredere benedicite domine

183r	[*with ruling, unnotated*] *Ant*. Exultabunt sancti in gloria. *Ps*. Cantate domino
	Ant. In celestibus regnis sanctorum. *Ps*. Beati inmaculati
183v	*Ant*. Ab oriente porte tres
184r	[*with ruling, unnotated*] [*Introit*] Terribilis est locus iste. *Ps*. Dominus regnaui decore.
184v	[*unnotated*] [*Grad*.] Locus iste adeo factus est. *V*. Deus cui a stat angelorum. Alleluia. *V*. Adorabo ad templum sanctum
185v	[*with ruling, unnotated*] *Of*. Domine deus in simplicitate
187r	[*with ruling, unnotated*] *Co*. Domus mea domus orationis

TABLE 2.2. NOTATED ANTIPHON-SERIES FOR DEDICATION OF A CHURCH FROM PONTIFICAL BNF NAL 306.

This antiphon series from the Rouen pontifical perfectly matches the series of antiphons shared across twelfth- to fourteenth-century pontificals of Norman Sicily, as observed by David Hiley.[165] This is an effect of migration out from Normandy of Normans following the eleventh-century conquests of Sicily and southern Italy.[166] For a period of time in Sicily, certain rites matched those in Normandy. In the monastic context this was a function of the foundation of Sicilian daughter houses by Norman mother houses. The pontifical NAL 306 shows that this correspondence between Normandy and Sicily also held true also in the secular *cursus*, since pontifical books are by definition for use in the cathedral context, even in the context of rites such as the consecration of an abbot.

This picture is fortuitous for the moments in time it represents. First, it points to the fact that the music of the Dedication rite preserved in NAL 306 is an older practice than the book

[165] David Hiley, "The Chant of Norman Sicily: Interaction between the Norman and Italian Traditions," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 30 (1988): 389–91. "The Norman Chant Traditions: Normandy, Britain, Sicily," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association (1980–1981); "Quanto c'è;" and Anglo-Norman traditions at Glastonbury (1986) and Canterbury (1994); Normans in the Holy Land. See also Alan V. Murray, "Norman Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099–1131," *Archivio Normanno-Svevo* (2008): 61–85.

[166] Hiley, Sicilian Norman, diss.

itself, and that in this book from Rouen cathedral it is accurate and representative; this must be so for the Sicilian books to match. Second, NAL 306 captures a moment in time before these indications of a Norman Use were superseded. Hiley showed that the Norman-Sicilian pontificals matched the pattern from Normandy until the late thirteenth century, when they conformed to the Roman pattern.[167] This was a reason for which he recommended the pontifical as an underexplored point of reference for musicological study.[168]

Pontifical NAL 306 is the only liturgical manuscript to survive from Rouen cathedral with notation in neumes, and this notation is limited to the Dedication antiphon series just discussed. The notation of music in neumes in monastic sources in Normandy has been comparatively analyzed by Hesbert and Hiley, with mixed results. Hiley's observation of a "classical" Norman feature is a useful first test: clivis with an initial upstroke.[169] But the boundary around a stylistic category of "Norman" notation is ill-defined, and the utility of comparative study of neume orthography diminishes the more distant the comparison in time and place within Normandy and the Norman diaspora. Even the study of musical notation from one institution evades stylistic definition. Hesbert's study of notated music manuscripts from

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[167] Hiley, "Chant of Norman Sicily:" 389–91. Hiley proposed that this was an effect in Sicily of the ascent of the dynasty of Aragon and their adherence to Roman practice.

[168] David Hiley, "The Norman Chant Traditions: Normandy, Britain, Sicily," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980): 1–33. In the case of the Dedication rite, pontificals have been studied in detail by Thomas Kozachek, The repertory of chant for dedicating churches in the Middle Ages: Music, liturgy, and ritual, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995.

[169] Hiley, "Some Characteristic Neumes in North French, Sicilian and Italian Chant Manuscripts," in *The Calligraphy of Medieval Music*, ed. John Haines, 153–162, Musicalia Medii Aevi 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 159.

Jumièges found a wide variety, really not a strong case for the uniformity of so-called Norman notation.[170]

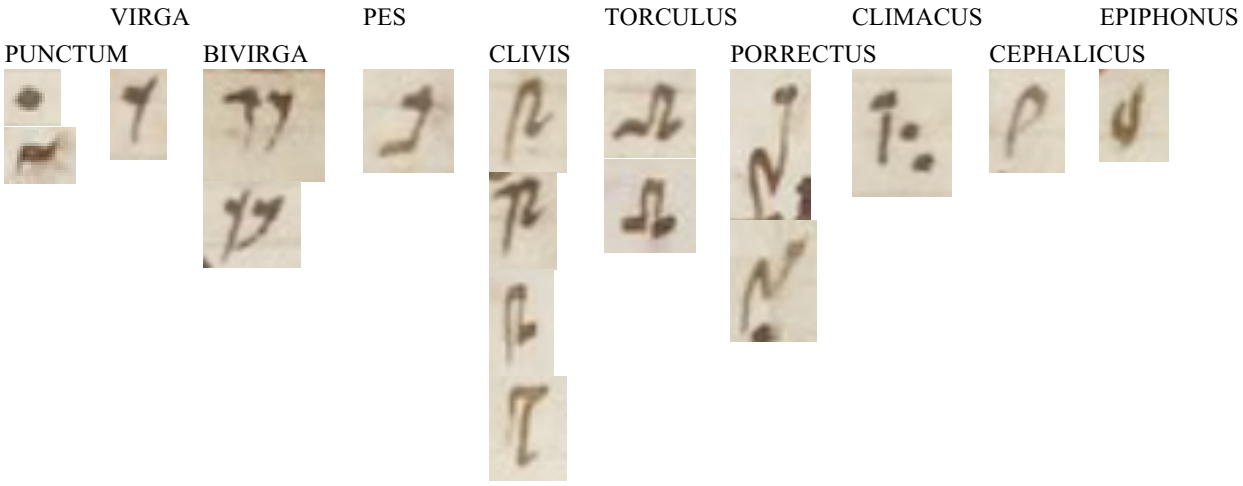


TABLE 2.3. NEUME-TYPES OF PONTIFICAL BNF NAL 306.

The neume-shapes of NAL 306 are noteworthy in a few respects (Table 2.3). The clivis and porrectus are of the conventional shape, not the signet Sicilian forms. Hiley showed that in many Sicilian sources the clivis does not begin with a vertical stroke on the left side, but resembles the numeral 7 or the letter Z; and that the porrectus also does not begin with a vertical stroke on its left side, instead resembling the letter V or U.[171] The clivis of NAL 306, by contrast, looks like the cursive letter p, and its porrectus like the letter N. The notation of NAL 306 is also uses the *litterae significativae* A, such as the opening of the antiphon *Hec aula accipiat* (f. 142r); and C and E, which are found at the opening the verse *Magnus dominus et laudabilis* (f. 149r) of the antiphon *Benedic domine domum istam*.

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[170] Hesbert, "Les manuscrits."

[171] Hiley, Norman Sicily, diss, pp. 70–76; "Quanto c'è:" 6; "Some Characteristic Neumes," p. 159.

Although the fasicles of material later in the pontifical point to a different chapter of its life at Saint-Denis abbey, in the twelfth century this pontifical book, and the music it contained, including this neumatic notation for the Dedication rite, was carried by archbishops of Rouen throughout the province of Normandy. Its contents therefore transmit an early layer of the music repertory of the cathedral of Rouen, and also in part of all of Normandy.

Archbishop as patron

The archbishop of Rouen, as a secular figure at the command of an immense array of resources, dispensed patronage at the cathedral and throughout the archdiocese. Some aspects of this part of the archbishop's role can be deduced from surviving documents. There was a triangular relationship among archbishop, treasury, and *fabrique* of the cathedral, the treasury being divided between an endowment and a budget to be spent under the archbishop's authorization, and the *fabrique* as the arm of the cathedral responsible for the design, execution, and maintenance of the building and its material needs, including musical instruments, windows, and décor. Much can be discerned about these relationships after 1375 from records of the treasury preserved along with cathedral chapter deliberations. An annotated collection of the accounts, estimates, and stocktaking of the archiepiscopal manor from the late middle ages to the present was published by Paul Joüen, a canon of Rouen, in 1908.[172]

The archiepiscopal court was a second locus of literary patronage after the ducal court.[173] Literary works produced in the ducal period provide some evidence of the patronage of the

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[172] *Comptes, devis et inventaires du manoir archiépiscopal de Rouen*, ed. Paul Joüen, (Paris: A. Picard, 1908).

[173] *La cathédrale de Notre-Dame de Rouen*, ed. Anne-Marie Carment-Lanfry, nouv. éd. (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2010), p. 22. The parity of

archiepiscopal court (*curia archiepiscopali*). Duke Richard I of Normandy had sponsored Dudo of Saint-Quentin's four-book history, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* (996–1015), which Dudo finished under the patronage of the late duke's two sons, Duke Richard II and Archbishop Robert II the Dane. This history was the first to cast the forebears of the Dukes of Normandy as nobility rather than violent plunderers, and it exhibited a learned style which combined prose and metrical verse, historiography and hagiography.[174] The archiepiscopal court of Robert II the Dane in Rouen was therefore a second center of literary patronage after the ducal court in Caen. It provided patronage to a poet active the same time as Dudo, Garnier de Rouen, or Warner of Rouen, known principally for three works: *Moriuht*, or Satire 1, a satire against the Scottish poet, Moriuht; Satire 2, cast as a dialog between the poet and a monk who fled Mont-Saint-Michel for Saint-Ouen; and *Jezebel*. Warner was known to Henri Omont at the end of the nineteenth century,[175] and in the latter half of the twentieth century a number of detailed studies developed his life and works.[176] The archiepiscopal court of Robert II the Dane in Rouen was

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Duke of Normandy and Archbishop of Rouen as patrons is reflected by the necropolitan function of the cathedral: several Norman dukes had been buried or translated to the site; after the fall of the duchy it became predominantly the burying place of archbishops.

[174] Bernard S. Bachrach, "Writing Latin History for a Lay Audience, c. 100: Dudo of Saint Quentin at the Norman Court," *The Haskins Society Journal* 20 (2008): 58–77.

[175] Henri Omont, "Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriuht (Xe–XIe siècle)," *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* 31/2 (January 1894): 193–210.

[176] Lucien Musset, "Le Satiriste Garnier de Rouen et son Milieu," *Revue du Moyen Âge Latin: Études, Textes, Chronique, Bibliographie* 10 (1954): 237–66; Lucien Musset, "Du nouveau sur le satiriste Garnier et l'école littéraire de Rouen au temps de Richard II," *Annales de Normandie* 24/3 (1974): 287–90; Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, "Scandinavian Influence in Norman Literature of the Eleventh Century," In *Anglo-Norman Studies VI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1983*, ed. Reginald Allen Brown, 107–21 (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1984); Jan Ziolkowski, *Jezebel: A Norman Latin Poem of the Early Eleventh Century*, Humana Civilitas 10 (New York: P. Lang, 1989), pp. 32–33; Warner of Rouen, *Moriuht: a Norman Latin poem from the early eleventh century*, trans. and ed. Christopher J. McDonough (Toronto: Pontifical institute of

therefore a second center of literary patronage after the ducal court in Caen. Beginning in this period it is possible to discern Rouen cathedral emerging from an environment in which there were schools, knowledge of literature, production of poetry, knowledge of music, and the writing of music.

Archbishop Robert II (990–1037) and Warner of Rouen

Given that Warner was patronized by the archiepiscopal court, his poetry presents a picture of the arts and letters and of the knowledge of the trivium and quadrivium in the milieu of a metropolitan church in the eleventh century. The text of *Satire* 2 is transmitted in three versions: BnF lat 8121A, ff. 9r–11v; BnF lat 8319, ff. 46r–48v; and BnF MS Baluze 69, a late transcription. The connection of the text to the cathedral in BnF lat 8121A is explicit in its dedication to Robert II Archbishop of Rouen (*Rotberto doctis fulgentis semper alumnis / Warnerius famulus quicquid amat dominus*). Most importantly, one of the sources of *Satire* 2 contains a brief passage of music, which, were it copied at the archiepiscopal court, would represent the first music notation to survive from the milieu of Rouen cathedral.[177] Even not, the

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mediaeval studies, 1995); Christophre J. McDonough, "Warner of Rouen and the Monk from Mont-Saint-Michel," Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch: Internationale Zeitschrift für Mediävistik und Humanismusforschung 32/2 (1997): 23–51; Keith Bate, "Les Normands et la littérature latine au débat du nouveau millénium," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43/171 (2000): 233–41.

[177] There are points of comparison and contrast between Warner's *Satire* 2 and the Office of St. Romain in the *Livre d'ivoire*, both with eleventh-century alphabetic notation, both from the milieu of the cathedral. The Office, with its nine responsories for Matins, was clearly of the secular rather than monastic cursus, but cannot be shown to have been composed directly for the cathedral, and was likely written in a monastic setting; the Satire took the singing monk as its interlocutor, but was written by Warner under the patronage of Archbishop Robert II the Dane, with a dedication to him.

manuscript could not have been copied far later than the origin of the text, since by the middle of the twelfth century alphabetic notation had generally been abandoned.

The *Satire* is cast as a dialog between the poet Warner and a monk whose name may have been Franbaldus.[178] Lengthy interrogation by Warner of the monk's departure from Mont-Saint-Michel and arrival in Rouen cast aspersions on his virtues as a Benedictine: *Liquisti montem scandens cum munere vallem / cum michael nummis quid rotomago petis* ("You forsook the Mount, climbing the valley with money, with the coins of Michael; what do you seek in Rouen?" The monk, in the economical space of three lines, lobbed as many insults at Warner: that Warner's understanding of scripture was erroneous, that his health was ruined, that he was a mere grammarian. Warner replied with the observation that the monk had better read Donatus before singing his Muses; that music could not be truly known without grammar. In its play of grammar, meter, and alliteration, Warner's response actually performed some of the virtues it described (lines 79–82):

> You give "to the disciples," but you gave "from the disciples;"
> To give the showing A takes away the sounding A.
> I give you advice: learn Donatus first;
> afterward you will be able to sing your Muses.
>
> Das ad discipulis a discipulosque dedisti
> Donet ut .a. monstrans auferat .a. resonans
> Do tibi consilium donatum discito primum
> Post poteris musas sat resonare tuas[179]

The permutation of finite verb-forms for giving, *do, dare* and *dono, donare—das, dedisti, do, donate*—produce a mounting repetition of D-alliteration that culminates in the name Donatus

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[178] Ziolkowski, *Jezebel*: the full name of the monk is not given in full in the sources of the text, only the first syllable "Fran," but Ziolkowski observed that, in metrical context, the name must have been trisyllabic.

[179] BnF lat 8121A, f. 10v.

and the future imperative *discito*, "thou shalt learn." In addition to this dazzling sonic effect, Warner's retort played on grammar with details difficult to translate out from Latin and to detect aurally: "ad discipulis" mismatches the accusative-expressing preposition and an ablative noun, while "a discipulos" mismatches the ablative-expressing preposition and an accusative noun. This confusion, Warner showed, is the kind of basic error that one makes without knowledge of grammar. The poet even demonstrated that false grammar can be embedded in correct meter. The vowel "ād d-" is long by position and "ā d-" is long by nature: *Dās ād dīscĭpŭlīs, ā dīscĭpŭlōsquĕ dĕdīstī*. Scansion failed to render the mismatched prepositions distinguishable, and only by resorting to a metrical hiccup between the two /d/ sounds between "ad discipulis" could they be distinguished phonetically. Here, reliance on sound alone fails, and correctness is perceptible only to the eye trained in grammar. Thus the difference between the showing A (*a monstrans*) and the sounding A (*a sonans*)—cleverly both A-vowels long in this reference as well—connotes not only the just-sounded vowels but the rudimentary element that begins both the alphabet and the musical scale.

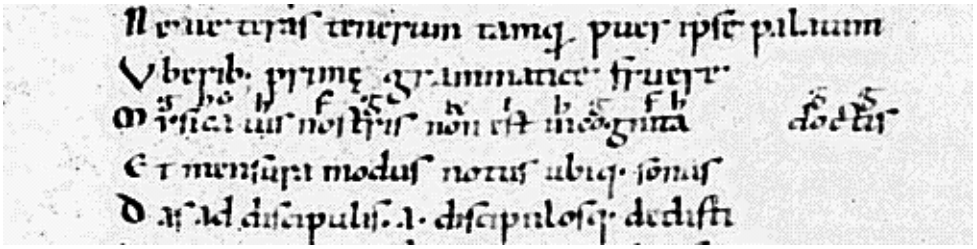


FIGURE 2.1. WARNER OF ROUEN, *SATIRE* 2, LINE 89, SHOWING SUPRALINEAR ALPHABETIC MUSIC NOTATION (BNF LAT 8121A, F. 10V).

Following the poetically masterful retort of Warner, the spotlight fell upon on the monk to produce and equally powerful and persuasive gesture. But his sense of authority tripped out of the gate by the opposition he threw up between learned people (*doctis*) and his own kind (*nostris*). His strongest rhetorical device was the rapid studding of technical terminology:

mensura, modus, notus, sonus, diapente, and his attempt to characterize his gifts as ineffable came across feeble and vain (lines 89–91):

> Music is a force for my kind that is unknown to the learned;
> Measure, mode, note, and sound are everywhere.
> If a fifth sounds, my mind does not need to leap the interval:
> I touch the board with my hand and draw out the sound with my mind.
>
> Musica uis nostris non est incognita doctis
> Et mensura modus notus ubique sonus
> Si diapente sonat mea mens non dextra laborat
> Tango manu lignum haurio mente sonum[180]

The scribe of MS lat 8121A overlaid this first line of the monk's response with alphabetic music notation.[181] It is hard to imagine that this line of poetry was meant to be sung;[182] instead it acts as a representation of the monk's skills as a musician, a kind of attribute made real for the reader's delectation. The notation adds articulation to a moment of form of the poem. The

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[180] Perhaps *dextra* was a contraction of *dextera* meant simply as a predicate for *mens*: "my mind does not labor as a dextrous thing;" but I have taken it as the adverb "to the right," as a spatial or visual representation of a musical interval sounding successively, rather than simultaneously, built from left to right, in the direction of reading; on the monochord the *lignum* mentioned by the monk could the bridge or the surface of the resonating box.

[181] The research of Solange Corbin remains the foundation for current study of the career of William of Volpiano in Burgundy and Normandy and of the alphabetic music notation associated with his monastic reforms: Solange Corbin, La notation musicale neumatique, Les quatre provinces lyonnaises: Lyon, Rouen, Tours et Sens, thèse de doctorat (dact.), Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 1957; Corbin, "Valeur et sens de la notation alphabétique à Jumièges et en Normandie," in *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique*, vol. 2, 913–924; see also Alma Colk Santosuosso, *Letter Notations in the Middle Ages*, Institute of Medieval Music 52 (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1989), pl. XXXVIIa, p. 110; *Le Répons-graduel Justus ut palma*, PM 3, p. 90; Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3: Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, pt. 4 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, VEB, 1975), pl. 10.

[182] Jan Ziolkowski, *Nota Bene: Reading Classics and Writing Melodies in the Early Middle Ages*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 117. Jan Ziolkowski has argued that the neuming of the complex metrical forms of classical or early Christian poetry had a mnemonic function.

speaker has changed, and we hear from the monk for the first time at length. And it is a musician's response, but it not a musical response. The learned reader would recognize the melody as a flop, with two errors of transposition by the octave, which render the relatively conjunct melodic contour nearly unsingable in its angularity. In its system of music notation the octave represented by the letters a–b–c–d–e–f–g repeated above as h–i–k–l–m etc. But the scribe got it wrong, the downward swoop of a major sixth, h–c–h, when what was surely intended was the minor third h–j–h; and the angular succession of minor seventh and minor ninth, g–a–i, when what was surely intended was the stepwise ascent g–h–i.[183] The awkwardness of this deep melodic chasm is emphasized by its position at the medial caesura of the verse, and its correspondence to long vowels of the meter: "-trīs nōn ēst" (Figure 2.2).
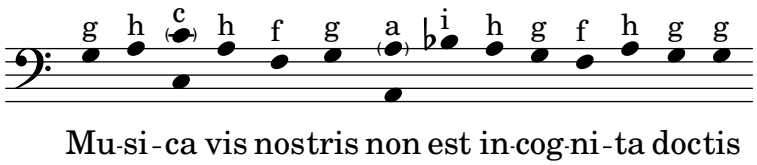


FIGURE 2.2. TRANSCRIPTION OF ALPHABETIC NOTATION FROM BNF LAT 8121A, F. 10V, SHOWING ERRORS OF OCTAVE TRANSPOSITION (AND CORRECTIONS IN PARENTHESES).

The eleventh century in Normandy was an intellectual period characterized by the establishment of schools.[184] Susan Boynton has shown how glossed hymnaries of the eleventh century filled a didactic function in monastic contexts, including schools for children. In that

[183] I am not convinced that this melody is supposed to make any particular allusion. The closest melodic match I have yet uncovered is the opening of the Alleluia V. *Judicabunt sancti nationes*, but only by transposition down a fifth and with the two interpolated pitches shown in parenthesis here. *Judicabunt sancti nationes* was disliked by Jacobus of Ispania and Liège (active first quarter of the fourteenth century) because of its large range and two modal centers; see Dolores Pesce, *The Affinities and Medieval Transposition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), pp. 35–6, 62–7. Coincidentally, this Alleluia was added to the Rouen gradual 904 by a later hand in the lower margin of ff. 234v–235r, for All Saints; its opening pitches are badly faded.

[184] Frère, "Introduction," *Manuel*, p. iv.

century the increasing incorporation of children's voices into the celebration of liturgy required training in Latin.[185] Case studies of hymns, for instance Augustine's analysis of *Deus creator omnium*, served as important means of learning grammar.[186] The state of knowledge of the trivium and quadrivium is reflected in the two twelfth-century inventories of books in the cathedral library, already discussed in chapter one, each inventory named as the books possessed under the current archbishop. The earlier inventory, from the archiepiscopate of Geoffroi le Breton, (1111–1128), included volumes on geometry and harmony by Donatus, Martianus, and Bede. It possessed works by Homer; Terentius; Virgil, including the *Aenid*; Horace; by Ovid, including the *Metamorphoses*, the *Ars amatoria*, the *Remedia amoris*; and works by Juvenal (Table 2.4).

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
[19]	Liber Marciani de armonia.
[20]	Omerus....
[22]	Ovidius metarmorfoseon
[23]	Virgilius.
[24]	Iuvenalis.
[25]	Oratius....
[32]	Pars arismetice....
[35]	Liber de duodecim versibus Virgilii....
[44]	Ovidius de amatoria arte, sine titulo et de remedio amoris.
[45]	Liber Iuvenalis....
[47]	Liber Virgilii Eneidos....
[51]	Donatus et Beda de arte metrica....
[56]	Liber de abaco....
[58]	Terentius.

TABLE 2.4. WORKS OF THE *TRIVIUM* AND *QUADRIVIUM* IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, CA. 1111–1128, FROM THE *LIVRE D'IVOIRE*.

[185] Susan Leslie Boynton, Glossed Hymns in Eleventh-century Contintental Hymnaries, Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1997, pp. 277–8.

[186] Susan Boynton, "Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 56, no. 1 (2003): 99–168 at 110.

These books of Donatus [51], Martianus [19], Juvenal [24, 45], and the three of Ovid [22, 44] may well be the volumes referenced in the later twelfth-century inventory of the cathedral library in the *Livre d'ivoire* [107–112].[187] After the death of Archbishop Rotrou in 1183 the largest collection of the library was deposited in the chapel in memory of Rotrou. The newer acquisitions in this collection included a volume of the grammarian Prisican, the *De institutione musica* of Boethius, and a volume of the logician Gerlandus. They also included works by Statius, Priscian, and Sedulius, as well as pastoral literature and one medicinal volume. A second collection acquired from *magister* Robert de Antan included works by Vitruvius, Pliny, and Isidore.

ITEM	DESCRIPTION
[53]	Medicinale....
[69]	Gerlandus....
[73]	Musica Boecii....
[89]	Pastorale cum Dialogo....
[103]	Sedulus.
[104]	Stacius.
[105]	Bucolica.
[106]	Priscianus de conjunctionibus.
[107]	Quedam pars secundi Donati.
[108]	Juvenalis.
[109]	Marcianus.
[110–112]	Tres Ovidii....
[123]	Plinius de naturali hystoria....
[126]	Ysidorus ethimologiarum.
[127]	Vitruvius.[188]

TABLE 2.5. WORKS OF THE *TRIVIUM* AND *QUADRIVIUM* IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, CA. 1183, FROM THE CHAPTER CARTULARY Y. 44.

The contents of the cathedral library and its continuity in the twelfth century give context to the literary environment of the archiepiscopal court, which sponsored Dudo of Saint-Quentin

[187] *Livre d'ivoire*, BmR Y. 27 (1405), f. 182r.

[188] Cartulary Y. 44 (1193), ff. 50r–54r.

and Warner of Rouen. The book or books of Donatus is noteworthy particular in the context of *Satire* 2 of Warner. Musset has shown that other classical authors cited directly or paraphrased also included Horace, Stacius, Virgil, Bede, St. Benedict, Homer, and Pythagoras, and Juvenalis, all represented by these inventories of the cathedral library.[189]

Books for Archbishops Guillaume VI de Vienne (1389–1407) and Georges I d'Amboise (1495–1510)

Payment records give evidence of two late liturgical manuscripts created for archbishops, a pontifical for Archbishop Guillaume VI de Vienne at the turn of the fifteenth century, and a breviary for Archbishop Georges I d'Amboise at the turn of the sixteenth. Unfortunately neither survives or has been identified. Details about the copyists, illuminators, materials, and stages of work can be uncovered from payment records of the archiepiscopal treasury, including personal names. For the pontifical of Guillaume de Vienne the treasury of paid 36 *livres* in 1396/7 to a certain Guillaume Delarue, copyist, who also supplied the parchment, and 69 livres to Jacquet du Passeur for illuminations and decorations.[190] In 1496, the first year of his archiepiscopate, Georges I d'Amboise commissioned the copying of a breviary.[191] The work was done in several

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[189] Musset, "Le Satiriste Garnier": 246.

[190] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 13. For the activities of illuminators in Rouen beginning in 1264, including Jacquet du Passeur, see Adolphe Tougard, "Enlumineurs rouennais," *Bulletin de la Commission des Antiquités de la Seine-Inférieure* 14 (1907): 48–55.

[191] In the CGM of Rouen I have found no breviary matching this description. Were such a book to contain the heraldry Georges I d'Amboise, it could be compared to the arms of and his motto, "non confundas me domine ab expectatione mea," displayed in a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of Gratian's *Decretum*, BmR E. 1a (708), reproduced in *Catalogue de l'exposition d'objets d'art* (Rouen, 1861), no. 912. Le Comte de Laborde knew these treasury accounts and lamented "la disparution complète des manuscrits dont ils détaillent si bien les écrivains," in "La Renaissance des arts en Normandie," *L'Art en province* 11 (1851): 5 of 2–11. John William

stages, judging by the distribution of payments, and the project seems to have been planned in sections, since payments were given for a certain number of book fascicles. The book was modeled on a breviary owned by Jehan Roussel; the amount which the treasury paid to Roussel for this loan, plus the cost of ink and quills, was 19 *solidos*.[192] The work continued into the following year, when the treasury paid 15 *livres* to Jehan Dossier for copying twenty gatherings.[193] In 1501/2 the treasury made a payment of 50 *solidos* to "Jehan Serpin, enlumineur, pour 5 vignetes et 1 cent de lettres fleuryes faictes en 3 cayés du bréviaire de Monseigneur."[194]

Archbishop as preacher

It was customary at certain points in the year for the archbishop to give sermons. On Sundays these were at the heart of the processions preceding Mass. The archbishop preached at the station of the procession before the canons entered the choir. On these Sundays no parish church in Rouen was permitted to hold Mass during the time of these sermons.[195] The *Registrum visitationum* of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud, a detailed journal of pastoral visits from 1248 to 1269

Bradley has suggested that this book was owned at the end of the nineteenth century by the Duke of Aumale: A *Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists*, v. 3 of 3 (London, 1889), pp. 224–5.

[192] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 82.

[193] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 83: "A Jehan Dossier, pour avoir escript vingt cayés du bréviaire de Monseigneur, 15 livres."

[194] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 614; corroborated by the accounts of the Château Gaillon, for the library of which this book was destined: *Comptes de dépenses de la construction du château de Gaillon, publ. d'après les registres manuscrits des trésoriers du Cardinal d'Amboise, mises pour livres*..., ed. Achille Deville, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1850), nos. 437, 442, 443.

[195] Jean Baptiste Le Brun des Marettes, (A Paris: chez F. Delaulne, 1718), p. 354.

(during his archiepiscopate of 1245–1275) vividly portrayed ecclesiastical and diplomatic affairs, monastic and clerical life, and a wide variety of social circumstances in northern France of the period.[196] Rigaud was an advisor to King Louis IX, who traveled frequently to Normandy, especially after achieving peace with England in 1259 under the Treaty of Paris. The Registrum gives another perspective than the ordinal Y. 110 and other liturgical sources to the presence and absence of the archbishop on various occasions. The archiepiscopal sermons were typically given on the first Sunday of Advent and the fourth Sunday of Advent; Rigaud recorded preaching the fourth Sunday of Advent in 1258. The archbishop also gave a sermon on Septuagesima Sunday.[197] The sermon given by the archbishop on Ash Wednesday was typically the exhortation to repentence to the faithful; Rigaud recorded this on March 5, 1264. The archbishop also preached on the first Sunday of Lent and the fourth Sunday of Lent (Laetare Sunday)[198] On Palm Sunday in 1261 Eudes Rigaud celebrated High Mass the cathedral, followed by a procession to the atrium of the parish church of St. Laurent, where he preached a sermon. On Maundy Thursday of the same year, Rigaud preached a sermon at the cathedral directly after Matins, then granted absolutions at the abbeys of St. Catherine, St. Ouen, St. Amand and the

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[196] Eudes Rigaud, *Visites pastorales d'Odon Rigault, archevêque de Rouen, dans les diocèses de la Basse-Normandie, en 1250, 1256, 1266*, ed. Arcisse de Caumont (Caen: A. Hardel, 1837); Eudes Rigaud, *Regestrum visitationum archiepiscopi rothomagensis: journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen, MCCXLVIII–MCCLXIX*, ed. Théodose Bonnin (Rouen: A. Le Brument, 1852); Oscar Gilpin Darlington, The Travels of Odo Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen (1248–1275), Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1938; Eudes Rigaud, *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*, trans. Sydney M. Brown, ed. Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 72 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Nadine-Josette Chaline, *Le Diocèse de Rouen–Le Havre*, Histoire des diocèses de France 5 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1976), pp. 36–48.

[197] Also *Rit. Roth*., p. 32, cited in Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 10.

[198] Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 18.

priory of St. Lô. Later, he preached another sermon at the cathedral after the penitents had been assembled, and he performed the ceremony of the chrism. On Good Friday he recorded performing the ceremony of the Adoration of the Holy Cross. On Holy Saturday he preached once more, this time in the cloister to the canons and clerics of the choir, before performing the ceremonies of the day.[199] Because the archbishop was not always present at Rouen for solemn feasts, the rubrics of liturgical sources might specify the *ordo* of a feast in the case of his presence or absence. When Eudes was present in Rouen for a solemn feast, he often spent one day at the cathedral, and the prior or following day in worship with his fellow Franciscans. In 1262 on the Sunday before Assumption, Eudes Rigaud celebrated Mass at the archiepiscopal manor in the western suburb of Déville-lès-Rouen, then traveled to the western foothills outside the city, to preach outside the square of Saint-Gervais, the destination of Rogation Tuesday processions, as I will discuss in chapter four. On Assumption Day the bishop of Auxerre, who was visiting as a guest of the archbishop, celebrated High Mass at the cathedral, while Eudes Rigaud celebrated the Mass in pontificals (*in pontificalibus*) with the Franciscans.[200]

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[199] BnF lat 1245, f. 241v. The transportation expenses over the course of Eudes Rigaud's prolific itineraries as archbishop must have been extraordinary. This sequence of events gives a glimpse of the transportation that must have been required even within the city of Rouen, not to mention nighly retirement from Rouen to Déville-lès-Rouen.

[200] BnF lat 1245, f. 261r. Eudes Rigaud was the first Franciscan to become Archbishop of Rouen. In addition to Assumption Sunday, he also celebrated Mass with the Franciscans of Rouen on the feast of St. Francis in 1265, which feast he had instituted throughout the diocese (BnF lat 1245, f. 306v).

Chapter Three. Cathedral and Its Choir

Array of the cathedral chapter

Canons, chaplains, clerics: this was the three-part formulation used by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud to refer the members of the clergy of Rouen cathedral. The hierarchy of dignity within the chapter was reflected in the space of the choir. The stalls occupied by canons were arranged in two rows, higher and lower, and the assignment to a row and the order within a row was an index of dignity.

Maiore et secunda sedibus

The liturgical sources refer to canons by their two ranks and distribute the dignity and responsibility of celebration accordingly: canons of the higher row (*de maiori sede* or *de prima sede*) and the lower row (*de secunda sede*). The spatial boundary of the choir was defined by the load-bearing structures of the eastern end of the church, the two eastern piers of the transept and the four pairs of massive columns to the east, heavy compared to the thinness of the colonettes and sprung vaults of the nave. An engraving by Eustache-Hyacinthe Langlois in 1838 shows that the higher row of the choir lay directly along the line described by the midpoints of the columns, a visual and symbolic connection interlaced among the foundational supports of the building (Figure 3.1).

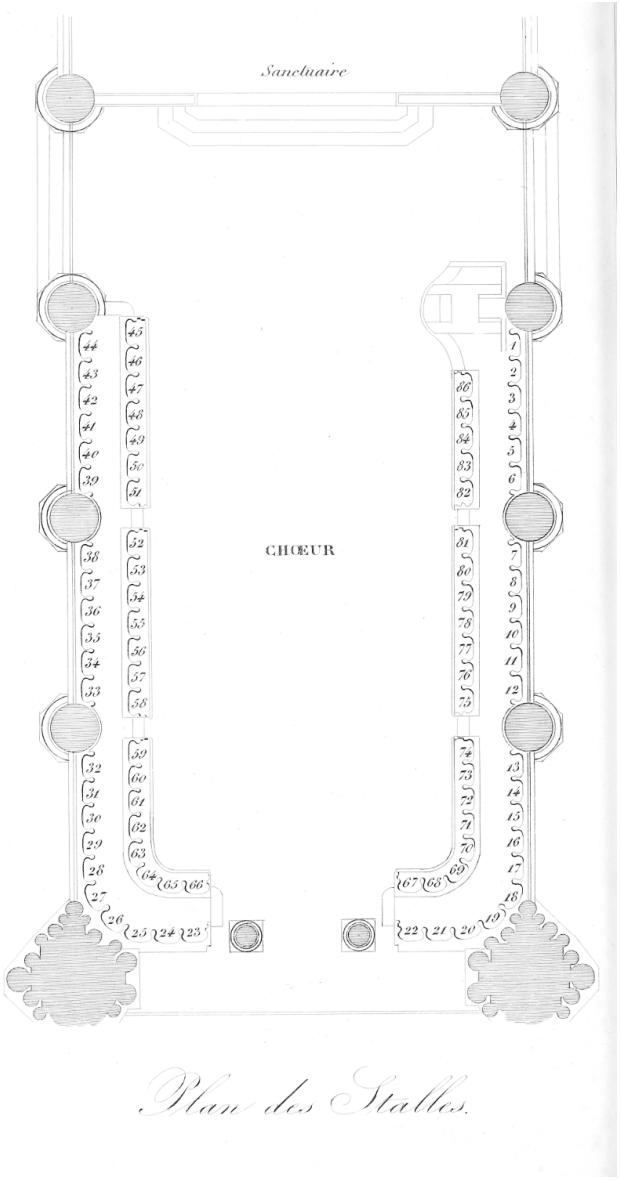


FIGURE 3.1. HIGHER AND LOWER ROWS OF STALLS OF THE CHOIR OF ROUEN CATHEDRAL, ENGRAVING BY E.-H. LANGLOIS (1838).

Langlois depicted 86 stalls in total: 44 for the higher row, and 42 for the lower row. When the chapter convened for official meetings, only a portion of this number were present; seventeen canons are recorded in chapter in 1365.[201] But the registry from 1420/1 shows the high number of appointments of canons and chaplains that could be made within one year: the

[201] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1186.

treasurer, cantor, succentor, three archdeacons of the Norman Vexin, the archdeacon of Rouen, and twelve canons; nineteen new appointments in total.[202]

The assignment of canticles, antiphons, and responsories of the Office reflected the relative degrees of dignity. In general, the psalm antiphons of Matins were intoned by canons of the higher row, and the last antiphon was finished *cum neupma*. On Saturdays throughout the year the canons of the higher row sang two canticles—*Benedictus* of Lauds and *Magnificat* of Vespers—while the altar was incensed; each canticle finished *cum neupmis*. The Invitatory antiphon of Matins was sung by two canons of the lower row, as were the antiphons of Lauds, the last of which was finished *cum neupma*; the antiphons of the Little Hours were sung in a similar way, except for the antiphon for *Deus in nomine tuo*.

Two canons of the lower row sang all the responsories of Matins on Sundays for the entire year as an act of reverence to the cantor.[203] At Saturday Vespers, the psalm antiphons were sung by canons of the lower row. These were finished *cum neupmis*, Two canons of the lower row also sang the responsories of Saturday Vespers during Advent.[204] The third canticle, *Nunc dimittis*, was sung at Compline by the canons of the second row, *sine neupma*, throughout the year.[205] Canons from the higher and the lower rows sang the antiphon of Compline: on ferial days it was sung by two canons of the higher row *cum neupma*, otherwise by two canons of the

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[202] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2132.

[203] Gradual Y. 110, f. 10r: "Duo canonici de ij sede debent facere reuerencia domino succentori et dicere responsoria et sic fiat per totum annum in festis dominicalibus et in dominicis diebus."

[204] Ibid., f. 8r

[205] Ibid., f. 8v

lower row.[206] Undoubtedly there was some sort of rotation involved, and likely variation between the right and left sides of the choir, a number of which details were recorded in the sacristan's tablets mentioned frequently in ordinal Y. 110; the ordinal tends not to go into this detail, but only the liturgical assignments according to row of the choir, or when special formations or movements were required.

Chapter dignitaries and appointments

The dean, *decanus*, was the highest ranking dignitary of the chapter. He was also the only official elected by the chapter, not appointed by the archbishop; however, the archbishop held the formal right of confirmation of the chapter's elected candidate.[207] Among the liturgical responsibilities of dean, when present, was to initiate the *Confiteor* at Mass.

A formal statement from the chapter in 1336 affirmed that the cantor or *precentor* was the next-highest ranking dignitary after the dean.[208] It was not unusual for the cantor to be a distinguished authority in academic, ecclesiastical, or legal realms. Cantors often had significant legal authority, to judge from twelfth- and thirteenth-century legal proceedings, especially land disputes. The name of the cantor Roger, under Archbishop Gautier of Coutances (1184–1207), is mentioned as a witness in the charter of Ermangart de Guerris, in favor of the priory of

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Charles de Robillard de Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieurs à 1790,* Seine-Inférieure, Archives ecclésiastiques, Série G, ed. Charles de Robillard de Beaurepaire, vol. 2, 3–42 (Paris: Imprimieri et librairie administratives de P. Dupont: 1868), p. 4.

[208] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2087.

Bondeville.[209] In the first half of the thirteenth century the cantor Jean d'Estampes, the dean Hugues Pisanus, and the archdeacon Regnaud de Bures officiated the transfer of ownership of an ancient manor from the Dominicans of Rouen to the archbishop.[210] The expertise of Robert de Yvemesnil, cantor of Rouen, is reflected in letters to him from King Philip III the Bold October 10 and 14, 1277, regarding Robert's involvement in the resolution of disputes between land-owning third parties.[211]

The death of an archbishop, in several instances, was the moment of change of *régime* in the chapter. New cantors were appointed, although some only for the interim of vacancy. Later-surviving chapter records, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, name several cantors in intervening capacities. The vicar general assumed high administrative authority during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal seat, most commonly after the death of an archbishop. Guillaume d'Aubussac, professor of law and archpriest of Bourges was appointed vicar general in 1330 of Archbishop Pierre Roger, who later became Pope Clement VI.[212] Later, Aubussac, as a vicar general following the death of Archbishop Aymery Guénaud in 1342, was involved with the granting of benefices to several curés of the diocese.[213] Guillaume de Siherville, cantor, was

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[209] Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. de Beaurepaire. vol. 2, p. 3.

[210] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1089.

[211] *Cartulaire normand de Philippe-Auguste, Louis VIII, saint Louis et Philippe le Hardi,* ed. Léopold Delisle, Mémoires de la Société des antiquitaires de Normandie (Caen: Société des antiquitaires de Normandie, 1882), nos. 907, 909.

[212] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1097; 1369; 1604; 2088. For music under the archiepiscopate of Clement VI see Andrew Tomasello, *Music and Ritual at Papal Avignon, 1309–1403*, Studies in Musicology 75 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

[213] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1097; 1604.

named vicar general after the death of Guillaume V de Lestranges in 1389.[214] Jean Brouillot, cantor, was received by the chapter in 1421 (V. S.) and named vicar general after the death of Louis de Harcourt in 1422;[215] after his death in 1437 (V. S.) Brouillot's books were acquired by the cathedral library.[216] Guillaume Érart, professor of theology, archdeacon of the Grand Caux in 1432, and vicar general of Archbishop Hughes d'Orges 1432–8, was received as cantor in 1435 and dean of the cathedral in 1439.[217] In 1432, one year after the trial and execution of Joan of Arc, he sailed from Rouen to Paris "pour la poursuite des libertés de l'église."[218] Jean Basset was received as cantor in 1439 under Louis II de Luxembourg and remained cantor under Archbishop Raoul Roussel in 1445.[219] Basset seems to have been involved as a witness in conflict between the monarchy and the bourgeoisie of Paris in 1440.[220] Robert Goupil was appointed cantor in 1483 after the death of Archbishop Guillaume VII d'Estouteville. Michel Petit, similarly, was named cantor in 1493 after the death of Robert IV de Croixmare. Petit was an early figure in the history of print in Rouen; on June 4, 1492 and February 24, 1493 (V. S.) the chapter recorded his having borrowed books from the chapter library, in the former case to propose having it

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[214] Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. de Beaurepaire. vol. 2, p. 39.

[215] Ibid.; Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2132.

[216] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2128.

[217] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 155; 283; 449; 2133.

[218] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 34.

[219] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1910; G. 2133.

[220] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1165.

printed.[221] Although the majority of records from the chapter, because of their nature as institutional records, tend to reference cantors in their capacities outside the Office, some cantors are recorded as donors of foundations. Guillaume d'Aubussac founded an Office of St. Anne at the cathedral in 1336, during the archiepiscopate of Pierre Roger.[222] Étienne du Marc, cantor, endowed a foundation at the cathedral in 1353.[223] And Robert Le Sueur was responsible in his capacity as cantor for teaching and feeding the children of the choir for the year 1463/4, presumably a regular duty of the cantor, but one less commonly described in such detail in chapter documents.[224] Interestingly, Le Sueur's name is inscribed in BmR A. 284 (256), f. 13v, the sixteenth-century choirbook and earliest attestation of the cathedral form of the *Christus vincit*, described in chapter one.[225] An early reference to the succentor, like cantor, was in the context of land ownership proceedings. Roscelin, the succentor under archbishop Rotrou, ca. 1182, was mentioned as a witness to the contract between Rotrou and his nephew Amicus, in which Amicus was to pay a certain rent for land and a manor by the eastern city gate near the Rodobec stream.[226]

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[221] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2144.

[222] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2093. The following year, 1337, Aubussac bought a house for 200 livres near the center of Rouen in the parish of Saint-Nicase (G. 2088).

[223] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2088.

[224] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2923.

[225] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, p. 74

[226] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1039: "ante portam Rodobecce fluvii."

The treasurer was named as the third-highest position of dignity in the 1336 statement by the chapter after dean and cantor. Eudes Rigaud seemed to have held the office of archdeacon and the position of treasurer in high esteem, with attendant expectations. The archdiocese was divided into six archdiaconates: Rouen, Eu, the Grand Caux, the Petit Caux, the Norman Vexin, and the French Vexin. Every archdeacon was appointed by the archbishop, and once appointed an archdeacon could never be removed from the office.[227] Their major official responsibility was pastoral visits to parish churches in their archdiaconate, although they were rarely permitted to visit any one parish more than once in a year in order to avoid potential conflicts of interest.[228] In the minutes of his pastoral visits to the chapter, Rigaud typically listed the archdeacon of Rouen first and the treasurer second; in the absence of dean and cantor, this may denote the order of dignity he perceived between the two. In 1248 Rigaud gave the treasurer and archdeacons the authority to issue ordinances to the chapter;[229] in particular, he assigned the archdeacons of the Grand Caux and the Petit Caux to supervise the penitence of individuals found guilty of crimes during his visit.[230] Later, in 1266, Rigaud recorded that there were things pertaining to the position of treasurer that needed improvement, but he did not specify the details.[231]

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[227] Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. de Beaurepaire. vol. 2, p. 5.

[228] Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. de Beaurepaire. vol. 2, p. 5.

[229] BnF MS lat 1245, f. 176v: "Item monuimus eos ut ipsi permitterent currere ordinacionem quam fecerant thesaurarius et archidiaconus Reginaldus."

[230] BnF lat 1245, f. 15v: "of our will, we convey these same persons to the archdeacons of Grand-Caux and Petit-Caux, and the chapter should correct them by its own archdeacons or by others" (*de voluntate personas ipsas expressimus: archidiaconis maioris caleti et minoris caleti, et capitulum debet ea corrigere per ipsos archidiaconos uel per alios*).

[231] BnF MS lat 1245, f. 321v: "aliqua inuenimus circa officium thesaurarij emendanda."

The feast of St. Stephen (December 26) honored deacons, after the appointment by the apostles of St. Stephen as a deacon. On the feast of St. Stephen the deacons of the cathedral, vested in copes, occupied the position of honor at the end of the procession between Terce and Mass. The Epistle on this feast day was sung by a subdeacon[232] or a deacon,[233] *alta uoce cum magna reuerencia*, followed by the prose *Stat ut agnus inter lupos*, by two deacons at the pulpit.[234] Loriquet drew attention to the prose *Stat ut agnus inter lupos* as unique to Rouen,[235] its text probably composed there prior to the thirteenth century, but of which gradual 904 was likely the only version, itself largely lost in the missing bifolium that originally would have been ff. 20–21.[236] In the liturgies of Lent, Palm Sunday, and Easter, deacons acted as mediators between the archbishop and the penitents. On Ash Wednesday after Nones, the deacon gave a sermon to the Lenten penitents after which the penitents prostrated themselves and were expelled from the cathedral by the archbishop.[237] In their reconciliation on Maundy Thursday the deacons performed a similar mediating function. After Nones the penitents gathered outside the cathedral, bid by the archbishop to come, and the deacon ordered them to kneel before entering the cathedral for the first time since their expulsion. On Palm Sunday, after the public procession to St. Godard, during the entrance to the choir of the chapter with the Host four deacons vested in

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[232] Gradual 904, f. 18r.

[233] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 26r.

[234] Gradual 904, ff. 18r–v.

[235] The prose *Stat ut agnus inter lupos* was known to Jean d'Avranches in the late eleventh century: Johannis Abrincensis, *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, ed. J. Prevotius (Rotomagi: Le Brun, 1679), p. 119.

[236] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, pp. 22–23.

[237] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 55v.

black copes faced each other at the pulpit and sang the responsory *Principes sacerdotum*.[238] During Triduum and at Easter Vigil the deacons performed the blessing of the fire, its conveyance to the paschal candle, and the blessing of the paschal candle. And in an extraordinary capacity, early on Easter Day three deacons played the roles of the three Marys of the *Officium sepulchri*, a liturgical drama which followed after the single nocturne of Easter Matins. The gradual 904 refers to these three figures simply as "tres mulieres," (f. 101v), and the ordinal Y. 110 specifies that they were three deacons—from the lower row, as a later marginal annotation adds—vested in dalmatics and amices "ad similitudinem mulieres," (f. 82v).

The position of subdeacon as a liturgical role performed by priests began to be distinguished at some point between the thirteenth century and the fifteenth in the liturgical sources. For several rites at which the ordinal Y. 110 specifies that subdeacons assisted in the liturgy, the liturgical actors were designated only as priests in gradual 904. Subdeacons accompanied and assisted the deacons and the archbishop on solemn occasions, from as few as one to as many as seven. On Maundy Thursday seven deacons and seven subdeacons accompanied the archbishop for the blessing of the chrism and oil and for the washing of the feet; and for the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday when archbishop, deacon, and subdeacon removed copes and shoes. At the Mass of Easter Day after the archiepiscopal blessing and before the Epistle, the *Christus vincit* was sung by the archbishop, assisted by the extraordinary forces of seven deacons and seven subdeacons, of which twelve were from the lower row of the choir.[239] The Gospel for Epiphany, the genealogy of Christ, was sung by priests

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[238] Gradual 904 f. 80v; ordinal Y. 110, f. 72v.

[239] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 84r.

and subdeacons.[240] On the feast of St. John the Evangelist (December 27), patron saint of priests, the Epistle was sung and troped, like that of St. Stephen. The trope *Ad laudem regis glorie* (gradual 904, ff. 19r–20r) is not mentioned in the gradual Y. 110, but only the Epistle incipit itself. According to Collette, the singing of the Epistle on this occasion was the duty of the subdeacon, while the boys of the choir sang the tropes;[241], the gradual 904 says only "epistola cantetur," and the ordinal Y. 110 gives priests (epistola quidam sacerdos in cantu, prosa duo presbiteri), but this is probably confirmation that the liturgical role of subdeacon was played by priests.[242]

The celebration of the Office was the primary authority of the *capellanus*, or chaplain, who may have been assisted by additional clerics. The frequent use of the honorific *dominus* for chaplain shows that it was a position of prestige.[243] Nevertheless, chaplains and other clerics occupied stations of a lower degree of dignity than the archdeacons, treasurer, precentor, and succentor; this is reflected in the separation from the latter from the former during the pastoral visits of Eudes Rigaud.[244] The dignitaries of the higher echelon sat *in camera* with the archbishop, and they had the authority to give disciplinary warnings to chaplains, which on occasion, they did.[245] The *hebdomadarius* coordinated the Office for the week, a position which

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[240] Ibid., f. 38r.

[241] Amand Collette, "*Breve Officiorum* ou Index des pièces liturgiques du Graduel 904," in *Le Graduel*, 219–315, p. 231.

[242] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 28r.

[243] BnF MS lat 1245, f. 321v: November 5, 1266, "dominos Gaufridum de sotteuilla, petrum pilatum, petrum de aulagia, Radulphum anglicum, capellanos."

[244] Ibid., f. 234v: January 20, 1260.

[245] Ibid., f. 249v: November 1, 1261.

likely rotated periodically. He also received written correspondence to the chapter; the *hebdomadarius* was, for instance, was the contact person in advance Rigaud's visit in 1266.[246]

O-antiphons of Advent

The Great Antiphons, or O-antiphons, were closely linked with the hierarchy of the chapter. They were also such a special marker of the season of Advent that Eudes Rigaud simply referred to his location on any given Advent by the place where he sang the eighth and last antiphon, *O virgo virginum*. He recorded Advent at Rouen, "Rothomagi et cantavimus O Virgo virginum," for the years 1248, 1250, 1253, 1256, 1259, 1260, and 1264.[247] Just as Rigaud used the O-antiphons as a shorthand for place, a chapter register from 1372 used them as a shorthand for time, that is, the last week of Advent, in the important question, *In absentia archiepiscopi, quis debet decantare O?* ('In the absence of the archbishop, who ought to sing the O?')[248]

DATE	ANTIPHON	Y. 110 (XV, FIRST HALF)[249]	POMMERAYE (1686)
Dec. 16	*O sapientia*	chancellor	"
Dec. 17	*O adonai*	dean	"
Dec. 18	*O radix iesse*	cantor	"
Dec. 19	*O clauis dauid*	sacristan	treasurer
Dec. 20	*O oriens*	archdeacon of the French Vexin	"
Dec. 21	*O rex gentium*	archdeacon of the *maiores*	"
Dec. 22	*O emmanuel*	choice of cantor, as *hebdomadarius*	eldest canon
Dec. 23	*O uirgo uirginum*	archbishop	"

TABLE 3.1. THE O-ANTIPHONS OF ADVENT AND THEIR SINGERS.

[246] Ibid., f. 321v.

[247] Ibid., f. 31r.

[248] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115: "anno CCC. LXXII."

[249] Ordinal Y. 110, ff. 17v–18r.

This was an intriguing matter for the agenda of the chapter, because the O-antiphons traditionally had been assigned in such a way as to present the array of cathedral dignitaries at the opening of every liturgical year. Only the chancellor, or *cancellarius*, was given a substitute in the fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110: one of the canons from the higher row of the *right-hand* side of the choir, and not the left (*ab uno de maioribus non tenens dignitatem de sinistra parte, et sic de dextra parte fiat*).[250] The chancellor sang the first antiphon, *O sapientia*. His assignment may have been more significant in its text than its order as the first: as the guardian of chapter records, the chancellor represented a consolidation of institutional knowledge, an embodied form of *sapientia*. Pommeraye observed that the chancellor may have directed the schools, and that for this reason it was fitting that he should sing the text, *ueni ad docendum nos* ('come teach us'). Pommeraye found several such neat points of correspondence between antiphon text and personnel. The dean, the position of highest dignity, sang the words, *dux domus israhel* ('leader of the house of Israel'); the cantor, with his attribute of a baton or rod, *O radix iesse* ('O root of Jesse'). This antiphon had particular meaning by virtue of the iconography of the central tympanum of the cathedral façade, depicting Virgin and Child as the apex of a flowering Tree of Jesse.[251] Not only institutional position, but also geographical location, explained the reasoning of the assignment: the archdeacon of the French Vexin, the easternmost reaches of the ecclesiastical province, sang *O oriens.*[252] Some details of assignment differed between the ordinal Y. 110 and Pommeraye's account: Pommeraye gave the treasurer as the singer of *O*

[250] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 17v.

[251] Although the central tympanum sculpture was modernized in the early sixteenth century during the archiepiscopate of Georges I d'Amboise, it is thought to have preserved a similar iconographic program.

[252] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 619–20.

clauis dauid, not the sacristan, but perhaps this is because these roles were filled by the same official; and the oldest canon of the chapter *O emmanuel*, not whichever cleric selected by the cantor. Pommeraye thus posed an answer to the question from 1372: in the absence of the archbishop, *O uirgo uirginum* should be sung by the canon closest to his right side present in the choir.[253]

Perfection of the Divine Office

Canons and clerics as donors

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the chapel of the BMV was rebuilt in the new French style, and the Office of the BMV was augmented, by increased frequency, increased liturgical personnel, and the singing of chants. Three archbishops were responsible for these augmentations: Eudes Rigaud ordered in 1248 that the Hours of the BMV should be sung daily in the cathedral;[254] the reconstruction of the chapel of the BMV was begun in 1302 under Rigaud's successor, Gillaume de Flavacourt;[255] and Pierre Roger instituted two chaplains for the new chapel, confirmed in his Bull of 1342 as Pope Clement VI.[256] Canons and clerics of the

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[253] Ibid.

[254] *Chronicon triplex*, CH. E. R., Labbael, Chronic. Rotomag. p. 377, ed. Chéruel, p. 23, col. 1: 1248, "Eodem anno consecratus est Odo Rigault de ordine Minorum archiepiscopus Rotomagensis qui constituit ut horae de Beata Maria in ecclesia Rotomagensi quotidie decantarentur."

[255] Maylis Baylé, "Rouen: cathédrale Notre-Dame," in *L'architecture normande au Moyen Âge: les étapes de la création*, vol. 2, 185–191 (Luneray, Éditions Charles Corlet/Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2001), p. 188.

[256] *Douze siècles d'histoire aux Archives de Seine-Maritime: [exposition] du 3 octobre au 19 décembre 2008*, ed. Vincent Maroteaux (Bonsecours: Point de vues; Rouen: Les Archives, 2008), color photograph of papal bull of Clement VI in 1342.

cathedral also contributed to the effort.[257] In 1289 the succentor Gilles d'Eu established a foundation at the cathedral as part of his last will and testament.[258] Jean du Buisson, professor of law and canon, endowed antiphons of BMV in 1322 for the four Saturdays of Advent.[259] In 1343 Thomas le Tourneur, archdeacon of Tournai and canon of Rouen, established a foundation for singing the Marian prose, *Inviolata*.[260]

Tourneur augmented this foundation in 1363 for the antiphon *Sancta immaculata* and the *Inviolata* on Saturdays of the year, the vigil of any feast of the BMV, and Sundays when any feast of the BMV fell on a Sunday.[261] He was also identified as the donor of the alabaster image of the BMV at which these Offices were sung.[262] In 1392 the priest Jean Havart established a foundation for singing the antiphon *Salve regina* after Compline each Saturday, and the *Inviolata* after Vespers at feasts and vigils of BMV.[263] In addition to the Hours of BMV, Pommeraye said that the Mass of BMV, not a votive Mass, but following the rite of the Mass of the day, was said

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[257] The nearly one hundred letters comprising Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2084, are a rich source for foundations by various donors from the thirteenth to fifteenth century—Eudes Rigaud, Guy de Langle, Michel Durant—and for the institution and elevation of feasts, including those of St. Anne and St. Guillaume.

[258] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2093.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2088.

[261] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2089: "...devant l'image d'albâtre de N. D., laquelle le dit maître a donné, fussent dictes, chasque samedi de l'an et chascune veille des festes de Notre-Dame et èsjours de dimences, ès quieux l'une des festes de Notre-Dame escherroit, l'antienne de Sancta et Immaculata et la prose Inviolata."

[262] Ibid. Pommeraye referred to François Tourneur as the donor and dated the alabaster image to about 1357: *Histoire de l'église*, p. 25.

[263] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1674. Jean Havart was granted thirty days indulgence.

every day immediately after Prime by eight canons, except triple feasts and Saturdays and a few other occasions.[264]

Psalmody of the chapter Office had been a perennial concern of Eudes Rigaud, and in 1368 Vincent Buffet, succentor, provided a foundation so that the psalmody of the cathedral might be sung in a drawn-out and graceful manner.[265] (Figure 3.1.) The cantor Guillaume d'Albussac founded an Office of St. Anne, mother of BMV, in 1336, of which saint the cathedral possessed relics.[266] The canon Guy Rabaschier, who had been cathedral treasurer under Archbishops Guillaume de Lestranges and Guillaume de Vienne, and the executor of the estate of Guillaume de Lestranges,[267] and who himself died shortly after 1425,[268] composed a versified Office of St. Mellon, which he donated with an endowment of 200 *livres tournois* in order that it be sung annually at the cathedral, with organ, lights, opening of the silver panels of the main altarpiece, and sounding of the carillon, as well as elevation of the feast to triple rank.[269]

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[264] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 599.

[265] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115.

[266] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2093: Guillaume d'Albussac, Jean du Buisson, and Gilles d'Eu are named, as well as the executors of the latter.

[267] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 9, edited as *Inventaire et vente des biens meubles de Guillaume de Lestrange, archevêque de Rouen, nonce du pape Grégoire XI et ambassadeur du Roi Charles V, mort en 1389*, Libraire des Archives Nationales et de la Société de l'École des Chartes (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1888), pp. i–viii, 1.

[268] Hesbert, "Les manuscrits liturgiques," p. 451.

[269] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2096; Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, pp. 187–8. The Office of St. Mellon by Guy Rabaschier has not been identified. *Vitae* for St. Mellon are included in two eleventh-century *vitae sanctorum* of monastic origins: BmR U. 3 (CGM 1400), ff. 27r–28v; from Fécamp, BmR U. 67 (CGM 1381), ff. 45r–48r. The invitatory antiphon of Matins for the Office of St. Mellon (*Corde mundo letabundo / χpisto demus preconia / cuius dono sunt mellono / collata celi gaudia*) is found, inscribed with notation, on the verso of the title of a fieff dated to 1361, belonging to Jean de Cauville in the parish of Saint-Nicaise in

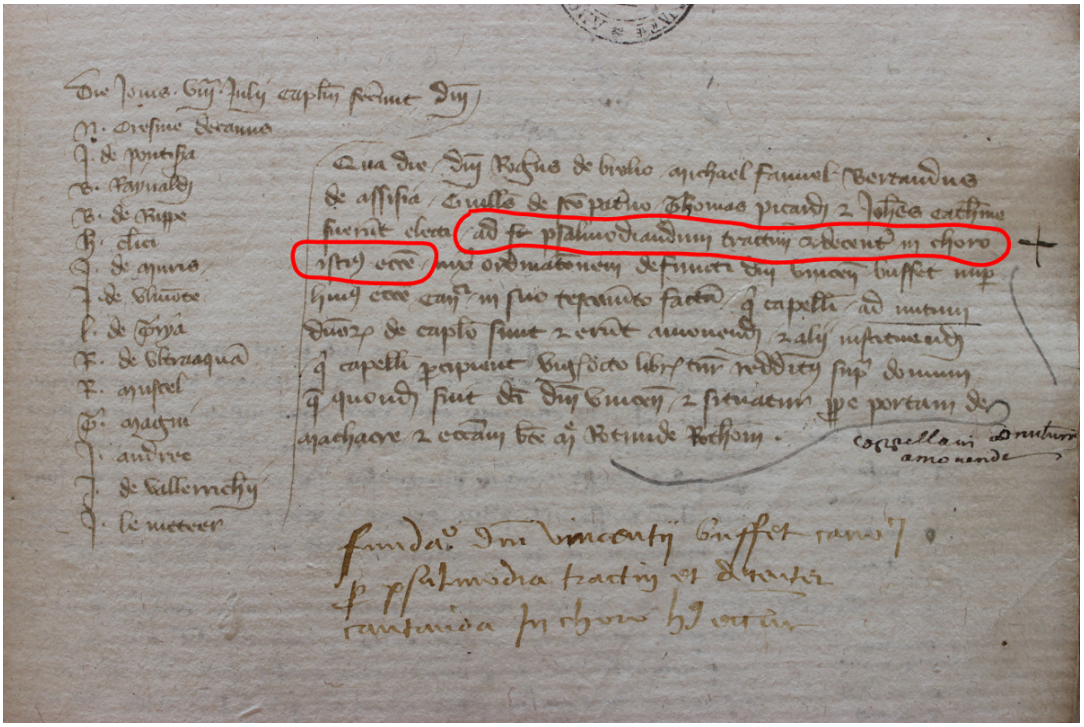


FIGURE 3.2. FOUNDATION IN 1368 BY VINCENT BUFFET, SUCCENTOR, "AD PSALMODIANDUM TRACTIM ET DECENTER IN CHORO ISTIUS ECCLESIE" (ROUEN, ARCH. DÉPT. DE SEINE-MARITIME, G. 2115).

The names of canons and priests of Rouen are inscribed as owners in several Office books from the fourteenth to sixteenth century.[270] Because these are among the earliest and most important Office books to survive from the cathedral, the role of clerics as collectors and patrons

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the diocese of Rouen (Archives départementales, Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 4329). The Office of St. Mellon in the Morin 1491 print breviary of Rouen is reprinted in abbé Sauvage, *Actes de saint Mellon: premier évêque de Rouen*, vol. 1, pp. 113–26.

[270] Pommeraye observed that the cathedral library grew greatly after statutes of 1439 and 1440 (*Histoire de l'Eglise*, p. 165); Langlois (*Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 2–4, 17–23) identified several canons who were book patrons: Guillaume Jacob (1379), B. Renaud (1379), Jean de Pontoise (1381), Nicolas Oresme (1382), Jean Hauvet (1384), Hugues de Lenvoisie (1414), André de Marguerie (1432), Pierre Maurice (1436), Guillaume de Baudribosc (1442), Pierre Cauchon (1444), Laurent Surreau (1476).

of books is of importance. The winter part (CGM 195) of the early fourteenth-century breviary Y. 95, largely unnotated, is inscribed in a different hand from that of the manuscript body: "Du don de monseigneur maistre Roulant Boniface, chanoine de Rouen. Dieu à son âme pardon face" (f. 471r). Roulant Boniface had been a canon as early as 1365;[271] he was elected vicar-general by the chapter during the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne following the death of Guillaume de Lestrenges in 1389;[272] and he donated to the chapter the titles to houses in his possession in 1410.[273] If the donation of this breviary to the chapter had been a bequest at his death, it was an important one for the history of the Office at Rouen, of which this is an early source. The unnotated manuscript breviary A. 563 (198) from Rouen bears an inscription in the same hand as the body text: "Acompli la vigille de saint Baptiste par moi Sangloys MCCCCLXXIIII" (f. 82r), a scribe yet to be identified, who lived during the archiepiscopate of Guillaume VI d'Estouteville, based on the inscription date of 1474. The curé Adrian Dumont is named in the later inscription of the fifteenth-century winter part of breviary A. 574 (202): "Ce livre apartient à noble et discrette personne maistre Adrian Dumont, prestres, licencié en chacun droict, curé de Tonneville et de Gonnel" (f. 211r). One Adrien Dumont is named in a legal procedure from 1560 as curé of Manneville, one of a number of sites with the name in the Pays de Caux of Normandy.[274] If this were the same priest then it implies acquisition at a later date than the

[271] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1186.

[272] Beaurepaire, "Introduction," in *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales*, ed. de Beaurepaire. vol. 2, p. 39.

[273] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 4390.

[274] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 5248.

creation of the book, dated to the fourteenth century in Omont and after 1454 by Leroquais.[275] The book of hours and psalter, Verdun MS 148, unnotated, from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, contains indications of the Use of Rouen: Rouennais saints in the litany, the Rouennais responsory series for the Office of the Dead, and the Rouennais form of the Office of BMV. Salutations in verse to the BMV ascribed to Francisco Carazolo, a canon of Rouen from Naples, are found within: "Dictamina seu salutaciones ad beatam uirginem edita a francisco carazolo de napoli canonico Rothomagensi. Quod concepi seriose mox editam dulcis prose versu canens compare..." (f. CCXLVI). These salutations accompany Marian proses (AH 15, no. 119, pp. 142–3; and AH 6, no. 15, pp. 46–47), and match a Vatican manuscript with the same verses also attributed to Carazolo.[276]

Improvement of the Office under Eudes Rigaud

The chaplains of Rouen cathedral were admired for singing the Office from memory, according to Archbishop Georges II d'Amboise in 1522:

> Whereas our church of Rouen has flourished, in the times of our predecessors and among the other churches of this our kingdom, and should flourish and shine up to the present day, in chanting from memory the psalms of David, hymns, antiphons, responsories, and all other things pertaining to divine worship.
>
> Cum nostra ecclesia Rothomagensis predecessorum nostrorum temporibus et nostri inter alias hujus regni ecclesias in psalmos daviticos hymnos antiphonas responsoria et cetera alia divinum cultum concernentia memoriter decantando floruerit et usque in presentem diem floreat et luceat.[277]

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[275] Leroquais, *Les bréviaires*, IV, no 747, p. 89.

[276] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Reginensis latinus 121.

[277] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2092.

The statement was as much an affirmation of existing statutes as a gesture of praise, and its exceptionalism is obvious. But during the earlier eras, chaplains were not always the subject of such praise. Because of his extensive travels, Rigaud visited and formally examined the Rouen cathedral chapter only a small number of times. On these occasions his reports tended to focus on problems in the chapter's observance of the Office.[278] The most detailed entries were from his visits of 1248, 1257, 1260, 1266, and the strictest assessments were found in the first and last of those visits. (See Appendix for longer texts and translations.)

> March 19, 1248. We visit the chapter of Rouen. We find that they speak in the choir against the rules. Clerics wander about the church and gossip with women in the church while the Office is celebrated. The statute concerning the entrance of the choir is not observed. The psalm-singing is exceedingly rushed through; there are no pauses. The rule concerning the recessional at the Office of the Dead is not observed. They do not express a reason why they go out when they ask permission to leave. Likewise, clerics leave the choir without reason before the Hour in progress has finished. And briefly, several other statutes which are written in the tablet of the sacristy are not observed. Time is badly managed.[279]
>
> November 5, 1266. We found that the canons and clerics talk and gossip from stall to stall, even from three people away, while the Divine Office is being celebrated. The psalm-singing is exceedingly rushed. We discovered certain things concerning the office of the treasurer which need to be improved. The

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[278] Eude Rigaud's criticism of the Office of Rouen cathedral was hardly unique; it was a theme among his visits to parish churches as well as monasteries of Normandy. A wide range of vignettes from Eudes' *registrum* have been presented Pierre Aubry, *La musique et les musiciens d'église en Normandie au XIIIe siècle, d'après le Journal des visites pastorales d'Odon Rigaud* (Paris, H. Champion, 1906).

[279] Multiple foliations of BnF lat 1245 have been added at different points in time; I refer to the foliation at the middle of the left and right margins. BnF lat 1245, ff. 15v–16r: "xiiij. Kalende aprilis uisitamus capitulum Rothomagensem. Inuenimus quod loquuntur in choro contra constitutionem. Clerici uagantur per ecclesiam, et confabulantur in ecclesia cum mulieribus dum celebratur officium. statutum de introitu chori non seruatur. psalmodia nimis transcurritur. Non fiunt pausaciones. non seruatur statum de egressu ad officium defunctorum. Non exprimunt causam quare exeunt quando petunt licenciam eundi. Item clerici exeunt de choro sine causa antequam hora incepta finiatur. et ut breuius dicatur non obseruantur plura alia statuta que scripta sunt in tabula reuestiarij. temporalitas male tractatur."

> chaplains celebrate too insufficiently. Likewise, the chaplains and clerics of the choir often go out from the choir before the Hour in progress is finished.[280]

The format and complaints of the two entries, despite the distance of eighteen years, are similar; in fact they use identical turns of phrase: "inuenimus quod loquuntur;" "psalmodia nimis transcurritur;" "exeunt...antequam hora incepta finiatur." The scribal hands are visibly different, the 1248 hand exhibiting smaller, more uniform letter height, linear horizontality, and a lighter stroke than that of 1266, and differently-formed letters, such as capital *R* and lowercase *g* and *k*. That there be multiple hands in the *registrum* is understandable, since it was undoubtedly written by several secretaries over time, and this scribal activity must have involved a combination of dictation, transcription, and redaction. When Rigaud visited any one institution on multiple occasions and reported similar experiences, even after several years, the secretary may deliberately have modeled later entries upon earlier ones, by his own initiative or at Rigaud's direction. This is suggested by a brief entry from All Saints 1261, when Rigaud admonished the chaplains of Rouen cathedral to celebrate the Office more frequently, adding that he had warned them about this via the chapter *before*.[281] The word *alias* meaning before, previously, elsewhere, was a supralinear addition to the text, in the same hand as the rest. This afterthought is significant: it refers from the present entry to past entries, seems to reflect recognition of a pattern and to open the possibility that one entry refer to another.

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[280] Ibid., f. 321v: " Non. Nouembris...Inuenimus enim quod canonici et clerici chori colloquuntur et confabulantur de stallo in stallum et de tertio in tertium dum diuinum officium celebratur. psalmodia nimis transcurritur. aliqua inuenimus circa officium thesaurarij emendanda. capellani minus sufficienter celebrant. Item capellani et clerici chori sepius exeunt chorum antequam hora incepta finiatur."

[281] Ibid., f. 249v: "[ij.] kalende Nouembris celebrauimus per dei gratiam festum omnium sanctorum Rothomagi. Ipsa die uocatis coram nobis capellanis ecclesie Rothomagensis monuimus eos ut ipsi frequencius solito celebrarent. et eosdem super hoc feceramus alias moneri per capitulum Rothomagense."

Rigaud observed that the rules were recorded in tablets in the vestry (*statuta que scripta sunt in tabula reuestiarij*), and that speaking in choir during the Office was against the rules (*contra constitutionem*), but he characterized the offenses less as violations of the letter of rule, and more in terms of sound and space. He was disturbed that canons and clerics spoke in the choir, sometimes from stall to stall, other times at a distance of three people. This was a sonic offense, the dissonance of improper against proper sounds, of the distracting acoustic effects of simultaneity and differing points of origin, and of the volume needed for competing sounds to travel the intended distance. Rigaud's complaint of rushed psalmody was not unique to the cathedral chapter, but a criterion by which he judged many of the cathedrals, parishes, monasteries, and priories that he visited. At the monastery of St. Amand of Rouen in 1249, Rigaud recommended better pacing the Hours of BMV and the psalmody of the suffrages by focusing on the gap between verses: nuns beginning a new verse should listen and wait for the ending of the previous verse, and those ending a verse ought to be able to hear the start of the next verse.[282]

Once the cathedral Office was underway, the ritual boundary separating the choir from the nave seemed to become especially important for Rigaud. He was disturbed by chaplains and clerics leaving the precinct of the choir to wander other zones of the church and talking with women. That the offenders from the chapter were chaplains was a problem, since their primary duty, of course, was to lead the Office. Their departure altered the integrity of the choir as a unified body and detracted from the order of the service. Movement to and from the nave was apparently a point of frustration for the chapter at many points in time. Chapter deliberations from 1433/4 and 1441 described the presence of women, children, and beggars in or near the

[282] Ibid., ff. 9v–10r.

axial Lady Chapel of the apse as a problem because of the daily clamor they made, which interrupted the service (*propter clamores quos ipsi faciunt quotidie per quos servicium chori impeditur*).[283] These members of the public were therefore restricted to the nave and explicitly forbidden from passing its easternmost chapels, the chapel of St. Anne of the north aisle and St. Romain of the south aisle.[284] Thus a two-headed directive emerged by the early fifteenth century, of which the chapter deliberations gave one side while the register of Eudes Rigaud had given another: while the Office was being sung, women, children, and the poor were not allowed to approach the choir, and chaplains and clerics were not allowed to leave it. The similarity of the offenses cited by Rigaud over the eighteen-year span of 1248 and 1266 may suggest that the cathedral chapter had not improved in the interim. But improvement was evident, and Eudes recorded as much. His visit subsequent to 1248 was in 1257, and at that time he recorded that there was nothing negative to report (*nichil inuenimus nisi bonum*).[285]

Chapels in spatial and textual itineraries

The newly endowed Marian Offices were sung in the chapel of the BMV begun in 1302 in the French style with spectacular walls of glass. In rebuilding this radiating chapel the architects had to contend with the transition from the semicircular apse to the walls of the chapel which were parallel with the axis of the church. The outward radiation of chapels on either side of the ambulatory were supported at the jucture of chapel and ambulatory walls by massive buttresses. The exterior view from the south (Fig. 3.2) shows how one such massive buttress of

[283] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2127: January 21, 1433 (V. S.)

[284] Ibid.; Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2129: April 28, 1441.

[285] BnF lat 1245, f. 176v: August 25, 1257.

the demolished radial lady chapel was integrated into the masonry of the long 1302 chapel. Because the existing buttress was perpendicular to the curvature of the ambulatory and not parallel with the longitudinal axis, the wall of the new chapel was built as though to pass right through this point. The rhythm of the more slender buttresses of the new chapel continued as applied masonry when it intersected the older wall, giving the illusion of interpenetration of old and new forms. The older, massive buttress seems to melt through the blind arch of the wall of the new axial chapel and spring up to the flying buttress of the gallery.



FIGURE 3.3. MASSIVE BUTTRESS AT THE TRANSITION OF EARLIER RADIATING CHAPEL OF AMBULATORY TO 1302 CHAPEL OF BMV (PHOTOGRAPH: AUTHOR).

Besides the chapel of the BMV, two other chapels radiated from the ambulatory. The northern radiating chapel of Saint-Pierre and Saint-Paul was the destination of processions after first Vespers and at second Vespers of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, instead of a procession of

the Cross, and also at Matins, with a recessional chant of BMV.[286] On the feast of the conversion of St. Paul it was the destination of procession at the end of Vespers, or a station on the return of the procession if the feast fell on Saturday.[287] The southern radiating chapel of the ambulatory was the chapel of Saint-Barthélemy. It lay at the heart of a complex including the sacristy to the east and the vestry to the west, both of which were accessed from within the chapel, not directly from the ambulatory. The irregular shape of these spaces conformed to the curvature of the apse and the diagonal rue des Bonnetiers, along which the southern exterior wall connected the cathedral apse to the archiepiscopal palace. Eudes Rigaud referred to the *tabula revestiarii* kept by the chapter with rules for the conduct of the Office.[288]

The apsidal chapels of the transept, the chapel of Saint-Jean-des-Fonts in the north and Saint-Étienne in the south, were the destinations of processions from the choir. After Vespers before the feast of St. Stephen the chapter processed to the chapel of Saint-Étienne in the south transept, and also after Nones on every Wednesday of Lent.[289] The chapel of Saint-Jean-des-Fonts was the destination of processions after Vespers on the Translation of St. Romain, with a responsory proper to St. John the Baptist, and after Nones on every Friday of Lent.[290] In addition to these apsidal chapels, the transept was the location of two chapels, the chapel of the Innocents in the south transept arm, and the chapel of Saint-Sever in the north transept arm, on the east side of the north portal, opposite the great stair of the chapter library to its south.

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[286] Gradual 904, ff. 208v–209r; processional A. 551, ff. 72v–73v; ordinal Y. 110 ff. 179v–180r.

[287] Gradual 904 f. 192r; processional A. 551, ff. 67v–68v; ordinal Y. 110 ff. 154r–v.

[288] BnF MS lat 1245, f. 234v: January 20, 1260.

[289] Processional A. 551, f. 10v.

[290] Processional A. 551, ff. 10v, 72r–v.

The fifteenth-century *Registrum capellaniarum*, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2101, 27 pages, gives the history of foundations of each chapel of the cathedral known to that point: donor names, chapel revenue, and frequency of the endowed Masses.[291] Its compilation, which Pommeraye dated to May 1429, was at the behest of the chapter by two canons, Louis de Pouing and Pierre de Clinchamp.[292] The format of the *registrum* is an ordered list of chapels, which, while not explicitly indicated, describes a counterclockwise circuit beginning in the apse. This direction of circulation was the paradigm exemplified by pilgrimage churches, where south and north corresponded to hell and heaven in the iconography of Christ in Judgment of tympanum sculpture on the west façade. The counterclockwise circuit along the interior thus mapped movement to eschatological time. At Rouen cathedral the central iconography of the façade was not the Judgment, but the Tree of Jesse, and the valences of *dextera* and *sinistra partes* of the Judgment did not obtain. The side portals depicted the beheading of John the Baptist at Herod's feast in north tympanum, and the stoning of St. Stephen in south tympanum. Following the counterclockwise tour of the 1429 *registrum* the chapels of the nave were listed first in the north aisle, moving westward: Sainte-Anne, Saint-Nicolas, Saint-Éloi, Saint-Julien, Saint-Sever-en-la-nef, Saint-Jean the Evangelist (or the chapel of the Belles-Verrières), Sainte-Agathe, and Saint-Mellon near the portal of Saint-Jean. The tour continued in the south aisle, by the portal of Saint-Étienne, eastward to toward the choir: Saint-Christophe, Saint-Eustache, Saint-Denis (later Saint-Étienne), Saint-Léonard, La chaire de Saint-Pierre, Sainte-Colombe, Sainte-Catherine, Sainte-Marguerite, and Saint-Romain. The two chapels of the

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[291] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 525–533.

[292] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2101.

nave closest to the choir, therefore were those of Saint-Anne and Saint-Romain, the matron and patron saints of which the cathedral possessed relics.

Processions as liturgical interstices

In this chapter and the next, I introduce the processional BmR MS A. 551 as corroborating and complementary witness to—and near contemporary of—the gradual 904, whose contents have been expertly surveyed, inventoried, summarized, and interpreted by Loriquet, Collette, and Pothier. I am not completely sure why these contributors to the edition of gradual 904, who demonstrated command over the secular and monastic liturgies in every era throughout Normandy, did not mention this small book, as they did several others: the ritual Y. 171, the gradual A. 233 from Jumièges, the missal Y. 50 (277) from Rouen, the Martin Morin's print breviary of 1491 and print missal of 1495, the Sarum missal, the Hereford breviary, and others. Omont cataloged A. 551 as a processional of the Use of Saint-Ouen, but it surely is not: there are ubiquitous references to the archbishop (Epiphany, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, the Triduum, Easter, Ascension) as well as a reference to the "cathedram episcopalem que est retro altare" (f. 26v). The book was known to Karl Young as a source for liturgical drama from Rouen,[293] and studies of liturgical drama since have followed,[294] but it has otherwise received little attention.

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[293] Young, "A Contribution"; Young, "A New Text"; Wright, *Dissemination*, pp. 176–7; Walther Lipphardt attributed A. 551 (222) to Rouen cathedral, rather than Saint-Ouen abbey, in *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele*, teil 6: *Nachträge, Handschriftenverzeichnis, Bibliographie*, ed. Lipphardt, Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, Reihe Drama (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), p. 410; Richard B. Donovan, *The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 4 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1958), Appendix; Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 2002), p. 216.

The inclusion of a large body of notated processional chants in a gradual represents a reversal of the process by which the book genre of the processional came into existence. Normally, by the thirteenth century, processional antiphons and responsories were indicated in Mass books by unnotated text incipits, or more commonly, they were omitted altogether, limiting the Mass books primarily to the introit, gradual, Alleluia or tract, offertory, and communion of the Mass. According to Huglo[295] the early processional book developed out of the gradual, as unnotated processional antiphons from the gradual to notated chants in the processional. The processional was thus a functional book, portable and succinct. This process of development of the processional, according to Huglo, began in the tenth century with the antiphons for the Major Litanies of April 25 (feast of St. Mark) and continued in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with antiphons and responsories for the Rogation Days. By the thirteenth century in northern France and other regions the number of processionals had exploded, and the inclusion of feasts with it: Purification of BMV, Ash Wednesday, Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, Ascension, and others.[296]

The gradual 904 is therefore both a rich and an atypical witness of processional chants within a gradual, and for these reasons it stands as a model for the principle articulated by

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[294] Mary C. Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 147–54.

[295] Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B XIV, vol. 1 (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1999), pp. 43–56 demonstrates this development in nine tables organized by chronology and religious order; my next three sentences also cite Huglo.

[296] Bruno Stäblein, "Processionnal," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegewart: allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, vol. 10, hrsg. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1962); Michel Huglo, "Processional," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 15 (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980), pp. 278–281; Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, RISM B XIV, pp. 21–70.

Matthew Cheung Salisbury that any liturgical Use is always comprised of instantiations which may overlap closely but always to some degree of blurriness.[297]

The spectrum of processional simplicity and complexity

The relative simplicity or complexity of a procession can be expressed in many terms: how many components it had; whether it repeated the prayers, chants, or movements from another procession; whether its route was intramural or extramural; whether it was part of a rite that required a bishop. In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the intramural processions within the choir and to chapels of the transept and nave. These processions encompass the relatively simple processions before Mass, typically on Sundays, and the relatively simple processions after Vespers and after Matins. They also include more complex rituals and ceremonies like the procession of Pentecost, of the feast of Purification and of Christmas Eve, including its liturgical drama, the *Officium pastorum*. In chapter four I discuss episcopal processions—Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday, and Dedication of a Church—and large public processions—feast of St. Mark (Greater Litany), Rogation Monday, Rogation Tuesday, Rogation Wednesday, and Ascension Thursday, as well as other special processions and ceremonies at which a bishop is not celebrant, such as Monday in the Octave of Easter (*Officium peregrinorum*) and First Vespers of St. Ouen.

Sunday processions between Terce and Mass had the simplest structure: three responsories, each with versicle and respond (R–V–R′), sung in order. The first responsory was sung *ad processionem*, on the way out; the second responsory *in statione*, with its verse typically

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[297] Matthew Cheung Salisbury, "Rethinking the Uses of Sarum and York: A Historiographical Essay," *Understanding Medieval Liturgy: Essays in Interpretation* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2016).

sung at the pulpit by a pair of clerics from the lower row of the choir; the third responsory *ad introitum chori*, the entrance to the choir. At this point the Mass (*officium*) was begun. Simple processions after Vespers or Matins had a shorter form: a responsory with versicle and respond (R–V–R′), by its verse typically at a station; versicle; collect; and antiphon *in reditu*, on the return, typically Marian. The format of responsory–versicle–collect is like a condensed Office, as John Harper observed: the antiphon corresponds to psalmody, the responsory to that following the Office readings or hymns, and the collect closing off the unit.[298] In both Sunday processions and those after Vespers and Matins the responsory might be replaced by an antiphon proper to the time or the saint, or depending on the occasion, multiple responsories or antiphons might be given for the procession, station, or return.

Processions before Mass

Sunday processions of the Proper of Time customarily traveled a circuit in the interior of the church. The procession left the choir while the responsory was sung, a station was made, typically with one or more canon singing its verse at the pulpit, and the procession returned to the choir. Jean d'Avranches specified that Sunday processions were permitted to station at the cross after Septuagesima, but not before.[299] When processions of the Proper of the Saints

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[298] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 127.

[299] *Joannis Abrincensis episcopi, deinde Rotomagensis archiepiscopi Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis ad Maurilium Rotomagensem archiepiscopum, Primum ex codice ms. coenobii Salicosani in lucem editus, nunc ex ms. codice bibliothecae Bigotianae auctus et emendatus; notis D. Joannis Prevotii, Rotomagensis ecclesiae cathedralis canonici, et recentioribus observationibus illustratus; In quo varia antiquitatis ecclesiasticae monimenta, hactenus inedita, ex mss. codicibus nunc primum in lucem prodeunt*, PL 147, col. 43C: "Transactis festis, in Dominicis usque ad Septuagesimam processio ita fiat ut ad crucifixum divertat. Antiphonae

followed part or all of this circuit, it was described like a Sunday process; for instance at the Mass of Purification: "processio eat per altare sancti iohannis. et eat in circuitu ecclesie sicut solet in dominicis diebus."[300] Besides Sundays, the procession between Terce and Mass was specified by Jean d'Avranches for Christmas[301] and Epiphany.[302] Guillaume Durand, bishop of Mende, referred to the Sunday processions as such, *processiones dominicales*, and specified their function: "it should not be overlooked that in Sunday processions we should only sing from the New Testament and hail the Virgin and sing anything related to their praise."[303] In the primitive church, Durand explained, Sunday processions were in memory of the Resurrection, whereas Friday processions were in memory of the Ascension.[304]

Processional antiphons and responsories are contained in the gradual lat 904 and processional A. 551 for the following Sundays (Table 3.1):

PROCESSIONAL CHANTS GIVEN BEFORE SUNDAY MASS	BNF LAT 904	BMR A. 551
Sundays in Advent	×	
Sunday in the Octave of Epiphany	×	×
First Sunday after Epiphany	×	×

processionales, vel responsoria ejus temporis cantentur, quae ante chorum finiantur. Introeuntibus chorum, cantor antiphonam aut responsorium incipiat de sancto, cujus est ecclesia."

[300] Gradual 904, f. 194r.

[301] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col. 41B: "Post tertiam vero semper in Natali Domini fiat processio, quae ut fuerit finita, major missa celebretur."

[302] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col. 43B: "Processio autem ut in die Nativitatis semper eadem die fiat."

[303] Guillelmus Durandus senior, dictus Speculator, *Rationale diuinorum officiorum, IV*, ed. A. Davril, O.S.B. and T. M. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), lib. 4, cap. 6, par. 22, linea 371–3: "Non est etiam pretermittendum quod in dominicalibus processionibus de nouo dumtaxat testamento cantare, et Virginem salutare et aliquid quod ad eius laudem proprie pertineat cantare debemus."

[304] Ibid., lib. 4, cap. 6, par. 21, linea 351–63.

Sundays from the Octave of Epiphany to Septuagesima	×	×
Septuagesima Sunday	×	×
Second Sunday of Septuagesima	×	×
Quinquagesima Sunday	×	×
First Sunday of Lent	×	×
Second Sunday of Lent	×	×
Third Sunday of Lent	×	×
Fourth Sunday of Lent	×	×
Passion Sunday	×	×
Sunday in the Octave of Ascension		×
Pentecost	×	×
Trinity	×	×
Sundays from Trinity to Advent	×	×

TABLE 3.2. PROCESSIONAL *ORDINES* BEFORE SUNDAY MASS FOR THE PROPER OF TIME.

The gradual 904 is, for a book of its type, particularly rich in processional material, not only for complex ceremonies, but also simple processions like those before Sunday Mass. The degree of attestation of Sunday Mass processions is even clearer in the processional A. 551. It must have been useful to compile the Sunday processions and have them immediately at hand for the performance of a rite, instead of referring to the Offices in an antiphoner from which they were derived. There is a degree of cross-referencing in the processional, which takes a few forms: a music or text incipit, referral "supra" to an adjacent feast, or the name of a farther-off feast. But these are the exception in A. 551 and tend to be found only for processions that occur many times over the course of a year; one major case are the Sundays from the Octave of Epiphany to Septuagesima. Here gradual 904 and processional A. 551 are alike; they only point to Trinity Sunday for an entrance antiphon and state that the cantor or archbishop should begin the last responsory, chosen from one of three named elsewhere.[305] This was probably no great inconvenient, however, since these processions would have been heard every Sunday between

[305] Gradual 904, f. 34r; processional A. 551, f. 7v.

Epiphany and Septuagesima (barring no precedence of another feast), and thus quite familiar. For some Matins processions, gradual A. 551 does a double hand-off: the procession for Sunday in the Octave of Nativity of BMV refers to that of the Invention of the Cross, which feast in turn refers to that of Trinity Sunday. Presumably, likewise, the frequency of these chants (Trinity Sunday and every Sunday thereafter until Purification) left users of the book rarely at any real loss.

Processions after Vespers

The processional A. 551 transmits the texts and chants for a unique ceremony of deacons after the Vespers of St. Stephen, not found in gradual 904, but corroborated by incipits in Y. 110.[306] After the *Benedicamus* of Vespers, all the deacons of the cathedral left the sacristy on the south side of the choir, wearing cilices and carrying lit candles, and moved two by two, passing through the choir, to the altar of St. Stephen.[307] The responsory, *Sancte dei preciose*

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[306] Processional A. 551, ff. 2r–v; ordinal Y. 110, f. 24r.

[307] The processional A. 551, f. 2r, states that all deacons "exeant a uestario et...transeant per chorum...quosque ad altare sancti stephani." This rubric, if it meant that the deacons passed *through* the choir from the vestry to the altar of St. Stephen is topographically puzzling, because both the vestry and sacristy were accessed through the chapel of St. Bartholemew on the south ambulatory, and the chapel of St. Stephen was the apsidal chapel of the south transept arm; both, therefore, on the south side of the choir. Viollet-le-Duc stated that "la cathédrale de Rouen possède encore sa sacristie de la fin du XIIe siècle, accolée au flanc sud du chœur" (*Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture*, s.v. 'sacristie'). Pommeraye referred to "la clôture de maçonnerie devant la Sacristie" built in 1479 (*Histoire de l'église*, pp. 23–4) and to the chapter having "faire murer les portes & fenetres de la Sacristie" (Ibid., p. 109) in 1562 against the advance of the Huguenots; the sacristy must therefore have been an outward facing structure of the cathedral with windows. The location of the chapel of St. Stephen in the south transept arm is consistent with the *Registrum capellaniarum* of 1429, whose itinerary through the apse and nave I traced above. And because references to the vestry predate A. 551, such as the inventories of books in the vestry from the *Livre d'ivoire*, it seems unlikely that the vestry had been in some other location than the south ambulatory. Therefore, if the procession at Vespers of St. Stephen, traveled "per chorum," it must have been along a semicircular route from the south ambulatory through the choir to the south transept arm.

prothomartir stephanie, was sung during the procession. At the altar of St. Stephen three deacons sang verse *Ut tuo propiciatus*, and after the responsory they immediately sang the antiphon *Beatus stephanus leuita* at the altar. The recessional antiphon was of BMV, chosen by the deacons.

During the Octave of Easter, the complex procession to the font of Easter Sunday was repeated each day after Vespers. This emphasized the baptismal sacrament of Easter, which during Holy Week at Rouen was alluded to in the hymn, *O redemptor sume carmen*,[308] at the procession of Maundy Thursday. For this hymn, which is absent from gradual 904, A. 551 is a vital witness, transmitting it in full notation (ff. 25r–26v);[309] its seventh strophe is on the theme of the font: *Vota mente sacro fonte / aufugantur crimina / tincta fonte sacro sancta / influunt carismata*. At Vespers during the Octave of Easter, the responsories and antiphons of the procession to the font were not repetition of those of Easter Sunday. The custom at Rouen provided for slight variation in the singing forces: Monday was sung just as Sunday, Tuesday by pairs of canons of the higher row of the choir (*bini et bini tantum de maiori sede*),[310] Wednesday through Saturday by pairs of canons from the lower row. The quotation thus provided some variety within unity, descending through the ranks of the choir as the moment in time moved farther away from Easter Sunday.

Vespers and Matins processions differed from Sunday processions in their stations. While Sunday Mass procession typically sang a responsory *in statione* with its verse by one or more

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[308] Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum: catalogue de chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 2 of 6, Subsidia hagiographica 4 (Louvain, 1897), no. 13616, p. 233.

[309] See also ordinal Y. 110, f. 76v.

[310] Processional A. 551, f. 45r.

singers *in pulpito*, the processions after Vespers and Matins moved to stations in other regions within the church topography. On the feasts days of saints to whom chapels in the cathedral were dedicated, processions moved to their chapels after Vespers and Matins. At the station of the altar a verse and collect proper to the saint were said, and the recessional antiphon was typically of BMV. As A. 551 shows concisely, these special stations at altars included St. Andrew (November 30), Conversion of St. Paul (January 25), St. Sever, bishop of Avranches (February 1), Translation of St. Romain (June 17), SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), Invention of St. Stephen (August 3), and St. Ouen (August 24). Because the cathedral had chapels dedicated each to St. Peter and St. Paul, First Vespers and Matins afterward processed to the chapel of St. Peter, and Second Vespers and Matins afterward to St. Paul. Because the Translation of St. Romain (June 17) fell exactly one week before the feast of St. John the Baptist, the processional responsory and stationary verse were proper to St. John.

The absence of Office processions marked certain seasons and feasts. No processions were made after Vespers or Matins during Advent, unless proper to a feast.[311] After Advent, no Vespers procession was to be made to the Cross, according to Jean d'Avranches, until the Octave of Easter.[312] No Vespers or Matins processions were to be made on Sunday in the Octave of Ascension.[313] And the Saturday before Pentecost, as at almost all churches, was similar to that of

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[311] Ibid., f. 60v: "aduentus nisi fuerit tale festum propter quos debeat dimitti processio."

[312] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col 40B: "Ab hac hora usque ad octavam Paschae processio ad crucifixum nulla fiat."

[313] Processional A. 551, f. 56v.

the Vigil on Holy Saturday, including its three litanies and the procession to the font, but without the New Fire, Exsultet, or baptism.[314]

Processions after Matins

The thirteenth-century processional A. 551 (222) is a special witness to processions after Matins on certain feasts, processions not found in either gradual 904 or in ordinal Y. 110 (Table 3.2).

PROCESSION AFTER MATINS	INCIPIT
Monday to Saturday in Octave of Easter[315]	(*ut in die pasche*) (singing forces vary by day)
Sundays from Trinity to Purification[316]	R. O crux benedicta V. Adoramus te χpiste A. Beata dei genitrix (*uel alia*)
St. Andrew[317]	R. Cum peruenisset beatus andreas V. (*de sancto andree*) Or. (*de sancto andree*) A. (*de sancta maria*)
Conversion of St. Paul[318]	R. Tu es uas electionis sancte paule V. Intercede pro nobis
St. Sever[319]	A. Confessor A. (*de sancta maria*)
Invention of the Cross[320]	(like Trinity Sunday)
Translation of St. Romain[321] (*de sancto iohanne*)	R. Iohannes uocabitur nomen V. Ipse preibit ante dominum

[314] Ibid., f. 57r: "cantetur tres letanie et fiat processio ad fontes ut prenotatum est in sabbato pasche. In vesperis uel matutinis nulla processio."

[315] Ibid., ff. 43r–45v.

[316] Ibid., ff. 59v–60v. "*Ordo* iste processionis prenotatus seruetur tam in omnibus vesperis sabbatorum quam in matutinis dominice usque ad purificationem."

[317] Ibid., ff. 67r–v.

[318] Ibid., f. 68r.

[319] Ibid., f. 68v.

[320] Ibid., f. 72r–v.

[321] Ibid.

	A. (*de sancta maria*)
SS. Peter and Paul (Matins after First Vespers: St. Peter)[322]	R. O princeps apostolorum V. Qui ligandi et soluendi V. Tu es petrus Or. Deus qui beato petrus R. (*de sancta maria*)
SS. Peter and Paul (Matins after Second Vespers: St. Paul)[323]	(like Conversion of St. Paul)
Invention of St. Stephen[324]	R. O martyrum gemma V. Qui pro tuis V. Posuisti deus Or. Omnipotens sempiterne deus (*uel alia*)
Saturday in Octave of Assumption[325]	(like Trinity Sunday)
St. Ouen[326]	A. Suscipe nostra pater audoene V. Amauit Or. Da quesumus omnipotens A. (*de assumptionis*)
Sunday in Octave of Nativity of BMV[327]	(like Invention of the Cross)
Exaltation of the Cross[328]	R. O crux benedicta V. (*ad placitum sacerdotis*) A. (*de beata maria*)
Dedication of a Church[329]	R. Domus mea domus orationis V. Domum tuam domine decet V. Hec est domus dei Or. Annue quesumus domine

TABLE 3.3. PROCESSIONAL *ORDINES* AFTER MATINS FOR THE PROPER OF SAINTS.

Relative to other Sunday processions, Trinity Sunday occupies a proportionately large section of A. 551, because it lays out a series of fully-notated chants for Sundays for the rest of the year until Advent. The manuscript also states explicitly that, starting on Trinity Sunday, the

[322] Ibid., f. 73r–v.

[323] Ibid.

[324] Ibid.

[325] Ibid., ff. 75v–76v.

[326] Ibid., ff. 76bis-r–v.

[327] Ibid., f. 77v.

[328] Ibid..

[329] Ibid., ff. 78v–79r.

three parts of the Sunday procession—procession, station, recession—express three required themes: Trinity, Apostles, and BMV, respectively. The very last Sunday before Advent was to have the processional responsory *Honor uirtus* and stational responsory *Ecce dies ueniunt*; this ending point for the year is in concordance between gradual 904 and A. 551.[330] But the Sundays until Advent, whose number varied according to the date of Easter, were assigned a series of processional responsories (*ad processionem*, i.e. procession before the station, quoted from Trinity Sunday), which had to be followed one by one (*per ordinem unum post aliud*) until the *historia* had finished (*donec finiatur hystoria*).[331] This ordering is confirmed by gradual 904: 'note that all responsories from Trinity should begin in order and you should say them in order at each Sunday, until the Sunday before Advent, when you should say the responsory *Ecce dies ueniunt*' (*Nota quod omnia responsoria de trinitate incipiant per ordinem et dices* [!] *per ordinem ad unamquamque dominicam, unum usque ad dominicam que est ante aduentum domini et tunc dices responsorium* Ecce dies ueniunt).[332] But only processional A. 551 mentions the *historia*, which refers to the reading from the Old Testament or apocrypha at Matins on each Sunday from Pentecost to Advent. At Rouen cathedral these were: Book of Wisdom (August), Job (first fifteen days of September), Tobias (third week of September), Judith and Esther (fourth week of September), Maccabees (October), Prophets (November).[333] This rubric in A. 551 is

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[330] Gradual 904 f. 165r; processional A. 551, f. 64r.

[331] Processional A. 551, ff. 63v–64r.

[332] Gradual 904, f. 165r. This passage is remarkable for moving from the passive to active voice, addressing the reader in the second person singular: *dices*, 'you should say.' The use of a processional manuscript by a single cantor is to be expected, but here in a gradual it suggests that the scribe intended to specifically address the individual responsible for leading the singing.

[333] Ordinal Y. 110, ff. 9v, 130r–133v.

clearly marked for Sundays, and not for Matins. Barbara Haggh-Huglo said that Michel Huglo told her in private correspondence that processional responsories preserved once-sung but discontinued Matins responsories.[334] I propose a connection between Matins and Mass responsories that is more modest but nevertheless significant: the reference to *historia* suggests that the processions before Mass on Sundays included responsories that had been heard at the procession after Matins.

Procession as site of quotation

One criterion for distinguishing between a simple and complex procession is the former's ability to be replicated or quoted. The Sunday processions before Mass or processions after Vespers, with their typical parts—chants, versicle, and collect—were the most portable in this way. The complex ceremonies of Palm Sunday, the Rogation Days, or the Dedication of a Church, by contrast, were unique in their parts and composition. The quotation of responsories or antiphons between processions set up points of correspondence or reference within larger liturgical contexts. The processional A. 551 shows in a concise way that such references occurred within the same feast, within the same Octave of a feast, or across feasts and potentially across liturgical seasons. They occurred across liturgies of both Mass and Office, on both Sundays and ferial days.

The season of Advent and the Annunciation of BMV were linked by liturgical allusions of several kinds, including processions before Sunday Mass. The antiphon *ad processionem* from

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[334] Barbara Haggh, "The Beguines of Bruges and the procession of the Holy Blood," in *Uno gentile et subtile ingenio: Studies in Renaissance Music in Honour of Bonnie J. Blackburn*, ed. M. Jennifer Bloxam, Gioia Filocamo, and Leofranc Holford-Stevens, Collection Epitome Musical, ed. Marie-Alexis Colin and Philippe Vendrix, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de l'université François-Rabelais de Tours (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), p. 78 n. 18.

Mass of Annunciation, *Missus est*, quoted the antiphon *in statione* from the First Sunday of Advent.[335] And the recessional responsory *ad introitum chori* of Annunciation, *Suscipe uerbum*, was the same of that of the Third Sunday of Advent.[336] For the procession of Mass at Annunciation, A. 551 is the sole thirteenth-century witness; gradual 904 begins directly with *Rorate celi* of the Mass.[337] A weekly cycle of quotation began on Septuagesima Sunday. Its procession was repeated on Sextagesima Sunday, and the stational antiphon sung at the pulpit on these two Sundays, *Ecce karissimi dies illa*, was repeated at the pulpit on Quinquagesima Sunday. Similarly, the stational antiphon of the Third Sunday in Lent, *In die quando venerit*, was repeated as the stational responsory of the Fourth Sunday in Lent. Similarly, the procession of Ascension Thursday was repeated on Sunday in the Octave of Ascension.

Within Lent and within Eastertide, processions from Sunday Mass were repeated in special processions of the Office on ferial days. During Lent, for the first time in the liturgical year, the processions before each Sunday Mass were heard three times every week. Sunday processions were repeated in their entirety, responsory–antiphon–responsory, after Nones on Wednesdays and Fridays.[338] These Lenten ferial processions differed by their destinations:

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[335] Processional A. 551, f. 71r for Annunciation; the half of this quotation from the First Sunday of Advent must be established by ordinal Y. 110, because it is missing at the opening of gradual 904 (which begins *in media res* with the sequence for this Sunday, *Salus eterna indeficiens*, f. 2r), and missing from processional A. 551 along with all of Advent and Christmas Eve, and because the processional chants prior to Sunday Mass are not fully recorded in other Mass books or other sources until the fifteenth-century ordinal.

[336] Processional A. 551, f. 71r; gradual 904, ff. 4r.

[337] Gradual 904, f. 199r.

[338] Processional A. 551, f. 10v: "Per totam quadragesimam post nonam fiat processio. feria iiij ad altare sancti stephani et feria vi ad altare sancti iohannis. in memorie cantore incipiente hanc antiphonam"; ff. 11v, 13r: "feria quarta et sexta processio ut supra."

Wednesdays the processions stationed at the altar of St. Stephen and on Fridays at the altar of St. John the Baptist.[339]

After Matins each day during Octave of Easter a procession to the altar of the Cross in the nave was made, at which the responsory *Xpistus resurgens* was sung with its verse, *Dicant nunc iudei*.[340] This quoted the festive procession, including the memoria *Paradisy porta* of the BMV and *Lux perpetua* of All Saints, which connected the *Officium sepulchri* at the end of Easter Vigil with the blessing of the water on Easter Day. In A. 551 the rubrics point from Matins in the Octave to Easter Day (*feria secunda in matutinis processio ut in die pasche*),[341] but the relevant passage of Easter falls into a *lacuna* between the *Exultet* of Easter Vigil (incomplete, f. 35v) and *Salve festa dies* of Easter Day (incomplete, f. 36r). Although the singing of *Xpistus resurgens* was repeated in procession over the course of Easter week, its positions within the church differed: on the Mass of Easter the verse was sung, like that of a typical Sunday procession, at the pulpit; whereas at Matins it was sung at the station before the Cross.

Following Easter in the liturgical year, processions moved to the altar of the Cross during three feasts: Trinity Sunday, Invention of the Cross, and feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. The Vespers processions of all three feasts were unified by their repetition of the processional antiphon, *O crux splendidior*. In a parallel fashion the Matins processions were unified by their repetition of the processional antiphon, *O crux benedicta*. The culmination of this quotation of

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[339] Ibid.

[340] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, cols. 55A–B: "Hic *ordo* per totam hebdomadam usque ad Sabbatum in albis servetur: et in matutinis cantetur *Te Deum laudamus*: et post Benedictus, ad crucifixum processio fiat, in qua *Christus resurgens* cantetur: versus ante crucifixum, *Dicant nunc Judaei*, et oratio de cruce dicatur. Inde, ut in vesperis, antiphonam *Lux perpetua* canentes, chorum ingrediantur, et cum oratione et *Benedicamus* officium compleatur."

[341] Processional A. 551, f. 43r.

antiphons of the Cross culminated in the feast of the Cross (*in exaltatione sancte crucis*). This procession was made on three occasions during the feast: after First Vespers, after Matins, and before Mass. In this respect the feast of the Cross is the most thoroughly documented feast of the processional A. 551. The form of each of the three processions was identical, except that the processional antiphon varied: *O crux splendidior* after First Vespers, *O crux benedicta* after Matins, and *O crux gloriosa* before Mass. Here the replication of processional form and ritual movement established a pattern of repetition, while the permutation of the *O-crux* processional antiphons provided variety of chant within unity of theme. The internal coherence of the feast of the Cross also referred to the two prior feasts of Trinity Sunday and Invention of the Cross in the correspondence of its antiphons.

Procession as site of ritual elaboration

Even minor indications in *ordines* of certain feasts reveal how the procession served as a site of ritual elaboration. Pentecost Sunday is a key example; although its macrostructure consisted of the expected three parts—*moueat processio, in statione, ad introitum*—it showed three points of ritual elaboration. First, between the end of Terce and the beginning of the movement of the procession, the altar was aspersed to the antiphon *Vidi aquam* and the verse *Hec dies* from Easter. Second, once underway, the procession to the station could be prolonged. It consisted of the responsory *Ite in orbem uniuersum* and the hymn *Salue festa dies* from Easter, with the possibility of inserting the responsory *Spiritus sanctus procedens* between them. Third, the stational antiphon, *Cum uenerit paraclitus*, is given in gradual 904 with the verse, *Veni sancte spiritus*, and the repetendum *Et repleti*.[342] But the integrity of the antiphon is split by a

[342] Gradual 904, ff. 150v–151r.

ritual instruction in A. 551, before the words *spiritum misit*, just before the repetendum *et repleti*: "here, the crown [of candles] wrapped in leather in front of the Crucifix should be illuminated" (hic accendantur corona ante crucifixum stupis circumdata).

This was only one of the moments of pyrotechnics executed during the Pentecost liturgy at the cathedral. The accounts of the cathedral from 1379 show an expenditure of six *solidos* for the feast of Pentecost for birds that were let to escape; and for petals, flowers, filaments of flax lit on fire, and even clouds [!] that were released from the gallery or triforium in representation of the descent of the Holy Spirit (*pro foliis, avibus et nebulis in festo penthecostes*) (Figure 3.2).[343] The spectacle of procession required maintenance, and this expense gives a sense of the cost of Pentecost in proportion to other expenses the same year: double the cost of the copes worn to and from Saint-Ouen in 1379, three *solidos*; and roughly half the cost of the banners flown from Easter to the Rogation days, eleven *solidos*.

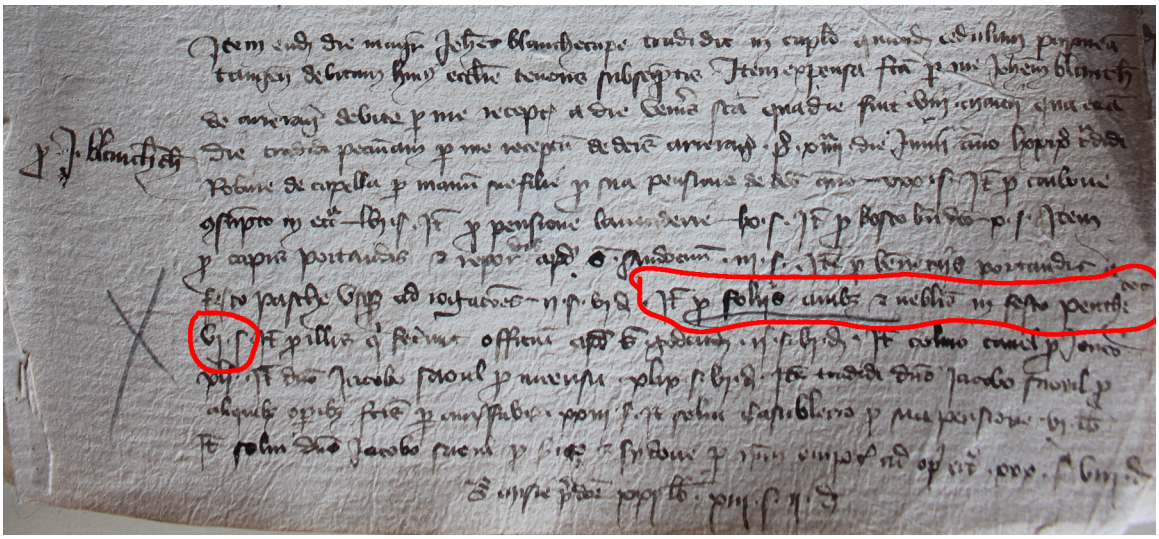


FIGURE 3.4. ACCOUNTS FROM PENTECOST 1379, SHOWING EXPENDITURES FOR PETALS, BIRDS, AND CLOUDS (ROUEN, ARCH. DÉPT. DE SEINE-MARITIME, G. 2118).

[343] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2118: August 6, 1379. Joh. Abrinc. p. 76 and 151, note 263; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, t. 2, p. 286; Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, 3rd part, p. 51, all cited in Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 33.

Out of the various ways to indicate that this ceremonial action was to occur during the singing of the stational antiphon, the approach used in A. 551 was to interrupt the text and notation of the antiphon with the rubric. Given this decision, the point of interruption of text was at the end of the first sentence, "sicut promisit flameum de celis," just as the crown was set on fire—a sensible juncture grammatically and thematically. But this introduced a juncture into the antiphon in A. 551, one not present in the continuous version in gradual 904. It articulated a unique moment of form in the unfolding ceremony, as though placing the rubric before or after the antiphon would not have been as effective at emphasizing, "right here." Depending how large the crown was and how quickly it was able to be illuminated, the process may have required the latter half of the antiphon as well as the entire antiphon verse, which was sung at the pulpit by three canons of the higher row of the choir. By the repetendum of the antiphon, in any case, the Pentecostal crown was surely lit, and the ritual effect was having produced something for the repetition of the antiphon that had not been present during its first singing.

Ceremony and processional confluence

Certain complex ceremonies of Rouen cathedral, including the *Officium pastorum* of Christmas Eve, the *Officium stellae* or *Officium trium regum* of Epiphany, and the procession of Purification or Candlemas, represented unique spectacles at Rouen.[344] I would like to bring them into comparison with relatively simpler processions discussed above, because in certain cases the

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[344] *Anthologie du drame liturgique en France au Moyen-Âge: textes originaux accompagnés de traductions*, ed. Gustave Cohen, Lex orandi 19 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1955); Armand Gasté, *Les drames liturgiques de la Cathédrale de Rouen (Contribution à l'histoire des origines du théâtre en France),* rev. articles in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Caen* 4, no. 1 (April 1888) and no. 2 (July 1889) (Évreux: Imprimerie de l'Eure, 1893), pp. 25–32.

more complex ceremony occupied the same position in the liturgical order and may have served a similar function; namely, as a connection among liturgies, even as such ceremonies stretched the boundaries, composition, and affordances of simpler processions to extremes.

Motivating the *dramatis persona* of the *Officium pastorum*

The *Officium pastorum* at Rouen occupied an important mediating position in the celebration of Christmas Day, occurring after the Matins, which was the first Office of Christmas Day, and before the first Mass (*prima missa natalis*). Because this office was not mentioned by Jean d'Avranches, it was assumed by Loriquet to have been adopted and developed shortly after him. The gradual 904 is an extraordinary source for presenting the liturgical dramas with nearly complete music notation. The *dramatis figurae*, shepherds, angels, and midwives, were all acted by male clerics and boys of the choir. As biblical *figurae* they appear from the dark suddenly after Matins of Christmas Day and retain their roles through the end of Lauds, but by the Mass at dawn (*missa in diluculo*,[345] or *missa de luce*),[346] they had reverted to clerics and boys of the choir.

Matins on Christmas Day at the cathedral was a special service in several respects: clerical and canonical participation, ordering of readings, ordering of responsories, and use of liturgical instruments and vestments. As a point of comparison, Christmas Matins differed from the basic *ordo* of Sunday Matins (and feasts of nine lessons) during Ordinary Time, the periods between Epiphany and Easter[347] and between Pentecost and Advent, in many respects.[348] In the

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[345] Gradual 904, f. 14r.

[346] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 23r.

[347] Ibid., ff. 50v–51r.

[348] Ibid., f. 127r.

basic *ordo*, the Invitatorium was sung by two clerics of the second row of the choir. The psalm antiphons were sung by canons of the higher row of the choir, and the last psalm antiphon of each nocturne was finished *cum pneuma*.[349] The first three lessons were read by canons of the higher row, the fourth and fifth by canons of the lower row, and the sixth to ninth by high-ranking canons (*de maiori sede*). The responsories were assigned just like the lessons.[350]

Christmas Matins was ornate in several respects, principally the ordering of readers and singers by degree of seniority or dignity across nocturnes; and the enhancements, in terms of number of singers, liturgical vestments, and elaboration of the responsory with doxology and tropes, which boldly defined the conclusion of each nocturne. The lessons were grouped by literary type: in the first nocturne Prophets were read, in the second Sermons, and in the third Gospels. The degree of seniority or dignity of the reader ascended through each of the nine lessons. Those of the first nocturne were read by clerics of the second row of the choir; and the lessons of the second and third nocturnes were the six canons of the higher row in ascending order, closest to and including the archbishop, who read the ninth lesson. The Gospels of the third nocturne were accompanied by candelabrum and thurible and their readers wore copes. The ordering of the readers mapped directly onto the ordered microtopogrophy of the choir, moving one by one in a short wave of three stalls in the lower row a longer wave of six stalls in the higher row. In each nocturne, the singers who initiated the responsories were matched to the row of the choir of the readers. That is, the responsories of the first nocturne were initiated by clerics of the lower row, and those of the second and third nocturnes by canons of the higher row. In

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[349] Ibid., f. 50v: "antiphona de nocturno de maiori sede et in singulis nocturnis vltima cuiuslibet nocturni cum pneuma finiatur."

[350] Ibid., f. 50v: "responsoria eodem ordine celebrentur"; f. 127r: "et responsoria simili ordine celebrentur."

each nocturne the last responsory (i.e. responsory three, six, or nine) was conferred a special degree of formality. Whereas the first two responsories of each nocturne were sung by pairs, the third responsories were sung by three canons vested in copes. From the first nocturne, these three clerics would later sing in Mass; those of the second nocturne were high dignitaries—deacon, cantor, and archbishop—also vested in copes, some or all of whom would read the lessons of the last nocturne; and those of the third nocturne were canons of the higher row, similarly vested in copes. Above all the formal definition of each nocturne was ornamented by the elaboration of the last responsory. Responsories three, six, and nine ended in the doxology. But responsories three and nine were especially ornate chants for Christmas Day: the third responsory *Descendit de celis*, with its three tropes, the neuma triplex; and the ninth responsory *Verbum caro factum est*; both of these in their entire length were sung in the Mass of Christmas Day.[351] The theme of these two most elaborate chants was Incarnational, metaphysical descent, and the heavenly to terrestrial itinerary of angels. The terrestrial grounding of this text was reflected by the responsories of the penultimate and final lessons: *Pastores loquebantur*, the last moment in which feet were on the ground in the narrative; and the metaphysical *In principio erat verbum*. The contrast between celestial and terrestrial realms was encapsulated in the opening words of the prosa, *Quem ethera et terra*, intoned by the cantor and sung by all the canons of the higher row of the choir, wearing surplices and standing in a circular formation. Having charted the

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[351] As a Matins responsory, the syntax of the *neuma triplex* is intact, that is the ordering of its sections, the correspondence of Fabrice mundi melismas to segments of the respond, and the ordering of the three melismas; but as a complex processional chant it is disordered. Had this "deformation" of the responsorial syntax been observed by Loriquet, it no doubt would have been added to his catalog of frustrations against the scribe(s) of gradual 904, and scribal error is a possibility; but another possibility is that as a lengthy processional chant prior to Mass, *Descendit de celis* had differing requirements and affordances than as a troped responsory at Matins.

distinction between the spheres, Matins ended by charting time, as a single priest sang the *Liber generacionis* from Abraham to Jesus.[352]

The extraordinary appearance of the shepherds in the crossing of the cathedral at night, after the archbishop had closed Matins with the *Te Deum*, was a spectacular interpolation to the Office and Mass liturgies of Christmas Day. This liturgical drama, its texts, and its melodies have been well documented.[353] But no interpretation has yet investigated the distinction between

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[352] Hesbert, "Les manuscrits liturgiques," p. 495 says that this particular form of the *Liber generactionis* was unique to Rouen. For comparison, see Richard Gyug, "Innovation, adaptation and preservation: The Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia," in *Zagreb, 1094-1994: Zagreb i hrvatske zemlje kao most između srednjoeuropksih i mediteranskih glazbenih kultura = Zagreb and Croatian lands as a bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean musical cultures*, 35–55, Serija Muzikološki zbornici 5 (Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzičko društvo, 1998).

[353] Félix Clément, "Liturgie, musique et drame du moyen-âge," *Annales archéologiques* 7 (1847): 303–320 at 315–9; Edélestand Du Méril, *Les origines latines du théâtre moderne* (Leipzig: H. Welter, 1897), pp. 147–150; de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen-âge* (1860), pp. 235–41; Gasté, *Les drames liturgiques* (1892), pp. 49–52, 349, 477, 573; Amédée Gastoué, *Noël: Origines et développements de la Fête* (Paris: Librairie Bloud et cie., 1908), pp. 46–48; Young, "A Contribution" (1908); Young, "*Officium pastorum*: A Study of the Dramatic Developments Within the Liturgy of Christmas," p. 325; Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, v. 2, p. 16; Clement A. Miles, *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition: Christian and Pagan* (London: T. Fisher Urwin, 1912), pp. 124–5, 138; Paul Edward Kretzmann, *The Liturgical Element in the Earliest Forms of the Medieval Drama, Studies in Language and Literature* 4 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1916), pp. 46–48; Wright, *The Dissemination* (1936), pp. 48–72; Lipphardt (1963), cited by Hiley, Norman Sicily, diss., p. 394; Maurus Pfaff, "Das geistliche Spiel des Mittelalters," in *Bayer: Musikgeschichte*, 79–96 (Tutzing, 1972); Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 12–24; William Lawrence Smoldon and Cynthia Bourgeault, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 342; Thomas P. Campbell, "Cathedral Chapter and Town Council: Cooperative Ceremony and Drama in Medieval Rouen," in *Medieval Drama on the Continent of Europe*, 103–13 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1993); Susan Rankin, The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and England, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1982; Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 263; Peter Dronke, trans. and ed., *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, Cambridge Medieval Classics 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); John E. Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance, and Drama, 1050–1350*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Stevens, *The Later*

pastores as *subjects* and as *speakers*, and how this distinction is clearly defined by the Matins and Mass liturgies that surround the *Officium pastorum*. Building off the observation by Hans-Jürgen Diller that the responsories of the liturgical dramas of Rouen both narrated and engaged in dialog,[354] I propose to do so. I want to show that the pastores occupied only one of these two ontological states at any given time: they were either the shepherds narrated in the text, or they were the shepherds as *dramatis personae*; but these did not change often. At the beginning and end of Christmas liturgies the *pastores* were textual figures whose words and deeds were narrated through quotation and paraphrase; but during the *Officium pastorum* they became interlocutors and movers. The shepherds as dramatic personages remained stable for the duration of the *Officium pastorum* and into Lauds afterward, but the boundaries before and afterward were detectable in the liturgy.

The *Officium pastorum* unfolded within a continuous liturgical stream—Matins, *Officium pastorum*, first Mass of Christmas, Lauds, and Mass at Dawn—and the *pastores* as *personas* persisted from just after Matins through the end of Lauds. This interval was framed neatly on either side by the Gospel of Luke 2.15b: *Pastores loquebantur ad inuicem transeamus usque betlehem et uideamus hoc verbum quod factum est quod dominus ostendit nobis* ('the shepherds said to one another: let us go now to Bethlehem and see this thing that has taken place, which the Lord has made known to us').[355] This Gospel text was the eighth reading of Matins, shortly

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Cambridge Songs: An English Song Collection of the Twelfth Century (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 114.

[354] Hans-Jürgen Diller, "'World-containing' Situations," in *The Middle English Mystery Play*, 33–53, European Studies in English Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Diller referred specifically to the *Officium stellae*, but the observation about narration versus dialog applies aptly to other liturgical dramas from Rouen.

[355] Luke 2.15b, Vulgate and New Revised Standard Version Bible.

before the *pastores* appeared, and it was the Gospel of the Mass at Dawn, by which moment they had disappeared. When spoken of at either of these points in the liturgy, the pastores were not visible or audible in the cathedral, but in the darkness between Matins and the Mass at Dawn, they did appear and interact. The incarnational themes of other Gospels read on Christmas Day bolsters this interpretation. The appearance of the shepherds was a spectacular demonstration of the metaphysical *verbum* of the Gospel of John made real. Comparison of divine Incarnation to the actors of a liturgical drama may seem to stretch the tensile limits of the theology of John the Evangelist, except that these dramas were performed less like entertainment and more like a Eucharistic liturgy, in the same ritual spaces, moments of liturgical and paraliturgical action, and by the same clerical agents. It was the archbishop, when present at the cathedral, who addressed the pastores at the end of Lauds, *quem vidisti pastores dicite?*

After the *Te Deum*, five canons of the lower row of the choir, wearing cassocks and amices, appeared as the figures of shepherds, to whom a boy standing before the choir, as the figure of an angel sang, *Nolite timere*, followed by an extraordinary choir of seven boys in the heights of the nave or lantern tower (*vii pueri stantes in alto loco*),[356] singing *Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis*. In reply the shepherds, who need to be expert singers, face a manger which has been placed in the choir and sing the hymn, *Pax in terris nunciatur*, announcing that they wish to cross over to Bethlehem (Figure 3.3). They are interrogated by midwives, who conduct them to the manger behind the altar where an image of the BMV is placed (*presepe sit paratum retro altare et ymago sancte marie sit in eo posita*).[357] The spectacular appearance of the shepherds, angels, obstetrices, and manger, are the *verba* of

[356] Gradual 904, f. 12r.

[357] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 22r.

the penultimate lesson of Matins made real for the transitional period they occupy between liturgies. In its continuity this liturgical drama is a bridge between Matins and Midnight Mass. It occupies the liturgical position normally expected for a procession after Matins or before Mass.
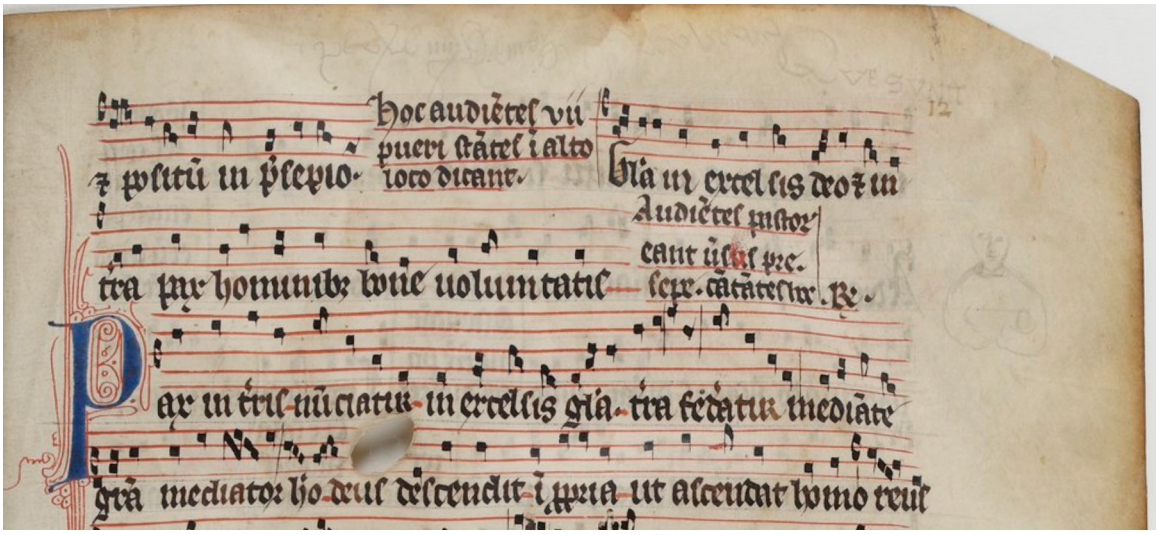


FIGURE 3.5. EXCERPT OF THE *OFFICIUM PASTORUM*, SHOWING RUBRIC FOR SEVEN BOYS IN HIGH PLACE, AND MARGINAL GRAFFITI OF WORD *QVESVNT* AND FRONTAL HUMAN FIGURE (BNF MS LAT 904, F. 12R).

The boys of the choir evidently performed with a high degree of competence.[358] A single boy of the choir was responsible for singing the versicles of Vespers, Matins, and the Little Hours.[359] The boys of the choir sang much of the liturgy of the feast of Holy Innocents; the *Gloria laus* on Palm Sunday; *Resurrexit dominus* on Easter Day, after the procession returned to the choir; and *Resurrexit deus* at Vespers on Wednesday of Easter. At the procession to the font on Vespers of Easter Day, the boys sang *Laudate pueri dominum laudate nomen domini*. Here the voices of boys performed exegetically what they narrated diagetically. Many Christmas

[358] Collette and Bourdon, *Histoire de la maîtrise* (1892); Armand Collette and Adolphe Bourdon, "Notice historique sur les orgues et les organistes de la cathédrale de Rouen," in *La vie musicale dans les provinces françaises*, vol. 3, 218–313, reprint of edition of Rouen, 1894 (Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1974).

[359] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 8v.

offerings were to benefit the children of the choir; the ordinal Y. 110 specifies that the boys of the altar collected the offerings of the Mass at Dawn.[360]

The school of La-Trinité-du-Mont, later Sainte-Catherine, had been well regarded for its musically-gifted pupils from as early as its founding in the eleventh century: the theologian Durand, latter abbot of Troarn, who argued against Berengar of Tours, was praised by Orderic Vitalis as "aecclesiastici cantus et diuini dogmatis doctor peritissimus,"[361] and Guitmond, monk of Saint-Évroult, skilled in grammar and music, according to Orderic Vitalis notated (*condiderat*) a number of antiphons and responsories and composed (*edidit*) melodies for them.[362] In the fourteenth century the commune of the city established its own educational institutions, a grammar school located behind the choir of the church of St. Laurent, and a *collège* founded in 1358 with chapel, classrooms, and professors who lived in common.[363] Pommeraye mentioned a *maître de musique* for the cathedral who selected and presented the boys of the choir to the cathedral chapter.[364]

The boys of the choir were called upon not only to take responsibility of parts of the chapter Office at the cathedral, but to do so in extreme locations. They were required to sing in the upper heights of architecture on Christmas and Palm Sunday. This must have been a matter

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[360] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 23r: "Offertorium. Deinde offerant omnes qui uoluerint et recipiatur a pueris altaris."

[361] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, book 3, trans. and ed. Marjorie Chibnall, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–1980), p. 162.

[362] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 3, ed. Chibnall, vol. 2, p. 108; Louis-François Du Bois, *Histoire de Lisieux: ville, diocèse et arrondissement*, vol. 2 of 2 (Lisieux: Durand, 1845), p. 222.

[363] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, v. 1, pp. 184–5.

[364] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 556

of both agility and of privilege for the young chaplains-in-training, indulging their curiosity and fostering familiarity with the built fabric of the institution. The Gothic nave and crossing must have been completed between the death of Archbishop Robert Poulain in 1220, who was buried at Montremer, instead of the cathedral, and 1237, when Archbishop Peter of Colmieu was consecrated in new choir.[365] The two building campaigns from the east and west of the cathedral, which met at the crossing, show two different elevations: a three-storey elevation in the choir, and a four-storey elevation in the nave. The triforium of the nave, or even the dizzying heights of the lantern tower may have been the *altus locus*[366] *in uoltis ecclesie*[367] from which the boys as the figures of angels sang the Gloria of the *Officium pastorum*.

The *Officium pastorum* expressed both representations and abstractions. No member of the Holy Family was portrayed by a cleric; instead the Virgin and Child were represented by an image of the BMV that was positioned in a manger behind the altar: "Presepe sit paratum retro altare et ymago sancte marie sit in eo posita."[368] A silver object called an *imago* is attested at the great altar of the cathedral from before 1367: "resolved, that the image from the Lord Count of Harcourt, in silver, that had until recently been in the choir of this church, against the pier near the great altar, should be weighed and sold, and that its weight be recorded in the register, lest a superior image by chance at some future time be claimed by supporters of the said count (August

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[365] Yves Bottineau-Fuchs, Lindy Grant, Maylis Baylé, Dorothy Gillerman, Michael W. Cothren, and L. E. Neagley, "Rouen," in *Grove Art Online* (2003), retrieved March 31, 2018 <https://doi-org.ezp-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T074162>.

[366] Gradual lat 904, f. 12r.

[367] Fifteenth-century ordinal, BnF MS lat 1213; ordinal BmR Y. 110, f. 22r: "sint plures pueri in uoltis ecclesie quasi angeli qui alta uoce incipiant...."

[368] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 22r.

25, 1367)."[369] This likely was one such object among many, although it had enjoyed a privileged position for display for some time.

The striking question posed by the *obstetrices* to the shepherds, *quem queritis in presepe, pastores, dicite?* ('whom do you seek in the manger, shepherds, tell?')[370] may have provided a theme of contemplation—the seeking or quest (*queso, quesere*) of the shepherds—for a certain reader or readers of the gradual who left graffiti in drypoint in the upper margin of the relevant folio, QVESVNT,[371] and below it, in the right margin, the face of a figure, shoulders and arms covered in a closed-sleeved garment, perhaps an *obstetrix* wearing the *dalmaticus* specified in the rubric, or perhaps one of the boys of the choir as an angel. It is charming to imagine the degree to which these graffiti reflect the exuberance of imagination in response to the spectacle. Perhaps instead they were meant to serve as a bookmark visible in the margin to complement to the large historiated initial P of the shepherds' song, *Pax in terris*. The graffiti are difficult to date; however, an additional drypoint inscription in the upper margin, illegible to me, resembles a fifteenth-century secretarial hand in its formation of repeated minims and flourished ascenders and descenders. The question *quem queritis in presepe* was exciting particularly in the setting of Rouen cathedral because it anticipated the question posed on Matins of Easter Day by a boy of the choir in the place of an angel: *Quem queritis in sepulchro o χpisticole?* ('whom do you seek

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[369] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115, f. 20r: "fuit deliberatum quod imago domini comitis de haricuria de argento que nuper erat in choro istius ecclesie iuxta pilam prope maius altare ponderetur et vendatur et quod pondus in registro ponatur ne forte ab amicis dicti comitis futuris temporibus imago melior repetatur."

[370] Gradual 904, f. 12r.

[371] Ibid.

in the sepulchre, o followers of Christ?')[372] The parallelism of seeking Christ after his birth and after his death is expressed not only in the wording of the questions, but in the melodies to which they were sung: the Easter *quem queritis* is the identical mode-7 melody, for its first seven syllables, of that of Christmas.

The archbishop, when present, officiated the first Mass of Christmas.[373] Gradual 904 shows an interesting reduplication for this service. The entire first Mass is given as a text block of rubrics and incipits, but this is followed by fully-notated version of the same contents.[374] This text block must have been copied closely from an exemplar. This is evident from the subpunctuated error at the end of line four into line five, <*cus le / gat epistolam*>, which was a tracking error of the eye that erroneously began copying a point *later* in the text, seen here at the end of line five into line six. For such an error to have been committed, it is hard to imagine any scenario except one with an exemplar text, possibly even a text with line breaks similar to those of this text block in gradual 904; or else the transposition of a later line break to an earlier one is merely coincidental.

The transition from the first Mass to Lauds was direct: the archbishop or celebrant priest who pronounced the *Ite missa est* at the altar gave the special acclamation, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini*, continued immediately to the opening of Lauds: *Deus in adiutorium*; *Gloria*; doxology. A striking moment of encounter followed, in which the archbishop or celebrant interrogated the pastores directly, singing, *Quem vidisti pastores dicite?*("what have you seen,

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[372] Ibid., f. 101v: "hoc finito quidam puer loco angeli alba indutus tenens palmam in manu ante sepulchrum dicat. *Quem queritis in sepulchro o χpisticole*."

[373] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 22v: "Dominus archiepiscopus si presens fuerit cantet missam."

[374] Gradual 904, ff. 12v–13v.

shepherds, do tell?") The rhetorical function, inviting summary and conclusion, was all the more strong in its parallelism to the question posed earlier by two canons after Matins: *Quem queritis in presepe pastores dicite?* ("whom do you seek in the manger, shepherds, do tell?") This, in turn, foreshadowed the text and melody of the question at the *Officium sepulchro* of Easter: *quem queritis in sepulchro o xpristicole?* ("whom do you seek in the sepulchre, O followers of Christ?")[375] Such typology of Old and New Testaments was reflected in the *Benedicamus* trope of Christmas Lauds, *Verbum patris hodie*, which the shepherds sang in reply to the question. Its text juxtaposed the shepherds of the Nativity with the figure of Christ as shepherd of the church: "Refulgens pastoribus nunciauit angelus pacem pacis nuncius / tu pastor ecclesie pacem tumet dirige filios et instrue / redemptori debitas iubilando gracias."[376] The conclusive effect would soon be confirmed, for after this moment the *pastores* lose their voices as the speakers of the sung texts and return to their status as subject of narrative. The last reference to pastores is in the rubric that identifies them as the speakers of the end of Lauds: *Ecce completa sunt omnia que dicta sunt per angelum de uirgine maria* ("Behold, all things foretold by the angel of the Virgin Mary have come to pass").[377] The transition out of Lauds to the Mass at Dawn was as immediate as the transition into it from the first Mass. The Archbishop or celebrant offered a versicle, collect, and the *Benedicamus*. The disappearance of the shepherds as *dramatis personae* and their return to narrative subject was confirmed by the Gospel, *Pastores loquebantur ad inuicem*, the eighth reading of Matins.

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[375] Ibid., f. 101v.

[376] Ibid., f. 14r: strophe 2 of 2.

[377] Ibid.; ordinal Y. 110, f. 23r.

Epiphany and expansive geographies

The Office of Epiphany, also called the *Officium stellae*[378] and the *Officium trium regum*,[379] was, unlike the *Officium pastorum*, mentioned briefly by Jean d'Avranches,.[380] Similar in its position to a Sunday procession, this ceremony occurred between Terce and the Mass of the Day. And like a stationary model of procession, the meaning of this ceremony was developed by spatial relationships, distances traveled, points of origin and of destination. The icons of Epiphany, three kings assembled from three directions, were represented by three canons assembled from the higher row of the choir. Their movement within cathedral topography—from the choir to the nave and back again—represented movement over vast terrestrial and celestial expanses:

> On the Day of Epiphany, three clerics of the higher row, adorned with copes and crowns, with their servants dressed in tunics and cloaks, should assemble from three directions before the altar. The first standing behind the altar, as if coming from the east, should point to the star with his scepter (*baculo*). He should say in a simple voice....[381]

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[378] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 38v: "Officium regum trium secundum usum rothomagenem"; Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, pp. 31–33.

[379] *In nativitate Domini: Gregoriaanse gezangen uit de middeleeuwse liturgie van Kerstmis en Driekoningen*, Schola Cantorum van het Ward-Instituut, dir. Louis Krekelberg, Stemra SCHOLA-36 (sound recording, 2000).

[380] Joh. Abrinc., p. 39; *Act. vet. post off. Joh. Abrinc.,* p. 206; Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, 3e partie, p. 51. Frère (*Manuel*, vol. 1, p. xi) compared the liturgical drama to the *coutumier* as a genre which emblematized increasing secularization and decreasing monastic influence in the thirteenth century, an effect in his account that was particularly strong in Normandy after it became properly French at the turn of the century. This point of view could inflect the meaning of the kings as figures at Epiphany, but it fails to account for other meanings in prior periods, since this was mentioned by Jean d'Avranches near the end of the eleventh century.

[381] Gradual 904, f. 28v: "In die epiphanie tercia cantata iii clerici de maiori sede cappis et coronis ornati ex tribus partibus cum suis famulis tunicis et amictis indutis ante altare conueniant primus stans retro altare quasi ab oriente ueniens stellam baculo ostendat dicat simplici uoce...."

All the figures are wearing vestments and carrying objects used in the liturgy, except for the crowns. And the similarity to the Sunday Mass was not meant to be veiled; the cantor's opening of the responsory *Magi ueniunt ab oriente* was marked in the rubrics of gradual 904, "eat processio ut in dominicis cantore incipiente" (the procession should move as on Sundays, with the cantor beginning).[382] The ordinal Y. 110 conveyed the light effects generated by the crown or chandelier suspended above the altar of the Cross, in the likeness of a star. Below, an image of the BMV placed upon the altar, signified, unlike the image of the Officium pastorum, absence rather than presence, a hoped-for future encounter rather than the possibility of immediate contact:

> While the procession entered the nave, the crown hanging in front of the altar of the Cross like a star was illuminated. And the kings pointing to the star proceeded to sing to the image of the BMV which had been placed beforehand upon the altar of the Cross: Behold, a star in the East![383]

The repetition "ab oriente" from the choir and "in oriente" at the altar of the Cross activated the imagination of those hearing and seeing, recalling the biblical narrative, drawing attention to and inflecting the meaning of the longitudinal axis of the cathedral along which the Officium moved.

Illumination was the key feature of a tradition on the feast of the Dedication of the Cathedral of Rouen (October 1), cited by Pommeraye. At the processions after First Vespers and after Lauds, two great Crosses of wood bearing illuminated candles were raised in eastern and western zones of the cathedral, in commemoration of a miracle experienced at the dedication by archbishop Maurilius in 1063: two crosses, brilliant as the sun, seen in the sky, one in the east

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[382] Ibid., f. 29r

[383] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 39r. A later hand has struck out the word *accendatur*, suggesting a change in procedure or object for this illuminated star.

and one in the west.[384] The obvious allusion here is to the miraculous vision of the *chi-rho* by Emperor Constantine at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312. According to Orderic Vitalis, after his vision, Constantine fashioned a brass cross in the likeness of the miraculous form in the sky. This sacred object lay in the inheritance of Byzantine emperors for over 750 years until the Battle of Dyrrachium in 1081, after which it was providentially delivered among other spolia to the Normans of southern Italy under Robert Guiscard. This cross of Constantine was a cause of victorious hope among the southern Normans.[385]

Overlapping itineraries at Purification

There is a high degree of concordance among the liturgical sources for Purification, or Candlemas, from the eleventh-century *Liber officiis ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches[386] to the twelfth-century pontifical BnF NAL 306,[387] the notated gradual 904,[388] the notated processional

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[384] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 20–21: "On tient par une ancienne tradition que lors que l'on en fit la dedicace l'on vid au Ciel deux Croix brillantes comme le Soleil, l'une à l'Orient, & l'autre à l'Occident: & que pour conserver la memoire de cette rare merveille, le premier jour d'Octobre que se celebre encore tous les ans la Dedicace, on void dans ladite Eglise deux grandes Croix de bois, attachées, l'une au haut de la porte qui separe l'aisle droite du Cœur, & l'autre à l'Occident sur la porte qui est proche la Chapelle Paroissiale de S. Estienne, qui sont chargées de cierges allumés durant les deux Processions que l'on fait pour rendre cette solemnité plus celebre, l'une aux premiere Vespres & l'autre le jour de la Feste ensuite de Laudes." I have been unsuccessful at corroborating the tradition of the two burning crosses described by Pommeraye with the two sources he cites at the opening of the chapter: Orderic Vitalis and the unidentified MS with given incipit.

[385] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 7, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, p. 18.

[386] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, cols. 43D–44B.

[387] Pontifical NAL 306, ff. 35r–37r.

[388] Gradual 904, ff. 193r–195r.

A. 551,[389] and the fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110[390] (see Appendix 3). The solemnity of the feast is denoted by the terms *festiue* and *reuerentia* used by Jean d'Avranches (*dies uero purificationis sancte marie festiue ut assumptionis celebretur*)[391] and the pontifical NAL 306 (*Incipiat cantor festiue Ant*. Adorna thalamum *et sic processio cum reuerentia pergat*).[392]

Between Terce and Mass the procession began while the cantor intoned, *alta uoce*,[393] the responsory *Postquam impleti sunt*. Processional A. 551 specifies that the procession left the choir and descended into the nave and that the verse and respond were sung at the station. The pontifical NAL 306 and all later sources specify the station as the altar of the Cross. The location of this altar was the nave, specified in the rubrics, especially from processional A. 551, which describe the descent toward the altar and ascent toward the choir, for this feast and those of Trinity and the Cross. Five prayers (*orationes*) for the ceremony of the candles followed, said by the archbishop or priest; the texts are preserved in NAL 306 and lat 904. Only the pontifical transmits certain ritual details: during the third prayer the candles were aspersed with water and the fire that was used to light the candles was blessed; during the fourth prayer the candles were censed.[394] Between the fourth and fifth prayers the candles were lit, while the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem* was sung (the fourth verse of the *Nunc dimittis* canticle) with verse *Nunc dimittis*.

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[389] Processional A. 551 (222), ff. 68v–71r.

[390] Ordinal Y. 110, ff. 158v.

[391] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col. 43D.

[392] Pontifical NAL 306, f. 37r

[393] 904 f. 193r

[394] Pontifical NAL 306, f. 35v: "Hic spargatur aqua benedicta super cereos. Deinde benedicatur ignis in quodam cereo aquo omnis cerei accendantur."

The illumination of candles, while the central event of the procession of Purification, nevertheless was transmitted with some minor ritual discrepancies: Jean d'Avranches, who did not mention the five prayers, inserted the antiphon *Ave gratia*, which he said was for the blessing of candles, before the antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem*; however all later sources placed *Ave gratia* in the return of the procession after the lighting of the candles. The length of time required to light all the candles may have been somewhat great. Processional A. 551 and ordinal Y. 110 show the antiphon *Lumen* in alternation with each of the four verses of the *Nunc dimittis* canticle and with the *Gloria* and the doxology. The ordering of these parts was a point of consternation for the scribe of gradual 904, who inverted the two inner verses of the *Nunc dimittis*, scraping away V. *Quod parasti* and the beginning of V. *Quia uiderunt lumen*.[395] The gradual gives a slight glimpse into the material culture of the Purification ceremony: a very small augmentation to the prayers *Immense maiestatis* and *Omnipotens sempiterne deus* refers to the candles in two varieties, *hos cereos uel has candelas* (these tapers or these candles), instead of the earlier form *hos cereos* of pontifical NAL 306.

By the thirteenth century the procession returned to the choir by way of the apsidal chapel of St. John the Baptist in the north transept arm and it moved around the ambulatory and completed a circuit of the interior of the church: *in circuitu ecclesie sicut solet in dominicis diebus* (around the church according to the custom on Sundays),[396] *incircuitu peranguste altare beate marie nunc in dominicis diebus quousque ueniat in nauum ecclesie* (in a circuit, narrowly past the altar of BMV on Sunday at present, all the way to the nave of the church).[397] For an

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[395] Gradual 904, f. 193v.

[396] Ibid., f. 194r.

[397] Processional A. 551, f. 68v.

itinerary of this length, several chants were needed: Ant. *Ave gratia plena dei genetrix*, and Ant. *Adorna thalamum tuum syon*. The gradual 904 and processional A. 551 each gave an additional chant at the end of this pair, but they differed: gradual 904 said that the Resp. *Suscipiens ihesum in ulnas suas*, V. *Cum induceret puerum ihesum* followed Ant. *Adorna thalamum*; processional A. 551 gave, *si necesse fuerit* (if necessary), Resp. *Respondum acceperat symeon*, V. *Cum ergo cognouisset*.

In fact, the return to the choir from the altar of the Cross, where the candles were blessed and illuminated, was chained together with the procession before Mass in such a way as to be nearly indistinguishable. The moment of transition may have been slight: an ascent from the nave to the choir before beginning the circuit of the entire church interior. Only processional A. 551 transmits this detail: the procession should go out from the nave with lit candles and ascend the steps [i.e. of the choir] toward the chapel of St. John the Baptist (*hoc finito ascensis cereis processio eat de naui ecclesie et ascendat per gradus versus sanctum iohannem*).[398] After this moment, the long itinerary around the church interior functioned as an elongated first part of the three parts of the procession before Mass. The gradual, processional, ordinal, and Jean d'Avranches gave Resp. *Responsum accepit symeon* as the stational responsory, with versicle *Hodie beata uirgo maria* sung at the pulpit by three canons of the higher row, and *ad introitum chori* the Resp. *Cum inducerent pueri*, V. *Suscipiens symeon puerum*. Then Mass was begun.

The sources differ in a few details as the procession prepared for entrance to the choir for Mass. The gradual 904 gives a rubric for a sermon to the people given between the entrance to the choir and the beginning of Mass,[399] but this is not corroborated in other sources, including

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[398] Ibid.

[399] Gradual 904, f. 195r.

those that give the occasions of archiepiscopal sermons. The ordinal Y. 110 specified that the *feretrum* of BMV was not to be carried on Purification, but there was a special ceremonial detail at the beginning of Mass: nine canons wearing copes in the choir carried burning candles, which they offered after the Gospel.[400]

The complex Purification procession can be formally divided into two parts: a procession from the choir to the altar of the Cross and back; and procession from the altar of the Cross to a station, and from station to the choir. These overlapped, so that the recessional from the altar of the Cross after the blessing of the candles was also like the first of the beginning of the Mass procession, but the circuit of the church stretched the procession to such a large scale that these definitions are no longer useful. What did matter at this moment of transition, as the pontifical 306 attests, is that the cantor sings the antiphon *Adorna thalamum* en route to the station before Mass in the manner appropriate to the feast ("incipiat cantor festiue") and that the procession go on with reverence ("et sic processio cum reuerentia pergat.")[401]

Simple intramural processions connect things typically regarded as separate: Mass and Office. Processions function as interstices which can connect successive events and produce a continuous stream. But they can also join discontinuous events: across Offices of a feast, across days in the octave of a feast, or across separate feasts and liturgical seasons. These movements are enabled and activated by quotation, and because processions are frequently a site of quotation, the analysis of quotation is an apt interpretive approach to their contents and contexts. In this light, processions allow not only for imagined movement from one liturgical moment to the next (Purification), but also from real topographical space to imagined spaces (*Officium stellae*), and

[400] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 158v.

[401] Pontifical NAL 306, f. 37r.

from one narrative mode to another (*Officium pastorum*). The fusion of processions into a greater complex, and its ritual elaboration, are uniting features of these ceremonies, which differ otherwise in so many ways.

Chapter Four. Cathedral in the City

Relics in motion, movement to relics

The most precious relics possessed by Rouen cathedral were those of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne, St. Romain, and St. Sever. These were protected and displayed in reliquaries inside the cathedral treasury and their removal from the treasury for ritual purposes was accompanied by special ceremonies. These were sumptuous objects; an inventory ordered by the chapter in 1555 and carried out by the superintendent of the *fabrique* of the cathedral, one master goldsmith, and two other goldsmiths, described the affixed jewels, ornaments, goldwork, silverwork in an inventory of liturgical objects and treasures of the sacristy.[402] Barring any conflict of precedence on the saint's feast day, the display and circulation of relics usually occurred in the context of the procession after Vespers, and was thus an experience limited to the chapter in the choir and chapels of the cathedral. The relics of the BMV were carried in procession, by two priests wearing albs and amices, on most Marian feasts—the feast of the Conception of the BMV,[403] Nativity of the BMV, Assumption of the BMV,[404] but not at Vespers on Saturday in the Octave of the Nativity of the BMV, on Sunday at Matins, or on the Octave of

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[402] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2104. Inventories of the sacristy from the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, with special attention to the reliquaries of BMV and St. Romain, include Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2111 and Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2112.

[403] Processional A. 551, f. 67v

[404] Ibid., f. 73v–76v

the Nativity of the BMV.[405] And on the feast of Purification, as discussed in chapter three, the *feretrum* was not carried because it was superseded by the blessing of the candles at the altar of the Cross. The feast of St. Anne, mother of the BMV, was established at Rouen in 1337 by Archbishop Pierre Roger of Beaufort, later pope Clement VI and a confraternity at the cathedral was founded in her honor; her relics were carried in a procession on her feast day (January 30).[406] The reliquary containing the body of St. Sever also contained relics of three other saints: St. Sulpice, St. Germain, and St. Melayne.[407] This reliquary, according to Pommeraye, was carried on his feast days and for the Rogation days by two chaplains, accompanied by six burning torches and by members of the "Confrerie ou Association" of the chapel of St. Sever in the cathedral in the north aisle of the nave.[408]

Relics, *vitae*, and Offices of St. Romain

A genealogy of Offices for local saints sprang up in the Seine Valley in the eleventh century. The Offices of three saints with the names of their authors survive: that of St. Romain, by Gérard, dean of the monastery of Saint-Médard of Soissons;[409] that of St. Ouen by Isembert,

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[405] Ibid., f. 77v–78r

[406] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 689; Floquet, *Histoire du privilège*, vol. 2, p. 296, cited in Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 48. At the end of the seventeenth century, the feast of the Translation of St. Anne was moved from January 30 to July 26.

[407] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 80.

[408] Ibid.; also pp. 44, 523, 528, 598. Although clearly referring in this passage to the Rogations, Pommeraye also pointed out the procession of the same relics to the same chapel after Vespers on the vigil of the feast of St. Sever (cf. p. 672).

[409] *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. 3, ed. E. Martène and U. Durand (Paris, 1717), cols. 1653–66.

abbot of La-Trinité-du-Mont near Rouen; and that of St. Catherine by Ainard, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives in Lower Normandy.[410] The narrative of the creation of these Offices in the monastic setting was usually couched in the terms of a humility *topos*, for instance that they were creations unworthy of their subject or their community, but also in the meaningful distinction of words for authorship: to give forth (*edo, edare*), to compile or arrange (*compono, componere*), and even to popularize (*populo, populare*—a neologism). Isembert, monk of Saint-Ouen abbey and later the first abbot of La-Trinité-du-Mont (later Saint-Catherine) was praised in the entry of 1031 from the *Chronicon triplex* for his erudition, leadership, and literary artistry, inferior to no one in his time in the liberal arts (*in liberalibus disciplinis nulli suo tempore inferior habebatur*). The chronicle told that Isembert composed (*composuit*) a *historia* of St. Ouen and popularized (*populavit*) the singing of a *historia* of St. Nicholas, but he was unable to profess to having created it himself, due to his humility.[411] The humility *topos* is reflected in the choice of verbs in this chronicle entry: Isembert composed (*composuit*) the St. Ouen Office, while he popularized (*populavit*) the St. Nicholas Office.

Two *vitae* of St. Romain are known from versions published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one in prose and one in verse. Their relationships to each other and to

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[410] James Blasina, Music and Gender in the Medieval Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria, c. 1050–1300, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2015, pp. 88–89. Blasina analyzed the Office of St. Catherine and conjectured one manuscript as the hand of Ainard himself: BnF NAL 1083, wrongly attributed by Leroquais to the abbey of Saint-Denis of Duclair.

[411] *Chronicon triplex*, ed. Chéruel, p. 4 col. 2 – p. 5 col. 1: "Igitur divinus Isembertus, hujus loci primus abbas et rector, spiritus sancti gratia laudabiliter rexit monasterium; et quia in liberalibus disciplinis nulli suo tempore inferior habebatur, quum jam esset adhuc apud S. Audoenum, ab abbate Henrico et fratribus obnixe rogatus, historiam B. Audoeni dulci modulamine composuit et Beati Nicolai necdum apud nos auditam cantando populavit, unde plurimi asseverant ab eo editam fuisse, sed humilitatis gratia id profiteri noluisse." By contrast, the verb *edo, edare* was used to describe Ainard's authorship of the St. Catherine Office, Blasina, Music and Gender, diss., pp. 9, 11.

prefatory letters is complicated, as I will attempt to show. But the manuscript evidence for *vitae* adapted to Offices of St. Romain is comparatively more fortunate. Two manuscripts, from the late tenth or eleventh centuries, transmit distinct Offices of St. Romain: one with a prose *vita* divided into the nine lessons of secular Matins, with texts for psalm antiphons and responsories paraphrasing those lessons; alas, with no music notation, except for one responsory in unheightened neumes; the other consisting only of the Office chants for part of Vespers, all of Matins, and all of Lauds. This latter Office has no lessons, only chants, but these are notated throughout in eleventh-century Norman alphabetic notation. These two Offices are entirely different compositions; they overlap only in the psalm antiphons for Lauds.

The distinction between a *vita* and an Office derived from a *vita* is worth pause and emphasis; fortunately in the four cases I have introduced and will present, the genres are relatively clear. The *vita* flourished as a literary genre in the eleventh century in Normandy, which Lifshitz explained in terms of institutional transformations, as monastic and secular institutions functioned with increasing autonomy from the other, reinforcing their identity through the development of saints' cults: the acquisition and translation of relics, authorship of hagiographical texts, and establishment of feasts. As literary endeavors, *vitae* usually sprang from the monastic context, including the Offices of St. Romain discussed here.

The tenth-century Office of St. Romain composed by Gérard of Soissons, and the prefatory letter from Gérard to Archbishop Hugues II, is transmitted in the collection of *vitae* of BnF MS lat 1805.[412] The prefatory letter and the Office are in two different hands. Their

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[412] BmR lat 1805, ff. 41v–45v. Delisle observed in the catalog of the Bigot library that several parts of this collection are of provenance from Fécamp: *Bibliotheca Bigotiana manuscripta*, ed. L. Delisle (Rouen: Henry Boissel, 1877), no. 41, p. 10. This manuscript is likely the source known to Mabillon, *Veterum analectorum tomus primus*, ed. J. Mabillon (Paris, 1675), pp. 107–

Caroline minuscule indicate the tenth century; if neither is the hand of Gérard, it likely was not far from him in time or place. Saint-Médard of Soissons had been a cultic center of St. Romain since the ninth century, when the relic of his head was sent from Rouen for safekeeping during Viking incursions into Normandy.[413]

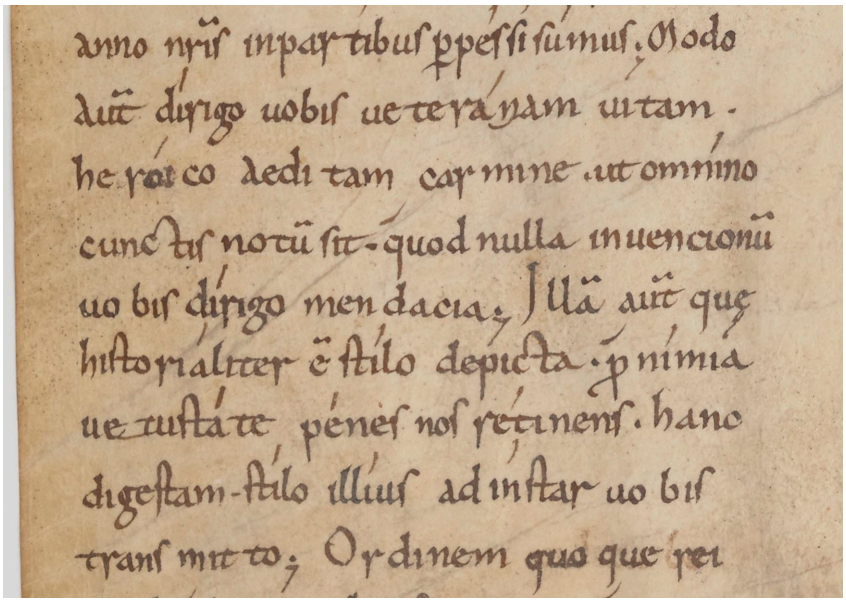


FIGURE 4.1. LETTER OF GÉRARD OF SOISSONS TO ARCHBISHOP HUGUES II, EXPLAINING HIS ARRANGEMENT (*DIGESTA*) OF THE *VITA* OF ST. ROMAIN (BNF LAT 1805, F. 41V).

Gérard's prefatory letter explained that the *vita* he had sent to Archbishop Hugues II was a redaction of two extant *vitae* in his possession, an older one in epic hexameters (*modo heroico carmine*), and another in prose in the style of *historiae* (*historiali stylo*). Both were in such poor

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12; and to Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, vol. 3, ed. Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand (Paris, 1717), cols. 1653–66. Floquet claimed in 1833 that another source for this text was the manuscript catalogued in 1764 by Saas as "19. Lectionarium ad usuam Ecclesia Rothomagensis, in folio," (*Notice des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Église metropolitaine de Rouen*, ed. Saas, p. 14), but this lectionary, according to Omont, shelmark BmR A. 336 (264), dates from the fourteenth century; see Floquet, *Histoire du privilège*, vol. 1, pp. 4–5.

[413] Felice Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684–1090*, Studies and Texts (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1995), pp. 194–205.

condition, he explained, that he had redacted them into a new arrangement in the style of the latter, the *historia* (*digesta stylo ad illius instar*) (Figure 4.1). The result was a prose *vita* of St. Romain narrated in episodes separated by responsories and antiphons for Matins, Lauds, and Vespers (Table 4.1).

IN PRIMO NOCTURNO	
A. 1	[*deest*]
A. 2	[*deest*]
A. 3	[*deest*]
R. 1	Gloriosum confessorem cristi romanum pro...nie regali ex ortum ante quam ... conceptus esset *angelica uox benedicto p ... sanctum dei que die lectum aff... nunciauit V. Vnicus en in quid ben[e]dicte pater que beate filius euge tibi nas[ci]tur dinamius pastor prudens. angelica
R. 2	... quam leta tuo nascenti gallia ... ato iure beati fico romano ... curris honore *in cuius natu tellus tu ... gaudet ubi que V. Exul[t]ant maria exultant flumina tecum. [et]herius que thronus cum psalmis laudi[b]us hymnis. Incuius
R. 3	Insignis et sancte uir confessor cristi romane *lux populorum ecclesiae decus & splendor fortis que columna francia quem merito uenerandum gens excolit et ac supplici uoto cum uoce precatur V. Pro culpis dominum posce tuorum quo tibi confortes scandere celsa queant. lux popu
IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO	
A. 4	Exultant maria exultant et flumina tecum etherius que thronus cum psalmis laudibus hymnis Ps. Cum inuocarem
A. 5	Insignis et sancte uir confessor romane lux populorum ecclesie decus et splendor fortis que columna Ps. Verba mea
A. 6	Sanctus namque cristi romanus presul uenerandus inactu francigenis cunctis prelatus et ordine sacro multiplici fama uirtutum floruit orbi Ps. Domine dominus noster
R. 4	Sanctus namque cristi romanus presul uenerandus in actu *francigenis cunctis prelatus & ordine sancro multiplici fama uirtutum floruit orbirat enim plenus pro totu flamine sacto quosque [in]firmos tangebat passim eurabat. francigenis
R. 5	Preciosus confessor domini romanus *dulcis eloquio manusetis simus conuersatione erat V. Reddebat ... cis lumen pastor egregius debilibus sanitatem. dulcis.
R. 6	En igitur rotomagenses occurrite nunc sollemnis que dies caelebretur debita cunctis *candidus antistes in qua romanus ad arcem & heri am scandens primum per ue ad ortum V. Igitur terrigenis nec non caeli colis gaudi fera canitur ista dies. candidus
IN TERCIA NOCTURNO	
A. 7	Erat enim plenus per totum flamine sancto quosque infirmos tangebat passim

	curabat Ps. Domine quis abitabit
A. 8	Praeciosus confessor domini romanus dulcis eloquio mansuetis simus conuersatione erat Ps. Domine in uirtute tua
A. 9	Aue presul tuorum pro meritis & pro tui memorum in terce de flagitiis Ps. Domini est terra
ET RELIQUA	
R. 7	... clitus confessor cristi romanus ... no fultus auxilio pius ex ... tit pater egentum defensor peregrinorum pastor que benorum *permanens in secula V. Cui uiuere ... istus fuit & mori lucrum. permanens
R. 8	Qua dedi lecte deo sacer que sanctorum confors romane cuius uita uitrix abominum non recedit memoria et dictu mirabilis iam regnat in ethera V. Aue presul tuorum pro meritis et pro tui memorum in terce de flagitiis
R. 9	... serue bone o romane fidelis confessor nam quoniam supra positus per pauca fidelis est factus V. e constituam supra bona multa intra in gaudium domini tui
IN LAUDIBUS	
A. 1	Te romane sacer dominus precinxit honore et functus uita uiuis in arce poli
A. 2	Iam iubilate deo talem laudando patronum et uobis festiuum hunc caelebrare diem
A. 3	Ob laudem domini uigilauit nocte dieque et sintiuit [i.e. sitiuit] cristum semper audire deum
A. 4	Ergo deum caeli cuncti laudate benigni qui uobis talem cessit ade est patrem
A. 5	Ecce tuus abraham gremus [*i.e.* gremiis] gaudenter adheret et celi regem nunc benedicit auans [*i.e.* ouans]
IN EVANGELIO	
A.	Confessor domini romane
AD VESPEROS	
A.	*[non-diastematic neumes]* Gloriosus confessor domini romanus uitam angelicam gerens interris speculum bonorum operum factus est mundo et ideo cum cristo iam sine fine gaudet in caelis.

TABLE 4.1. ANTIPHONS AND RESPONSORIES OF THE TENTH-CENTURY OFFICE OF ST. ROMAIN IN BNF LAT 1805.

The text underlay for all of the chants of BmR lat 1805 was written in smaller script, leaving room for notation, but only the last chant, the Magnificat antiphon for Second Vespers, *Gloriosus confessor domini romanus*, was provided with notation in unheightened neumes (Figure 4.2). Of this entire Office, the psalm antiphons for Lauds are the only chants which persist in later sources.[414]

[414] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 217v. The Matins antiphons and responsories that persist are those given in the Livre noire, discussed below.

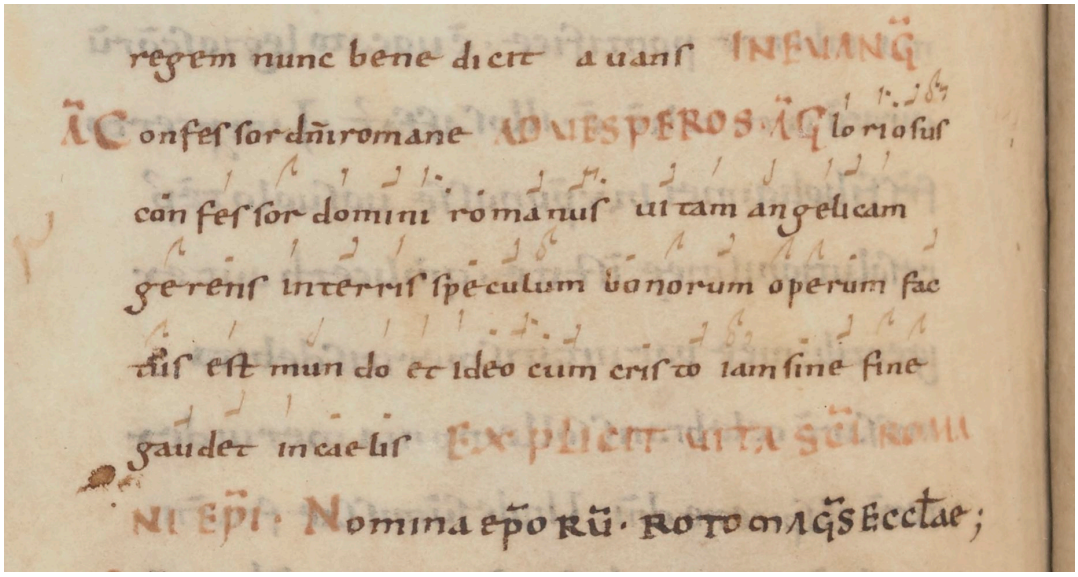


FIGURE 4.2. OFFICE OF ST. ROMAIN, SECOND VESPERS, NOTATED MAGNIFICAT ANTIPHON, *GLORIOSUS CONFESSOR DOMINI ROMANUS* (BNF LAT 1805, F. 45V).

While the relics of the head of St. Romain lay in Soissons, the relic of the saint's body remained in Rouen. Orderic Vitalis described the translation of the relic of the body by Archbishop Guillaume Bonne-Âme (1080–1110) from its original burial place at the church of Saint-Godard to the cathedral. This act was commemorated as the feast day of St. Romain (October 23), and each year a solemn public procession with blessings and absolutions was made from the cathedral to Saint-Godard.[415] At the time Orderic's account, Saint-Godard lay outside the city walls, north along the Roman *cardo* and near the site of the former Roman amphitheater and future Château Bouvreuil of King Philippe II Auguste. The translation by Guillaume Bonne-Âme thus introduced the relic of the body into the double enclosure of the city walls and the cathedral walls, and the annual procession on the feast day retraced this act inside and outside the city topography. It was also a demonstration of archiepiscopal authority, and may well qualify as part of a campaign of cultic rivalry between the cathedral and the abbey of Saint-Ouen, the latter

[415] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 5, ed. Chibnall, vol. 3, pp. 22–25.

of which in 1090, near the end of the abbacy of Nicolas (1042–92), welcomed the relic of the head of St. Romain back from Saint-Médard in Soissons.[416]

The sumptuous reliquary of gold, silver, and precious stones bestowed by Guillaume Bonne-Âme was stripped of its ornaments in a subsequent period of famine. This was replaced by Archbishop Rotrou in 1179, and the body was translated for the last time into this reliquary.[417] Around this time, in the middle of the twelfth century, the archdeacon Fulbert of Rouen, according to Martène and Durand, authored a *vita* of St. Romain and one of St. Remigius.[418] The vita of St. Romain was accompanied by a prefatory letter to the community to which it was intended, in which Fulbert named himself and his rationale.

> Preface by Archdeacon Fulbert to the *vita* of St. Romain, Archbishop of Rouen: to his lords and brothers, sons of the Mother Church of Rouen, Fulbert the sinner sends greeting. I have recused myself from this thing, brothers and lords of mine, having been asked a number of times by you to cast the historical *vita* of our blessed father Romain in my own little way....
>
> FULBERTI ARCHIDIACONI præfatio in vitam S. Romani archiepiscopi Rotomagensis. Dominis & confratribus suis sanctæ Rotomagensis ecclesiæ matris filiis, Fulbertus peccator salutem. Quod a vobis, fratres & domini mei, totiens rogatus historicam vitam beati Patris nostri Romani ingenioli mei illustrare stylo...recusavi....[419]

The identity of Fulbert as archdeacon of Rouen, peer of the canons of the cathedral, and author of the *vita* seem clearly indicated in this opening; for the Maurists, this was consistent

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[416] Lifshitz, *Pious Neustria*, pp. 194–205, cited in David Spear, "The Double Display of Saint Romanus of Rouen in 1124," *Haskins Society Journal* 17: Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World, Studies in Memory of C. Warren Hollister (2006): 117–32.

[417] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 3666.

[418] Louis-Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, nouv. éd., t. 15e (Paris: Madame C. Desplaces, 1856), s.v. "Fulbert," p. 274. Hist. littér. de la France, t. 8, p. 370.

[419] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. 1, col. 181.

with Orderic Vitalis' praise of a certain contemporary Fulbert as skilled in words (*sophisticus*).[420] The pressure on Fulbert to author such a *vita* by his community, evident in this preface, suggested also to the Maurists that neither of the *vitae* of St. Romain sent by Gerard of Soissons, in verse or in prose, was in possession of the cathedral or known to it by the middle of the twelfth century.[421] Beginning with this inference by the Maurists, the teasing apart of the published texts of *vitae* of St. Romain becomes an increasingly daunting task. Everything seems to hinge on the connection between this preface by Fulbert, published by Martène and Durand, that is, without the *vita* itself,[422] with the prose *vita* published by the Jesuit Nicolas Rigault in 1609, printed without a preface, an attribution made by Martène and Durand that is difficult to ground in sources.[423] Rigault identified his source as a martyrology in which the *vita* of St. Romain was followed by one of the English St. Dunstan in a book dating from the reign of King Æthelstan of England in the early tenth century: "In martyrologio ms. sequitur *vita* Sancti Dunstani, quae sic incipit. Regnante magnifico Anglorum rege Ethelstano; anno quidem imperij eius primo, adventus vero Anglorum in Britannium quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, & c".[424] If the manuscript were as Rigault described it, then the *vita* he published would have been roughly contemporary with that of Gérard of Soissons. This was the position of Mabillon, which

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[420] "Fulbert, Archidiacre de Rouen," in *Histoire litéraire de la France, où l'on traite de l'Origine et du Progrés, de la Decadence & du rétablissement des Sciences parmi les Gaulois & parmi les François; du goût & du génie des uns & des autres pour les Letres en chaque siécle*..., t. 8, 370–9 (Paris: chez Huart & Moreau, et al., 1747), pp. 373–4.

[421] Ibid.

[422] *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. 1, ed. Martène and Durand (Paris, 1717), cols. 181–4.

[423] Nicolas Rigault, *Vita S. Romani episcopi Rotomagensis e vetere martyrologio nunc primum edita* (Paris: Rolini Thierri et Petri Chevalier, 1609), pp. 1r–27r.

[424] Rigault, *Vita S. Romani*, p. 27r.

was contradicted by the later Maurists, who dated the *vita* published by Rigault to two hundred years later, on the insistence of its correspondence with the preface of Fulbert, "Ex ms. S. Audoeni Rotomagensis."[425]

In a different volume, Martène and Durand published a versified *vita* of St. Romain from a manuscript at Saint-Ouen abbey ("Ex ms. S. Audoeni Rotomagensis").[426] At several points it is possible to see narrative subjects similar between it and the *vita* of Gérard in BnF lat 1805 (Table 4.2). To be clear, neither of the two print *vitae*—neither the prose *vita* printed by Rigault in 1609 nor the versified *vita* printed by Martène and Durand in 1717—are Offices, in which the narrative of the *vita* was divided into nocturnes, lessons, and chants.

PROSE OFFICE, THIRD LESSON, BNF MS LAT 1805, F. 42V	VERSIFIED *VITA,* ED. MARTÈNE (1717), COL. 1653
Igitur temporibus lotharii incliti regis francorum. filii ludouii gloriosis simi principis. Extitit uir quidam nomine benedictus in regno galliarum quemodo nuncupatur frantia. ob gloriosis	PRIMI LOTHARII Francorum tempore regis, Inter magnificos proceres patresque heros, Divio nutu BENEDICTUS nomine dictus,

[425] Martène and Durand claimed this dating to the twelfth century was confirmed by a certain codex of the same era from Évreux cathedral: "Fulbertum Rothomagensis ecclesiæ archidiaconum, qui postea circa annum 1130...professus est. Id quod intelleximus ex ipsius prologo à Rigaltio prætermisso, quem reperimus in manuscripto codice ecclesiæ Ebroicensis ipsius ætate exarato." (t. 3, cols. 1651–2). This position was defended in subsequent historiography: "Dom Mabillon, peut-être sur la même réflexion, a pris aussi l'écrit de notre Archidiacre pour la plus anciene vie en prose de S. Romain, sur laquelle le Doïen de S. Medard de Soissons composa la siene vers le milieu du X siecle. Mais Dom Martene & Dom Durand ayant publié, comme il a été dit, l'épître de Fulbert à ses confreres les Chanoines, on est revenu de ces opinions erronées; & l'on a rendu l'ouvrage à son véritable Auteur" (*Histoire litéraire*, p. 375). This reattribution is puzzling; its security depends entirely on the correspondence of the vita published by Rigault to the preface published by the later Maurists, the former source an English martyrology including St. Dunstan, the latter a manuscript at Saint-Ouen abbey. I am aware of no single such source; the only reference to St. Dunstan from this period in Omont is in an eleventh-century monastic psalter with a litany of English saints, formerly in the library of Jumièges, BmR A. 44 (231), and this only in its litany.

[426] *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, t. 3, ed. Martène and Durand (Paris, 1717), cols. 1651–66.

simos uiros et robustis simos bellatores...	Pro fidei meritis felici pignore dignus; Nam licet augusto rerum sublimis honore; Regis sive ducum summo polleret amore; Mente tamen pronaservans pia jussa Tonantis, Illecebras mundi sprevit male ludificantis. Quin etiam conjux tali condigna marito Nomine FELICITAS satagebat vivere Christo....
Mox adest angelus missus ab omni pontenti deo. Inquiens ad eum: Benedicte benedicte dominus ihesus χρistus misit me ad te. nuntiare tibi gaudium magnum; Ecce enim nutu ipsius uxor tua felicitas unicum tibi pariet filium electum ab ipso nomine Romanum....	Namque senatori sopito tempore leni Angelus apparens facie præfulgidus, inquit: Pax tibi de cœlis sit, vir Benedicte fidelis, Gaudia magna tibi spondet Regnator olympi, Per me legatum dat munus habere beatum. FELICITAS felix puerum tibi pignus honestum. Nomine ROMANUM virtutis culmine magnum....

TABLE 4.2 COMPARISON OF EXCERPTS FROM PROSE OFFICE AND VERSIFIED *VITA* OF ST. ROMAIN.

The second Office of St. Romain, after that of Gérard of Soissons, is contained in the *Livre d'ivoire*, the collection of manuscripts whose kernel is comprised of eleventh-century *vitae* and *gesta* of bishops of Rouen: St. Godard (f. 42r), St. Romain (f. 86r), St. Ouen (f. 92r), St. Ansbert (f. 129r), and St. Hugues (f. 164r). The Office of St. Romain, as an Office, thus represents a special genre among these vitae, and particularly for its alphabetic music notation. It consists only of antiphons and responsories, beginning with the Magnificat antiphon of First

Vespers, *Presul sancte Romane uas misericordie* (Figure 4.3),[427] the nine psalm antiphons and nine lesson responsories of Matins, and the Benedictus antiphon of Lauds. The Matins antiphons and responsories follow strict modal order, from mode 1 to mode 8, from the first to the eighth antiphon and responsory (Table 4.3).[428] No psalm antiphons of Lauds are present. The alphabetic notation of this entire Office was transcribed into square notation by Dom Joseph Pothier, prior of Saint-Wandrille, in 1896.[429]

MAGNIFICAT		
mode 1		Præsul sancte Romane, vas misericordiæ, qui chrismale collisum cum liquore reparasti vasculum, templum Dei in nobis vitiis violatum tua prece eχpiatum redde Deo solidum.
FIRST NOCTURNE		
mode 1	A. 1	Beatus Romanus in lege Dei meditatus floruit in lignum secus de*cursus* aquarum, deditque suum suo in tempore fructum
2	A. 2	Constitutus super Sion montem sanctum Domini prædicavit præceptum ejus, servivit ei in timore, ideo sperabit in eo, cum exarserit in brevi magnitudo iræ suæ.
3	A. 3	Clamavit pius pastor ad Dominum, et exaudivit eum, furentis enim aquæ impetum compescuit, populumque suum ab ejus inundatione eripuit.
1	R. 1	Clara stirpe ac regali orta proles inclita vernans mentis puritate ac virtutum lampade, *fulsit orbi velut stella inter mundi lumina. V. Cujus ortum atque nomen vox prædixit cælica, quod post sacri confirmavit baptismatis gratia. Fulsit.
2	R. 2	Exorant Rotomagenses orbati pontifice, ut Romanus subrogetur eorum Ecclesiæ; *sic pontificali dignus sublimatur apice. V. Favet rex et optimates his petitionibus; erat enim vir perfectus cunctis sanctis moribus. Sic.
3	R. 3	O præclare miles Christi admirandi meriti, nasciturum genitori quem prædixit Angelus, *ut ad regnum renascamur adjuva perpetuum. V. Ut quos culpa stratos edidit miseriæ, tua prece relevatos reddas cæli gloriæ.

[427] Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, vol. 2, no. 31838. François Farin, *La vie de saint Romain*, ed. Adolphe Tougard, Société des bibliophiles normandes, Miscellanées, Series 4, 1913 (Rouen: Imprimerie Léon Gy, 1899), pp. xxj–xxij.

[428] *Livre d'ivoire*, Y. 27, ff. 86r–91r.

[429] Joseph Pothier, Amand Collette, and Adolphe Bourdon, M*émoires sur la musique sacrée en Normandie* (Ligugé [Vienne]: Imprimerie Saint-Marin, 1896), appendix, pp. I–VIII.

Ut.

SECOND NOCTURNE

mode 4 A. 4 Mirificavit Dominus sanctum suum, eo enim sanctificante sacrificium justitiæ lumine vultus sui insignivit: dextera enim Dei super eum apparuit.

5 A. 5 Ecclesiæ sanctæ limina beatus pontifex devote frequentabat; lætabatur in Domino, quia sperabat in eo; in æternum exsultabit, Christus enim semper in ejus pectore mansit.

6 A. 6 Gloria et honore coronasti sanctum tuum Domine; super opera manuum tuarum eum constituisti, dum vas chrismale collisum per ipsum redintegrasti.

4 R. 4 Felix pastor ac felici præpollens munimine, *regionem ne vastaret imperavit Sequanæ, qui vicina occupabat redundanti gurgite. V. Vir beatus mox ut jussit, aqua sibi paruit, ac arctata in se suum exitum compescuit. Regionem.

5 R. 5 Prope urbem fanum valde civibus incommodum adventu suo destruxit verus cultor fidei, *circumquaque necnon cuncta conquassavit idola. V. Fana quoque Dei templa dum solerter consecrat, animas deceptas plebis sedes Dei præparat. Circumquaque.

6 R. 6 O sidus pontificale, vir misericordiæ, exorando christiani *vas restaura populi: Vas quassatum qui chrismalis reparasti olei. V. Templum Dei, quod in nobis vitiis destruximus, tu restaura, pater sancte, meritis et precibus. Vas.

THIRD NOCTURNE

mode 7 A. 7 In Domino confisus vir Dei semper amicus, fana enim quoque et delubra subvertit, templa Dei sedesque sacravit.

8 A. 8 Sine macula beatus Romanus in tabernaculo Dei habitavit, virtutum culmina conscendens justitia ac veritate refulsit.

4 A. 9 In virtute Dei lætatus vir Domini, in salutari ejus vehementer exsultavit; Deus illum cum gloria et magno decore feliciter assumpsit.

7 R. 7 Sacerdotum diadema, viva Christi hostia, dextra Dei te orante nos salvet et muniat, *quam vidisti ad altare offerens libamina. V. Designavit dextra visa ire te ad supera, ac confestim sempiterna coronari gloria. Quam.

8 R. 8 Sacrafisus visione sanctæ Dei dexteræ, præsul sanctus migraturum sciens se ad Dominum, *vocans clerum populumque, aperit oraculum. V. Christus, inquit, cui servivi, vocat me ad supera: ego sibi vos commendo, relinquens terrestria. Vocans.

1 R. 9 Beatus Romanus, migraturus ex hoc mundo, vallans se crucis præsidio, commendavit Domino, cui animam dum reddidit, gaudium cælo intulit; in ejus enim transitu sanctorum *exsultat chorus, supernorumque civium congratulatur exercitus. V. Immortali vere coronatur gloria, qui manens in corpore Spiritus Sancti redundavit gratia. Exsultat.

BENEDICTUS

mode 4 Pastor clemens, viva Christi hostia, sancta Dei dextera tua prece gloriosa salvet nos et muniat, quam vidisti divina offerendo libamina.

TABLE 4.3. ANTIPHONS AND RESPONSORIES OF THE ELEVENTH-CENTURY OFFICE OF ST. ROMAIN IN THE *LIVRE D'IVOIRE*.

This repertory of First Vespers, Matins, and Lauds chants for St. Romain persisted long after their composition. It is reflected in the fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110, the printed breviary of 1642, and antiphoner published by Archbishop François II de Harlay 1662.[430] According to Collette, this Office from the *Livre d'ivoire* was sung in Rouen until 1728.[431]

An important clarification: this persistent repertory is that of the *Livre d'ivoire* Office, plus the psalm antiphons for Lauds from the Office of Gérard of Soissons. Because these were not contained in the Livre d'ivoire, the transmission scenario is either the unimaginable case of the modern-era Offices having been derived from a hypothetical source prior to the *Livre d'ivoire* which contained its repertory and the Lauds antiphons, or the eminently imaginable case of later redaction from the *Livre d'ivoire* Office and the Gérard of Soissons Office, in which the former took precedence over the latter. That is to say that the repertory of chants between the two Offices corresponds in none of their texts.

[430] Pothier et al., *Mémoires*, pp. 6–8, 18.

[431] Collette, *Histoire du bréviaire*, p. 64.

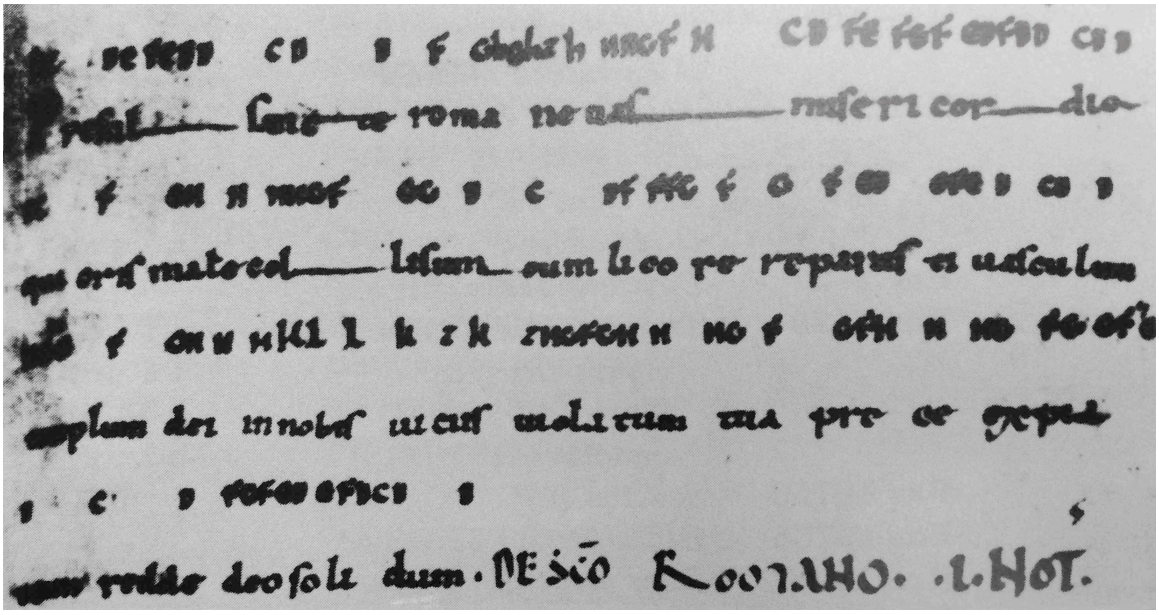


FIGURE 4.3. OFFICE OF ST. ROMAIN, ANTIPHON FOR MAGNIFICAT, *PRESUL SANCTE ROMANE*, WITH ALPHABETIC NOTATION (*LIVRE D'IVOIRE*, BMR Y. 27, F. 88R).

By the thirteenth century the memorial procession to Saint-Godard on the feast of St. Romain was no longer made. Instead, after Terce as on Sundays, a procession to the chapel of St. Romain was made at which the relic of the body was carried (*deferatur corpus*).[432] The procession seems to have been not restricted to the chapter, but a large public affair and it may have taken some time. The processional A. 551 called for two clerics carrying the relic to wear albs and amices; the ordinal Y. 110 instructed them to wear copes, however, because of the large crowds (*propter frequenciam populi*) among which the *feretrum* was carried. According to gradual 904, a sermon was given between the entrance of the choir and the beginning of Mass.[433] When the archbishop was present, he was assisted by seven deacons and seven subdeacons, similar to Assumption of the BMV.[434] Some of the original rubrics of Y. 110 were scraped and

[432] Processional A. 551, f. 79v.

[433] Gradual 904, f. 232v.

[434] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 218r

rewritten in another hand: Holy Water was to be blessed before Terce and aspersed after it, the vesting in copes, the entrance to the choir after which nine clerics should wear copes and stand in a line (*omnes cape in choro nouem sint in linea*).[435] This gives picture of the solemnity of the ceremony by the fifteenth century.

The continuing prestige of the cult of St. Romain into the sixteenth century likely explains the two inscriptions, both crossed out, found in the margins of the opening of gradual 904 for the feast of St. Romain: "moy soubzsigné Nicolas Brismontier filz de Jacques demeurant a sainct aulbin jouxte boullen."[436] As Loriquet noted, the gradual may at a certain point in time have passed from Nicolas Brismontier to his son, Jacques, whose name was also inscribed in the book, at the Common of Many Martyrs: "Jacques Brismontier, filz de Nicolas."[437] Flanking the

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[435] Ibid.

[436] Gradual 904, ff. 232v, 233r. The identity of the place is easier than that of the person. Saint-Aubin-Jouxte-Boulleng, renamed Saint-Aubin-lès-Elbeuf between the World Wars, lay in the southern undulation of the Seine 12 km from Rouen. This is not to be confused with Saint-Aubin-sur-Quillebeuf in the Eure near the mouth of the Seine, mentioned briefly in an order from the cathedral chapter to share the celebration of Palm Sunday with the parishioners of neighboring Quillebeuf, with processional movement between the two towns (G. 1346).

[437] Gradual 904, f. 267r, cited by Loriquet, p. 3 n. 2. From Saint-Aubin-Jouxte-Boulleng the book may have passed to two owners, one in the parish of Saint-Vigor of Rouen, north of the Vieux-Marché, a parish which held a position of honor during the Rogation processions, discussed below. The fourteenth- or fifteenth-century kyriale at the end of the book bears the marginal inscriptions: "Receu par moy Charles Parmentier," and "Receu par moy Charles Auber, demourant à la paroyse de Sainct Vigor." F. Bouquet, "Le Jeu de Paume de Saint-Eustache, Paroisse Saint-Sauveur, à Rouen," Revue de la Normandie 9 (1869): 540–54 at 544: Perhaps this is the Charles Auber of Theuville-aux-Maillots listed with François Auber of Daubeuf, both near Fécamp, in an act of sale from 1584 to Pierre Corneille of their property in the parish of Saint-Sauveur of Rouen, west of the Vieux-Marché in what would become the Jeu de Paume of Saint-Eustache, owned by the Corneille family for generations. This, at least, is the sequence of ownership proposed by Loriquet, but it seems difficult to tell on paleographical style which Brismontier was the father of whom, since each has a father with the first name of the other; and depending when the earlier kyriale was bound with the earlier gradual, the owner of the kyriale may not necessarily have possessed or known the gradual.

feast of the patron saint of Rouen with an inscription of private ownership surely was no accident.[438] The prestige of the cult of St. Romain in the seventeenth century is reflected in the number of book-length lives of the saint, alongside histories of the major institutions of Rouen. Both Farin and Pommeraye published monographs on the life of St. Romain.[439]

Relics, rivalry, and reconciliation: St. Ouen

The feast of St. Ouen was an important occasion for the cathedral chapter even though the cathedral did not possess relics of St. Ouen. It paid homage to the relics at Saint-Ouen abbey on the vigil of the feast and its day, and also as the chapter passed by the abbey church on the processions during the feast of St. Mark and the Rogation Days. Until the middle of the tenth century, the canons of the cathedral and the monks of the abbey were a unified community, as Lifshitz asserted, since the archbishop had always served as titular abbot and thus governed both communities together; this was filled by an abbot from that point onward.[440]

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[438] Not all of the owner inscriptions in gradual 904 hold such privileged places. But if the feast of St. Romain in the sanctorale were chosen for its honored status, the strikeout of the inscriptions, which defaces the pages, tends to work against it.

[439] Farin, *La vie de saint Romain*, ed. A. Tougard (1899); Pommeraye, *La Vie et miracles de saint Romain archevesque de Rouen, patron de ladite ville et du diocèse..., avec un discours de l'ancienne origine de la procession du Corps saint, faite tous les ans par Messieurs du Chapitre en l'Eglise de saint Godard, où sont contenues plusieurs antiquités et recherches curieuses*, ed. René Dudot (A Rouen: chés Jean Le Boullenger, près le College des PP. Jésuittes, M. DC LII, 1652).

[440] Felice Lifshitz, The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen: The Poliltical Uses of Hagiographical Texts, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1988, p. 97.

By the late eleventh century distinction and rivalry between the cathedral and they abbey grew great, expressed in the development of saints' cults,[441] exemplified by the translation of the body of St. Romain from Saint-Godard to the cathedral and the reception of the relic of his head at Saint-Ouen from its custodians in Soissons. The epitome of this rivalry was narrated in the *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, authored at Saint-Ouen in the early twelfth century, and contained in one version in the *Livre d'ivoire* and in another in the *Livre noir* of Saint-Ouen.[442] By long tradition at Rouen, the archbishop celebrated the Mass of St. Ouen at the abbey on the patron saint's feast day. On that day in 1073, Jean d'Avranches, detained by official travels in Le Mans with William Duke of Normandy and King of England, arrived very late to the Mass at Saint-Ouen, despite having sent advance word of his delay, and was reported to have retaliated with rage at the liturgy having been begun without him by immediate excommunication of the monks of the abbey and by an interdict on the Mass in progress, so that he might resume it himself. The encounter escalated when some monk or servant rang the great bell of the abbey in alarm and in the town square cried out that Jean d'Avranches was attempting to steal the relic of the body of St. Ouen to the cathedral. This led to a violent encounter between monks, town, archbishop, and chapter, which, although later resolved and formally pardoned, was the transgression for which, according to the narration, Jean suffered partial paralysis and the indignity of urinary incontinence during the very Mass of St. Ouen in a subsequent year. Besides such gratuitous and moralizing vignettes, the account derives power from the fundamental

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[441] Ibid.: "By the last third of the eleventh century one might speak of a 'frenzy' of text composition, manuscript production, festival institution and relic translations in Normandy."

[442] *Acta archiepiscoporum Rotomagensium*, ed. Allen, pp. 1–5. See Peter Stotz, *Sonderformen der sapphischen Dichtung*, Medium Aevum, philologische Studien 37 (München: W. Fink, 1982), cited by Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, p. 216, for the use of hexameters, pentameters, elegiac couplets, and other poetic meters in trope verses.

importance of the relics of St. Ouen and the instituted feast. Nevertheless, the *Acta archiepiscoporum* give little sense of the liturgy of the day, aside from the mention of Jean's arrival after the two tropes of the Kyrie (*finito itaque kyrrie cum duobus rithmis*)[443] and of cathedral clerics using candelabra and other liturgical instruments to fight off the monks and townspeople (*arreptis candelabris cereis et perticis in monachos efferati*).[444] The celebration of St. Ouen was, in fact, no ordinary liturgy, but rather an occasion of cooperation, as characterized in the liturgical sources, between monastery and cathedral.

More so than the gradual 904, the processional A. 551 and the ordinal Y. 110 are witnesses to the unique celebration of the feast of St. Ouen at Rouen cathedral. The two books concur for the most part, but each transmits unique information, in some cases in great detail. The processional A. 551 is the sole witness of silent processions made by the chapter to the abbey Saint-Ouen for First Vespers, and of the cooperation of monks and canons in the joint procession prior to Mass the following day. The ordinal Y. 110 reveals that the feast of St. Ouen was an occasion on which the abbey remunerated personnel of all stations in the cathedral and the priory church, Saint-Lô.

After First Vespers of St. Bartholomew on the eve of St. Ouen, the chapter left the cathedral in silent procession toward Saint-Ouen abbey, without having vested, and carrying a cross and candelabras.[445] By the time of their arrival in the choir of St. Ouen, monastic Vespers

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[443] Allen, *Acta archiepiscoporum*, p. 42–3.

[444] Ibid.

[445] Processional A. 551, f. 76v–76bis-r: "finitis primis vesperis de apostolo et memoria facta de sancto audoene eat processio ad sanctum audoenum cum cruce et candelabris absque reuestitis et in eundo et redeundo non cantetur. Cum autem processio peruenit in choro sancti audoeni post vesperas monachorum cantent ibi canonici vesperas sollennes monachis absentibus. In die post missam de apostolo eat processio ad sanctum audoenum sicut notatum est in vesperis sed sancti

had already been said, and the canons sang solemn Vespers of St. Ouen in the absence of the monks (*post vesperas monachorum cantent ibi canonici vesperas sollennes monachis absentibus*).[446] The return to the cathedral was made in silence. The next day after Mass this procession was repeated. This time, upon the arrival of the chapter, the cantor of the abbey intoned the responsory *Sint lumbi uestri* as the monks processed to the station, where the cantor of the abbey intoned the responsory *Miles χpisti*; this was repeated by the cantor of the cathedral. Its versicle, *ut celestis*, was sung by two canons and two monks together, at the pulpit, and the entrance of the choir of the abbey was made while singing the responsory *Sancte audoene*.[447] The silent processions on the eve of St. Ouen's feast and the joint singing of responsories at the procession before Mass the next day are recorded only in the processional A. 551.

The eve of St. Ouen's feast seems to have been the occasion, according to a lengthy rubric in the ordinal Y. 110, at which the abbot of Saint-Ouen provided money and gifts to personnel of the cathedral:

> After finishing [First] Vespers, the procession should return to the cathedral, and on the morrow should go to Saint-Ouen just as at Vespers after the Mass of the Day. And all [clerics of the cathedral] should be in the procession with the monks and in copes at the Mass. And the abbot and monastery of Saint-Ouen should pay

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cruce. Cum autem processio peruenerit ad ecclesiam cantata facta cantor monachis incipiat responsorium. *Sint lumbi*. et eat processio monachorum post eat uero cantor beate marie maioris ecclesie incipiat hoc responsorium. Quo finito incipiat cantor monachus. In statione responsorium. *Miles xpisti*. Duo canonici et duo monachi cantent versum in pulpito. *vt celestis*. Qui maior [illegible] in processio incipiat ad introitum responsorium. *Sancte audoene*. Sequitur processio de sancto audoeno in maiori ecclesia. ultime vespere non sunt de apostolo sed de sancto audoeno. Quibus finitis et facta memoria de apostolo eat processio ad altare crucis vno de regentibus chorum incipiente hoc responsorium. *Digne pater audoene non cessa nos domino commendare qui pro regis anulo tibi manet impremio*. Duo regentes chorum cantent versum ante altare. *Ut te precante inimici ipsum quoque mereamur consequi. Qui*."

[446] Processional A. 551, ff. 76v–76bis-r.

[447] Ibid.

> the lords of the chapter their procuration fee: one hundred *solidos*, of which each canon present must receive two *solidos*; each of seven monks of Saint-Lô two *solidos*; and the boys of the choir five *solidos*. The remainder must be distributed among the daily chaplains. And likewise the boys of the altar should receive a vessel used for Holy Water filled with good wine from the cellar of Saint-Ouen. After Mass the procession should return to the cathedral and depart in peace, and from there to refreshment.[448]

It is uncertain how long prior to the fifteenth this custom had been practiced. These fascinating details are perhaps corroborated by expense ledgers of the chapter, but Y. 110 is the only liturgical source to give full context to the custom. The remuneration by the monastery was not limited to the canons of the chapter, but also chaplains, boys of the choir, boys of the altar, and monks from Saint-Lô.

Both the processional A. 551 and the ordinal Y. 110 show that the chapter made a procession after Second Vespers of St. Ouen to a station while singing the responsory *Digne pater audoene*, and that the two canons directing the choir sang its versicle, *Ut to precante*. They differ in the station, however: A. 551 names the altar of the Cross in the nave, but Y. 110 names the altar of St. Ouen.[449] This responsory, as well as the sequence Alma cohors, discussed below, were parts of the Office of St. Ouen composed by Isembert, monk of St. Ouen and first abbot of

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[448] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 198v: "Finitis vesperis redeat processio ad ecclesiam. et in crastino eat processio apud sanctum audoenum sicut in vesperas post maiorem missam. et sint omnes cum monachis in processio. et missa in cappis. Et debent soluere dominos de capitulo. Abbas et conuentus sancti audoeni pro procuratione. Centum solidos de quibus quilibet canonicus presens debet percipere duos solidos. et septem religiosi de sancto laudo quilibet duos solidos et pueri chori quinque solidos. Residuum debet distribui inter capellanos cotidiani percipientes. Et etiam pueri altaris debent percipere vas in quo portatur aqua benedicta plenum bono uino de celario sancti audoeni. Post missam redeat processio ad ecclesiam et in pace recedant. et inde ad refectionem."

[449] The location of an altar of St. Ouen or a chapel of St. Ouen within the cathedral is unknown to me; I have been unable to find references to it in chapter documents or the histories of Farin and Pommeraye, the earliest to postdate this reference in the fifteenth-century ordinal.

La-Trinité-du-Mont.[450] A chronicle entry of 1031 from Sainte-Catherine, redacted into the Chronicon triplex, mentions the Office and its creator:

> A.D. 1031. Thus, the divine Isembert, first abbot and rector of this place, directed the monastery in a praiseworthy manner by grace of the holy spirit; and because he was considered to be inferior to no one in the liberal arts in his time, when he was already still at St. Ouen, having been asked resolutely by abbot Henry and his brothers, he composed a historia of Blessed Ouen in a sweet melody and popularized in singing [that] of Blessed Nicholas which had yet not been heard among us, for which many assert that it had been made by him, but that he did not wish to profess it due to his humility.[451]

As I mentioned in chapter one, the sanctorale of our gradual is not studded with signet saints of Rouen; this points to an origin in the first quarter of the thirteenth century or earlier, since beginning with the archiepiscopate of Thibaut of Amiens in 1222 the Rouennais kalendar expanded greatly. One effect of the relatively compact sanctorale of gradual 904 is that the feast of St. Ouen (ff. 225r–227r) is surrounded on either side by long sections of Marian material:

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[450] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, book 3, p. 301; Elphège Vacandard (abbé), Vie de Saint Ouen, évêque de Rouen (641–684): étude d'histoire mérovingienne (Paris, Lecoffre, 1902); Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 129; Robert Fawtier, "Les reliques rouennaises de sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 357–68 at 363–4; Marie Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie (Caen: Caron, 1961), p. 293; François Dolbeau, "Prose, rythme et mètre: réécritures dans le dossiers de saint Ouen," in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiévale: transformations formelles et idéologiques*, ed. Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann, 231–250, Beihefte zu Francia 58 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2003); Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, vol. 2 of 2: Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins (Xe–XIIe siècle) (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2007), pp. 264–5. For Isembert and relics of St. Catherine, see Alb. Poncelet, "Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia saec. XI," *Analecta Bollandiana* 1 (1903): 423–38 at 424; Christine Walsh, *The Cult of St. Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe*, Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 75–76.

[451] *Chronicon triplex*, ed. Chéruel, p. 4 col. 2 – p. 5 col. 1: "Igitur divinus Isembertus, hujus loci primus abbas et rector, spiritus sancti gratia laudabiliter rexit monasterium; et quia in liberalibus disciplinis nulli suo tempore inferior habebatur, quum jam esset adhuc apud S. Audoenum, ab abbate Henrico et fratribus obnixe rogatus, historiam B. Audoeni dulci modulamine composuit et Beati Nicolai necdum apud nos auditam cantando populavit, unde plurimi asseverant ab eo editam fuisse, sed humilitatis gratia id profiteri noluisse."

Vigil of the Assumption, Assumption, and the Octave of Assumption (ff. 216v–225r); and the Nativity of BVM and its Octave (ff. 227v–229r).[452]

Despite the importance of St. Ouen at the cathedral, the manuscript bears three errors concerning this liturgy—individual chants, the sequence of Offices, and the binding of the book—so serious that the order of the feast simply falls apart. First, the only material given from the Mass of St. Ouen is the sequence *Alma cohors una laudum*, its incipit misspelled (*choors*) and its order in the celebration misplaced (f. 225r). It appears too soon, following the material for the Mass of St. Bartholomew on the previous day, but before the responsory *Digne pater audoene* (f. 227r). This, however, is not correct. *Digne pater* was the responsory was sung in the procession after Second Vespers of St. Ouen,[453] which occurred after the Mass of St. Bartholomew and before the Mass of St. Ouen. But the placement of *Alma cohors* seems deliberate on the part of the scribe, who followed it with the (incorrect) liturgical direction, "Sequatur processio in vesperis ad altare de naui ecclesie" (f. 227r). This reveals that the scribe did not understand the sequence of Offices for the day, which may have been complicated by the observance of both First and Second Vespers for St. Ouen. Second, noticeably, *Alma cohors* was left unfinished: its text underlay and staff-ruling were executed, but the notation stopped in the middle of the verse *Nos quoque supplices*, leaving the last third of the sequence unnotated. Perhaps this reflects a scribal scenario in which a music scribe realized the error of a text scribe

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[452] This is to say, large passages of Marian material with music notation are the surroundings of the notated St. Ouen material. There are rubrics for Mass chants and prayers of some other intervening feasts, such as St. John the Baptist, but none with music notation.

[453] The responsory *Digne pater audoene* was also sung on Rogation Wednesday, with slight variations (f. 140v), and before the portals of Saint-Ouen ("ante waluas ecclesie") in the procession of the Greater Litany on the feast of St. Mark (f. 201v), discussed below. Its ritual context therefore, was always movement. Its use linked the procession after Vespers on the saint's feast day to the lesser and greater litanies.

in the placement of *Alma cohors* and decided not to expend further effort in copying it—or perhaps not to do so without first attempting a solution. I say this because one bifolium of the gathering ff. 221–228 was transposed, and as a result, all of the openings of the gathering are mismatched except for its central opening (ff. 224v–225r). The correct order ought to be ff. 221, 223, 222, 224, 225, 227, 226, 228, which reunites the disordered halves of six chants (Table 4.4).

FEAST	CHANT	INCIPIT	OPENING	
Mass of Octave of Assumption of BMV	Seq.	*Verbum bonum et suave personemus*	221v	223r
	Seq.	*Letabundus exultet fidelis chorus*	223v	222r
	Seq.	*Post partum uirgo maria*	222v	224r
Mass of St. Ouen	Seq.	*Alma cohors una laudum*	225v	227r
Nativity of BMV at procession	Resp.	*Ad nutum domini*	227v	226r
at Mass	Seq.	*Alle celeste necnon*	226v	228r

TABLE 4.4. RECONSTRUCTED OPENINGS FROM THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY GRADUAL, BNF LAT 904, FF. 221–228.

A marginal rubric at the beginning of *Alma cohors*, partially trimmed, directs the reader away from this page: *hec sequencia non est hic [bona.] Require eam post dedicationem inter temporale et genes de [sanctorale]* (f. 225r). Loriquet referred to this "copie fautive de la prose de S. Ouen" as an abandoned version sequence that was successfully executed at ff. 185v–186v.[454] Indeed, following material for the Dedication rite, another version of *Alma cohors* is found between the temporale and sanctorale, with the rubric *De sancto audoeno sequentia*. But Loriquet did not observe its differing text: *Alma cohors...quibus en insignis*; (f. 186v); and *Alma cohors...in hac die sacra*. (f. 225r).

[454] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, p. 5.

Extraordinary processions for triumph and calamity

Extraordinary processions were made by the cathedral for occasions outside of the order (*extra ordinem*) of the liturgies proper to the time and to the saints of the year. These processions were organized *ad hoc* for occasions of military conflict, natural disaster, peace, and the wellbeing of the French monarch. A papal bull with the seal of Honorius III, addressed in 1226 to the Archbishop of Rouen, Thibaut d'Amiens, and his suffragans, announced the papal favor of the sixth Crusade and that it would begin in two years.[455] It listed the enormous resources committed by the Holy See and by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and newly-crowned King of Jerusalem, of knights, horses, other travellers, galleys, and safe passage and maintenance of all abroad. It called upon the archbishop of Rouen and his suffragans to sing Psalm 78, *Deus uenerunt gentes*, at every Mass between the kiss of peace and the Communion, except on Sundays and feast days. Processions were called for by Honorius as one form of ongoing funding for the Crusade, in addition to the new tax of one twentieth upon clergy that he had instituted in 1221, at the end of the failed fifth Crusade.[456] Monthly general processions were to be made throughout the province of Normandy, with preaching. Special coffers for general offerings were to be placed in churches that were the points of return of these processions, and contributions were expected of those who could not personally travel to Jerusalem, with the offering of indulgences in return. The role of the public in these general processions was extended from spectator of the ceremony and audience of the sermon, to active contributor in the form of offerings given at the termination of the ceremonial movement.

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[455] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1122.

[456] Rebecca Rist, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London: Continuum, 2009), pp. 97–8.

For a Norman duke or a French king to be ceremonially received in the city of Rouen was to be received in its cathedral. General processions were made on the triumphal entry to Rouen of Norman dukes, and later French kings. Pommeraye quoted Dudo of Saint-Quentin in the reception of Richard I Duke of Normandy after establishing peace with King Louis IV of France. Richard was received by clergy who accompanied him with reliquaries into the cathedral, where he made offerings of thanksgiving and intercession of BMV.[457] This held true also for titular Dukes of Normandy after the annexation of Normandy to France, as well as for English nobles occupying Normandy during the Hundred Years' War. Following the annexation of Normandy into the kingdom of France in 1204, the title of Duke of Normandy was bestowed by French kings to their sons: King Philip VI of France granted the ducal title to his son John in 1332, who upon his coronation as King John II of France granted it to his son Charles in 1350. Charles made two triumphal entries into Rouen, first as prince and Duke of Normandy in 1355, on which occasion he received the ducal sword,[458] and later in 1364 as King Charles V, on which occasion he was greeting by the cathedral chapter, vested in copes, and dignitaries including the bishop of Coutances and abbots of several ancient monasteries of the Seine Valley; the archdeacon of Eu, who was chosen as the canon most senior in dignity, administered Holy Water and a text of the Gospel to the king.[459]

The siege of Rouen in 1419 by King Henry V of England, marking thirty years of occupation of the city by the English, is found as a relatively late entry in versions the English

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[457] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 13–14

[458] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 1, p. 117; Pommeraye, *Archevesqves*, p. 516.

[459] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2116, f. 86.

Brut chronicle.[460] Harfleur, the port of the mouth of the Seine at the English Channel (extensively built up from the sixteenth century as Le Havre), was a strategic site of conquest and re-conquest during the Hundred Years' War. The Rouen cathedral chapter deliberated extensively after the English siege of in 1440, ordering general processions.[461] Farin's account of the triumphal entries into Rouen of English kings, dukes, counts, and countesses during the Hundred Years' War made no distinction in the format of narration or interpretive commentary of the kind expected of Pommeraye. Farin stated two entries of the English: in 1441 Richard Duke of York was received at the great portal of the cathedral by Rudolphe Roussel, canon and treasurer, with the ceremony befitting the reception of kings and princes.[462] And in 1448 the Count and Countess of Dorset were received at the cathedral by treasurer Philippe de la Rose. The care Farin took to mention the gifts of precious objects given by the English count to the Hôtel de Ville of Rouen—a silver coupe with coverlet and two vases with rubies in gold mountings—heightens the contrast of the recapture of Rouen for France the following year by King Charles VII of France.

During the English occupation of Rouen particularly detailed records about ordinary and extraordinary processions were kept, especially for the years 1436/7 to 1445/6. Off all the recorded processions, a large number were made on behalf of peace (Table 4.5, and Appendix 4 for greater context).

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[460] Rouen and the siege of Henry V in 1419 is included, for instance, in the *Brut* manuscript in the private collection of Julius Wangenheim, San Diego: Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, v. 2 of 3, (New York: Reprinted by permission of the original publishers and the Bibliographical Society of America by Kraus Reprint Corporation, 196), p. 2243.

[461] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 42.

[462] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 1, p. 117–8.

	1437/8	1438/9	1439/40	1440/1	1441/2	1442/3	1445/6
St. Denis (Oct. 9)				cathedral; Cordeliers			
St. Catherine (Nov. 25)						St-Ouen	cathedral
Advent, Third Week			St-Jacques				
St. Maur (Jan. 15)						✓	
St. Vincent (Jan. 22)		✓					
Septuagesima, Second Week			St-Augustin				St-Ouen
Easter, Fourth Sunday		St-Ouen	St-Ouen				
Ascension Sunday	St-Ouen						
SS. Gervasius & Protasius (June 19)				La cour de l'official			
St. John the Baptist (June 24)	ND-la-Ronde		St-Jacques		St-Ouen		
SS. Peter & Paul (June 29)	✓	St-Ouen					
St. Benedict (July 11)	St-Herbland						
St. Arnoult (July 18)	St-Denis	St-Jacques					
St. Marguerite (July 20)				St-Augustin			
St. Jacques (July 25)				St-Jacques			
St. Peter in Chains (August 1)	St-Candé-le-jeune	Carmelites			Carmelites		
Assumption of BMV (August 15)		Cordeliers; St-Augustin					
St. Bartholomew (August 24)		St-Ouen, at Vespers; St-Sauveur	St-Ouen, at Vespers	St-Ouen, at Vespers	Cordeliers		
Beheading of St. John the Baptist (August 29)				Cordeliers; cathedral			
St. Giles (Sep. 1)			St-Augustin				
St. Fermin (Sep. 25)		Carmelites					

(✓ = procession with no station indicated)

TABLE 4.5. EXTRAORDINARY PROCESSIONS FOR PEACE DURING ENGLISH OCCUPATION OF ROUEN, 1437/8–1445/6.

Having driven the Duke of Somerset out of the castle of Rouen and achieved strategic victory at the abbey of St. Catherine, King Charles VII descended directly from the mount to the east in order to make his triumphal entry to Rouen on November 10, 1449. Farin narrated this moment, marking the end of the Hundred Years' War, in exuberant terms: Charles was received by all the clergy and bourgeois, and after presenting him with keys to the city and a baldaquin, they prepared a fountain displaying the heraldry of the city which spouted wine instead of water. Upon his reception within the cathedral, the *Te Deum* was sung. The following day a general procession was made, and for another day after that boutiques remained closed so that the public might celebrate.[463] The triumphal entry of Charles was later added to Norman kalendars as *la réduction de la Normandie* (August 12), commemorated with general processions in the dioceses of Rouen and Évreux (Figure 4.4).[464]

Immediately afterward, the chapter made significant deliberations concerning the liberation of Harfleur from the English, the canons declining to subsidize a siege of the port, but the entrustment to the cathedral treasury of 4,000 *livres* from clerics of the diocese for its recovery.[465] As more and more of English occupation withdrew from France, general processions

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[463] Ibid.

[464] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 49; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 673; Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 3, p. 44; Delamare, *Calendrier d'Évreux*, p. 93. To my knowledge the earliest notation of *la réduction de la Normandie* is the addition in a later hand to the kalendar of the notated breviary from the abbey of Saint-Ouen, A. 531 (192), f. 5v, "reductio normannie" (Figure 4.1). This appears to be the same hand of a lengthy inscription at f. 146v beginning, "Lan mil vcc lxij [1562] les husguenoz saccagerent le troissieme foit les eglises de la ville de Rouen..." (Figure 4.5).

[465] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 42; G. 2134: November 20 and December 1, 1449.

were made in Rouen, including general processions in 1453/4 for "la réduction de Bordeaux."[466] The organization of general processions for the French monarch and for peace continued after the reign of Charles VII. The Carmelites of Rouen held processions in 1464/5 for the wellbeing of King Louis XI,[467] and general processions were made in 1474/5 for peace established between the French and English kings.[468] Under Louis XII, general processions were made in 1501/2 for universal peace.[469]

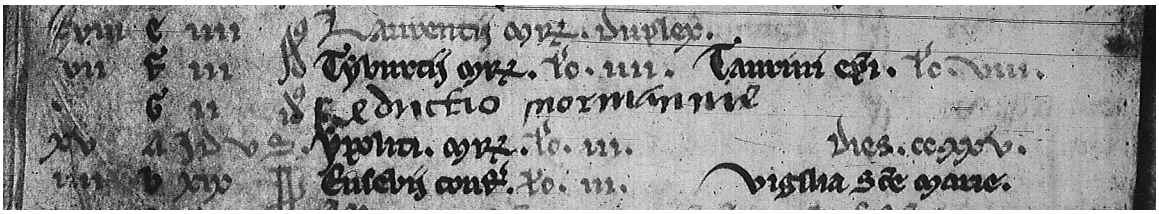


FIGURE 4.4. *REDUCTIO NORMANNIE* (AUGUST 12), LATER ADDITION TO KALENDAR OF NOTED BREVIARY OF SAINT-OUEN, COMMEMORATING TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF KING CHARLES VII IN 1449 (BMR A. 531, F. 5V).

[466] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 51.

[467] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 62.

[468] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 70.

[469] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 87.

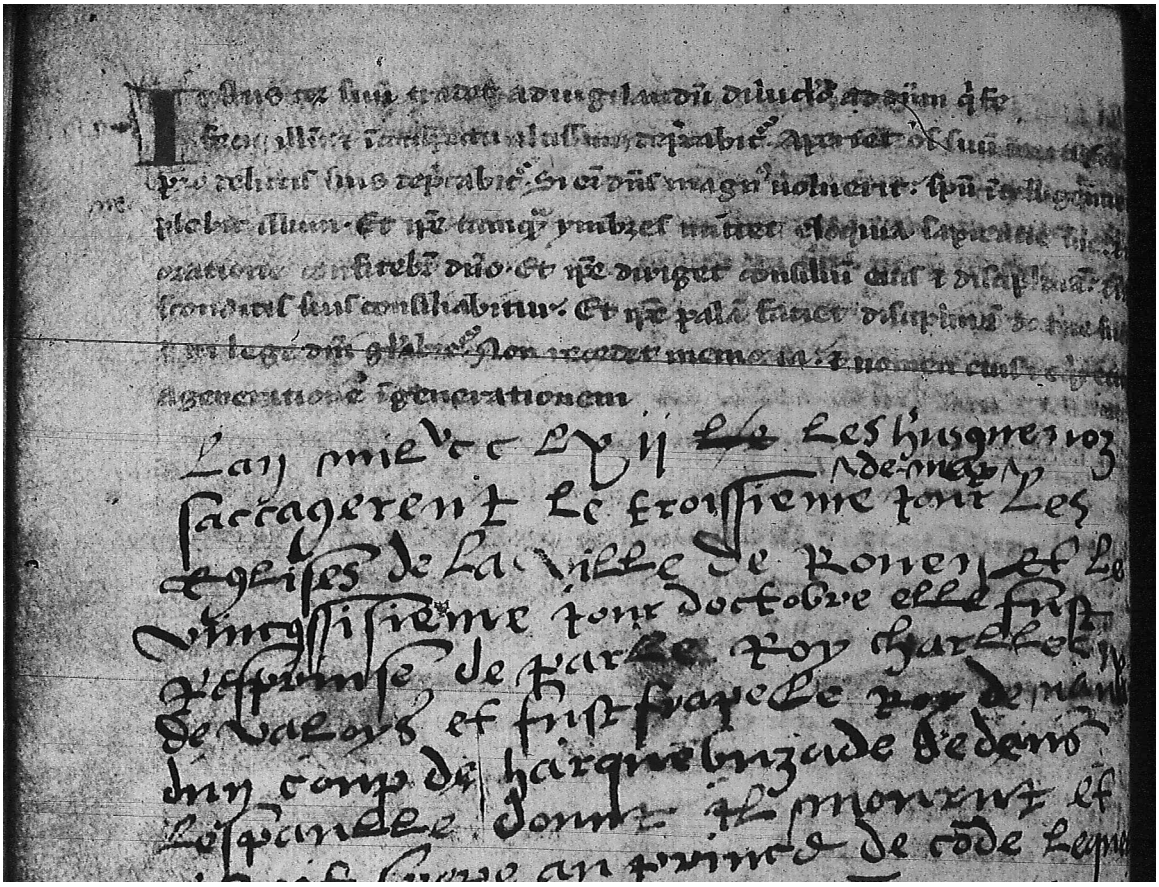


FIGURE 4.5. ADDED INSCRIPTION IN IDENTICAL HAND: "LAN MIL VCC LXIJ [1562] LES HUSGUENOZ SACCAGERENT LE TROISSIEME FOIT LES EGLISES DE LA VILLE DE ROUEN" (BMR A. 531, F. 146V).

The supplication for favorable and against calamitous conditions were integrated into the processions and prayers of the Rogation Days: for favorable weather (*ad postulandam serenitatem*), for rain (*ad pluuiam postulandam*), against plague, pestilence, and famine (*propter mortalitatem uel pestilentiam uel faminem*), for healthy crops (*pro fructibus*), and for peace (*pro pace*).[470] But flood, fire, and earthquake were the occasions of general processions attested in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These processions, unlike those of the Rogation Days, were occasions of intercession for or against things at hand, rather than things to come. For instance, on January 16, 1496/7 the Seine flooded a region of the north bank of Rouen extending nearly up

[470] Gradual 904, ff. 141v–145v; processional A. 551, ff. 81r–91v.

to the Vieux-Marché. General processions were made around this area, "dedens la ville jusques aux Augutins et aux Cordeliers."[471]

On the morning of October 4, 1514 metalworkers performing repairs on the main spire of the cathedral accidentally set fire to its carpentry. According to a manuscript from the Bigot library, quoted by Pommeraye, the inferno was seen billowing from the tower by ten o'clock in the morning:

> Even so, the fire that clung with greater furor to this beautiful spire reduced it to ashes in less than an hour, such that rivulets of lead were seen streaming down rooves into the gutters, mixed with the metal of the bells from the tower.
>
> Cependant le feu qui s'étoit attaché avec plus de fureur à cette belle pyramide la reduisit en cendre à moins d'une heure; de sorte que l'on voyoit couler les ruisseaux de plomb de dessus les toicts & par dedans les gouttieres, meslé avec le metail des cloches qui étoient dans le clocher.[472]

The unrelenting strength of the fire was expressed in terms of immediacy: in an unfathomably brief span of time the spire was reduced to ashes. But there is a play on time at work in the narrative: in between the appearance of the fire in the morning and the complete destruction of the spire, so reads the account, many public prayers were made, and processions with saints' relics were made with extraordinary devotion.[473] This mobilization of personnel and relics must have been instantaneous, if the entire spire had been reduced to ashes within the space of an hour. By contrast, it took five days, until October 9, to organize a general procession, with a sermon by Artus Fillon, canon of the cathedral and doctor of theology, to offer thanksgiving for the sparing of the cathedral as a whole and to offer indulgences and urge the

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[471] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 83.

[472] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 26–28.

[473] Ibid., p. 26: "il se fit plusieurs prieres publiques & Processions où les Reliques des Saints furent portées avec une devotion extraordinaire."

public to give donations for rebuilding. What matters more than the compression and stretching of time in this narrative—one procession (with relics) mobilized instantly, and another organized over five days; the melting of the metal of bells along with the lead of the spire within one hour—is the way in which processions served as an exhibition of communal piety during an emergency.

Powerful earthquakes originating in the Pas de Calais on April 6, 1580, the Wednesday of Easter, occurred in episodes of such intensity and frequency that it not only produced consistent accounts on either side of the English Channel, but it mobilized the resources required to publish such accounts within mere days of the event. One report from Paris relates how the quake shook Upper Normandy, the French Vexin, and Picardy to such an extent that the inhabitants of Rouen assembled for procession from the onset of the earthquakes that afternoon until late into the night:

> During these last earthquakes, which occurred on April 6, 1580 in the cities of Rouen, Beauvais, Pontoise, and other places in this kingdom, at four o'clock in the afternoon or thereabouts, a horrible and terrifying trembling of the earth was heard, which all inhabitants believed to be the beginning of the Last Judgment: so much so, that all the aforementioned places where the earthquake struck were greatly shaken by it, and even the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Pontoise was largely demolished and swallowed up by it. This moved the people to pray to God and to make general processions, which processions continued within the city of Rouen, from the beginning of the earthquake until the hour of midnight, and justice was ordered of every person, and that each one close his business, and get started at once on prayers and suffrages. Many were so afraid that they did not know whether they should abandon their homes to flee, but they found no sure place for their safety.[474]

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[474] *Discours merveilleux et effroyable du grand tremblement de terre advenu ès villes de Rouen, Beauvais, Pontoise, Mantes, Poicy, Saint-Germain en Laye, Calais et autres endroits de ce royaume, avec le treicté des processions, & prieres publiques qui ont esté faictes* (A Paris: pour Jean Coquerel,...1580): "En ses derniers tremblemens de terre, qui sont aduenus le 6. iour de ce present moys d'Auril, mil cinq cens quatre vingts, és villes de Rouen, Beauuais, Pontoyse, & autres lieux de ce Royaume, sur les quatre heures du soir, ou enuiron, fut ouy vn fort horrible tremblement de terre & effroyable, qui continua par plusieurs foys, depui quatre heures iusques à

This passage distinguished indoor and outdoor spaces of every scale, from the vast to the most intimate: the land of the kingdom, the whole cathedral church of Pontoise, and the interiors of boutiques and houses. Although the destruction at Pontoise was greatly exaggerated—its cathedral did not collapse, but sustained some damage, confirmed by other accounts[475]—the terror in Rouen was depicted here vividly. The assembly for procession seems daring to the point of terrifying in the image painted by these accounts. Unlike the processions of the Rogation Days, or general processions made as a result of war, famine, or flood, these processions during the earthquake of April 6, 1580 tread on the very ground that was shaking, toeing the line at every hour between risk and relief. Nevertheless, it recalled the antiphon, *Timor et tremor uenit in niniuem ciuitatem*, which narrated the disasters prophesied for the Assyrian city Nineveh, sung in the procession of Rogation Wednesday at Rouen.[476]

Palm Sunday: archiepiscopal procession

One peculiarity of the Palm Sunday procession at Rouen cathedral was the movement of the consecrated host (*le corps saint; corpus domini*), prior of the gathering of the public in the

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sept heures du soirs auec telle vehemence & bruit, que tous les habitans pensoient estre au bout du dernier iugement: tellement que tout ledict lieu là où est auenu tel tremblement, en sont grandement esbranlez, & mesmement l'Eglise Cathedrale, nostre Dame de Pontoise en a esté grandement demolie & interessee. Ce qui a esmue le peuple à prier Dieu, & faire processions generales: lesquelles processions furent continuees en la ville de Rouen, depuis le commencement du tremblement de terre, iusques à l'heure de minuict, & fut enioinct a toute personne de iustice, & que vn chacun eust à fermer sa boutique, & se mettre en prieres & oraisons. Plusieurs estoient si effroyez qu'ils ne sçauoient si deuoyent abandonner leurs maisons pour leur en fuyr: mais il ne se trouuoit lieu asseuré pour leur seureté."

[475] Journal entry from 1580 of Jean Mollet, bourgeois de Beauvais, printed in G. Bellart and A. Vion, "Documents sur le tremblement de terre du 6 avril 1580," *Bulletin de la commission départementale d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas de Calais* 12 (1986–1990).

[476] Gradual 904, f. 134r; processional A. 551, ff. 50v–51r.

cathedral, to the destination, elsewhere in the city, of the public procession that would later take place. This destination became the site of encounter between the clerics and populace with the host, and after the moment of encounter the people and clerics returned in procession to the cathedral with the host.

The moment-to-moment unfolding of the Palm Sunday procession has been well documented by Farin, Pommeraye, Collette, and more recently by Claire Étienne-Steiner.[477] The practice of removing the host ahead of the procession is not described in the *Liber ecclesiasticis* of Jean d'Avranches and cannot therefore be assumed to have been in practice at Rouen in the middle of the eleventh century. Instead, it seem to originate with Lanfranc, the first Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, in rules given by him to monastic and secular institutions in England.[478] If the mission of Lanfranc from Normandy to Canterbury represented a reinforcement of Norman institutions, in Haskins' sense, then the similarity of this Palm Sunday usage perhaps represented a reverberation from the newly-conquered British Isles back across the Channel. This is not the postulation of Edmund Bishop, who, in finding a close similarity between the Palm Sunday rite of Hereford and Rouen, rather than Hereford and Sarum, believed

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[477] Jean-Baptiste Le Brun des Marettes, *Voyages liturgiques de France ou Recherches faites en diverses villes du royaume: contenant plusieurs particularitez touchant les rits & les usages des Églises, avec des découvertes sur l'antiquité ecclésiastique & payenne* (A Paris: Chez Florentin Delaulne, 1718), p. 337; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 676; Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 41; Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, pp. 37–41; Claire Étienne-Steiner, "Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à la cathédrale de Rouen," in Yves Lescroart (dir.), *396–1996, XVIe centenaire de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Rouen: Connaissance du patrimoine, 2005), p. 208.

[478] *B. Lanfranci cantuariensis archiepiscopi, Decreta pro ordine S. Benedicti hoc est obseruationes quas monachi tum in monasteriis tum etiam in ecclesiis cathedralibus obseruare debeant*, PL 150, col. 456, cited in Loriquet, Le graduel, vol. 1, p. 38. A potential counterpoint requiring further research is the collection dated 1396 of excerpts from a book dated 1069 containing directive for procession of Palm Sunday, Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 3659.

the adoption to have been made directly from Normandy.[479] Bishop performed a detailed comparison of the *ordines* of Palm Sunday from Rouen and Hereford, showing a high degree of similarity between the two, closer than either to the Use of Sarum. It is a comparison of this one rite only, from which he wished to move toward generalizations about genealogies; his hypothesis is that the Hereford rite derived from that of Rouen, not Sarum. The sources Bishop quotes are from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, including a source from Rouen that must be the ordinal Y. 110, transcribed in part by Le Prévost in his edition of Jean d'Avranches,[480] and from Hereford an edition of the missal and the fourteenth-century ordinal, MS Harley 2983. His analysis shows that the Rouen and Hereford processions of Palm Sunday are similar in the antiphons sung along their routes, and in the removal early in the day of consecrated host to some place outside the cathedral (for Hereford, he says, a location surely outside the city walls).[481] Retracing Bishop's steps, William Smith found a more moderate degree of similarity between the Hereford rite to those of both Rouen and Sarum, the latter especially in its canon and prayers of the Mass proper, and Richard Pfaff emphasized the slenderness of Edmund's evidence, namely the single rite, and the chronological distance separating sources of the three rites in question.[482]

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[479] Edmund Bishop, "Holy Week Rites of Sarum, Hereford and Rouen Compared," *Liturgica historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 276–300.

[480] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, cols. 117–9.

[481] Bishop, "Holy Week Rites," p. 279.

[482] William Smith, *The Use of Hereford: The Sources of a Medieval English Diocesan Rite* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 466–8.

In the thirteenth-century processional from Rouen the destination to which the host was removed prior to the procession is lost in a torn page, and in the gradual 904 it was referred to simply as the *locus destinatus*.[483] But an early confirmation of this destination, a posthumous donation in support of the Palm Sunday procession made in 1285 by Étienne of Sens, archdeacon of the Grand-Caux, named the ancient parish church of Saint-Godard as its destination.[484] The fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110 is therefore likely the earliest liturgical source to name Saint-Godard:

> After Matins, the host should be carried off in the *feretrum* to the determined place by two priests in albs from the lower row of the choir. There should be twelve attendants surrounding the *feretrum*, carrying twelve torches, which are the responsibility of the lord archbishop. Two canons of the higher row of the choir should bear two torches of the choir along with the host to the atrium of St. Godard.
>
> Finitis matutinis deferatur corpus domini ad locum determinatum in feretro a duobus sacerdotibus de ij sede in albis. Et sint duodecim famuli circa feretrum portantes duodecim torchias quas debet dominus archiepiscopus et duo de prima sede ferant duas torchias chori et corpus domini usque ad atrium sancti gildardi.[485]

In addition to palms and the uncovered cross, two instruments or objects were important to this preamble to the Palm Sunday procession: the *feretrum* which bore the host, held and carried by two canons of the lower row; and several torches carried by attendants and two canons of the higher row. It is difficult to corroborate these details prior to the fifteenth century, since the thirteenth century gradual and processional contain only the blessings and procession of Palm Sunday themselves, not the removal of the host beforehand. On the events beginning in the cathedral, however, there is concordance across the sources. At the cathedral, the Holy Water

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[483] Gradual 904, f. 76r.

[484] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2090.

[485] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 71r.

was blessed, and a procession was made with an uncovered Cross to the altar of the Cross, at which altar the palm leaves were blessed. After this, the clerics and public moved out from the cathedral along a route through the city to the *locus determinatus*, or Saint-Godard, and instead of a station being made with responsory, versicle, and collect, a sermon was given to the public.

The exact location of this sermon was given by Pommeraye as the cemetery between the churches of Saint-Godard and Saint-Laurent. This is consistent with Palm Sunday processions in any number of locations, which mapped local topography to biblical narrative, first typically moving to a cemetery in representation of the biblical site of Golgotha, and from there to a nearby hill, mount, or other high point in correspondence with the Mount of Olives.[486] Pommeraye explained the weight of tradition at Rouen that the church of Saint-Godard had been the first burying-place of St. Godard as well as St. Romain. But he viewed as false and wished to debunk a second popular belief among the Rouennais, which was that the church of Saint-Godard had been the ancient and earliest location of the episcopal seat of Rouen, at a time when it had been dedicated to BMV.[487] His exasperated sense that such an idea should persist nevertheless highlights the importance of processions in transforming mere space into meaningful place where, for the public, many kinds of significance accumulated.

Although the ordinal Y. 110 named the *church* of Saint-Godard as the location of the earlier-transported host, it did not specify the *cemetery* near that church as the site of the sermon;

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[486] Felbecker, *Die Prozession* (1995); Wright has shown these points of correspondence at Chartres as the cemetery of Saint-Barthélemy and the abbey of Saint-Cheron, p. 346.

[487] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, p. 15.

instead it referred simply to the unnamed *locus* of the sermon.[488] That the site of the sermon be close to the church, however, seems correct, since shortly after the sermon, the public procession entered the church of Saint-Godard and within encountered the host. Standing in front of the *feretrum*, five clerics from the lower row of the choir, wearing albs and amices, initiated the hymn *En rex uenit mansuetus tibi syon*, which was continued by the high dignitaries present—archbishop, cantor, deacon, subdeacon—and responses by the choir.[489] From this moment the host would be conveyed along with the procession to the city gate and then to the cathedral.[490]

The city gate of the Grand Pont of Rouen was decorated on Palm Sunday in representation of the city gate of Jerusalem. Boys of the choir climbed high into the tower of the city gate, from which they sang *Gloria laus et honor*, just as the text of the antiphon *Ingrediente domino* said that the boys in Jerusalem sang at its city gate.[491] Although it was typical for *Gloria laus* to be sung at a high place in many cities on Palm Sunday, at Rouen it had special resonance with the striking first word, *Gloria*, sung by boys from high in the vaults of the cathedral in the *Officium pastorum* of Christmas—high voices sounding from a high place. On Palm Sunday, as on Christmas, the ascent of boys into architectural heights invited watchers and listeners to imagine inhabiting those inaccessible spaces of the present world, and through mimesis the

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[488] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 71v: "Once arrived at the place where the station should be made, a sermon is given to the public" (*Cum autem uentum fuerit ad locum ubi statio debet fieri, fiat sermo ad populum*).

[489] Gradual 904, f. 77v; processional A. 551, f. 18v; ordinal Y. 110 71v–72r.

[490] Confraternities, discussed in greater detail in the context of the Rogation Days, below, played a part in the Palm Sunday procession. An early record of the presence of the confraternity of the Saint-Sacrement from May 27, 1373, records its échevin being struck during the course of the procession (G. 2115).

[491] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 72r.

inaccessible world of the biblical narrative represented by the ceremony. From the Grand Pont the public procession moved to the cathedral, where the chapter entered the choir and Mass was begun.

Rogation Days: public processions

By the thirteenth century the breadth of the city of Rouen, from the Port Cauchoise in the west to the Porte Martainville in the east, was approximately 2.5 kilometers, about 30 minutes under favorable conditions by foot. But outside the city walls the terrain steepened, flanked by mountains, Mont-aux-Malades to the west and Mont-Sainte-Catherine to the east. These two extremes were the destinations of Rogation Tuesday and Rogation Wednesday processions, after the Rogation Monday ambulation west from the cathedral to the Vieux-Marché, which lay outside the city in the eleventh century but within its walls in the thirteenth.

During each day of the Rogations the public procession in the city passed certain parish churches, at which responsories and antiphons were sung in veneration of the saint dedicatee.[492]

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[492] Gradual 904, f. 127r: "Cum uero proc*essio* per aliquam eccl*es*iam transierit dicat*ur* ant*iphonam* u*e*l *responsorium* de s*anct*o"; and ordinal Y. 110, f. 105r: "*et* de respons*orio* Ant*iphona* s*anct*or*um per* quor*um paroch*i*am* p*ro*cessio transibit." Dominique Crochu prepared an edition of text and melodies of 52 processional antiphons across nineteen sources, following the order of antiphons in Einsiedeln 121: "Les antiennes du procession des Rogations," *Études grégoriennes* 30 (2002): 61–95; Léopold Delisle published a study in 1904 of the processions of Rogations and Ascension in Évreux: "Chants pour les processions des Rogations et de l'Ascension, tirés d'un Processional d'Évreux," in *Catalogues des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVIe siècle suivi de recherches sur les imprimeurs et les libraires de la même ville*, vol. 2: Recherches sur les Imprimeurs et les Libraires, 61–70, Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie 24 (Caen: Henri Delesques, 1904); Raymond Alexandre Quenedey, *L'Habitation rouennaise: étude d'histoire, de géographie et d'archéologie urbaines* (Rouen, Lestringant, 1926); Alison Altstatt's research on Rogation Day processions of Wilton Abbey showed how liturgical books for those rituals preserved historical details of parish topography otherwise lost in existing archaeological and documentary sources: "The Rogation Processions of Wilton Abbey," *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* 2/2: The Sounds of Processions (2016): 11–48.

The distance traveled by each Rogation procession, leaving from the cathedral, increased from Monday to Tuesday and Wednesday, with attendant increases in altitude (Figure 4.6). The destination of Rogation Wednesday, the summit of Mont-Sainte-Catherine, was the farthest and highest point of the three days of movement. This point was reached by traveling east from the city gate along a road through eastern marshes toward the hamlet of Martainville, followed by an abrupt ascent up the mountain, an adjustment arduous enough on foot without the requirements of speaking, singing, having vested, or carrying reliquaries or other liturgical instruments,[493] but the effort required to follow the route in the ceremony of Rogation Wednesday is intimated by a short rubric in the processional A. 551, which provided a moment of rest at the church of Saint-Michel near the top of the mountain: "...until the procession arrives at Saint-Michel; it should enter the church and there take an ever-so-tiny break" (*...dum processio peruenerit ad sanctum michaelem intret ecclesiam et ibi paululum requiescat*.)[494] This ascent up St. Catherine's mount was less a form of *imitatio* to a mimetic Mount of Olives as on Palm Sunday, and more like a traversal of the litany of saints, a succession of invocations arranged so as to describe a path of intercession between heaven and earth, from the highest beyond to the bones of saints left in the dust of the earth. The achievement of the church of Saint-Michel[495] high on the mountain on Wednesday must have inflected the echelons of archangels and angels invoked in the litany of that day.

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[493] I can attest to the effort required in this ascent, having retraced the itinerary on cool, gray Norman spring days in 2015 and in 2017.

[494] Processional A. 551, f. 52r.

[495] The prominence of the cult of St. Michel in Normandy is nowhere better reflected than at the island of Mont-Saint-Michel, where this precipitous topographical aspect organized every aspect of daily life.

The sources for processions at Rouen are at their richest and finest in the information they convey concerning the Rogation Days. The ordinal Y. 110 presents unique information concerning cathedral reliquaries, the presence and participation of monks within the diocese, of confraternities of the cathedral and parish churches, and of the order of these participants. Where the ordinal falls silent, the gradual 904 and processional A. 551 provide insight. For instance, the ordinal gives only the destination of each Rogation procession, but not the stations along the routes, and therefore no indication of which parts of the urban and suburban topography were traveled before arrival. The gradual 904 shows that these paths were not necessarily the most direct lines between the cathedral and destinations; at its extremities in the western mountains, the Rogation Tuesday procession traversed two branches of a fork, to Saint-Gervais and to Saint-Maur, and made a station at the Grand Pont before returning to the cathedral.

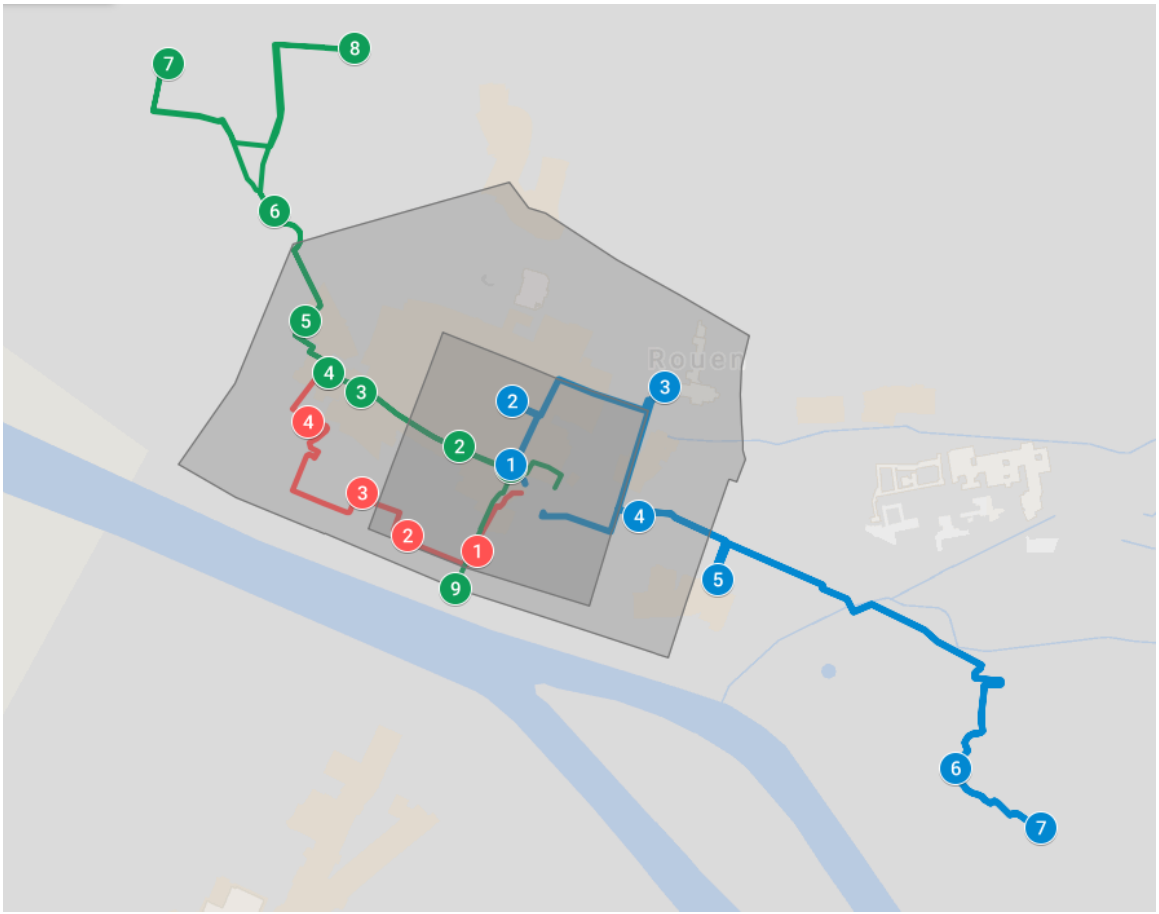


FIGURE 4.6. RECONSTRUCTED PROCESSIONAL ITINERARIES OF ROGATION DAYS, SHOWING STATIONS AND PARISH CHURCHES PASSED ALONG EACH PATH (IMAGE: AUTHOR).

The content for the Rogation Days is not presented in a single linear stream in gradual 904, but presented in three adjacent modules. The first module (ff. 125r–138r) is divided among the three days: Monday (125r–128r), Tuesday (128r–132r), and Wednesday (132r–137v). For the copyists of the gradual it seemed important to use the first module to establish the litany for each day—*Saluator mundi saluatoris* on Monday, *Humili prece* on Tuesday, and *Ardua spes mundi* on Wednesday—and that these be sung during the recession. This module is the earliest source of fully-notated litanies from Rouen. This module is also where the chants and rubrics for the station of each day are given. In brief, it contains the station and return to the cathedral. The

second module (ff. 137v–141r) is also divided among the three days: Monday (137v–138v), Tuesday (138v–140v), and Wednesday (140v–141r). It contains the ceremony for the procession from the cathedral to the station. For Monday and Tuesday this module of gradual 904 it is the only source for this information. It may have been duplicated in A. 551, but those sections of the manuscript are in a *lacuna*; the Wednesday stations differ in order and antiphons and responsories between gradual 904 and processional A. 551. The second module also contains the stations made during the recession which interrupt the litany: Saint-Sauveur on Monday, Saint-Nicolas on Tuesday, and Saint-Maclou on Wednesday. The third module (ff. 141r–145v) contains rogations for special occasions: *ad postulandam serenitatem* (141r–v); *ad postulandam pluviam* (141v–143r); *propter mortalitatem vel pestilentiam vel famen* (143r–144v); *pro fructibus terre* (144v–145r), *pro pace* (145r–v).

The modules do not correspond to the structure of the gatherings, so they were likely not determined by the form of the book: XVI (ff. 119–126), XVII (127–134), XVIII (135–142), XIX (143–150). The modularity could be used as evidence for or against a scenario of redaction from multiple sources, since the modules do not present alternate versions of similar material, but mutually exclusive material. The processional A. 551 closes not with the end of the sanctorale, but with the special ceremonies *ad postulandum*, far from the Rogation days in the context of the book. This is a fortunate accident, since the ending of the Rogation days is lost in a *lacuna* of A. 551. They might have been conceived as a strategy to allow for modular modifications to the ceremonies. Should a different *locus determinatus* be set, or a new route needed, the relevant passages in the book would be conveniently delimited. There are precedents for both of these. From 1436/7 to 1442/3 payment accounts of the cathedral chapter show that the Rogation Wednesday procession traveled to Saint-Vivien rather than Saint-Catherine, and that Rogation

Tuesday processions traveled to Saint-Godard from 1436/7 to 1440/1 and to Saint-Patrice in 1441/2–1442/3 rather than to Saint-Gervais. The return from Saint-Gervais on Rogation Tuesday of 1509 was rerouted to the Porte Bouvreuil via a trench surrounding the city wall because of filth and flooding along the processional route near Saint-Maur (*ad spucitias et immunidicias et alluviones consistentes in quodam parvo viculo prope Sanctum-Maurum*).[496] After the destruction of Saint-Catherine in the sixteenth century the Rogation Wednesday procession went to the parish church of Saint- Nicaise.[497] As a scribal principle, this modularity is consistent with the organization of liturgical books in the thirteenth century, which remained more strictly differentiated by genre and function, but which later converged on a singular temporal flow, providing greater synthesis of information in a single volume, but also greater redundancy.

Relics, stations, and litanies

The format of the procession of Rogation Days was essentially similar to the simple procession after Vespers or before Mass. It consists of a ceremony of departure, a ceremony of arrival, and a ceremony of return. It also had the added ritual of the removal of relics from the cathedral treasury to the choir at the beginning of each day, which was identical on each of the three Rogation days and involved an array of personnel of the cathedral and its confraternities. The elaborate Rogation processions resist the simple conclusion that a station was always the primary objective, since the display of relics and their movement through the urban and suburban topography took extended routes with lengthy litanies and successions of antiphons and

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[496] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2147, dated Ascension Thursday, May 17, 1509. Even when the destinations and routes of Rogations processions changed, the cardinal direction remained the same.

[497] Le Brun des Marettes, *Voyages liturgiques*, p. 345.

responsories. The ceremony of departure from the cathedral involved the transfer of custody of the relics, contained in *châsses*, or reliquaries, that were carried on *feretra*, or biers, from cathedral chaplains to members of the confraternities dedicated to the saints of the relics.

The procession of Rogation Monday began after Sext, at which time the clerics and populace of the city gathered at the cathedral, bearing crosses, images, and banners of the church: "cum feretris crucibus signis et vexillis ecclesiasticis."[498] What kind of objects the *signa* must have been—tapestry, sculpture—is not clear from the context of the ordinal; by the seventeenth century Farin mentioned reliquaries, crosses, and banners, but omitted the *signa*: "avec leurs Chasses de Reliques, leurs Croix & leurs Bannieres."[499] Perhaps these were images of the dragon slayed by St. Romain, which had emerged in the iconography of the stained glass of Saint-Ouen abbey by about 1340;[500] in the seventeenth century Farin described "deux grands dragons… que le Vulgaire apelle Gargouille." If not, then the *gargouilles* have no correspondence in Y. 110, and it is worth observing that this ordinal was a fundamental source for Farin.[501] The image of the *gargouille* would take on important local resonances the day after the Rogations, on Ascension Thursday.

Although the term *feretrum* (bier, lit. 'instrument for carrying' from Lat. *fero, ferre, tuli, latus* 'to carry, to bear') was widely used in medieval Latin—for instance Prince-Bishop Conrad

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[498] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104r.

[499] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 33.

[500] Louise Pillion, *Les portails latéraux de la cathédrale de Rouen: Étude historique et iconographique sur un ensemble de bas-reliefs de la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907), pp. 119–20 observed that late thirteenth-century iconography depicted St. Romain as the celebrant of Mass, but the *gargouille* was absent and only first appeared as a subject in a fourteenth-century stained-glass window in the right chapel of the choir of Saint-Ouen abbey.

[501] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 34.

of Halberstadt (1201–8) used a *feretrum* to display spolia from the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade[502]—its use in the later middle ages was generally abandoned in favor of words that anticipated the modern French *châsse*, as seen here—each *feretrum* should receive a reliquary (*quodlibet feretrum...cosam percipiens*)— or in the *Acta archiepiscopum* of the eleventh century, an early attestation in which the terms seems interchangeable: *cassam seu feretrum*. A degree of interchangeability was reflected by Farin: "les Châsses ou Fiertes ainsi dites du mot latin *Feretrum*, de nôtre-Dame & de saint Romain".[503] The underlying shift of emphasis from *feretrum* to *cassa* was from the function of transportation to the hollow, protective form (Lat. *capsa*, 'box, case'). Rouen, however, was an exception. The term *feretrum* became preserved as *la fierte* in modern French long after the term *châsse* had taken predominance elsewhere. It is attested in a letter from 1730, according to Leber, in reference to the reliquary of St. Romain; in particular to the *privilège de la fierte*, unique to Rouen, by which the chapter freed a prisoner from capital punishment each year on Ascension Thursday.[504]

> Once assembled at that place, the *feretra* and portable shrines of the relics should be taken out of the treasury with reverence and carried off one by one, in order, to the choir, each *feretrum* receiving its *châsse* (*cosam*) by two chaplains of the second rank, vested in albs, specified in the tablets as pleases the scribes. And the *feretra* should be placed upon the altars of the choir. Each of these chaplains should thereupon receive six *denari* for each day of processions from the funds of the Lord Archbishop, except those who will be carrying the *feretrum* of St. Anne,

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[502] Pierre Alain Mariaux, "Collecting (and Display)," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe,* ed. Conrad Rudolph, 213–232, Blackwell Companions to Art History 2 (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), p. 224.

[503] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 34.

[504] Constant Leber, Jacques Barthélemy Salgues and Jean Cohen, *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France, composée, en grande partie, de pièces rares, ou qui n'ont jamais été publiées séparément; pour servir à completer toutes les collections de mémoires sur cette matière,* part 5, vol. 10: Civilisation (Paris, G.-A. Dentu: 1838), p. 152.

> each of whom should also receive one pair of gloves from the brothers of the confraternities. And upon the removal of each *feretrum* from the treasury, the cantor should begin an antiphon proper to shrine in a loud voice, which should be continued by the assistant chaplains. The *feretrum* should be held in between the brothers of the confraternities with which it is associated until entrance of the choir. Once all the priests are dressed in vestments, except for the chasuble, by the *hebdomadarius* or *dietarius*, himself revested, and with a thurible delivered to them by an altar boy, incense should be administered to each *feretrum* at its removal from the treasury until its entrance of the choir, accompanied by deacon and subdeacon, similarly vested, with two altar boys carrying burning candles in front of themselves until the first step up to the choir, next to the entrance of the choir on the right side. And once the boys with the candelabra come to a halt, the collection should be offered by another boy to the priest, who then says a versicle and collect in a loud voice appropriate to the shrine, finishing in a low voice, 'through Christ....' Once these things are completed for the first *feretrum* they should be done for each of the others. The *feretra* should be brought out in a fixed order, so that the first be the body and head of St. Sever; the second, the *feretrum* of All Saints; third, of St. Anne; fourth, of Blessed Mary; fifth, of St. Romain.[505]

Which antiphons, proper to each saint, were sung in a loud voice by the cantor during this ritual of removal of the relics? The very saints whose relics were possessed by the cathedral were underrepresented in their liturgical books. In addition to Marian feasts, only St. Romain (October

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[505] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104r–v: "adquam sic confluentibus honeste extrahantur feretra et sanctuaria reliquarum. portabilia de thesauro ecclesie et deferantur successiue et per ordinem usque ad chorum quodlibet feretrum per duos capellanos cosam percipiens. de secunda sede scriptos in tabula ad placitum scriptoris reuestitos albis. et super altaria chori situantur feretra. quorum capellanorum quilibet inde sex denari. percipiet de bursa domini archiepiscopi pro qualibet die ipsarum processionum exceptis illis qui portabunt feretrum sancte anne et eciam debent habere quilibet vnum par cerothecarum a fratribus confratriarum. Et in cuiuslibet feretri exitu de thesauro cantor incipiat alte antiphonam propriam sanctuario tali que per assistentes capellanos continue cantabitur associando feretrum confratribus confratriarum qui tenentur interesse usque ad introitum chori ac per ebdomadarium vel dietarium reuestitum omnibus sacerdotalibus indumentis preter casulam cum thuribulo per puerum altar[is] {f. 104v} sibi tradito incensum offeratur cuilibet feretro ab exitu thesauri usque ad introitum chori cum comitantibus dyacono et subdiacono similis reuestitis. cum duobus pueris altaris preferentibus ardentes cereos in candelabris usque ad primum ascensum altaris iuxta introitum chori de latere dextro. et ibidem pueris cum candelabrorum quiescentibus per alium puerum offeratur collectarium sacerdoti. qui alte dicat ibidem versiculum et collectam tali apropriatas sanctuario finiendo basse. *per χpistum*. Quibus sic expletis pro primo feretro. similiter fiat pro quolibet altero. tali ordine seruato que primo educentur feretra corporis et capitis sancti seueri. Secundo feretrum omnium sanctorum. Tercio sancte anne. quarto beate marie. Quinto sancti romani."

23) was represented in the sanctorales of Mass books.[506] The processional responsories sung after Vespers and before Mass on the feast of St. Romain were *Sint lumbi uestri precincti*, V. *Vigilate ergo*; *O preclare miles χρisti*, V. *Vt quos terra culpa*; and the antiphon *Presul sancte romane uas misericordie*.[507] The processional responsories for the Nativity of BMV were *Stirps iesse uirgam*, V. *Virgo dei genitrix*, discussed earlier for its particular resonances at Rouen with the tympanum sculpture of the main portal; *Solem iusticie regem*, V. *Cernere diuinum lumen*; and *Adnutum domini nostrum*, V. *Vt uitium uirtus operiret*.[508] The responsory *Miles χρisti* was sung in the procession after Vespers of St. Sever, bishop of Avranches (February 1), whose body was a precious relic at Rouen cathedral; he is not represented in the sanctorale of gradual 904, but is referred to the common of one confessor in other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century liturgical books from the cathedral.[509] The feast of St. Anne (July 26) was instituted in 1337 and the translation of her relics (September 8) about two years later; neither of these therefore are found in the earliest manuscripts from the cathedral. Like St. Sever, All Saints (November 1) likely deferred to the common of saints.

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[506] Gradual 904, f. 232r; ordinal Y.50, f. 301v; thirteenth-century gradual NAL 541, f. 152.

[507] Processional A. 551, ff. 79v–80v. *Sint lumbi uestri* was also the third responsory of Matins on the feast of St. Romain.

[508] Processional A. 551, ff. 76v–77v.

[509] Processional A. 551, f. 68r; missal Y. 50, f. 257r; gradual NAL 541, f. 132v. During Septuagesima, the Mass books provided propers for St. Sever: introit *Statuit [ei dominus],* tract *Beatus uir,* and sequence *Adest nobis dies alma*. But the gradual 904 is unique in its inclusion of processional responsories and antiphons.

LAT. 904	Y. 110	ACTOR	SITE	CEREMONIAL	TEXT OR CHANT
-	104v	priest	choir	spoken loudly, then softly	alte...versiculum et collectam tali apropriatas...finiendo basse...*per χpistum*.
125v	104v	cantor	his seat in choir	sung	A. *Exurge domine*. Ps. *Deus auribus*. *Gloria*. *euouae*. A. *Exurge*.
126r	104v	priest	choir before eagle	revested, along with deacon and subdeacon, with cross and candelabras; spoken	V. *Ostende nobis domine*. Or. *Ascendant ad te domine*.

TABLE 4.6. CEREMONY OF EACH ROGATION DAY FOR REMOVAL OF RELICS FROM CATHEDRAL TREASURY TO CHOIR.

The rubric from Y. 110 laid out two fixed sets of direction for the Rogation Days. The order in which the relics were removed from the treasury was not to be altered: St. Sever, All Saints, St. Anne, BMV, and St. Romain. And the liturgical *ordo* for this ceremony, including the antiphon *Exurge domine*, Ps. *Deus auribus*, and the versicle and collect that followed, were repeated on all three days. The *feretra* having been prepared and ordered, the procession moved to a portal of the cathedral and outward in the city toward its station (Table 4.6).

The responsibility of conveying the relics with care required formidable strength and dexterity and was an honor for the confraternities at the same time as an exercise in penance. It also afforded a ritual opportunity for the chaplains similar to Palm Sunday, when clerics were sent ahead of the procession to deliver the consecrated host to the ancient parish church of Saint-Godard. On all three Rogation Days, the clerics who passed the *feretra* off to the confraternities were then sent ahead of the procession to its destination church, where they would then receive the *feretra* with equal pomp. The confraternities, in addition to carrying the *feretra* through the city and beyond its walls, also furnished liturgical instruments to the chapter at the points throughout the city to which the chaplains were dispatched.

> Once this is finished, the procession should begin and go to the specified place through the portal of St. Stephen. And each *feretrum* should carried by the two aforementioned chaplains up to the portal of the church. And from the portal to the entrance of the church to which the procession advances it should be carried by the brothers of the confraternity. At that entrance, the chaplains, who had been sent ahead, should once again receive the *feretra* and bring them into the church, and they should be placed in their customary places. And two boys from the first row of the choir should go ahead of each *feretrum* with illuminated candles and candelabra of the confraternities, which will have come to the church from the lords of the confraternities, along with the brothers, except the two who receive the candles and candelabra inside the church and walk before the *feretrum* of Blessed Mary. And over the course of the procession the cantor should march in the middle of the procession between chaplains. And the curés of Saint-Denis and Saint-Vigor should walk before him in ecclesiastical vestments with stripped staves for keeping the chaplains in the correct order. These curés should return with the procession.[510]

The ceremony of arrival at the destination was like a larger Office in miniature, as John Harper has observed of simpler processions.[511] It consisted of responsories proper to the saint, prayers (*preces* and *orationes*), penitential psalmody and prostration, and a sermon to the public. This was an occasion of liturgical cooperation between cathedral and abbey, or one in which the abbey supported the cathedral. The assembly of the large public processions of the Rogation Days were, after all, not limited to the cathedral chapter, but also included the participation of parishes and monasteries of the diocese as well as the general public. The ordinal Y. 110 is

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[510] Ordinal Y. 110, ff. 104v–105r: "Hoc finito inducat processio et eat ad locum determinatum per portale sancti stephani. Et deferatur quodlibet feretrum per duos capellanos predictos usque ad portale ecclesie et de portali usque ad introitum ecclesie ad quam uadit processio. deportetur per fratres confratrie. In quo introitu Iterum capellani premisse recipiant feretra et introducant infra ipsam ecclesiam et situantur in suis locis consuetis. et ante quodlibet feretrum precedant duo pueri de prima sede chori cum cereis accensis et candelabris confratriarum. qui venerint de domibus ipsarum confratriarum. cum ipsis fratribus usque ad ecclesiam. preter duos qui recipiant cereos et candelabra. in ipsa ecclesia. et precedant ante feretrum beate marie. Et in progressu processionis cantor incedat in medio processionis inter capellanos. et precedant ipsum curati sancti dionisii et sancti vigoris in habitu ecclesie cum uirgis exoriatis. ad custodiendum ordinem capellanorum. Qui curati similiter cum processio reuertuntur."

[511] Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 127.

unique among cathedral books in showing the obligations of monks of Saint-Ouen during the Rogation Days, who at the station of each day were the first to sing the responsories and antiphons of the dedicatee of the church, before the choir added their voices.

> Once the procession arrives at the specified location, responsories and antiphons of the saint of the church should first be sung by monks and then by our choir.... During these three days when the procession arrives at its customary place, the monks sing first and our choir immediately after them. The seven penitential psalms should be said during the three days before the procession comes to its customary place. Note that in each of the three days of procession the monks of Saint-Ouen are supposed to send through their servants one large loaf of bread, one gallon of good wine, a fine tray of fish, and a large bottle of milk with its cream at lunchtime to the house of the cantor of the cathedral of Rouen or of the person appointed in his stead (*locumtenentis*), the used vessels of which should be taken back on the first two days, but left on the third day and thus belong to the cantor.[512]

The cantor therefore received special support from the abbey of Saint-Ouen, not only as performing forces at the stationary church, but as the donors of his luncheon meals and vessels! The two functions are not far-fetched, in that the scribe of the ordinal joined them together. Special support was not limited to the abbey. It was customary for new canons to support the Rogations ceremonies with monetary contributions. In 1441 three newly received canons—Deshayes, Nuguez, Basin—were each required to pay 100 *solidos* in support of the Rogation Tuesday procession.[513]

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[512] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 105r: "Cum autem processio uenerit ad locum determinatum. ibi cantetur prius a monachis responsorium uel antiphona de sancte ecclesie. et postea cantetur a nostris.... Cum vero processio venerit per istos iij dies ad loca constituta monachi prius cantent et chorus inmediate post eos vij psalmi dicantur per tres dies priusquam processio ueniat ad loca consueta. Nota que in qualibet die trium dierum processionis. religiosi sancti audoeni tenentur mittere per suos seruitores ad domum cantoris ecclesie rothomagensis vel eius locumtenentis hora prandij vnum pane magnum vnum galonem boni vini honestum ferculum piscium. et vnum magnum flaconem de pinguedine lactis sic que in duobus primis diebus reportantur uasa et in tercia die dimittuntur et pertinent cantori."

[513] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2856.

The assembled communities and public recessed together after the station each day, and at a certain point the recession divided, as each returned to its church and house. The route back the choir of the cathedral each day was filled by a litany: *Saluator mundi* on Monday, *Humili prece* on Tuesday, and *Ardua spes* on Wednesday. It was not permitted for the singing of this litany to be abbreviated, but it could be and was interrupted in order to make one or more stations on the route home. The length of the processional routes, as I will show, grew each day, and they climbed higher each day in altitude. The Rogation Days were therefore an occasion of penitence in which the relationships among the cathedral, its saints' cults, and its city were meaningfully linked with the terrestrial topography.

Rogations participants and arrangement

The procession began the same way on each of the three days. The earliest witness in detail is the ordinal Y. 110 of the participants and their arrangement: cantor, succentor, priest, chaplains for the procession, parish curates, boys from the first stalls of the choir, members of cathedral confraternities, and chaplains waiting at the ultimate station. The procession began in the choir of the cathedral, as the five *feretra* with saints' relics were brought out: St. Sever, All Saints, St. Anne, BVM, and St. Romain. Each *feretrum* was carried by a pair of chaplains from the choir to a portal of the cathedral, which varied according to the day. At the portal the procession was met by envoys from the cathedral confraternities, and the chaplains passed custody of the *feretra* to the brothers of the confraternities for the heavy lifting required for movement through the city and suburbs. They were accompanied by ten boys from the first stall of the choir, two for each *feretrum*, bearing candelabra and illuminated candles. The chaplains who had passed over the *feretra* at the cathedral portal were then sent ahead of the procession to

receive it *ad introitum ecclesie ad quam uadit processio*.[514] There was in this respect a similarity between the Palm Sunday procession and those of the Rogations: certain clerics were dispatched, separate from the main body of the procession, to the ultimate station so that they might be there to receive the procession. The cantor marched between a pair or group of chaplains, and the first of these chaplains were preceded by curates, vested in church habits and bearing scepters, from the parish churches of Saint-Denis, southeast of the cathedral; La Madeleine, south of the cathedral; and Saint-Vigor, in the west near Porte Cauchoise.[515]

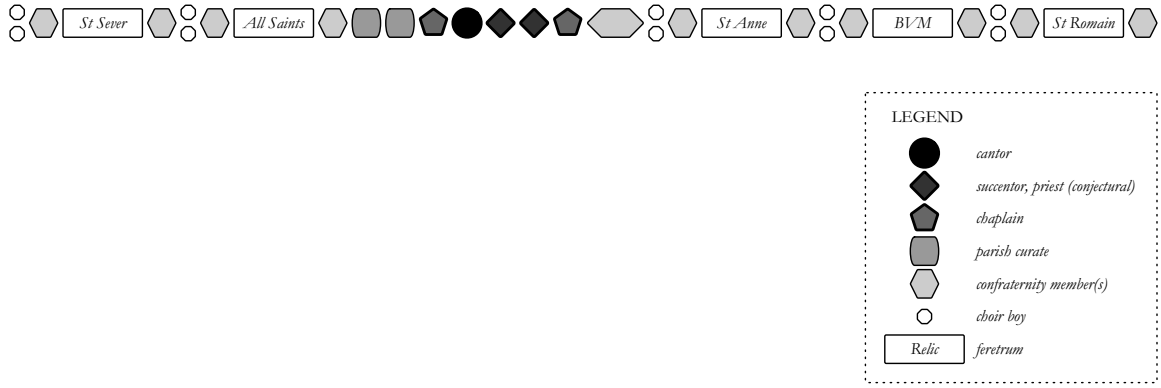


FIGURE 4.7. RECONSTRUCTED ORDER OF PARTICIPANTS IN ROGATION PROCESSIONS.

My reconstruction of the order of the procession (Figure 4.7) shows five reliquary groups in the prescribed order—each group consisting of one *feretrum* carried by two confraternity brothers, one in front and one in back, preceded by two choir boys carrying candelabra—as well

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[514] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104v. The destination of these chaplains was most likely at the ultimate station, rather than stationary churches along the way, which I understand from the language of the rubrics: the prepositions *ad* and *ante* denoted churches along the processional route, but only the ultimate stations were entered, and this is clearly denoted in the verbs of the rubrics.

[515] Aside from its curé's role in the Rogations, the parish church of Saint-Vigor is mentioned another time in gradual 904: in the added kyriale, s. XIV–XV, f. 267r, lower margin, two inscriptions in sixteenth-century hands: "Receu p*ar* moy Charles P*ar*mentier"; and below it: "Receu par moy Charles Auber | demourant ala paroyse de Sainct Vigor". Pommeraye writes at some length about the Auber family, one of the ancient families of Rouen, in particular the deeds of Guillaume Auber, chancelor of the cathedral, 1477–1482 (Pommeraye, Eglise, pp. 410–12).

as the special confraternal escort of which preceded the *feretrum* of St. Anne. While the composition and succession of these five groups seem clear, the placement of the group of cathedral and parish personnel—cantor, succentores, curés—is hard to place precisely; it is clear that it was not at the beginning or end of the procession, but in the middle: *in medio processionis inter capellanos et precedant ipsum curati sancti dionisii et sancti vigoris*.[516] The exact location in the middle is nowhere to be found in the ordinal, nor the number of chaplains in this group. I have conjectured that the cantor and his group preceded the relics of St. Anne and its special envoy of members from the confraternity in her honor; the privileged status of this *feretrum* and confraternity was signaled by a special detail of the Rogation ceremonies: the donation of a pair of gloves (*vnum par cerothecarum*) to the brothers who carried the *feretrum* of St. Anne.[517]

A complex intersection of hierarchies is embodied in this arrangement of participants, similar to the organization of Matins on Christmas Day at Rouen. The readers of the nine lessons of Matins ascended in dignity: clerics of the lower row read those of the first nocturne, canons of the higher row the second nocturne, and the highest dignitaries, including the archbishop himself, in copes, accompanied by candelabrum and thurible, the third nocturne. But the ordering of personnel for the responsory verses differed: the highest dignitaries—archbishop, deacon, and cantor, all vested in copes—sang the last responsory of the second nocturne, thereby privileging the middle or end of the middle of the Office. So too with the ordering of the participants of the Rogation procession. One thirteenth-century view of processional hierarchy is given in the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* of Guillaume Durandus, who said that the participants of episcopal processions should be ordered by decreasing degree of dignity: bishop and priests, high

[516] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104v.

[517] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 104r.

priests and deacons, subdeacons and acolytes; cantors, however, were to precede everyone, Durandus explained, as though they were the trumpeters of a cavalry marching against demonic forces.[518] Yet, for Durandus, even in this simple model, two ordering principles were at work: the descending hierarchy at the core, prefaced by an introduction or overture outside of that pattern. This corresponds roughly to the Rogation procession at Rouen, in which the cantor preceded other dignitaries; their position in the middle of the procession suggested that one or more of the first *feretra* performed a prefatory function. However, the end of the procession, occupied by the *feretrum* of St. Romain, was also a position of great honor, as I will discuss in the conclusion of this chapter. Presumably during the Rogation days this was the point at which the public was permitted to follow, and so the end of the procession served as an important site of ceremonial spectacle and interaction.

Saint-Gervais, the ancient church to which processions moved on Rogation Tuesday and place of death of William Duke of Normandy and King of England, was granted permission by the cathedral chapter on Rogation Monday, May 12, 1371, to take the first position after all other public relics (*post alias cassas forenses*) in the Rogation Day processions.[519] To be included at

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[518] Durandus, *Rationale diuinorum, IV*, ed. Davril, O.S.B., CM 140 (1995), lib. 4, cap. 6, par. 14: "Precedunt enim episcopi et presbyteri, subsecuntur pontifex et dyaconi, colliguntur in medio subdyaconi et acolyti, cantores uero quasi tubicines exercitum precedunt, ut eum ad prelium contra demones excitent et inuitent, de quo prelio Apostolus dicit: Non est nobis colluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem, sed aduersus spiritualia nequitie in celestibus; unde: Buccinate in neomenia tuba in die insignis sollempnitatis uestre."

[519] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2215: "fuit concessum a capitulo scabino, preposito et fratribus confratrie S. Trinitatis, Sancti Gervasii prope Rothomagum, amodo deferant cassam seu feretrum sancti Gervasii, sic vocatum, in processionibus Rogationum et aliarum, in loco tamen supremo post alias cassas forenses, et se obligarunt dicti scabinus et prepositus dictam cassam de cetero deferre in processionibus ordinatis et ordinandis in loco predicto." This usage of *cassa* from 1371 is similar to the reference to a *cosa* at the beginning of Rogation Monday and anticipates the modern French *châsse*.

this position in the procession must have been an honor; this deliberation revealed that the chapter alderman (*scabinus*) played a role in the negotiation and that it was his obligation to implement the new policy.

By comparison against the fifteenth-century ordinal, an even richer picture of the Rogation processions emerged by the seventeenth-century. Chapter expenses from 1606 specified additional Rogations personnel: bearers of the cross, two bearers of chandeliers, the bearer of a banner, four bearers of torches.[520] And the late seventeenth-century history of Rouen by Farin provides a particularly vivid narration of the ceremony and its participants (Appendix 4).

Not a word of the confraternities of Rouen, its cathedral and its parish churches, is mentioned in the gradual 904 or processional A. 551; their first appearance as participants in the ritual and ceremonial life of the cathedral in the ordinal Y. 110. To some degree this is to be expected of the book genre, the function of an ordinal to provide fuller context and detail than Mass books, or processionals, or pontificals. But this surely too is a reflection of the development of confraternities in Rouen during the intervening period. The cathedral confraternities, which were founded in connection with chapels of the nave, were separate from but also imbricated in the ecclesiastical life of the chapter. The development of the cult of St. Anne at Rouen in the fourteenth century was reflected both in the development of the confraternity in her honor and in the foundation in 1336 by canon Guillaume d'Albussac to elevate the translation of the relics of St. Anne (January 30) to the status of triple feast.[521]

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[520] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 3559. The expenses for Rogations this year also included payments for the measurers of salt, and the *touflière*, a florist or gardener, who provided herbs, seedlings, and bouquets.

[521] *Chronicon triplex*; Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 337, 690 says 1339 p. 337.

Religious confraternities observed an Office in a chapel of the cathedral, parish church, or other chapel of the diocese. In a strict sense they were lay organizations, in that they were not composed of clerics, but they did include chaplains and elected officers: provost, counselors, collector, and others.[522] Ouin-Lacroix has portrayed religious confraternities of Rouen from the early modern era to the Revolution as only one class of confraternity, which in turn comprised only a part of larger mercantile systems of apprenticeship, professionalization, taxation, and social security.[523] He cast the public spectacle of banners and musical instruments as the fortunate side of the functions religious confraternities usually performed for cases of death, sickness, material suffering, or other calamity.[524] The communal life of the confraternities of the cathedral were depicted by Ouin-Lacroix in the change of term from one elected provost to the next. This took place in their proper chapel of the cathedral at the same time that the chapter sang its Vespers. During the Magnificat, at the verse portraying the fall of the powerful and the rise of the humble, *Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles,* it was customary for the outgoing provost to join his commoners while the new provost stepped into his place of honor.[525]

Of the religious confraternities founded in chapels at the cathedral—St. Sacrement, Notre Dame, St. Romain, and others[526]—the oldest, St. Sacrement, was founded in 1120 at Saint-

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[522] Charles Ouin-Lacroix, *Histoire des anciennes corporations d'arts et métiers et des confréries religieuses de la capitale de la Normandie* (Rouen: Lecointe Frères, 1850), p. 417.

[523] Ibid.

[524] Ibid., p. 412.

[525] Ibid., p. 419.

[526] Pierre Jacques Gabriel Le Verdier, *Documents relatifs à la confrérie de la Passion de Rouen* (Rouen: E Cagniard, 1891), p. 33.

Godard, in the period after the translation of the body of St. Romain from this parish church to the cathedral. The statutes of the confraternity of the St. Sacrement list its organizational structure, rights, responsibilities, and rituals.[527] It observed a solemn procession on Pentecost Tuesday, assisted by canons of the cathedral dressed in violet copes.[528] The fifteenth-century register, BL Add. 19743, lists "les noms des freres et seurs de la charite et confrarie du saint sacrement fondee en la grant eglise de nostre dame de Rouen extrais des antiens registres et papiers" from 1435, with an added register of cathedral canons and confraternity members listed chronologically up to 1676.

Of all the relics—St. Sever, All Saints, St. Anne, BMV, and St. Romain—those of St. Anne were paid special honor in the Rogation processions: the chaplains who carried the *feretrum* of St. Anne received the remuneration of six silver coins and one pair of gloves (*vnum par cerothecarum*) from a confraternity.[529] The ordinal did not name the confraternity that made these donations. Pommeraye questioned the existence of a confraternity dedicated to St. Anne at the time of the translation of her relics in 1336, because no confraternity was mentioned in a papal bull of Clement VI regarding these relics.[530] But St. Anne was venerated by the

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[527] Ouin-Lacroix, *Anciennes corporations*, pp. 430–8. Although Ouin-Lacroix provides the text of some statutes as well as drawings of heraldry and medallions throughout the text, this is one of only a few cases in which his narrative cites primary sources.

[528] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, 3e part, p. 48. Tuesday of Pentecost and the procession of the confraternity of the Saint-Sacrement was a holiday in the diocese of Rouen until 1767 (*Almanach spirituel pour la ville et faubourgs de Rouen*; Mandement du 28 juillet 1767, cited in Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 34).

[529] For a sense of the value of six *deniers*: in the fourteenth century ten *deniers* was the cost of membership in the confraternity of the Passion in Rouen, paid once, and supplemented by weekly dues of one *denier*; see Le Verdier, *Passion de Rouen*, pp. 14–15.

[530] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'église*, pp. 690–1.

confraternity of St. Sacrement, which by this time made a procession each year on the feast of St. Anne (July 26) from the cathedral to one of the four mendicant houses of Rouen: the Augustinians, Carmes, Cordeliers, or Capucins. Because of the mention of the gloves in the narrative stream of Rogation Monday, it is possible to imagine that they were incorporated at that moment into the ceremony, although the ordinal does not speak on it further, serving two functions that were also those of the reliquary itself: mediating between the holy relics and human bodies and conspicuously indicating their special honor.[531]

A fourteenth-century missal from the confraternity, called charity, of the St. Esprit of Rouen, BmR A. 355 (289), offers a glimpse by its votive Masses, including the "missa pro epydimia evitanda" (f. 54v), into one role of this charity in public health crises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Some of its Masses were sung, and this book survives as a relatively early and rare witness of confraternal liturgies at Rouen. The first half of the book (ff. 1–39), in a fourteenth-century script, contains music notation and Masses for Pentecost (f. 2r), votive of BMV (f. 5v), the Holy Cross (f. 10r), and Mass for the Dead (f. 27r); and the latter half, unnotated (ff. 40–83) contains Masses for Easter Day (f. 40r), the Common of Saints (f. 48v), and Christmas (f. 79v). The book contains some beautiful decorated initials, one of which depicts three women. The accompanying text, dated 1326, names the women as donors who had held offices in the charity, but were released from their responsibilities, with the continued obligation to pay their weekly dues to the confraternity, upon which occasion they donated this missal:

> This book belongs to the charity of the St. Esprit and was given to it by three women—namely, Jeanne, wife of Roger, bourgeois; Wilhelma, wife of Adam Clarenbout; and Perronnelle, wife of Geoffrey Corbellon—for having retired from all duties pertaining to their office, according to the ordinance of the said charity,

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[531] Cynthia Hahn, "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?" *Numen* 57, no. 3/4: Relics in Comparative Perspective (2010): 284–316, at 291.

except for their dues paid each week. Given in the year 1326 on the day of the Throne of St. Peter.

Cest liurez de la carite du saint esperit . et lont donne troiz fames cest assauoir Johanne fame Rogier le bourges . Guillame fame adam clarenbout . Perronnele fame Gieffroy corbellon pour estre quites de touz seruices qui a leur office apartient segon lordenanche de ladite carite excepte leur denier poiantes chacune semaine . Donne lan de grace Mil trois chens vint et siz leiour de la quaere saint pierre.[532]

The missal presumably remained in the possession of the charity until the early seventeenth century, at which time it was acquired by Pierre Pelhestre, assistant librarian (*subbibliothecarius*), for the cathedral chapter library.[533]

Rogation Monday to Saint-Éloi

The Rogations processions left the cathedral each day from a different portal, corresponding to the cardinal direction the procession would take; on Monday it left from the portal of St. Stephen, the right (southern) portal of the façade. Its destination was the church of Saint-Éloi, situated between the Seine and the Vieux-Marché. Remarkably, this destination is recorded in few liturgical sources, even though references in chapter documents show that it remained stable for centuries. The convention of the gradual 904 (in part) and the ordinal Y. 110 was to refer to the destination of each Rogation day simply as the appointed place, *locus constitutus* or *locus determinatus*.[534] In fact, the only place named by the ordinal, out of the many

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[532] Fourteenth-century missal of the Use of the charity of the Saint-Esprit, BmR A. 355 (289), f. 37r.

[533] BmR A. 355 (289), f. 82v, additional hand: "Emit me Petrus Pelhestre Subbibliotecarius Ecclesie Roth. anno 1613 mense Maij"

[534] Gradual 904, f. 127r: "Cum autem processio uenerit ad locum constitutum incipiatur responsorium uel antiphonam de sancto;" ordinal Y. 110, f. 105r: "Cum autem processio uenerit ad locum determinatum. ibi cantetur."

passed by the Rogation Monday procession, was the church of Saint-Sauveur, and context makes clear that this occurred *after* station had been made. This is where the second of the two layers of directions for the Rogation days in gradual 904 is essential: it is the earliest manuscript witness by centuries of the processional route. I have discussed these two layers above, but I illustrate them in Table 4.7. The folio numbers from gradual 904 marked with an asterisk are those from the second layer of Rogations material.

LAT. 904	Y. 110	SITE		TEXT
f. 126r	105r	cathedral choir	A.	[proper to *feretrum*]
				Ps.
			V.	
			Or.	
			A.	*Exurge domine*
				Ps. *Deus auribus*
			V.	*Ostende nobis*
			Or.	*Ascendant ad te*
			A.	*Propitius esto*
				Ps. *In nomine domini dei*
				[choir to nave]
				[exit portal of St. Stephen]
			alia	*Ego sum deus patrum*
				Ps. *Dimitte domine peccata*
			alia	*Populus syon conuertimini*
				Ps. *Deprecamur te domine*
			Or.	*Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum*
137v*	-	St-Martin	A.	*O martine o pie*
138r*	-	St-Clément	R.	*Ora pro nobis beate clemens*
				V. *Tu autem martyr χpisti beate clemens*
138r*				[seven penitential psalms]
138r*	-	St-Vincent	R.	*Miles χpisti gloriose uincenti*
				V. *Vt celestis regni sedem ualeamus*
127r		[pass over St-Sauveur]		[seven penitential psalms]
138r*	-	St-Éloi	R.	*Sancte eligi χpisti confessor audi*
				V. *O sancte eligi sydus aureum domini*
			V.	*Ora pro nobis beate eligi*
			V.	*Vt digni efficiamus*
			Or.	*Exaudi quesumus domine preces*
			Or.	*Da quesumus omnipotens deus*
			Ps.	*Miserere mei deus*
				[sermon]
				[begin litany] *Saluator mundi salua*
138v*	105r	St-Sauveur	R.	*Isti et enim maximo*
				V. *Exultent iusti in conspectu dei*
			Or.	*Propiciare quesumus domine*
			Or.	*Infirmitatem nostram quesumus*
127r	105r			[continue litany] *Saluator mundi*
				Kyrieleison

TABLE 4.7. PROCESSIONAL ITINERARY OF ROGATION MONDAY TO THE PARISH CHURCH OF SAINT-ÉLOI NEAR THE VIEUX MARCHÉ.

The two layers of 904 are in slight disagreement about the point at which the seven penitential psalms were to be sung, either before or after passing Saint-Vincent, but perhaps the intention was to use the psalms at whatever point en route they were needed. If for whatever reason the procession had not arrived at Saint-Éloi after three or four antiphons, the cantor and

succentor should resort to the psalms.[535] On Rogation Monday the procession moved from Saint-Vincent to Saint-Éloi, passing near St. Sauveur, but not stopping at it until the recession after the station. This may be the reason why the seven penitential psalms, in whichever position, are close to Saint-Vincent: this was a longer segment of the procession.

This Monday itinerary documents city topography at a point in the thirteenth century before some changes. In 1225 a fire in the Vieux-Marché destroyed the Romanesque church of Saint-Sauveur, which was rebuilt as a Gothic edifice that stood until the Revolution.[536] Because the church was not entered, but passed by, its condition may not have been reflected in the gradual 904, should the book have been copied after the fire. But the dissolution of the parish of Saint-Clément likely would have been: this parish, traditionally the second-oldest in the city, as a foundation of St. Mellon in the fourth century,[537] was dissolved in 1251 by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud, a member of the Franciscan order, and its land given to the Cordeliers of Rouen.[538] Because the church of Saint-Clément appears not to have been referred to by this name after this point, gradual 904 seems either to preserve an earlier practice or else deliberately archaize a later one.

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[535] Gradual 904, f. 127r: "quod si non dum processio peruenit ad locum quando per tres uel quatuor antiphonas dicte fuerint dicantur vii psalmi penitentiales usque ueniatur ad ecclesiam."

[536] *Chronicon ecclesiae beatae Mariae*. The Gothic church was demolished shortly after the Revolution, although in the latter half of the twentieth century its foundations were exposed in the construction of the parish church of Sainte-Jeanne-d'Arc and have remained public monuments.

[537] Pierre-François Le Coq de Villeray de Rouer, *Abregé de l'histoire ecclesiastique, civile et politique de la ville de Rouen, avec son origine & ses accroissemens... Contenant une description... des plus anciens monumens* (A Rouen: chez François Oursel, MDCCLIX 1759), p. 293.

[538] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, p. 67.

The Rogation Days represented a process of accrued experiences related to saints, and the litany of each day delivered the names of so many that would also be encountered in the space of the city. The litany was intricately bound with place. The contradictory directions within gradual 904 concerning the start of the litany are therefore a bit puzzling: at one point that gradual says that after the sermon at the station no responsory should be sung, but only the litany, whereas at another responsories are approved.[539]

The recession back to the cathedral on Monday, however, did stop at Saint-Sauveur after the station. It was the duty of either the succentor (gradual 904) or the cantor (ordinal Y. 110) to interrupt the litany with his own voice upon arrival and intone the antiphon *Isti et enim maximo digni*, after which the priest sang the verse *Exultent iusti in conspectu dei*, followed by two prayers. After this the recession continued to the cathedral, apparently with no further interruptions. While the recession was in motion, it was filled with the litany *Saluator mundi saluatoris*, including the relatively short distance from Saint-Éloi to Saint-Sauveur. The choir was instructed to simply continue where they left off with the litany (*clerici qui cantabant letaniam reincipiant ubi dimiserunt*).[540] Writing "Sancte Romone" for St. Romain in the litany *Saluator mundi salua nos* (ff. 127r–128r) was an unforgivable sin for Loriquet, who was absolutely exasperated by the errors of the scribe of gradual 904.[541] The pause at Saint-Sauveur

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[539] Gradual 904, f. 127r says after the sermon was made at the station, "redeat processio et dicatur aliquod responsorium uel antiphona de sancto," but the module with material for the day, f. 138v, says "facta exeunte processio de ecclesia non incipiat responsorium sicut aliis sed incipiat letania a iii clericis"

[540] Gradual 904, f. 138v.

[541] Loriquet, *Le graduel*, vol. 1, p. 5 gives a catalog of complaints against the scribe of gradual 904, whom he describes as a single individual. It is worth observing that even the expert scribes of Y. 110 also occasionally misspelled saints long venerated at Rouen, such as St. Médard, bishop of Noyon, rendered "mededardi" (f. 173v).

was spatially and socially important. It was not a symmetrical reversal of the route taken to Saint-Éloi, but a continuation in the same direction, which led to the rue du Gros-Horloge, the Roman *decumanus*, which intercepted the cathedral. Saint-Sauveur was also the last point on Monday of the entire assembly; afterward the monks, parish churches, and public parted ways with the cathedral chapter and each other.

Rogation Tuesday to Saint-Gervais

The three litanies of Easter Sunday were sung in succession: the litany at the Office of baptism after the Tracts of Easter (gradual 904, ff. 98r–v), beginning *Xpiste audi nos...ora pro nobis*; the litany of St. John sung by five young men (*quinque iuuenes*) from the second row of the choir, beginning *Kyrieleyson..ora pro nobis* (98v–99r); and the litany sung by three canons of the higher row of the choir at the altar of St. John the Baptist beginning Sancte sanctorum deus miserere nobis (99v–100r).

On the Rogation days the litanies sung during the recession were different. The litany for Rogation Tuesday was the processional hymn *Humili prece* written by Hartmann of St. Gall (d. 925).[542] As Hiley has observed, the repertory of processional hymns was modest in size, with fewer than 32 in Stäblein's edition of MMMA.[543] The early version of *Humili preces* transmitted in the tenth-century troper of St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381, has more than twenty strophes, ending in Greek words. The version found in gradual 904 (ff. 129v–132r) follows Hartmann's text, but with two inserted strophes, and some substitutions of names (Table 4.8), including its

[542] AH 50, no. 191, pp. 253–6. Melodies edited by Peter Wagner, *Gregorianische Formenlehre* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 480–2.

[543] *Hymnen I. Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, ed. Bruno Stäblein, Monumenta monodica medii aevi 1 (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1956).

slight variant of the refrain which substitutes *χριste* for *semper*: "Hvmili prece et sincera deuotione / ad te nos clamantes χριste exaudi nos." No more fitting adaptation of the hymn of St. Gall to Rouen could have been made than the substitution of the name of St. Romain for that of St. Gall in the thirteenth strophe; and in the sixteenth strophe St. Ouen replaced St. Otmarus. A few others: in the tenth strophe, St. Godard replaced St. Proculus; in the twelfth strophe St. Germain replaced St. Bertulfus; and in the eighteenth, St. Lucia and St. Cecilia replaced St. Eufemia and St. Eugenia. The third and fourth strophes were inserted, introducing the archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael and the host of angels between BMV and SS. Peter and Paul in the order of the litany. The eighth strophe was inserted, introducing St. Cyriacus, St. Boniface, St. Pancras, St. Paul, and St. John, with St. Gregory written but scraped.[544]

[544] Gradual 904, ff. 129v–132r.

R. Hvmili prece et sincera deuotione
ad te nos clamantes χρiste exaudi nos.

1. Svmmus et omnipotens genitor qui cuncta creasti
eternus χρistus filius atque deus.
Nec non sanctificans dominator spiritus almus.
Vnica maiestas trinaque sola dei.
2. Ipsa dei genitrix reparatrix inclita mundi.
Que dominum casto corpore concipiens.
Perpetua semper radians cum uirginitate.
Indignos famulos uirgo maria tuos.
3. Michael et gabriel raphael et celicus *ordo*.
Ac patriarcharum munera sancta patrum.
Eiecti proceres iohannes preco prophete.
per horum cara suppliciter merita.
4. Angelicus cetus celi super ardua clarus.
Coniubilans domino carmine dulcissimo
Sanctus aue Sanctus que uale sanctus quoque
salue.
Nos sibi societ et pie letificet.
5. Petrus cum paulo thomas cum bartholomeo.
Et iacobus sanctus nos releuent precibus.
Andreas matheus barnabas atque iohannes.
Mathias marcus. lucas et altissonus.
6. Cetus apostolicus duodeno sydere computus.
Propicius cunctos protege nos famulos.
et quos multiplices lacerant per crimina pestes.
peccata absoluens fac bona cuncta sequi
7. Nvnc stephanus limis clemens anacletus et almus.
Syxtus alexander corneliusque pius
ypolitus uictor laurentius atque modestus.
Grisogonus que pius nos miserando iuuent
8. Athlete domini uos nunc deposcimus almi.
Cyriace pius atque bonefacius.
Pancratius paulus ‹‹gregorius›› atque iohannes.
Crimine pro nostro forte uiuando preces.
9. O uos martyrio decorati in nomine χρisti.
Conspicui testes purpurei proceres.
Qui bello inuicti superastis demonis iras.
Conspirata manus uincere morte minas.
10. Siluester damascus gregorius ambrosiusque
hylarius zeno maximus atque leo.
Martinus Gildardus cesarius eusebiusque.
Orent pro nostris criminibus uarus.
11. *Ordo* sacratus confessorum presbiterorum.
Auxilio tutos undique tedde tuos.
Atque tua nosmet prece dimitendo rearum.
Nos fragiles multum cladibus omnigenis
12. Paulus et anthonius macharius arseruiusque
Pacomius beda athalius pasmicius.
Germanus libertinus basilius atque
ieronimus doctor nos miserante preco
13. O romane dei miles fortissime summi.
Nobis nunc famulis auxiliare tuis.
Nil sit perspicium poterit uox clara referre.
Vt decet uitalis nunc patris obsequio
14. Hic tibi perpetuis resonant cum cetibus edes.
Ossibus et sacris semper habetur honos.
Cum leti famuli celebrant hic festa benigni.
laudibus instantes nocte dieque tuis.
15. Dirige corda pius et tempora dirige nostra.
Atque letos ducere da famulis.
Vt semper ualeant tibimet cantare quieti.
Te quoque celesti cernere luce poli.
16. O dilecte dei radians uirtute coruscha.
Sancte audoene pater iunge preces parite
Intercede piis ueniam rogando misellis.
Aureque iam blanda carmina precipiens.
17. Summe dei cultor monachorum rector et abbas.
O benedicte sacer atque benigne pate
Istud cenobium cetumque tibi famulantem.
Nostraque sanctificans cuncta tuere simul.
18. Felicitas felix eulalia digna uerenna.
Petronillaque cum perpere perpetua.
Agnes atque agathes χρistiana euprepia tecla.
Lucia cecilia regula atque bona
19. Virginitate chorus resplendens candidularum.
Turba puellarum integritate manens.
Que geminis gaudens pulcrum de corata coronis.
Laude pudicitie martyriique simul.
20. Omnes nunc sancti nostris succurrite lapsis.
et ueniam cunctis ferre uinando malis.
Nam uestris precibus pecitis quecumque rogantes.
Annuit ipse deus nilque negat dominus.
21. Pacem perpetuam rogitamus prospice χρiste.
Vt sane uite gaudia longa diu.
Temperiem celi tribuas ut copia frugum.
Omnibus exundet ubere leticie.
22. Agne dei patris qui mundi crimina tollis.
Optata pacis munera dona tuis.
Kyrie patoncraton ysus sodis pantes
subasileos ymon χρiste nobis eleyson

TABLE 4.8. *HUMILI PRECE* FOR ROGATION TUESDAY,
WITH ADAPTATIONS FOR ROUENNAIS AND OTHER SAINTS.

These substitutions from gradual 904 were all observed by Delisle in 1908.[545] Delisle found versions of the *Humili prece* with saints of Normandy, in particular St. Romain and St. Ouen, in the twelfth-century Norman-Sicilian manuscript, Madrid C. 132, and in fragments of a sixteenth-century print processional from Évreux, BnF B. 27772, both of which made substitutions to Hartmann's text, for Évreux two strophes dedicated to Saint-Taurin, first bishop of Évreux.[546] Hartzell found the *Humili preces* at Bec and Rouen, and an incipit in ordinal of Fécamp abbey for Rogations Tuesday.[547] Pfaff found the *Humili prece* at St. Albans, where it was sung on Rogation Monday rather than Tuesday, and its three substitutions were three strophes to St. Alban, one strophe to St. Benedict, and one to St. Romain.[548] The special place of St. Romain among the saints led Pfaff to presume an origin in Rouen. Parkes used the substitutions of saints' names in the Humili prece to relate three manuscripts from Mainz.[549]

At Rouen, *Humili prece* was sung on Rogation Tuesday after the sermon at Saint-Gervais. It may have been interrupted twice, first for a station at the small chapel of Saint-Nicolas-de-Beauvoir near Saint-Gervais, and second at a station at the Grand-Pont before returning to the

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[545] Léopold Delise, "Un livre de chœur normano-sicilien conservé en Espange," *Journal des Savants* nouv. sér. 6 (January 1908): 44–5 of 42–9.

[546] Ibid.

[547] K. Drew Hartzell, II.40–41; The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp: Fécamp, Musée de la Bénédictine, MS 186, ed. David Chadd, Henry Bradshaw Society 111–2 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Published for the Henry Bradshaw Society by the Boydell Press, 2000–2002), pp. 271, 367.

[548] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, pp. 168–9. This point of affinity between Rouen and St. Albans coincides with their similar post-Pentecost allelluia series.

[549] Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

cathedral (Table 4.9). Just as the conversion of the parish church of Saint-Clément, passed on Rogation Monday, to the house of the Cordeliers in 1251 gave a possible *terminus ante quem* for the copying of gradual 904, the mention on Rogation Tuesday of Saint-Nicolas-de-Beauvoir may give a *terminus post quem* of 1198. This small chapel of the cemetery of Saint-Maur seems first mentioned at the end of the twelfth century. Its vicinity was called the *locum sancti Nicolai de Belveier* in a papal bull of Célestin III of May 1198; this bull confirmed that the property was the rightful possession of the Hôpital de la Madeleine, granted by Richard I Duke of Normandy and King of England, who died the following year.[550] Farin claimed to have seen a bull of Urbain III which mentioned the area even earlier, in 1185, but Farin believed that the dedication of the chapel was made by Archbishop Thibaut (1222–1229).[551] This may be corroborated by a charter of 1222, which seems to be the first reference to the chapel of Saint-Nicholas-de-Beauvoir by name, *ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai de Bellovisu*.[552] In a bull of 1279 Pope Nicolas III granted one year and forty days of indulgence to those who made prayers and offerings at the chapel.[553] It lay in the parish of Saint-Gervais and was reached by the northern branch of the fork in the road outside the Porte Cauchoise, whose southern branch led to Saint-Gervais and the Mont-aux-Malades. Located near the leper colony of Rouen, this cemetery was depicted as late as the 1709 map by Fer as the *cimitière pour les pestifères* at the limit of developed western reach of Rouen. Despite the sloped terrain, the area was described in the fifteenth century as flooded and filthy,

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[550] Archives départementales, A. 1; Charles de Beaurepaire, "Notice sur the cimitière Saint-Maur à Rouen," *Bulletin de la Commission des antiquités de la Seine-inférieure*, v. 6, pp. 228–58, p. 229.

[551] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, 3e partie, p. 66, cited in Beaurepaire, "Cimitière," p. 229.

[552] Beaurepaire, "Cimitière," p. 229.

[553] Archives départementales, A. 7.

and as noted above, Rogation Tuesday processions were in certain years had to be rerouted for this reason.

LAT. 904	A. 551	Y. 110	SITE		TEXT
128r	-	105v	cathedral choir	A.	[proper to *feretrum*]
					Ps.
				V.	
				Or.	
				A.	*Exurge domine*
					Ps. *Deus auribus*
				V.	*Ostende nobis*
				Or.	*Ascendant ad te*
				A.	*De iherusalem exeunt*
					[choir to nave]
					[exit portal of St. Romain]
				alia	*Cum iocundita exibitis*
				alia	*Exclamemus omnes*
				alia	*Domine deus noster qui cum*
				alia	*Domine immuniti sumus*
				alia	*Iniquitates nostre domine*
				alia	*Exaudi domine deprecationem*
				alia	*Parce domine parce populo*
138v*	-	-	St-Herbland	R.	*Sancte ermelande*
	-	-	Notre-Dame-la-Ronde	R.	*Alma redemptoris mater*
139r*	-	-	St-Michel-du-forum	R.	*Te sanctum dominum*
				V.	[*quere supra iii die*]
139r*	-	-	Saint-Sauveur	R.	*Honor uirtus*
				V.	[*quere supra iii die*]
139r*	-	-	St-Pierre-le-Portier	R.	*Qvodcumque ligaueris*
				V.	*Tu es inquit petrus χpistus*
139r*	-	-	St-André-hors-la-Ville	R.	*Dilexit andream dominus*
				V.	*Elegit eum dominus*
129v	-	105v			[seven penitential psalms]
139v*	-	105v	St-Gervais	R.	*Concede nobis domine*
				V.	*Adiuuent nos eorum merita*
				V.	*Exultent iusti*
				Or.	Deus qui nos concedis
				Or.	*Presta quesumus omnipotens*
129v	-	105v		Ps.	*Miserere mei deus*
					[sermon]
140r*	-	105v		R.	*O constancia martyrum*
129v	-	105v			[begin litany] *Humili prece*
140r*	-	105v	St-Nicolas-de-Beauvoir	R.	*Quadam die*
				V.	*Ora pro nobis beate nicolae*
				Or.	*Deus qui benedictum nicolaum*
				R.	*Ex eius tumba*
140r*	-	105v	Grand-Pont	A.	*Isti sunt uiri sancti quos elegit*
				V.	[*sicut ad s. saluatorem*]
				Or.	[*sicut ad s. saluatorem*]

TABLE 4.9. PROCESSIONAL ITINERARY OF ROGATION TUESDAY TO THE PARISH CHURCH OF SAINT-GERVAIS IN THE WEST.

Because the processional material transmitted by gradual 904 and processional A. 551 is especially rich, and because the Rogation Days and Ascension Thursday are the most extended processions of the year, it is particularly regrettable that the Rogation Days in the processional A. 551 (222) begin and end in *lacunae*, starting in the middle of Tuesday (f. 47r), midway through the versicle *O dilecte dei radians uirtute* of the *Humili prece*; and ending after the stations of Wednesday (f. 54v) near the end of the *Ardua spes*, during the versicle *Auram et temperiem donex te χpiste*. Rogation Monday is entirely lacking, as are the stations of Tuesday and the recession back to the cathedral on Wednesday. I have estimated that the extent of these missing contents is four bifolia. This required revising one aspect of Karl Young's study of A. 551 early in the twentieth century as a source for the *Officium stellae* and the *Officium peregrinorum*. In particular, Young reported a codicological structure of twelve gatherings and he reported some of the missing contents he found in each.[554] However, he missed the two large *lacunae* at the beginning and end of the Rogation Days, at ff. 46/47 and 54/55. In his collation of the book these two points fell within gatherings *g* and *h* (Figure 4.8). But no page stub or corresponding gap in contents is to be found in the other half of such gathering. Young's collation was, unfortunately, in error; instead, these two *lacunae* were symmetrically opposite each other within one gathering, which I have confirmed through autopsy of the stitching (Figure 4.9). My synopsis of the Rogation texts in Appendix 4 enabled me to estimate the extent of the missing contents. The *lacuna*s of A. 551 correspond to roughly 18 bifolios in gradual 904, and

[554] Young, "A Contribution" (1908): 212, n. 1 reported twelve gatherings: a $^{2+1\ (3\ wanting)}$ b^{6} c$^{16\ (7,\ 10,\ 14,\ 15,\ 16\ wanting)}$ d^{8} e^{4} f^{8} g^{6} h^{4} i^{10} j^{2} k^{12} l^{14}. The gaps in quire c occur during Holy Week, which is especially regrettable.

this extent in gradual 904 corresponds, as a rough measure, to about four folios in A. 551.[555] I find it likely that the missing contents on either side of the Rogations, therefore, filled four bifolia on the outer side of this gathering.

	ff.	CONTENTS	*LACUNA*
f	37r–44v	Easter	
g	45r–50v	Easter–Rogations (47r)	between ff. 46/47
h	51r–54v	Rogations	between ff. 54/55
i	55r–64v	Ascension (55r)–Pentecost (56v)–Trinity (60v)–Sundays after Pentecost (63v)	

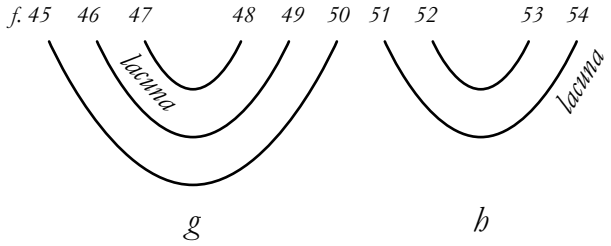


FIGURE 4.8. MISSING ROGATIONS CONTENTS OF PROCESSIONAL A. 551 ACCORDING TO YOUNG'S COLLATION.

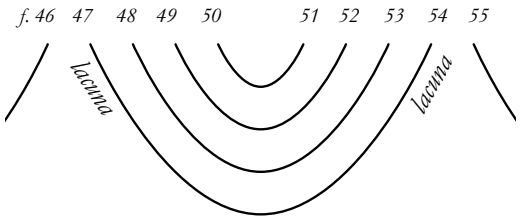


FIGURE 4.9. REVISED COLLATION OF PROCESSIONAL A. 551, CONFIRMED BY AUTOPSY, SHOWING SYMMETRY OF MISSING ROGATIONS CONTENTS.

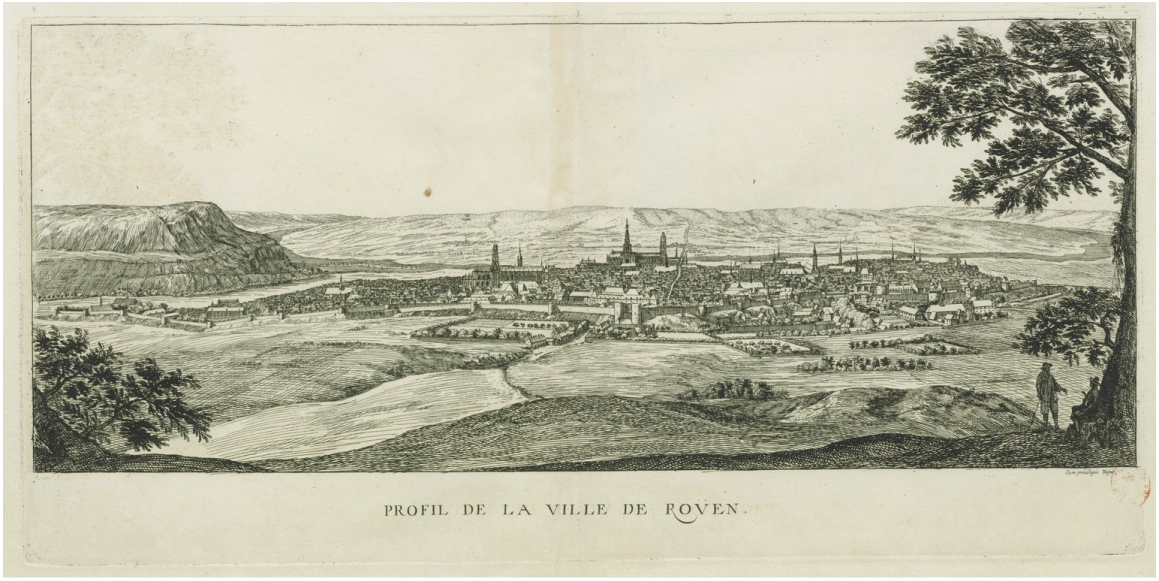
[555] Finding the ratio of pages for the contents between the gradual and the processional is best done by comparing passages between Christmas Day and Easter Day, which are the most complete continuous contents in A. 551; the beginning of Christmas Day to end of Epiphany, and beginning of Second Sunday of Lent to end of Passion Sunday, correpond to 18 and 4 folios in gradual 904 and procesional A. 551, respectively.

Rogation Wednesday to Sainte-Catherine

The processional A. 551 (222) gives the processional route of Rogation Wednesday: Saint-Herbland, Saint-Lô, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Maclou, and Saint-Marc. It is the only source of this route among the manuscripts; the gradual 904 and ordinal Y. 110 contain details only for the ultimate destination, Mont-Sainte-Catherine: *omnes conueniant ut supra et moueat processio et eat ad montem sancte katherine*.[556] Before leaving the eastern gate of the city on Rogation Wednesday in 1238, donors were required to obtain two burning candles and one thurible at the church of Saint-Maclou as the procession moved out of the city toward St. Catherine abbey.[557] The itinerary, which exited the eastern limits of the city, was by far the longest of all three Rogation Days (Table 4.10). It moved along one of the roads through the negligibly-developed marshes that filled the topography mere steps outside the eastern wall of the city up to the steep mount. The climb up the mountain was arduous. The Wednesday procession was unquestionably the farthest in distance from the cathedral, and by far the highest in elevation. The processional A. 551, in an uncharacteristically chatty detail, instructed the procession to take a small break (*paululum requiescat*) on the way up the mount at the priory of Saint-Michel-du-Mont before continuing to Sainte-Catherine at its summit.

[556] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 106r.

[557] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2091.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

FIGURE 4.10. ISRAËL SILVESTRE, *PROFIL DE LA VILLE DE ROUEN*, ENGRAVING, CA. 1650; VIEW FROM NORTH DEPICTING MONT-SAINTE-CATHERINE AT LEFT (BNF, DÉPT CARTES ET PLANS, GE BB 565 [7, 63]).

The *paulula requies* called for at Saint-Michel-du-Mont may reflect, like the singing of the monks of Saint-Ouen at earlier stations of the Rogation days and their hospitality of lunch for the cantor, a support of the Rogations ceremony that was customary at Rouen. This may be the reason why the processional specified that the responsory *Te sanctum* at Saint-Michel-du-Mont was sung not by the monks, but *cantetur a nostris*.[558] The ascent from the city toward the heavens is reflected in the chant, versicle, and collect which referenced the echelons of angels: V. *Cherubin quoque et seraphin sanctus proclamant*, V. *In conspectu angelorum*, and Or. *Beati michaelis archangeli intercessione*. The monks of Sainte-Catherine, by contrast, upon the entrance of the procession to the abbey church, immediately started singing the responsory *Honor virtus*.

[558] Processional A. 551, f. 52r.

LAT. 904	A. 551	Y. 110	SITE		TEXT
132r	48r	106r	[moueat processio]	A.	*Surgite sancti de mansionibus*
				alia	*Miserere domine plebi tue*
				alia	*Multa sunt domine peccata*
133r	-	-		alia	*Inclina domine aurem tuam*
				alia	*Exaudi domine populum tuum*
-	49r	-	Saint-Herbland	R.	*Vir israhelita gaude coheres*
					V. *Ut precibus tuis a deo ueniam*
-	49r	-	Saint-Lô	R.	*Summe trinitati simplici*
					V. *Prestet nobis gratiam deitas*
-	49v	-	Saint-Ouen	R.	*Digne pater audoene*
					V. *Ut te precante muniti*
				R.	*Quod cumque ligaueris*
					V. [*die hesterna de sancto petro portario*]
-	49v	-	Saint-Maclou	R.	[*quere supra j die de sancto eligio*]
-	49v	-	Saint-Marc	R.	*Quatuor animalia ibant*
					V. *Erat autem quasi uisio*
-	50r	-		A.	*Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum*
133v	51r	-		alia	*Timor et tremor uenit in niniuem*
133v	51v	-		alia	*Omnipotens deus supplices te*
134v	52r	106r			[seven penitential psalms]
134v	52r	106r	Saint-Michael-du-Mont	R.	*Te sanctum dominum*
					V. *Cherubin quoque et seraphin*
				V.	*In conspectu angelorum*
				Or.	*Perpetuum nobis domine*
				Or.	*Beati michaelis archangeli*
				Or.	*Deus qui miro ordine angelorum*
				R.	*Princeps sancte celestis milicie*
					V. *Separemur a sinistris*
135r	52v	106r			[xv *psalmi*]
-	52v	106r	Sainte-Catherine	R.	*Honor uirtus*
				Or.	
					[sermon]
135r	52v	106r		R.	*Summe trinitati*
					V. *Prestet nobis gratiam*
				V.	*Benedicamus patrem et filium*
135r	-	-		Or.	*Omnipotens sempiterne deus*
					Kyrieleison. Xpisteleison. Kyrieleison.
				Or.	*Deus cui proprium est miseri*
				alia	*In effabiliem misericordiam*
				alia	*Pretende domine famulis*
				alia	*Ecclesie tue domine*
				alia	*Deus a quo sancta desideria*
				alia	*Fidelium deus omnium*
136r	52v	106r		R.	*Regnum mundi et omnem*
					V. *Eructauit cor meum uerbum*

136r	53r	106r	[during descent] Saint-Michel-du-Mont		[litany] *Ardua spes mundi* [litany] *Omnes o sancti nostre succurite*
		106r	[after descent]		[litany begun] *Rex kyrie*
		106v	Saint-Maclou	A. Or. R. V.	*Gaudent in celis* [*separentur processionis*] *In circuitu tuo*
					[litany resumed] *Rex kyrie*
		106v	cathedral [portal of the Calendes]	A.	*Saluator mundi*

TABLE 4.10. PROCESSIONAL ITINERARY OF ROGATION WEDNESDAY TO THE ABBEY OF SAINTE-CATHERINE, FORMERLY LA TRINITÉ-DU-MONT, IN THE EAST.

The modular format of gradual 904 exhibits some peculiarities on Rogation Wednesday. The module which gives the processional route, ff. 140v–141r, lists parish churches to be passed in this order: Saint-Lô, Saint-Herbland, Saint-Ouen, and Saint-Maclou; this is followed by entrance the cathedral, via the portal of its south transept, which is how the Wednesday procession ends. The first peculiarity, therefore, is that at least some information seems to be for the ending of the procession, rather than the beginning, which is what would be expected after Monday and Tuesday and after the rubric that prefaced them all, *antiphone uel responsoria que dicenda sunt de sanctis apud quorum ecclesias transit* (f. 137v). Perhaps this module of Wednesday was not intended for the procession, but the recession. Its final two chants, the responsory *In circuitu tuo* and antiphon *Saluator mundi*, are for a station at Saint-Maclou before entering the cathedral by its southern transept arm (the portal across from La Madeleine, "ad portale uersus magdalenam," Y. 110, f. 106v, this being situated to the south of the cathedral). The second peculiarity is that these parish churches are geographically disordered: Saint-Herbland and Saint-Ouen are in opposite directions of Saint-Lô, to the south and to the north, respectively; this route doubles back upon itself, regardless whether it was taken to Mont-Sainte-Catherine or from it. Saint-Herbland, which faced the façade of the cathedral, was the first parish

church passed on the Rogation Tuesday and Wednesday processions.[559] Taking caution from these peculiarities, I have not included this module (ff. 140v–141r) in the table of the *ordo* of the Wednesday procession, which until proven otherwise, I think, must be an error.

The priory of Saint-Michel-du-Mont, where the procession made a slight pause on its ascent, was also a point of articulation in the descent down the mount. When leaving Sainte-Catherine the litany *Ardua spes mundi* was sung, and it was continued in the vineyard of Saint-Michel-du-Mont for as long as necessary to finish it (*quousque processio ueniat in uinium sancti michaelis*).[560] From Saint-Michel-du-Mont to the south transept of the cathedral the litany *Omnes o sancti nostre succurite*. The descent from Sainte-Catherine abbey, formerly dedicated the Holy Trinity, was both a return to the city and a Neoplatonic descent after three days of procession. This was reflected in the litany of *Ardua spes mundi*, a series of invocations descending from the Trinity to the BMV, to archangels, all classes of saints, and patrons of Rouen; St. Romain and St. Ouen were invoked, as was St. Catherine. St. Martin and St. Nicolas were invoked, churches dedicated to whom were passed the day before (Table 4.11). Like *Humili preces*, each couplet of *Ardua spes mundi* was sung in alternation with a refrain or respond by the choir, which was the first verse until the invocation of angels, after which the respond was the second verse, *χpitexaudi nos*, and from this point onward alternating between the two responds.[561]

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[559] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, 3e partie, p. 54. Traditionally, St. Herbland was the departure point of the ritual of investiture of the new archbishop, from which the incumbent walked to the cathedral in bare feet and entered it in order to take possession of the archiepiscopal throne.

[560] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 106r.

[561] Gradual 904, ff. 136r–7v.

Ardua spes mundi solidator et inclyte celi
χpistexaudi nos propitius miserere.
Virgo dei rutilans in honore perhenni
ora pro famulis sancta maria tuis
Angele summe dei michael miserere cito nostri.
Adiumet et gabriel atque pius raphael.
Aspice nos omnes clemens baptista iohannes
petre cum paulo nos rege doctilogo.
Cetus apostolicus sit nobis factor et omnis
ac patriarchum propheticus chorus
Poscere nunc stephanum studeamus carmine summum.
vt cum martyribus nos iuuet intrepidus
Inclite laurenti qui flammas exuperasti.
victor ab ethereo nos miserante choro.
Splendide siluester gregori ac sancte magister.
Nos quoque cum soiis ferre uiuando polis.
Huic martine comeis pariter nicholae beate
florentes celos iungite nos domino
Atque dyonisius bonefactus ambrosiusque.
Cum prece nostra letificare pia.
O romane tonans simul audoene choruscans.
Candide cum laudo reddite nos domino.
Virgines flores agnes katherina florentes
auxilio uestris addite nos sociis.
Innocuos pueros resonemus fortiter ymnos.
Qui modo nos pueros dant resonare melos.

Omnes o sancti nostre succurite uite
per que crucem sanctam salua nos χpiste redempto
Ira deque tua clemens nos eripe χpiste.
Nos peccatores audite χpiste rogamus.
Vt pluriam nobis donec te χpiste rogamus.
vt pacem nobis dones te χpiste rogamus.
Crimen ut omne tuis soluas te piste rogamus.
Auram et temperiem donex te χpiste rogamus.
vt fruges terre dones te χpiste rogamus.
Ecclesiamque tuam firmes et χpiste rogamus
fili celsi thronite nos χpiste rogamus
Agne dei patris nobis miserere pusillis
χpiste audi nos kyrieleyson.

TABLE 4.11. *ARDUA SPES* FOR ROGATION WEDNESDAY, WITH ADAPTATIONS FOR ROUENNAIS AND OTHER SAINTS.

The most important adaption in gradual 904 from Ratpert's text was observed by Delisle: the substitution of the whole verses from 17 to 22, invoking St. Martin, St. Nicolas, St. Denis, St. Boniface, St. Ambroise, St. Romain, and St. Ouen.[562] Delisle did not mention the scribal tick that occurred at this point in the manuscript, when the copyist stopped rubricating the verses and responds as *cantores* and *chorus*, but as V. and R. Perhaps this was an artifact of a complicated copying scenario; in addition to the integrity of the verses, it is clear that the text scribe was concerned with a number of elements of the *mise-en-page*: leaving room for notation, and leaving room for large colored initials at the beginning of each verse, beneath which his small initials are still visible.

[562] Delisle, "Un livre de chœur normano-sicilien," 45–46.

There is one difference between gradual 904 and processional A. 551 that is significant in the context of Rogation Wednesday: the version of *Ardua spes* in the gradual was updated to invoke St. Catherine, but the processional A. 551 kept Ratpert's original invocation of St. Agatha.[563] There was no such difference for *Humili prece* of Tuesday, except that the large first part of that hymn is missing in a *lacuna* in A. 551. In addition, A. 551 does not refer to the abbey of Sainte-Catherine, but to La-Trinité-du-Mont: *Et cum processio intrauerit chorum sancte trinitatis*....[564] This difference may have ramifications for the dating of the two manuscripts, or conversely, for a later period in the development in the cult of St. Catherine at Rouen or in the dedication of its abbey church. Aside from this, the version of *Ardua spes* in the gradual exhibits some minor orthographical differences and substitution of words: *miserere* replaced *famulos* in verse 2 (A. 551 f. 53r, gives *famulos*); *intrepidus* replaced *ipse pius* in verse 12; and *fortiter ymnos*, a self-conscious reference to the procession, replaced *laude peractos* in verse 25.

Ad postulandam

At the same time that the Rogation Days repeatedly invoked heavenly hosts, the Rogation Days were inherently about a relationship to the material world. Brief rogations for special circumstances—for fair weather, for rain, against plague, pestilence, and famine—were formulated in such a way that they could be inserted into the procession of the day, depending on needs. The usage seems to have been an alternative to singing the chants of saints encountered en route; *memoriae* were made to them and the antiphons for special needs were sung instead: *ad*

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[563] Processional A. 551, f. 54r.

[564] Processional A. 551, f. 52v.

postulandum serenitatem omnes autem hic notatas quere in rogationibus de sanctis ante quorum ecclesias processio transeat fiat memoria et sic in sequentibus processio antiphona.[565] These ceremonies were generally collated as appendices to the main contents of Rogations in the processional books. Their formats were simple and recognizable in comparison to the processions of Vespers or Mass (Tables 4.12–4.14).

LAT. 904	A. 551	PROCESSIONAL SEGMENT		CHANT, PRAYER, SUFFRAGE
f. 141r	f. 81r	assembly of procession	A.	*Exurge domine*
			V.	[as for the day, etc.]
			Or.	
	-	movement out from cathedral	A.	*Parce domine*
-			A.	*Propitius esto*
-			alia	*In nomine domini*
		while passing parish churches	A.	*Iniquitates nostre domine*
-	81v		alia	*Exaudi domine deprecationem*
			A.	*Domine non est alius deus*
141v	82r		alia	*Deprecamur te domine*
			alia	*Inundauerunt aque multiplicate*
	82v		alia	*Non uos demergat domine*
-			alia	*Dimitte domine peccata nostra*
				[seven penitential psalms]
		at destination	R.	[for saint dedicatee]
				V.
			Or.	
				[prostration]
			Or.	[as on Rogation Wednesday]
			R.	[*ad placitum*]
	83r	return to cathedral	lit.	*Domine defende nos*
			uel	*Aufer a nobis domine...*
142r				*Miserere miserere miserere...*
				Exaudi exaudi exaudi...

TABLE 4.12. OCCASIONAL ROGATION *AD POSTULANDUM SERENITATEM*.

LAT. 904	A. 551	PROCESSIONAL SEGMENT		CHANT, PRAYER, SUFFRAGE
f. 142r	f. 83v	assembly of procession	A.	*Exurge domine*
				Ps. *Deus auribus*
			V.	[as for the day, etc.]
			Or.	
		while passing parish churches	A.	*Domine rex deux abraham*
-	84r		A.	*Numquid est in ydolis gentium*
142v			alia	*Exaudi domine*
			alia	*Si clauso celo pluuia*
	84v		alia	*Domine rigans montes*
	-		A.	Dimitte domine

[565] Gradual 904, ff. 141v–2r.

-			A.	*Peccauimus domine*
143r	-		A.	*Populus syon*
	-		A.	*Parce domine*
	85r		A.	*Oremus dilectissimi*
				[seven penitential psalms]
		at destination	V.	[for saint dedicatee]
			Or.	
			Or.	[as on Rogation Wednesday]
			R.	[*ad placitum*]
		return to cathedral	lit.	*Rex kyrie*
-			uel	*Domine defende nos*

TABLE 4.13. OCCASIONAL ROGATION *AD PLUUIAM POSTULANDUM*.

LAT. 904	A. 551	PROCESSIONAL SEGMENT		CHANT, PRAYER, SUFFRAGE
f. 143r	f. 85r	assembly of procession	A.	*Exurge domine*
		movement out from cathedral	A.	*Propicius esto*
-		while passing parish churches	R.	*Aspice domine de sede sancta tua*
				V. *Non enim in iustificationibus*
-	85v		R.	*Aspice domine quia facta est*
				V. *Plorans plorauit in nocte*
-	86r		R.	*Recordare domine testamenti tui*
				V. *Quiescat domine ira tua*
-			R.	*Deus qui sedes super thronum*
				V. *Tibi enim derelictus est*
-	86v		R.	*Muro tuo in expugnabili*
				V. *Erue nos in mirabilibus tuis*
			alia	*Libera domine populum*
-	87r		A.	*Exaudi domine deprecationem*
-			A.	*Domine miserere nostri*
	-		alia	*Timor et tremor*
				[seven penitential psalms]
		at destination	V.	[for saint dedicatee]
			Or.	
			Or.	[as on Rogation Wednesday]
			R.	[*ad placitum*]
-	87v	return to cathedral	lit.	*Domine defende nos*
			lit.	*Kyrieleison qui precioso sanguine*

TABLE 4.14. OCCASIONAL ROGATION PROPTER MORTALITATEM UEL PESTILENTIAM UEL FAMEN.

Coordination of cathedral, parish, and monastic Rogations

The coordination of public processions among multiple institutions—the cathedral, its parish churches, the abbey of Saint-Ouen, and many other monastic houses—became complicated as the density of population and infrastructure near the city center increased, where so many of the processional routes were fixed. On some occasions these conflicts were expressed

in terms of space—traffic jams—and in others, in terms of sound. Processional conflict, or else sonic conflict, may have been the reason for the bull of 1244 from Pope Innocent IV which forbade the nuns of Saint-Amand of Rouen from performing processions and ringing bells.[566] On the other hand, increasing urban density and the exigencies of the most elaborate public processions required reliability of all the institutions that took part. The chapter's expectations about the cooperation of the abbey of Saint-Ouen in public processions was frustrated to the point that in 1445 the archbishop of Rouen filed complaints with civic authorities against the abbot of Saint-Ouen for repeatedly failing to accompany the chapter in several of the public processions: the feast of St. Mark (Greater Litany), Easter Day, Ascension, and the three Rogation Days. The monks of the abbey claimed to have fulfilled their obligation through prayers, which they addressed on behalf of the confraternities to saints whose relics lay at the abbey and the cathedral.[567] Over the course of the three Rogation days, if a single institution made three movements through the local topography, then the metacirculation represented by all movements of all institutions within that time span must have been strict indeed. One means of avoiding logistical conflict was to perform public processions at staggered at intervals over the course of the day. The ceremonial observances of the chapter took precedence over parish churches of the diocese, who worked around it, with the added benefit that its clergy and

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[566] Pommeraye, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen, où il est traité de la Fondation, augmentation, & des diuers éuenemens de cette Abbaye* (Rouen: Richard Lallemant and Louis du Mesnil, 1662), pp. 93–94; Marie-Josèphe Le Cacheux, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand de Rouen des origines à la fin du XVIe siècle* (Caen: Société d'impression de Basse-Normandie, 1937), pp. 254–58, cited in Leonie V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050–1300: Space, Gender, and Social Pressure*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 33 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell, 2007), p. 49.

[567] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1278: "pour compaigner les frères des confrairies de plusieurs corps saints estans à Saint-Ouen, pour leur faire honneur et révérence et à ceulx de l'église de Notre-Dame dont les fiertes sont portées aux dites procession."

parishioners might also attend the pomp of the cathedral. By the seventeenth century, according to Farin, diocesan curés participated in the Rogations processions of the cathedral. The most elaborate public processions, of course, are also those of the longest durations, which raised its own complications. Increasingly parish processions were set to begin earlier and earlier in the day, in order to avoid conflicts with each other. By the end of the seventeenth century the Rogations processions across the city were so numerous and spread so far over time that the chapter was required to formally forbid the curés of the diocese from beginning them earlier than sunrise.[568]

Expansive landscape and expansive time

As shown in previous chapters, real topographies of the cathedral church, the city of Rouen, its surroundings, and the province of Normandy were mapped by means of processions, and complex ceremonies which elaborated them, onto miraculous and imagined spaces. The antiphon *O oriens* of Advent was assigned to the archdeacon of the French Vexin, the easternmost archdeaconate of the province. The clerics representing the three kings in the *Officium stellae* assembled at the main altar in the choir from three different points of origin in the church, evoking terrestrially remote points of origin. The apocryphal ceremony of two illuminated crosses within the cathedral on the feast of the dedication evoked the miracle of two crosses seen in the eastern and western limits of the sky on the dedication of Rouen cathedral in the presence of William the Conqueror in 1063. The Rogation processions to the south, west, and east on three consecutive days bound together the ground underfoot and a celestial hierarchy via the memoria, stations, and litanies enacted for dedicatee saints.

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[568] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 733, dated 1699.

Expanding city walls and their gates

In the *Historia Normannorum*, ca. 1000, Dudo of St. Quentin expressed the glory the Dukes of Normandy by portraying Rouen as a beautiful capital and peaceful harbor:

> Beautiful city, bright with sanctified knighthood,
> full and abounding in all manner of good things,
> hard by a peaceful harbour that stills the wild waves,
> Rouen, receive with a perpetual rejoicing
> him who returns, and is full of nectar divine,
> patrician, and powerful duke by right also.
> —Dudo of St. Quentin, *History of the Normans*, Book IV, 67[569]

The contrasting images of peaceful harbor and savage waves of the river emblematized Rouen, where the power of the river had been harnessed, and by extension the subduction of the province to its dukes. Dudo's image was taken up by Orderic Vitalis in the twelfth century: "Rouen is a populous and wealthy city, thronged with merchants and a meeting-place of trade routes. A fair city set among murmuring streams and smiling meadows, abounding in fruit and fish and all manner of produce, it stands surrounded by hills and woods, strongly encircled by walls and ramparts and battlements, and fair to behold with its mansions and houses and churches."[570] In Orderic's image of the city the effects of civilization are revealed in its security. Strong fortifications surrounded the city: walls, trenches, bulwarks. The cathedral church from its earliest foundations lay always near the intersection, like in so many cities, of the Roman *cardo* and *decumanus*. The city walls of Rouen expanded in concentric rings around this center

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[569] *Dudo of St. Quentin: History of the Normans*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), p. 122; Adolphe Charma, "Sur Dudon de Saint-Quentin: Étude historique et critique," *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie* 23 (1858): 247–48, "Urbs luculenta micans milite sacro | cunctorumque honorum ubere plena | tranquillo residens effera portu | Rotomage cape perpete laeta | divino reducem nectare plenum | patriciumque ducem jure potentem."

[570] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 5, ed. Chibnall, vol. 3, pp. 36–7.

from the eleventh to the thirteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The earliest city gate described by Farin was the eastern gate, Porte Martainville, built in 1253, though which the Rogation Wednesday procession exited the city.[571] The change in boundary between *urbs* and *suburbs* had consequences for ritual meaning at Saint-Godard, original burial place of St. Romain and the site of encounter of the consecrated host on Palm Sunday. This changing inside/outside status is nowhere clearer than in the Rogation days. The procession of Rogation Monday in the eleventh century needed to leave the city gates in order to arrive at Saint-Éloi and make station at Saint-Sauveur; on Tuesday likewise for the entire route except when first passing by Saint-Herbland and Notre-Dame-la-Ronde; and also for the entire route on Wednesday, except when first passing Saint-Herbland and Saint-Lô on the way to the city gate.[572] The typology of going out, represented in the antiphon *De iherusalem exeunt* while leaving the cathedral on Rogation Tuesday, had a different meaning in earlier periods when so much of the Rogations route lay outside the city.

Wilderness as penitence

Exiting the city wall to the east was to encounter a wilderness. The marsh through which the Aubette and Robec distributaries coursed was shown as an uninhabited expanse between the city and the imposing mount of St. Catherine to the east in maps and landscapes into the

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[571] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 1, pp. 11–12.

[572] Phillippe Cailleux, Trois paroisses de Rouen, XIIIe–XVe siècles (Saint-Lô, Notre-Dame-la-Ronde et Saint-Herbland): étude de topographie et d'urbanisme, thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris IV (Paris-Sorbonne). Cailleux's study offers detailed, plot-by-plot development from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century of these three parishes closest to the cathedral: Saint-Lô, Notre-Dame-la-Ronde, and Saint-Herbland.

nineteenth century. Only the edges nearest the city wall and the route to Martainville were civilized.

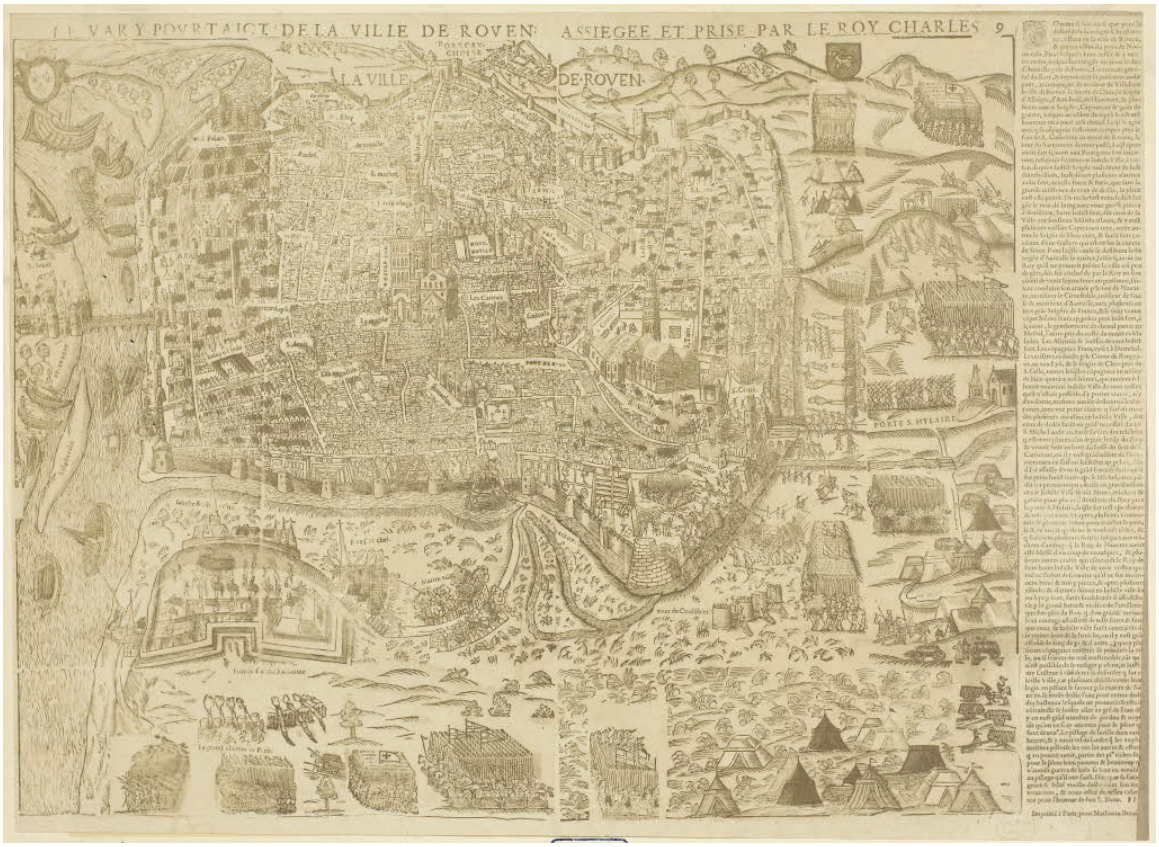


FIGURE 4.11. JEAN NAGEREL, *LE VARY POURTRAICT DE LA VILLE DE ROUEN: ASSIÉGÉE ET PRISE PAR LE ROY CHARLES 9*, WOODCUT, CA. 1562; PRINTED IN PARIS BY M. BREUIL (PHOTOGRAPH: C. PETITON, BMR).

The sense of wilderness is depicted by the earliest print map of Rouen, ca. 1562, a woodcut by Nagerel, attributed to André Thevet, "LE VARY POVRTAICT DE LA VILLE DE ROVEN: ASSIEGEE ET PRISE PAR LE ROY CHARLES 9" (Figure 4.11). With the Seine at the left margin of the image, the eastern border of the city wall is emphasized by the Robec stream branching off from the Seine and ramifying into two distributaries at the city gate to the fief of Martainville, where the path the St. Catherine's mount exits. The fortress of St. Catherine, the site of the imminent victory of King Charles IX of France, is depicted in the lower left corner. The bulwarks facing our view are depicted with thick square borders, the opposite side, facing the city, by a thick

curvature suggesting the slope of the mountain which continues as a flight of stairs down the mountain to the north (our right) to connect with the path to Martainville. This complex depiction simultaneously presents two perspectives, aerial and sideways, to emphasize the great height of Mont-Sainte-Catherine. As the viewer's eye moves from the upper to the lower zones of the map it ascends from the low altitude of the city to the high altitude of the mount. Atop the mount, three platoons of heavy foot troops and one platoon cavalry march in formation behind two ranks of cannons fixed upon the fortress. The thick lower and right borders of the entire image are occupied with the geometric forms of platoons, which surround the city. But there is a middle zone between the siege and the city, exposed, outside the city walls at a low altitude, depicted by the woodcutter by curved hatches to signify tufts of marsh grass. The fief of Martainville is represented as a tiny outpost of a half-dozen houses on the road up the mount, and the priory of Saint-Michel-du-Mont is visible along the route, next to the stairs. The visual contrast is high between the dense composition of the city and the open expanse between it and the mount.

The most substantial development in this marsh between the city and the mount was mills along the Robec and Aubette. The earliest mills belonged to the Dukes of Normandy, but King Richard Lionheart ceded most of them to Archbishop Gauthier of Rouen.[573] The archbishop's ownership of land in this area is attested in a deed from 1182 by Archbishop Rotrou of Rouen confirming the purchase by his nephew of a mill and manor "ante portam Rodobecce fluvii".[574] By the middle of the thirteenth century, the wetlands (Farin, *'le vivier'*) to the east of the

[573] Arch. Nat., K. 26; and Arch. municipales de Rouen, tiroir 262, liasse 2, charte chirographaire, discussed in Dubosc, *Enigme*; Doublet, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Denys*, p. 892; *Trésor des Chartes*, Rouen, nº 1, carton J. 213.

[574] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 1089.

expanded city walls were royal property, leased by King Louis IX to Archbishop Eudes Rigaud in 1259 for 45 livres annually; in 1261 Louis dispensed with this rent in exchange for the manor of St. Matthieu, owned by the archbishop; and in 1262 Louis effectively bought the archbishop out of this same lease by donating in perpetuity the Château de Gaillon and three villages, in addition to 4,000 livres silver. In Farin's narration, this magnanimous gift from Louis to the archbishop had an even more magnanimous aim: to bestow the lands east of Rouen to its citizens, to cultivate as they saw fit.[575]

According to Farin, stone steps for the ascent to Sainte-Catherine, like those depicted in the map above, were provided in 1310 by a noble named Enguerrand de Marigni, which fell into ruin and were replaced in 1466 by the noble Jean le Bousier of Esternaï.[576] This eastern gate, the Porte Martainville, was in ruins in 1405, and that in that year counselors of the city launched an expensive campaign of rebuilding with Parisian mason Nicolas Rousseau, first the city gate in spring and then in summer the entire embankment of the eastern wall all the way to the Seine.[577] Until its completion the movement to and from the eastern edge of the city would have been tedious along the road to Martainville and practically impossible by the distributaries of the river, the Robec and the Aubette. In order to support the industry offered by these distributaries, especially dyeing and tanning, and perhaps in part due to pollution, the streams were cleaned every year at Pentecost from the city wall to Darnétal,[578] about 6 km to the east of the city and

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[575] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 1, p. 14. In this eastern zone outside the former city walls, the Moulin de la Pannevert still survives; see *La route des moulins vallées du Robec et de l'Aubette* (1987).

[576] Fain, *Histoire de Rouen*, pp. 130–1.

[577] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 1, pp. 11–13.

[578] Ibid.

north of the mount. Without canalization of these fields, water saturation would have threatened the foundations of mills.

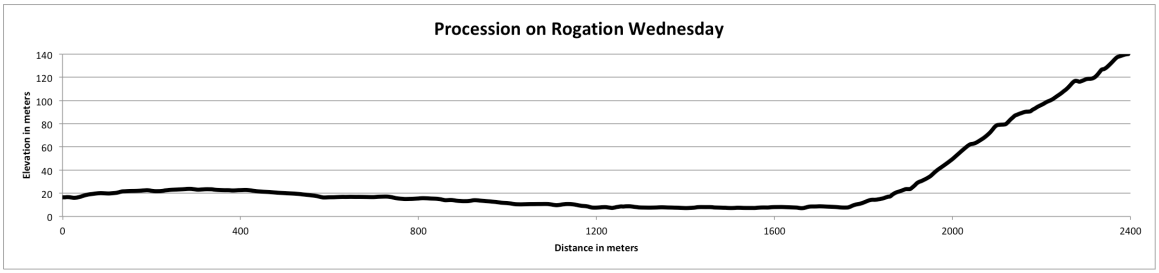


FIGURE 4.12. HISTOGRAM SHOWING ELEVATION OF ITINERARY ON ROGATION WEDNESDAY (DATA GATHERED WITH ALTIMETER BY AUTHOR).

It is possible to imagine these areas to the east of the city as a kind of cultivated wilderness, whose infrastructure of canals and roads was generated by municipal industry, but also by pilgrimage and procession. The road to Saint-Michel-du-Mont and Sainte-Catherine promoted the growth of Martainville, and its development enabled increasingly fluid traffic. The priory of Saint-Michel-du-Mont was the destination of a solemn procession by the confraternity of the Pèlerins du Mont-Saint-Michel on the feast of the archangel.[579] Like Mont-Saint-Michel at the western edge of Normandy, pilgrimage to this high place was often an act of penitence.

When I first encountered the engraving by Israël Silvestre of Mont-Saint-Catherine (Figure 4.10), I assumed that it was an exaggerated composition intended to invoke awe. The spire of Rouen cathedral, even in its various versions so often a marvel for its great height, seemed dwarfed by the massive mount that loomed at the left edge of the image, just as the two human figures in the foreground, at the lower right of the image, seemed emphatically miniaturized by the scene. In October 2017 I retraced the three Rogation processional routes on foot in Rouen, and aided with an altimeter, recorded the altitude of the length of the procession

[579] Farin, *Histoire de Rouen*, part 5, p. 112; *Histoire d'Abbeville*, p. 66, cited in Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 63.

from the cathedral moving east through the city gate and up the mount. In light of the resulting altitude data (Figure 4.12) I looked at Silvestre's scene with a new kind of appreciation.

Réveillon *and rebellion*

The northern tower of the cathedral, the Tour Saint-Romain, *hors d'œuvre* due to its detachment from the Romanesque basilica, was largely spared from the fire of 1200. The massive base and walls, unpierced in the first two levels of its elevation, are among the oldest visible portions of the cathedral. These vestiges of the earlier cathedral were the sonic bedrock above which the largest bells of the city were suspended until the sixteenth century, when the southern Tour de Beurre was completed. Until that point the largest bell was the Rigaud, donated by Archbishop Eudes Rigaud and forged and suspended, shortly after his death, atop the Tour Saint-Romain, where it remained until the Revolution. Bells and bishops had long been paired: the ringing of a bell at night when the city lanterns were lit signaled that the archbishop was resident in the city.

Jean d'Avranches gives several details in *De officiis* about when and how bells were rung in Rouen.[580] His language distinguished the terms *sonare* and *pulsare*. The former, *sonare*, seems to denote echo, sonic presence, saturation of the *paysage sonore*; the latter, *pulsare*, implies repetition, beating, a technique of rapid striking, or perhaps even an aural perception of beating or ringing. According to *De officiis*, the beating of a bell or bells was used as a signal

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[580] Jean d'Avranches is reported to have referred to an instrument called the *claquet* (Joh. Abrinc., p. 56, 61, 132, 137, notes 184 and 208), which was used beyond the French Revolution on the coast of Normandy around Dieppe to call people to services on Good Friday, cited in Le Brun des Marettes, *Voyages Liturgiques*, p. 300, 303, 304, in turn cited by Malais, *Calendrier normand*, p. 20.

(*signum pulsantum*) for assembly of the chapter, such as before Compline.[581] On certain occasions the number of bells was specified, whether one, two, or all. Bells were beaten one by one (*sigillatim pulsentur*) at the end of Tenebres on Maundy Thursday.[582] Two bells were beaten at Prime for all feasts occurring on ferial days.[583] Bells were rung in pairs (*binae et binae*, 'two by two') as the primary sign of solemnity, Jean explained, at the feasts of St. John the Baptist; Passions of SS. Peter and Paul apostles; Passion of St. Andrew apostle; at the suffrage of St. Michael at Mount Gargano; for the deposition of relics of St. Martin;[584] and at Vespers of Nativity of BMV.[585] The full performing forces were rung at feasts of high solemnity. At Matins of Christmas Eve all bells were first sounded together (*omnes campanae pulsantur*) and then two by two, according to *De officiis*, and all bells were rung again at Matins of Christmas.[586] At Vespers before Maundy Thursday, all bells were rung in reverence for the Last Supper, as John explained, and Vespers were celebrated in solemnity (*festiue*).[587] Bells were a sonic prominence at several moments of Easter Vigil: at night, around ten o'clock, after some clerics censed and elevated the crucifix to the antiphon *Surrexit dominus de sepulchro*, the portals of the cathedral were thrown open to the sounding of all bells (*cunctis campanis*); at the beginning of Mass at Easter Vigil all bells were rung; and after the Communion *Dominus Jesus*, which was sung in the

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[581] Joannis Abrincensis, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col. 46C.

[582] Ibid., cols. 48B–C.

[583] Ibid., col. 32B.

[584] Ibid., cols. 60D–61A.

[585] Ibid., cols. 59D–60A.

[586] Ibid., cols. 40D, 41C.

[587] Ibid., col. 48B.

place of the Agnus Dei, the antiphon *Calicem salutaris* was begun, at which moment all bells were rung until the singing of the Gloria; and on Easter Day all bells were rung after the Gloria, during the censing of the altar.[588] All bells were rung at Matins on Easter Day, and in the same manner on Ascension Day.[589] They were rung at Terce on Pentecost.[590] And all were rung at Matins of the Nativity of BMV.[591]

The invocation of William the Conqueror in the Fécamp *laudes* calls for his salvation and continual peace: *Guillelmo, Normannorum duci, salus et pax continua!*[592] But the wish it expresses does not square with the account from Orderic Vitalis of William's death, which occurred, after illness, in an attempt to escape the cacophony of the city of Rouen. The king had ordered himself conveyed west of the walls of Rouen to the priory of St. Gervais, the destination of the Rogation Tuesday procession.[593] At that distance William was relieved from the disordered sound of the city center, except for those sounds designed to penetrate a broad geographical reach: "At last on Thursday, 9 September, the king awoke as the sun was beginning to shed its clear rays over the earth and heard the sound of the great bell in the cathedral church. When he asked what hour it was sounding, the attendants replied, 'My lord, the hour of prime is

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[588] Ibid., cols. 50A, 53A, 53D. During the antiphon *Calicem salutaris*, Jean d'Avranches specified that the bells should be rung "quae non amplius pulsentur," perhaps meaning those bells that were not rung too loud.

[589] Ibid., col. 57A.

[590] Ibid., col. 58B.

[591] Ibid., col. 60A.

[592] BmR A. 254 (489), f. 71

[593] Orderic, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Chibnall, vol. 4, book VII, pp. 100–3.

being rung in the church of St. Mary.'"[594] Upon this, William commended himself to heaven, and died. This passage from the *Ecclesiastical History* attests to the presence of the large cathedral bell in the eleventh century, the volume and distance of the sound it produced, and its function for the canonical hours. But it also recontextualizes and moralizes the function of the bells as documented in Jean d'Avranches: immediately upon William's last breath, Orderic relates, his wealthiest attendants rushed off from the side of his deathbed to secure their estates, while the lowlier servants stripped the king's body and surroundings of their precious metalwork, textiles, arms, and even the furniture on which the body lay.[595]

The fourteenth century was a period in which both silences and new sonorities in the landscape were recorded. An entry from 1321 in the chronicle of Saint-Catherine seems magical for the details it reveals and those it leaves veiled:

> In that time a clock was placed at the said church of Saint Catherine that was easily heard from Roncherolles, which had been created in such a way that it played out the hymn *Conditor alme siderum* by an unusual but graceful method.
>
> Eo tempore in dicto templo sancte katarine appositum est horologium quod facile apud roncherollium audiebatur quod quidem ita compositum erat ut insolita sed grata methodo hymnum conditor alme siderum exprimeret.[596]

The village of Roncherolles lay approximately 10 km to the east of the center of Rouen along the Robec stream. Just as the topographic situation of St. Catherine on the high mount near the city was a strategic military position, so too was it a site of extraordinary sonic affordances. But in the technological history of clocks the "insolita sed grata methodos" by which an apparatus capable of playing a melody spanning a sixth and sounding it at such a great distance

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[594] Ibid., p. 100.

[595] Ibid., p. 102.

[596] *Chronicon triplex*, Ch. S. K.; ed. Chéruel, p. 31, col. 2.

is also extraordinary—and ahead of its time. An early reference, possibly the earliest, to clockmakers (*horlogers*) at the cathedral is found in a chapter document from October 6, 1372.[597] By the 1420s the more frequent references to it suggest either a permanent position or a specialist on retainer,[598] but it was only in 1389 that the Jehan de Felains began construction of the Gros Horloge for the commune on the site of the belfry.[599]

In the same period as the appearance of these marvelous clocks, the relationship between private citizens and the public sounds of the city developed, as donors established foundations for the bells of the cathedral. The use of bells to mark an extraordinarily generous donation is itself attested at the cathedral.[600] At the feast of the Assumption in 1347, the sound of the bell was used to gather a special assembly of canons, in order to honor the bequest of 2,600 florins made by the deceased Archbishop Nicolas I Roger, for the celebration, in perpetuity, of Mass and Office at the chapel of St. Sever in the nave.[601] Ceremonies which were to involve the ringing of the bells were also endowed. In 1358 Raoul and Maheut de Boulay established a foundation "pour faire le sonnage au carrellon à chascune des cinq festes de N. D., comme on a accoustumé de faire en la dicte eglise, és festes des féries de Noël."[602] Robert Alorge, *bourgeois*

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[597] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115.

[598] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 29: Jean Du Conseil, horloger (1427/8); the house of the horloger (December 11, 1528).

[599] Henri Loriquet, *Le beffroi de Rouen avant la sédition de la Harelle: étude historique et critique* (Rouen: A. Lestringant, 1906).

[600] Foundations in the context of the singing of the cathedral Office—chants, prayers, suffrages—are discussed in chapter three, but by the fourteenth century the cathedral bells too were part of the sonic environment folded into private endowments.

[601] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 3414.

[602] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2088.

of Rouen, made a payment of 30 sous in 1394 for ringing "les veilles et jours des deux festes Saint-Martin, au carreillon, chascun an, ainsi que l'en sonne à une des festes solempnés de Notre-Dame."[603] These endowments by wealthy citizens were tied to burgeoning Marian devotion.

Although bells were sounded to warn against encroaching military threat, at times they were silenced for the same reason. The alarm bell called *la Rouvel* was used to thwart a surprise attack on the duchy by King Louis VII in 1174, which was discovered serendipitously, chronicles say, by priests climbing up into the belfry at Rouen, against the rules, for recreation.[604] In 1369, as war resumed between France and England, the bells of Rouen were silenced on more than one occasion.[605] The French naval fleets at Harfleur were besieged by the Earls of Hereford and Warwick; on October 12, 1369 Rouen cathedral issued a prohibition against sounding the clocks because of the approach of the Duke of Lancaster, and again for movement of the English on June 3, 1370.[606] During the English control of Normandy, a flurry of reports in the 1420s portrayed bells as a site of contested priestly authority. An account from 1423/4 describes a platform erected in the aisle of the cathedral used for false preaching; the preachers were characterized in a triple formulation as impostors: "cabuseurs, porteurs de fausses bulles et baptiseurs de campanes" (charlatans, conveyers of false Bulls, and baptizers of bells).[607]

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[603] Ibid.

[604] Loriquet, *Beffroi*, p. 13

[605] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115, f. 40r: "M. CCC. LXVIII. Ordinatio super pulsatione campanarum istius ecclesie pro deffunctis, die veneris post Assumptionem Beate Marie."

[606] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2115, ff. 47r, 51r.

[607] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 26

Even legitimate clerics risked disciplinary action for improper dedication of bells. A priest from the parish of Saint-Rémi in Dieppe was condemned to penance in 1424/5 for blessing a bell with chrism, holy water, chanting the *Asperges me* and ceremonially naming the bell, which may well have been the proper ceremony for the blessing of the bell, but the infraction may have been the priest's lack of authority to do so, or deviation from the *ordo* of the blessing.[608] In 1426 at the parish of Saint-Denis of Héricourt, a certain Adenet le Peintre installed a bell and presented the curé, Robert Malle, with a book of prayers for the dedication. The curé allegedly completed the blessing of the new bell without offering the prayers, for which he was the subject of a suit by the archiepiscopal court.[609]

Just as the expanding city walls and developing urban infrastructure disciplined the wilderness to the east of the city, so too grew the sonic reach of its bells and clocks, those heard by William the Conqueror on his death bed at the parish of Saint-Gervais; that sounded by the monks of Saint-Ouen with their altercation with Jean d'Avranches; the mysterious clock recorded at Sainte-Catherine in 1321, which played a hymn heard ten kilometers away; and the bells which signaled military threat and increasing mercantile prosperity.

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[608] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 249: "ponendo infra dictam campanam sanctum crisma et jactando aquam benedictam dicendo: Asperges me, et postea eam superinduxit de quodam superlico... fecitque certum servicium in quodam parvo libro sibi tradito per fundatorem illius campane et sepe dicebat astantibus: Nommez la, et fuit per astantes nominata Rouvete." This may have been a sensible or common name for a bell, but it is also a diminutive of the alarm bell of Rouen cathedral, named *la Rouvel*; given that this account is cast as an illegitimate parody of a holy rite, this name given to the bell may be meant as its clincher.

[609] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 251.

Epilogue. La fierte

On Ascension Day, the Thursday following the three Rogation days, Rouen followed the ubiquitous custom of singing *Salve festa dies* in public procession.[610] Having been heard each year at Easter, this hymn confirmed a typological relationship between Easter and Ascension on the theme of freedom from death. But this hymn took on unique resonances at Rouen, where by a peculiar custom, the cathedral chapter held the privilege of releasing one prisoner convicted of capital punishment from royal prisons on Ascension Day.[611] The privilege, called the privilege of St. Romain, or the lifting of the *fierte* of St. Romain, is attested in the fifteenth-century ordinal Y. 110. The historians of the privilege were either unaware of this ordinal, despite having demonstrated familiarity with the Bigot library and the royal library, or else they were unsatisfied with the details conveyed in it and other unspecified "anciens rituels" of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:

> We must conclude that the liturgists had forgotten in their mimed inventions one of the greatest feasts of Catholicism, and precisely the one of all which lent itself to scenic representations prepared so curiously, by which they correctly promised to have a great effect on the people.

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[610] The sheer scale of the 42 strophes of the Rouen version of the *Salve festa dies* (AH 50, pp. 76, 79) must have required slow movement on Ascension Day from the façade of the cathedral to the plaza on its southern side. The hymn appeared in its full length in both gradual 904 (ff. 103v–106v) and processional A. 551 (ff. 36r–40r; because of missing leaves the page turn between ff. 35v and 36r jumps from middle of Easter Vigil to middle of Easter Sunday). Both include the same strophes, but distinct transmission is suggested by word variants and spelling variants, some consistent with the St. Gallen troper (Trop. ms. Sangallense saec. 10. Cod. Sangallen. 381), some with the St. Emmeram troper (Trop. ms. Emmeramense saec. 11/12. Cod. Monacen. Clm. 14083), and some idiosyncratic.

[611] Amable Floquet, *Histoire du privilége de saint Romain en vertu duquel le chapitre de la cathédrale de Rouen délivrait anciennement un meurtrier tous les ans, le jour de l'Ascension*, 2 vols. (Rouen: E. le Grand, 1833).

> [I]l faudrait en conclure que les liturgistes avaient oublié, dans leurs inventions mimiques, une des plus grandes fêtes du catholicisme, et précisément celle de toutes qui prêtait le plus à ces représentations scéniques qu'ils préparaient si curieusement, et dont ils se promettaient, avec raison, tant d'effet sur le peuple.[612]

This ceremony of freeing one prisoner on Ascension at Rouen is in fact attested by one liturgical source from the thirteenth century. A small but important rubric found in the processional A. 551 (222), not for Ascension but for Easter, gives the exact moment of enactment. For this reason alone, the unassuming processional, which has been such an important witness for small and large processions, deserves special recognition for transmitting the ceremony and ritual at Rouen. In conclusion to this dissertation, I propose that the freeing of the prisoner on Ascension Day, unique to Rouen, must have been the culmination of a momentous sense of anticipation during the three days prior, during which time, as I have shown, the public Rogation processions increased in musical length and topographical length and altitude. This sense of anticipation for Ascension Day was therefore unique at Rouen, and our understanding of the character and function of processions in that city must also be inflected by the special ceremony of freeing the prisoner.

There is an ill-fittingess between the exuberance of the hymn *Salve festa dies* sung by three canons of the higher row of the choir and the disabled movement of the prisoner who was chained at the feet (*cathene de pedibus*).[613] It is unclear whether the prisoner remained stationary or participated in the movement of the procession. The ordinal Y. 110 simply refers to a customary place for releasing the chained person (*locum in quo consuetum est cathenatum*

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[612] Floquet, *Histoire du privilége*, pp. 39–40.

[613] Processional A. 551, f. 38v.

soluere).[614] This must have been the large public place of the Vieille Tour (*ad ueterem turrim*),[615] mentioned in the ordinal, which had been the location of the tower of the castle of Duke Richard I. It is possible to imagine the feelings of suspense of the public listeners and watchers, a mixture of delight in anticipation of the extraordinary moment of delivery and of apprehension at the danger signified by the prisoner, who often was convicted of murder and denied clemency by royal authorities. The release of the prisoner was coordinated with the verse, *Solue cathenatos inferni et carceris umbras et reuoca sursum quicquid ad ima ruit*, which was followed by the return of the procession to the western end of the cathedral.[616] This detail, absent from gradual 904, is confirmed in a rubric from *Salve festa dies* for Easter, which in turn is cited by the rubrics of Ascension Day (Figure 5.1).[617]

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[614] Ordinal Y. 110, f. 109r.

[615] Ibid.

[616] Ibid.

[617] This extraordinary rubric in processional A. 551 seems to have been a moment of scribal reset. After the rubric, the respond is *Salue festa*, not *Qua deus*, which would continue the alternation in processional A. 551. From this point to the end the responds of 904 and 222 are the same, whereas before they are opposite each other.

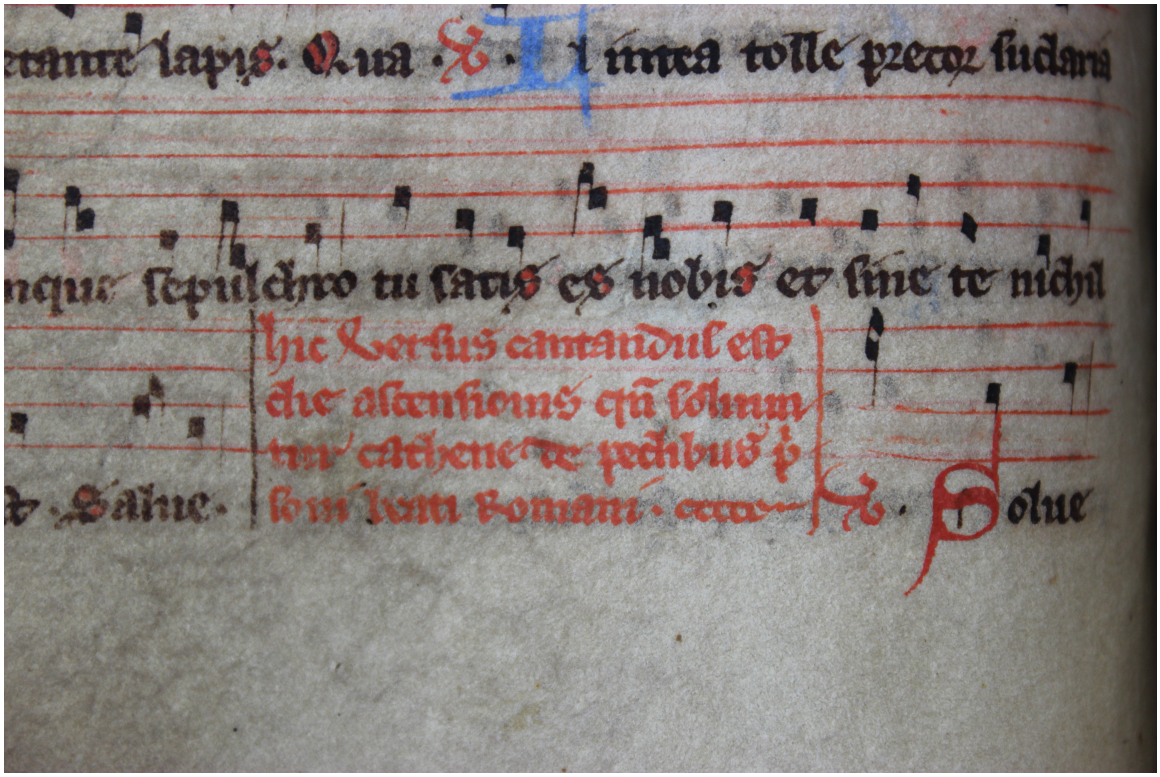


FIGURE 5.1. RUBRIC FROM *SALVE FESTA DIES*,
"THIS VERSE IS TO BE SUNG ON ASCENSION DAY WHEN THE CHAINS AT THE FEET OF THE PRISONER OF BLESSED ROMAIN ARE RELEASED," (PROCESSIONAL A. 551, F. 38V).

Perhaps *Salve festa dies* was customarily halted before this verse. The voices of the three canons (or other cantor) would have resumed immediately after or at the same time as the clanging of iron shackles falling onto the pavement of the plaza.[618] Given the rubric of processional A. 551, which detailed that the prisoner was bound at the feet, one imagines that a chapter official had to kneel to remove the chains. This must have been a remarkable spectacle.

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[618] The iron shackles were not metaphorical; a treasury account from 1391/2 by Guido Rabascherius, canon of Évreux and treasurer to Archbishop Guillaume de Vienne, records five pairs of iron shackles for an equal number of prisoners sent to the moat (*la fosse*) (Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 10). The guard (*fereur*, from *fer*, 'iron') who placed the prisoners in shackles was paid an annual salary of 50 sous in 1404/5 by the cathedral treasury (Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 20). Sounding iron of a much more grand sort formed part of this same ceremony in later periods; the persons who sounded the great bell of Georges d'Amboise at the moment the prisoner touched the feretrum in 1744 were paid 6 *livres* by the chapter (Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2777).

Were the participants in the ceremony arranged in such a way that the moment of reversal was accessible to public lines of sight? An image of the standing prisoner and kneeling priest surely carried allusions to the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, all the more by virtue of the relationship between Easter and Ascension. This climax of ceremony was followed by an encounter in which the prisoner not only gained proximity to the relic of St. Romain but laid his hands upon the *feretrum*. This extraordinary transformation of status from one moment to the next,[619] from abject prisoner to privileged participant, was defended by the chapter: in 1394, a woman who insulted the prisoner during the Ascension Day procession was fined and required to make pilgrimage to the summit of the mount of St. Catherine.[620] According to a rubric in the gradual 904, when the Ascension procession returned to the cathedral, two priests held the *feretrum* beyond the jambs of the portal so that the people might enter the nave.[621] The simplicity of the rubric elides the hustle and bustle that the public must have produced, marveling at the *feretrum* while passing it at the portal, as close as most citizens might ever approach the relics of St. Romain, yet not so close as the freed prisoner had been to the *feretrum*.

The tradition of urban procession in Rouen was halted on February 4, 1882 by an act of unprecedented formality. The mayor of Rouen passed a law giving police the authority to forbid the exercise of a cult in public spaces, which was ratified in under two weeks by the prefect of

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[619] The two chaplains who bore the *feretrum* on Ascension, a privileged task, were paid 20 sous, according to cathedral treasury accounts from 1400/1: "A deux chappelains de l'église qui portèrent la fierte aux processions le jour de l'Ascension, si comme il est accoustumé, 20 sous" (Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 16).

[620] Rouen, Archives départementales de Seine-Maritime, G. 2119.

[621] Gradual 904, f. 80r: "hoc facto intret processio. ecclesiam sacerdotibus feretrum ubi corpus domini est intranuersum tenentibus ante ianuas ecclesie ut intret populus processionis uero in naui ecclesie ordinata et crucifixo discoperto archiepiscopus cantor et diaconus subdiaconus flectentes genua incipiant hanc antiphonam"; processional A. 551 f. 22v: "duobus sacerdotibus."

the Seine-Inférieure.[622] The opinions of attorneys at the appellate court of Rouen, published on March 23, 1882, traced the reasoning of the law to risks of danger against the public interest, particularly demonstrations which might result in hostility or violence.[623] As an illustration in their opinion, the history of Huguenot settlements around Rouen was depicted as a compromise that had been beneficial to all: communities established adjacent to the city, but distant enough to satisfy public well-being. Public space, throughout such legal discourse, was at stake. The interpretation of the "lieu servant à l'exercise d'un culte," referred to in this law, was that of public space transformed into cultic place, even momentarily, by the passing of processions.[624]

Apologists in Rouen responded to the perceived flashpoint of anti-clerical sentiment. A poem of 32 stanzas was published by A. Oursel, *L'interdiction des Processions à Rouen*, of which the nine stanzas of its central section, each began with, "Si l'on est clérical".[625] Oursel cast the offense against religious expression as a dishonor to the violence with which it had been achieved. Nostalgia for childhood, presumably under the Bourbon Restoration, linked liberty (*read*: religious) and glorious war, in feeble terms; on two occasions *guerre* was rhymed with *guère*: "Au ciel ils ont juré la guerre ; / A toi, peuple, ils ne songent guère," (stanza 13); and "Et vous avez boulu la guerre / Soit : nous ne la redoutons guère" (stanza 25). The reigning image of

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[622] Pierre-Adolphe Homais, *Consultation de MM. d'Estaintot, Homais et Blondel, avocats à la Cour d'appel de Rouen, sur la légalité de l'arrêté municipal interdisant les processions à Rouen* (Rouen, imprimerie de Lapierre, 1882).

[623] Ibid.

[624] This interpretation was founded on the principle of the penal code, citing Jean Guillaume Locré de Roissy, *Legislation de France*, vol. 30: Code pénal, p. 103: "là où les processions sont permises, les lieux où elles passent deviennent momentanément le lieu où le culte s'exerce."

[625] A. Oursel, *L'Interdiction des Processions à Rouen* (Rouen: Imprimerie de Espérance Cagniard, 1882).

empty city streets, the sites of urban procession, was conjured throughout the poem, beginning in the opening stanza: "C'est en fait, le premier édile / D'un trait de plume a décrété / que désormais dans notre ville / Dieu ne doit plus être porté. / Son cortège encombrait les rues, / Par tous les autres parcourues, / Ainsi le veut la liberté...."

> In the Municipal Library of Rouen there is said to be a MS. plain-chant book which is maintained to be pure, and I was told of a monastery in the neighbourhood where the Gregorian music is said to be uncorrupted.
>
> —W. W., September 21, 1893[626]

Against the background of this social transformation a brief letter from an amateur in 1893 to the *Musical Times* took on special meaning. An amateur wrote concerning the existence of a religious community in Rouen where uncorrupted Gregorian chant was supposed to be sung and a book which was supposed to transmit that repertory in pure form. The inquiry, addressed to a wide readership, seems both an understated gesture of connoisseurship and a sincere wish to find some reader who might hold the key to a tradition at risk of loss. Satisfying responses were not forthcoming, and indeed, no such community or book was known to exist. But the published letter points to the resilience of Rouen as the center of a narrative of some thousand years of the reception of divine authentic chant in Normandy.

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[626] John Mason and W. W., "Music in French Cathedrals and Churches," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 34, no. 608 (1893): 618–619.

Appendix 1.1. Kalendar and sanctorale of Rouen Use

Concordance of sanctorales and kalendars from liturgical books of Rouen cathedral

904 Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 904. Notated gradual, s. XIII
Y. 50 Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, MS Y. 50 (277). Notated missal, s. XIII
Y. 95 Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, MS Y. 95 (195–196). Unnotated breviary, s. XIV
Y. 110 Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, MS Y. 50 (277). Ordinal, s. XV

T temporale
S sanctorale
I simplex feast
II duplex feast
III triplex feast
lc iii three lessons
✓ included with no indication
♪ included with music notation

DATE		KL		FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Jan 1	iii	A		circumcio domini	T	T ♪	III	III	
Jan 2		b iii	N.	octaue stephani	T	T	I	I	
Jan 3	xi	c ii	N.	octaue iohannis	T	T	I	I	
Jan 4		d i	N.	octaue innocentum	T	T	I	I	
Jan 5	xix	e Nonas		uigilia epiphanie domini	T	T			
Jan 6	viii	f viii	Id.	in die epiphania domini	T	T	III	III	
Jan 7		g vii	Id.						
Jan 8	xvi	A vi	Id.	luciani cum sociis					
Jan 9	v	b v	Id.						

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Jan 10		c	iiii	Id.	guilliermi uituricensis archiepiscopi. memoria			mē	mē	
Jan 10		c	iiii	Id.	pauli primi heremite					
Jan 11	xiii	d	iii	Id.	eductio domini de egypto					
Jan 12	ii	e	ii	Id.						
Jan 13		f	Idus		octaue epiphanie	T		I	I	
Jan 13		f	Idus		hilarii episcopis memoria	S		mē	mē	
Jan 14	x	g	xix	Kl.	commemorationis hilarii episcopi pictaui		S	I	I	
Jan 14	x	g	xix	Kl.	felicis confessoris. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Jan 15		A	xviii	Kl.	mauri abbatis		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jan 16	xviii	b	xvii	Kl.	guilliermi uituricensis archiepiscopi			I	I	
Jan 16	xviii	b	xvii	Kl.	marcelli pape et martyris	S	S	mē	mē	
Jan 17	vii	c	xvi	Kl.	sulpicii episcopi		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jan 18		d	xv	Kl.	prisce uirginis et martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jan 19	xv	e	xiiii	Kl.	launomari abbatis					
Jan 19	xv	e	xiiii	Kl.	remigii archiepiscopi					
Jan 20	iiii	f	xiii	Kl.	fabiani et sebastiani	S	S	I	I	
Jan 20	iiii	f	xiii	Kl.	marii et marthe confessorum					
Jan 21		g	xii	Kl.	agnetis uirginis et martyris	S	S	I	I	
Jan 22	xii	A	xi	Kl.	uincencii martyris	S ♪	S	III	III	
Jan 23	i	b	x	Kl.	emerentiane et macharii					
Jan 24		c	ix	Kl.						
Jan 25	ix	d	viii	Kl.	conuersionis pauli	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
Jan 25	ix	d	viii	Kl.	preiecti martyris. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Jan 26		e	vii	Kl.						
Jan 27	xvii	f	vi	Kl.	iuliani episcopi		S	III	III	
Jan 28	vi	g	v	Kl.	agnetis secundo	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jan 29		A	iiii	Kl.						
Jan 30	xiiii	b	iii	Kl.	translationis reliquiarium beate anne			<✓>	II	H
Jan 31	iii	c	ii	Kl.						
Feb 1		d			seueri episcopi et confessoris		S	II	II	

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Feb 1		d			translationis audoeni					
Feb 1		d			brigide uirginis					
Feb 2	xi	e	iiii	N.	purificationis beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Feb 3	xix	f	iii	N.	blasii episcopi et martyris	S	S	I	I	
Feb 4	vii	g	ii	N.						
Feb 5		A	Nonas		agathe uirginis et martyris	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Feb 6	xvi	b	viii	Id.	amandi et uedasti episcoporum					
Feb 7	v	c	vii	Id.						
Feb 8		d	vi	Id.						
Feb 9	xiii	e	v	Id.	ansbert rothomagi episcopi		S	III	III	H
Feb 9	xiii	e	v	Id.						
Feb 9	xiii	e	v	Id.	zotici hirenei et iacincti martyrum					
Feb 10	ii	f	iiii	Id.	austreberte uirginis		S	I	I	
Feb 10	ii	f	iiii	Id.						
Feb 11		g	iii	Id.						
Feb 12	x	A	ii	Id.						
Feb 13		b	Idus							
Feb 14	xviii	c	xvi	Kl.	ualentini presbyteri martyris	S ♪	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Feb 14	xviii	c	xvi	Kl.						
Feb 15	vii	d	xv	Kl.						
Feb 16		e	xiiii	Kl.	iuliane uirginis et martyris					
Feb 17	xv	f	xiii	Kl.						
Feb 18	iiii	g	xii	Kl.						
Feb 19		A	xi	Kl.						
Feb 20	xii	b	x	Kl.						
Feb 21	i	c	ix	Kl.						
Feb 22		d	viii	Kl.	cathedre petri apostoli	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Feb 23	ix	e	vii	Kl.						
Feb 24		f	vi	Kl.	mathie apostoli	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
Feb 25	xvii	g	v	Kl.						

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Feb 26	vi	A	iiii	Kl.	nicholaus abbatis					
Feb 27		b	iii	Kl.						
Feb 28	xiiii	c	ii	Kl.						
Mar 1		d			albini confessoris	S				
Mar 2		e	vi	N.						
Mar 3		f	v	N.						
Mar 4		g	iiii	N.						
Mar 5	xix	A	iii	N.						
Mar 6	viii	b	ii	N.						
Mar 7		c	Nonas		dedicationis ecclesie sancti andree. annuale.					
Mar 7		c	Nonas		perpetue et felicitatis					
Mar 7		c	Nonas							
Mar 8		d	viii	Id.						
Mar 9	v	e	vii	Id.						
Mar 10		f	vi	Id.						
Mar 11		g	v	Id.						
Mar 12	ii	A	iiii	Id.	gregorii pape		S	II	II	
Mar 13		b	iii	Id.						
Mar 14	x	c	ii	Id.	octaue dedicationis ecclesie sancti andree					
Mar 15		d	Idus							
Mar 16	xviii	e	xvii	Kl.						
Mar 17	vii	f	xvi	Kl.	patricii episcopi et confessoris communi					
Mar 18		g	xv	Kl.						
Mar 19	xv	A	xiiii	Kl.						
Mar 20	iiii	b	xiii	Kl.						
Mar 21		c	xii	Kl.	deposicio sancti benedicti abbatis	S	S	I	I	
Mar 22	xii	d	xi	Kl.						
Mar 23	i	e	x	Kl.						
Mar 24		f	ix	Kl.						
Mar 25		g	viii	Kl.	annunciationis beate marie	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	

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Mar 26		A	vii	Kl.						
Mar 27	xvii	b	vi	Kl.						
Mar 28	vi	c	v	Kl.						
Mar 29		d	iiii	Kl.						
Mar 30	xiiii	e	iii	Kl.						
Mar 31	iii	f	ii	Kl.						
Apr 1		g			ualarici abbatis communi					
Apr 2	xi	A	iiii	N.						
Apr 3		b	iii	N.						
Apr 4	xix	c	ii	N.	ambrosii episcopi			II	II	
Apr 5	viii	d	Nonas							
Apr 6	xvi	e	viii	Id.						
Apr 7	v	f	vii	Id.						
Apr 8		g	vi	Id.						
Apr 9	xiii	A	v	Id.	hugonis archiepiscopi rothomagi			I	I	H
Apr 10	ii	b	iiii	Id.						
Apr 11		c	iii	Id.	leonis pape et confessoris	S				
Apr 12	x	d	ii	Id.						
Apr 13		e	Idus		eufemie uirginis	S				
Apr 14	xviii	f	xviii	Kl.	tiburtii et ualeriani et maximi martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Apr 15	vii	g	xvii	Kl.						
Apr 16		A	xvi	Kl.						
Apr 17	xv	b	xv	Kl.						
Apr 18	iiii	c	xiiii	Kl.						
Apr 19		d	xiii	Kl.						
Apr 20	xii	e	xii	Kl.						
Apr 21	i	f	xi	Kl.						
Apr 22		g	x	Kl.						
Apr 23	ix	A	ix	Kl.	georgii martyris	S	S	I	I	
Apr 24		b	viii	Kl.						

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Apr 25	xvii	c	vii	Kl.						
Apr 25	xvii	c	vii	Kl.	marci et euangeliste	S ♪	S	II	II	
Apr 26	vi	d	vi	Kl.	autharii ayge adonis et radonis					
Apr 27		e	v	Kl.						
Apr 28	xiiii	f	iiii	Kl.	uitalis	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Apr 29	iii	g	iii	Kl.	commemorationis reliquiarum. annuale					
Apr 29	iii	g	iii	Kl.	petri martyris			lc iii	lc iii	
Apr 29	iii	g	iii	Kl.						
Apr 30		A	ii	Kl.	eutropii episcopi et martyris			III	III	
Apr 30		A	ii	Kl.						
May 1	xi	b			philippi et iacobi apostolorum	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
May 2		c	vi	N.	anastasii episcopi et confessoris					
May 2		c	vi	N.						
May 3	xix	d	v	N.	inuentionis sancte crucis	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
May 3	xix	d	v	N.	alexandri et eunti et theodori. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
May 3	xix	d	v	N.						
May 4	viii	e	iiii	N.	quiriaci episcopi et martyris					
May 5		f	iii	N.	translationis audoueni		S	I	I	H
May 5		f	iii	N.	ascensionis domini					
May 6	xvi	g	ii	N.	iohannis ante portam latinam	S	S	III	III	
May 7	v	A	Nonas							
May 8		b	viii	Id.						
May 9	xiii	c	vii	Id.	translationis nigasii				I	
May 9	xiii	c	vii	Id.	translationis nicholay			I	I	
May 9	xiii	c	vii	Id.						
May 10	ii	d	vi	Id.	translationis laurencii			I	I	H
May 10	ii	d	vi	Id.	gordiani et epimachi martyrum	S	S	✓	mē	
May 11		e	v	Id.	mainerti episcopi et maiolis abbatis					
May 12	x	f	iiii	Id.	nerei achillei et pancracii martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
May 13		g	iii	Id.						

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May 14	xviii	A	ii	Id.	ordinacionis audoeni et eligii episcoporum					
May 15	vii	b	Idus		descendit spirituσ sanctus super apostolos					
May 16		c	xvii	Kl.						
May 17	xv	d	xvi	Kl.						
May 18	iiii	e	xv	Kl.						
May 19		f	xiiii	Kl.	potencie uirginis					
May 20	xi	g	xiii	Kl.	austregisilli episcopi et confessoris					
May 21	i	A	xii	Kl.						
May 22		b	xi	Kl.						
May 23	ix	c	x	Kl.	desiderii episcopi et martyris			I	I	H
May 24		d	ix	Kl.	donaciani et rogaciani martyrum		S	lc iii	lc iii	
May 24		d	ix	Kl.						
May 25	xvi	e	viii	Kl.	urbani pape et martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
May 25	xvi	e	viii	Kl.						
May 26	vi	f	vii	Kl.	augustini episcopi					
May 27		g	vi	Kl.						
May 28	xiii	A	v	Kl.	deposicionis germani episcopi et confessoris					
May 29	iii	b	iiii	Kl.	mainerti episcopi et confessoris					
May 29	iii	b	iiii	Kl.						
May 30		c	iii	Kl.						
May 31	xi	d	ii	Kl.	sancte petronille uirginis					
Jun 1		e			nicomedis martyris	S				
Jun 2	xix	f	iiii	N.	marcellini et petri martyrum	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Jun 3	viii	g	iii	N.						
Jun 4	xvi	A	ii	N.						
Jun 5	v	b	Nonas							
Jun 6		c	viii	Id.	malloni archiepiscopi					
Jun 7	xiii	d	vii	Id.						H
Jun 8	ii	e	vi	Id.	gildardi et medardi episcoporum	S	S	I	I	
Jun 9		f	v	Id.	primi et feliciani martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	

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Jun 10	x	g	iiii	Id.						
Jun 10	x	g	iiii	Id.						
Jun 11		A	iii	Id.	barnabe apostoli	S	S	II	II	
Jun 12	xviii	b	ii	Id.	translationis ursini		S	I	I	H
Jun 12	xviii	b	ii	Id.	balsidis cirini et naboris et nazarii martyrum	S	S	mē	✓	
Jun 13	vii	c	Idus							
Jun 14		d	xviii	Kl.						
Jun 15	xv	e	xvii	Kl.	uiti et modesti et crisancie martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jun 16	iiii	f	xvi	Kl.	cirici et iulite martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jun 17		g	xv	Kl.	translationis romani		S	III	III	H
Jun 18	xii	A	xiiii	Kl.	marci et marcelliani martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jun 19	i	b	xiii	Kl.	ieruasii et protasii martyrum	S	S	I	I	
Jun 20		c	xii	Kl.						
Jun 21	ix	d	xi	Kl.	leufredi abbatis					
Jun 22		e	x	Kl.						
Jun 22		e	x	Kl.						
Jun 23	xvii	f	ix	Kl.	uigilia natiuitatis iohannis baptiste	S ♪	S ♪	✓	✓	
Jun 24	vi	g	viii	Kl.	in die natiuitatis iohannis baptiste	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Jun 25		A	vii	Kl.	translationis eligii episcopi et confessoris					
Jun 26	xiiii	b	vi	Kl.	iohannis et pauli martyrum	S	S	I	I	
Jun 27	iii	c	v	Kl.						
Jun 28		d	iiii	Kl.	leonis pape. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Jun 28		d	iiii	Kl.	uigilia petri et pauli apostolorum	S ♪	S ♪	✓	✓	
Jun 29	xi	e	iii	Kl.	in die petri et pauli apostolorum	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Jun 30		f	ii	Kl.	commemoracio pauli	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Jun 30		f	ii	Kl.	marcialis episcopi communi					
Jul 1	xix	g			octaue iohannis baptiste	S	S	I	I	
Jul 1	xix	g			carilefi					
Jul 2	viii	A	vi	N.	processi et martiniani martyrum. memoria			✓	mē	
Jul 2	viii	A	vi	N.						

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Jul 3		b	v	N.	marcialis apostoli			III	III	
Jul 3		b	v	N.						
Jul 4	xvi	c	iiii	N.	ordinationis et translationis martini		S	III	III	
Jul 5	v	d	iii	N.						
Jul 6		e	ii	N.	octaue petri et pauli apostolorum	S		I	I	
Jul 7	xiii	f	Nonas		marciali					
Jul 7	xiii	f	Nonas		translationis thome		S	I	I	
Jul 8	ii	g	viii	Id.	translationis euodi rothomagi archiepiscopi			lc iii	lc iii	H
Jul 9		A	vii	Id.						
Jul 10	x	b	vi	Id.	septem fratrium martyrum	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 11		c	v	Id.						
Jul 11		c	v	Id.	translationis benedicti	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Jul 12	xviii	d	iiii	Id.						
Jul 13	vii	e	iii	Id.						
Jul 14		f	ii	Id.						
Jul 15	xv	g	Idus							
Jul 16	iiii	A	xvii	Kl.						
Jul 17		b	xvi	Kl.						
Jul 18	xii	c	xv	Kl.	octaue benedicti					
Jul 18	xii	c	xv	Kl.						
Jul 18	xii	c	xv	Kl.	arnulphi episcopi et martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 19		d	xiiii	Kl.						
Jul 20		e	xiii	Kl.	margarete uirginis	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 21	ix	f	xii	Kl.	uictoris martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 21	ix	f	xii	Kl.	praxedis uirginis. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Jul 22		g	xi	Kl.	marie magdalene	S ♪	S	II	II	
Jul 22		g	xi	Kl.	wandregisili abbatis. memoria			mē	mē	
Jul 22		g	xi	Kl.						
Jul 23	xviii	A	x	Kl.	commemorationis sancti wandregisili abbatis	S	S	✓	I	
Jul 23	xviii	A	x	Kl.	apollonaris martyris. memoria		S	mē	mē	

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Jul 24	vi	b	ix	Kl.	cristine uirginis et martyris					
Jul 24	vi	b	ix	Kl.	in uigilia iacobi apostoli		S			
Jul 25		c	viii	Kl.	in die iacobi apostoli	S	S	II	II	
Jul 25		c	viii	Kl.	χpistofori et cucufati martyrum. memoria		S	✓	mē	
Jul 26	xiiii	d	vii	Kl.						
Jul 26	xiiii	d	vii	Kl.	anne matris beate marie uirginis			III	III	
Jul 27	iii	e	vi	Kl.	septem dormientium		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 28		f	v	Kl.	sansonis episcopi	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 28		f	v	Kl.	pantaleonis martyris					
Jul 29	xi	g	iiii	Kl.	felicis simplicis faustini et beatricis martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 30		A	iii	Kl.	abdon et sennes martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Jul 31	xix	b	ii	Kl.	germani episcopi et confessoris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 1	viii	c			petri ad uinculam	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Aug 1	viii	c			machabeorum. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Aug 1	viii	c								
Aug 2	xvi	d	iiii	N.	stephani pape et martiris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 3	v	e	iii	N.	inuentionis corporis stephani sociorumque eius			I	I	
Aug 3	v	e	iii	N.	nichomedis gamalielis abibon abbatium		S			
Aug 4		f	ii	N.						
Aug 5	xiii	g	Nonas		dominici confessoris			I	I	
Aug 5	xiii	g	Nonas		marie de niue					
Aug 6	ii	A	viii	Id.	transfigurationis domini	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
Aug 6	ii	A	viii	Id.	sixti felicissimi et agapiti. memoria	S		✓	mē	
Aug 6	ii	A	viii	Id.						
Aug 7		b	vii	Id.	uictricii confessoris et episcopi		S	I	I	H
Aug 7		b	vii	Id.	donati episcopi. memoria	S		✓	mē	
Aug 7		b	vii	Id.						
Aug 8	x	c	vi	Id.	cyriaci sociorumque eius martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 9		d	v	Id.	romani martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 9		d	v	Id.	uigilia laurentii martyris	S ♪	S ♪	✓	✓	

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Aug 10	xviii	e	iiii	Id.	in die laurentii martyris	S ♪	S ♪	II	II	
Aug 11	vii	f	iii	Id.	tiburcii martyris. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
Aug 11	vii	f	iii	Id.	taurini episcopi	S	S		lc ix	
Aug 12		g	ii	Id.	reductionis normannie			<✓>		
Aug 13	xv	A	Idus		ypoliti sociorumque eius	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 13	xv	A	Idus		radegundis uirginis					
Aug 14	iiii	b	xix	Kl.	eusebii confessoris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 14	iiii	b	xix	Kl.	uigilia assumptionis beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S ♪	✓	✓	
Aug 15		c	xviii	Kl.	in die asumptionis beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Aug 16	xii	d	xvii	Kl.	die secunde			II	II	
Aug 16	xii	d	xvii	Kl.	translationis arnulphi episcopi. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Aug 17	i	e	xvi	Kl.	die tercie			II	II	
Aug 17	i	e	xvi	Kl.	octaue laurentii	S	S	I	I	
Aug 18		f	xv	Kl.	agapiti martyris	S	S	✓	lc iii	
Aug 18		f	xv	Kl.						
Aug 19	ix	g	xiiii	Kl.	magni martiris		S	✓	lc iii	
Aug 20		A	xiii	Kl.	philiberti abbatis		S	✓	lc iii	
Aug 20		A	xiii	Kl.	bernardi abbatis. memoria					
Aug 21	xvii	b	xii	Kl.						
Aug 22	vi	c	xi	Kl.	octaue beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S	II	II	
Aug 22	vi	c	xi	Kl.	tymothei simphoriani et appolinaris martyrum. memoria			✓	mē	
Aug 23		d	x	Kl.	tymothei simphoriani et appolinaris martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Aug 24	xiiii	e	ix	Kl.	laudi episcopi					
Aug 24	xiiii	e	ix	Kl.	bartholomei apostoli	S		II	II	
Aug 24	xiiii	e	ix	Kl.	audoeni confessoris et episcopi memoria		S	mē	mē	H
Aug 25	iii	f	viii	Kl.	commemoracionis audoeni confessoris et episcopi	S ♪	S	II	II	H
Aug 25	iii	f	viii	Kl.	ludouici regis francie. memoria			mē	mē	
Aug 26		g	vii	Kl.	commemoracionis ludouici regis francie			I	I	
Aug 26		g	vii	Kl.	uiuiani confessoris. memoria			mē	I	
Aug 27	xi	A	vi	Kl.	rufi martyris					

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Aug 27	xi	A	vi	Kl.						
Aug 27	xi	A	vi	Kl.	commemoracionis uiuiani			I	I	
Aug 28		b	v	Kl.	augustini episcopi et confessoris	S	S	II	II	
Aug 28		b	v	Kl.	hermetis et iuliani martyrum. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Aug 29	xix	c	iiii	Kl.	decollacionis iohannis baptiste	S	S	III	III	
Aug 29	xix	c	iiii	Kl.	sabine uirginis. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Aug 30	viii	d	iii	Kl.	felicis et adaucti martyrum	S	S	lc iii	✓	
Aug 30	viii	d	iii	Kl.	agili abbatis					
Aug 31		e	ii	Kl.	in octauis audoeni archiepiscopi		S	I	I	
Aug 31		e	ii	Kl.	pauli episcopi					
Aug 31		e	ii	Kl.						
Sep 1	xvi	f			egidii abbatis			I	I	
Sep 1	xvi	f			prisci martyris. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Sep 2	v	g	iiii	N.	anthonini martyris					
Sep 3		A	iii	N.	ordinationis gregorii pape	S	S	I	I	
Sep 4	xiii	b	ii	N.	octaue augustini					
Sep 4	xiii	b	ii	N.	translationis cuthberti episcopi		S	I	I	H
Sep 5	ii	c	Nonas		lertini abbatis					
Sep 5	ii	c	Nonas							
Sep 6		d	viii	Id.						
Sep 7	x	e	vii	Id.	euurcii episcopi et confessoris					
Sep 8		f	vi	Id.	natiuitatis beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Sep 9	xviii	g	v	Id.	gorgonii martyris. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
Sep 10	vii	A	iiii	Id.						
Sep 11		b	iii	Id.	prothi et iacincti martyrum. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
Sep 12	xv	c	ii	Id.						
Sep 13	iiii	d	Idus		maurilii episcopi		S	I	I	
Sep 14		e	xviii	Kl.	exaltationis sancte crucis	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Sep 14		e	xviii	Kl.	cornelii et cypriani martyrum. memoria		S	mē	mē	
Sep 15	xii	f	xvii	Kl.	in octauis beate marie uirginis	S ♪	S	I	I	

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Sep 15	xii	f	xvii	Kl.	nicomedi martyris. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
Sep 16	i	g	xvi	Kl.	eufemie uirginis	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Sep 16	i	g	xvi	Kl.	lucie et geminiani martyrum communi	S				
Sep 17		A	xv	Kl.	lamberti episcopi		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Sep 18	ix	b	xiiii	Kl.	depositionis sinerii abricensis episcopi		S	I	I	
Sep 19		c	xiii	Kl.						
Sep 20	xvii	d	xii	Kl.	uigilia mathei apostoli et euuangeliste	S	S	✓	✓	
Sep 21	vi	e	xi	Kl.	in die mathei apostoli et euuangeliste	S	S	II	II	
Sep 21	vi	e	xi	Kl.	laudi episcopi. memoria	S	S	✓	mē	
Sep 22		f	x	Kl.	mauricii sociorumque eius martyrum	S	S	✓	I	
Sep 23	xiiii	g	ix	Kl.	paterni episcopi					
Sep 24	iii	A	viii	Kl.	teremari abbatis					
Sep 25		b	vii	Kl.	firmini episcopi et martyris		S	III	III	
Sep 26	xi	c	vi	Kl.						
Sep 27		d	v	Kl.	cosme et dimiani martyrum	S	S	I	I	
Sep 28	xix	e	iiii	Kl.						
Sep 29	viii	f	iii	Kl.	dedicationis michaelis archangeli	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Sep 30		g	ii	Kl.	ieronimi presbyteri et confessoris	S	S	II	II	
Oct 1	xvi	A			dedicationis ecclesie rothomagi		S	III	III	H
Oct 1	xvi	A			remigii germani uedasti et bauonis confessorum et episcoporum	S	S		lc iii	
Oct 2	v	b	vi	N.	leodegarii episcopi et martyris	S	S	✓	lc iii	
Oct 3	xiii	c	v	N.						
Oct 4	ii	d	iiii	N.	auree uirginis					
Oct 4	ii	d	iiii	N.	francisci confessoris		S	III	III	
Oct 5		e	iii	N.						
Oct 6	x	f	ii	N.	fidis uirginis	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Oct 6	x	f	ii	N.	⟨prouinse du fort de sainte katherine⟩					
Oct 7		g	Nonas		marci pape	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Oct 7		g	Nonas		marcellini et apulei martyrum					

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Oct 8	xviii	A	viii	Id.	demetrii martyris					
Oct 8	xviii	A	viii	Id.	euodi archiepiscopi			I	I	H
Oct 9	vii	b	vii	Id.	dyonisii rustici et eleutherii	S	S	II	II	
Oct 10		c	vi	Id.						
Oct 11	xv	d	v	Id.	nigasii quirini et scuuicule wlcassini martyrum	S	S	II	II	
Oct 13		f	iii	Id.	edouardi regis et confessoris		S	I	I	
Oct 14	xii	g	ii	Id.	calixti pape et martyris	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Oct 14	xii	g	ii	Id.	translationis sancti edouardi regis et confessoris					
Oct 15	i	A	Idus		leonardi abbatis					
Oct 15	i	A	Idus		ulfiam episcopi et confessoris					
Oct 16		b	xvii	Kl.	dedicationis ecclesie sancti michaelis in monte tumba		S	I	I	
Oct 17	ix	c	xvi	Kl.	octaue sancti nigasii					
Oct 18		d	xv	Kl.	luce euuangeliste	S	S	II	II	
Oct 18		d	xv	Kl.	iusti martyris. memoria			mē	mē	
Oct 18		d	xv	Kl.	ermelandi abbatis. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Oct 19	xvii	e	xiiii	Kl.	commemorationis iusti		S	I	I	
Oct 20	vi	f	xiii	Kl.	austreberthe uirginis	S	S			
Oct 21		g	xii	Kl.						
Oct 22	xiiii	A	xi	Kl.	melloni rothomagi archiepiscopi		S	I	III	H
Oct 23	iii	b	x	Kl.	romani rothomagi archiepiscopi	S ♪	S	III	III	H
Oct 24		c	ix	Kl.	martini abbatis					
Oct 25	xi	d	viii	Kl.	crispini et crispiniani martyrum	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Oct 26		e	vii	Kl.	⟨reductionis rothomagensis⟩					
Oct 27	xix	f	vi	Kl.	uigilia symonis et iude apostolorum	S	S	✓	✓	
Oct 28	viii	g	v	Kl.	in die symonis et iude apostolorum	S ♪	S	II	II	
Oct 29		A	iiii	Kl.	pharonis episcopi et confessoris					
Oct 30	xvi	b	iii	Kl.	in octauis romani		S	I	I	
Oct 31	v	c	ii	Kl.	quintini martyris		S	✓	✓	
Oct 31	v	c	ii	Kl.	uigilia omnium sanctorum	S	S	✓	✓	
Nov 1		d			in die omnium sanctorum	S ♪	S	III	III	

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Nov 1		d			s. césaire, éuêque de clermont	S	S			
Nov 1		d			s. benigne, de diion		S			
Nov 2	xiii	e	iiii	N.	commemorationis mortuorum	S	S	II	II	
Nov 2	xiii	e	iiii	N.	eustacii et sociorum eius	S	S	I	I	
Nov 2	xiii	e	iiii	N.	uulgani confessoris					
Nov 3	ii	f	iii	N.						
Nov 4		g	ii	N.						
Nov 5	x	A	Nonas							
Nov 6		b	viii	Id.	leonardi abbatis	S	S	I	I	
Nov 7	xviii	c	vii	Id.						
Nov 8	vii	d	vi	Id.	quatuor coronatorum	S		lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 9		e	v	Id.	theodori martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 10	xv	f	iiii	Id.	martini pape		S ♪	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 11	iii	g	iii	Id.	martini episcopi	S ♪	S	III	III	
Nov 11	iii	g	iii	Id.	mene martyris. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Nov 12		A	ii	Id.						
Nov 13	xi	b	Idus		brictii episcopi	S	S	✓	lc iii	
Nov 14	i	c	xviii	Kl.	laurencii pape et martyris	S ♪	S	I	I	H
Nov 15		d	xvii	Kl.	macuti episcopi et confessoris					
Nov 16	ix	e	xvi	Kl.						
Nov 17		f	xv	Kl.						
Nov 18	xvi	g	xiiii	Kl.	in octauis martini		S	I	I	
Nov 19	vi	A	xiii	Kl.						
Nov 20		b	xii	Kl.	eadmundi regis et martyris		S	I	I	
Nov 21	xiiii	c	xi	Kl.	columbani abbatis					
Nov 22	iii	d	x	Kl.	cecilie uirginis et martyris	S	S	I	I	
Nov 23		e	ix	Kl.	clementis pape et martyris	S ♪	S ♪	I	I	
Nov 23		e	ix	Kl.	felicitatis. memoria	S	S	mē	mē	
Nov 24	xi	f	viii	Kl.	grisogoni martyris	S	S	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 24	xi	f	viii	Kl.	guldgoni martyris					

DATE		KL			FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Nov 25	xix	g	vii	Kl.	katherine uirginis	S	S	II	III	
Nov 26		A	vi	Kl.	lini pape et martyris		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 27	viii	b	v	Kl.	maximi episcopi		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 28		c	iiii	Kl.						
Nov 29	xvi	d	iii	Kl.	saturnini. memoria		S	lc iii	lc iii	
Nov 29	xvi	d	iii	Kl.	uigilia andree apostoli	S ♪	S ♪	✓	✓	
Nov 30	v	e	ii	Kl.	in die andree apostoli	S ♪	S ♪	III	III	
Dec 1	xiii	f			eligii episcopi et confessoris	S	S	III	III	
Dec 2	ii	g	iiii	N.						
Dec 3		A	iii	N.	translationis reliquiarum ecclesie rothomagi	S	S	III	III	H
Dec 4		b	ii	N.	barbare uirginis					
Dec 5		c	Nonas							
Dec 6	xviii	d	viii	Id.	nicholay episcopi et confessoris	S ♪	S	II	III	
Dec 7	vii	e	vii	Id.	in octauis andree		S	I	I	
Dec 8		f	vi	Id.	conceptionis beate marie uirginis	S	S	III	III	
Dec 9	xv	g	v	Id.						
Dec 10	iiii	A	iiii	Id.						
Dec 11		b	iii	Id.	fusciani gentiani uictorici martyrum communi					
Dec 12	xii	c	ii	Id.	wualarici abbatis. memoria					
Dec 13	i	d	Idus		lucie uirginis et martyris	S		I	I	
Dec 14		e	xix	Kl.						
Dec 15	ix	f	xviii	Kl.						
Dec 16		g	xvii	Kl.	o sapiencia			✓	✓	
Dec 17	xvii	A	xvi	Kl.						
Dec 18		b	xv	Kl.						
Dec 19		c	xiiii	Kl.						
Dec 20	xiiii	d	xiii	Kl.	uigilia thome apostoli	S	S		✓	
Dec 21	iii	e	xii	Kl.	in die thome apostoli	S	S	II	II	
Dec 22		f	xi	Kl.						
Dec 23	xi	g	x	Kl.						

DATE		KL		FEAST	904	Y. 50	Y. 95	Y. 110	HESBERT
Dec 24		A ix	Kl.	uigilia cum ieiunio natiuitatis domini nostri ihesu χρisti	T ♪	T ♪	✓	✓	
Dec 25	xix	b viii	Kl.	natiuitatis domini nostri ihesu χρisti	T ♪	T ♪	III	III	
Dec 26	viii	c vii	Kl.	stephani prothomartyris	T ♪	T ♪	II	II	
Dec 27		d vi	Kl.	iohannis euangeliste	T ♪	T ♪	III	III	
Dec 28	xvi	e v	Kl.	sanctorum innocentium	T ♪	T ♪	II	II	
Dec 29		f iiii	Kl.	thome archiepiscopi et martyris		T	III	III	
Dec 30		g iii	Kl.	ursini episcopi		S	I	I	
Dec 31		A ii	Kl.	siluestri pape	S		I	I	

Appendix 1.2. Alleluia-verse series for Sundays after Pentecost

Sunday	Psalm	ROUEN CATHEDRAL	Évreux	Fleury	St-Valéry	Hereford	Haughmond	Palermo	Leofric	Sarum	Chelles	Jumièges	St. Albans
1	5	*Verba mea auribus percipe*											
2	7b	*Deus iudex iustus*	7a					7a			7a		7a
3	17	*Diligam te domine virtus mea*											
4	20	*Domine in virtute tua*											
5	30	*In te domine speravi…accelera*											
6	46	*Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*											47
7	58	*Eripe me de inimicis*											
8	64	*Te decet hymnus deus in Sion*										64+	
9	77	*Attendite popule meus*											70
10	80	*Exultate deo adiutori*											
11	87	*Domine deus salutis mee*											
12	89	*Domine refugium factus es*											
13	94a	*Venite exultemus*											
14	94c	*Quoniam deus magnus*											
15	104	*Confitemini domino et invocate*											
16	107	*Paratum cor meum*						101a	116a		96		
17	113c	*Qui timent dominum sperent in eum*			116a	116a	112					110	
18	117	*Dextera dei fecit virtutem*								121+			
19	124	*Qui confidunt in domino*											116a
20	129	*De profundis clamavi*											
21	145	*Lauda anima mea dominum*											
22	146b	*Qui sanat contritos*							147a		137a		

			Évreux	Fleury	St-Valéry	Hereford	Haughmond	Palermo	Leofric	Sarum	Chelles	Jumièges	St. Albans
23	147b	*Qui posuit fines tuos*		147a								147a	
24	147b	*Qui posuit fines tuos*								7a		117	
25	147b	*Qui posuit fines tuos*								101b			
26										113a			
27										137a			

Évreux	LBL 26655
Fleury	Orléans 129
S.Valéry	LBL 34662
Hereford	pr. 1502
Haughmond	LBL Harley 622
Palermo	Bibl. Naz. XIV.F.16
Leofric	OB Bodley 579
Sarum	Bologna Univ. 2565
Chelles	PNF 13254
Jumièges	Rouen 250
St.Albans	LBL Roy. 2.B.iv

Source database: Cantus Planus, Post-Pentecost Alleluias Coincidences, Universität Regensburg.
http://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Musikwissenschaft/Cantus/Alleluia/bib.html

Appendix 1.3 Matins-responsories series of characteristic seasons

Matins Responsories
Use of Rouen Cathedral

			R.		V.	†
Advent, 1st Sunday	1		*Aspiciens a longe ecce uideo dei potentiam uenientem et nebulam totam terram tegentem*		*Quique terrigene et filii hominum simul in unum diues et pauper*	
	2		*Aspiciebam in uisu noctis et ecce in nubibus celi filius hominis ueniebat et datum est ei regnu et honor*		*Potestas eius potestas eterna que non auferetur et regnum eius quod non corrumpetur*	
	3		*Missus est gabriel angelus ad mariam uirginem desponsatam ioseph nuntians ei uerbum*		*Dabit ei dominus deus sedem dauid patris eius et regnabit in domo iacob in eternum*	
	4		*Aue maria gratia plena dominus tecum spiritus sanctus superueniet in te*		*Quomodo fiet istud quoniam uirum non cognosco*	
	5		*Saluatorem expectamus dominum iesum christum*		*Sobrie et iuste et pie uiuamus in hoc seculo*	
	6		*Audite uerbum domini gentes et annuntiate illud in finibus terre*		*Annuntiate et auditum facite loquimini et clamate*	
	7		*Ecce uirgo concipiet et pariet filium dicit dominus*		*Super solium dauid et super regnum eius sedebit in eternum*	
	8	*	*Obsecro domine mitte quem missurus es*	*	*A solis ortu et occasu ab aquilone et mari*	
	9		*Letentur celi et exultet terra iubilate montes laudem*		*Orietur in diebus eius iustitia et abundantia pacis*	
Advent, 2nd Sunday	1		*Jerusalem cito ueniet salus tua quare merore consumeris*	*	*Ego enim sum dominus deus tuus sanctus israel redemptor tuus*	
	2		*Ecce dominus ueniet et omnes sancti eius cum eo et erit in die illa lux magna*		*Ecce dominus cum uirtute ueniet et regnum in manu eius et potestas et imperium*	
	3		*Ciuitas iuerusalem noli flere quoniam doluit dominus super te*	*	*Ecce dominus in fortitudine ueniet et brachium eius dominabitur*	
	4		*Ecce ueniet dominus protector noster sanctus israel*		*Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine usque ad terminos orbis terrarum*	
	5		*Sicut mater consolatur filios suos ita consolabor uos dicit dominus*		*Dabo in sion salutem et in ierusalem gloriam meam*	
	6		*Jerusalem plantabis uineam in montibus tuis exultabis quoniam dies domini ueniet*		*Exulta satis filia sion iubila filia ierusalem*	
	7		*Egredietur dominus de samaria ad portam que respicit ad orientem*		*Et preparabitur in misericordia solium eius et sedebit super illud in ueritate*	
	8		*Rex noster adueniet christus quem ioannes predicauit agnum esse uenturum*		*Ecce agnus dei ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*	
	9	*	*Erumpant montes iucunditatem et colles iustitia*	*	*Leua ierusalem oculos et uide potentiam regis*	
Advent, 3rd Sunday	1		*Ecce apparebit dominus super nubem candidam*		*Apparebit in finem et non mentietur si moram fecerit expecta eum quia ueniens ueniet*	
	2		*Bethlehem ciuitas dei summi ex te*		*Loquetur pacem in gentibus et potestas*	

			R.		V.	†
			exiet dominator israel et egressus eius sicut a principio dierum eternitatis		*eius a mari usque ad mare*	
	3		*Qui uenturus est ueniet et non tardabit et iam non erit timor in finibus nostris*		*Deponet omnes iniquitates nostras et proiiciet in profundum maris omnia peccata nostra*	
	4		*Egypte noli flere quia dominator tuus ueniet tibi ante cuius conspectum mouebuntur abyssi*		*Ecce ueniet dominus exercituum deus tuus cum potestate magna*	
	5		*Prope est ut ueniat tempus eius et dies eius non elongabuntur*		*Qui uenturus est ueniet et non tardabit ia non erit timor in finibus nostris*	
	6	*	*Suscipe uerbum uirgo maria quod tibi a domino per angelum transmissum est*	*	*Paries quidem filium et uirginitatis non patieris detrimentum*	
	7		*Descendet dominus sicut pluuia in uellus*		*Et adorabunt eum omnes reges omnes gentes seruient ei*	
	8		*Veni domine et noli tardare relaxa facinora plebi tue*		*Excita domine potentiam tuam et ueni ut saluos facias nos*	
	9	*	*Festina ne tarda ueris domine*	*	*Veni domine et noli tardare relaxa facinora plebi tue*	
Advent, Ember Wednesday	1	*	*Rorate celi desuper et nubes pluant iustum*	*	*Emitte agnum domine dominatorem terre de petra deserti ad montem filie sion*	
	2	*	*Radix iesse qui exurget iudicare gentes in eum gentes sperabunt*	*	*Super quem continebunt reges os suum ipsum gentes deprecabuntur*	9
	3	*	*Suscipe uerbum uirgo maria quod tibi a domino per angelum transmissum est*	*	*Paries quidem filium et uirginitatis non patieris detrimentum*	
Advent, Ember Friday	1	*	*Alieni non transibunt per ierusalem amplius*	*	*Ego ueniam dicit dominus et sanabo contritiones populi mei*	
	2	*	*Confortamini manus fatigate et genua dissoluta roboramini pusillanimes estis mente conualescite ecce dominus ueniet*	*	*Ciuitas ierusalem noli flere quia cito ueniet salus tua*	
	3	*	*Docebit nos dominus uias suas et ambulabimus in semitis eius*	*	*Venite ascendamus ad montem domini et ad domum dei iacob*	
Advent, Ember Saturday	1	*	*Ecce ueniet dominus princeps regum terre*	*	*A solis ortu et occasu ab aquilone et mari*	
	2	*	*Paratus esto israel in occursum domini quoniam uenit*	*	*Ecce dominator dominus cum uirtute ueniet*	
	3	*	*Nascetur nobis paruulus et uocabitur deus fortis ipse sedebit super thronum dauid patris sui et imperabit*	*	*Ecce ueniet dominator dominus et regnum in manu eius et potestas et imperium*	
Advent, 4th Sunday	1		*Canite tuba in sion uocate gentes annuntiate populis et dicite*		*Annuntiate in finibus terre et in insulis que procul sunt dicite*	
	2	*	*Me oportet minui illum autem crescere*	*	*Hoc est testimonium quod perhibuit ioannes dicens*	
	3		*Non auferetur sceptrum de iuda et dux de femore eius donec ueniat qui mittendus est*		*Pulchriores sunt oculi eius uino et dentes eius lacte candidiores*	
	4	*	*Non discedimus a te uiuificabis nos domine et nomen tuum inuocabimus*	*	*Domine deus uirtutum conuerte nos*	
	5		*Virgo israel reuertere ad ciuitates tuas*		*In charitate perpetua dilexi te ideo attraxi te miserans tui*	6
	6		*Ecce iam uenit plenitudo temporis in quo misit deus filium suum in terras*		*Propter nimiam charitatem suam qua dilexit nos deus filium suum misit in similitudinem carnis peccati natum de uirgine*	5

			R.		V.	†
	7		*Juraui dicit dominus ut ultra iam non irascar super terram montes enim et colles suscipient iustitiam meam*		*Juxta est salus mea ut ueniat et iustitia mea ut reueletur*	
	8		*Intuemini quantus sit iste qui ingreditur ad saluandas gentes ipse est rex iustitie*	*	*Precursor pro nobis ingreditur secundum ordine melchisedech pontifex factus in eternum*	
	9	*	*Ecce dominus ueniet ut saluos nos faciat*	*	*Ecce dominus ueniet cum splendore qui et illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium*	
Maundy Thursday	1		*Unus ex discipulis meis tradet me hodie ue illi per quem tradar ego*		*Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside hic me traditurus est in manus peccatorum*	4
	2		*In monte oliueti orauit ad patrem pater si fieri potest transeat a me calix iste*		*Vigilate et orate ut non intretis in tentationem*	1
	3		*Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem sustinete hic et uigilate mecum*		*Surgite eamus dicit dominus ecce appropinquabit qui me tradit*	2
	4		*Seniores populi consilium fecerunt*		*Collegerunt pontifices et pharisei concilium*	7
	5	*	*Ecce turba et qui uocabatur iudas uenit et dum appropinquaret ad iesum ut eum oscularetur*	*	*Filius quidem hominis uadit sicut scriptum est de illo ue autem homini illi per quem tradetur*	
	6	*	*Magistrum iudas osculi iudeis tradidit signo quem osculatus inquit fuero ipse est tenete eum*	*	*Melius erat illi si natus non fuisset*	
	7	*	*Eram quasi agnus innocens ductus sum ad immolandum et nesciebam*	*	*Omnes inimici mei aduersum me cogitabant mala mihi uerbum iniquum mandauerunt aduersum me dicentes*	
	8	*	*Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum et inter iniquos proiecerunt me*	*	*Astiterunt reges terre et principes conuenerunt in unum*	
	9		*Reuelabunt celi iniquitatem iude et terra aduersus eum consurget*		*In die perditionis seruabitur et ad diem ultionis ducetur*	
Good Friday	1		*Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me*		*Filius quidem hominis uadit sicut scriptum est de illo ue autem homini illi per quem tradetur*	5
	2		*Jesum tradidit impius principibus sacerdotum et senioribus populi*		*Adduxerunt autem eum ad caipham principem sacerdotum ubi scribe et pharisei conuenerant*	6
	3	*	*Animam meam dilectam tradidi in manus iniquorum et facta est mihi hereditas mea sicut leo in silua*	*	*Insurrexerunt in me uiri absque misericordia et non pepercerunt anime mee*	
	4		*Vinea mea electa ego te plantaui*		*Ego quidem plantaui te uinea mea electa omne semen uerum*	
	5	*	*O uos omnes qui transitis per uiam attendite et uidete*	*	*Attendite uniuersi populi et uidete*	
	6		*Omnes amici mei dereliquerunt me et preualuerunt insidiantes mihi*		*Et dederunt in escam meam fel et in siti mea*	1
	7		*Tenebre facte sunt dum crucifixissent iesum iudei et circa horam nonam exclamauit iesus uoce magna*	*	*Et uelum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum et omnis terra tremuit*	9
	8		*Velum templi scissum est et omnis terra tremuit*		*Petre scisse sunt et monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt*	
	9	*	*Agnus christus in cruce en immolatur*	*	*Venite et uidete omnes populi celi rex*	

			R.		V.	†
			pro omnibus non ei adhesit petrus		*quare pependit in cruce*	
Holy Saturday	1		*Ecce quomodo moritur iustus et nemo percipit corde et uiri iusti tolluntur et nemo considerat*		*In pace factus est locus eius et in sion habitatio eius*	5
	2	*	*Jerusalem surge et exue te uestibus iucunditatis induere cinere et cilicio*		*Deduc quasi torrentem lacrymas per diem et noctem et non taceat pupilla oculi tui*	6
	3		*Plange quasi uirgo plebs mea ululate pastores in cinere et cilicio*		*Accingite uos sacerdotes et plangite ministri altaris aspergite uos cinere*	7
	4		*Agnus dei christus immolatus est pro salute mundi*		*Christus factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem mortem autem crucis*	3
	5		*Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est et dum male tractaretur non apreuit os suum traditus est ad mortem*		*In pace factus est locus eius et in sion habitatio eius*	4
	6	*	*Ecce uidimus eum non habentem speciem neque decorem aspectus eius in eo non est*	*	*Vere languores nostros ipse tuli et dolores nostros ipse portauit*	
	7		*Estimatus sum cum descendentibus in lacum*		*Posuerunt me in lacu inferiori in tenebrosis et in umbra mortis*	8
	8		*Sepulto domino signatum est monumentum uoluentes lapidem ad ostium monumenti*		*Ne forte ueniant discipuli eius et furentur eum et dicant plebi surrexit a mortuis*	1
	9		*Recessit pastor noster fons aque uiue ad cuius transitum sol obscuratus est*		*Destruxit quidem claustra inferni et subuertit potentias diaboli*	2
Annunciation	1		*Ingressus angelus ad miram ait aue maria gratia plena dominus tecum*		*Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus uentris tui*	
	2		*Suscipe uerbum uirgo maria quod tibi a domino per angelum transmissum est*		*Paries quidem filium et uirginitatis non patieris detrimentum*	
	3		*Ecce concipies et paries filium*		*Hic erit magnus et filius altissimi uocabitur et dabit illi dominus deus sedem dauid patris eius*	
	4		*Maria ut audiuit turbata est in sermone angeli*		*Quomodo fiet istud ait maria quoniam uirum non cognosco*	
	5		*Dixit angelus ad mariam ne timeas maria*		*Ecce concipies et paries filium et uocabis nomen eius iesum*	
	6		*Dabit illi dominus deus sedem dauid patris eius*		*Et regni eius non erit finis*	
	7		*Quomodo fiet istud respondit maria quia uirum non cognosco*		*Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum uocabitur filius dei*	
	8		*Dixit autem maria ad angelum ecce ancilla domini fiat mihi secundum uerbum tuum*		*Spiritus sanctus superueniet in te et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi*	
	9		*Christi uirgo dilectissima uirtutum operatrix opem fer miseris*		*Quoniam peccatorum mole premimur et non est qui adiuuet*	
Assumption	1		*Vidi speciosam sicut columbam ascendentem desuper riuos aquarum*		*Que est ista que ascendit per desertum sicut uirgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrhe et thuris*	
	2		*Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in libano et sicut cypressus in monte sio quasi myrrha electa*		*Et sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans*	
	3		*Super salutem et omnem pulchritudinem dilecta es a domino et regina celorum uocari digna es*		*Valde te nos oportet uenerari que tam sancta et intacta es uirgo*	
	4		*Que est ista que processit sicut sol et formosa tamquam ierusalem*		*Et sicut dies uerni circumdabant eam flores rosarum et lilia conuallium*	

		R.	V. †
	5	*Ista est speciosa inter filias ierusalem sicut uidistis eam plenam charitate et dilectione*	*Ista est que ascendit de deserto deliciis affluens*
	6	*Felix namque es sacra uirgo maria et omni laude dignissima*	*Ora pro populo interueni pro clero intercede pro deuoto femineo sexu sentiant omnes tuum iuuamen*
	7	*Ornatum monilibus filiam ierusalem dominus concupiuit*	*Astitit regina a dextris tuis in uestitu deaurato circumdata uarietate*
	8	*Beata es uirgo maria dei genitrix que credidisti domino*	*Benedicta et uenerabilis es uirgo maria cuius uiscera meruerunt portare dominum*
	9	*Gaude maria uirgo cunctas hereses sola interemisti*	*Gabrielem archangelum scimus diuinitus te esse affatum*
All Saints	1	*Summe trinitati simplicit deo una diuinitas equalis gloria coeterna maiestas*	*Prestet nobis gratiam deitas beata patris ac nati pariterque spiritus almi*
	2	*Felix namque es sacra uirgo maria et omni laude dignissima*	*Ora pro populo interueni pro clero intercede pro deuoto femineo sexu sentiant omnes tuum iuuamen*
	3	*Te sanctum dominum in excelsis laudant omnes angeli*	*Cherubim quoque et seraphim sanctus proclamant et omnis celicus ordo*
	4	*In circuito tuo domine lumen est quod numquam deficiet*	*Lux perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis domine et eternitas temporum*
	5	*Qui sunt isti qui ut nubes uolant*	*Candidiores niue nitidiores lacte rubicundiores ebore antiquo*
	6	*O constantia martyrum laudabilis o charitas inextinguibilis o patientia inuincibilis*	*Nobis ergo petimus piis subueniant meritis honorificati a patre qui est in celis*
	7	*Sint lumbi uestri precincti et lucerne ardentes in manibus uestris*	*Vigilate ergo quia nescitis qua hora dominus uester uenturus sit*
	8	*Audiui uocem de celo uenientem uenite omnes uirgines sapientissime*	*Media nocte clamor factus est ecce sponsus uenit*
	9	*Concede nobis domine quesumus ueniam delictorum*	*Adiuuent nos eorum merita quos propria impediunt scelera excuset intercessio accusat quos actio*
Dedication of a Church	1	*In dedicatione templi decantabat populus laudem*	*Obtulerunt sacrificium super altare domino et ceciderunt in facies suas et adorauerunt deum*
	2	*Fundata est domus domini supra uerticem montium et exaltata est super omnes colles*	*Venientes autem uenient cum exultatione portantes manipulos suos*
	3	*Domus mea domus orationis uocabitur dicit dominus*	*Domum tuam domine decet sanctitudo in longitudine dierum*
	4	*Benedic domine domum istam quam edificaui nomini tuo uenientium in loco isto*	*Domine si conuersus fuerit populus tuus et orauerit ad sanctuarium tuum*
	5	*Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui*	*Hec est domus domini firmiter edificata bene fundata est supra firmam petram*
	6	*Mane surgens iacob erigebat lapidem in titulum fundens oleum desuper uotum uouit domino*	*Vidit iacob scalam summitas cuius celos tangebat et descendentes angelos et dixit*
	7	*O quam metuendus est locus iste*	*Mane surgens iacob uotum uouit domino et dixit*
	8	*Beati qui habitant in domo tua domine*	*Non priuabis bonis eos qui ambulant in*

			R.		V.	
					innocentia domine uirtutum beati omnes qui sperant in te	†
	9		*Terribilis est locus iste non est hic aliud nisi domus dei et porta celi*		*Cumque euigilasset iacob a somno ait*	
Office for the Dead	1		*Credo quod redemptor meus uiuit et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sum*		*Quem uisurus sum ego ipse et non alius et oculi mei conspecturi sunt*	
	2		*Qui lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum*		*Qui uenturus es iudicare uiuos et mortuos et seculum per ignem*	
	3		*Domine quando ueneris iudicare terram ubi me abscondam a uulti ire tue*		*Commissa mea pauesco et ante te erubesco dum ueneris iudicare noli me condemnare*	
	4		*Heu mihi domine quia peccaui nimis in uita mea quid faciam miser*		*Anima mea turbata est ualde sed tu domine succurre ei*	
	5		*Ne recorderis peccata mea domine*		*Dirige domine deus meus in conspectu tuo uiam meam*	
	6	*	*Libera me domine de uiis inferni*	*	*Clamantes et dicentes aduenisti redemptor noster*	
	7	*	*Peccantem me quotidie et non me penitentem timor mortis conturbat me*		*Deus in nomine tuo saluum fac et in uirtute tua libera me*	
	8		*Requiem eternam dona eis domine*		*Qui lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum tu eis domine dona requiem*	
	9		*Libera me domine de morte eterna in die illa tremenda*		*Dies illa dies ire calamitatis et miserie dies magna et amara ualde quando celi mouendi sunt et terra*	

* Responsory or verse differs in Sarum Use
† Ordering differs in Sarum Use

Appendix 3.1 Excerpts from the Register of Eudes Rigaud

Registrum Odonis Rigaudi archiepiscopi Rotomagensis
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 1245

{f. 15v} [upper margin:] [anno domini M^{o} CC^{o} xliiio.]
[left margin:] Capitu*l*um Rothom*agensem*
¶ xiiij. K*al*e*nde* april*is* uisitam*us* capitulu*m* Rothom*agensem*. Inuenim*us* q*uo*d loqu*un*tur in choro *contra con*stitutionem. Clerici uagantur p*er* ecc*lesi*am, *et* co*n*fabu*l*ant*ur* in ecc*lesi*a cum mulierib*us* du*m* celebratur officium. statutum de int*ro*itu chori no*n* seruatur. psalmodia nimis t*ra*nscurritur. Non fiunt pausaciones. no*n* seruatur statum de egressu ad officium defunctorum. Non exp*rimu*nt causam quare exeunt quando petunt licencia*m* eundi. Item cl*eri*ci exeunt de choro sine causa anteq*uam* hora incepta finiatur. *et* ut breuius dicatur non obseruant*ur* plura alia statuta qu*e* scripta sunt in tabula reuestiarij[.] te*mpor*alitas male t*rac*tat*ur*[.]

¶ circa p*er*sonas inuenim*us*: q*uo*d Mag*ist*er Michael de Berciaco diff*amatus* est de incontin*encia*. Item d*omin*u*s* B*ened*i*ct*us de incontine*n*cia. Item Magister Will*elm*us de Salemo*n*uilla de inco*n*tin*encia*, furto *et* homicido. It*em* mag*ist*er Joh*annes* de Sancto laudo, de inco*n*tin*encia*. Item mag*ist*er alan*us* de tab*er*nar*um* frequ*en*tacio*n*e tab*er*nar*um*, de ebriosit*ate*, de ludo talor*um*. Item petr*us* de auleige de negociacio*n*e. Mag*ist*er Johannes bordez de nego*ciacion*e et dicit*ur* q*uo*d pecunia*m* suam t*ra*dit m*er*catoribus ut p*er*cipiat in lucro. de volu*n*tate p*er*sonas ip*s*as exp*res*simus: archidiaconis maioris caleti *et* minoris caleti, *et* capitulu*m* debet ea corrigere p*er* ip*s*os archid*iaconos* ue*l* p*er* alios infra *{f. 16r}* assu*m*pcio*n*em be*ate* virginis alioquin nos ex tunc manus apponerem*us*. *et* hoc eis mandauim*us* p*er* litteras no*st*ras. *et* debent nob*is* intimare q*uo*modo hec correcta fuerint.

A. D. 1248
The Chapter of Rouen
¶ *March 19. We visit the chapter of Rouen. We find that they speak in the choir against the rules. Clerics wander about the church and gossip with women in the church while the Office is celebrated. The statute concerning the entrance of the choir is not observed. The psalm-singing is exceedingly rushed through; there are no pauses. The rule concerning the recessional at the Office of the Dead is not observed. They do not express a reason why they go out when they ask permission to leave. Likewise, clerics leave the choir without reason before the Hour in progress has finished. And briefly, several other statutes which are written in the tablet of the sacristy are not observed. Time is badly managed.*
¶ *Among the individuals, we find that Master Michael of Berzé has been defamed of incontinence. Likewise, Dom Benedict of incontinence. Likewise, Master William of Salmonville of incontinence, theft, and murder. Likewise, Master John of St-Lô of incontinence. Likewise, Master Alan of frequenting taverns, of drunkenness, and of playing dice. Likewise, Peter of Aulage of business-dealings. Master John Bordez of business-dealings, and it is said that he hands his money over to merchants in order to make a profit. Of our will, we convey these same persons to the archdeacons of Grand-Caux and Petit-Caux, and the chapter should correct them by its own archdeacons or by others before the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; otherwise we at that time should lay hands on them. We have entrusted this to them in writing, and they should share with us how they will correct these*

Item a capitulo petiuim*us* p*ro*curactio*n*em n*ost*ram p*ro* uisitacio*n*e n*ost*ra[.]
quo ad diuinu*m* officiu*m* restat ordinacio[.]

things. Also, we requested our procuration fee from the chapter for our visit.
Let the ordinance pertaining to the Divine Office remain in effect.

{f. 176v} [upper margin:]
anno d*omi*ni Millo Duocentesimo [Quinquagesimo Septimo].
[left margin:] Capit*ul*um Rothom*agensem*
¶ viij. kalende [septembris] visitauim*us* cap*itul*um Roth*omagense* p*re*sentib*us* Symone Rothom*agensi*, Reginaldo minoris caleti, Roberto Wlcassini Norma*n*nie, Steph*an*o Wlcassini francie, archidiaconis; thesaurar*io*; cantore; cancellario; subcentore. *et* p*ro*posito sermone dei coram toto cap*itu*lo *et* cl*er*icis chori. p*os*tea int*ra*uim*us* <…> capitulum *et* uisitauim*us* ips*u*m, *et* p*ri*mo in *com*muni. *et* monuim*us* eos ut ips*i* decanu*m* monere*n*t ut reside*n*cia*m* face*r*et in ecc*lesi*a *et* se p*ro*mou*er*i face*r*et ad <……> ordines q*uo*s cura sue dignitatis req*ui*rit. Item monuim*us* eos ut ips*i* p*er*mitte*re*nt cur*re*re ordinac*i*onem q*ua*m feceran*t* thesaurar*ius et* archid*iaconus* Reg*inaldus*. hoc f*act*o uocauim*us* seorsum: cancellarium *et* p*os*tea succ*en*tore*m et* p*os*tea alios duos i*n*simul, *et* inq*ui*siuim*us* de statu p*er*sonarum, *et* n*ichil* inueni*mus* n*isi* bonu*m*.

A. D. 1257
The Chapter of Rouen
August 25. We visited the chapter of Rouen, with these present: Simon of Rouen, Reginald of Petit-Caux, Robert of Norman Vexin, Stephen of French Vexin, archdeacons; the treasurer; the precentor; the chancellor; and the succentor; and with the word of God decreed in the presence of the entire chapter and clerics of the choir. After this we entered the chapter and visited the same, first of all as a community. And we advised them to remind their dean to keep residence in the church, and to have themselves promoted to such [holy] orders as the care for the dignity of one's own requires. Also, we admonished them that they should allow the ordinances made by the treasurer and archdeacon Reginald to pass. With this being done, we called in, separately from the rest, the chancellor, and after him the succentor, and then all the others, two at a time, and asked about the standing of persons. And we found nothing that was not good.

{f. 234v}[upper margin:]
Anno domini Millimo [Ducentesimo Sexagesimo]
[left margin:] ¶ Capitulum Rothomagensem.
¶ xiij. k*al*e*nde* febr*uarii* accessimus ad ecc*lesi*am Rothom*agensem* c*aus*a uisitat*ion*is ibid*em* ex*er*cende. et in cap*itu*lo ip*s*ius ecc*lesi*e p*er* dei grat*ia*m astantib*us* canon*i*cis *et* cl*er*icis eiusd*em* p*ro*posuim*us* u*er*bu*m* dei. quo f*act*o processim*us* ad uisitat*ion*em faciendam presentib*us* archidyaconis Rothom*agensi et* Wlcassini Normann*ie*, *et* thesaurario, cantore, succentore, *et* aliis canon*i*cis, eiectis tam*en* cl*er*icis *et* capellanis.

A. D. 1260
The Chapter of Rouen
January 20. We approached the church of Rouen to administer a visit there. And in the chapter of the same church by the grace of God we decreed the word of God to the canons standing by and to its clerics. When this was done, we proceeded to make the visitation in the presence of the archdeacons of Rouen and of Norman Vexin, the treasurer, the precentor, the succentor, and other canons, dismissing the clerics and the chaplains. However

Nos uero, ipsam diem *con*tinuauim*us* usq*ue* ad c*ra*stinu*m*, *et* p*er*noctauim*us* ap*u*d Deiuill*am*.

¶ xij. k*a*l*ende* febr*uarii* regressi fuim*us* ad cap*itu*l*u*m sup*ra*d*ictu*m, et monuim*us* eos in *com*mun*i* ut ips*i* cap*e*lla</nos\> ecc*lesi*e compellerent ad celeb*ra*ndu*m con*gruencius et freq*ue*ncius solito missas suas, *et* frequentand*um* ecc*lesi*am. Ite*m* precepim*us* q*uo*d pene statute p*ro* marranciis leuarent*ur* p*ro*ut continet*ur* in tab*u*la reuestiarij. Ite*m* precepim*us* succentori q*uo*d seq*ue*ntias face*re*t eme*n*dari. Postmod*um* aut*em* uocauim*us* eos ad nos sigillatim *et* inq*ui*siuim*us* a singul*is* quod uoluim*us*, sup*er* hoc q*ue* fecim*us* auctore d*omi*no q*uo*d uidim*us* faciend*um*.

{f.249v} [upper margin:]
Anno d*omi*ni Millimo Ducent*esimo* [Sexagesimo primo]
[ij.] k*a*l*ende* Nouembr*is* celebrauim*us* p*er* dei gra*tia*m festu*m* om*niu*m s*anctorum* Rothomagi.
Ips*a* die uocatis coram nob*is* capellanis ecc*lesi*e Rothom*agensis* monuim*us* eos ut ips*i* freq*ue*ncius solito celebrarent. *et* eosd*em* sup*er* hoc feceram*us* </alias\> moneri p*er* cap*itu*l*u*m Rothom*agense*.

{f. 261r} [upper margin:]
[Anno d*omi*nj Mill*es*imo] Ducentesimo Sexagesimo S*ecun*do
¶ ii. Idus augusti ap*u*d d*e*iuill*am*.
¶ Idus augusti Ibidem. H*ec* est d*omi*nica ante assu*m*pt*ion*em be*ate* marie. *et* postqu*am* celeb*ra*uimus in cap*e*lla n*ost*ra de d*e*iuilla iuim*us* Roth*omagum et* fecim*us* s*er*mon*e*m in platea s*anct*i geruasii. D*omin*us aut*em* altisiod*orensis* ep*iscopus* q*ui* t*un*c erat nobiscu*m*, remansit ap*u*d d*e*iuill*am et* b*ene*dixit </*et* ordi*n*auit\> auct*oraitate* n*ost*ra, Vincent*ium* </i*n*\> abbate*m* beate marie de Walemont[.]
¶ xix. k*a*l*ende* septembris Rothom*agi et* celeb*ra*uim*us* missam ap*u*d d*omi*nam n*ost*ram, h*oc* e*st* in maiori ecc*lesi*a.

we adjourned it until the next day and spent the night at Déville.

January 21. We had returned to the aforementioned chapter and admonished them in community to compel the chaplains of the same church to celebrate their Masses more consistently and frequently than their habit, and to frequent the church. Also, we instructed them that statutory penalties should be lightened for minor offenses as contained in the tablet of the sacristan. Also we ordered the succentor to have the sequences improved. Afterward we called them in to us one by one, and asked of each what we wished, beyond which we did, with God as our founder, what we saw needed to be done.

A. D. 1261
November 1. We celebrated, by the grace of God, the feast of All Saints at Rouen.
On the very day, having called the chaplains of the church of Rouen before us, we admonished them to celebrate more frequently than was their habit. And we had had them warned about this previously by the chapter of Rouen.

A. D. 1262
August 12. At Déville.
August 13. At the same place. This is the Sunday before the Assumption of the Blessed Mary. And after we had celebrated in our chapel at Déville, we went to Rouen and gave a sermon in the forecourt of St-Gervais. The lord bishop of Auxerre, who was then with us, remained at Déville and ordained and blessed, by our authority, Vincent into the abbacy of Blessed Mary of Valmont.
August 14. At Rouen, and we celebrated the Mass at Notre-Dame, that is, in the cathedral.

¶ xviii. k*al*e*nde* septe*m*b*ris* Rothom*agi* h*oc* e*st* in festo assumpt*ion*is be*ate* mar*ie et* celeb*ra*uim*us* missam ap*u*d fr*atr*es mi*n*ores in pontificalib*us*. d*omin*us aute*m* altisiod*orensis* epi*scopu*s celebrauit maiore*m* missa*m* in ecc*lesi*a be*ate* mar*ie*.

August 15. This is the feast of the Assumption of Blessed Mary, and we celebrated the Mass at the Friars Minor in pontificals, while the lord bishop of Auxerre celebrated High Mass at the church of Notre-Dame.

{f. 306v} [upper margin:]
Anno d*omi*nj Millesimo [Ducentesimo Sexagesimo q*ui*nto]
¶ iiij. Non. octobr*is* celebravim*us* p*er* dei gra*tia*m festu*m* b*eat*i francisci in ecc*lesi*a Rothom*agensi*.
q*ua* die p*ri*mitus f*actu*m fuit officiu*m* de d*ict*o s*anct*o in ips*a* ecc*lesi*a cu*m* historia p*ro*p*ri*a.

1265
October 3. We celebrated, by the grace of God, the feast of Blessed Francis in the church of Rouen.
On which day, the office of the said saint, with the proper readings, took place for the first time in this church.

{f. 321v} [upper margin:]
Anno d*omi*nj Mill*es*imo [Ducentesimo Sexagesimo Sexto.]
[left margin:] ¶ Capitulu*m* Rothomagen*sem*
¶ Non. Nouembr*is* p*er* dei gra*tia*m accessimus ad ecc*lesi*am Rothom*agensem* c*aus*a uisitat*ionis* ibide*m* ex*er*cende. *et* in cap*itu*lo d*ict*i loci, cano*n*icis, cap*e*llanis *et* cl*er*icis chori, p*re*sertim b*ene*ficiatis in d*ict*a eccl*esi*a, ad mandatu*m* n*ostru*m p*er* n*ost*ras litt*er*as q*ua*s sup*er* hoc ebdomadario p*re*misimus, inibi co*n*gregatis, p*ro*posuimus u*er*bum dei in latino, *et* hoc f*act*o, p*ro*cessimus ad uisitat*ione*m. Inuenimus enim q*uod* cano*n*ici *et* cl*er*ici chori colloqu[u]nt*ur* et *con*fabulantur de stallo in stallum *et* de t*er*tio in t*er*tiu*m* du*m* diuinu*m* officiu*m* celebrat*ur*. psalmodia nimis t*ra*nscurrit*ur*. aliq*ua* inuenim*us* c*ir*ca officiu*m* thesaurarij emendanda. cap*e*llani minus sufficienter celebrant. Ite*m* cap*e*llani *et* cl*er*ici chori sepius exeunt chor*um* anteq*uam* hora incepta finiatur. circa p*er*sonas uero, inuenim*us* diffamatos de i*n*co*n*tinencia multos. Videl*icet* burnetu*m* de albana cu*m* scandalo, Visum lupi de pluribus mulieribus, d*omi*nos Gaufridu*m* de sotteu*ill*a, pet*rum* pilatu*m*, pet*rum* de aulagia, Rad*ulphum* anglicu*m*, cap*e*llanos; *et* qu*en*dam cl*er*icu*m* chori q*ui* d*icitu*r gorgias. Ite*m* d*omin*u*m* Rob*er*tu*m* d*ictu*m piscem de

1266
The Chapter of Rouen
November 5. By the grace of God, we approached the church of Rouen to exercise visitation of the same. And in the chapter of said place we decreed the word of God in Latin to the canons, chaplains, and clerics of the choir, especially to holders of benefices in the said church, whom we had assembled in that place at our order through a letter which we had sent ahead of time to the hebdomadarius. And this being done, we proceeded to the visitation. We found that the canons and clerics talk and gossip from stall to stall, even from three stalls away, while the Divine Office is being celebrated. The psalm-singing is exceedingly rushed. We discovered certain things concerning the office of the treasurer which need to be improved. The chaplains celebrate too insufficiently. Likewise, the chaplains and clerics of the choir often go out from the choir before the Hour in progress is finished. Concerning persons, we found many were defamed of incontinence, namely, Burnet of Aubin, with scandal; Visus Lupi, of several women; Dom Geoffrey of Soteville; Peter Pilate; Peter of Aulages; and Ralph the Englishman, chaplains; and a certain cleric of the choir named George. Likewise, Dom Robert, called Fish, of business-dealings…. We enjoined the persons and canons who were present at the visitation to correct the aforementioned things before the forthcoming octave of Epiphany;

negociat*ion*e.… Iniu*n*ximus p*er*sonis *et* canon*i*cis q*ui* uisitat*i*oni int*er*fuerun*t* q*uod* infra instantis epyph*an*ie octabas pred*ict*a corrig*er*ent, alioq*ui*n </extu*n*c\> manus n*ost*ras apponeremus circa ea ut possemus, *et* tu*n*c petiuim*us* procurat*ion*em n*ost*ram r*ati*one uisitat*i*onis p*re*d*ict*e a cap*itu*lo.

otherwise at that time we would put forward our hands concerning these things, of which we are capable. And then we asked for our procuration from the chapter by reason of the aforementioned visitation.

Appendix 4.1. Excerpt from Farin (1668) on the Rogation Days at Rouen

SOURCE: François Farin, *Histoire de la ville de Roüen, divisée en trois parties*.... vol. 3 (A Roven: chez Iacques Héravlt..., 1668), pp. 33–34.

Processions generales & solomnelles de la Cathedrale

Voici l'ordre & la marche de cette Procession; le Lundi des Rogations après Sexte (dit l'Ordinaire) qu'on se dispose pour la Procession, à laquelle sont obligez d'assister & assistent le Clergé & le peuple de la Ville avec leurs Chasses de Reliques, leurs Croix & leurs Bannieres, & se rendre pour cet éfet à l'Eglise Metropolitane; pendant que ces Processions y arrivent, on tire du Tresor de l'Eglise les Chasses des Reliques des Saints qui sont portées sur le grand Autel l'une après l'autre, par deux Chapelains de la Commune revétus d'Aubes. Elles sont accompagnées jusque vers l'enceinte du Sanctuaire, par deux enfans de Chœur portans des cierges, par le Diacre & le Soudiacre, revétus à la réserve de la Tunique, & par le Semainier ou journayeur Officiant aussi en Aube, avec l'Etoile & le Manipule violette, qui encense cependant chaque Chasse, depuis le Tresor jusqu'à l'entrée du Chœur vers l'enceinte du Sanctuaire, pendant que les Chantres chantent une Antienne propre au Saint ou à la Sainte dont est la Relique qu'on pose sur le grand Autel. Quand toutes les Chasses sont aportées & que le Clergé de la Ville est assemblé, la Procession part de l'Eglise Cathedrale sur les neuf heures & demie du matin, c'est-à-dire à l'heure de Sexte commencées.

D'abord marchent sous leur Bannieres les Chasses de trois ou quatre Paroisses avec leur Clergé, & trois ou quatre chasses de l'Eglise Cathedrale avec deux flambeaux ou cierges à côté de chacune, puis suivent toutes les Crois & Banieres de toutes les autres Paroisses. La Croix & Baniere de l'Eglise de saint Maclou, la plus grande Paroisse de la Ville, est celle sous laquelle marche tout le Clergé nombreux de toutes les Eglises Paroissiales de Roüen en droite ligne, & en deux hayes, avec les Curez de la Ville qui marchent les derniers.

Après eux marchent les Chanoines Réguliers de la Madeléne & de saint Lo, qui avoient pris place au chœur avec les Chanoines de la Cathedrale d'un côté : après eux suivent les Benedictins de l'Abbaye de saint Ouen, qui avoient aussi place de l'autre côté du chœur avec les Chanoines de la Cathedrale.

Après eux un Bedeau du Chapitre porte la grande Banniere de l'Eglise Cathedrale, & après lui suit un Acolithe qui porte la Croix processionale, à laquelle est attaché une petite Banniere, sous laquelle marche tout le Clergé de l'Eglise Cathedrale, composé des Enfans de chœur, des Chapelains en fort grand nombre, des Chantres ou Choristes qui sont aussi Chapelains.

Au milieu des Chantres, selon l'ordinaire, marchoit le Chantre précédé des deux Curez des Eglises de saint Denis & de saint Vigor, ayant en main des Baguettes blanches pour garder la marche des Chapelains, tant en allant qu'en revenant; puis les Chanoines, dont les derniers sont le Diacre & le Celebrant, après lesquels suivent les deux grands dragons dont nous avons parlé ci haut que le Vulgaire apelle Gargouille, puis les Châsses ou Fiertes ainsi dites du mot latin Feretrum, de nôtre-Dame & de saint Romain, au milieu des symphonies de plusieurs instrumens de Musique. Quand la Procession passe par devant la porte d'une Eglise, & à la porte de l'Eglise de la Station, le Clergé est encensé par le Curé ou le Vicaire.

Le Lundi elle va faire station à l'Eglise Paroissiale de saint Eloy; dès que la Procession y est entrée, il s'y fait un Sermon, qui ne s'y faisoit aparemment autrefois, qu'après l'Evangile d'une Messe seche qu'on y celebroit; car le Célébrant à la réserve de la Chasuble, le Diacre & sous-Diacre y sont revétus comme aux Feries pour y dire la Messe : le Sermon étant fini, on dit les prieres à genous, (autrefois on les disoit prosternez) devant l'Autel; après lesquelles trois Chantres ou Chapelains chantent les Litanies des Saint, jusqu'à ce qu'on soit rentré dans le chœur de l'Eglise Cathedrale où on les finit.

L'ordinaire de l'Eglise Cathedrale ajoute ici : Nota quod qualibet die trium dierum Processionis Religiosi S. Audoëni tenentur mittere persuos servitores ad domum cantoris Ecclesiæ Rotomagensis, vel ejus locum tenentis, hora prandii unum panem magnum, unum galonem boni vini, honestum ferculum piscium, & unum magnum flaconem de pinguedine lactis, sicque in duobus primis diebus reportantur vasa & in tertia die dimittuntur, & pertinent cantori.

Le Mardi des Rogations la Procession va à l'Eglise de saint Gervais, avec les mêmes cérémonies que le jour précédant, il y a Sermon, après lequel suivent les prieres, puis le Répons, O constantia Martirum, ensuite les Litanies.

Le Mercredi des Rogations on va en Procession à saint Nicaise, (autrefois à l'Eglise Abbatiale du Mont saint Catherine,) à la même heure, & avec les mêmes cérémonies que les jours précédens.

Appendix 4.2 Rogation Days: synopsis across MSS lat 904, A. 551, and Y. 110

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY) *{f. 125}* FERIA II IN ROGAT*I*ONIBUS	**Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)**	**Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV** *{f. 103v}* FERIA IJ IN ROGATIONIBUS....
{f. 125v} hora sexta		¶ Ad vj....
et po*pul*us ad matre*m* eccl*es*iam *con*ueniat *et* p*re*paratis o*mn*ib*us*		¶ De hinc paretur processio in qua clerus *et* populus tocius ciuitatis cum feretris crucib*us* signis *et* vexillis eccl*es*iasticis ad metropolitana*m et* m*at*rem eccl*es*iam co*n*uenire tenentur.
		adquam sic confluentib*us* honeste extrahantur feretra et sanctuaria reliquar*um*. portabilia de thesauro eccl*es*ie et deferantur successiue *et per* ordi*n*em us*que* ad chorum quodl*ibet* feretrum *per* duos capellanos cosam p*er*cipien*s*. de s*ecun*da sede scriptos in tabula ad placitu*m* scriptoris reuestitos albis. *et* sup*er* altaria chori situantur feretra. q*uorum* capellanor*um* quil*ibet* inde sex denar*i*. p*er*cipiet de bursa d*omi*ni archiep*iscop*i pro qual*ibet* die ip*s*aru*m* processionu*m* exceptis illis qui portabu*n*t feretrum s*anct*e anne et eciam debent h*ab*ere quil*ibet* vnu*m* par cerothecaru*m* a fr*atr*ib*us* confratriar*um*. Et in cuiusl*ibet* feretri exitu de thesauro cantor incipiat alte antiphonam p*ro*priam sanctuario tali que *per* assistentes capellanos co*n*tinue cantabitur associando feretru*m* co*n*fr*atr*ib*us* confratriar*um* qui tenentur int*eress*e usq*ue* ad introitu*m* chori ac *per* ebdomadariu*m* vel dietarium reuestitu*m* o*mn*ib*us* sac*er*dotalib*us* indumentis pret*er* casulam cu*m* thurib*u*lo *per* puerum altar[is] *{f. 104v}* sibi tradito incensu*m* offeratur cuil*ibet* feretro ab exitu thesauri us*que* ad introitum chori cu*m* comitantib*us* dyacono *et* subdiacono simil*i*s reuestit*is*. cu*m* duob*us* pueris altaris p*re*ferentib*us* ardentes cereos in candelabris us*que* ad p*ri*mu*m* ascensum altaris iux*ta* introitum chori de late*r*e dextro. et ibidem puer*is* cu*m* candelab*rorum* q*ui*esce*n*tib*us per* alium puru*m* offeratur collectarium sac*er*doti. qui alte dicat ibidem v*er*siculu*m et* collectam

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
		tali apropriatas sanctuario finiendo basse. *per* χρ*istu*m. Quib*us* sic expletis pro primo feretro. simil*ite*r fiat *pro* quol*ibet* altero. tali ordine seruato q*ue* p*rimo* educentur feretra corp*or*is *et* capitis s*anct*i seueri. S*ecun*do feretr*um* om*nium* s*anct*or*um*. Tercio s*anct*e anne. quarto b*eat*e marie. Quinto s*anct*i romani.
cantor i*n*cipiat hanc a*ntiphonam* ♪Exurge domine adiuua nos et libera nos propter nomen tuum alleluya. p ♪Deus auribu*s*. ♪Glo*r*ia. ♪S*ecu*lor*um* am*en*.		Quib*us* p*er*actis. cantor in sua cathedra chori incipiat alte antipho*na*m. Exurge d*omi*ne. ps. D*eu*s auribus. a. Exurge.
{f. 126} Deinde dicat sacerdos V. Ostende nob*is* d*omine* or. Ascendant ad te d*omi*ne preces n*ost*re et ab eccl*es*ia tua cu*nct*a*m* repelle neq*ui*tia*m*. p*er* χρ*istu*m		Sac*er*dos reuestitus in choro ante aquilam cu*m* dyacono *et* subd*yacono* reuestitis cu*m* cruce *et* candelab*ri*s dicat V. Ostende nob*is* d*omine*. or. Ascendant ad te d*omi*ne.
		Hoc finito inducat processio et eat ‹‹~~processio~~›› ad locum det*er*minatum *per* portale s*ancti* steph*an*i. Et deferatur q*uod*lib*et* feretru*m per* duos capellanos p*re*dictos us*que* ad portale eccl*es*ie *{left margin, later hand:* nota usque ad portale*} et* de portali us*que* ad introitum eccl*es*ie ad qua*m* uadit process*io*. deportetur *per* fr*atr*es confratrie. In quo introitu Iter*um* capellani premisse recipiant feretra *et* introducant infra ip*s*am eccl*es*iam *et* situantur in suis locis consuetis. et ante quodl*ibet* feretru*m* p*re*cedant duo pueri de p*ri*ma sede chori cum cereis accensis *et* candelabris confratriar*um*. qui venerint de domib*us* ip*s*ar*um* confratriar*um*. cum ip*s*is fratrib*us* us*que* ad eccl*es*iam. p*re*ter duos qui recipia*n*t cereos *et* candelabra. in ip*s*a eccl*es*ia. et p*re*cedant ante feretru*m* b*eat*e m*arie*. Et in progressu process*ionis* cantor incedat in medio process*ionis* inter capellanos. *et* p*re*cedant ip*su*m curati s*anct*i dionisii *et* s*anct*i vigoris i*n* h*ab*itu eccl*es*ie cum uirgis ex‹/c\›oriatis. ad custodiendu*m* ordi*n*em capellanor*um* *{f. 105}* Qui curati simil*ite*r cu*m* process*io* reu*er*tuntur *et* in progressu p*redict*o

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
♪Propitius esto domine peccatis nostris propter nomen tuum nequando dicant gentes ubi est deus eorum alleluya. [Ps.] ♪In nomine domini dei nostri ambulabimus nos et omnes populi quoniam ex syon exibit lex et uerbum domini de ierusalem regnabit dominus in eternum alleluia.		cantor incipiat in choro antiphonam. Propicius esto.
al*ia*. ♪Ego sum deus patrum uestrorum dicit dominus uici afflictionem populi mei et genitum eius audiui et descendi liberare eos. alleluia alleluia. [Ps.] ♪Dimitte domine peccata populi tui secundum multitudinem miseri*{f. 126v}*cordie tue sicut propitius fuisti patrib*us* nostris propitius esto et nostris et implebitur gloria tua in uniuersa terra alleluia. al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Populus syon conuertimini ad dominum deum uestrum et dicite ei potens es domine dimittere peccata nostra deus noster alleluya alleluia. V ♪Deprecamur te domine in omni misericordia tua ut auferatur furor tuus et ira a plebe ista et de domo sancta tua quoniam peccauimus alleluia.		Et de aliis a*ntiphona* cantetur s*ecun*d*u*m q*uo*d tempus poposcerit. *et* s*ecun*d*u*m ordinem script*um* post istam fer*iam*.
♪Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum patrem omnipotentem ut cunctis mundum purget erroribus morbos auferat famen repellat apperiat carreres uincla *{f. 127}* dissoluat peregrinantib*us* reditum infirmantib*us* sanitatem nauigantib*us* portum salutis indulgeat et pacem tribuat in diebus nostris insurgentes q*ui* repellat inimicos et de manu inferiu liberet nos propter nomen suum alleluya.		
Cum uero proc*essio* per aliquam eccl*es*iam transierit dicat*ur* ant*iphonam* u*e*l *responsorium* de s*anct*o	*{f. 137v}* ant*iphone* u*e*l *responsoria* que dicenda sunt de s*anct*is apud quor*um* ecclesias transit proc*essio* prima die rogationum	*et* de respons*orio* Ant*iphona* s*anct*or*um per* quor*um* *paroch**iam* p*ro*cessio transibit.
	de sancto martino. antiphona ♪O martine o	

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
	pie quam...	
	{f. 138} ad s*anctu*m clementem R. ♪Ora pro nobis beate clemens ut digni efficiamur promissionibus χpisti. V. Tu autem martyr χpisti beate clemens ora pro nobis. Vt digni.	
	post vii psalmi penitentiales dum proc*essio* uenerit ad sanctum eligium	
	incip*iat* suscentor ante sanctum vincentium. Responsorium. ♪Miles χpisti gloriose uincenti sanctissime tuo pio interuentu culpas nostras ablue. V. Vt celestis regni sedem ualeamus scandere. R. Tuo pio.	
q*uo*d si non du*m* proc*essio* peruenit ad locum quando per tres u*el* quatuor ant*iphonas* dicte fuerint dicantur vii psalmi penitentiales usq*ue* ueniatur ad eccl*es*iam.		
Cum aute*m* proc*essio* uene*r*it ad locum constitutu*m* incipiatur *responsorium* u*el* ant*iphonam* de sancto in cui*us* honore est eccl*es*ia cum u*er*siculis et or*ationibus*.	Q*uando* proc*essio* intrat ecc*lesi*am sancti eligii incip*iat* suscentor hanc antiphonam ♪Sancte eligi χpisti confessor audi rogantes ser *{f. 138v}* uulos et inpetratam celitus tu defer indulgentiam. V. O sancte eligi sydus aureum domini gratia seruorum gemitus solita suscipe clementia. R. Et impetratam. V. Ora pro nob*is* be*ate* eligi. V. Vt digni efficiam*us* [oratio.] Exaudi q*uesumu*s domine preces nostras... alia oratio. Da q*uesumu*s om*ni*pote*n*s deus	Cum autem processio uene*r*it ad locum determinatu*m*. ibi cantetur pr*i*us a monachis r*esponsorium* uel a*ntiphona* de s*ancte* ecc*les*ie. *et* postea cantetur a no*st*ris.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
	ut beati eligii confessoris tui atq*ue* pontificis ueneranda memoria et deuot[i]onem nobis augeat et salutem. per.	
finito hoc fiat prostrac*io* in eccl*es*ia. p. Miserere mei deus. *et* precib*us et* or*ati*onib*us* ad hoc pertinentib*us*.	finita aut*em* dicantur preces cum prostrat*i*one *et* or*ati*o*ne* sicut notatum est in die rogationum Supr*a*	
Quib*us* finitis fiat sermo ad pop*ulu*m.	cl*eri*cis de ii sede et cantent usq*ue* ad s*anctu*m saluatorem *et* ibi fiat prostrat*ionem et* incipit succentor post sermone*m* ad p*opulu*m	or*ati*one d*icta* fiat sermo ad p*opulu*m.
		Quo facto dicantur preces ante altare cum prostrac*ion*e.
Q*uo* fac*t*o redeat proc*essio et* dicatur aliq*u*od *responsorium* u*e*l ant*iphona* de s*anct*o.	f*act*a exeunte proc*essio* de eccl*es*ia no*n* incip*iat responsorium* sicut aliis	
Inreditu letania incipiatur a trib*us* clericis et usq*ue* ad ecclesiam decantent ea*m*. ♪Saluator mundi saluatoris. chorus respondeat ♪Kyrieleyson. cantores incipiant ♪Kyrieleison. chorus ♪Xpiste audi nos cantores dicant ♪Sancta maria ora pro nobis chorus ♪Kyrieleyson cant*ores* ♪Kyrieleison. chorus ♪Xpiste audi nos cantor*es* ♪Sancte michael ora pro nobis chorus ♪Kyrieleyson cantores ♪Kyrieleison [chorus] ♪Xpiste audi *{f. 127v}* nos cantor*es* ♪Sancte gabriel ora pro nobis. chorus ♪Kyrieleyson. cantores ♪Kyrieleison chorus ♪Kyrieleison. chorus ♪Xpiste audi nos.	s*ed* incip*iat* letania a iii cl*eri*cis	Quib*us* finitis in recessu. tres cl*eri*ci de ij sede incipiant hanc letania*m*. Saluator mundi salua nos. Et sic ueniant ad eccl*es*iam cantando Et chorus r*espo*ndeat. Kyriel*eison*.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
cant*ores* ♪Omnis chorus angelorum oret pro nobis.		
chorus ♪Kyrieleyson.		
cantores. ♪Kyrieleison		
chorus ♪Xpiste audi nos.		
cantores ♪Sancte iohannes baptista ora pro nobis		
cantores ♪Kyrieleison.		
Om*n*is chorus p*r*op*h*e*t*aru*m* oret pro nob*is*.		
S*anc*te petre ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te paule ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te andrea ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te iacobe ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te philippe ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te bartholomee ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te mathee ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te uida ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te symon ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te thadee ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te mathia ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te Barnaba ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te luca ora pro nobis		
Om*n*is chorus ap*ost*olor*um* oret pro nobis.		
S*anc*te stephane ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te clemens ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te syxte ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te laurenti ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te vincenti ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te Georgi ora pro nobis.		
S*anc*te geruasi ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te prothasi ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te corneli ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te cypriane ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te victor ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te χpofore ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te ypolite ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te leodegari ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te blasi ora pro nobis		
S*anc*te choma ora pro nobis		

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
S*anct*e dyonisi cum sociis tuis or		
S*anct*e maurici cum sociis tuis or		
S*anct*e nigasii cum sociis tuis or		
Om*n*is chor*us* martyru*m* oret p*ro* nob*is.*		
S*anct*e siluester or		
S*anct*e leo or		
S*anct*e gregori or		
S*anct*e ambrosi or		
S*anct*e augustine or		
S*anct*e ieronime or		
S*anct*e hylari ‹*{later hand:}* S*anct*e laude› or		
{f. 128} S*anct*e martine or		
S*anct*e nicholae or		
S*anct*e Romone or		
S*anct*e audoene or		
S*anct*e Gildarde or		
S*anct*e Remigi or		
S*anct*e germane or		
S*anct*e benedicte or		
S*anct*e egidi or		
S*anct*e wdaste or		
S*anct*e juliane or		
Om*n*is chorus *con*fessor*um* oret p*ro* nobis.		
S*anct*a maria magdale or		
S*anct*a maria egyptiaca or		
S*anct*a agnes or		
S*anct*a lucia or		
S*anct*a cecilia or		
S*anct*a agatha or		
S*anct*a catherina or		
S*anct*a margareta or		
S*anct*a austreberta or.		
S*anct*a Genouefa or		
S*anct*a iuliana or		
S*anct*a Radegundis or		
S*anct*a χρistiana or		
S*anct*a martha or		

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
S*ancta* eufemia or S*ancta* fides or S*ancta* spes or S*ancta* Raritas or Om*n*is chorus u*ir*ginu*m* oret p*ro* nobis. Om*n*es s*anct*i orate pro nobis.		
finita letania dicatur ant*iphona* uel respons*orium* de s*anct*o in cuius honore est ecc*lesi*a *et* V. et or*atio*.	ante s*anct*em saluatore*m* instat*ur* incipit succentor. ♪Isti et enim maximo digni sunt honore uenerari i*n* terris quos in celo rex regum immensa cumulauit gloria alleluia.	Cum autem processio vene*r*it ad eccl*es*iam sancti saluatoris ibi subsistant. et cu*m* monachi cantauerint statim cano*n*icis *et* cl*er*icis simul congregatis i*n* atriu*m* eccl*es*ie p*re*dicte incipiat cantor hanc a. Isti etenim maxi*m*o.
	Qua finita dic*at* sacerdos hu*n*c *versiculum*. V. Exultent iusti in conspectu dei. Et delectentur in leticia.	Finita a. sac*er*dos dicat V. Exultent iusti.
	oratio. Propiciare q*uesumus* d*omi*ne nobis famulis tuis per horum s*anct*orum tuorum merita gloriosa ut eor*um* pia int*er*uent*i*one ab om*n*ib*us* semper muniam*ur* adu*er*sis. p*er*. Infirmitate*m* n*ost*ram q*uesumus* d*omi*ne p*ro*pitius respice et mala om*n*ia que iuste me*r*emur horum s*anct*or*um* tuor*um* i*n*tercessione au*er*te. p*er* xp*istu*m d*omin*um n*ostru*m.	or. Propiciare nob*is* d*omine*.
	Q*uando* uero separant*ur* cl*er*ici q*ui* cantabant letania*m* reincipiant ubi dimiserunt *et* finiant i*n* choro.	Finita or. separentur processiones *et* resumant cantores letaniam ubi dimiseru*n*t. Cu*m* autem processio vene*r*it ad eccl*es*iam letania finiatur in choro.
		Cu*m* v*er*o p*roc*ess*io* vene*r*it *per* istos iij dies ad loca constituta monachi p*ri*us cantent *et* chorus inmediate

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (WHOLE DAY)	Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII (PROCESSION)	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
		post eos vij psalmi dicantur *per* tres dies priusq*uam* processio ueniat ad loca consueta.
		Nota q*ue* in qualib*et* die trium dieru*m* process*io*. religiosi sancti audoeni tenentur mittere *per* suos seruitores ad domu*m* cantoris ecc*lesi*e rothom*agensis* vel eius locu*m*ten*entis* hora prandij vnum pane magnu*m* vnu*m* galon*em* boni vini honestum ferculum piscium. *et* vnu*m* magnu*m* flacone*m* de pinguedine lactis sic q*ue* in duob*us* p*ri*mis dieb*us* reportantur uasa *et* in tercia die dimittuntur *et* p*er*tinent cantori.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII *{f. 128}* S*ECUN*DA DIE ROGAT*IONUM* vocem iocunditatis. Et cet*er*a ut in die dominica	*{f. 138v}* In die ij rogat*ionu**m***	A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV *{f. 105v}* S*ECUN*DA DIE IN ROGATION*IBUS*
ad processionem sicut in prima die			ut in fer*ia* ij. Co*n*ueniant om*ni*s ad m*at*rem eccl*es*iam
mutatis ant*iphone* in primis antiph*on*a ♪Exurge domine			*et* incipiat cantor. An*tiphonam*. Exurge d*omine* *etcetera* ut supra. int*er*im incensentur sanctuaria.
			et conueniant p*rocessioni* sicut hesterna die et eat p*ro*cessi ad locum consuetu*m et* exeat p*er* portale s*ancti* romani
ant*iphona* ♪De ierusalem exeunt reliquie et saluatio de monte syon propterea protectio erit huic ciuitati et saluabitur propter dauid famulum eius alleluya.			cantore incipiat. Ant*iphonam*. De iher*usale*m exeunt.
al*ia* ♪Cum iocundita exibitis et cum gaudio deducemini nam et *{f. 128v}* montes et colles exilient expectantes uos cum gaudio alleluia. al*ia* ♪Exclamemus omnes ad dominum dicentes peccauimus tibi domine patientiam habe in nobis et erue nos a malis que cotidie accescunt super nos alleluya. al*ia* ♪Domine deus noster qui cum patrib*us* nostris mirabilia magna fecisti et nostris glorificate temporib*us* qui misisti manum tuam de alto et liberasti nos alleluia. al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Domine immuniti sumus			Alia A. Cum iocunditate *et* de cet*er*is aut*em* quantum necesse fu*er*it.

propter peccata nostra hodie sed in animo contricto et spiritu humilitatis suscipiamur et fac nobiscum secundum mansuetudinem *{f. 129}* tuam quia non est confusio confidentibus in te alleluia alleluia. al*ia* ant*iphona* ♪Iniquitates nostre domine multiplicate sunt super capita nostra delicta nostra creuerunt usq*ue* ad celos parce domine et inclina super nos misericordiam tuam alleluia. al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Exaudi domine deprecationem seruorum tuorum et miserere populo tuo ut sciant omnes gentes quia tu es deus seculorum miserere ciuitati sanctificationis tue domine deus noster alleluya alleluya. al*ia* ♪Parce domine parce populo tuo quem redemisti χpiste sanguine tuo ut non in eternum irasca*{f. 129v}*ris nobis alleluia alleluia.			
Si aut*em* proc*essio* per aliq*ua*m eccl*es*iam transierit dicat*ur* ant*iphona* de s*anct*o uel *responsorium*.	p*ri*ma mem*oria* de s*ancto* ermelando R. S*anct*e ermelande. Quere mem*oriam* S*upra* in die		*et* cantetur ad placitu*m* cantor*is* de s*anct*is p*er* quor*um* eccl*es*ias transibit p*rocessio*.
	an*te* sanctam mariam rotundam. Resp*onsorium*. ♪Alma redemptoris mater que peruia celi porta manet[...]		
	{f. 139r} an*te* s*anctu*m michael*em* de foro R. Te s*anctu*m d*omin*um cu*m* u*er*su et reg*ressu*. Quere s*upra* die iii		

	ante s*anctu*m saluatore*m* hoc R. honor u*ir*tus. Cu*m* v*er*su *et* reg*ressu* Que*r*e sup*ra* iii die		
	an*te* s*anctu*m petru*m* ♪Qvodcumq*ue* ligaue‹/ris\› super terram... et quodcumq*ue* solueris... V. Tu es inquit petrus χpistus filius dei... Et quodcumque solue[ris]		
	an*te* sanctum andream extra portam respons*orium* ♪Dilexit andream dominus in odorem sua... *{f. 139v}* et ideo...V. Elegit eum dominus et excelsum fecit eum. Et ideo		
Q*uando* tres ue*l* iiii ant*iphonas* dicte fue*r*int. si proc*essio* no*n*dum peruene*r*it ad locum ‹‹dicatur›› ubi uadit dicant*ur* vii p*salm*i penitent*iales*.			Secuntur vij p*salm*i
Q*uando* p*er*uene*r*it ad locu*m* dicat*ur* aliq*ui*d de s*anct*o ant*iphona* uel *responsorium*.	Q*uando* proc*essio* intrat ecc*lesi*am sancti Geruasii et prothasii responsorium ♪Concede nobis domine quesum*us*... talem nobis... V. Adiuuent nos eorum merita... Talem nobis		Cum proc*essione* vene*r*it ad locum consuetu*m*. cantetur de s*anct*o eccl*es*ie *responsorium*. Concede nob*is* a n*ost*ris i*n*mediate p*ost* mon*achos*.
v*er*sicul*um et* orant.	Quo finito: sacerdos dicat hu*n*c *versiculum*. Exultent iusti. or*atio* Deus qui nos concedis s*anct*orum martyrum tuor*um* geruasii et prothasii... *{f. 140}* Alia oratio Pr*est*a q*uesumu*s om*ni*pote*n*s deus...		Sac*er*dos V. *et* or. dicat ut d*iebus*

			‹‹~~Interim~~›› fiat sermo ad populum.
finita or*ati*o[ne]: fiat p*ro*stratio i*n* eccl*es*ia *et* p*salmus* Miserere mei deus. et p*re*cib*us* et or*ati*onib*us* ad hoc p*er*tinentib*us*.	postea p*ro*strati dica*n*t preces q*ui* in p*ri*ma die dixeru*n*t. Quere s*upra*.		Quo finito dicantur p*re*ces cum prostracio*n*e
Quib*us* finitis fiat sermo ad pop*ul*um.			
Q*uo* fac*t*o redeat proc*essio et* dicat*ur* aliq*ui*d de s*anct*o ant*iphona* uel *responsorium*.	In exeundo proc*essio responsorium* cantetur cum ue*r*su *et* regressu. ♪O constancia martyrum laudabilis... in tempore... V. Nobis ergo petimus piis subueniant... In tempore.		quibus finitis cantor incip*iat responsorium* de s*anct*is. O constancia m*artyru*m. Et recedant.
Ing*re*ssu p*rocessionis* iij cl*er*ici i*n*cipia*n*t h*a*nc letani*am et* cante*n*t h*a*nc letant*iam* usq*ue* ad eccl*es*iam. alta uoce. ♪Hvmili prece et sincera deuotione ad te nos clamantes χρiste exaudi nos. chorus reiteret. Ite*m* cantores. ♪Svmmus et omnipotens genitor qui cuncta creasti eternus χρistus filius atq*ue* deus. Nec non sanctificans dominator spiritus almus. Vnica maiestas trinaq*ue* sola dei. ch*orus*. ♪Hvmili. Cant*ores*. ♪Ipsa dei genitrix reparatrix inclita mundi. Que dominum casto corpore concipiens. Perpetua semper radians cum uirginitate. Indignos famulos uirgo maria tuos. ch*orus*. ♪Hvmili Cant*ores*. ♪Michael et gabriel raphael et celicus ordo. Ac patriarcharum munera sancta pa*{f. 130}*trum. Eiecti proceres iohannes preco prophete. per horum cara	Quo finito iii de maiori sede incip*iant* letania*m* humili prece.		finito *responsorio* tres de maiori sede incipiant letan*iam*. Humili p*re*ce *et* sincera de. Et chorus respond*eat*. *et* cantent us*que* ad sanctu*m* nicholau*m* de bello uisu.

suppliciter merita. ch*orus*. ♪Hvmili.

ca*ntores*. ♪Angelicus cetus celi super ardua clarus. Coniubilans domino carmine dulcissimo Sanctus aue Sanctus q*ue* uale sanctus quoq*ue* salue. Nos sibi societ et pie letificet. R ♪Ad te clam*avi*.

V ♪Petrus cum paulo thomas cum bartholomeo. Et iacobus sanctus nos releuent precibus. Andreas matheus barnabas atq*ue* iohannes. Mathias marcus. lucas *et* altissonus. R. ♪Hvmili.

V. ♪Cetus apostolicus duodeno sydere computus. Propicius cunctos protege nos famulos. et quos multiplices lacerant per crimina pestes. peccata absoluens ‹‹absoluens›› fac bona cuncta sequi R ♪Ad te.

V. ♪Nvnc stephanus limis clemens anacletus et al*{f. 130v}*mus. Syxtus alexander corneliusq*ue* pius ypolitus uictor laurentius atq*ue* modestus. Grisogonus q*ue* pius nos miserando iuuent R ♪Hvmili.

V ♪Athlete domini nos nunc deposcimus almi. Cyriace pius atq*ue* bonefacius. Pancratius paulus ‹‹////////›› atq*ue* iohannes. Crimine pro nostro forte uiuando preces. R ♪Ad te.

V ♪O uox martyrio decorati in nomine χρisti. Conspicui testes purpurei proceres. Qui bello inuicti superastis demonis iras. Conspirata manus uincere morte minas. R ♪Hvmili.

V ♪Siluester damascus gregorius ambrosiusq*ue* hylarius zeno maximus atq*ue*

leo. Martinus Gildardus cesarius eusebiusq*ue*. Orent pro nostris criminib*us* uarus. R ♪Ad te. V ♪Ordo sacratus confessorum presbiterorum. Auxilio *{f. 131}* tutos undiq*ue* tedde tuos. Atq*ue* tua nosmet prece dimitendo rearum. Nos fragiles multum cladibus omnigenis R ♪Humili. V ♪Paulus et anthonius macharius arseruiusq*ue* Pacomius beda athalius pasmicius. Germanus libertinus basilius atq*ue* ieronimus doctor nos miserante precor. R ♪Ad te V ♪Oro marie dei miles fortissime summi. Nobis nunc famulis auxiliare tuis. Nil sit perspicium poterit uox clara referre. Vt decet uitalis nunc patris obsequio R ♪Humili V ♪Hic tibi perpetuis resonant cum cetib*us* edes. Ossibus et sacris semper habetur honos. Eum leti famuli celebrant hic festa benigni. laudib*us* instantes nocte dieq*ue* tuis. R ♪Ad te.			
V ♪Dirige corda pius et tempora dirige nostra. Atq*ue* letos du*{f. 131v}*cere da famulis. Vt semper ualeant tibimet cantare quieti. Te quoq*ue* celesti cernere luce poli. R ♪Humili.		*{f. 47 begins after lacuna; preceding Rogations material not present}* ♪tempora dirige no*st*ra atq*ue* dies no*st*ros ducere da famulis. ut semp*er* valeant tibimet cantare quieri te quoq*ue* celesti cernere luce poli.	
V ♪O dilecte dei radians uirtute coruscha. Sancte audoene pater iunge preces pariter. Intercede piis ueniam rogando misellis. Aureq*ue* iam blanda carmina precipiens. R		♪Ad te da.	

♪Ad te.			
V ♪Summe dei cultor monachorum rector et abbas. R ♪O benedicte sacer atq*ue* benigne pater. Istud cenobium cetumq*ue* tibi famulantem. Nostraq*ue* sanctificans cuncta tuere simul. R ♪Humili prece.		V ♪Summe dei cultor monachorum rector et abbas o b*ene*dicte sacer atq*ue* benigne p*ate*r istud collegium cecumq*ue* tibi familiantem n*ost*raq*ue* sanctificans cuncta tuere simul. ♪Humili.	
V ♪Felicitas felix eulalia digna uerenna. Petronillaq*ue* cum perpere perpetua. Agnes atq*ue* agathes χρistiana euprepia tecla. Lucia cecilia regula atq*ue* bona R ♪Ad te.		V ♪Felicitas felix eulalia digna uerona petronellaq*ue* cum p*er*petua. agnes atq*ue* agathes χρ*ist*ina euprepia tecla eugenia eufemia regula atq*ue* bona. ♪Ad te cla.	
V ♪Virginitate chorus resplendens candidularum. Turba puel*{f. 132}*larum integritate manens. Que geminis gaudens pulcrum de corata coronis. Laude pudicitie martyriiq*ue* simul. R ♪Humili.		V ♪Virginitate chorus *{f. 47v}* resplendens candidularum turba puellar*um* integritate manens. Que geminis gaudens pulchris decorata coronis laude pudicitie martyrijq*ue* simul. ♪Humili.	
V ♪Omnes nunc sancti nostris succurrite lapsis. et ueniam cunctis ferre uinando malis. Nam uestris precibus pecitis quecumq*ue* rogantes. Annuit ipse deus nilq*ue* negat dominus. R ♪Ad te.		V ♪Om*n*es nunc sancti n*ost*ris succurrite lapsis *et* ueniam cunctis ferte uiuando malis nam uestris precib*us* petitis quecumq*ue* rogantes. annuit ipse deus nilq*ue* negat dominus. ♪Ad te da.	
V ♪Pacem perpetuam rogitamus p*ro*spice χρiste. Vt sane uite gaudia longa diu. Temperiem celi tribuas ut copia frugum. Omnibus exundet ubere leticie. R ♪Humili.		V ♪Pacem p*er*petuam rogitemus p*ro*spice χρ*ist*e ut sane uite gaudia longa diu. Temperiem celi tribuens ut copia frugum omnib*us* exundet ubere *{f. 48}* leticie. ♪Humili.	
V. ♪Agne dei patris qui mundi crimina tollis. Optata pacis munera dona tuis. Kyrie patoncraton ysus sodis pantes subasileos		V ♪Agne patris qui tollis crimina mundi optare pacis munera dona tuis. Kyrie panton craton ysus sedisse	

ymon χριste nobis eleyson. [R] ♪Ad te.		tepantes sub basileos ymon nostri kyrie eleyson.	
Cum autem processio transient ecclesiam dicatur aliud de sancto antiphona uel responsorium et versiculus oratio.	Cum autem uenerint ad sanctum nicholaum de bello uidere		Cum autem processio venerit ad introitum atrij sancti nicholai dimittatur letania et cantor incipiat hoc responsorium. Quadam {f. 106} die. Et transeundo per ante ecclesiam cantetur. finito responsorio. sacerdos dicat V. Ora pro nobis beate nicolae. or. Deus qui benedictum nicolaum. Finita oratione recedat processio. cantore incipiente hoc responsorio. Ex eius tumba.
	iii de sede in loco priorum cantent letaniam usque ad stationem que sit ante portam grandi pontis		finito responsorio. iij de ij sede sumant letaniam. ubi tres canonici dimiserunt. et cantent usque ad portam magni pontis. et ibi fiet stacio sicut ad sanctum saluatorem.
	et tunc postquam cantauerint monachi et orationem dixerint		Et postquam monachi cantauerint.
	incipiant hanc antiphonam ♪Isti sunt uiri sancti quos elegit dominus...	{f. 48} Antiphona cantanda ad portam magni pontis. ♪Isti sunt uiri sancti quos elegit dominus in caritate non ficta et dedit illis gloriam sempiternam quorum doctrina fulget ecclesia ut sol et luna. alleluya.	cantor incipiat hanc antiphonam. Isti sunt uiri sancti.
	{f. 140v} et oratio in primis dicatur post illi de ii sede percantent residuum et finiant		et ibi dicat sacerdos V. et or. ut supra ad sanctum saluatorem.

		Dehinc separentur process*ione* sicut heri *et* cantores letan*iam* resumant Audoene dei *etcetera* et in choro finiat.

Lat. 904. Gradual, s.XIII

{f. 144r} sic fiat p*rocessio* d*ict*is causa *et* ant*e* hic notatas. Q*ue*re in rogationibus.
♪Exurge domine.
R. Deus qui sedes super thronum... quia tu... V. Tibi enim derelictus est pauper orphano tu eris adiutor.
R. Quia tu. R. Muro tuo in expugnabili... libera domine... V. Crue nos in mirabilibus tuis et da gloriam nomini tuo.
R. Libera domine.
A. Dimitte domine.
In Reditu Letania. ♪Domine defende nos domine protege nos emmanuel nobiscum sis deus adiutor sit.
Chorus reiteret ♪Domine de*{f. 144v}*fende. Kyrieleyson. Xpisteleyson. Xpiste audi nos. Domine defende Sancta maria ora pro nobis ad dominum xpiste audinos. Domine defende. Kyrieleison. Xpisteleyson. Xpiste audi nos.
Et sic fiat per totam letania*m*

aut proc*essio* p*ro* fructib*us* terre in rog*ationibus* ant*e* hic notatis.

♪Exurge domine.
A. ♪Libera domine.
al*ia* ♪Exaudi nos domine qui exaudisti ionam de uentre ceti exaudi nos clamantes qui exaudisti dauid prostratum et iacentem in cilicio clamantes et dicentes parce parce et defende plasma tuum deus noster alleluya.
al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Domine deus omnipotens qui saluos facis sperantes in te exaudi propitius preces populi tui et respice captiuorum gemitus tribulationes plebium pericula populorum necessitates peregrinorum inopias debilium desperationes languentium defectus senum suspiria iuuenum nota uirginum *{f. 145}* lamenta monachorum et quia pius es domine dimitte nobis cunctas offensiones in necessitatibus nostris misericordiam tuam nobis adesse gaudeamus alleluya.
Sequantur vij psalmi *et* p*re*cib*us* ut s*upra* notant*ur* in iij die rogat*ionum*
In reditu letania. Rex kyrie. Req*ui*re i*n* iij die rog*ationibus* proc*essio*

p*ro* pace ant*iphona*
♪Exurge domine

R. Tua est potentia tuum regnum domine tu es super omnes gentes da pacem domine in diebus nostris. V. Creator omnium deus terribilis et fortis iustus et misericors. Da pacem.
al*ia* ♪Sustinuimus pacem et non uenit quesumus bona et ecce turbatio cognouimus domine peccata nostra non inperpetuum obliuis caris nos. V. Peccauimus cum patribus nostris iniuste egimus iniquitatem fecimus
R. Non imperpet*uum* al*iud repsonsorium* ♪Exaudiat dominus oratio *{f. 145v}* nes uestras et reconcilietur nobis ne uos deferat in tempore malo dominus deus noster V. Det uobis cor omnib*us* ut colatis eum et faciatis eius uoluntatem.
R. Dominus al*iud responsorium* ♪Qui celorum contines thronos et abyssos intueris domine rex regum montes ponderas terram palmo concludis exaudi nos de uim gemitibus nostris.
V. Non enim in iustificationib*us* nostris prosternimus preces ante faciem tuam sed in miserationibus tuis multis. Exaudi nos.
Sequantur vii psalmi *et* preces ut sup*ra* notantur i*n* die iij rog*ationum*.
In reditu letania kyriel*eison* qui precioso

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII *{f. 132}* IN III DIE ROGATIONUM.		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII *{f. 48}* TERCIA DIE IN ROGATIONIBUS	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV *{f. 106}* TERCIA DIE IN ROGATIONIBUS
missa de vigilia Omnes gentes plaudite *et* cetera			
ad processionem in primis antiphona Exurge domine Et cetera		preparetur processio post missam *et* cantata vi non expectatis monachis cantetur a. Exu[r]ge domine quam sequatur V. *et* or. sicut aliis duobus diebus.	omnes conueniant ut supra. *et* moueat processio *et* eat ad montem sancte katherine. *et* exeat per portale sancti iohannis cantore incipiente. *antiphonam*. Exurge d*omine et*cetera ut supra.
In motione processionis antiphona incipiatur. ♪Svrgite *{f. 132v}* sancti de mansionibus uestris...		// /// moueat processio cantore incipiente hanc antiphonam ♪Surgite sancti de mansionibus uestris *{f. 48v}* loca sanctificate plebem benedicite et nos humiles peccatores in pace custodite. alleluya.	Quo finito cantor incipiat *antiphonam*. Surgite sancti
alia antiphona ♪Miserere domine plebi tue...		Sequatur ista antiphona. ♪Miserere domine plebi tue super quam inuocatur nomen tuum ut sciant omnes qui habitant terram quia tu es deus populorum tuorum. alleluya.	*antiphonam*. Miserere d*omine*.
alia antiphona ♪Multa sunt domine peccata nostra... alia antiphona ♪Peccauimus domine et tu iratus es nobis... *{f. 133}* alia antiphona ♪Inclina domine aurem tuam... alia antiphona ♪Exaudi domine populum tuum confitentem nomini tuo...		Item alia si neccesse fuerit ♪Multa sunt domine peccata nostra ‹/tibi\› peccauimus pacientia israhel libera nos domine in tempo *{f. 49}* re angustie nostre. alleluya.	*antiphonam*. Multa sunt. *et* de aliis quantum necesse fuerit.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
		Sequitur de s*ancto* ermelando. R ♪Vir israhelita gaude coheres χρisti intercede pro nobis. V ♪Ut precibus tuis a deo ueniam speremus supplices ad te confugimus. ♪Int*er*ce[de].	
	{f. 140v} an*te* s*anctu*m laudu*m* R. honor uirtus cum u*er*sum et reg*ressu*. Quere supra iii die rogat*i*onum.	p*rocessio* transeunte p*er* parochiam s*ancti* laudi cantetur hoc Responsorium. ♪Summe trinitati simplici deo una diuinitas equalis gloria coeterna maiestas patri proliq*ue* sanctoq*ue* flamini qui totum subdit suis orbem legibus. V {f. 49v} ♪Prestet nobis gratiam deitas beata patris ac nati pariterq*ue* spiritus almi. ♪Q*ui* tot*um*.	
	De s*ancto* ermelando R. Sancte ermelande. Cum uersu et *responsorio*.		
	In die ad sanctum audoenum R. ♪Digne pater audoene non cessa nos domino commendare qui pro regis anulo tibi manet in premio. V. Ut te precante muniti ipsum quoq*ue* mereamur consequi. In pre*mio*.	In p*a*rochia sancti audoeni R ♪Digne pater audoene non cessa nos domino commendare qui pro regis anulo tibi manet in premio. V ♪Ut te precante muniti ipsum quoq*ue* mereamur consequi. ♪In premio. processio transeunte p*er* au*tem* ecc*lesi*am s*ancti* aud*oeni* cantet R Quod cumq*ue* ligau*er*is. Q*uod* supra die hesterna de s*ancto* petro portario.	
	ad s*anctu*m machutu*m* R. Miles χρisti Cum u*er*su et reg*ressu*. Quere ut supra v. die *et est* sicut in eadem die supra continet*ur*.	In p*a*rochia s*ancti* macuti cantetur R Sancte macute. Quere supra j die de s*ancto* eligio.	

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		Sequitur de sancto marco R ♪Quatuor *{f. 50r}* animalia ibant et reuertebantur in similitudinem fulguris choruscantis et erat in medio splendor ignis et de igne fulgur. egrediens. V ♪Erat autem quasi uisio discurrens animalium. ♪Et erat.	
		Finito R cantetur de seq*ue*ntibus antiph*onis* q*ua*ntum placuerit ♪Oremus dilectissimi nobis deum patrem omnipotentem ut cunctis mundum purget erorib*us* morbos auferat famen repellat aperiat carceres uincula resoluat p*er*egrinantib*us* reditum infir*{f. 50v}*mantib*us* sanitatem nauigantib*us* portum salutis indulgeat et pacem tribuat in dieb*us* nostris insurgentesq*ue* repellat inimicos et de manu inferi liberet nos p*ro*pter nomen suum alleluya.	
al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Timor et tremor uenit in niniuem ciuitatem magnam... *{f. 134}*		Sequit*ur* alia antiphona ♪Timor et tremor uenit in niniuem ciuitatem magnam per quam scelerare plebi indicitur ieiunium et luctuosa plebs indi[c]itur cilicio contigit autem et regem nobilem. de solio suo *{f. 51r}* descendere ut esset humilior cunctis lugentibus et predicauit p*er* universum regnum omnes uiri et sexus femineus non gustent quicquam bos et peccora non pascantur herbis terre pueri et intuli non suggant matris ubera sed dament ad deum in fortitudine trib*us* dieb*us* ne patiantur ut sodoma sed tu deus omnipotens misericors et miserator misert*us* es miseris nos sumus opera tua que dedisti filio tuo in hereditatem sibi noli claudere aures tuas *{f. 51v}* ad preces nostras sed subleua clemens afflicitionem populi ill*u*d reuoluens q*uo*d benigne pollicitus es dicens co*n*uertimini ad me et ego reuertar ad uos. alleluya.	

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
al*ia* a*ntiphona* ♪Omnipotens deus supplices et petimus...		Item alia antiphona si placuerit. ♪Omnipotens deus supplices te rogamus *et* petimus ut intercessio archa[n]gelorum sit p*ro* nobis grata tibi semp*er* michaelis et gabriel*is* pariterq*ue* et raphaelis ut digni offeramus ei hostias ad altare et appareamus ante saluatorem *{f. 52}* p*er* intercessionem nouem ordinum angelorum thronor*um* et dominationum principatuum *et* potestatum et uirtutum cum cherubin et seraphin ut ipsi intercedant pro nobis qui non cessant clamare dicentes sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deux exercituum rex israhel qui regnas sine fine dig‹na›‹‹~~na~~››re familios tuos hodie exaudire. alleluya.	
		Finitis istis a*ntiphonis* dicant*ur* vij ps*alm*i penitenciales.	Secuntur vii p*salm*i.
{f. 134v} finita aute*m*. anteq*ua*m peruenia*tur* ad ecclesiam sancti michaelis. septe*m* psalmi penitentiales postea intrante processione in ecclesiam sancti michaelis cantor incipiat Responsorium. ♪Te sanctum dominum in excelsis laudat omnes angeli... Te decet... V Cherubin quoq*ue* et seraphin sanctus proclamant. Te decet		Or*ationi*b*us* finitis du*m* p*rocessio* p*er*uen*er*it ad s*anctu*m mich*aelem* intret ecc*lesi*am *et* ibi paululum req‹‹u›››*ui*escat *et* cum monachi cantau*er*int *et* dix*er*int or*ati*on*es* cantet*ur* a n*ost*ris r*esponsorium* de s*anct*o mich*aelis* Te s*anctu*m. Q*ue*re ill*u*d sup*ra* die hesterna.	Intrante p*rocessione* eccl*esi*am s*ancti* michaelis cantor incipi*at* *responsorium*. de s*ancte* mich*aele*. Te sanctu*m* d*omin*u*m*. et sac*er*d*os* ibi dicat V. *et* or.
postea dicatur a sacerdote reuestito hic u*er*sus. In conspectu angelorum. Orat*i*o. Perpetuum nobis domine... oratio. Beati michaelis archangeli int*er*cessione...		Q*u*o cantato dicat sacerdos V In conspectu angelorum.	
		post ea oratio. *{f. 52v}* Deus qui miro ordine angelor*um* ministeria hominu*m* q*ue* dispensas. concede p*ro*pitius ut quibus tibi ministrantib*us* in celo semp*er* assistitur. ab hijs interra uita nostra	

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
		muniatur. P*er*.	
		Deinde f*act*a mora ad placitum	Finita or. moram ad placitu*m* faciant.
postea i*n* redeu*n*do eccl*esia* ca*n*tor i*n*cipiat *responsorium* ♪Princeps sancte celestis milicie... assis... V Separemur a sinistris ut cum dextris positi... *{f. 135}* Assis.		p*rocessione* cantando hoc R de sancto mich*aeli* ♪Princeps sancte celestis milicie ne nos dampnet pro commissis inclicis sentencia assis pius in futuro defensor examine. V ♪Separemur a sinistris ut cum dextris positi p*er* fruamur iudicantis uoce blanda domini. ♪As[s]is.	Quo f*ini*to cantor incipi*at* *responsorium* de s*ancto* mich*aele*. Princeps s*ancte*. Et exeant.
Quo finito dicantur xu p*salm*i		Quo finito dicant*ur* xv ps*alm*i.	Finito *responsorium* dicantur xv p*salm*i.
		Et cum p*rocessio* intrauerit chor*um* s*anct*e trinitatis de monte p*ostqua*m monachi cantau*er*int d*ict*a or*ati*one cantet*ur* a n*ost*ris honorifice r*esponsorium* de trinitate. Honor uirt*us*. Requ*i*re [supra] hest*er*na die Q*u*o finito d*ict*is p*r*ecib*us et* or*ati*onib*us* sicut //// dieb*us*	Quib*us* finitis incipiat cantor p*ost* monachos *responsorium* Honor uirtus. et ibi finita or*ation*e fiat sermo ad populum. Quo p*er*acto dicantur p*r*eces cum prostrac*ion*e
post incipiat cantor respo*nsorium* ♪Summe trinitati simplici deo... qui totum... V Prestet nobis gratiam... Qui to[tum]. V Benedicamus patrem et filium cum s*ancto spiritu*.		f*act*o sermone recedat p*rocessio* cantore incipiente [istud] r*esponsorium* de t*ri*nitate Summe trinitate.	Quib*us* finitis recedat processio cantore incipiente *responsorium* Su*m*me trinitati.
Om*ni*pote*n*s sempite*r*ne deus qui dedisti famulis tuis in confessione uere fidei eterne trinitatis gloria*m* agnoscere...			
postea prostrati ad terram dicantur p*r*eces. kyriel*eison*. χρ*iste*l*eison*. kyriel*eison*. Pater. Et ne nos inducas... *{f. 135v}* or. Deus cui proprium est misereri semper...			

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
alia orat*io* In effabilem misericordiam tuam... alia or*atio* Pretende domine famulis... al*ia* or*atio* Eccl*es*ie tue d*omi*ne quesumus... al*ia* or*atio* Deus a quo s*anct*a desideria... alia or*atio* Fidelium deus om*n*ium conditor...			
Iste preces cum istis or*ati*onib*us* dicantur p*ri*ma et ij die *et* iii rog*ationum et* proc*essione* iiij *et* vi fer*iarum*. xl et in aliis proc*essionibus* ubi p*re*ces dicende sunt post ea req*ui*escant paru*m*per *et* tunc post incip*iat* cantor exeunte proc*essione* de eccl*es*ia h*unc responsorium* Su*m*me t*ri*nitati cu*m* v*ersiculo et* Reg'? Que s*un*t i*n* alio folio v*er*so s*ancti* istud *responsorium* dicet*ur* q*uando* proc*essio* i*n*trat ecclesiam ♪Honor uirtus et potestas et imperium sit trinitati... in perhenni... V Trinitati lux perhennis *{f. 136}* In perhenni.			
post statim dicatur istud Responsorium de sancta katherina. ♪Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum seculi contempsi... quem uidi... V. Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum... R. Quem uidi.		Q*u*o finito cantet*ur* r*esponsorium* de sancta katerina. ♪Regnum mundi et *{f. 53}* omnem ornatum seculi comtempsi p*ro*pter amorem domini mei ihesu χρisti quem uidi quem amaui quem credidi quem dilexi. V ♪Eructauit cor meum uerbum bonum dico ego opera mea regi. ♪Quem.	Quo finito incip*iat* *responsorium* Regnum mundi.
postea incipiatur hec letania a tribus de maiori sede cantetur *et* sic incipiatur. ♪Ardua spes mundi solidator et inclyte celi χρistexaudi nos propitius miserere. chorus Reiteret ♪Ardua spes Iter*um* cantores. ♪Virgo dei rutilans in honore perhenni ora pro famulis sancta maria tuis ch*orus* ♪Ardua. cantor*es* ♪Angele summe dei michael miserere cito uostri. Adiumet et gabriel atq*ue*		Finito r*esponsorio* incipiat*ur* sequen*s* letania a trib*us* de maiori sede *et* cantent ea*m*. Q*u*ousq*ue* p*rocessio* circa s*anctu*m michaelem. ♪Ardua spes mundi solidator et inclite celi χρiste exaudi nos p*ro*picius famulos. Chorus reiteret. ♪Ardua. Cant*or*. ♪Virgo dei genitrix rutilans in honore p*er*hennj ora pro familis sancta maria tuis. chorus. ♪Xρ*ist*e. cant*or* V ♪Angele summe dei michael *{f. 53v}* miseres cito nostri adiuuet et gabriel	Quo finito incipiatur hec sequens letan*ie*. a trib*us* de maiori sede. Ardua spes mundi.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
pius raphael. ch*orus*. ♪Xpiste cant*ores* ♪Aspice nos omnes clemens baptista iohannes petre cum *{f. 136v}* paulo nos rege doctilogo. ch*orus*. ♪Ardua. ca*ntores*. ♪Cetus apostolicus... ch*orus*. ♪Xpiste cant*ores*. ♪Poscere nunc stephanum studeamus... ch*orus*. ♪Ardua ca*ntores*. ♪Inclite laurenti qui flammas exuperasti. victor ab ethereo nos miserante choro. ch*orus*. ♪Xpiste Cant*ores* ♪Splendide siluester gregori ac sancte magister... R. ♪Ardua V. Huic martine comei*s* pariter nicholae beate... R. ♪Xpiste V. ♪Atq*ue* dyonisius bonefactus ambrosiusq*ue*... R. Ardua. V. ♪O romane tonans simul audoene choruscans. Candide cum laudo *{f. 137}* reddite nos domino. R. Xpiste. V. ♪Virgines flores agnes katherina florentes auxilio uestris addite nos socus. R. ♪Ardua. V. ♪Innocuos pueros resonemus fortiter ymnos. Qui modo nos pueros dant resonare melos. R. ♪Xpiste.		atq*ue* pius raphael. chorus ♪Ardua. ///// fiat p*er* singulo///// ♪Aspice nos omnes clem*en*s baptista ioh*an*es petreq*ue* cum paulo nos rege docti logo χpiste. V ♪Cetus apostolus sit nobis fautor*um* et omnis ac patriarcharum p*ro*pheticusq*ue* chorus. V ♪Poscere nunc stephanum studeamus carmine summum ut cum martyrib*us* nos iuuet intrepidus. ♪Ardua. V Inclite laurenti qui flammas ex superasti uictor ab ethereo nos miserante choro. ♪χpiste. V ♪Splendide sil*{f. 54}*uester. gregori ac sancte magister nos quoq*ue* cum sotiis ferte uiuando polis. ♪Ardua. V ♪Huic martine comes pariter nicholae beate florentes celos iungere nos domino. ♪χpiste. V ♪Atq*ue* dionisius bonefacius ambrosiusq*ue* cum prece nos uestra letificare pia. ♪Ardua. V ♪O romane tonans simul audoene choruscans candide cum laudo reddite nos domino. ♪χpiste. V Virgineos flores agnes agathesq*ue* ferentes auxilio uestris addite nos *{torn corner}* V ♪Innocuos pueros resonemus fortiter hymnos qui modos nos puros dat resonare melos. ♪χp*ist*e.	
Q*uando* proc*essio* transierit s*anctu*m michaelem tunc illor*um* loco qui erant de maiori sede *et* cantabant letaniam iii de ii sede percantent ♪Omnes o sancti nostre succurite uite per que crucem sanctam salua nos χpiste redemptor. R. ♪Omnes. V. ♪Ira deq*ue* tua clemens nos eripe χpiste. Nos peccatores audite xpiste rogamus. R. ♪Omnes. V. ♪Vt pluriam nobis donec te χpiste rogamus. vt pacem nobis dones te xpiste rogamus. Crimen ut omne tuis soluas te piste rogamus. R. ♪Omnes. V. ♪Auram et temperiem donex te χpiste rogamus. vt fruges terre dones te xpiste		V ♪Omnes o sancti nostre succurrite uite p*ro* q*ue* crucem sanctam salua nos χp*ist*e redemptor. ♪χp*ist*e. V ♪Ora deq*ue* tua clemens nos eripe χp*ist*e nos peccatores audite χp*ist*e rogamus. ♪Ardua. V ♪Vt pacem nobis dones te χp*ist*e rogamus. Crimen ut omne tuis soluas te χp*ist*e rogamus. ♪χpiste. V ♪Vt pluuiam nobis do *{torn corner}* rogamus. auram et temperiam do *{lacuna between ff. 54/55; f. 55 resumes in Ascension}*	Et cantent eam quous*que* proc*essio* ueniat in uiniu*m* s*ancti* mich*aelis*

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII		A. 551. Processional, s.XIII	Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
rogamus. R. ♪Omnes. V. ♪Ecclesi *{f. 137v}* amque tuam firmes et χpiste... R. ♪Omnes. V. ♪Agne dei patris nobis miserere pusillis xpiste audi nos kyrieleyson.			
Q*uando* descendit proc*essio* de monte ii cl*er*ici de ij sede incipiant hanc letaniam ♪Rex kyrie kyrieleyson χpiste audi nos. Chorus Reiteret ♪Rex kyrie Interi*m* cantores. ♪Sancta maria ora pro nobis ii alii clerici de secunda sede cantent ♪Rex uirginum deus immortalis ii primi ca*n*tent ♪Seruis tuis semper miserere chorus reit*er*et ♪Rex kyrie Item duo p*ri*mi ♪Sancte michael ora pro nobis ii secundi ♪Rex angelorum deus immortalis ii primi cantores ♪Seruis tuis semper miserere Chorus. ♪Rex kyrie ‹ii primi› ii p*ri*mi ♪Sancte petro ora pro nobis. Duo secu*n*di. ♪Rex apostolorum deus immortalis. ii p*ri*mi ♪Seruis tuis se*m*per miserere chorus ♪Rex kyrie. et sic per totam letaniam dicatur et finiatur in choro			tunc dimittatur p*redict*a letan*ia et* iij p*resbite*ri de ij sede incip*iant* istam letan*iam*. Rex kyrie. Chorus reiteret. Item iidem. S*anct*a maria. Item iij dyaconi de s*ecun*da sede. Rex uirginu*m*. Tres v*er*o subd*yaconi* de eadem sede. Seruis tuis.
	In statione ante s*anctu*m machutu*m* Quando monachi cantauerint et orationem dixerint incipiant hanc A. ♪Gaudent in celis anime sanctorum...		Et sic deducant us*que* ad s*anctu*m *{f. 106v}* machutu*m*. *et* ibi fiat statio. Et cum cantauerint monachi *et* or*acion*e eius d*ict*a. Cantor incipiat in atrio s*ancti* macuti. Ant*iphonam*. Gaudent in celis.
	Seq*ui*tur or*atio* ut in p*ri*ma die *i*n recessu ant*e* R. ♪In circuitu tuo domine lumen est... *{f. 141r}* ibi requiescunt sanctorum anime. V. Lux		Qua finita. *et* d*ict*a or*acion*e separentur p*rocessionis et* recedant cantore incip*iente responsorium In circuitu tuo*. *conver*su *et* regressu.

Lat 904. Gradual, s.XIII	A. 551. Processional, s.XIII		Y. 110. Ordinal, s.XV
	perpetua lucebit sanctis tuis... R. Ibi		
	Quo finito cantores reincipiant ubi dimiserint *et* cante*n*t usq*ue* ad introitu*m* eccl*es*ie		Quo finito cantores letan*ie*. resumant letan*iam*. *et* cantent ut prius.
	ad introeundam ecclesiam antiphona incipiatur a cantoro. ♪Saluator mundi salua nos omnes sancta dei...		us*que* ad portale u*er*sus magdalenam. in introitu ecc*lesi*e cantor incip*iat* hanc *antiphonam* Saluator mundi. *et* finiatur in choro.

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