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## A Dominican Gradual of Saints, circa 1500

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# A Dominican Gradual of Saints, circa 1500

BY GEORGE CATALANO

## I. THE MANUSCRIPT

LATE IN 1989 the Syracuse University Library received a manuscript volume of ecclesiastical chant (Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11) as part of a bequest from Barbara Weiss of Detroit, Michigan. No information about its history accompanied it. The purpose of this paper is to provide an introduction to this important addition to the rare books and manuscript collections of Syracuse University's George Arents Research Library.<sup>1</sup>

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance there were many kinds of chant books, such as Antiphonals and Graduals<sup>2</sup> (which contain

1. There are many people who made my work possible. I owe many thanks to Professor George Nugent of Syracuse University, who made me aware of the acquisition of the manuscript. I am grateful also to Professors Tom Ward of the University of Illinois and Margot Fassler of Brandeis University, who made valuable criticisms and suggestions regarding the work while it was in progress. Sister Augustine and the Dominican Sisters of Syracuse kindly provided me with a Dominican Gradual to work with. I would like to thank Peter Berg, Curator of Michigan State University at East Lansing's special collections for making F  ret's work on Dominican heraldry available to me. Finally, I would like to thank Mark Weimer and the staff of Syracuse University's George Arents Research Library for consistently making my work easier.

This article is a synopsis of my master's thesis for the University of Illinois at Urbana, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints in the George Arents Research Library of Syracuse University" (1992), a copy of which has been given to the Arents Library.

2. Graduals normally consisted of several sections. Proper chants (for the parts of the Mass that may vary) were provided for the two major cycles of the liturgical year: (1) the Temporale chants for the feasts of the Lord—Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Pentecost, and all Sundays (because of Easter, many of these dates were moveable); and by (2) the Sanctorale chants for the celebration of saints' feasts, which almost invariably followed calendric assignments (for example, St. Andrew = 2 December). Other sections customarily included in complete Graduals were the Commons (containing chants with texts pertaining not

the chants used throughout the year in celebrating, respectively, the Divine Office and the Mass). This particular manuscript at Syracuse University contains the equivalent of what came to be known during the sixteenth century as a Gradual of Saints, which provides Mass chants used in celebrating saints' feasts and other holidays of the church calendar. This form of choir book came into use after the advent of printing,<sup>3</sup> so that finding a manuscript version is somewhat unusual. However, the most unusual aspect of this manuscript, as I will show, is the age of the chant tradition it preserves: a Dominican tradition, which predates that religious order's reform, finalized in 1256 under the supervision of Humbert of Romans.

### *A. Physical Characteristics*

The binding, which shows evidence of several series of repairs, is in fine condition (see figure 1). Although not this manuscript's original binding,<sup>4</sup> it is at least as old as the manuscript and probably older. The boards, which are covered with undyed or limed vellum, measure 62 x 40.5 cm. The spine, covered with suede, appears to have been mended at a later date. The binding's hardware consists of clasps, corner guards, and raised round ornaments (upon

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to particular saints but to generic categories of saints, such as "martyr" or "confessor"), the Kyriale, a Prosarium (with collections of sequences), and Votive Masses (with chants for masses dedicated to special devotions, such as the Angels or the Five Wounds of Christ). For a more thorough introduction to the form and content of Graduals, see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, s.v. "Liturgical books".

When saints were important enough in a certain place or time, they would generally have pieces pertaining to them alone. Normally the saint would be named in the text (these specific chants are found in the Sanctorale itself); if not, the Sanctorale would prescribe the incipit of a chant that could be found in the Commons.

3. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Liturgical books" and "Gradual".

4. It is apparent that the pages of Ms. 11 have been trimmed to fit this binding. Also, the pastedown on the inside rear cover, which appears to be original to the binding, picked up the impression of the chant that originally faced it. This impression matches none of the pages presently at the rear of the manuscript.

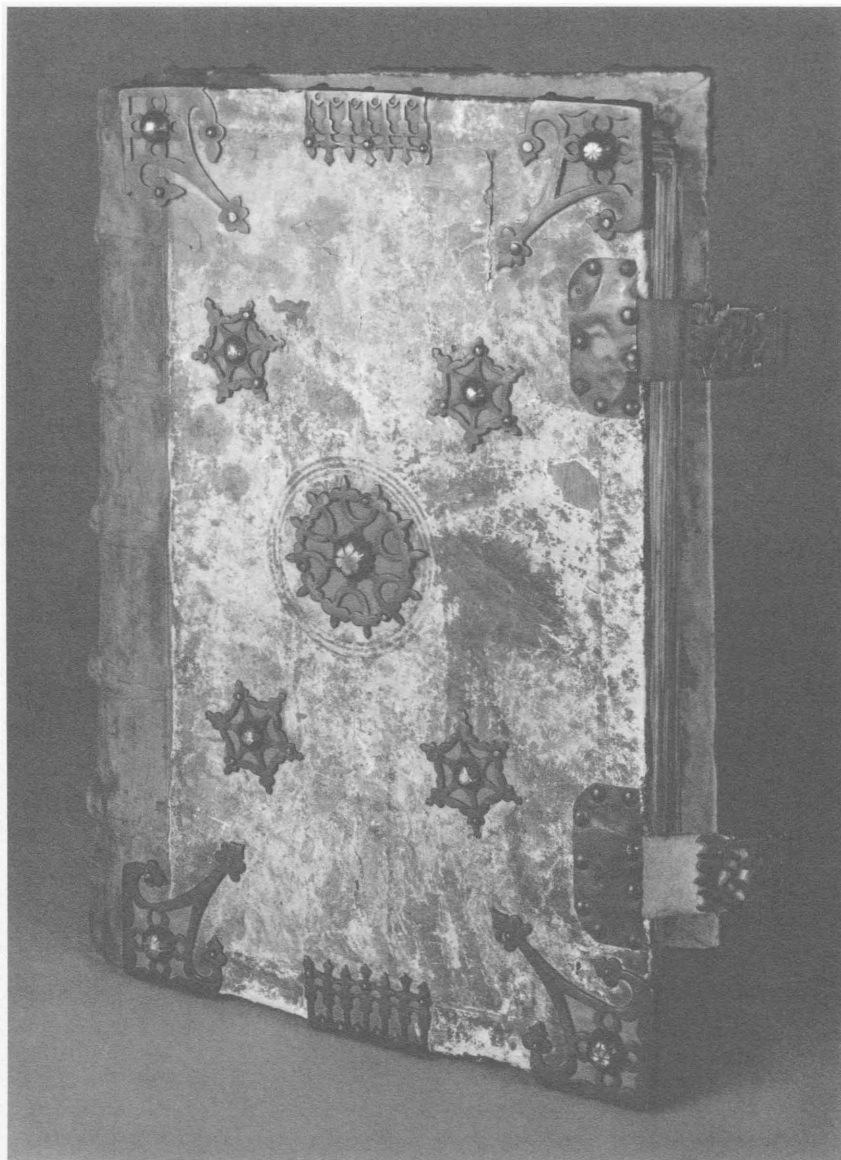


Fig. 1. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11.

which the manuscript rests)—all of cast bronze. A diversity of styles, especially between the clasps and the other pieces, indicates that various of them found their way individually onto the binding at

different times. The inscribed concentric circles in the vellum that surround the central ornament appear to be original to the binding, as, by extension, does the ornament itself. Paper that was apparently intended to match the (now faded) suede of the spine has been attached beneath the open work of the bronze corner pieces. Two plates of brass have been nailed on with tacks to attach the clasps' bands to the binding—obviously a late repair.

The manuscript consists of 156 parchment leaves and two paper leaves. Excepting later additions, the manuscript is built uniformly of quaternions<sup>5</sup> that, in their present trimmed state, measure 55 x 39 cm with a single column, six-staff text block of 42.25 x 25.75 cm, ruled in lead, with double verticals. The quires, or sets of gathered leaves, from folio cxxi up to, but not including, the added leaves at the end (which have single vertical rulings) are a later re-manufacture.<sup>6</sup> There are three added leaves at the beginning, seven at the end.

The first added folio is actually part of a bifolio. The first half was used as a paste-down on the inside front cover of the binding, the second as a flyleaf onto which the processional antiphon *Ave stella matutina* was later copied. This bifolio measures 54 x 39 cm. The paper bifolio that follows measures 43.5 x 39 cm. The last seven folios conform to the dimensions of the main section of the manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

Excepting the added leaves, the manuscript is foliated in lower-case roman numerals. Foliation begins with i on the actual folio 4 (after the three leaves added at the beginning) and proceeds through lxxii (actual folio 75), where two unnumbered folios in-

5. A *quaternion* is a gathering of four leaves created by folding a sheet of parchment in quarters, then cutting them into separate leaves. A leaf is the same as a *folio*, which, in modern terminology, comprises two pages (front and back). A *bifolio* is one sheet of parchment folded into halves to create two leaves. A bifolio is therefore equal to half a quaternion.

6. A bifolio, contemporaneous with the remanufactured portion, was added between lxxii and lxxiii to provide Ordinary chants (those chants that are not specific to a particular Sunday or saint's feast) for the Mass of the Dead.

7. For a complete codicological description, see Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints".

tervene (see footnote 6); it then resumes with lxxiii and continues regularly through cxlvi. The foliation hand does not appear to be the same as the text hand and, because the foliation begins with i on a folio not originally at the beginning of the Gradual, it is probable that the foliation and the cross-indexing<sup>8</sup> (customarily done by the same scribe) are contemporaneous with the rebinding of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

The decoration of the folios is fairly simple; the illumination includes no historiation, no gold leaf, nor any other characteristics of deluxe manuscripts. The first page of each liturgical division of the manuscript is ornamented by blue and red painted, interlaced patterns with intricate in-filling (see plate 1). The capitals on these pages are twice as large (two staves high) as any that appear elsewhere in the original portion of the manuscript. The letter bodies of these initials are elaborately divided, red and blue, and in-filled with pen flourishes. In the interlaces that occupy the margins are roundels into which coats of arms have been painted. Such decorations occur at the opening of the Sanctoriale and between the Sanctoriale and the Commons. Similar treatment is given to the feast of St. Dominic, the import of which will be discussed below.

Apart from these ornamental introductory pages, the illumination in the Sanctoriale reflects the hierarchy of feasts by the degree of ornamentation used for their one-staff initials: some have red and blue letter bodies with in-filling, set in a square frame with marginal flourishes; some lack the flourishes, but retain the frame; others are given only solid letter bodies with no frame or flourish; while yet others receive calligraphic initials in black ink. Some feasts are merely recorded in long series of rubrics.<sup>10</sup>

8. When only a textual incipit is given, the roman numeral for the folio on which the chant is found is written into the space above the incipit.

9. That is, into this binding (see footnote 4).

10. These were presumably the less important of the saints' feasts for a given institution; the rubrics refer the user to the generic chants in the Commons (see footnote 2).



## B. Type of Book

It seems that Ms. 11 was not originally intended to be a Gradual of Saints. As originally manufactured, Ms. 11 was part of a complete Gradual, which, unlike a Gradual of Saints, contains a Temporale, with chants for celebrating feasts of the Lord, such as Easter and all Sundays. As we have noted, the manuscript is not in its original binding; quite likely, the one-volume complete Gradual was rebound into two smaller volumes, the first part of the original book, the Temporale, receiving a binding of its own. The trimming of folio i supports this hypothesis.

Liturgical divisions are marked in this manuscript by rubrics in the bottom margins of recto pages, stating that a new division begins with the next (verso) page. Folio i (no longer the first actual folio because of additions) has been radically trimmed, which fact suggests that it was once the last (blank) page of a division from which the original rubric was removed. Onto this trimmed page additional music was copied, and folio i became the first page of the following division. Given the rise of the printed liturgical book shortly after the production of this manuscript, it may be that the one-volume Gradual was divided to emulate its later, similarly divided, printed counterpart. My phrase “shortly after the production of the manuscript” presumes a date. But before the question of date can be broached, the liturgy to which the manuscript and its chant belong must be identified.

## C. Institution

There is abundant evidence that this manuscript was produced for a Dominican institution. A coat of arms that appears three times in the manuscript is a variant of the coat of the Dominican order.<sup>11</sup> Also, the feast of St. Dominic, more elaborately illuminated than any other, receives the same attention as the major liturgical divisions of the manuscript (see plate 2), and in it the phrase *pater noster* is used in reference to Dominic. Liturgically, a decided Dominican emphasis is reflected in the choice of saints to be commemorated in the Sanctorale, and this bias continues with the saints added in the

11. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Heraldry” (see illustrations).

margins. Included in the *Sanctorale* are the feast of Dominic and the feast of the translation of Dominic,<sup>12</sup> as well as the feasts of Thomas Aquinas, Peter Martyr, Vincent Ferrer, and Catherine of Siena. Added to the manuscript are the feast for the translation of Aquinas, and the feasts of Antoninus and Rose of Lima. The manuscript identifies a feast in mid-December as the “Conception of Mary”. While other orders, and the Catholic church generally, had long since adopted the phrase “Immaculate Conception” for this feast,<sup>13</sup> the Dominicans persisted in using the phrase “Conception of Mary” because the dogma of immaculate conception contradicted the teaching of the order’s greatest theologian, Thomas Aquinas.<sup>14</sup> The musical notation in which the chant is recorded throughout lacks basic features of Roman/Gregorian notation, such as *quilismas*,<sup>15</sup> which were excised from Dominican chant in the reforms of the thirteenth century;<sup>16</sup> furthermore, many chants included in the manuscript that differ from Roman/Gregorian readings correspond exactly to Dominican variants.

#### D. Date

In dating liturgical books, liturgical changes with known dates of origin or adoption are useful guides.<sup>17</sup> By noting which changes in the liturgy were incorporated into a manuscript and which were not, historical boundaries between which the manuscript was produced can be surmised. On the one hand, Ms. 11 could not have

12. A translation is the removal of the relics of a saint from one location to another. Translations of the relics of important saints were often commemorated by feasts in the *Sanctorale*, especially for saints such as Dominic, who were important in the religious order of a particular institution.

13. William F. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1944). According to Bonniwell, this had been the case since the mid-fourteenth century.

14. *Ibid.*, 212ff.

15. A specialized neume (notational symbol), perhaps suggesting a detail of performance practice; cf. *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “Neume” (see table on p. 538).

16. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Dominican chant”.

17. This is particularly so in the case of the Dominican Order, which adopted certain feasts into its liturgy at different times than other orders.



Plate 1. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11,  
opening of the Sanctorale (folio iii<sup>v</sup>).

tea ut celesti are gna be  
 Cō. Tu es petrus.  
 Scti stephani ppe  
 et miris of. Sacer  
 tis. dotes cr. Aua. v.  
 Amavit eū. cō. Dñe quiqz. In inuētiōe  
 scti stephi prothomis. Offin. Aua. r cōi  
 ut in alio festo eiusdē. f. vi. In festo be  
 atissimi dominici patris nri. Officiūm.

**I**n medio eccle  
 sie aperuit os e  
 ius et imple uite uo

Plate 2. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11,  
 Feast of St. Dominic, with coats of arms (folio 1v<sup>r</sup>).

been produced before 1484, when the Dominican order approved the celebration for the feast of St. Leonard de Noblac, which is included in the manuscript.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Ms. 11 must have been produced before the canonization of St Antoninus in 1524. The feast of this Dominican saint does not appear in an original hand, but was later added in the margin.<sup>19</sup> Although a saint's feast is not always adopted immediately after canonization, it is reasonable to assume that it was in this case, given the Dominican bias evident in the choice of saints in the *Sanctorale*. With all these things taken into account, we may safely assume that the manuscript was produced between 1484 and ca. 1524.

The date of the manuscript can be further refined by reference to the history of printed liturgical books. One of the first patrons of the art of printing was the Catholic church, and foremost among its Catholic supporters was the Dominican order, which saw printed books as a way of ensuring uniform liturgical practice.<sup>20</sup> A Spanish Dominican cardinal, named Juan de Torquemada, installed a press at Subiaco in 1464. The earliest record of a printed Dominican liturgical book is the 1473 edition of the Breviary printed at Milan. By the 1490s the Dominicans were producing a steady stream of printed liturgical books. Given their early and rapid adoption of the

18. Bonniwell, *History*, 238–39. Also to be noted is the fact that the rubric recording this feast betrays the newness of the feast by its unusual use of the word *Beatus* rather than *Sanctus* for Leonard de Noblac. The rubric prescribes the chants for this feast by referring the user to the chants of the feast of John the Baptist; this wholesale borrowing of the feast's chants may further indicate its recent adoption.

19. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, May 10.

20. A uniform liturgy was an early concern of the Dominican order. After an initial period, ca. 1220–36, known as the “Period of Great Diversity”, when the order adopted and adapted local usages for its purposes, several reforms of the Order's liturgy and chant were carried out, concluding with the reform of 1256, overseen by Humbert of Romans. Humbert's revision, which drew strongly on Cistercian reforms, retained its status as the official version of the Dominican liturgy into the twentieth century. The form and chant of the original Dominican liturgy has long been debated, as has the problem of whether Cistercian influence was present from the outset or belonged more specifically to Humbert's work. The Syracuse Gradual, as will be shown, offers new evidence on this subject.

press, it is unlikely that the Syracuse Ms. 11 dates from after the turn of the century.<sup>21</sup>

### E. Provenance

The manuscript's origin and use can be determined in several ways. The manuscript's coat of arms provides evidence of Spanish origin. While the basic coat—the black and white gyronny of eight with a cross flory—is representative of the order as a whole,<sup>22</sup> the coat in this manuscript adds a bordure upon which appear eight estoiles, symbols of Dominic himself.<sup>23</sup> Such charged bordures are typical of Spanish heraldic practice.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, the presence in the Sanctoreale of St. Leander, who helped stem the tide of Arianism in seventh-century Spain, places the manuscript, as it now stands, definitively within Spanish borders. Leander had been a bishop of Seville, and only in Spain was he revered as a doctor of the church along with his more famous brother, Isidore. His place in this manuscript corresponds with the celebration of his feast on 13 March,<sup>25</sup> a date not consistent with

21. Bonniwell, *History*, 269–72. This date is further supported by Féret's approximate dating of the coat of arms to the first quarter of the sixteenth century (see footnote 22), and by the nature of the rubric for the feast of St. Leonard (see footnote 18).

22. H.-M. Féret, O.P., "Les Armoiries ou Blason de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs", *Archives d'Histoire Dominicain* 1 (Paris, 1946): 224–29. According to Féret, there were two basic Dominican coats of arms, one known as the "Blason du XVe siècle", the other as "Le Blason de la Minerve à Rome". The coat in the Syracuse manuscript is the same as the Minerva, named after its earliest appearance on the 1453 facade of the church of the same name, where it is accompanied by the inscription "Ordinis Praedicatorum insignia haec sunt". Féret equivocates about the date of this coat: "L'ensemble date, semble-t-il, du premier quart du XVIe siècle, car il ne semble pas qu'il faille en faire remonter la composition jusqu'en 1453; date de la construction de la façade par François Orsini".

23. See Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints", for a complete treatment of the geographic distribution of charged bordures.

24. Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), 24.

25. This manuscript is not accompanied by a calendar. However, a reconstruction of the calendar, based upon the sequence of saints in the Sanctoreale, is included in Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints", 43–60.

the Roman calendar, but with Mozarabic usage.<sup>26</sup> The conformity with the Mozarabic rite is one of the more interesting aspects of this manuscript insofar as it seems to contradict the Dominican ideal of uniform liturgical practice.

Through the similarities of their styles, a mid-sixteenth-century Spanish chant manuscript sold at Sotheby's in 1980 (see figure 2) provides ample art-historical evidence for the Spanish origin of the Syracuse volume.<sup>27</sup>

The continued use in Spain of the present manuscript can also be shown. First and most obvious are the marginal additions to the manuscript, along with the running headlines in Spanish. Second, letter fragments used to patch worn corners deal with Spanish subject matter, *apud hispaniarum* and *civitate Leonensis* being two phrases that appear in their texts.

Within Spain, certain areas can be circumstantially ruled out as the manuscript's place of origin. It seems not to be from Seville because Leander, who was greatly revered there, occupies the lowest rank in the original *Sanctorale*<sup>28</sup> (which can be deduced from the manuscript's hierarchy of decoration). The fact that Isidore was excluded from the original *Sanctorale* and added as a marginal addition also supports the hypothesis that the manuscript was not produced in Seville. Isidore's late addition also seems to rule out the area of the city of Léon, where Isidore's remains were translated when the Spaniards conquered Seville in 1248. As a result of receiving his relics, a large cult formed around the saint there. If the manuscript had originated in Léon or Seville, these feasts, especially Isidore's, would almost certainly have received greater attention. A comparison with the elaborate decoration of St. James' feast in the Sotheby's manuscript suggests that Syracuse Ms. 11, which includes James at the same low rank as Leander, did not originate in Galicia or on the pilgrim route to Compostela, where James' relics were venerated. Given these considerations and the relative size of the

26. *Biblioteca Sanctorum*, s.v. "Leandro".

27. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1986), 209, 214.

28. The original *Sanctorale* is taken to be that part of the present *Sanctorale* copied by the original scribes.

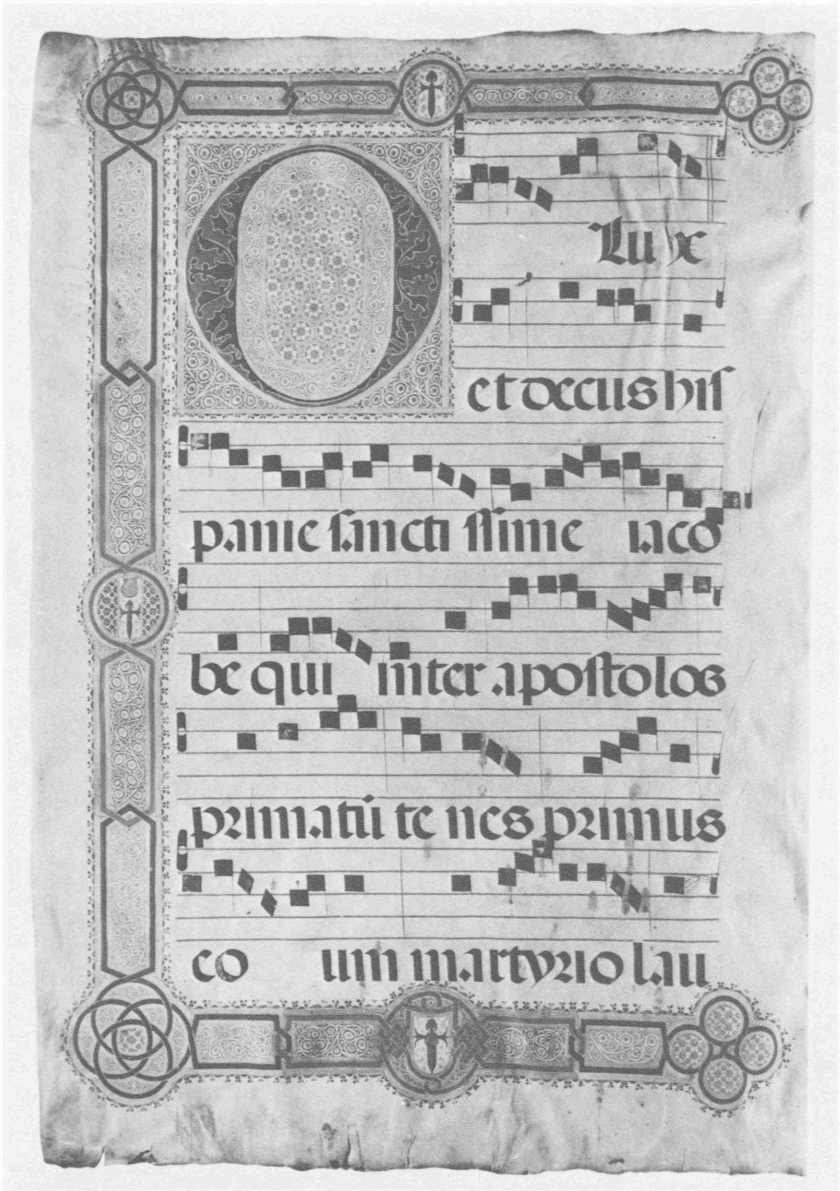


Fig. 2. Spanish mid-16th-century antiphonal sold at Sotheby's, London, 1980.

provinces of Spain not excluded by them, the most likely candidate for geographic origin is Castile, which occupied the middle of the Iberian peninsula and was the largest of the Spanish provinces.



In summary, this manuscript was originally produced between 1484 and 1524, probably before 1500, as a full Gradual. It was made for a Spanish Dominican institution, probably in Castile. At some point after its production, it was divided into separate volumes. The present volume is similar, either purposely or coincidentally, to a Gradual of Saints.

## II. THE LITURGY

### A. Dominican Liturgical Ideals

The identification of Ms. 11 as Dominican is crucial to understanding its importance as a historical document. The Dominican order, from as early as the 1240s, was very proud of the degree of uniformity achieved in its liturgical practices and very careful to preserve it. The reform<sup>29</sup> carried to completion under the supervision of Humbert of Romans was enforced upon the order by legislation, and further additions to the order's liturgy were strictly forbidden.<sup>30</sup> Exemplars, or *correctaria*, from which new liturgical books were to be copied, were placed at Paris, Rome, and Salamanca; each house's liturgical books were to be inspected and corrected annually by comparison with an exemplar to ensure conformity with the reformed liturgy.<sup>31</sup> Ideally, through this system it was hoped that the Dominican liturgy would become fixed and impervious to change.

The liturgy of Ms. 11, however, shows evidence that liturgical practices at its home institution departed from the Dominican ideal of uniformity. Liturgical practices from various sources—Early Do-

29. A complete review was made of the chant repertory to be used by the Dominican order. Many revisions were borrowed from an earlier reform carried out by the Cistercian order, as Dominique Delalande has shown in "Vers la version authentique du Graduel Gregorien: Le Graduel des Prêcheurs", *Bibl. d'Histoire Dominicaine* 2 (1949). A prototype was assembled and approved as part of the reform. This exemplar still exists and has served as the basis for all subsequent editions of the Dominican liturgy into the present century. Early Dominican chant, however, is free of Cistercian influence and, in the period between the foundation and this reform, experienced a "Period of Great Diversity", during which local customs were adopted into each house's liturgy.

30. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 9.

31. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Gradual", [section] 4.

minican,<sup>32</sup> Roman/Gregorian, and Mozarabic—can be traced in its pages, where they intrude upon prescribed usage. The chants of the Syracuse version also diverge from the chants prescribed and codified during the Humbertian reform of 1256.

The reforms of the thirteenth century were focused on a goal that cannot be understood apart from its historical context. Dominic de Guzman founded the Order of Friars Preachers in 1214 in Toulouse.<sup>33</sup> The order's function was to battle against the so-called Cathar heresy then flourishing in the area.<sup>34</sup> Though public preaching was the means by which they carried out their mission, these canons regular also lived a quasi-monastic life according to the Rule of St. Augustine. During the initial period, when all the members of the order resided at Toulouse with Dominic, it is generally assumed that they followed a uniform liturgy. What this liturgy was and what reforms were carried out during this early stage of the order's development have long been debated. One highly respected theory is that offered by William F. Bonniwell, who maintained that the order adopted a local version of the Roman/Gregorian liturgy.<sup>35</sup> Several more-recent studies of Pre-Humbertian Dominican chant manuscripts have reinforced Bonniwell's conclusion that Dominican chant was originally a var-

32. Between the founding of the order in 1214 and the completion of Humbert's reform in 1256, the Dominican liturgy underwent many changes. During the "Period of Great Diversity", various Dominican liturgies absorbed customs from local practices, such as the Mozarabic rite. Also several reform efforts predate Humbert's.

33. Dominic had been active in preaching against the Cathars since 1206, but as part of a loosely organized mission. That is, there was no thought of founding an order until they established a house at Toulouse, which, even at its founding, lacked papal approval.

34. The Cathars were a twelfth-century heretical sect centered on Albi and Toulouse in southwestern France. The founding of the Dominican order was only one approach to solving the problems presented to the Roman Catholic Church by this sect; the Albigensian Crusade was another. See *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, s.v. "Cathar".

35. That this theory has been generally accepted is shown by Richard W. Pfaff's inclusion of the Dominican liturgy under the heading "Friars and 'Modern Roman' Liturgies", in *Medieval Latin Liturgy; A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1982), 100.

iant of the Gregorian<sup>36</sup> and that there was little evidence of Cistercian influence.<sup>37</sup>

In 1217 Dominic dispersed his preachers from Toulouse to found further houses; he sent seven to Spain, seven to Paris, and two (Dominic himself and Jordan of Saxony) to Rome to seek papal approval for the new order. The original liturgy observed at Toulouse presumably accompanied the friars, who, in order to gain acceptance for the order, willingly adapted it to local customs wherever they went.<sup>38</sup> This era of uncontrolled adaptation (1217 to ca. 1234?) is now known as the “Period of Great Diversity”. It has been surmised that the proliferation of variation quickly made the original Toulousian liturgy unrecognizable and made regional and chapter meetings difficult because of the variety of liturgical customs. The Dominicans wanted to arrange their liturgy so that it would remain recognizable despite geography, and thus promote the order’s sense of identity and render chapter meetings more practicable.

### *B. Liturgical Deviations*

Syracuse Ms. 11 demonstrates a continuing divergence between Dominican liturgical ideals and the practices of at least one Spanish Dominican institution. There are three types of deviations from the Dominican rite as reformed by Humbert that appear in this liturgy: first, elements corresponding to Mozarabic usage; second, certain elements relevant to the Roman/Gregorian origin of the Dominican rite; and third, Dominican elements surviving from Pre-Humbertian times (that is, Early Dominican). All of these deviations may in fact be vestiges of the period before 1256, when the Dominican liturgy was in a state of flux, partially reformed, partially Roman/Gregorian, and partially adapted to local usages.

The native liturgies of the Iberian peninsula, the Mozarabic rites, which date from at least the seventh century, were used in Spain

36. For example, Robert Haller, “Early Dominican Mass Chants: A Witness to Thirteenth Century Chant Style”, Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1986. Haller provides an ample bibliography of similar studies.

37. See footnote 20 above.

38. Bonniwell, *History*, chaps. 1–3.

until 1085 when Pope Gregory VII ordered their official suppression in favor of the Roman/Gregorian rite. The history of these rites after their suppression is a matter about which little is known. It is on that account quite surprising to find Mozarabic influence in a Dominican manuscript from ca. 1500. As noted above, the date on which St. Leander's feast falls in Ms. 11's *Sanctorale* conforms with the date of Mozarabic usage. Ideally, this should not have occurred: first, because Leander was not included in Humbert's calendar;<sup>39</sup> second, because the Dominican liturgy, based on the Roman/Gregorian, should have adopted the Roman date for the feast. In what seems an effort to localize an imported liturgy, the date was borrowed from local custom.<sup>40</sup>

Another feature of this liturgy that fails to conform to Dominican norms is the inclusion of three fathers of the Greek church: Saints Athanasius, John Chryostom, and Basil the Great. Although these saints were usual enough in the Roman/Gregorian calendar, they were not approved for celebration by the Dominican order until the liturgical revision of Salamanca in 1551.<sup>41</sup> Their presence in this manuscript before that date suggests a motivation for their adoption at the chapter of Salamanca.<sup>42</sup> Given that the

39. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 10.

40. The Mozarabic rites survived in corrupt—but identifiably non-Roman—form throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, particularly in the city of Toledo (situated in the center of the province of Castile, which I have ventured to assert as Ms. 11's place of origin). There were two Mozarabic traditions: one allegedly originated with St. Leander, the other with his brother, Isidore of Seville. The presence of Leander, celebrated on the Mozarabic date, and the absence of Isidore (in short, the exclusion of one of Spain's most illustrious saints in a Spanish manuscript), suggests that the Mozarabic influence on this manuscript's institution can be attributed to Leander.

41. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 19.

42. The chapter that met at Salamanca was poorly attended. Eleven out of twenty-two delegates were absent, giving the Spanish delegates who were present disproportionate power. The addition of these three saints contradicts the goal of the revision, which was to trim the liturgy. However, if the institution that owned this manuscript was not the only one celebrating these feasts prior to their official sanction, an explanation presents itself: the Spanish delegates used the poor attendance at Salamanca to impose a Spanish custom upon the Order as a whole. See Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 19.

Greek fathers had always been celebrated in the Roman rite, two hypotheses may explain their inclusion in the liturgy of Ms. 11 before the order's official sanction: (1) they are a remnant of the Early Dominican liturgy, or (2) they were borrowed from the Roman/Gregorian rite during a resurgence of their popularity in the West during the late fifteenth century, as discussed by Bonniwell. Although the first seems more likely, the second cannot be ruled out at present.

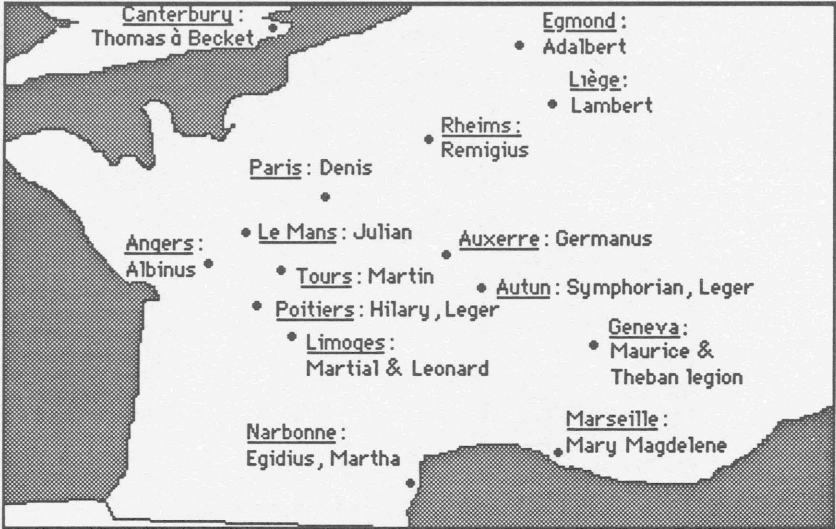
The discrepancy between Dominican prescriptions and the practices of the institution for which Ms. 11 was made is shown most clearly in the calendar. Bonniwell, discussing the Dominican calendar as established by Humbert in 1256, makes the following remark:

The Order had every reason to be proud of the work [Humbert's revised calendar]. Not only did it conform to the highest liturgical ideals in assigning a predominant and inviolable place to the *Temporale*,<sup>43</sup> but it was a most successful effort to impart to the Roman calendar that attribute of internationality which Rome herself was to adopt. . . . [S]o favorable an impression did it create that it was adopted almost bodily in some places, and with local modifications in many others. In this way, the Dominican Order contributed in no small measure in bringing about throughout the entire Latin Church the abandonment of local calendars and the general adoption of a modern, universal, and Roman calendar.<sup>44</sup>

This planned universality would seem to preclude radical localization of post-Humbertian Dominican calendars. The calendar of saints used in Ms. 11, however, does seem to have a regional focus. What makes this observation problematic is that the region with which this set of saints would be consistent is not the Iberian peninsula. Only two (three, counting Dominic) Hispanic saints are included in the original cycle: Vincent of Saragossa and Leander,

43. See footnote 2.

44. Bonniwell, *History*, 117.



The specialized focus, regarding region and religious order, of Ms. 11's liturgy becomes more apparent if one considers the dearth of saints from other regions and orders. As shown in Table 1, even additions made during the three centuries between the adoption of the model liturgy and the copying of Ms. 11 do not obscure the southern French regional bias. As noted above and shown below, the additions magnify the bias in favor of Dominican saints. Even without taking into account the celebrations of the translations of the relics of several of these saints, this bias is apparent.

bishop of Seville. Vincent had long been recorded in the Roman martyrology,<sup>45</sup> and Leander, as we have pointed out, was adopted into this liturgy from the Mozarabic rite; but the localization achieved by Leander's inclusion was imposed on an imported liturgy that already had its own regional focus. Again, the absence of Isidore of Seville suggests an origin outside Spain. As the map above reveals, a large number of the saints chosen for inclusion have connections with the south of France. There are representa-

45. A martyrology is a list, arranged by the days of the year, of saints' feasts. Each day lists several saints in order of importance and gives a hagiographical sketch of each. Orders differed in the importance they assigned to the various saints. Franciscans, for instance, placed at the top of their list saints belonging to their own order, as did the Dominicans. The choice, in Ms. 11, to give high priority to several saints from the south of France and the north of Italy was likely to have been based on regional considerations.

| French           |                      | Germanic   |            | Mendicant          |
|------------------|----------------------|------------|------------|--------------------|
| N. France        | S. France            | Empire     | England    | Dominican          |
| Louis, king      | Hilary               | Lambert    | Thomas     | Dominic            |
| Remigius         | Maurus               | Wenceslaus | Edward III | Thomas Aquinas     |
| Denis & co.      | Julian               | Elizabeth  |            | Vincent Ferrer     |
| Crispin & Crisp. | Albinus              | Adalbert   |            | Peter, Martyr      |
|                  | Martial              |            |            | Catherine of Siena |
|                  | Germanus             |            |            | Antoninus          |
|                  | Leonard de Noblac    |            |            | Rose of Lima       |
|                  | Egidius              |            |            |                    |
|                  | Maurice & companions |            |            | <u>Franciscan</u>  |
|                  | Leger                |            |            | Francis            |
|                  | Martin               |            |            | Anthony            |
|                  | Martha               |            |            |                    |
|                  | Mary Magdelene       |            |            |                    |
|                  | Symphorian           |            |            |                    |
|                  | Rufinus of Padua     |            |            |                    |

Saints whose origin indicates a southern French regional focus in Ms. 11's model liturgy.

tives from the coast of Provence at Narbonne and Marseille; there are groups from the Loire valley, from the Dijon area, from Limoges, and from Toulouse, a center of Dominic's cult and influence.

This regional focus becomes more apparent if one considers the saints represented in Ms. 11 who are from other countries and orders, as shown in the table above.

That the French emphasis is also a southern emphasis becomes even more apparent when we consider the northern French saints included in Humbert's Dominican calendar who are *not* represented here; for instance, Saints Quentin, Eligius, and Vedastus (whose cults thrived in the north of France, in Paris, and in England) are absent from this Sanctore. The only saints from the North are Louis, who was probably added for political reasons, and Denis, who was the patron of all France. Of the two Saints Germanus, that "of Auxerre" is present, while that "of Paris" is not, and certainly the latter was the more popular saint.

Furthermore, only among the saints of the southern region are calendar choices not taken from the first few positions of the Roman martyrology. Rufinus,<sup>46</sup> from Padua, is listed ninth out of

46. Ms. 11 gives the name *Rufine* between those of Saints Bartholomew (24 August) and Louis (King of France, 25 August). There is only one female saint

eleven; Albinus is listed ninth of nine; Germanus of Auxerre is listed sixth out of eight.<sup>47</sup> Given this fact, it is almost certain that the decisions to include these saints were based on local considerations.

We are left with the question, Why should a manuscript dating from the late fifteenth century not conform to the calendar established by Humbert over two centuries earlier? And why should this variance focus so surely on the south of France?

### *C. Hypothetical Explanation of Observed Liturgical Deviations*

The southern French regional focus of the Ms. 11 calendar of saints might be explained as follows: the friars who were sent to Spain in 1217 established a liturgy that incorporated some local elements, such as Leander's feast, and their successors lagged in conforming with the later revisions of Humbert. In this way a calendar with Aquitanian features was perpetuated among certain of the Spanish Dominicans.

In support of this hypothesis, there is another aspect of the Sanctorale that does not conform with Humbert's revised liturgy. In his revised *Ordinarium* (ca. 1245), Humbert, regarding octaves,<sup>48</sup> states:

The feasts of Saints with octaves are: Andrew, Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul, Dominic, Lawrence, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Augustine, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Martin. Apart from these, there are to be no other octaves, either of the patron saint of a church, or of any other saint whatever.<sup>49</sup>

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named *Rufina* (the genitive for which would be *Rufine*), but she is normally paired with her co-martyr *Secunda*, whose name does not appear in this manuscript. Furthermore, the feast of Rufina and Secunda was usually celebrated on 10 July. The placement of the name Rufine in Ms. 11 corresponds most closely to that of Rufinus of Padua, whose feast was celebrated on 27 August.

47. It should be noted that Newman's *Martyrology*, translated by Bonniwell, includes many modern saints, and it usually lists them first to give them greater prominence. Apart from this, however, the order of the older saints is preserved.

48. The term octave refers to the eighth day after a feast on which certain observances commemorate the feast; the octave of Christmas, for instance, would be 1 January.

49. *Ordinarium*, cap. "De octavis sanctorum", col. xxvi.



The liturgy of Syracuse Ms. 11 is more spare than that approved by Humbert. Of the octaves approved by Humbert, those of John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Dominic, the Assumption of Mary, Nativity of Mary, and Martin are missing. As self-imposed reform and austerity were not notable tendencies of the church in the Middle Ages,<sup>50</sup> it is improbable that such divergence resulted from dropping feasts from the calendar; more likely, they were never added, a possibility that leads one to believe that the liturgy preserved herein is the perpetuation of a liturgy that predated and never fully adopted Humbert's revision. As the Toulouse-oriented version of the Dominican liturgy reached Spain in 1217, it had nearly thirty years to become established before Humbert's reform. In Spain, somewhat removed from the mainstream of the order's affairs, it is possible that this earlier liturgy was held to, perhaps out of deference to Dominic, a native son, while the revisions made in far-off Paris and Rome were adopted only selectively.<sup>51</sup>

#### *D. The Evidence of the Chant*

The body of chant preserved in Ms. 11 may also indicate the pre-Humbertian origins of the liturgy. Many of the chants borrowed from the Roman/Gregorian corpus, which do not appear in the Dominican canon of later periods, may be relics of the Roman/Dominican liturgy used at Toulouse. Furthermore, a number of texts that were not used by either the Roman/Gregorian or the reformed Dominican rites, but were present in the Mozarabic rite, are found in Ms. 11. These may be accretions from the "Period of Great Diversity", which followed the "Dispersion of the Friars" in 1217.<sup>52</sup>

50. Addition, not subtraction, was the normal tendency in medieval liturgy, and this impulse is attested to in Ms. 11 by the introduction of several contrafacts of Dominican chants. Normally, institutional reforms (e.g., Cistercian, Dominican, and Tridentine) were aimed at stripping away these liturgical accretions.

51. For example, the octave for All Saints, which was approved in 1423.

52. These texts follow the Vulgate rather than the Mozarabic Psalter, so there is little reason to believe that they may be genuine Mozarabic chants; I have checked the melodies against the Mozarabic neumations and find no conclusive relationships. Rather, these pieces may represent the new Order's gesture of reverence to an older, local tradition.

The music of Ms. 11 also demonstrates the book's early history. Material from the pre-Humbertian Dominican period is evident in those chants that were corrected to correspond to Humbertian Dominican chant variants. Eight chants in this manuscript have been emended by pasting strips of blank parchment over portions of their melodies.<sup>53</sup> Such emendations are in keeping with the Dominican system of annual comparison with the official *correctarium*. Under examination, the "corrections" reveal two things: first, that several of the chants had conformed to Roman/Gregorian usage before their revision; and second, that the purpose of the revisions was to bring the chants into conformity, or into closer conformity, with the Humbertian Dominican liturgy. The correction of the chants at such a late date (ca. 1500) demonstrates that the manuscript preserves traces of a liturgy that predates the Humbertian reform and upon which Dominican standards were being imposed. Also, it demonstrates the wide gap between Dominican liturgical ideals and practices, and the lenitude with which reforms were enforced.

For our first example, let us look at the emendation of *Etenim sederunt principes*, the introit for the feast of St. Stephen (26 December). In all three of the following musical examples, the Dominican (Humbertian) versions are from the Codex Humberti: Rome, Archivum generale O. P. XIV L 1; and the Roman/Gregorian (labeled "Gregorian") versions are from the *Graduale Triplex* (Belgium: Solesmes, 1979).

As we see from the comparative score, the beginning of the Humbertian version of the chant is musically identical with the Roman/Gregorian. Textually, however, the opening word of the Roman/Gregorian version, *Etenim*, was dropped from the text, and the same notes were reassigned to the first syllable of *Se—derunt*. Ms. 11 was originally identical to the Roman/Gregorian version in all particulars. A paper patch was pasted over the notes of the word *Etenim*, so that that word would not be sung. The result is a performance that conformed musically to neither version, but corresponded textually to the Dominican. The presence of the word

53. A number of additional chants show evidence, by glue marks, that they too had been emended. The strips, however, have come unglued and been lost.

## Example 1: Introit, Etenim sederunt principes

The image displays three staves of musical notation for the Introit 'Etenim sederunt principes'. The top staff is labeled 'Syracuse version; fol. VI recto.' and features a double-bordered box around the first few notes. The middle staff is labeled 'Gregorian version' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Dominican (Humbertian) version'. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by dashed lines to indicate syllable boundaries. The Syracuse version has the most complex notation, while the Gregorian and Dominican versions are simpler.

In this and the following two examples, boxes with double borders (found only in the Syracuse versions) represent the actual patches of parchment or paper found in Ms. 11. The notes within the boxes (detected with the aid of a flashlight) lie underneath those patches. Boxes with single borders (found only in the Syracuse and Humbertian versions) represent excisions intended to eliminate passages that were considered too elaborate. Thus, single boxes do not contain notation. The text of the chants is given throughout for the Syracuse version, but it is given for the other versions only when they vary from the Syracuse version, so as to highlight these variants. Ligations and slurs have been eliminated because their presence would render melodic comparison more complicated than necessary. However, ligatures are indicated by notes grouped more closely together.

*Etenim* identifies the chant unequivocally as being originally Roman/Gregorian; its revision, though imperfectly executed, moves it in the direction of the Dominican reform.

The second example, also for the feast of Saint Stephen, is the communion *Video celos apertos*.

In the earlier parts of the chant, it would seem that the Syracuse version bears a closer resemblance to the Humbertian version than to the Roman/Gregorian, as is illustrated by many of the syllables being set with more than one note. The end of the chant, however, reveals a strong connection to the Roman/Gregorian version and identifies the Syracuse version as a product of some intermediate stage of reform.

Once again, we see that the patches added to the Syracuse version conceal elements that indicate Roman/Gregorian origins. The ending of *Video celos apertos* shows that the Humbertian reform excised the phrase *Quia ne sciunt quid faciunt* from the end of the chant,

## Example 2: Communion, Video celos abiertos

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

Vi ----- de --- o ce -- los a --- per -- tos et ie ---- sum stan - tem a dex -- tris vir ---

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

-tu ----- tis de ----- i : do ---- mi ----- ne ie --- su, ac -- ci --- pe spi -- ri ----- tum

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

me ----- um et ne sta --- tu --- as il --- lis hoc pec -- ca ----- tum

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

Qui --- a ne sci ----- unt quid fa ---- ci ----- unt

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

pec ---- ca ----- tum



to be drawn from this is, once again, that the Humbertian version is a later revision of an earlier Dominican reform that was adopted by the institution for which Ms. 11 was produced; Humbert's version adopted the revision made by the previous reform and added new ones. The Syracuse version, then, represents an intermediate stage of reform between the original Roman/Gregorian tradition and the final revision adopted by Humbert de Romans.

These three musical examples show clear discrepancies between the music in Ms. 11 and the Dominican order's liturgical ideals; for, despite the manuscript's late date, the liturgy preserved therein predates the Humbertian revision, adopted by the order as its official, universal liturgy in 1256.

### *E. Conclusion*

The theory that best accounts for the many deviations in Ms. 11 from the Humbertian-Dominican liturgy is that it represents a late-surviving, much revised form of the Dominican liturgy that was introduced into Spain following the dispersion of the friars from Toulouse in 1217. It is in this period that a liturgy with all these elements could most plausibly have been assembled. To begin with, in light of the proliferation of octaves between the 13th and 15th centuries, the presence of fewer octaves in Ms. 11 certainly indicates an early origin. The regional focus of the calendar is explained by the fact that the original Dominican liturgy reflected the customs of Toulouse. The Roman/Gregorian elements of the chant and the inclusion of the Greek fathers are explained by the original Toulousian liturgy having been Roman/Gregorian. The Mozarabic influence can be understood as localizing adaptations made while the order was establishing itself in Spain.

Given how rapidly the order rose and how decisively it favored central control, the argument that these elements of the liturgy crept in slowly, one by one, is implausible. It is far more probable that they were there from the beginning, that Humbert's revisions were never adopted outright, and that reform efforts never caught up with all the manuscript's discrepancies. Indeed, we see the process still in action during the sixteenth century in the revision of

### Example 3: Alleluia, Iustus ut palma

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the Alleluia 'Iustus ut palma'. Each system compares three versions: Syracuse, Gregorian, and Dominican (Humbertian). The lyrics are: 'Hal-le -lu -ia', 'Ius - tus ut pal - ma flo - re - bit', and 'et sic - ut ce -'. The Syracuse version is shown in a larger font and includes a box around the first few notes of the second system. The Gregorian and Dominican versions are shown in a smaller font. The Dominican version has a box around the end of the first system and the beginning of the second system.

the chants. If revisions took two hundred fifty years to impose themselves on these chants, it is unlikely that the liturgical discrepancies were purged at a much faster rate.

Though further work is necessary before a definite conclusion can be drawn, the musical and liturgical evidence reviewed here supports the hypothesis that Syracuse University's Ms. 11 represents a late survival of Early Dominican liturgy and chant.

### Example 3—continued

The image displays a musical score for Example 3—continued, organized into two systems. Each system contains three staves representing different versions of a chant: Syracuse, Gregorian, and Dominican (Humbertian).

**System 1:**

- Syracuse version:** The top staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "drus mul - ti --- pli --- ca". The staff is partially enclosed in a box on the left and right.
- Gregorian version:** The middle staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "drus mul - ti ----- pli -- ca ----- bi --- tur".
- Dominican (Humbertian) version:** The bottom staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "drus mul - ti ----- pli -- ca ----- bi --- tur".

**System 2:**

- Syracuse version:** The top staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "----bi ---- tur".
- Gregorian version:** The middle staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "----bi ---- tur".
- Dominican (Humbertian) version:** The bottom staff shows a melodic line with a dotted line under the lyrics "----bi ---- tur".