

AN EARLY RULE FOR CANONS REGULAR
FROM SANTA MARIA DE L'ESTANY
(NEW YORK, HISPANIC SOCIETY
OF AMERICA, MS HC 380/819)*

by ROGER E. REYNOLDS

The foundation of a house of canons regular following the Rule of St. Augustine at Santa Maria de l'Estany in 1080/81 by bishop Berenguer Seniofed from Lluça was one of the first or perhaps the first such foundation on the Iberian peninsula.¹ It is not that a church was not there earlier and that clerics in Catalonia did not live the life of canons under a rule. Perhaps as early as A.D. 990 there existed a small church dedicated to Santa Maria in the valley of Estany not far west of Vic;² and canons in other churches in Catalonia are reported to have lived the *vita regularis canonica* by the first quarter of the eleventh century.³ Moreover, there existed copies of the *Regula Augustini* for canons in churches such as Vic.⁴ But documents related to Santa Maria de l'Estany are the earliest to mention specifically that the canons there followed the *Regula Augustini*.⁵ The impetus for such a life there most likely originated with

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1. A. Pladevall and J. Vigué, *El Monestir romànic de Santa Maria de l'Estany* (Barcelona, 1978) 23.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
3. See the comment of Anscaro Mundó in D. Misonné, «La législation canoniale de Saint-Ruf d'Avignon à ses origines. Règle de Saint Augustin et Coutumier,» *Annales du Midi* 75 (1963) 488.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Ch. Dereine, «Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers,» *Scriptorium*, 5 (1951), 109, item 12, notes that Estany was founded in 1120; and P. H. Freedman, *The diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983), says it was first described as an Augustinian house in 1096.
5. Pladevall and Vigué, *El Monestir romànic de Santa Maria de l'Estany*, p. 25.

the Avignon house of St. Ruf, founded in A.D. 1039. Indeed, in A.D. 1084 the abbot of St. Ruf had attempted to establish a filial at Santa Maria de Besalú, but because of opposition there failed, and it was only after 1112 that such a community was established.⁶

It is widely recognized that the *Regula Augustini* was diffused through southern France and the Iberian peninsula largely through the influence of the canons regular at St. Ruf in Avignon. It is often stated that all of the bishops of Catalonia during the heyday of St. Ruf were 'Ruffians',⁷ and that its rule had its greatest diffusion between 1080 and 1120, the period of the great Avignonese leaders, Arbert, Lietbert, and Oléguer⁸ (who as abbot of St. Ruf was made bishop of Barcelona and archbishop of Tarragona).⁹ The earliest customary or use of St. Ruf has been edited together with a redaction of Lietbert by Dom Daniel Misonné,¹⁰ the former from an early eleventh-century codex, Paris, BN lat. 1877, and the later from a twelfth-century codex, Paris, BN lat. 1233.¹¹ Further, there is an edition of a customary of St. Ruf adapted to the cathedral of Maguelone by Carrier from a fourteenth-century codex, Avignon, Bibliothèque municipale, 716.¹² The widespread influence of the customs of St. Ruf throughout Europe can be found in manuscripts from as far north as Trondheim in Norway¹³ to as far south as Coimbra,¹⁴ and from as far west as England to Marbach in the east.¹⁵ But little notice has been given to another early manuscript attributing a customary to a church and convent of St. Ruf from the Catalan house of canons regular at Santa Maria d'Estany.

The existence of this manuscript with its rules was noted as far back as 1806 by Jaime Villanueva, who described it in his *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España*:

6. Ibid., p. 25.

7. See, e.g., A. Carrier, *Coutumier du XI siècle de l'ordre de saint-Ruf (Chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin) en usage à la cathédrale de Maguelone. Études et documents sur l'ordre de St-Ruf* 8 (Sherbrooke, 1950) 20.

8. Ibid., p. 26.

9. See L. J. McCrank, 'The Foundation of the Confraternity of Tarragona by Archbishop Oleguer Bonestruga, 1126-1129,' *Viator* 9 (1978) 157-177.

10. Misonné, 'La législation canoniale,' pp. 479-486.

11. Lilli Gjerløw has produced a preliminary draft of this for publication, on which see P.-M. Gy, 'L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran,' *Revue des sciences religieuses* 58 (1984) 537-552, reprinted in P.-M. Gy, *La liturgie dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1990) 127-139, esp. 129.

12. Carrier, *Coutumier du XI siècle de l'ordre des saint-Ruf*, pp. 53-107. For the date of the manuscript see Misonné, art. cit., p. 473, n. 10.

13. *Ordo Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*, ed. L. Gjerløw, *Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi* 2 (Oslo, 1968) 105-108. She and Père Gy, 'L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran,' p. 129, propose that the influence of St-Ruf came by way of England, but it must be remembered that before he became pope Adrian IV, Nicholas Breakespear was abbot of St. Ruf and later was sent to Trondheim to reform the clerics there.

14. We eagerly await the study of Agostinho Frias of the Faculdade de Letras do Porto, Portugal, on the *Liber ordinis colimbriensis*, using manuscripts from Coimbra.

15. J. Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsass (12. Jahrhundert). Spicilegium Friburgense* 10 (Fribourg/S, 1965) 57-60.

... un vol. en 4.º vit. MS. del siglo XI ó principios del XII que contiene:
 I. *Incipit capitulatio super canon habitum in civitate Trecas temporibus Ludovici imperatoris à Iohanne papa romano, atque episcopis LV.* Son 78 capítulos: I. *de fide Sancte Trinitatis, qualiter à presbiteris tenenda sit et populis predicanda.* El último 78: *de his qui alienum vendiderint corpus, vel suum.*
 = II. *Consolatio beati Isidori episcopi Spalensis ad universos sacerdotes post lapsum penitentes.* Princip.: *Domino vero (vere) sancto, meritisquae beato Masoni episcopo, Isidorus. Veniente ad nos famulo vestro viro religioso Nicetio &c.* = III. Varios fragmentos del Concilio Niceno y otros antiguos. = IV. *Incipit prologus in vita preclarissimi confessoris Xpi Hylarii Pictaviensis episcopi. Domino patri, et meritis beatissimo patri Pascentio papae, Fortunatus.* = *Religiosi pectoris studio sollicitante commonitus, ò papa beatissime....* Sigue la vida. = V. *Epistola S. Hylarii ad Abram filiam.* = VI. Himno en elogio de S. Hilario, de poca entidad. = VII. Fragmentos de consueta antigua de este monasterio (Estany).¹⁶

The last of these texts is a customary at Estany, but Villanueva did not mention that it is said in the manuscript to be the use of St. Ruf. In 1951 the great specialist on the canons regular, Ch. Dereine noted the existence of the Estany manuscript from Villanueva's description, but he had not seen or used the manuscript itself.¹⁷ That this was the case is not surprising. Sometime after Villanueva's description, the manuscript had left Estany and had come into the hands of the Leipzig antiquariat Karl W. Hiersemann,¹⁸ from whom the Hispanic Society of America acquired it and assigned it the shelfmark HC 380/819. Its presence there came to the attention of the author of this article through his colleague, J. N. Hillgarth, who had learned of its existence from Antonio García y García, who had seen it briefly in New York City. Having been granted permission to publish the contents of the manuscript by the Hispanic Society of America, the present author edited a number of texts in the manuscript deriving ultimately from southern Italy, citing in passing the *ordo canonicorum* at the conclusion of the manuscript.¹⁹ In that article mention was made of the catalogue of manuscripts in the library of the Hispanic Society of America by Charles B. Faulhaber,²⁰ who had based his description of several of the texts in the manuscript on information supplied by the present author, and who noted the presence of an «Order of St. Rufus?»²¹ Clearly the manuscript, written by four scribes

16. Tom. VII, *Viage a la iglesia de Vique, año 1806* (Valencia, 1821) 235 f.

17. Dereine, «Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers,» p. 109, item 12.

18. Karl W. Hiersemann, *Bibliotheca Iberica: Being a Choice Collection of Scarce and Valuable Books and Manuscripts on Spain and Portugal* (Leipzig, 1910?) 185.

19. R. E. Reynolds, «South Italian Liturgical and Canonistica in Catalonia (New York, Hispanic Society of America MS. HC 380/819),» *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1987) 481; reprinted in R. E. Reynolds, *Law and Liturgy in the Latin Church, 5th-12th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1994) XV.481.

20. C. B. Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America: Religious, Legal, Scientific, Historical, and Literary Manuscripts* 2 vols. (New York, 1983) I, 1.8 f., 19 f., 23 f., 38 f., 79, 87, 119-121, 131-134, 138-141, and II, pls. 1 and 2.

21. *Ibid.*, I.119, item 117.

in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, is a composite canonical-liturgical codex for use by canons regular. The first item is a text of the Council of Troyes (878) edited shortly before Faulhaber's catalogue appeared by Hubert Mordek and Gerhard Schmitz, but without the benefit of the Hispanic Society witness.²² The index to the full text of the council is separated by a short florilegium of canonistic texts designated as «Canonum collectio I» by Faulhaber.²³ Following the text of the Council of Troyes is another longer canonistic florilegium designated by Faulhaber as «Canonum collectio II.»²⁴ Following this canonistic florilegium is a group of texts on Hilary of Poitiers – lives, letters, and verse. That such a group of Hiliarian texts should be found in this manuscript is not surprising given the special place of Hilary at Vic and the surrounding territory.²⁵ There then follows the group of texts most of which derive from southern Italian models. Several of these would have been of special interest to the canons at Estany. The text explaining the meaning of Septuagesima fits well with the texts later in the customary dealing with Quadragesima. The Pseudo-Damasus-Pseudo-Hieronymian correspondence explaining the time at which Mass should be said finds resonance in the directions later on the place of Mass during the liturgical day of the canons regular. The same is true with the three canons on Mass practice from the south Italian canonical *Collection in Five Books*. The one surprising text in this group is the preface from the *Regula canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz. It has been pointed out by Anscaro Mundó that the *Regula Augustini* is rarely combined in manuscripts with Chrodegang's regulations for canons.²⁶ Rather, the most com-

22. H. Mordek and G. Schmitz, «Papst Johannes VIII. und das Konzil von Troyes (878),» in *Geschichtsschreibung und geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. K. Hauck and H. Mordek (Cologne-Vienna, 1978), pp. 179-225. The manuscript is also noted by Peter Brommer, *Capitula episcoporum I, Monumenta Germaniae historica. Leges, Capitula episcoporum* 1 (Munich, 1984) 86, who curiously places the *Schrifttheimat* in England.
23. Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 130 f. Faulhaber's description of these texts has been improved upon by H. Mordek, «Von der Alten in die Neue Welt ... Eine spanische Rechtshandschrift des Frühmittelalters in Amerika,» in *In Iure Veritas: Studies in Canon Law in Memory of Schafer Williams*, eds. S. B. Bowman and B. E. Cody (Cincinnati, 1991) 172, n. 21. On the Isidorian text see R. E. Reynolds «The Isidorian *Epistula ad Massonam* on Lapsed Clerics: Notes on the Earliest Manuscripts and Textual Transmission,» *Grundlagen des Rechts: Festschrift für Peter Landau*, eds. R. Helmholz, P. Mikat, J. Müller, and M. Stolleis (Paderborn, 2000), 77-92. Citing Faulhaber, p. 139, R. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek: Overlevering en betekenis van vroegmiddeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften (met editie en vertaling van vier tripartita)*. *Middeleeuwse studies en bronnen* 41 (Hilversum, 1994) 510 states that the manuscript contains the penitential *Excarpsus Cummeani*.
24. Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America*, pp. 131-134. Faulhaber's description of these texts has been improved upon by Mordek, «Von der Alten in die Neue Welt,» p. 171, n. 15.
25. See Freedman, *The diocese of Vic*, p. 5, for the location southeast of Vic called Sant Hilari Sacalm; and M. S. Gros, «El *Liber consuetudinum vicensis ecclesie* del Canonge Andreu Salmúnia –, Museu Episcopal, MS. 134 (LXXXIV),» *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana* 7 (1996) 182.
26. Misonné, art. cit., p. 488.

mon combination in manuscripts is that of the *Regula Augustini* with the *Institutio canonicorum* of the Council of Aachen (816).²⁷ Following this preface of Chrodegang is an *Ordo Romanus* with directions for the saying of private prayers and texts for the divine office and Mass. Particularly noteworthy is the Mass *pro defunctis* and the reference to the deacon and subdeacon, often mentioned later in the customary. An Ordinal of Christ follows in the so-called Hibernian-Chronological form found in manuscripts throughout Europe, including southern France and Catalonia.²⁸ It is interesting that Ordinals of Christ with their lists of clerical orders were at times included in customaries for canons regular, as can be seen in the *Ordo officiorum* of the Lateran canons²⁹ or the

27. Ibid., p. 488. For manuscripts of the *Institutio canonicorum* see R. E. Reynolds, «The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties,» *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979) 254, n. 3, reprinted in R. E. Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination* (Aldershot, 1999) III.254, n. 3; and H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hilfsmittel* 15 (Munich, 1995) 1045-1056.

28. This is the manuscript mentioned in the proceedings of a Symposium on the 900th Anniversary of the Reception of the Roman Rite in Leon-Castile, 1080-1980: Columbia University, The Hispanic Society of America, Fordham University, New York as being in a private collection (inasmuch as permission to publish had not been given by the Hispanic Society of America), on which see R. E. Reynolds, «The Ordination Rite in Medieval Spain: Hispanic, Roman, and Hybrid,» *Santiago, Saint-Denis, and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in Leon-Castile in 1080*, ed. B. F. Reilly (New York, 1985) 150, n. 34; reprinted in *Clerical Orders in the Middle Ages*, XIII.150, n. 34. From the ninth century and beyond the following manuscripts contain this text, sometimes with slight variants: Paris, BN lat. 614A (s.IX-X, southern France), fol. 186r-v; 2175 (s.IX), fol. 124r-v; 10612 (s.IX), fol. 120r-v; Cologne, Dombibliothek XV (s. IX), fols. 93v-94r; LXXXV (s.IX), fol. 118r; New York, Columbia University Plimpton 58 (s.IX2/3, southern France with Spanish symptoms); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 14532 (s. IXex., northeast France/Lotharingia), fols. 92v-93r; Clm. 22053 (s. IX1/4, Regensburg?), fol. 40av-40br; Karlsruhe, Landesbibliothek Aug. CXII (s. IX), fol. 48r; Albi, Bibliothèque Rochgude 43 (s.IX4/4, southern France), fol. 16v; Barcelona, Biblioteca Universitaria 228 (s. X, southern France/northern Italy? or Catalonia?), fol. 136v; Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 256 (s. X/XI), fol. 126v; Paris, BN lat. 1207 (s. XI), fol. 106r; Cava, Archivio della Badia della SS. Trinità 3 (s. XI, southern Italy), fol. 334r; Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tom XVIII (s. XI, southern Italy), fol. 149v; Vat. Lat. 1349 (s. XI, southern Italy), fol. 4v; Vat. Lat. 1339 (s. XI, Rieti?), fol. 20r; Vat. Lat. 4317 (s. XI, Farfa), fols 103r-104r; New York, Hispanic Society of America HC 380/819 (s.XIex., Catalonia), fol. 109v; Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale XII A 28, (s. XI/XII, central Italy), fol. 5r; Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4977 (s. XII, central Italy), fol. 37r; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional lat. 19 (s. XII, southern Italy), fol. 166v; Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek 1642 (s. XII) (text and commentary in H. Weisweiler, *Das Schrifttum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Wilhelms von Champeaux in deutschen Bibliotheken*, [Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 33.1-2] Münster/W, 1936) 235-238; Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 357 (s. XIII), fol. 87r; and Paris, BN lat. 7418 (s. XIV) (based on text like the Cava and Madrid manuscripts).

29. *Bernhardi cardinalis et Lateranensis ecclesiae prioris. Ordo Officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis*, ed. L. Fischer (Munich-Freising, 1916) 36. This Ordinal of Christ is of the «Hiberno-Hispanic Hierarchical» variety, on which see R. E. Reynolds, «Christ as Cleric: The Ordinals of Christ,» in R. E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot, 1999) II.9, 12. Before this text is the *De distantia graduum/De officiis septem graduum*, on which see R. E. Reynolds, «The *De officiis vii graduum*: its Origins and Early Medieval Development,» *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972) 113-151; reprint-

Customary of St. Nicholas of Passau,³⁰ later to be considered in its relation to our manuscript from Estany. Finally, intruded into this section of the manuscript is a letter of Pope Victor II (1055-57) to bishop Guislabertus of Barcelona (1035-ca.1062) containing various directions for a penitent during the liturgical year, again finding a resonance in texts later in the codex.³¹

Of particular interest regarding the rule and customary followed at Estany are the two concluding texts in the manuscript, both written in a slightly later hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century than Faulhaber compared to a Vic manuscript of 1056 cited by Millares Carlo.³² Both texts are continuous in themselves, and their divisions are often denoted with rubrics and highlighting in orange. Occasionally rubrics have been omitted. The second text is virtually run into the first on the same line, probably meaning that they were considered to be an integral pair.

The first text, beginning with the word *Capitula*, consists of a set of rubrics followed by lemmata drawn from the *Regula Augustini* on the subject of each rubric. Clearly the canons of Estany were to follow the *Regula Augustini*, and this list of rubrics and lemmata would have been a useful directory to the subjects dealt with in the *Regula*. It is interesting to note, however, that the complete text of the *Regula Augustini* is not given after each rubric, meaning that for the full text the reader would have had to consult the *Regula* in another manuscript, of which many were being produced in the late eleventh and early twelfth century for the use of canons regular living under the *Regula*.³³ The penultimate text in the rubrics, the *Oratio beati Augustini* from the last section of the *Regula Augustini*, is given in a rather full form, perhaps supplying the authority of the great saint to the list of rubrics and lemmata.

On the same line in the manuscript as the last rubric and lemma of the *Regula Augustini* is a title of particular significance, «Hec que secuntur usu fiunt tam in ecclesia Sancti Ruphi quam domo» for the use of both the church and convent of St. Ruf. The text itself of the cus-

ted in R. E. Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages*, II. esp. 145-47, noting that the verse for the acolyte in this *Ordo* is like that in Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 451, Rome, Università degli «Studi di Roma», Biblioteca Alessandrina 173, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 631, and Vic, Museu I Biblioteca Episcopal 103 (CXIII). It is interesting, also, that in the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus*, written in defense of the canons regular, there is an unusual Ordinal of Christ, on which see *ibid.*, p. 38.

30. On this text see Reynolds, «Christ as Cleric», II.45, n. 116.

31. On this text, brought to his attention by the present author, see H. Mordek, «Analecta canonistica I,» *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, n.s. 16 (1986) 11-16; Mordek, «Von der Alten in die Neue Welt,» p. 170, n. 12; and Reynolds, «South Italian *Liturgica* and *Canonistica* in Catalonia,» pp. 494 f.

32. Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 239; and A. Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía española* (Madrid, 1983), I.345 f., and II. pl. 104, citing Vic, Museu I Biblioteca Episcopal XXX, fols. 1-5.

33. See Missoné, «La legislación canoniale,» p. 488.

tomary reflects a few of the passages in the primitive *ordo* and Lietbert's redaction of the *Regula sancti Rufi* published by Dom Misonné, but it is clearly of a different type. Unfortunately, the manuscript breaks off in the midst of the famous canon attributed to pope Gregory VII, «In die resurrectionis.» But the text begins with directions for Lent and proceeds through Easter. One wonders whether the text, had it continued, would have proceeded through the complete liturgical year, but in any event, it is unusual that only directions for Lent are given. One wonders, then, if these may be specially selected directions for only part of the liturgical year.

The customary begins with directions for tonsuring before Lent, Ash Wednesday and the imposition of ashes, the first Sunday in Lent, and the following feria. There is then an extended section on the scrutinies, exorcism, giving of salt to and imposition of hands on catechumens during mid-Lent. Skipping over Palm Sunday and the first three feriae of Holy Week, the customary then goes to *Feria v. in Cena domini*, the *mandatum* for the *pauperes*, Mass, a meal, the *mandatum* for the brethren, the Good Friday liturgy, baptism (probably on Holy Saturday), and finally the canon attributed to Gregory VII.

If one compares this customary for a church of St. Ruf with those edited by Misonné and Carrier, there are several notable differences. The first is the need in the Estany customary to supply canonistic and patristic texts to justify liturgical practices. Especially important are the texts of popes echoing the *Liber pontificalis*, councils such as Braga or Martin of Braga, and the texts drawn from Isidore of Seville, Augustine, and pope Gregory I. Clearly the texts drawn from authorities in the Iberian peninsula would have been appropriate for a Catalan customary. The texts from Augustine would also have been fitting for a community following the *Regula Augustini*. And the popes in the late eleventh and early twelfth century had been enthusiastic promoters of the canons regular movement.³⁴ Further, many of the texts were available in manuscripts from Catalonia and southern France. For example, several texts in the customary are found in the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, manuscripts of which are in Catalonia, especially at Vic.³⁵ Then there is the canon concluding the manuscript attributed to pope Gregory VII, which was known in Catalonia.³⁶ But did these texts originate at St. Ruf or Estany or did they derive from other sources?

In comparing the customary of St. Ruf from Estany with those edited by Misonné, one finds a number of the same major concerns that Mi-

34. On this see J. C. Dickinson, *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950) 49-51.

35. Vic, Museu I Biblioteca Episcopal, fragmenta XV (s.XII); and fragmenta sin. num. (s.XII).

36. See, e.g., Tarragona, Biblioteca Provincial 26 (s.XII), fol. 224r; Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón San Cugat 63 (s.XII), unfoliated 4.12; also see Siguënza, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 75 mod. (160) (s.XII-XIII).

sonné emphasized: the offices *pro defunctis* and the BVM, the *mandatum*, liturgical practices at meals, and the connection of a hospice for the poor connected to the abbey.³⁷ This last concern is interesting because the prior or abbot of Estany was a titular canon in the cathedral of Vic and attached to the hospital for the poor associated with that cathedral.³⁸ There is no mention in the Estany text, however, of the *trina oratio*, as there was in the primitive *ordo* of St. Ruf, but there is provision for intellectually useful work such as reading and writing in the Estany text, something missing in the primitive *ordo* of St. Ruf.

Another noteworthy aspect of the Estany customary is the number of texts that would come to be visually depicted in the celebrated ornamental capitals gracing the cloister of Estany.³⁹ It is probable, as will be seen, that the text of the Estany customary was composed before the dedication of the Romanesque church there in 1133, but work on the new edifice had probably been in progress for many years before the dedication, and the subjects of the capitals could have been influenced by the liturgical texts and practices of the community. In the north gallery of the cloister there are capitals depicting the *Cena domini* of Holy Thursday, the *mandatum* emphasizing the figure of St. Peter (a favorite of the canons of St. Ruf⁴⁰), the passion, and a ridiculous figure of the devil (the inimicus of the customary). In the southern gallery of the cloister there is an unusual depiction of a liturgical act, an abbot with an aspergillum, a deacon to his right clad in a dalmatic and stole holding an abbatial baculum, and to the left of the abbot a subdeacon lifting the holy water container. In the Estany text there is a reference to the asperges with *aqua benedicta* (as there is in the primitive *ordo* of St. Ruf⁴¹), and several references to the deacon and subdeacon.

Another notable feature of the Estany text is that there are references to an *abbas* where one would normally expect the word *prior*. It is true that in the context of the canons regular movement these terms could be interchanged, and that Estany did have abbots and commendatory abbots after 1264. But before this time, the heads of the community were styled as prior – except one, the first prior of the community, Bernat Compar or Bompar, who ruled over the long period 1086 to 1122/23.⁴² From 1086 to 1111 he was styled as prior, but from 1113 to his death he was styled as abbot. It is precisely in this period that the final part of the Estany manuscript was written.

While most of the script in the codex itself can be styled as Caroline,⁴³ there is distinct evidence that the last part of the manuscript was

37. Misonné, art. cit., pp. 474 f.

38. Pladevall and Vigué, *El Monestir romànic de Santa Maria de l'Estany*, pp. 30, 49.

39. On these capitals see E. Junyent, «El monasterio del Estany,» *Ausa* 3 (1958-60) 447-461.

40. Carrier, *Coutumier du XI siècle du l'ordre des saint-Ruf*, p. 45.

41. Misonné, art. cit., p. 483, l. 129.

42. Pladevall and J. Vigué, *El Monestir romànic de Santa Maria de l'Estany*, p. 51.

43. Faulhaber, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 139.

written by a scribe familiar with Visigothic-script conventions. For example, the script is at times slanted toward the left or is vertical. Then, there is his use of the high-set «s» to stand for «us» or his abbreviation for *nobis/vobis*, the two letters «nb» and «vb» having a slash or a slash + «s» through the «b.» There is a «p,» with a high-set «s» for the word *post*, and there are abbreviations of such words as *diachonus* and *subdiachonus*.⁴⁴ Finally, there are such other Hispanic features as the suppression or addition of the letter «h,» «quo» for «co,» «b» for «v,» or «b» for «p.»⁴⁵

Beyond the dating and location of the copying of this manuscript, written probably between 1113-1122/23 by a Catalan scribe familiar with Visigothic-script conventions, there is the problem, noted above, of the source or sources used. Already it has been noted that despite some similarities between the Estany text and those of St. Ruf and Maguelone edited by Misonné and Carrier, the texts are quite different. But there are at least two early customaries for canons regular that have precisely many of the texts found in the Estany customary of St. Ruf. These customaries have been edited, one long ago by Eusebius Amort from a manuscript now lost but resembling closely Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 16401A. This text is an *ordo officiorum* for the canons regular at St. Nicholas of Passau.⁴⁶ The other customary has more recently been edited by Ludwig Fischer as the *Ordo officiorum ecclesiae Lateranensis* from a late twelfth-century codex, Vienna, ÖNB 1482.⁴⁷ In a brilliant article on the relationship between these *ordines*, Père P.-M. Gy showed that the original of these related *ordines* was most probably the *ordo* for the canons regular compiled at Lucca in the time of bishop Anselm,⁴⁸ who was also responsible for the widely known *Collectio canonum*, which went through at least three recensions.⁴⁹ Following the lead of the lamented Norwegian liturgical historian, Lilli Gjerløw, Gy goes on to suggest a dependence on Lucca by St. Ruf and that Lietbert of St. Ruf borrowed elements for his own rule from Lucca.

If one examines the texts printed below of the Estany customary of St. Ruf with the texts published by Amort and Fischer, the connections are clear, suggesting that many, but not all of the texts in the Estany

44. For Visigothic-script conventions see B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trs. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz, (Cambridge, 1990) 96 f.

45. Cf. J. R. Barriga Planas, *El Sacramentari, Ritual I Pontifical de Roda: Cod. 16 de l'arxiu de la Catedral de Lleida, c. 1000* (Barcelona, 1975) 55 f.

46. E. Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium et saecularium* (Venice, 1747) II.932-1048.

47. For the date of the manuscript (s.XII3/4) and date of the *ordo*, (ca.1139-1145) see Gy, «L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran,» p. 128.

48. Gy, «L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran,» pp. 537-552.

49. See P. Landau, «Die Rezension C der Sammlung des Anselm von Lucca,» *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* n.s. 16 (1986) pp. 17-54. And on Anselm and his canonistic work in general see K. G. Cushing, *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: the Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford-New York, 1998).

customary derived ultimately from the Lucchese *ordo* or a close intermediary. It can also be suggested that these texts passed from Lucca to St. Ruf, where they probably underwent some alteration, and from there to Estany, where they also probably underwent more alteration. As Père Gy points out, manuscripts did travel from Lucca to Catalonia, witness a sacramentary-ritual of Lucca taken to Tortosa by Gaufred of St.-Ruf, first bishop of the restored see of Tortosa (1151),⁵⁰ and a similar transference could have been made earlier in the case of our Estany customary. If this were the path of transmission, it might explain the presence also of the south Italian texts just before the *Regula Augustini* and the customary of St. Ruf inasmuch as south Italian texts traveled to Lucca, especially through the intermediary of a daughter house of Montecassino there, St. George.⁵¹

If one compares the texts of the Amort and Fischer editions and the customary of Estany, there are a number of common features. All are concerned to lend authority to liturgical practices by adding papal citations, Hispanic authorities such as the Council of Braga, and texts from Augustine and popes Gregory I and Gregory VII. There are, however, some differences that can be seen in the Estany text beyond the added liturgical directions found in any customary of canons regular. For example, texts from Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and *Etymologies* are used, there is a group of biblical citations regarding salt used in the scrutinizes, and, as has been mentioned, the word *prior* in Amort's and Fischer's texts has been changed to *abbas*. All of these variants could have been added at Estany itself, but it is possible that because the texts were commonly known throughout Europe, they could have been introduced at any point as the text passed from Lucca to St. Ruf to Estany. Also, it is noteworthy that although the text from Passau is usually closer to the Estany text, this latter does contain some materials that are in the Lateran but not the Passau text.

In presenting an edition of the Estany rule for canons regular, the orthography of the Hispanic Society of America manuscript has been maintained. Only in cases where words or letters have been omitted < > have been used, and where there are clear anomalies in spelling () have been used. In the manuscript itself the texts are run together, so for ease of use and citation the texts have been broken into paragraphs preceded by numbers in < >.

50. Gy, «L'influence des chanoines de Lucques sur la liturgie du Latran,» p. 130, n. 14.

51. See E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd ed. prepared and enlarged by V. Brown, *Sussidi Eruditi* 34 (Rome, 1980) I.269, n. 2.

cui ē auctoritas referat. qđ modū.
 ul' uires ei' excedat. t q̄ pre
 ē cū karitate, sicut frīb'. Ipse ū
 q̄ ub' p̄ ē. t ab oīb'. honoret
 p̄ lat'. honore corā ub' p̄ lat'. sit ub'.
 t bonū exēplū sit omīb'. Circa omīs
 se ipsū bonoy. p̄beat exēplū.
 e disciplina. Disciplina libēs habet.
 t p̄posito humilit̄ obdiāt.
 Vnde magis obediēdo nō sot. Oracio
 beati augustini. Donq' dñs ut obser
 uetur hōmīa. tāquā spālīs pulcrtu
 dīnī amatores. & bono xpī.
 t p̄ unā quāq; septimanā. una uice
 legat'. Vt aut uos in libello hī tāquā
 in speculo possitis. hec que secūt' usu
 fiūt tā ī ecclā sēi Rūphī quā domo.
 Sbbo āte cap' ieiunū frī omīs radūt'.
 & cōtinēciē causa. ē enī qđ dā peni
 tēciē gen'. usq; ī sbbo scō differat'.
 Vnde beatus gregori' ī moralib'.

<LIBER CONSUECUDINUM SANCTI RUPHI
MONASTERII STAGNENSIS>

(fol. 110r) <C>apitula.

- <I.> *Ut simul omnes habitent. Hec sunt.*¹
 II. *Ut sit eis cor unum et anima una. Et sit vobis.*²
 III. *De proprio. Et non dicatis.*³
 IV. *De victu et vestimento. Et distribuatur.*⁴
 V. *Non equale detur.*⁵
 VI. *Non abeant proprium. Qui aliquid.*⁶
 VII. *Ut pauperes non querant que foris non habebant. Qui autem non ha-*
 *bebant.*⁷
 VIII. *Ne superbiant pauperes. Nec erigant cervicem.*⁸
 VIII. *Ut nobiles non despiciant pauperes. Rursum eciam illi.*⁹
 X. *Non superbiant pro divitiis. Nec extollantur si comuni vite.*¹⁰
 XI. *De superbia vitanda. Alia quippe quecumque iniquitas.*¹¹
 XII. *De concordia fratrum. Omnes ergo unanimiter.*¹²
 XIII. *De oracione. Oracionibus.*¹³
 XIII. *In oratorio nemo aliquid agat nisi ad quod est factum.*¹⁴ Unde et no-
 men accepit, ut si forte aliqui eciam preter oras constitutas, si eis va-
 *cat et orare voluerint.*¹⁵
 XV. *De psalmis et hymnis. Psalmis et hymnis.*¹⁶
 XVI. *Quid cantetur. Et nolite cantare.*¹⁷ (fol. 110v)
 XVII. *De abstinentia. Carnem vestram.*¹⁸
 XVIII. *De eo qui non potest ieiunare. Quando autem aliquis.*¹⁹

1. Augustinus, *Regula tertia*, ed. L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin*, I (Paris 1967) p. 417, l. 1.

2. Ibid., p. 417, l. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 418, l. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 418, l. 6.

5. Ibid., cf. p. 418, l. 8.

6. Ibid., p. 418, l. 11.

7. Ibid., p. 418, l. 13.

8. Ibid., p. 419, l. 19.

9. Ibid., p. 419, l. 23.

10. Ibid., p. 419, ll. 26 f.

11. Ibid., p. 420, l. 29.

12. Ibid., p. 420, l. 34.

13. Ibid., p. 420, l. 36.

14. Ibid., p. 420, l. 36.

15. Ibid., p. 420, ll. 37-39.

16. Ibid., p. 421, l. 41.

17. Ibid., p. 421, l. 43.

18. Ibid., p. 421, l. 45.

19. Ibid., p. 421, l. 46.

- XVIII. *Ut assidue legatur dum edunt. Cum acceditis ad mensam.*²⁰
 XX. *De infirmis. Qui infirmi sunt ex pristina.*²¹
 XXI. *Ut nobiles misericorditer tractentur. Et si eis qui ue<nerunt>.*²²
 XXII. *De egrotantibus. Sane quemadmodum egrotantes.*²³
 XXIII. *Ut post egritudinem redeant ad suum ordinem. Set cum vires pristin-
nas.*²⁴
 XXIII. *Ut bonis studeant moribus. Non sit notabilis.*²⁵
 XXV. *De itinere. Quando proceditis.*²⁶
 XXVI. *De conversacione. Cum veneritis quo itis.*²⁷
 XXVII. *De habitu corporis. Nichil fiat.*²⁸
 XXVIII. *Ut mulieres non concupiscant. Oculi vestri et si iaciuntur.*²⁹
 XXVIII. *De pudicicia servanda. Quando ergo simul estis.*³⁰
 XXX. *De petulancia. Et si hanc de qua loquor.*³¹
 XXXI. *Ut duobus vel tribus convincatur testibus. Si autem et post amonicio-
nem.*³²
 XXXII. *<D>e eo qui indicat peccatum alterius. Nec (fol. 111r) vos iudicetis es-
se malivolos.*³³
 <XXXIII om.>
 XXXIII. *Ut prius preposito vestro ostendatur. Set antequam aliis.*³⁴
 XXXV. *Qui convictus non emendaverit, de societate proiciatur. Convictus vero
secundum propositi vel eciam presbiter.*³⁵
 XXXVI. *De omnibus similiter peccatis. Et hoc quod dixi de oculo non figen-
do.*³⁶
 XXXVII. *De litteris non accipiendis oculite, nec munera, absque licencia. Qui au-
tem cumque progressus in tantum.*³⁷
 XXXVIII. *Ut vestes in uno habeantur. Vestes vestras in unum abeant.*³⁸
 XXXVIII. *<U>t non murmurent de vestibus. Si autem hic inter vos.*³⁹
 XL. *Ut omnia in comune operentur. Ita sane ut nullus.*⁴⁰
 XLI. *De karitate. Caritas enim de qua scriptum est quod non querit que
sua sunt sic intelligitur.*⁴¹

20. Ibid., p. 421, l. 49.

21. Ibid., p. 421, l. 53.

22. Ibid., p. 422, l. 58.

23. Ibid., p. 422, l. 68.

24. Ibid., p. 422, l. 72.

25. Ibid., p. 423, l. 78.

26. Ibid., p. 423, l. 80.

27. Ibid., p. 423, l. 80.

28. Ibid., p. 423, l. 82.

29. Ibid., p. 424, l. 84.

30. Ibid., p. 426, l. 103.

31. Ibid., p. 426, l. 106.

32. Ibid., p. 426, l. 109.

33. Ibid., p. 426, l. 113.

34. Ibid., p. 427, l. 120.

35. Ibid., p. 427, l. 125.

36. Ibid., p. 428, l. 130.

37. Ibid., p. 428, l. 134.

38. Ibid., p. 428, l. 139.

39. Ibid., p. 429, l. 145.

40. Ibid., p. 429, l. 153.

41. Ibid., p. 430, ll. 155 f.

- XLII. *Ut quod uni datur inter necessaria deputetur.* Consequens ergo est, ut etiam cum quis suis.⁴²
- XLIII. *Fur est qui celaverit datum.* Quod si aliquis rem sibi collatam.⁴³
- XLIIII. *De mensura vestimentorum et lavacionis.* (fol. 111v) Indumenta vestra secundum arbitrium prepositi laventur sive a vobis.⁴⁴
- XLV. *De lavacro corporis et medicine.* Lavacrum etiam corpori cuius infirmi.⁴⁵
- XLVI. *Ut bini eant aut terni.* Neque eant ad balneas.⁴⁶
- XLVII. *Ut non eant quo voluerint.* Et ille qui habet aliquo eundi necessitatem cum quibus prepositus iusserit ire debebit.⁴⁷
- XLVIII. *De cura egrotantium.* Egrotantium cura sive post.⁴⁸
- XLVIII. *Ut qui pressunt sine murmure serviant.* Sive autem qui cellario sive qui vestibus.⁴⁹
- L. *De codicibus accipiendis.* Codices certa hora.⁵⁰
- LI. *Qualiter vestimenta et calciamenta dispensentur fratribus.* Vestimenta vero et calciamenta quam.⁵¹
- LII. *Ut lites cito finiantur.* Lites aut nullas habeat⁵².
- LIII. *Ut qui alium iecerit cito satisfaciat.* Quicumque convitio vel maledicto.⁵³
- LIIII. *Ut qui invicem se ledunt invicem* (fol. 112r) *satisfaciant.* Si autem invicem leserint invicem sibi.⁵⁴
- LV. *Ut qui lesus non dimittit sine causa est in monasterio.* Qui autem non vult dimittere fratri, non sperat accipere oracionis effectum.⁵⁵ Qui autem nunquam vult petere veniam aut non ex amino petit sine causa est in monasterio etiam si inde non prociatur.⁵⁶
- <LVI> *<U>t dura verba cito emendentur.* Proinde vobis a verbis durioribus parcite.⁵⁷
- <LVII> *Ut a subiecto prepositus non petat veniam.* Quando autem necessitas discipline moribus.⁵⁸
- <LVIII> *Qualiter obediant suo proposito.* Preposito tanquam patri obediatur multo magis presbitero qui omnium vestrum curam gerit.⁵⁹
- <LX> *<Q>ualiter neglecta corrigantur.* Ut ergo cuncta ista servantur et si quid.⁶⁰

42. Ibid., p. 430, l. 161.

43. Ibid., cf. p. 430, l. 165 apparatus.

44. Ibid., p. 431, l. 166.

45. Ibid., p. 431, l. 169.

46. Ibid., p. 432, l. 179.

47. Ibid., p. 432, ll. 180 f.

48. Ibid., p. 432, l. 182.

49. Ibid., p. 432, l. 186.

50. Ibid., p. 433, l. 188.

51. Ibid., p. 433, l. 190.

52. Ibid., p. 433, l. 193.

53. Ibid., p. 433, l. 196.

54. Ibid., p. 433, l. 198.

55. Ibid., cf. p. 434, l. 203 apparatus.

56. Ibid., p. 434, l. 204.

57. Ibid., p. 434, l. 206.

58. Ibid., p. 434, l. 209.

59. Ibid., p. 435, l. 217.

60. Ibid., p. 435, l. 220.

- <LXI> <U>*t quod corrigere prepositus non poterit ad presbiterum referat.* Ad prepositum precipue pertinebit ut ad presbiterum (fol. 112v) cui est auctoritas referat, quod modum vel vires eius excedit.⁶¹
- <LXII.> <U>*t qui preest cum karitate serviat fratribus.* Ipse vero qui vobis preest.⁶²
- <LXIII> <U>*t ab omnibus honoretur prelatus.* Honore coram vobis prelatus, sit vobis.⁶³
- <LXIII> <U>*t bonum exemplum sit omnibus.* Circa omnes seipsum bonorum, prebeant exemplum.⁶⁴
- <LXV> *De disciplina.* Disciplinam libens habeat.⁶⁵
- <LXVI> <U>*t preposito humiliter obediant.* Unde magis obediendo non sol<um>.⁶⁶
- Oracio beati Augustini.* Donet dominus ut observetis hec omnia, tamquam spiritalis pulcritudinis amatores et bono Christi.⁶⁷
- <LXVII> <U>*t per unamquamque septimanam, una vice legatur.* Ut autem vos in libello hoc tamquam in speculo possitis.⁶⁸

61. Ibid., p. 435, ll. 222-224.

62. Ibid., p. 436, l. 225.

63. Ibid., p. 436, ll. 226 f.

64. Ibid., p. 436, ll. 227 f.

65. Ibid., p. 436, l. 230.

66. Ibid., p. 436, l. 233.

67. Ibid., p. 437, l. 236.

68. Ibid., p. 437, l. 240.

HEC QUE SECUNTUR USU FIUNT TAM IN ECCLESIA SANCTI RUPHI QUAM DOMO

- <1> Sabbato ante caput ieiunium fratres omnes raduntur et continenciae causa, est enim quoddam penitenciae genus, usque in sabbato sancto differatur. Unde beatus Gregorius in *Moralibus*, (fol. 112v) Tunc surrexit Iob and scidit tunicam suam et tonso capite corruens in terram adoravit.
- <2> Mos enim veterum fuit ut quiquis pro specie sui corporis capillos nutriendo servaret, eos tempore afflictionis abscideret, et rursum qui tranquillitatis tempore capillos abscideret eos in ostensione afflictionis nutriret.
- <3> Beatus autem Iob qui tranquillitatis tempore capillos servasse ostenditur ad doloris usum caput totondisse memoratur, quatenus cum in cunctis eum rebus manus superna percuteret, eciam sponte illum penitenciae species diversa fuscaret.¹
- <4> <Q>ualiter aut tonderi debeant Anicetus papa Martinus papa constituerunt, ut nullus clericus comam nutriret secundum preceptum apostoli, sed atonso capite superius patentibus auribus et secundum Aaron talarem vestem induere ut sint in habitu ornato.²
- <5> Unde Ysidorus: Hi qui in divinis cultibus mancipati domino (fol. 113v) consecrantur, quasi Nazorei, id est sancti dei, crine preciso innoventur.³
- <6> Quod vero detonso capite superius inferius que circuli corona relinquitur, sacerdocium regnumque ecclesie in eis existimo figurari. <T>iara enim apud veteres constituebatur in capite sacerdotum. <H>ec ex bisso confecta rotunda erat quasi spera media et hoc significatur in parte capitis tonsa.
- <7> <C>orona autem latitudo aurei est circuli, que regum capita cingit. <U>trumque itaque signum exprimitur in capite clericorum, ut impleatur

1. Sabbato ... fuscaret, Fischer, p. 25. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 143 (Turnhout, 1979), Lib. 2, par. 16, p. 78, ll. 45-48.
 2. Qualiter ... ornato, Amort, p. 965.
 3. Ysidorus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C. Lawson, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 113 (Turnhout, 1989), L. 2, cap. 4, p. 55, ll. 7-9).

eciam corporis quadam similitudinem quod scriptum est, Petro apostolo perdocente, Vos estis genus electum regale sacerdocium.⁴

- <8> <E>st autem in clericis tonsura signum quoddam quod in corpore figuratur set in animo agitur, scilicet ut hoc (fol. 114r) signo vicia rescantur et criminibus carnis nostre quasi crinibus exuamur atque innovatis sensibus, ut comis rudibus, enitescamus, expoliantes, iuxta apostolum, veterem hominem cum actibus suis et induentes novum qui secundum deum creatus est renovemur in agnitione dei.⁵

<P>RIMA IN CAPITULO IEIUNIUM.

- <9> Finita prima diei vii. psalmi cum letania dicantur.⁶ Cum vero primum inceperint psalmum omnes simul genuflexo in terram, veniam petunt. <P>ost finem autem singulorum, scilicet cum *Gloria* dicitur, similiter faciunt, et et (sic) in matutinis et vespers, et ad oras, cum primum *Gloria* dicitur, a secunda feria xl. usque ad pascha id ipsum fiat. <Hoc> tamen in dominicis diebus et festivitibus viiii. lectionum, a vespere usque in vespem nullo modo faciendum est.
- <10> <E>adem die post vi. antequam in coro aliquid incipiatur fratres omnes ibidem in coro discalciantur. <D>einde (fol. 114v) preparatus sacerdos in capa et calciatus cum ministris in albis similiter calciatis coram maiori altari veniens incipit antiphona in coro, *Exaudi nos domine*. Tunc sacerdos circa altaria fratresque omnes sicut in dominicis diebus ordinate venientes aqua benedicta aspergens dicit postea preces, *Ostende nobis domine, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum, Concede nobis domine*.⁷
- <11> Finita oracione, incipit cantor antiphonas huius officii causam satis prenotantes.⁸ *Immutemur. Iuxta vestibulum*.¹⁰ Cum vero antiphone dicuntur, sacerdos genuflexo coram altari, sibi ipsi prius ac ministris cineres imponit dicens, *O <h>omo*.¹¹ Deinde versa facie ad eorum fratres bini et bini discalciantur cum magna cordis contritione coram eo genua flectentes, accipiunt ab eo cineres, recordantes, scilicet, (fol. 115r) per in obedienciam primi hominis, prolatam in se maledictionis sentenciam qua dicitur, quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.¹² Set et repropiciacionis ac pietatis illius clemenciam de quo dicitur, Factus pro nobis maledictum ut nos a maledictione liberaret.¹³ Singulis autem dicat, *O homo recognosce quia pulvis es*.¹⁴

4. Ibid., L. 2, cap. 4, p. 55, ll. 25-33.

5. Ibid., L. 2, cap. 4, p. 55, ll. 17-23.

6. vii. ... letania, cf. Fischer, p. 27.

7. Deinde ... domine, Amort, p. 957.

8. Finita ... prenotantes, Amort, p. 957. Cf. Miquel-S. Gros, «El Liber Consuetudinum Vicensis Ecclesie del Canonge Andreu Salmúnia – Vic, Museu Episcopal, MS. 134 (LXXIV) –,» (=Vic) *Miscel·lània Litúrgica Catalana*, 7 (1996) p. 212.173.

9. *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Rome, 1963) (=CAO) 147, Feria iv. Cin. Cf. Vic, p. 212.174.

10. Immutemur ... <h>omo, Amort, p. 957. CAO 147, Feria iv. Cin.

11. CAO 127.2, Pro defunctis.

12. Deinde ... reverteris, Amort, p. 957; Fischer, p. 27..

13. Fischer, p. 27.

14. CAO 127.2, Pro defunctis. Cf. Vic p. 212.174.

- <12> <H>is ita gestis sacerdos revertitur in sacrarium, et incipit officium *Miserere omnium domine*.¹⁵ Tuncque ablutis manibus indutus planeta ingreditur ad missam, in qua *Flectamus genua* et *Humiliate* dicitur atque prephacio abetur que ab hac die usque ad cenam domini diebus feriis solummodo dicitur. Set et ministri ab hac die usque ad cenam domini casulis utuntur. Quod Silvester papa constituit ut scilicet pallio linostomo leva diachonorum tegetur.¹⁶
- <13> Ab hac quoque die *Flectamus genua* dicitur. Hoc autem (fol. 115v) ex concilio aureliani papa cap. xiii. <I>n xl. et in ieiunia iiii. temporum tantummodo ad missarum sollempnia fideles genuaflectere debent. <I>n dominicis econtra diebus vel ceteris festis a vespera usque in vesperum non flectant ienua, set stantes incurvati orent. Nec quisquam uno genu solotenus impresso orare presumant sicut Iudei iridentes dominum in passione eius fecisse leguntur, set utraque genua in terram ponant. Ait enim apostolus, Flecto ienua mea ad patrem domini mei Iesu Christi.¹⁷
- <14> <E>t post inceptum epistula fratres calciantur. <E>t post *Sanctus Sanctus* usque ad pascha diebus feriis tantum ad missam diei in coro prosternuntur, donec *Per omnia secula seculorum* ante *Agnus dei* dicitur.¹⁸
- <15> <In> sequenti prima dominica usque ad cenam domini post missam sacerdos cum ministris in dominicis cantata vi. et in diebus feriis finitis inter se (fol. 116r) vesperis ceteris in coro cantantibus tribus pauperibus in ospitali mandatum faciant. <E>t eundo nudis pedibus in diebus tantummodo feriis cantent hunc psalmum *Verba mea* et compleant cetera solito more.¹⁹
- <16> <P>roxima secunda feria post eandem dominicam ante capitulum cruces quo operiantur et pallia ab altaribus removeantur. Eadem secunda feria et iiii^a et vi. per totam quadragesimam in claustro silencium custodiatur et in eisdem feriis viiii. lectiones pro defunctis predicto tempore agantur.
- <17> Cotidie autem non statim post sextam missa dicatur sed tunc lecciones audiantur. <E>t in diebus quibus oportet loquantur usque ad viiii. et post viiii. cantent missam. <I>n qua nonnisi una oracio dicitur nisi alicuius sancti festivitas ipsa die agatur. Cum vero missa in qua due oraciones (fol. 116v) precedunt et lecciones ii. subsecuntur dicitur prima oracio absque salutatione, secunda solito cum salutatione fit.
- <18> <P>ost oracionem vero dominicam incipitur pulsari primum signum ad vesperis usque quo dicitur *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Secundum vero signum post vero iii. *Agnus dei* usque *Dominus vobiscum*. <T>ercium autem cum post [*in marg. secundum*] oracionem super populum incipit *Per*

15. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex d'après le graduel de Monza et les antiphonaires de Rheinau, du Mont-Blandin, de Compiègne, de Corbie et de Senlis.* (=AMS), ed. R.-J. Hesbert (Rome, 1985) 37a, Fer. iv Cin. Cf. Vic, p. 212.175.

16. cf. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, I (Paris, 1886; repr. Paris, 1955) 171. 35

17. <H>is ... Christi, Amort, pp. 957 f. cf. Burchardus, *Decretum* 13.3; PL 140.885.

18. <E>t ... dicitur, Amort, p. 958.

19. <In> ... more, Amort, p. 958.

dominum nostrum Iesum. <Q>uo finito primum quidem vespere diei, post haec Beate Marie ad hultimum defunctorum dicant. <D>ehinc facto parvo intervallo percusso cimbalo eant cenatum. <Un>de quoque intervallum in aliis ieuniorum diebus aut post missam cum ante canitur ora viiii. aut post viiii. cum prius canitur missa, semper fit ante cibum.

<19> <C>um vero non ieunatur sit semper inter missam et vi. <P>ost vi. vero finitam itur in refecturium. <C>um vero missa defuerit fit intervallum tanti pene spaci quantu fuerat inter iii. et vi. missa. <Q>uando cumque (fol. 117r) autem fit intervallum silencium semper custodiatur. <C>um fuerint in claustru fratres aut legant aut scribant aut opus utile quid faciant. <C>um locuntur honeste et moderate et cum nimia cautela non de vanitatibus aut scurrilitatibus set de his que utilitatem conferunt, nec vocum strepitus, alcius perstrepat, tamen in manibus libros semper teneant et numquam in claustru absque eis sint.

<20> Sequenti dominica predictae secunda, videlicet post iiiⁱ^{or} tempora de antecedenti feria iii. resumit totum officium *Reminiscere*.²⁰

<D>E SCRUTINIO QUO TEMPORE VEL QUOCIENS FIAT.

<21> <I>n hac iii. ebdomada xl. fiunt scrutinia ii. in iii. et vi. feria. In v^{ta} fuint iii. feria ii. et iii. et vi. <I>n ebdoma maiori ii. feria iii. et sabbato sancto.

<22> Ex concilio Bracarenensi capitula iii. <H>oc omnimodis precipimus et antiqui canones iubent ut ante baptismum xx. dies ad purgacionem (fol. 117v) exorcismi catecuminu veniant et in illis diebus iuxta canonum precepta erudiantur et scrutentur.²¹

<23> Ex decretis Celestini pape, Illud etiam quod circa baptizandos in universo mundo sancta ecclesia uniformiter agit, non ociose contemlemur intuitu cum sive parvuli sive iuvenes ad regeneracionis veniunt sacramentum, non prius fontem vite aderant quam exorcismus et exsufflacionibus clericorum spiritus ab eis immundus abigatur ut tunc vere appareat quomodo princeps (sic) huius mundi mittatur foras.²²

<24> Memorata igitur iii. feria apud cultores ecclesiae in apertionem aurium dicitur. Eadem die agitur scrutinium quod maximum est inter septem scrutinia. Eadem die tanguntur aures et nares catecuminum digitis presbiterorum. Eadem die instituuntur de auctoribus et iniciis iii. evangeliorum. Eadem die percipiunt (fol. 118r) symbolum et oracionem dominicam ad reddendum in sabbato sancto. Unde Augustinus in libro *De fide et moribus*: Baptizandis symbolum tradimus reddendumque reposcimus.²³

20. Sequenti ... *Reminiscere*, cf. Fischer, p. 6. AMS 43a, Feria iv Q.T. Quad.

21. Cf. Burchardus, *Decretum* 4.8; PL 140.730.

22. Cf. Burchardus, *Decretum* 4.10; PL 140.730.

23. <D>e scrutinio ... *reposcimus*, Amort, p. 967. Augustinus, *De fide et operibus*, ed. J. Zycha, *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* 41 (Vienna, 1900) cap. 11, par. 17, pp. 54 f., l. 25.

QUID SIT EXORCIZARE.

- <25> Exorcizare grece dicitur, latine autem adiurare vel increpare.²⁴ Per peccatum enim in primo homine lapsi sumus, et in mortis haereditatem devenimus. Impleti sumus tremoribus et erroribus, merito peccati; cum quo nascimur. Ideo parvuli exsufflantur et exorcizantur, ut pellatur ab eis potestas inimici, que decepit hominem, ut possideret homines. Non ergo dei creatura in infantibus exorcizatur aut exsufflatur, set ille ex quo sunt omnes qui sub peccato nascuntur; est enim princeps peccatorum.²⁵
- <26> Exorcismus autem sermo est predicationis et adiuracionis contra immundum spiritum. Energuminis sive cathecumenis (fol. 118v) factus per quem ab illis diaboli nequissima vis et inveterata malicia vel violenta incursio expulsa fugetur. Hoc significavit lunaticus ille quem increpavit dominus Iesus et exiit ab illo demonium. Potestas ergo diaboli exorcizatur et exsufflatur in eis ut ei renuncient atque eripi a potestate tenebrarum in regnum domini sui per sacramentum baptismatis transferatur.

QUARE DETUR SAL EXORCIZANDIS.

- <27> Sal autem in ministerio chatheminis dandum a patribus, ideo est constitutum ut eius gustu condimentum sapientie percipiant neque desipiant a sapore Christi, non sint fatui et retro resipiscant sicut uxor Loth que versa est in statuam salis quantinus eius signo condirentur hi qui per fidem mundo et actibus desideriiisque renunciant ut affectionis pristinae non recordentur neque ad seculi illecebras (fol. 119r) revertantur.²⁶
- <28> Unde legis mandatum est ut omne sacrificium salis adiectione muniretur condiretur dicente legislatore, Nec auferes sal federis de sacrificio domini.²⁷ Propter quod dominus in evangelio ait, Omnis victima sale salietur.²⁸ Et in alio loco, Habete sal in vobis, et pacem habete inter vos.²⁹ Apostolus quoque precipit dicens, Sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus.³⁰
- <29> Unde et vulgo sapientes sulsi et stulti vocantur insulsi.³¹ Estimant quidam quod ea apud quosdam gentilium antiquitas erat consuetudo ut qui fidelitatem regibus promittebant salem adiurandum vel consecrandum in presencia eorumdem regum quibus fidem promittebant comederent. Unde in libro Esdre scriptum est quod principes Samaritanorum regi Persarum

24. Cf. Isidorus, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911) VI.19.55 f.

25. Augustinus, *Sermo de symbolo ad cathecumenum* ed. R. van der Plaeste, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 46 (Turnhout, 1969) cap. 1, p. 186, ll. 39-48.

26. Isidorus, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, L. 2, c. 21, pp. 96 f., ll. 16-25.

27. Leviticus 1.13.

28. Marcus 9.48.

29. Marcus 9.48.

30. Colossenses 4.6.

31. cf. Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri xiv*, ed. F. Glorie, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 75 (Turnhout, 1964) L. 4, cap. 16, p. 942.

cum de accusacione Iudeorum, scriberent dixerunt, Memores sumus salis quem in palacio comedimus.³²

QUANDO (fol. 119v) SACERDOS IMPONIT SUPER CATHEMINOS (sic) MANUM.

<30> De hoc officio sanctus Gregorius ait, Sancta quippe ecclesia quotidie spiritualiter facit quod tunc per apostolos corporaliter faciebat. Nam sacerdotes eius cum per exorcismi gratiam manum cathecuminis imponunt et habitare malignos spiritus in eorum mente contradicunt quid aliud faciunt nisi demonia eiciunt?³³

FERIA V. CENE DOMINI.

<31> Ad oras prosternuntur ad oracionem. Non dicitur *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, set tantum psalmi suaviter cantantur, nec *Gloria* dicitur, nec capitulum, nec *Kirrieleyson*,³⁴ nec *Et ne nos*, nec preces, set ad terciam post psalmos incipit unus responsum et dicit versum sine *Gloria*, et repetit *Accipite*,³⁵ et sic prostrati dicunt *Pater noster*. Et inter se dicunt *Miserere mei deus*,³⁶ sicque facto spaciolo finitur ora sine oracione.

<32> Ad vi^{am} et ad viiii^{am} eodem ordine (fol. 120r) per singula. Set eadem die ante iii. in mane dicitur missa ad servitores pauperum et ad familiam. Et interim solito more fratres pulsato tintinabulo surgunt, pectuntur et abluuntur et sonato signo ad primam ecclesiam ingressi ad oracionem se prosternunt. Inde surgentes incipiunt psalmos et suaviter cantant. *Gloria patri* non dicitur, nec *Kirrieleyson*, nec preces set prostrati *Pater noster* et *Credo in deum* continue dicant.

<33> De hinc sicut mos est confessionem dicant et *Miserere mei deus*,³⁷ et sic facto spaciolo surgunt³⁸ et capitulum intrant. In quo continuatim annuncietur Kalendarium, legatur lectio de homelia, pronuncientur defuncti, et dicad (sic) sacerdos *Requiescant in pace*, et fratres *Amen*, et recitetur tabula. Postea dicat ebdomadarius *Benedicite* et fratres respondeant *Dominus*, tractates que in capitula tractanda fuerint, exeant (fol. 120v) capitulo nichil dicentes.³⁹

<34> Post terciam providentur lecciones⁴⁰ et sedilia ante refectorium ubi sedere debeant pauperes honeste adornentur; similiter ante capitulum ubi sedeat conventus, in refectorio quoque operiantur mensae in quibus comedant

32. Esdras I, 4.14.

33. Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in evangelia*, ed. R. Étaix, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1999) L. 2, hom. 29, cap. 4, p. 248, ll. 86-91.

34. Cf. Vic, p. 221.263.

35. CAO 147, Feria v. in Cena domini.

36. CAO 28, De psalmis.

37. CAO 28, De psalmis.

38. in mane ... surgunt, Amort, p. 972.

39. et capitulum ... dicentes, Amort, p. 973.

40. Post ... lecciones, Amort, p. 973.

pauperes. Interim dum vi. cantatur in collocutorio. a laicis fratribus preparatur aqua calida et frigida et cetera que ad mandatum pertinent. Tot etiam pauperes introducuntur in claustrum quot fuerint seniores et in sedilibus disponuntur.⁴¹

- <35> Finita vi. veniunt fratres per ordinem sedere ante capitulum, alii hinc alii inde et discalciant se. Cum autem cantor antiphonam inceperit *Mandatum novum*⁴² et alius huic officio congruas tractim dicendo, fratres sicut sunt in ordine primi, capis depositis et nudis pedibus veniant, et accepto lintea ad instar domini Iesu se precingant et exemplo illius humiliter et devote pedes pauperibus lavant, linteo tergant, capillis etiam sicut illa mulier (fol. 121r) peccatrix textit atque iterum detergant et osculentur.⁴³
- <36> Sicque disponatur ut qui simul venerint simul redeant simul in lavatorio manus abluant, simul tergant, simulque sedere veniant. Hic etiam alii succedant⁴⁴ qui hoc idem similiter faciant. Post hoc ii. fratribus laicis iniungantur ut aquam ad abluendas pauperum manus deferant, alique ii. fratres mapulas ad extergendum teneant.
- <37> Deinde frater ille qui vestibis preest singulis fratribus tam laicis quam clericis sicut sedent in ordine singuli numos deferat quos illi duo, et duo sicut prius suis pauperibus, genuflexo coram eis osculantes manum offerunt,⁴⁵ simulque sedere veniunt. Simulque alii faciant per ordinem. Quo per acto pauperes refectorium introducuntur. Quibus collocatis tintinnabulum. Fratres vero surgentes calciati veniunt ordinate sicut solent ante mensas et deferuntur panes in chofinis a duobus (fol. 121v) fratribus, unus hinc alius illinc, et accepto pane, unusquisque ponit ante suum pauperem. Tunc incipitur *Edent pauperes et saturabuntur*.⁴⁶ Duo postea fratres afferunt cibum apptatum et ponunt ante eos. Dehinc pulsato signo ante missam, exeunt per ordinem, remanentibus ii. ministris qui unum deferat et cetera.

DE ORDINE MISSE.

- <38> Cum autem cantatur nona preparet se a missa, diachonus in dalmaticam, subdiachonus in tunica.⁴⁷ Omnia vero signa productius, solito pulsantur in classicum. Quo finito ligantur corde usque in sabbato sancto. Tunc cantores qui predenti dominica fuerunt, induti capis missam sollempniter incipiunt, que pro presentis sacrificii, recenti institutione devotissime celebretur. In qua iteratur responsum, et cantatur *Credo in unum deum*.
- <39> Quod hac die sanctum crisma conficitur, Fabiani (fol. 122r) papa, Quod omni anno in cena domini crisma conficitur, cap. viiii. In illa enim die do-

41. Interim ... disponuntur, Amort, p. 973.

42. Finita ... novum, Amort, p. 973.

43. fratres ... osculentur, Amort, p. 973.

44. Sicque ... succedant, Amort, p. 973.

45. Deinde ... offerunt, cf. Amort, p. 973.

46. Psalmus 21.27.

47. De ordine ... tunica, Amort, p. 973.

minus Iesus postquam cenavit cum discipulis suis et pedes eorum lavit, sicut a sanctis apostolis predecessores nostri acceperunt, nobisque reliquerunt crisma conficere docuit.

- <40> Ipsa enim lavacio pedum nostrum significat baptismum quod sancti crismatis unctione perficitur atque confirmatur. Nam sicut ipsius diei sollempnitas per singulos annos est agenda et de anno in annum renovanda et fidelibus tradenda, ita quia novum sacramentum est per singulos annos in iamdicta die innovandum, et vetus est in ecclesia concremandum. Ita a sanctis apostolis et a successoribus eorum accepimus vobisque tenenda mandamus.
- <41> Hec sancta Romana et Antiocena ecclesia a tempore apostolorum custodit. Hec et Iherosolimorum et Ephesianorum tenet.⁴⁸ Silvester (fol. 122v) papa constituit ab episcopo crisma confici.⁴⁹ Quanta sit ratio comunicandi hac die. Post *Agnus dei* sacerdos dividat oblatas et qui voluerint comunicent. Congrua siquidem ratio postulat ut eo die religiosus quisque a comunione sese minime subtrahat quo videlicet sacramentum sui corporis primo Christus instituit, omnique ecclesie quocienscumque id ageret in sui memoriam faciendum mandavit. Hinc est quod in decretis Soteris papa cap. v. sic legitur, In cena domini a quibusdam preceptio eucharistie negligitur. Que quoniam in eadem die ab omnibus fidelibus exceptis his quibus pro gravibus criminibus inibitum est percipienda sit ecclesiasticus usus demonstrat cum eciam penitentes eadem die ad percipiendam corporis et sanguinis domini sacramenta reconciliatur.⁵⁰
- <42> Sacerdos autem summat de corpore domini oblatas integras adservandum usque mane die parasceve de quibus comunicet. (fol. 123r) Sanguis vero domini ipso die penitus absumatur. Interim dum comunicant dicitur *Agnus dei* et comunio *Dominus Iesus*⁵¹ absque osculo.
- <43> Postea incipitur antiphonam *Calicem salutaris*⁵² cum psalmis qui suaviter cantentur.⁵³ Interim sacerdos si voluerit sedeat. Post *Magnificat* finita antiphona sequitur oratio ad complendum, et diachonus *Benedicamus domino*. In pluribus autem ecclesiis *Ite missa est* dicitur, quia *Gloria in excelsis deo* dicunt, quod nos non dicimus.
- <44> Post hec egressi facto spaciolo sonatur tabula, lotisque manibus refectorium ingressi et in ordine stantes non pulsatur tintinabulum set incipunt *Edent pauperes et saturabuntur*,⁵⁴ quod finiatur sine *Gloria* et *Kirieleyson* et dicitur *Pater noster*. Quo tacite finito dicit sacerdos *Benedic domine dona*

48. Tunc ... tenet, Amort, p. 974; Fischer, p. 48. P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863; repr. Aalen, 1963) 160 f.

49. cf. L. Duchesne, L., *Le Liber Pontificalis*, I (Paris, 1886; repr. Paris, 1955) 171.35.

50. Quanta ... reconciliatur, Amort, p. 974; Fischer, p. 48. cf. Burchardus, *Decretum*, 5.20; PL 140.756.

51. AMS 77b, Feria v. in Cena domini.

52. CAO 72, Feria v. in Cena domini.

53. Sacerdos ... cantentur, Amort, p. 974; Fischer, p. 48.

54. Psalmus 21.27.

usque *Per omnia secula seculorum*, et fratres *Amen*. Leccio sine benedictione legatur et sine *Tu autem domine* finiatur.

- <45> Finito prandio dicant (fol. 123v) *Memoriam fecit sine Gloria*. Sicque cantando *Miserere mei deus* pergant ad ecclesiam. Quo finito *Pater noster* tantum sub silencio dicatur et sic egrediantur.
- <46> Post haec altaria discooperiantur et usque in sabbato sancto discooperita relinquantur.⁵⁵

DE MANDATO.

- <47> Comedentibus servitoribus preparantur omnia ad mandatum seniorum. In capitulo vero ornentur lectricum ubi legendum est evangelium, in refectorio talamus ubi legatur. Postquam vero servitores comederint non differant sonari tabula ad mandatum. Et cum universi tam clerici quam laici fratres in capitulo convenerint, dominus abbas vel qui vices eius tenuerit lavet omnibus pedes ad exemplum domini. Surgit et ponit vestimenta sua et accepto linteo precingit se, deinde missa aqua in pelvim incipit lavare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo quo fuerit precinctus. Capillis etiam sicut illa mulier tergit et osculatur.⁵⁶ (fol. 124r)

A QUIBUS VERO INCIPIENDUM SIT.

- <48> Beatus Augustinus ostendit, Cepit in quid Iesus lavare pedes discipulorum et extergere linteo. Venit ergo ad Simonem Petrum quasi aliquibus iam lavisset et post eos venisset ad primum apostolorum. Set non ita intelligendum est quod post aliquos ad illum venerit set quod ab illo ceperit. Quando ergo pedes apostolorum lavare cepit, venit ad eum a quo cepit, id est ad Petrum.⁵⁷ Ab hac vero die usque ad octabas pentecosten mandatum non fiat.⁵⁸
- <49> Circa finem mandati pergat diachonus cum ministris in vestiario et duo ceroferarii induuntur albis, subdiachonus tunica ad turibulum, diachonus dalmaticam ad textum. Iamque finito mandato cum *Pater noster*, et oratione sine *Kirieleyson*, et precibus sine *Dominus vobiscum*, procedunt illi de ecclesia. Quibus ingredientibus capitulum assurgit conventus, accedensque diachonus ad (fol. 124v) lectricum, ponit incensum in turibulo. Et postquam apertum incensaverit textum, incipit legere, ceroferariis hinc et inde cum turiferario astantibus.⁵⁹ Interim refectorarius preparat luminaria et sedilia et vinum et cetera necessaria opertis tabulis melioribus mapis. Cum autem diachonus dixerit *Surgite eamus*, hinc precedentibus ceroferariis per-

55. Post Magnificat ... relinquantur, Amort, pp. 974 f.

56. De mandato ... osculatur, Amort, p. 976; Fischer, p. 53.

57. Augustinus, *In Iohannis evangelium tractus cxxiv, Tractatus lvi*, ed. R. Willems, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 36, (Turnhout, 1954) 467, ll. 11-17.

58. A quibus ... fiat, Fischer, p. 53.

59. Circa ... astantibus, Amort, p. 976; Fischer, p. 53.

gunt ad refectorium. Ubi solito more post mensas residentibus fratribus nemo tamen bibat quo usque duobus fratribus vinum deferentibus dominus abbas legenti innuat ut taceat et ipse dicat, *Potum karitatis benedicat dextera dei patris*. Et cum responsum fuerit *Amen*, fiat potus cum sobrietate.⁶⁰

<50> Finito vero evangelio, precedentibus ceroferariis ecclesiam intrent et prostrati accepta confessione completorium cantent et interim diachonus cum ministris exutis vestibus potum (fol. 125r) veniant.

<51> Ad completorium *Nunc dimittis servum tuum domine*, sine antiphona finito, prostrati *Pater noster*, et *Credo in deum* tacite dicant et *Miserere mei deus* inter se finant, et *Deus misereatur nostri*, accipientes aquam sine oracione dicant. Interimque se ad oracione prosternant et sic dormitorium petant.⁶¹

DE FERIA VI. PARASCEVE.

<52> Feria vi. parasceven quicquid de oracione pridie diximus, eodem die totum fiat.⁶² Hoc tantum mutato ut pro signo tabula pulsetur⁶³ et ut ipsa nocte et die nudis pedibus incedant fratres usque ad prandium. Capitulum non tenetur nec tabula recitatur, set idem ipsi in crastinum legant et cantent qui ad matutinas hoc die legerant vel cantaverant.⁶⁴

<53> Ad oras percutitur tabula et sicut pridie diximus, ipse ore dicantur et finiantur. Dum autem nona cantatur induunt se purpura in (fol. 125v) albis sacerdos in stolam et capa purpurea, faciuntque ibidem in vestiario confessionem. Et tunc non accenduntur candelae circa altare. Postquam vero sacerdos cum ministris nudis pedibus venerint coram altari, statim subdiachonus accedit ad legendum,⁶⁵ pronuncians in lectione nomen prophete sic, *Leccio Oseeae prophete*. Qua finita dicitur his cui fuerit iniunctum tractum *Domine audivi*.⁶⁶ Interim sacerdos sedeat. Deinde surgens dicit *Oremus*. Et diachonus *Flectamus genua*, *Levate*, et sacerdos dat oracionem *Deus a quo et Iudas*.⁶⁷

<54> Post oracionem sequitur altera leccio et tractus *Eripe me domine ab homine*.⁶⁸ Quo finito pronunciet ita *Passio domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum Iohannem*, et sine responsione incipit legere.⁶⁹ Ubi autem dixerit *Partiti sunt vestimenta mea*, duo diachoni ex utraque parte altaris (fol. 126r) preparati statim nudant altare sindone in modum furantis.⁷⁰

60. Cum autem ... sobrietate, Amort, p. 976; Fischer, pp. 53 f.

61. Finito ... petant, Amort, pp. 976 f.; Fischer, p. 54.

62. pridie ... fiat, Amort, p. 975; Fischer, p. 54.

63. Hoc tantum ... pulsetur, Fischer, p. 54.

64. Capitulum ... cantaverant, Amort, p. 976; Fischer, p. 54..

65. Cf. Vic, p. 222.272.

66. AMS 78a, Feria vi. in Parasceve. Cf. Vic, p. 222.272.

67. Oratio in Cena Domini ad Missam. Cf. J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, I, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 16 (Fribourg/S, 1971) 171, nr. 328. Cf. Vic, p. 222.272.

68. AMS 78a, Feria vi. in Parasceve. Cf. Vic, p. 222.272.

69. Ad oras ... legere, Amort, p. 277. Cf. Vic., p. 222.273.

70. Cf. Vic, p. 222.273.

- <55> Finita passione incipit sacerdos oraciones.⁷¹ Et cum in omnibus *F<1>ectamus genua* diachonus dixerit, in ea tantum que *Pro perfidis Iudeis* dicitur, non dicad (sic).⁷² Nam quia ipso domino Iesu sicut nunc audivimus irridendo genua flectebant in passione, ecclesia tantum sibi illorum ex recenti lectione recitatum exorrescens facinus genua pro ipsis non flectit in oracione.⁷³
- <56> Post oraciones vero diachonus et subdiachonus de post altare coopertam accipientes crucem, hoc modo omnibus representent. Sint itaque post illos duo preparati fratres depositis capis qui cantent versus, *Popule meus quid feci tibi?*⁷⁴ Circa vero finem primi versus, procedant paululum qui deferunt reverentur cum cruce, respondente interim coro vi. *Agios o theos, Sanctus deus, Sanctus fortis*. Quo finito, id est ipsi qui prius cantent versum, *Ego quidem circa illis*, autem (fol. 126v) finem, iterum procedunt paululum, respondente coro eaque supra, rursusque dicitur versus, *Quid ultra debui*, et circa eius finem, procedentes veniunt ante altare.⁷⁵
- <57> Finitis vero his que in choro reponderint ipsi qui deferunt crucem subito discooperientes eam crucem, incipiunt antiphonam *Ecce lignum crucis*.⁷⁶ Ad quam conversi omnes mox ut crucifixum dominum extensis brachiis ad amplexum nos sue reconciliacionis invitante conspexerint et fons ille reconciliacionis de latere pendentis domini patens in ablucionem peccatoris et mestruate (sic) intuencium oculis occurrerit, quanto devocionis affectu, erga tantum beneficium incitentur ostendant.
- <58> Terre siquidem prostrati quocienscumque antiphona incipitur ad altare, adoret et osculentur ipsam terram.⁷⁷ Antiphona vero ad altare incepta tercio, finitur in choro cum psalmo *Beati immaculati*.⁷⁸ Deinde dicitur antiphona *Crucem tuam adoramus*⁷⁹ cum psalmo.⁸⁰ (fol. 127r)
- <59> Cum letaniis iam provectos ampliori munere spiritualium gratiarum perficiendos subvenimus in ordinacione. Cum letaniis morientium animas commendamus in sanctorum felici societate.

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- <60> Postquam venerint ad fontes sic ordinentur stacio circa eos. Stet ille qui crucem portat cum ceroferariis versa facie ad fontes coram sacerdote ad orientem converso. Quod videlicet sacerdos ante se habens fontes a dextris vero diachonum tenentem crisma, a sinistris subdiachonum cum oleo et

71. Cf. Vic, p. 222.274.

72. Finita ... dicad, Amort, p. 977.

73. Nam quia ... oracione, Fischer, p. 55.

74. Post oraciones ... tibi, Amort, p. 977; Fischer, p. 55.

75. Circa ... altare, Amort, p. 977; cf. Fischer, p. 55.

76. subito ... crucis, Amort, p. 978; cf. Fischer, p. 56. AMS 78b, Feria vi. in Parasceve.

77. Ad quam ... terram, Amort, p. 978; cf. Fischer, p. 56..

78. Psalmus 118.

79. AMS 78b, Feria vi. in Parasceve.

80. Antiphona ... psalmo, Amort, pp. 978 f.; cf. Fischer, p. 57.

ab utroque latere fontis cantores letaniam sicut ceperant prosequentes tandem completa letania facto silencio, intrat in consecracionem fontis, sicut in sacramentorio (sic) continetur, conventu hinc et inde in stacionem per ordinem constituto.⁸¹

<61> De parvulis autem providendum est ut postquam baptizati fuerint, nullum cibum accipiant, nec ablactentur antequam commonicent (sic) sacramento corporis Christi.

<62> Inde Ysidorus in libro Iosue,⁸² Postquam sub Iesu Christo (fol. 127v) duce positi per lavacri fluentia transimus ac per fidem spirituali circumcissione signamus, tunc his gradibus pervenientes celebramus pasca, id est immolatum Christum pro mundi salute credimus. Ac deinde credentes statim pane illo dominici corporis pascimur.⁸³

Decretum Gregorii pape vii. de officio huius diei in matutinis.

<63> De ordine officii huius diei in matutinis et pentecosten. Gregorius papa vii. in generali sinodo residens dixit, In die resurrectionis usque in sabbato in albis et in die pentecosten usque in sabbato eius de ebdomade tres psalmos tantum ad nocturnos, tresque lecciones antiquo more cantamus et legimus. Omnis diebus aliis per totum annum si festivitas est viiii. psalmi et viiii. lecciones dicimus. Aliis autem diebus xii. psalmos et iii. lecciones recitamus. In dominicis diebus x. et viii. psalmos excepto die pasche et pentecosten et viiii. lecciones celebramus. Illi autem qui in diebus cotidiana-⁸⁴

81. Postquam ... constituto, Amort, p. 985; Fischer, p. 67.

82. Ysidorus in libro Iosue, cf. Amort, p. 985, Unde Isidorus super Exodum.

83. Isidorus, *Mysticorum expositionis sacramentorum seu quaestiones in vetus testamentum*, *Expositio in Josue*, c. 6.4; PL 83.373.

84. On this text see A. B. Palacios, «La redacción del c. 'In die resurrectionis' en las colecciones canónicas pregracianas,» *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, eds. P. Landau and J. Müller, *Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Ser. D: Subsidia* 10 (Vatican City, 1997), 923-52; and Ch. Dereine, «Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XIe et XIIe siècles,» *Revue Bénédictine*, 59 (1949) 172.