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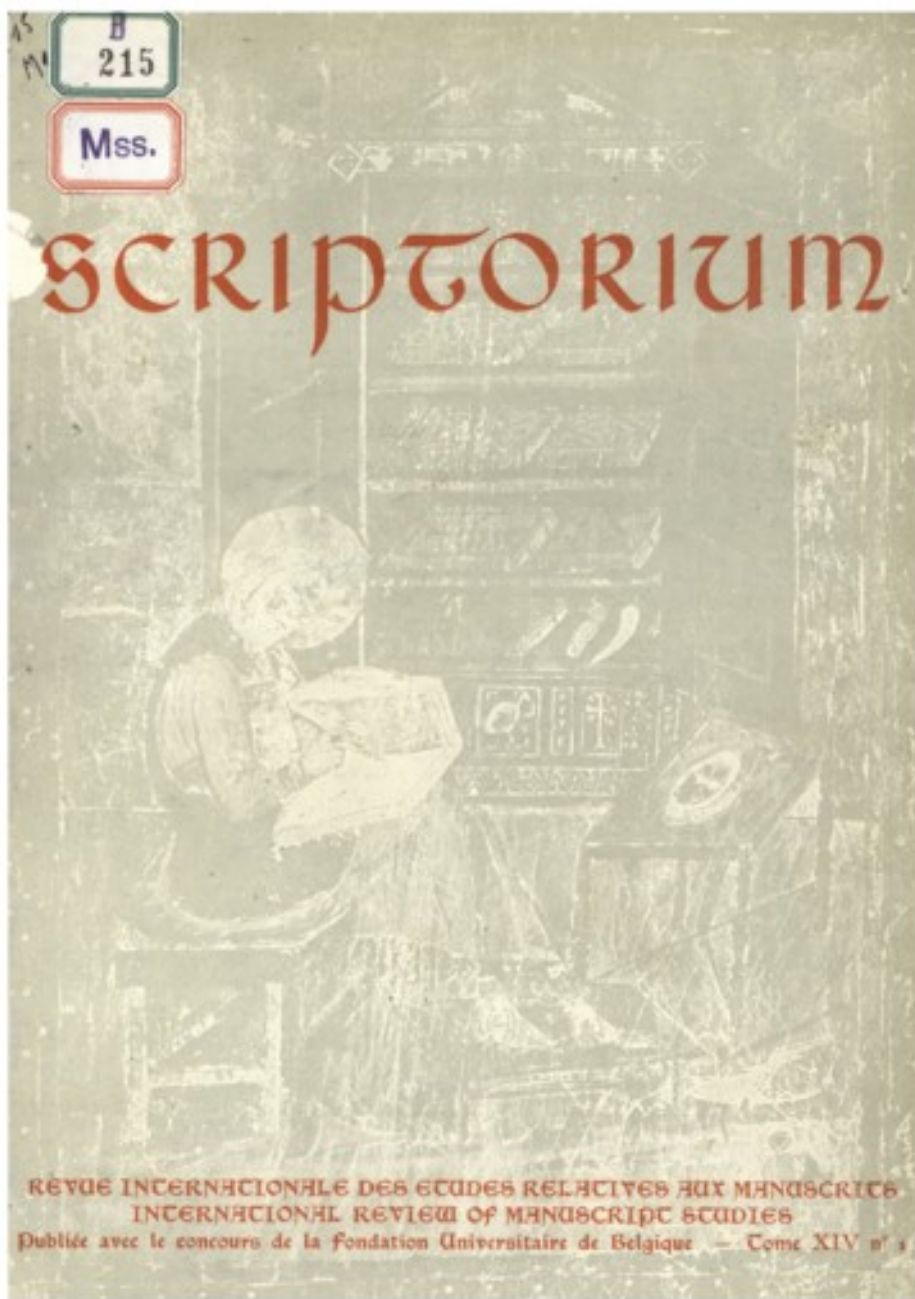
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# Sources of the Roman gradual

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  [S. J. P. Van Dijk](#)

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## Texte intégral

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CHRONIQUE

SOURCES OF THE ROMAN GRADUAL

The sources of the Roman gradual, listed in a recent publication by the monks of Solesmes (1), are introduced by Dom J. Gajard with the just motto of *Non numerandi sed ponderandi*. For this reason, one can only be astonished that none of the direct ancestors of the Roman gradual has found a place among the 500 items nor the ordinal upon which this gradual and, for that matter, the whole Roman liturgy has depended since the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

From the moment when the Friars Minor adopted the liturgy of the papal court in 1223, their books have faithfully reflected those used by the pope and his chaplains. Thus the noted missal and breviary and the ritual for the Last Sacraments which they produced in 1230 are directly based upon corresponding books of the court (2). Since these Franciscan versions were published in consequence of the Rule of the Order, they are called *Régula* books. The breviary and missal reproduce court books revised by the papal liturgists themselves on the basis of earlier editions (3); the ritual for the Last Sacraments was an adaptation of some ordines in the court pontifical.

Because of rubrical difficulties inherent in the books of the court and, in those of the friars, Haymo of Faversham compiled an order of the Mass with the aid of the papal ceremonial and two ordinals for the breviary and the missal, reflecting the previous *Régula* editions (1242-4). The gradual corresponding to this ordinal was published before 1254, the revised missal immediately after that year and the revised breviary with ritual in 1260. Like the Mass chant in the missal of 1230, that of the gradual is the most authoritative witness of what, at the papal court, was regarded as authentic "Gregorian" chant. It is true that, between 1230 and 1254, the notation system was changed from Beneventan notation (*nota romana*) into square notation (*nota francigena*), thus introducing into the court books and into those of the friars a new element. Still, whatever one may think of this modern Roman liturgy — its modernity so far has appeared to be a word without much content — the books cannot be ignored. They represent a vital stage in the history of the then most revered custom of the Eternal City. What is more, in view of the extreme scarcity of purely Roman documents, the Franciscan editions remain, at any time, fundamental sources of knowledge. To neglect them means jeopardising historical as well as liturgical and musicological.

The above mentioned list of sources of the Roman gradual records three Franciscan manuscripts. The most ancient one is a French (Parisian?) primitive missal, consisting of a sacramentary and gradual and dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century (1254-61?); Paris, BN, lat. 10503. Neither of the constituent parts of this book, however, shows signs of authenticity: the Franciscans never a sacramentary, for the papal Mass book of the time was a rubricated missal; their gradual was arranged with rubrics and with a system of references which are not found in the Paris manuscript. Although the sacramentary portion definitely represents the liturgy of the papal court, its value cannot be compared with that of authorised books; nor can that of the gradual bound up with it.

## CHRONIQUE

The second manuscript listed is a *Régula* missal of southern Italy, probably from the friary of St Nicholas at Salerno; Naples, BN, VI.G. 38 (4). It is dated as from 1230-50 but the presence of rubrics from Haymo of Faversham's order of the missal, clearly indicates that it does not go beyond the third quarter of the thirteenth century. The copy is a fairly good specimen of a *Régula* missal but our knowledge of the latter does not depend upon this manuscript alone. A mid-thirteenth-century copy is preserved in Assisi, Bibl. com., 607 (5); slightly younger is that in the Corsiniana library, Rome, 376 (41.D.27) (6); another fourteenth-century manuscript is in the Vatican library, Rossianus 199, which comes from an Augustinian friary, probably in the territory of Montefiascone (7).

The third manuscript in the list of Solesmes is a missal, once preserved at Beuron and dated vaguely as fourteenth-fifteenth century. If, unlike the above *Régula* missal, this manuscript is, indeed, a Franciscan noted missal, it is a *curiosum*. This supposed fact, however, does not make this manuscript into an authoritative source. On the contrary, private interference must have rendered its authority suspect. Although nobody seems to have taken the trouble to establish which edition of the Franciscan missal is here available, it is, in all probability, that based on Haymo's ordinal. If so, the public libraries of Europe possess hundreds of such missals equally authentic, of a much earlier date and more accessible to scholars. One manuscript may here be mentioned: Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, lat. 426 (8). It goes back to the pontificate of Alexander IV, that is, to the years immediately following the publication of this revised edition.

Meanwhile, the most important late medieval source of the Roman gradual is and remains the Franciscan gradual of the early fifties. The model of this book an introduction with rules for the transcription of text and music together with certain peculiarities of foliation and references by which authentic copies may be identified. Among the many *graduais*, I only mention those which are definitely trustworthy: a late thirteenth-century copy in the parish church of Carmignano (Tuscany) once belonged to the friary of the Conventuals there (9); a slightly later, probably early fourteenth-century Italian gradual is now in the library of the Philo- sophericum at Vaalbeek-Louvain, A 17 (10); a north Italian copy, perhaps of the mid- fourteenth century in Padua, Bibl. univers. 1340, is portable; a fourteenth fifteenth- century one is in the University library of Prague, xiii.B.7 (11).

Shortly after the issue of the gradual and apparently before 1255, another Franciscan book came out as a transition form between the *Régula* breviary with notation and the revision of 1260, viz. a new type of capitular and collectar in which the text of chapters and collects was inserted into Haymo's ordinal of the breviary.

## CHRONIQUE

The book passed through various stages of development and was, for centuries, quite a favourite in larger choirs in and outside the Order (12). As such, it cannot be counted among the sources of the Roman gradual, except for the fact that the original seems to have had an appendix of common tones. This tonale also gives the " Roman " melodies of the invitations, collects etc. of the Mass liturgy. The same were observed by the Austin Friars, who adopted the court liturgy. Their tonale was published in 1295 as an appendix to the ceremonial.

From the many Franciscan capitulars with the tonale I mention two ancient ones : a late thirteenth-century copy of the friary of Todi : Todi, Bibl. com. 189, and one from Assisi, written in the first half of the fourteenth century : Assisi, Bibl. com., 261. A detailed description of the Augustinian ceremonial exists since 1914 (13); to the two manuscripts then known can now be added several other copies, such as Padua, Bibl. univers., 1551, Rome, BV, Barb. lat. 698, and Regin. lat. 1806); Rome, general archives of the Carmelites, s.n.; etc.

Haymo of Faversham's order of the missal which is known since 1945 (14), should have occupied a place of honour in the list of 128 ordinals appended to the sources of the Roman gradual. Six complete manuscripts have been identified so far : Padua, Bibl. del Santo, 104, was written at Padua late in the thirteenth century (15); perhaps from the middle of the century dates a central Italian copy of the Austin Friars now at Siena, Bibl. com., G.V. 13, and the already mentioned Barb. lat. 698; finally, a fifteenth-century copy written for the Antonines is preserved in Paris, BN, lat. 1110. These manuscripts will be studied in detail in a forthcoming publication.

The list prepared by the monks of Solesmes does not contain any York gradual. A mid-fifteenth-century specimen from East-Drayton (Nots) is in the Bodleian Library Oxford, Lat. liturg. b. 5 (32940) (17) : temporale, dedication, votive Masses of the Virgin, kyriale, common; square notation on staves of 4 red lines. The same library possesses a late thirteenth or an early fourteenth century sanctorale of a Cistercian gradual, originating from Hauterive : sanctorale, votive Masses, kyriale, proses of the Virgin, additions; square notation on staves of 4 red or black lines; Lat. liturg. d. 5. (32556) (18); a twelfth-century noted missal from Innichen, Tyrol, has a combined temporale-sanctorale, common with Alleluia versicles only, kyriale, proses, tropes, Mandatum (added and without chant), neumatic notation of the St-Gall type, Canon, liturg. 341 (19427); twelve leaves of a thirteenth-century English gradual without notation are from an unidentified use, Lat. liturg. d. 37 (once in the front cover of e. Mus. 182 (19); an eleventh-century proser-troper from the diocese of Eichstadt and probably from St Winnibald's, Heidenheim, has neumatic notation of the St-Gall type; Selden supra 27 (3415) (20).

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## Notes

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(1) *Le graduel romain*. Edition critique par les moines de Solesmes. II Les sources, Solesmes s. a. [1957].

(2) See van Dijk, "Some Manuscripts of the Earliest Franciscan Liturgy" in *Franciscan Studies* xiv, 1954, 225-64, xvi, 1956, 60-101. The date given for the missal, loc. cit., xiy, 226, is mistaken. S. J. P. van Dijk - J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy. The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*, London, 1960, 244.

(3) See van Dijk, "The Legend of 'the Missal of the Papal Chapel' and the Fact of Cardinal Orsini's Refrom" in *Sacris Erudiri* viii, 1956, 899 f. ; Idem, "The Authentic Missal of the Papal Chapel" in *Scriptorium* xiv, 1960, fasc. 2.

2.

(4) Described by van Dijk in "The Authentic Missal," loc. cit.

(5) Described by van Dijk in an appendix to "The lateran Missal" in *Sacris Erudiri* vi, 1954, 158 ff.

(6) See loc. cit., 159, note 2.

(7) This manuscript has only recently been identified. I owe the local details to the kindness of Mgr. A. Albareda, prefect of the Vatican library.

(8) V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires* ii, 125 ff., n° 310.

(9) Described by B. Bughetti in *Arch. Franc. Hist* xxi, 1928, 408 ff.

(10) Described by H. Lippens in *Arch. Franc. Hist*, xxiv, 1931, 370 ff., as cod. i. 1, of the friary of Reckhem. The numbering of the leaves is incorrect.

(11) *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum latinorum... universitatis Pragensis* ii, Prague 1906, 217, n° 2266. I have no personal knowledge of this manuscript. — A few notes on the Franciscan gradual and its notation are to be found in my "Notae quaedam de liturgia Franciscana mediante saec. xiii" in *Ephemerides liturgicae* 1940, 153, note 145, and in my study "An Advertisement Sheet of an Early Fourteenth-Century Writing Master at Oxford" in *Scriptorium* x, 1956, 59 f. Further details will be studied in my introduction to my *The Ordinals of Haymo of Facersham and Related Documents of the Roman Liturgy (1242-1302)* which, for years, has been ready for the press.



3.

(12) See a few notes in van Dijk, " Il carattere della correzione liturgica di fra Aimone da Fa-versham, O.F.M. (1243-1244) " in *Ephemerides liturgicae* lix, 1945, 186 ff.

(13) E. Esteban in *Analecta Augustiniana* ii, 1914, 91 ff., xiv, 1935, 182.

(14) See " Il carattere," loc. cit.

(15) Described loc. cit., lx, 194(5, 353 ff.

(16) Described in " Some Manuscripts " xiy, 234 ff.

(17) Frere in *The Journal of Theological Studies* ii, 1901, 578 ; J. T. Godfrey, *Manuscripts relating to the County of Nottingham...*, London 1900, 1-4, 2 pi.

(18) [van Dijk], *Latin Liturgical Manuscripts and Printed Books. Guide to an Exhibition held during 1952*, Bodleian Library, Oxford 1952, 19, no 17.

(19) *Op. cit.*, 20, no 19.

(20) *Op. cit.*, 21, no 21.

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