

Choir Breviary (Franciscan Use); and other texts including the *Ordinationes* (Franciscan Ceremonial); *Indutus planeta* (Order of the Private Mass); Franciscan Liturgical Statutes from Metz, 1254; Benedictions

In Latin with musical notation, decorated manuscript on parchment

Central or Northern Italy (Umbria?), c. 1260-1300; with later additions including a calendar of c. 1350

225 folios on parchment (even, fairly slick, prepared in the manner of Southern Europe), missing five leaves (collation i<sup>s</sup> ii<sup>2</sup> [original structure uncertain, missing text after 1, f. 9v] iii<sup>12</sup> [-2, after f. 11, with loss of text] iv-vi<sup>12</sup> vii<sup>12</sup> [-3, following f. 59, and -11, following f. 66, both with loss of text] viii-xi<sup>12</sup> xii<sup>8</sup> [-8, cancelled with no loss of text] xiii<sup>12</sup> [-2, following f. 123, with loss of text] xiv<sup>8</sup> xv-xx<sup>12</sup>), decorated catchwords (some now erased?) beginning in quire 3, quires also signed with red Roman numerals, flourished, middle bottom of the last leaf: quires 3-11, signed I-IX, quire 12, no signature or catchword, quires 13-19, signed I-VIII (no catch words or signature, quire 16), all signed with letters on the first leaf beginning with quire one as 'a' in a modern hand, ruled in lead with the top two, middle two, and bottom two horizontal rules full across, and an extra set of horizontal rules in the lower margin, single full-length vertical bounding lines, inside, outside, and between the columns with additional double rules in the outer margins (justification 192-189 x 130-127 mm.), written in a rounded Southern Gothic bookhand in two columns of twenty-two lines, ff. 214-end, (justification 203 x 120 mm.), copied in two columns of thirty-six lines, square notation on red four-line staves, red rubrics, red or blue paraps, large "KL" monograms in red and blue in the calendar, three- to two-line alternately red and blue initials with pen decoration in the other color (four initials on f. 11rv have finer penwork), numerous signs of centuries of use throughout, nonetheless in fairly good condition, lower margin f. 9, partially cut away, f. 11, patched with a rectangle cut from a manuscript, f. 42, whole of outer column cut out, f. 50v, parchment patch with cursive script, f. 58, triangular notch cut from the bottom margin, f. 104, much of the text copied in black has powdered/rubbed away (red rubrics remain, curved sections cut from the lower edges of ff. 108 and 109 (possibly original and due to the shape of the skin?), f. 129v, paper patch lower margin, f. 163, irregular shape cut from lower edge, ff. 166-177v, bottom corners very worn, f. 197v, parchment patch lower margin from another manuscript (Italian charter?), f. 198, lower margin cut away, outer corners soiled, ink has faded on some folios, some worming on the opening and closing folios. Bound in Italy in the fifteenth century in substantial beveled wooden boards extending beyond the book block covered with blind-stamped brown leather, with an outer border of palmettes, framing a large rectangular center panel with four rope-interlace diamonds positioned to form a cross, above three large stamps of fleur-de-lis and foliage, rounded spine with four raised bands, four corner bosses upper and lower boards, two clasp and catch fasteners, fastening back to front (restored), edges once dyed green(?), rebacked with the spine laid down, re sewn, with reinforcement strips added in the middle of quires, new head and tail bands, extensively restored but now in very good condition. Dimensions 265 x 185 mm.

Pastedowns, two fragments from another manuscript, Italy, thirteenth century; inside front cover, part of a bifolium, pasted-in horizontally, with a few letters from column two of the first verso, and two columns of the recto, trimmed at the bottom (justification 172 x 150 mm.), two columns, thirty lines [but trimmed]). Dimensions 175 x 220 mm.; inside back cover, two columns, very likely from the same manuscript (text runs vertically and upside down, top and beginning of column a trimmed, top of column b trimmed).

This large-format manuscript is a marvelous artifact of Franciscan life and worship. Used for singing by the Choir, it is notable for its content, including other texts not commonly found in

more portable Franciscan Breviaries: the Franciscan Ceremonial (known to its editor in only thirty-five manuscripts), the *Indutus planeta* (Haymo of Faversham's description of the private Mass), the Franciscan liturgical statutes of 1254, and others. It is accompanied by additions over at least two centuries and other plentiful signs of early use.

## PROVENANCE

1. Copied in Italy for Franciscan use (rubric, f. 11, and numerous Franciscan saints), as suggested by the evidence of the text, as well as the style of the script and decoration. This is a careful copy of the Franciscan Breviary following the 1243-44 Ordinal of Haymo of Faversham (edited in Van Dijk, 1963). The brothers are mentioned frequently, and there is no suggestion that this was not copied for male use (cf. ff. 61, 70v, and many other places). Textual evidence shows that this must date after 1260, since it includes the Ritual for the Last Sacraments and other texts promulgated around then; the Sanctorale includes the Office of Anthony of Padua (1254) and Bernard (1260). Louis of Toulouse (can. 1317) is added to the Litany, and there are no feasts later than 1260.
2. We believe that the texts on ff. 1- 10v, the calendar and the two following folios, are later additions given differences in the script and decoration (note also that quire three beginning on f. 11 was numbered "I" by the original scribe). The calendar is certainly Franciscan; it must date after 1350 since it includes the translation of Anthony of Padua in red on February 15, and other fourteenth-century feasts: Thomas Aquinas (7 March), canonized in 1323; Louis of Toulouse (19 August), in red duplex maius, observed from 1319, and the Stigmata of Francis (17 September), here in red, observed from 1260, but raised to double in 1304. Compared with the Franciscan calendar of 1260 (Van Dijk, 1963), there are several saints that may suggest the locality where this Breviary was used: possibly Peter martyr of Verona (29 April), a Dominican saint, although he was widely venerated; Victor (15 May), venerated in Umbria; Lawrence and Pergentinus of Arezzo (3 June); and Ansanus of Siena (1 December).
3. There are numerous additions to the calendar in many different hands. A few of these added saints lend support to the use of this manuscript in central and Northern Italy: Geminianus of Modena (30 January), Herculanius of Perugia (1 March), and Ubaldus of Gubbio (16 May). They also attest to the active liturgical use of this Breviary at least until the end of the fifteenth century: 15 March, Longinus (15 March), 1495, Anselm (18 March), 1495, Bernardinus, his feast (20 May) and translation (18 May, usually 17 May), 1451 and 1472 (and others). The physical traces left by these long years of active use are one of this manuscript's most interesting features; pages are soiled, corners worn, there are parchment and paper repairs to worn edges, and there are numerous added prayers throughout (for example, on ff. 111, 115v, 148, 154, 155, a prayer mentioning Louis of Toulouse, 167v, 168, directing the reader to the end of the book, and many others).
4. Thomas Rodd (1796-1849), London, sold by Sotheby's, February 2, 1850, lot 120 (Schoenberg Database 82334, unverified)
5. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps (1820-1889); inside front cover, bookplate, "Presented to the Plymouth Proprietary, Plymouth Library, Cornwall Street, by J. O.

Halliwell, Esq., no. 3; with small round stamp, "Exhibition Church Congress no. 721"; and library stamp, Glass Case E"; Halliwell-Phillipps was an English Shakespearian scholar, and collector of nursery rhymes and fairytales. His wife, Henrietta, was the daughter of the famous book collector, Sir Thomas Phillipps. Halliwell-Phillipps was accused of stealing books from Trinity College Cambridge, and his reputation as a book thief dogged him throughout his life (his father-in-law never spoke to him or to his own daughter after their marriage).

6. Plymouth Proprietary Library (Halliwell-Phillipps, 1853, p. 2, no. III); sold by the library, December 12, 1977, lot 62 (Schoenberg Database 2083)
7. Cutting from booksellers catalogue describing this manuscript in English, inside front cover; in ink, inside front cover, "No 57"; and below in pencil, price codes. Inside back cover: price notes; purple stamp, "Ex Biblioteko H. J. Veit [or Veis]," inside front cover, f. 7, and inside back cover.

## TEXT

Front pastedown, incipit, "//tur si per reductionem. Sicut enim cuiuslibet existentis in aliqua natura ...";

Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Dist. 4, q. 1, a. 1 (many editions; see *Commento alle sentenze di Pietro Lombardo*, 1999-2002, vol. 7, p. 272, and others). The text of the back pastedown, probably from the same manuscript, is unidentified, but it discusses Baptism.

f. 1, [added prayers], incipit, "[D]eus cuius dextera beatum petrum ambulans ..."; [D]eus qui ecclesiam tuam beati francisci merit[is] ...; Ecclesiam tuam deus beati antonii confessoris ...; ... Famulos quesumus dominus beate uirginis tue clare ...; ... [D]euotionem nostram quesumus domine tua reddat gratia salutare ut quos sanctorum tuorum ludouici episcopi antonii presbiteri et clare uirginis deuota comemoratione ..." [added later:]; incipit, "Deus qui sacram religionis seraphici francisci ..." [copied three times in three different hands here and at the bottom of f. 3];

Franciscan saints mentioned include Francis (can. 1228), Anthony of Padua (can. 1252), Louis of Toulouse (can. 1317), and Clare (can. 1255).

ff. 2-7v, Graded calendar with major feasts in red; as in Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 365-376, with the following differences in the original hand: Anthony of Padua, translation (February 15) in red; Thomas Aquinas (7 March); Peter martyr (29 April); Boniface (14 May) here as an addition; Victor (15 May); Lawrence and Pergentinus (of Arezzo) (3 June); Margaret (20 July), here as an (erased) addition; Louis of Toulouse (19 August), in red duplex maius (with octave); King Louis (26 August); Stigmata of Francis, in red, duplex (17 September); *Officium pro defunctis fratribus et benefactoribus* in red (28 September); Jerome, here in red, duplex minus (30 September); Clare, translation, in red with octave (2 October); Louis of Toulouse, translation (8 November); *Dedicatio basilicarum petri et pauli* (18 November); "Helisabeth" (19 November); Cecelia (22 November), here in red; James Intercisus (27 November); Ansanus (1 December); 7 December, Ambrose (7 December) here in red, duplex minus; Conception of Virgin 8 December), duplex maius. Numerous additions in many hands, for example: Macarius (2 January); John

Chrysostom (15 January); Geminianus of Modena (30 January); Bridget (1 February); Dorothy (8 February); Genonis (Zeno?) (14 February); Juliana (16 February); Herculanus (1 March); Ubaldo of Gubbio (16 May), Bernardinus, translation (17 May), Peter Celestine (19 May), and Bernardinus (20 May),

f. 8rv, [first line of the rubric trimmed; Added Office of the Trinity] *Capitulum*, incipit, "Gratia domini nostri iesum christi et caritas dei et communicatio sancti spiritus ...";

f. 9rv, *De Specialibus antiphonis laudum que ponuntur ante nativitatem domini fiat sicut in subscriptis vii tabulis continetur, Prima tabula*, incipit, "In illo anno quo nativitas domini in dominica ..." ... *Quarta tabula*, ... *feria secunda*, explicit, ...ad magnificat antiphona, O emmanuel ///";

Parisian table of Ferial Antiphons before Christmas, here including only the first four tables; Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 401-405;

f. 10, [Parisian Table for Scripture readings for September], incipit, "In anno illo in quo kalende septembris uenerunt die martis ystorie tali modo ponuntur ...";

f. 10v, *In vesperis pro apostolis, Antiphona*, incipit, Petrus apostolus et Paulus ...";

Texts for Vespers, added after 1482, since Bonaventure is included; including texts for Francis (can. 1228), Bonaventure (can. 1482), Anthony of Padua (can. 1232), Louis of Toulouse (can. 1317), Bernardinus (can. 1450), Clare (can. 1255), for peace, and for the morning.

ff. 11-119, *In nomine domini incipit ordo breuiarii fratrum minorum secundum consuetudinem romane curie ...*";

Temporale from the first Saturday in Advent through twenty-third Sunday Pentecost, followed by Sundays, August through November: edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 17-114.

One (?) folio missing after f. 11, with text for Matins, first Sunday in Advent (Van Dijk, vol. 2, p. 17, line 10-p, 19, line 5); f. 42, col. b (f. 42v, col a) excised with loss of text (with lesson for compline; Van Dijk, vol. 2, p. 48, lines 1-6); a folio is missing following f. 59v, with part of *feria ii* and *iii* after *dominica in sexagesima* (Van Dijk, vol. 2, p. 65, l. 17-66, line 11); a folio missing after f. 66v, with part of *feria quarta-sabbato* following Quadragesima Sunday (Van Dijk, vol. 2, p. 76).

The text follows that of Haymo of Faversham's Ordinal of the Breviary closely, with only a few exceptions (for example, the texts following Holy Innocents, f. 32, *Pro sancto thoma matre*, an., incipit, "Iste sanctus, ..."; *Oratio*, incipit, "Deus pro cuius ecclesia glorios pontifext ..." are not recorded in the Ordinal, and the antiphon for Francis are followed by antiphons for St. Anthony on ff. 41v, and 44v. The liturgical direction on ff. 59v-61 (*feria iiii cynerum ... Ab isto die usque in cena domini in feriali officio tamen post laudes defunctorum dicimus flexis genibus vii ps. penitenciales* [here given with cues]... *cum letania*) follows the Ordinal, but here the litany is included in full, among the saints included are Blaise and Donatus added in the margin (presumably after Sebastian); Louis of Toulouse (can. 1317) added after Nicholas; and in the hand of the original scribe, Benedict, Francis, Anthony, and Dominic, Catherine, Clare, and Elisabeth.

ff. 119-122v, *Rubrice generales*; [ends mid col. b; remainder blank];

Edited in Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 114-121; in the list of Duplex feasts Clare follows Lawrence and the Dedication of Michael follows the Nativity of the Virgin.

ff. 123-168, *Incipiunt festiuitates sanctorum per totum anni circulum, ...;*

Sanctorale from Saturinus (29 November) to Catherine (25 November); edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 121-173.

Missing a folio after f. 123v, with end of Andrew-beginning of Lucy (Van Dijk, vol 2, pp. 122-123).

Follows the Franciscan Ordinal closely; includes the translation of St. Francis (f. 139) and Francis (beginning f. 168v), note the lessons are just referred to with a general , direction "Lectiones leguntur de legenda ipsius" (the lessons are to be read from the life itself) and no cues are included, as in Van Dijk, vol. 1, p. 84; also includes Anthony of Padua, with heading added in a later hand on f. 139v, "S. Antonio" (not found in the the original *Ordo*, but edited by Van Dijk since it is found in many manuscripts from 1254 and later). Minor differences include Peter Martyr between Vitalis and Philip and James; with Bernard after Agapti and octave of Mary (celebrated by the Franciscans from 1260); and with Hermetus following Augustine. Prayer for Louis confessor added lower margin f. 155 in an early hand.

ff. 168-178v, Common of Saints;

Edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 173-185.

ff. 179-185v, *Incipit ordo officii beate virginis, ...;* [ends mid f. 185v, remainder blank];

Office of the Virgin; edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 185-191; note the lessons for this Office are copied out in full.

ff. 186-176, *Incipit officium in agenda mortuorum, ...;*

Office of the Dead; edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 191-195; lessons are included in full; antiphons, versicles and responses are also fully noted (the alternate responses given on f. 194rv are not noted although the staff was drawn).

ff. 176-210v, *Ordo ad communicandum infirmum ...;* [f. 197], *Ordo ad inungendum infirmum, ...;* f. 199v, *Ordo commendationis anime, ...;* [f. 203v, Order of Burial] *Tunc fratres quibus preceptum fuerit lauent corpus, ...;*

Ritual for the Last Sacraments (Communion of the sick, Anointing of the sick [Extreme Unction], Commendation of the dead and burial); edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 387-397.

ff. 211-212, *Ad benedicendum aquam, incipit, Adiutorium nostrum ...,* *Exorcizo te creaturam salis ...;* ... *Exorcizo te creaturam aquam ...;*

Blessings of salt and water.

f. 212, [Added prayer], incipit, "Exaudi nos domine sancte pater omnipotens ... digneris sanctum angelum tuum ...";

ff. 212v-213v, [Added, noted Marian Sequences], incipit, "Marie preconio seruat cum gaudio ... [Cantus Database, 508019]"; incipit, "Tu Rosa tu lilium cuius dei filium ...";

ff. 214-218, incipit, "Ad omnes horas canonicas semper pulsetur campanas ..."; [f. 217], *De officio missarum dicendum est*, incipit "In diebus ferialibus parentur ...";

The Franciscan Ceremonial for Choir and Altar, edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 335-358.

Partially the work of Haymo of Haversham, but left unfinished at his death in 1244, this text was in circulation by 1254, and can therefore probably be dated between 1247 and 1250 (see Van Dijk, vol. 1, p. 106). This is largely an order of action to be consulted outside the church – poorly organized, it still explained numerous liturgical details that could not be found in the Breviaries or Missals of the order, from the ringing of the bells, to how various Office began, to the actions proper to each participant in a high Mass. Known to its editor, Van Dijk, in only thirty-five manuscripts, not including this one, this text seems to have largely been used by novices, clerics and priests in the first Order of St. Francis, as well as by Franciscan nuns. It is not a usual text found in Breviaries – instead, it is found in Franciscan miscellanies with the Rule, and in collections of statutes, etc. In the fifteenth century it was translated into the vernacular.

ff. 218-220v, *In missis priuatis*, [continues in text ink] *Incipit ordo agendorum et dicendorum a sacerdote in missa priuata et feriali iuxta consuetudinem ecclesie romane*, incipit, "Indutus planeta sacerdos ... Qua complete benedicat populous dicens Benedicat ... Amen";

The Order of Action and Speech for Private and Ferial Public Masses by Haymo of Faversham (1243); edited, Van Dijk, vol. 2, pp. 3-14.

Usually known from its opening words, this was read widely by both Franciscans and members of other orders. It was the earliest, and indeed the only complete ceremonial of the Roman private Mass until the early sixteenth century (Van Dijk, vol. 1, p. 60). It survives in numerous manuscripts (its modern editor consulted fifty), both from Franciscan sources and copied outside the order, but it is not usually found in Breviaries (commonly found in Missals, Franciscan miscellanies with the Rule and other texts, Ordinals or Ceremonials, or Pontificals).

ff. 220v-221, *Lectiones que ueniunt in octauam natiuitate beate uirginis*, incipit, "Infra octauam natiuitate beate uirginis ... Prouidatur quod antyphania uniformiter corriguntur";

General Statutes of the Franciscan Order Relating to the Liturgy from the general chapter of Metz, 1254; edited Van Dijk, 1963, vol. 2, pp. 411-416.

ff. 221v-224v, [Benedictions], *Benedictio Cilicii, Oratio*, incipit, "Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui peccatoribus et penitentibus pietatis tue ... hoc indumentum cilicii ...";

The texts begin with a series of blessings for pilgrims, beginning with the cilice (hairshirt), the pilgrim's knapsack, or *capsella* (here spelled *scapsella*), and staff; followed by blessings including for bread, general blessings, new houses, the dormitory, and refectory, concluding with blessings for entry into the religious life (cutting the hair, being dressed in the habit, and so forth).

f. 224v, *Orationes sacerdotales ante missam*, incipit, "Largire sensibus naturis omnipotens deus ..." [followed by prayers used during vesting].

Prayers to be said by a priest before Mass.

f. 224v-225 [added], *In solemnitate corpus ihesu christi*, ... [Office for Corpus Christi, observed by the Franciscans 1319; [followed by prayers added in several later hands (including several for Jerome)].

This manuscript is a Breviary, that is a liturgical manuscript that contains all the texts required for the celebration of the Divine Office – the Psalms, prayers, other readings (many, but not all of which are from the Bible), hymns, antiphons, responsories, and versicles. (The Divine Office consists of prayers said throughout the day and night by members of religious orders at the offices of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline.) This is a secular Breviary for Franciscan Use, which includes nine lessons at Matins for major feasts, following the use of the Roman curia, adopted by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century, and popularized by them.

The origins of the Franciscan Order can be traced back to its charismatic founder, St. Francis of Assisi, who presented himself and his small group of followers to Pope Innocent III in 1210, and were granted permission to live Francis' radical vision of a life of complete apostolic poverty. From these humble beginnings, the Franciscan Order grew rapidly, attracting members across Europe. Since they were an international order, the need for a uniform liturgy was felt from an early point in their history, and the Rule of 1223 specified that the Friars were to follow the Office "according to the order of the Roman Church." This "order of the Roman Church," the liturgy used at the Papal Court, became the basis for the Franciscan liturgy. In 1243-44, there was a general reform – actually a careful reorganization and systematization -- of their liturgy by Haymo of Faversham (d. 1244). Haymo, who was born in England, and served as the fourth minister general of the Franciscan Order from 1240-1244, issued new Ordinals for the Franciscan Missal and Breviary to serve as the models for Order's liturgical books. The present Breviary follows Haymo's *Ordo breviarii* very closely, including the careful liturgical directions, or rubrics, that were such an important part of Haymo's work. The Franciscan Use, or Use of Rome, was destined to have a great influence on the subsequent history of the Roman liturgy, since it was the basis for the liturgy mandated by the Council of Trent to be used throughout the Roman Catholic Church.

This is a special Breviary in a number of respects. Portable Franciscan Breviaries intended for use of individual friars while they travelled and said their Office privately survive in great numbers (probably most, or even all, friars had one). This in contrast is copied in a much larger format, in an easily legible script, with musical notation for many texts. Liturgical directions and prayers are copied out in full, as are some versicles and responses. The Psalms and other readings, which are a large part of the text of the Office, however, are always copied with only

their opening words (or cues) in the Breviary proper (the Office of Virgin and the Dead both include the lessons in full). The book is thus a curious mixture. It includes more than an Ordinal (which routinely abbreviated all texts except the directions), and it includes musical notation, but lacks the complete texts of the readings, so important a feature of portable Breviaries. It must have been used in Choir, where Friars had access to the additional books that supplied the readings, but it could also have been used as an exemplar.

Its possible role as an exemplar is underlined because of the other texts it includes – texts not usually found in Breviaries at all, but instead found in Franciscan miscellanies, Ceremonials, or Ordinals – the Ceremonial, the *Indutus planeta*, and the liturgical statutes from the general chapter at Metz, and the blessings at the end of the volume, including those used to bless pilgrims (possibly adapted for Franciscan use). The numerous additions from at least two centuries and other plentiful signs of use contribute to the interest of this artifact of Franciscan life, which served many friars in their daily life of prayer for centuries.

## LITERATURE

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